Women's Bureau Conference

THE AMERICAN WOMAN
HER CHANGING ROLE
WORKER • HOMEMAKER • CITIZEN

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
WOMEN'S BUREAU BULLETIN NO. 224

REPORT ON 1948

Women's Bureau Conference

Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday
February 17, 18, 19

THE AMERICAN WOMAN • *Her Changing Role*

WORKER

HOMEMAKER

CITIZEN

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
WASHINGTON, D. C.

OPINIONS expressed by speakers, delegates, and guests at the Conference on the American Woman were not necessarily those of the Women's Bureau or of the Department of Labor. Speakers gave their own views. The conference provided for a free interchange of ideas in the American democratic tradition.

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
WOMEN'S BUREAU,
Washington, April 14, 1948.

SIR: I have the honor of transmitting a report on the Women's Bureau Conference, The American Woman, Her Changing Role—Worker, Homemaker, Citizen, held on February 17, 18, and 19, 1948, in Washington, D. C. The Conference was participated in by women representing 70 women's organizations, civic and professional groups, and labor unions; by women administering State labor laws; and by women from management groups. The report is being published because of the wide need for the information presented at the Conference.

Respectfully submitted.

FRIEDA S. MILLER,
Director.

Hon. L. B. SCHWELLENBACH,
Secretary of Labor.

CONTENTS

Part II

WELCOME

IN OPENING this conference on the American Woman, Her Changing Role as Worker, Homemaker, Citizen, I need hardly dwell on the warmth of our welcome to you all. The President of the United States and the Secretary of Labor by their very presence here make that abundantly clear.

To their greeting, however, I want to add my own personal welcome and that of the whole of the Women's Bureau staff, which looks to women like yourselves for inspiration in carrying forward its work and in sticking to the job when the going gets rough.

It was this interest and indeed the repeated requests of some of you that inspired this meeting in the first place. From your response to the plans that grew out of this stimulus I take it for granted that you are still of the same opinion as last summer when the officers of about a dozen women's organizations with headquarters here in Washington first discussed with me the general plan.

Now, at the beginning of 1948, the plan has become this great gathering. It is the moment for us to pause, to review, to reappraise our plans and prospects in a situation that we jointly agreed is important.

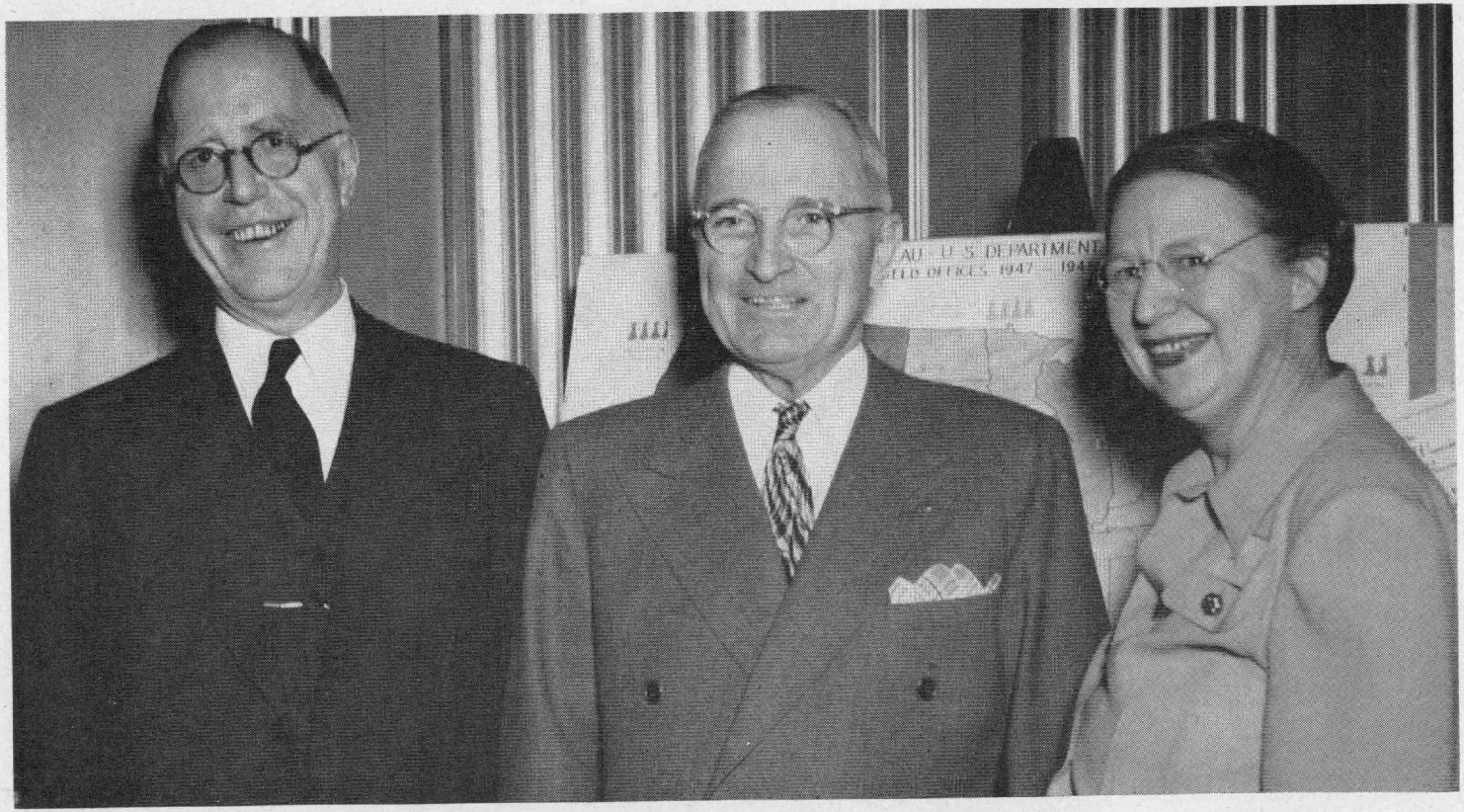
You will be interested to know who has come to this conference, whom you together represent, where you come from. In your kits is a detailed list of persons in attendance and their affiliations. But I think it would help if I should summarize for you the composition of the group. There are among you people from 25 States, from the District of Columbia, and several foreign countries. Women's and civic organizations are represented by 102 of you, and labor unions by 36. Women's labor law administrators number 19, management representatives, 9. There are also 10 working members of the press and radio, and in addition about 45 individuals whose major activities are in the field with which this conference will deal.

We of the Women's Bureau staff know from long experience that it is you and the organizations that you represent who give real import to the basic data which the Bureau collects about women's employment, working conditions, and earnings, their opportunities for training and advancement, and the laws affecting their civil and political status. Such information takes on its value as it is interpreted in action by civic groups, by employers, by the great variety of organizations represented here who are able to make it mean some real advance for their own members and for other women.

We know full well, too, the valuable work done by those of you who administer women's labor laws in maintaining and improving the legal standards governing women's employment, and the fine work of the trade union women who have pioneered in seeking understanding and support for the millions of workers less well equipped to cope with their economic problems. We are grateful, too, to have here representatives of education, of the press and radio, who in addition to their individual contributions in their own fields keep driving the rest of us to more and more thought and effort and laborious output.

To all of you I say, you are more than welcome. You are thrice welcome. And now, I am proud and happy to turn over the formal opening of this conference on the American Woman in 1948 to the Secretary of Labor.

FRIEDA S. MILLER,
Director, Women's Bureau.



L. B. Schwellenbach, The President of the United States, Frieda S. Miller.

Part 1

February 17 Morning Session

CONFERENCE ADDRESSES

The President of the United States
***Opening Address*, L. B. Schwellenbach, Secretary of Labor**
***Who Works, Where, and Why*, Frieda S. Miller, Director, Women's Bureau**

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Introduced by The Secretary of Labor, L. B. Schwellenbach

MR. SECRETARY, Miss Miller, and members of the Women's Bureau Conference, it is certainly a pleasure for me to be over here this morning.

When Miss Miller opened her remarks she started off by saying that you represented workers, homemakers, citizens. I want to reverse that order. I want to say "homemakers, workers, citizens," for if it were not for the homemakers we would have neither the citizens nor the workers.

Not often is there a meeting in Washington of a body of women as widely representative in their interests as the group gathered here today. The occasion is an especially happy one for me because it permits me to speak of some of the things that are close to my heart and that I know are close to yours as well.

First, let me say how delighted I was to learn that the Department of Labor was planning this Conference of women leaders to commemorate the 100th Anniversary of the Seneca Falls Convention, where the movement for women's rights and women's social freedom was launched. I feel that I am among friends of the most valued kind—those whose hearts and minds are devoted to making this country a better place to live in, for all our people. This is the true patriotism.

I am proud that under my administration women are serving in a number of positions of influence in international affairs. The speaker who will address you this evening, Dean C. Mildred Thompson of Vassar College, was twice Governmental delegate to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, or UNESCO. Miss Dorothy Kenyon, a member of your Thursday morning panel, is the United States member on the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt heads the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. Mrs. Roosevelt has made a wonderful contribution to the welfare of this Nation since the President died. (He is the only President I ever think of as "the President.")

These outstanding women are your ambassadors to the international world; they are there because of the long, hard, devoted work of women like yourselves and those you represent. You women come from many walks of life; you have varying backgrounds and interests. But you have joined together—and this is the great contribution you are making in giving form and substance to the social, political, and economic aspirations of our country.

You are all bringing your talents and experience to serve a common purpose—to carry out a program in which you could join together, sinking minor differences because of your vital common objectives. There should be monuments to the successes that have crowned these common efforts during the hundred years you are celebrating—successes like women's suffrage, social legislation, greater economic opportunities for women, the opening up of higher education to women, the successful battle for civil and political rights. We are working for those very same things for a large number of our population.

You have still before you many unfinished tasks. Not all of them can or need be enumerated here. You have been studying them and seeking remedies that will increase the dignity and usefulness of women in our society. These things cannot be accomplished all at once, or all by the same means. Some of them are now before the Congress, like equal pay for equal work, and the ending of specific discriminations against women, such as limitations on the right to serve on Federal juries. It is within your strength to accomplish these things in which you believe, but only if you make your goals known and persist in de-

manding action. And there is not a single man in the Government who can resist you if you really want to do something.

Women's organizations have at hand a ready weapon which they have not yet used to its full capacity—the power of the consumer. It has been said over and over again that women control the bulk of the Nation's wealth; they certainly channel its day-to-day spending for food, for clothing, for education, for all the things that make for better living. This is a weapon which you can use together to combat one of the enemies that now threaten us—the high cost of living. And I think you are having some effect on it right now.

Women have learned the arts of peace. They have discovered ways of making peace exciting and full of challenge. They know, better than men, that the war against poverty and fear and disease and hunger is the war to which we can, as yet, see no end. Even in the United States, where the standard of living is higher than anywhere else in the world, much remains to be done.

It is your special responsibility to carry on this fight, to persuade the men to support you in it, so that the United States can push on toward the goal of a better life for all our people.

In this task I wish you all Godspeed.

OPENING ADDRESS

L. B. Schwellenbach, Secretary of Labor

Miss Miller, members of the conference, and members of the staff of the Labor Department.

It is a matter of particular pride to me to extend to this distinguished group of women the hand of fellowship of the Labor Department, and particularly the portion of the Department which is officially charged with responsibility concerning the welfare of women, the Women's Bureau. I choose my words rather carefully. I choose them after over two and a half years as the head of this Department of Government, because I want to assure all of you that although we gladly and eagerly accept the leadership of Miss Miller and the Women's Bureau, there is no Bureau in the Department any less anxious than is the Women's Bureau to serve the welfare of women. Every division is equally interested to the extent that they may have and are articulating their interest in the problems of women. And I think Miss Miller will assure you that she has nothing but full cooperation from the staff and from the members of other Bureaus when any problem concerning women comes before the Department of Labor.

I congratulate you on the purpose for which you have come—to celebrate the 100th Anniversary of the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848, to review what has happened these hundred years, and to map out some plans for the future. The President of the United States came and the Navy Band came to start off these proceedings. It was not merely by accident that they came. It was because of the realization upon the part of the President of the importance of the solution of problems peculiarly within the sphere in which women's organizations are interested. I haven't yet and I don't expect to attain my hundredth anniversary, but if I should, I hope it will be as happy a one as the one you today are celebrating here.

When Miss Miller asked me to meet with you this morning, she suggested that I discuss the significance of this particular occasion in the light of the Seneca Falls meeting 100 years ago. In thinking about it, my mind kept going back to the circumstances of that occasion and how different it was from the circumstances of this meeting here today. I wonder what would have happened if Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan Anthony had come to Washington in 1848 looking for a meeting place where they could rally their little group of pioneering women. They would have found muddy unpaved streets; they would have found few hotels. The pioneering women of 1848 would

have found poor transportation—we do have good transportation now—and little of the comforts that in this age we take so much for granted. They would have found no such handsome meeting place as this to shelter them from the scoffers who regarded them as "unnatural" women for seeking to widen their opportunities. They would have found a Government struggling with the problems arising from the Mexican War, of which I have never approved. It was the only time in our history that the United States ever had a policy of imperialism. But as a result of that war there were very definite perils to the Nation which was at that time little more than half a century old and even then was faced with the prospect of great divisional conflict.

In thinking about all this, I suddenly realized that had those women come to Washington then, there would have been no Secretary of Labor to welcome them. I don't know whether that is such a bad idea after all, after everything the newspapers have said about me in the last 2½ years. But I at least head up a Department which is definitely determined to fight for the rights of the working people of the United States and definitely determined to fight for the rights of women in the United States, and I have taken pride in the last 2½ years in the fact that I was privileged under the Act under which I operate to speak on behalf of the women of the United States, and I have tried to do it upon every possible occasion.

I also take a particular pride in the fact that when the Supreme Court of the United States in 1937 for the first time recognized the right of a State to pass a minimum-wage law for women, it approved the law of my own State in what is known as the West Coast Hotel case. I remember the occasion. We were carrying on a rather difficult fight in the Senate—some of you may have heard about it—in reference to the Supreme Court. The decision came over from the Court and I got it, and I took it down to Senator Robinson who was then the majority leader of the Senate, and he read it. And the newspaper boys outside called me out and they said: "What will be the effect of this decision upon the court fight?" I said, "That is not the question. The question is, 'What has been the effect of the court fight upon the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States?' "

The pioneering women of 1848 would have found no one in the Federal Government whose responsibility it was, in the words of the basic act creating the Department, to "foster, promote, and develop the welfare of wage earners of the United States, to improve their working conditions and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment." What is more, they would have found no agency of Government that was charged with special responsibility for studying the economic position of women and strengthening their opportunities, as the Women's Bureau of this Department does today. Indeed, anyone who seriously suggested such a Bureau at that time would probably

have been laughed to scorn. Why should women have economic opportunities? Why should they be stirring around in things political? Weren't they well cared for by their husbands? What more could they ask? What more could they want?

The ladies of 1848 made it clear that they wanted more, and women have been getting more ever since. As I have looked through the publications and studied the data collected by the Women's Bureau which show the progress of women in these hundred years, and compared what has happened to American women with what has happened to American labor as a whole, I have realized more fully than ever before that they have been traveling down a common road of political advancement, seeking a common goal of economic development and strength, of constantly growing influence on the Nation's character and development. A century ago the struggle of workers to unite to improve their condition was a discouraging, often a dangerous one. Labor's right to bargain collectively was far from being recognized. Women's right to promote their economic welfare and political freedom was also a discouraging struggle, and sturdy as those women were, they must often have been heavy-hearted and discouraged. But this gathering here today shows that they never gave up or gave in. You have inherited the great gains they fought for, and you are going on with the building of "a system of morals of civic honor" on which we have only made a beginning.

As I turn my attention to the record of women's achievement in this past century, it seems to me clear that in spite of set-backs, which have been many, despite a world in which it is very difficult to make progress, especially in these latter years when wars and confusion and distrust seem to be our daily fare, despite all this, the record still shows an amazing degree of progress for women and some monumental achievements. For one thing, and it should be a matter of pride to all women, full political status has been definitely achieved in the United States. Women, since 1920, have the right to vote. They may qualify for elective office on the same terms as men. I sometimes wonder if our young women just growing up realize the blood and sweat and tears that went into that battle; or if they realize that, in large areas of the world, that battle is still being fought by women no less determined than our own women in the past century to gain full political status. They, now, never have to feel an inferiority complex because they cannot have a voice in saying who shall be President of the United States or who shall be a member of the city council. Their political equality they take for granted; the problem now is to use it for the general welfare.

Don't take it too much for granted. Not too much progress has been made. There are still battles ahead. I was astounded in December of 1940 when I left the Senate to go on the bench of the Federal District

Court in Spokane, Wash., to find that there never had been a woman on any jury in that district, and that none other than whites had ever served upon a jury in that district. We had had a State law, I think since about 1920, permitting women to serve on the jury, but here was a district court of the United States of America, which was about to plunge into a tremendous war to protect the principles of equality, and there never had been one woman juror ever chosen and there never had been any other than a white person chosen as a juror in that district.

They just said it couldn't be done. Well, I did it. I didn't have any trouble about it. I told them to put some women's names in the box and no longer persist in the idea that there was a question of racial equality involved in the selection of jurors. We never had any trouble about it. All we needed to do was to be told about it. And I have found during 17 years of practice of law that no distinction need be made as to whether jurors or women or men, or as to what particular race they belong to, in order that a jury consisting of 12 people make up its mind and reach the same right result.

In the economic field the change in women's position is almost more revolutionary. In the early days of our country we had many foreign visitors who liked to come and take a look at the "great experiment" that was going on, on the North American Continent. One of those visitors was Harriet Martineau. When she visited us in 1836 she was not impressed by the position of women. According to an account I have been reading, she "was surprised to find them occupying a very subordinate position in a country calling itself free and to find that they had entered only seven paying occupations. They were allowed to teach (at a small salary), to be seamstresses, tailoresses, milliners, dressmakers, household servants, and factory operatives."

It is indeed a dreary picture, and I wish that Harriet Martineau as well as the ladies of Seneca Falls could be here this morning. They would find among you women with the highest skills and education in many fields. They would find educators, civic leaders, medical technicians, business executives, labor leaders, writers who help create public opinion. They would probably be most surprised to know how many among you are administrators of labor laws in many of our States. That in itself is a measure of the change that these 100 years have seen.

In December 1947 almost 17 million women were working or seeking work. The unemployment among them was very low. What a contrast to the 2 million women who were recorded similarly in the first census following the War between the States when our great industrial expansion was just beginning. From the limited opportunities of that time, when 13 percent of our women were gainful workers, women have forged ahead into all kinds of work. In 1940 a

fourth of our women were in the labor market. Today 30 percent of our women are at work, and a review of our entire labor force, men and women, shows that women are also close to 30 percent of our entire working population. They are found in hundreds of occupations. Moreover, they constitute the great bulk of our workers in some of them. I wonder what would happen if all of these women should suddenly decide to "retire," as some of our Stone Age men keep saying they should. We would be in a sorry state indeed. Where would our schools be, for women are 75 percent of our teachers? Our hosptals couldn't function, for women are 98 percent of our professional nurses and 90 percent of our medical laboratory technicians.

Employed women closely touch the daily living of millions of Americans in other ways. Women account for 93 percent of all household employees and for two-thirds of those who wait on the public in restaurants and hotels. They also are about 95 percent of all telephone operators and 40 percent of all persons engaged in light manufacturing work. Even in the so-called masculine realm of heavy industry they constitute 13 percent of all production workers and help to turn out such products as machinery, transportation equipment, automobiles, and furniture. They are the great majority of office workers and of clerks in our great retail industry. It would be a sorry day, indeed, for the men if women should suddenly decide not to work any more in paid employment.

We face serious problems in this country today. Unfortunately—and I don't think it is anybody's fault—during the war we were told that with the end of a shooting war we would have peace, prosperity, quiet, contentment. I remember particularly a radio program that came on every night telling about what was going to happen after the war was over. Part of it was good for the woman, because it said that she could take her dishes out into the kitchen, put them down some place, go in and play a game of bridge, and come out and find them washed, dried, and put back up on the proper shelves. Then there was another program which said that automobiles were going to be built in such a way that it wouldn't be possible to have back-seat drivers. I didn't believe that one myself.

But seriously, we were told that there would be no period of readjustment because readjustment would come almost automatically with the end of the war. We found out differently. We found that there were disputes and there were emotions and there were spiritual ideas that conflicted within our domestic economy, and we found it very difficult to attain the peace—not with those whom we had conquered, who had unconditionally surrendered, but between us who had succeeded in forcing the unconditional surender.

When a nation assumes the responsibility of war, when it asks the mothers of this country to send their boys into service in order that

we may protect and maintain our democratic system, it also assumes the responsibility of seeing to it that after the end of that war, after the sacrifices have been made, we do maintain our democratic institutions. It has been demonstrated to us as a result of this Second World War that under modern conditions you don't win wars. The nation which wins simply has to take on the responsibility of taking care of those whom it has conquered. But in the process of taking care of those whom we have conquered and taking care of those who live within our country, we must never forget the goal, and that is an expanding prosperity and an expanding economy which is going to result from raising the living standards of those who live within our borders.

And the women of America know this better than anybody else. And you who are here representing organizations that have been studying these precise problems know better than most women know. This is not merely the 100th Anniversary of the meeting at Seneca Falls. I would like to see you make of this meeting a place of declaration of purposes, by the representatives of the great majority of the women's organizations of the United States, that we are going to continue to expand our economy, that we are going to have prosperity, that we are going to have peace, happiness, and comfort for the American people.

And you who are met here today have an opportunity. Don't talk too much about Seneca Falls and a hundred years ago. The problems today to a much greater extent fall upon the women of America. The problems today require that the women of America take leadership and that they see to it that insofar as they offer or you find it within your grasp you take that leadership, you tell the people of America what they need to be told, you carry out the program upon which you decide; and then we need have no fear, because the future of America would lead down a long path unobstructed, unimpeded, right through to the far centuries of eternity.

WHO WORKS, WHERE, AND WHY[1]

Frieda S. Miller, Director, Women's Bureau

As you can see, when we were planning this morning's session we decided to have our dessert first. In that way we could all then settle down to the serious business of the Conference, confident that we weren't going to lose out on the more exciting things. The President and Secretary have been the dessert. What I am going to offer this morning is the roast beef and the potatoes and carrots and leafy vegetables. I invite you to sink your teeth into them with appetite and gusto because the facts and figures I am going to present are the basic materials you will need to keep in mind during the following sessions. All of the things that will be presented by the invited speakers and discussed by you from the floor are inevitably conditioned by these facts about women—"Who Works, Where, and Why."

The most basic single fact before this meeting is that today about 17,000,000 women are either working or seeking work, and they are, in exact figures, 28 percent of the entire labor force. To use a slang phrase, "That is not peanuts." It is now 2½ years after the end of the greatest war in history. During that war women responded magnificently to the country's need for production. At the peak of their wartime employment, in July 1944, they numbered almost 20½ million. It was thought, and I admit we here in the Women's Bureau thought along much the same line, that after the war women's employment would fall off precipitously. We feared that a sharp decline in general employment would react particularly to the disadvantage of women, and to many of them, responsible for their own and others' support, would be disastrous.

In this, I am happy to say, the prognosticators, among them ourselves, were mistaken. Employment as a whole has held up, and the employment of women has been stable at least in the sense that jobs have been available. There have been shifts from the better-paying factory jobs into the less well-paying service trades, and the whole matter of job opportunities I will discuss more fully later. However, very few women today who want to work are without jobs. The figures, for December 1947, show less than half a million. There are now over 3 million more women in the labor market than in December 1940, and their proportionate place is 3½ percentage points greater.

[1] See charts 1–6, Appendix II, in connection with this address.

In other words, in the 7 years between 1940 and 1947, and disregarding the special situation of the war years, women's place in the labor market has expanded more than it did in the 10 years between 1930 and 1940.

This figure of 17 million women in the labor force has a many-sided significance. In size alone, it is impressive. But it has an even greater significance as an index to the present nature of our society and the change that society has undergone in the past century. The Secretary has reminded you that when Harriet Martineau came to this country in 1836, only 12 years before the occasion we are celebrating here this week, she found women employed in only seven occupations, and those were mainly humble ones. We have only fragmentary statistics about their work at that time. Indeed it was not until the Census of 1870, after the close of the Civil War, that official notice was given to the many occupations women had undertaken in the Nation's economic life. Only in that year, when 2 million women were recorded as being in gainful work, did the Census of Population begin to show employment figures by sex. One might almost say that the year 1870 was a milestone in achievement for the women of Seneca Falls because, as we are all so frequently reminded, government moves slowly and cautiously in recognizing the facts of life. Its recognition, in 1870, through so staid a Bureau as the Census, of the importance of women as paid workers, was indeed an index to the revolutionary change in women's status that began in the early 19th century and has continued to this very hour.

The fascinating story of women's growing participation in paid work outside the home, and the constant expansion of the kinds of work women do, is told in the figures of the 10-year Censuses that have been issued since 1870. Those figures, embalmed in massive volumes with the odor of age upon them, are really full of excitement and tales of great deeds in the battle of women to achieve equality and their full place in American society. The Women's Bureau now has in press, and we expect it to be available this spring, an intensive analysis of the development of women's employment—their growing numbers, their expanding occupations, the later age at which they start to work, and their growing practice of continuing work after marriage.

The figures tell us that there are over 8 times as many women workers today as there were 80 years ago. In the last 30 years of the 19th century women's entry into paid employment kept on apace. In 1900 they numbered 5 million or 18 percent of the total. Since the turn of the century this number has more than tripled, while the number of men is some 2½ million less than double its 1900 figure. This points up another striking change, that while the entire labor force has somewhat more than doubled since 1900, the women in it have tripled and are now 28 percent of the total, rather than 18 percent.

But mere numbers are not alone the significant thing. In 1870 the great bulk of working women were single. Today only 38 percent of them are single, while 46 percent are married and an additional 16 percent widowed or divorced. That this is a social and economic change of the greatest significance is a thing that would strike even the most untutored social scientist, but I shall not go into this in detail because at tomorrow's session, in "Family Responsibilities of Earning Women," Hazel Kyrk will analyze its significance far better than I can.

The changing age pattern of women workers is also important to watch. Today about half the women in the labor force are 35 years or older, which is a marked shift from the pattern of earlier years. It has always been more customary for women aged 20–24 to work than for those in any other age group. However, the relative importance of this group among women workers has been declining, as has that of still younger women. In 1900 girls aged 14–19 constituted 24 percent of women workers, but 40 years later they were less than 11 percent. An additional and more dramatic change is the discontinuance of child labor among girls in the age group 10–13, who numbered 205 thousand in 1900 but who in 1940 were so few as not to warrant enumeration in the census tabulations. In the same period the number of women workers aged 25–44 showed a net increase of over 4 million, and those of 45 and over topped their 1900 number by 2 million. The most marked relative change took place among women 35 and over. Many young women entered the wartime labor market, but it was those 35 and over who accounted for the largest proportion of the war increase. After the war most of the decline in the female labor force took place among young women, resulting in a continued rise in importance of the older workers.

Along with these changes have come widening occupational opportunities for women. It is true, of course, that even today there are occupations and professions where it is still a handicap to be a woman. Those are the as yet unconquered continents of opportunity, and we must continue to work at it until women who can qualify and who want to qualify can enter them as freely as men. But we have come a long way from the days of Harriet Martineau and her seven occupations. The Census of 1940 tells us that women were employed in all but 9 of the 451 occupational classifications then used. Although such a measuring rod provides some index to the diversity of women's work, it is still true that three-fourths of the employed women are concentrated in only 23 occupations, in each of which 100,000 or more women were employed, and where often they were well over half the total employment in the occupation.

Some of these occupations are worth mentioning because they are the kind of occupations that have been traditionally "women's work" for many a long day. Occupations in which in 1940 over 100,000

women were employed and in which they were still more than 75 percent of all persons so employed were (in order of rank) servants in private families; stenographers, typists, and secretaries; teachers; operatives on apparel; housekeepers for private families; nurses; telephone operators; laundry workers; dressmakers outside of factories; and boarding and lodginghouse keepers. Occupations in which women were between 50 and 75 percent of all workers so employed were bookkeepers, accountants, and cashiers; waitresses; beauticians; servants outside private families; and operatives in knit goods production. If you look closely at this list you will see in it several of the occupations which were the only ones open to women in 1836—servants, seamstresses, teachers, and factory operatives in the textile and clothing industries. While there are those who argue that women are especially suited to such occupations, the 1940 census should entice us to a moment's reflection.

A comparison of the 10 leading occupations of women in 1900 with those in 1940 is an extremely valuable index of the changes since the beginning of the century in women's occupations. Reflecting the transition from rural to urban centers is the disappearance by 1940 of three agricultural occupations which in 1900 had been among the leading ten. The occupations of dressmaker and seamstress, prominent in 1900, by 1940 had been replaced by that of "operative and kindred worker in apparel and accessory factories," pointing up the transition to factory production. The occupations of servant, teacher, and saleswoman appear as leaders in both periods, demonstrating the continued demand for women workers in these fields. Probably most significant is the fact that four occupational groups unimportant in 1900 had by 1940 emerged among the leaders—stenographers, typists, and secretaries; bookkeepers, accountants, and cashiers; clerical and kindred workers; and nurses.

During the recent war period further significant changes took place in the occupational and industrial distribution of women workers. The importance of the manufacturing industries rose markedly, while that of trade and service industries declined.

Present indications on the immediate future point to an approximate return to the prewar pattern, with gains over the prewar period notably in clerical and in manufacturing occupations. For example, in May of 1947 women in durable goods manufacturing were about 13 percent of the total so employed as compared with 9 percent in 1939. This represents a positive gain in that it probably reflects less restricted hiring policies, acquisition during the war of new skills which women are continuing to use, and especially the chance at the better wage rates which prevail in heavy industry for the women who can hold their place there.

Not too many years ago, in a discussion such as this, a prominent place would have been given to the unpaid workers—the maiden aunts and spinster sisters for whom it was considered improper and often demeaning to accept paid industrial employment, but who, instead, attached themselves to a family group, earning their keep by contributing to the work of the household.

Change in our emphasis does not mean that the unpaid worker who contributes to the household has completely disappeared. Another group continuing to exist are the unpaid family members who work in the family business enterprise. The 1940 census reports about 400,000 such women. Over half were farm workers, the majority of whom were nonwhite. About one-fifth were saleswomen, and many of the others were bookkeepers, cashiers, stenographers, typists, or waitresses, working in a father's or husband's store, factory-office, or restaurant.

As for the woman lawyer, the woman scientist, or the woman business executive, these are still the exception in the present world of women's work. Less than 5,000 women are employed in each of the more "glamorous" occupations such as airplane stewardess, actress, radio commentator, photographer. Even after 100 years of "emancipation" women represent less than 5 percent of any such high grade professional groups as doctors, dentists, engineers, chemists, architects, lawyers, and certified public accountants.

Reasons for the continued concentration of women in a few occupations having the earmarks of "traditional" women's work, and their slowness in entering more freely other fields, cannot be recounted with the degree of certainty one would like. A major victory still to be won by and for women, however, is wider training opportunity. Few women, for example, are in apprenticed occupations, the way into skilled technical and mechanical employment. During the war, of course, women were enrolled in practically all the mechanical and trade courses open to men. More than half a million women took preemployment training under the Vocational Training Program for War Production Workers, and almost double that number took further training following their employment. They were enrolled in sizable numbers in courses in aircraft, metal, electrical, mechanical, and hand trades, and in drafting; and a smaller number took ship- or building-construction courses. A few women are still enrolled in such courses under the regular vocational program, but the great majority preparing for production work, as 1944–45 figures indicate, take training in dressmaking, power sewing-machine operating, millinery, and tailoring. The variety of courses under this program, however, is increasing, and in some cities women are enrolled in such courses as fur cutting, upholstering, jewelry- and watchmaking, bookbinding, and textile work.

Even during the war, however, when full industrial production was essential to victory, and women's work was essential to full production, traditional objections toward training women in the skilled mechanical trades still were hard to break. I well remember my sense of frustration when faced with a shortage of welders, riveters, and other types of skilled workers needed especially by the airplane industry in New York State during the war. The big National industrial training program was on. The State Department of Education was recruiting intensively. Still women were not showing up in the courses that would prepare them for these airplane jobs. I felt it necessary to take this up with the Governor, and, at the conference with the Department of Education representative that followed, it became clear that the Department was resisting the admission of women to the courses on the ground that to train women thus was an "unjustified use of the taxpayers' money because employers wouldn't take them." The idea had never occurred to the Education Department that in the Nation's interest they might aggressively undertake to overcome an old prejudice. The Governor decided that women who wanted the training were also taxpayers and fully entitled to whatever facilities the State had to offer. They did get their training.

The needs of war extended the breakdown of such obstructionism, as Women's Bureau studies on changes in women's employment during the war amply show. However, even then opportunities for upgrading and supervisory jobs for women were very limited. They are probably even more limited now, but we have no good data on this point. Here is one of the much-needed studies that the Women's Bureau would like to make if it had funds available. Until the bottlenecks in employment opportunity for women are broken, only small numbers of women will be able to step out of the beaten paths of the traditional occupations.

It might be argued that no further special effort should be made to expand women's training opportunities; that in the main the exceptional woman will get the particular training she wants, and as for the rest, they do not remain in the labor market long enough to make their wider training a sound social investment. The statistics I have reviewed on women's employment are one answer to this argument. To work at some, and perhaps at several different, periods of her life is now the accepted expectation of women themselves and of society for them. Society should, therefore, not only place no obstacles in the way of their doing this to the best advantage, but should offer positive assistance to them. This is the more necessary in view of their need for the financial returns from the most skilled work they can do.

It would seem almost unnecessary to dwell upon women's need to work, but I do not wish to pass over this need lightly because there are

still too many who quarrel with the idea of women on the job, and who keep saying, "Why don't the women go home?" Why they don't is clear from every recent study of why women work. They work for the same reasons men do—because they must.

Economic responsibilities fall on the shoulders of women of all ages and in all marital-status groups. It is widely conceded that single, widowed, and divorced women must generally be selfsupporting. Not equally well recognized are the needs of married women. Well over half of the married women interviewed in a recent Women's Bureau study pointed to their need for selfsupport (many had dependents as well) as the reason for desiring continued employment. A New York State survey found this need among married women workers even more prevalent—over four-fifths referred to economic need as their reason for working.

Telling evidence of the drain which family expenses make on women's earnings is the growing mass of information showing the large share of women's earnings turned over to their families. Interviews by the Women's Bureau have disclosed that 92 percent of employed women who lived with their families contributed *regularly* toward family expenses, and well over half of them turned over 50 to 100 percent of their earnings to the family purse. The New York State survey referred to revealed even more widespread contributions. Practically without exception, women living with their families *regularly* contributed to the family's support. Almost three-fourths of them contributed half or more of their pay.

Other surveys attempt to determine what proportion of the total contributions to the family exchequer is derived from the earnings of its women members. A 1939 survey of Cleveland's women workers showed that in over half the families it was the earnings of women members that accounted for 50 percent or more of the total contributions received by the family from all its earners. A comparable survey in Utah disclosed that in three-fifths of the families, women's contributions made up half or more of the family's receipts from earners.

In the face of these facts there would seem to be no doubt that women are entitled to the widest opportunities for training in order to make the most of themselves as employed persons and to discharge their financial obligations to their dependents.

Equal in importance to expanding their occupational opportunities is the question of the adequacy of women's earnings. It is a matter of common knowledge that the general wage levels of women are lower than those of men, and that the predominantly woman-employing industries are the low-wage industries. This is still true even though, for decades, women have been an important factor in the labor force. In part, this is a continuance of the traditional idea about the value of women's work prevalent in the early days of our industrialization.

At that time, when women were first entering industry as a new part of the labor force, they carried over into the factory household skills that did not have a high money value. They were paid in the factories at lower scales of wages than those usually paid to men. This was the same type of wage exploitation that ordinarily occurs with the entrance into industry of any new group, like migrant workers or workers of different nationalities or races.

Long after women had demonstrated their efficiency in various skilled occupations, these low wage scales have continued even though industry has come to depend on women's work to an increasing degree. Data reported monthly by the National Industrial Conference Board continue to show, as they have for years, that women's average earnings in selected manufacturing industries not only are far below men's, but women's averages even continue to be below those of *unskilled* men. In December 1947, earnings of all workers averaged $57.54 a week, earnings of unskilled men averaged $49.79 a week, but women's earnings averaged only $41.39 a week.

These differences which in part reflect the return that industry gives to women for the same or similar work not only constitute an injustice to women but are a matter of serious import to the economy as a whole. It is an axiom of wage theory that when large numbers of workers can be hired at lower rates of pay than those prevailing at any given time, the competition of such persons for jobs results either in the displacement of the higher paid workers or in the acceptance of lower rates by those workers. Over a period of time this pressure tends to depress all wage levels, and unless this normal course is averted by direct action it results eventually in lower levels of earnings for all, with a resulting reduction in purchasing power and in standards of living. Because of their new war-born training and skills, women are, as never before, in a position to be used by unscrupulous employers as wage cutters. This they resent, both on their own account and on the men's account. Women have a deep, natural interest in the welfare of families and they know that every time a workingman's income is reduced, his family's standard of living is inevitably lowered. In consideration of our national objective of high living standards and full employment, I submit that we cannot afford to risk the threat to general wage levels that unequal pay to women involves.

Nine States now have equal-pay laws, but there is a long way to go before administrative and enforcement procedures can be organized to produce optimum effects. Moreover, there is still no Federal law. Last week both the Secretary and I testified in favor of a Federal bill but we discovered that, between 1945 and the present, opposition has become manifest. Industry representatives testified against the bill, not on "general principle," mind you, but on the ground that such legislation is not necessary. The representative of the National Asso-

ciation of Manufacturers, who presented industry's general position said, in part, "The issue of equal pay for women is today a rapidly disappearing problem in industry. . . . employers generally have accepted and applied the principle of equal pay for equal work." I refer you to the testimony of the proponents, both at the 1945 hearings and at those recently concluded, for the more familiar picture.

As the conference proceeds you will be reviewing these facts in the light of still other related developments. I can see no prospective dearth of work to be done, no chance that we may be tempted to slip into complacency. But the resolution of current complexities must be in terms of today and tomorrow. There is no use in our seeking an answer to the economic problems of the American woman in 1948 by looking backward to those "good old days" when women in large numbers neither sought nor needed to seek paid employment outside the home. The women who met in Seneca Falls in 1848 were the adventurous women of their time; they were the seekers after new answers to their current difficulties and dissatisfactions. But all their unconventionality of thought and ambition could not have brought women to where they are today, either economically or politically, unless the world itself had conspired with them. In 1848 times were already changing and the industrial era that was opening up was going to need women. The acceleration in the development of an industrial and money economy, in contrast to an agricultural economy, meant less and less production in the home and more and more in the factory. Cash that women could earn outside the home was to become more important to them and to their families than continuation of the older home-making arts through which they had made their economic contribution in an earlier society.

As far as we can now see there is no reversal of this process in store. Hitler tried to turn back the clock for women, but he failed. Others who seek to take that path will also fail. It is our job in 1948, then, to take stock of where we are, to set our sights on where we want to go, and to conspire with the future, as those women did whose work we are here to honor, to help coming generations of women make equal progress and as great a contribution as did their predecessors in terms of the world of the next century.

February 17 Afternoon Session

CONFERENCE ADDRESSES *American Women on the Job*

Gains and Goals of Women Workers, **Gladys Dickason**
The Role of Legislation in Meeting Basic Problems of Working Conditions, **Elizabeth S. Magee**
Commentary, **Irma Rittenhouse**

GAINS AND GOALS OF WOMEN WORKERS

Gladys Dickason, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

MADAM Chairman, members of the conference, I am quite delighted that it is Miss Miller who is the chairman of this conference which commemorates that convention of 1848 in which the women's rights movement got well under way. I don't think that there is a woman in public life today who exemplifies more fully the contribution which women could make to our economic, social, and political life that was envisioned by that conference in 1848 than Miss Miller does.

This is a very important conference. We sometimes take for granted the gains that women have made. Our natural point of view that the world just automatically gets better has been somewhat shaken by two world wars, but none the less, quite unconsciously we keep on thinking, believing, "Well, if we let it alone, it will just go along; things will do all right by themselves."

I think with reference to women's role in society that what happened in Germany and Italy should teach us a lesson. Women were thrown backward in the fascist countries, as women's place, women's status is always made inferior in periods of reaction. We have made very great gains in the last hundred years, perhaps in our clothes as much as anything else. And despite the "new look" which has added those inches to our dresses and so forth, the yards we wear today are nothing as compared with what they were even 20 years ago or 30 years ago, let alone a hundred years ago, so that our clothing is such that we can move about freely. It is a great gain and one, I think, that we will hold to.

That we have a Women's Bureau is something I think the women of 1848 didn't really think would be possible, and we need a Women's

Bureau. Perhaps one of our goals for the next hundred years—and I only hope that we can make as much progress for women in our society during the next hundred years as we have made in the past hundred years—perhaps one of our goals should be that women be accepted fully in the labor force, in politics, and in other aspects of public life as individuals, as human beings, as people, not as a supply of cheap labor nor as a group to be tolerated but not welcomed. I have no doubt that even then we will still need a Women's Bureau, because the problems of women working and maintaining a home will always be with us.

But today when the number of women in the labor force is increasing so rapidly, and when conditions under which working women work so seriously affect general wage levels and thus affect the prosperity of the country, a Women's Bureau is an indispensable agency of good government.

We take for granted now the right to vote. It was hard fought for and won with great difficulty. We complain sometimes today that women don't have their full place in political parties or exercise their full influence at the polls. But in the nearly 30 years of suffrage the progress that has been made in that direction is quite remarkable. I remember when I was in college shortly after the suffrage amendment was passed; apparently the political parties had been advised that now that women had the vote it would be a good idea to have a woman on most of the congressional committees, and so on, just to make it look good; I remember attending a meeting where there were almost no women present, very few. I remember the discussion that took place as to the woman who should be on the committee for the congressional district of that particular party. The discussion had nothing to do, really, with the capabilities of the women who were interested and could help, nor had it anything to do with the contributions that a woman could make on that committee. Being on the committee was something that would be handed out to whatever woman happened to be available and happened to have some friends around; her name would be listed, and that would be all.

I am sure that we have gone far beyond that stage now—not as far as we should like, but nonetheless far.

While I am confining myself chiefly to discussion of women in jobs, I can't refrain from mentioning also that when I went to Columbia University to enter the graduate school to work in political science, I wanted to take a course in constitutional law that was given in the law school. It was against the rules for women to take courses in the law school. The Dean finally suggested that perhaps they would put a curtain in the corner of the room and let me sit behind that. Then I could take the law course that I wanted to take.

Every one of you women sitting here in this room can remember things of that sort in your own experience. It is only when we remember those things that we can take some pride in the progress that we have made in all fields.

In the economic sphere, what has been happening over the last hundred years, is, as so well pointed out in Miss Miller's address this morning, the transfer of women's work from the home to the factory or to the laundry, the office, the mill. And as for those people who have complained about the competition of women workers in the labor market, I think it would be well for them to realize that women are not going out and taking away jobs that were formerly men's or that really belonged to someone else, but that they are merely following into the public place of work the job which formerly was performed at home.

I think that holds true for young girls as well as for married women and women who are heads of families who make up the working force. The young girl in the family of 30 or 40 years ago, when she left school, was a productive worker at home in that she helped with the canning, she helped with the sewing, she helped with the baking, she helped with the washing, she helped with all of those things that are done in factories now. The girl had a job at home. The idea that the girls stayed at home and were supported by their fathers and brothers has, of course, been just one of those things that has no basis in reality.

The women worked and worked hard in the homes. They still do. But they cannot make the economic contribution in the home or in most homes now that they could then, because the work can be more efficiently done in the factories. Because of that, and since we are assessing gains of the last hundred years and looking over some goals perhaps not for as far as a hundred but for the immediate years ahead—one of the things that I hope will happen is that—if all of us can really absorb the concept, if the concept can be generally accepted that women have simply changed the place of their productive activity—then women will be accepted in industry, the professions, in all types of work, more readily than they are today.

I don't forget, and I don't think you do, the talk in the 1930's—the newspapers were full of it—about the discharge of married women. With 15 million people unemployed, married women should not work, was the idea current. Of course, the greatest goal of women must be the goal as workers and citizens to help bring about a condition of full employment, to continue a condition of full employment, so that we shall not have the problem of: "Shall married women have jobs when men are unemployed?"

But on that point, I would like to comment that we have no needs test for men as workers, and that is what questioning the right of married women or of girls living at home to work amounts to. All

of us are well aware that many men work who inherited money or whose fathers make enough money so that they could support those men, could even support the families of young men. But our society doesn't think of saying to a young man when he applies for a job, even in a depression, "Well, now, can your father support you? Do you really need this job?" It is expected that a man should have a job. And I think, as we do not apply a needs test to men for jobs, that we should not apply a needs test to women. And certainly, we should not assume that just because women are married they have no need to work. Nobody when talking about married women working has proposed to find out how many dependents the man and wife are supporting. We haven't talked about a needs test for jobs, anyway. We think in terms of: "Can this worker do the job?" I think that that aspect of what we may hope for ahead perhaps comes to my mind from reading the papers and seeing what is happening in the grain markets, and so forth, and from the constant talk about the prospect that we may or must face a recession or a depression. I am not convinced that we must. But I do sincerely hope that if the time does come when jobs are not so plentiful as they are today, women will be regarded as people and treated on the same basis as men who apply for work.

As work went out of the home and millions of women went into the labor force, protective labor legislation was passed. Some people get discouraged with the effect of that protective legislation or they get discouraged because State legislation protecting women workers is not widespread enough, and therefore, because there is not enough of it or it hasn't done enough, they think maybe we should try something else.

I work with women every day of my life, and have for years. I worked with women, and men, by the way, in Pennsylvania in 1933, when those women were working for $3 a week. Of course, women in the garment industry are today, as are men, protected by a minimum-wage law of 40 cents an hour, which is not adequate, but at least the principle has been established.

But even today, in States where we don't have minimum-wage legislation for women, you can find women working for 20 cents an hour. I mention those facts and those figures because I personally do not feel that minimum-wage legislation by the States and other protective legislation for women has failed. I think that it has been one of the great gains of the past years, and it is something that we must extend. We must see minimum-wage legislation passed in those States where we do not have it. In the States where we do have it, it should be extended to industries where it does not now apply, and where minimum wages are not high enough, they should be increased. But simply because there are problems with minimum-wage legislation, or because

it has not gone as far as some people would like—as all of us would like—is no reason for feeling that it has not served a valuable purpose.

It is my feeling that we have reached a stage where we can think in terms of a broader concept for women than perhaps was enunciated a hundred years ago. Those women of 1848 suggested an amendment to the Declaration of Independence to state that all men and women are created equal. I think that battle has been very largely won. I don't think anybody would argue that men and women are not equal, or argue it very seriously, today. In practice, men and women may not always be treated equally in those areas where they should be, but as far as the concept is concerned, I don't think it is any longer open to debate.

And as our thinking about the place of government in society, in the prosperity of our society, as our thinking about that has changed, particularly during the past 15 years, it seems to me that the concept of equal status for women—and, if you please, equal rights for men—is one which fits into modern thinking and leads to more constructive goals for men and for women. The fact that men and women are equal does not make them identical. Being not identical, there will always be special problems relating to women. By recognizing that fact and making gains as we can through protective legislation, by clearing away all of those laws which interfere with equal status for women, women can have a more assured position and can be more assured of equality than they can by ignoring the differences and seeking only a theoretical equality.

I think that everyone will agree that differentiation is the outstanding characteristic of democracy. I feel that that same differentiation of treatment with reference to the groups where real differences exist is a constructive feature of democracy.

Working at night is not a virtue for anybody. It is not good for women, but it is not good for men either. Working at night does not contribute to a happy home life for men any more than it does for women. And as an ideal—not for the moment while we have great shortages, for we are talking here about goals—as a goal, it would seem to me that if we set our sights on an adequate productive mechanism, so that no people—men or women—would have to work at night except in those industries or occupations that must be carried on at night, we would have a sounder social outlook.

The same thing applies, I think, to working for substandard wages. A man can't support or feed children on a substandard wage any better than a woman can. And I have talked with men in the garment industry who have worked for as long as 7 years, and at the end of the 7 years were earning only $3 a week. That, of course, was during the depression, but it happened. It wasn't only to women. More women, of course, than men were working at those very low wages.

But the line of progress—and that line has been adopted by the Federal Government in wage and hour legislation—seems to me to lie not along giving up any of the protective regulations that we have put into effect which benefit women, but rather along extending those regulations so that they benefit men as well as women.

One of the greatest gains outside the legislative field—one of the greatest gains for women workers during recent years has been their increasing membership in trade unions. Through trade unions women have been able to increase their wages. They have been able in many unions under many union contracts to secure paid holidays, paid vacations; so that, instead of a holiday or a vacation being a burden to women because they then do not know how to pay their room rent or to pay the grocery bill, they can actually get some rest on those holidays and during the vacations.

The trade-union contracts have provided for rest periods, for maternity leave; many of them now provide for insurance which is payable during sickness and for cash benefits for maternity. All of those things have been helpful to working women. Those are the things in the trade-union contracts which are of immediate cash benefit, or are benefits enabling a woman to get more rest and make her better able to carry that terrific job of a combination of work at home and work in the factory.

But I think one of the greatest contributions that the trade-union movement makes to women workers is the opportunity that it gives women to exercise their capacities for leadership. There is nothing that gives me personally greater pleasure than to work with a group of women workers, let us say, like a group I have recently become acquainted with in the State of Mississippi, where some of the women workers have not thought in terms of much more than getting the job done; but, as those women participate in the organization, they find the scope of their thinking expanding very broadly, not only with reference to the daily work of their jobs, but into political fields, fields of civil rights, to all of the things that citizens should be interested in. So I think that through the union movement and through the increasing membership of women in unions, a great contribution to good citizenship in this country has been made.

I think that during the next few years to come a greater understanding of the labor movement (and I am happy to have the opportunity to talk here this afternoon with women from so many fields of activity) will contribute to an improved status for women. The trade-union movement so often gets misrepresented because strikes are so much more dramatic than, say, a record of 30 years of peace. I have never seen a headline saying that a union has had a contract in this or that factory for 30 years, standards have steadily improved, and

there never has been a day's work lost due to a strike. We don't have headlines about that. We only have headlines where collective bargaining breaks down. I think one of the things that can be helpful to women is a greater understanding of the labor movement by all women.

An outstanding southern editor recently said that the trade-union movement could make a greater contribution toward the solution of the racial problem in the South than could any other group in the country. It is my firm conviction that the trade-union movement can make an equally great contribution, working with millions of women in factories and in the service occupations, in helping them to participate fully in the life of our times.

The greatest problem facing the women in the factories, the laundries, the stores—and I think this applies to secretaries and professional women as well—the most difficult problem is the problem of combining home and job. During the war more progress was made on that, I think, than had been made in the previous years. A great many things were tried out, experimented with. Some firms brought laundry machines in and set aside space, hired somebody to take care of them, and the women workers could bring their laundry in in the morning, it was put through the machines, and when they got ready to go home, they could take it home with them. Grocery stores were opened up in factories and time allowed for women to do their shopping. Arrangements were made with retail stores for salespersons to come to the factory with samples at given hours, during rest periods and at other times, so that women could buy staple household articles, articles of clothing. All of those things may seem small things, but all of them were a tremendous step in the right direction.

So many women are exhausted because with 8 hours in the factory or other occupation and an hour for lunch and a couple of hours of traveling time, there you have 11 hours a day. Before they have come to the factory they have been up, cooked for the children, got them dressed and off to school. Then, after work, they go home, get supper, do some washing and mending, and only go to bed to get enough sleep to be able to get up and do it again the next day.

The one thing that women workers whom I have worked with most in the last 10 years most strongly wanted was that Saturday off. That meant so much to women because, if they had Saturday off from the job then they could do the laundry, they could scrub the floors, they could do their housework, and could actually have a day of rest on Sunday. But even with the Saturday off, the double burden (I know that is the major subject of our discussion tomorrow, but I still want to take this opportunity at least to refer to it)—the double burden is so great a problem that some thinking during the coming

years along the lines of what industry, government, and organized labor together can do to reduce that burden will, I think, be one of the most constructive programs that can be carried on as far as working women are concerned.

I have found in the men's garment industry during the last 2 or 3 years a very marked change in the attitude of employers toward women workers. It has come, of course, more owing to the shortage of women for jobs in factories than anything else. It is an outgrowth of the war situation and of the continuing demand for women workers. For a long time we met with a very natural reaction of irritation about women being absent, or women taking maternity leave, but only irritation, not planning to meet the normal conditions of employment of women. But as we have gone along during these years, the basic fact that, in a woman-employing industry, a method of operation must be devised which takes into consideration the normal functions of women and which does not prove burdensome (or even catastrophic, as when on section work, too many women on the same section leave at the same time) has been more clearly recognized. So that now, instead of an attitude of irritation and complaint about absenteeism, and so on, there is more understanding, and if management and workers, jointly with government, begin to study just how much labor turn-over there is among working women and what the causes of absenteeism are, and they then work together at the job of solving the problem, progress can be made.

Miss Miller this morning referred to the lower wages on women's jobs. The figures she cited are conclusive, of course, on the matter. But one of the effects of the shortage of women workers during the war, and since, has been to change the attitudes about the classification of certain jobs that women work on. Work in the shirt factories, for example, was always considered unskilled until the last 3 or 4 years. Since that time it is not any longer considered unskilled. Women workers are hard to get now. It is hard to get somebody to take the place of another woman today to learn a job of sewing sleeves into a shirt, for example. It takes 6 months to learn to do that job right, to do it fast enough to get up to average production. Jobs of this sort were classified as semiskilled before, as high-speed sewing machine jobs. They were officially classed as semiskilled, but they were actually regarded by the employers as unskilled. But the effect of there not being a mass of women outside the doors looking for those jobs has resulted in their being classified as what they have always been—skilled jobs.

I think a little more of that kind of experience in American industry may have some influence on the attitude toward all of the jobs which women hold which are considered unskilled just because women hold

them. By definition they are unskilled because women do them. I think that attitude has been changing.

The real line of progress for women, of course, lies in jobs for everybody in our society. Women's problems, as well as minority problems, and all other related types of problems are less acute when we have full employment and prosperity. Through improving conditions of work for women we work in that direction, and in working in that direction lies the greatest possibility of improvement of working conditions for all working women. I thank you.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN'S LEGISLATION IN MEETING BASIC PROBLEMS OF WORKING CONDITIONS[1]

Elizabeth S. Magee, National Consumers League

Since we are keying the discussions of this conference to the progress which women have made in the last century, it may be appropriate to take a backward look for a moment to the time when we had no labor laws for women. In Massachusetts a little over a century ago, the Lowell Female Labor Reform Association, composed of workers in textile mills, presented petitions to the legislature urging the passage of a law "providing 10 hours shall constitute a day's work." The petitions declared that they were confined "from 13 to 14 hours per day in unhealthy apartments" and were thereby "hastening through pain, disease, and privation, down to a premature grave." The story of what happened to those petitions is reminiscent of the experience which many of us have had in working with legislatures: a special legislative committee was appointed to consider the petitions.

This was the first governmental investigation of labor conditions in the United States. After hearing testimony from manufacturers to the effect that the average daily hours in the mills were actually from 12 to 13 hours in April, and 11½ hours in December and January, the committee unanimously recommended that legislation was not necessary at that time; that the health of the operatives was not being impaired by work in the mills; that the State could not reduce hours and compete with other States; and that legislation as to hours was bound to affect wages. Better conditions should come, the committee said, "by improvements in the arts and sciences, and in a higher appreciation of man's destiny, in a less love for money, and a more ardent love for social happiness and intellectual superiority." The members further agreed, "the remedy is not with us."

As an indication of the militancy of the members of the Lowell Female Labor Reform Association, it is encouraging to note that through their activity the chairman of this special committee of the legislature was defeated for reelection. A long struggle ensued, with more legislative committees and more campaigns, until finally, in 1874, a law was passed limiting the hours for women in manufacturing

[1] See Appendix III, Summary of State Labor Laws for Women, in connection with this address.

in Massachusetts to 10 a day and 60 per week. This was the first effective law passed in the United States limiting the hours of women's employment.

Shortening the hours of work was one of the basic aims of the young and struggling labor movement during this period. Efforts to secure legislation for women paralleled the efforts of labor groups to secure shorter hours for men. The legislative battle was an arduous one. Although certain forward-looking employers voluntarily established shorter hours, and some were willing to speak out for them, the organized employer groups used the weight of their influence in State legislative halls in opposing every advance. It was a tough job to get the 10-hour day accepted, and another tough job to bring it down to 9 hours and then to 8. Legislatures had to be convinced over the opposition of employers' organizations, and court battles had to be fought. As the total hours were brought down, the coverage was gradually extended to more occupations, the first laws having dealt exclusively with women in factories. It was not until 1915 that the Supreme Court decision upholding the California 8-hour law [2] established the principle that if the State could control the hours of girls who worked in millinery establishments, the State could control the hours of chambermaids in hotels.

With this brief and sketchy review of the history of labor legislation for women as a background, I want to move on to discuss three things:

1. The status of the major types of such legislation today;
2. The factors which have affected the trends in this field in the last decade; and
3. Our responsibility for the promotion of standards which will advance women's economic status.

As we look at our situation today, viewed from the standpoint of 100 years ago, great progress has been made in reducing the workday and week, in achieving what Florence Kelley used to call "leisure by statute," but it is not good enough. Only 24 States and the District of Columbia have either an 8-hour day or a 44–48-hour week, or both. The 9-hour day with a 50- or 54-hour week is the limit in 10 States; the 10-hour day with a 54- to 60-hour week in 7 States. One State allows a 10½-hour day and one sets a weekly limit only. In 5 States—Alabama, Florida, Iowa, Indiana, and West Virginia—there are no limits, either daily or weekly. In other words, in half of the States the 8-hour day has no legal basis.

Closely related to the weekly and daily hours is the day of rest. Again about half of the States provide one day's rest in seven, and half are without it. There is probably no more important standard for the protection of health, both of men and women, than this.

[2] *Miller* v. *Wilson,* 236 U. S. 373; 35 Sup. Ct. 342 (1915).

In the field of minimum wage, there are 26 States with minimum-wage laws in effect, 22 States without. (Four of the State laws have been extended in the last decade to cover men.) The Federal Fair Labor Standards Act affects those women who are engaged in interstate commerce or in manufacturing goods which move in interstate commerce. I shall have more to say about that important law later.

The statutes affecting working conditions for women, such as lunch periods, seating, protection from dangerous materials, are very "spotty." Over 20 States, for instance, have no requirement of a meal period.

In all these laws many women are left out of coverage. Hospitals and other institutions have resisted regulation successfully in many States. Women in industrialized agriculture are practically without any regulation. In the occupations close to agriculture, such as canneries, fruit and vegetable packing sheds, and the like, unlimited overtime is allowed in many States. Domestic service is a field which is practically without standards. The regulation of hours and wages for this group presents very special difficulties, but there is certainly no good reason why they should be excluded from the protection of Social Security laws.

Several factors stand out in the last decade which have bearing on legislative trends. One is the substantial increase in the organization of women in trade unions. This, of course, has meant very real gains both for the women in the unions and for the unorganized workers whose standards and status are affected by the achievements of the organized. The increased organization, however, has led to a public impression in many quarters that there is no need for labor legislation, because the unions can take care of working conditions themselves. That this is a short-sighted and erroneous conclusion is obvious when we realize that although several million women probably are in trade unions, there are many kinds of work in which women are employed that are completely unorganized.

In the second place, Federal labor legislation of the last decade is of great significance. Outstanding among the enactments of the New Deal period was the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, bringing minimum-wage protection to thousands of women for the first time. But Federal action cannot cover all workers. State laws must be enacted to establish minimum wages for the large body of women employed in strictly intrastate occupations, such as retail and service trades, and to conserve the shorter workday. But somehow, the public has gotten the impression that Federal legislation has taken care of everything!

The third factor of importance is World War II. The great expansion of industry and the increased demands for labor widened occupational opportunities for many women; it brought out clearly the need for equal-pay legislation—the one type of women's legisla-

tion, incidentally, which has made any advance in the States in the last decade. Two States had adopted equal-pay legislation following World War I, and seven more have enacted statutes in the last 5 years. A Federal bill, as you all know, which would operate with approximately the same coverage as the Fair Labor Standards Act, is now pending in the Congress.

Another effect of the war experience on legislation grows out of the relaxation of standards during the war period. Some States handled the adjustment of working hours with more careful and orderly arrangements than others. In some States "the lid was off." In spite of standards promulgated by all agencies of the Federal Government connected with the procurement of war materials, long hours and careless standards were allowed to prevail in many areas. This situation has reflected itself in backward steps in two States since the end of the war. In Ohio, the 8-hour day was for all practical purposes abolished in all except a few occupations last year. In Pennsylvania, where an 8-hour day and a 44-hour week had been in effect, the law was changed in 1947 to a 10-hour day and a 48-hour week.

In the early campaigns against sweatshop conditions, it was comparatively easy to enlist the support of at least a few of the prosperous and privileged members of society to help improve the lot of women workers. It was comparatively easy to arouse the conscience of the public against the dangers of industrial home work in tenements, to create sympathy for the overworked shop girl who tried to live in a hall bedroom on $5 a week, and to evoke pity for the plight of the immigrant mother who worked at night to eke out the family income. As the standards of living of the working population have improved, partly as a result of legislative measures, the philanthropic and benevolent attitude toward working women has changed. This is all to the good. At the same time there has developed considerable indifference toward the problems which still exist, which are not as dramatic and colorful as those which aroused sympathy some decades ago.

In 1944, in the midst of the war, the International Labor Conference held its meeting in Philadelphia, at which it adopted a set of principles to guide the nations in the postwar period. In this so-called Philadelphia Charter there is this significant statement: "The Conference recognizes the solemn obligation of the International Labour Organisation to further among the nations of the world . . . policies in regard to wages and earnings, hours, and other conditions of work calculated to ensure a just share of the fruits of progress to all." What should the fruits of progress include for women workers? A rising standard of living, leisure, safety at work, healthful conditions, widening opportunities, security. Certainly these are goals which challenge all of us.

One of our responsibilities as a member of the United Nations is to see that the standards and policies adopted by the International Labor Organization become implemented throughout our country. By recent amendment of the constitution of the ILO, the United States will be obligated to work for compliance with ILO conventions on the part of the States. The ILO conventions include such basic standards as the 8-hour day, minimum wage, protection of youth against hazardous occupations.

I profoundly wish that more national women's organizations would take a position on such a basic measure as the Fair Labor Standards Act, the amendment of which is now under consideration by the Congress. The philosophy of the whole minimum-wage idea is now under bitter attack by certain organizations, which are taking advantage of what they undoubtedly consider the postwar reactionary spirit, to get rid of this legislation.

A large employer recently stated the role which minimum wage should play in this period:

> If we review what happened in the 15 years after the ending of the last war, we note that once the pent-up war demands had been filled and competition had become more intense, it was common practice to cut wages in order to procure specific orders at narrowing margins. This was frequently offered to labor as an alternative to idleness and finally wound up in a deflationary spiral which brought the average wage in the country to such a low level that the entire economy almost became stalled—want and misery were everywhere. No thinking business man would like to risk such a spiral as a prospect for the 1950 decade. The surest way to avoid a recurrence of such tragic happenings would be a revision upward of minimum-wage levels to bear some reasonable relationship to labor's present-day living costs. Unbridled wage cutting is a practice which should be forever removed from the arena of legitimate competitive activities.[3]

Some of the organizations which worked for State minimum-wage laws many years ago are silent now while this major struggle is going on in Congress.

I wish, also, that more effort would be made by State branches of women's organizations to see to it that legislative standards for women workers are raised in their own States. There are some notable exceptions but, by and large, there is little activity in State legislation now, either to improve existing standards or to defend them when they are under attack.

I recognize the preoccupation with legislation in the field of foreign affairs on which women have worked hard and successfully, but in considering our international obligations, let us not forget our share of responsibility for implementing the programs for domestic standards involved in our own membership in the United Nations.

---

[3] From a statement filed by J. Spencer Love, President of the Burlington Mills, in North Carolina, with the House Committee on Education and Labor.

COMMENTARY

Irma Rittenhouse, Division of Placement and Unemployment Insurance, New York State Department of Labor

Madam Chairman and members of the conference, while I was listening today—and I am very much of an amateur, I might as well point out, in this field of the economic problems of women—I was much impressed by one keynote that seemed to be struck over and over again. In order to explain why this was so, I ought to tell you that some years ago when I lived in Washington I had as a great friend an old-time suffragette, one of those women who had been on a hunger strike here in the local jail, had picketed the White House, and so on, many, many years ago. And I remember she told me that back in 1848 and in the following years when the first struggles for women's rights were initiated, one of the strongest arguments for permitting women to have the vote was that women would purify the political picture.

Now, I was delighted to find today that taken by and large we working women are holding out for the right to be as great rapscallions as ever men have been, and I am sure that we can count on the same kind of behavior on the part of our women in political life. We even managed to drag in a union jurisdictional dispute at this meeting where we were supposed to talk about how to improve our social and general moral, esthetic, and cultural outlook.

Miss Dickason remarked when she opened her address that she thought many of the gains which she referred to were being taken for granted in the field of women's rights on the economic front. From what I heard here today, particularly from women who are working in industry throughout the country, I would say that there are still a number of problems, some of them somewhat new in character, some of these of course developing out of the fact that women now represent a large part of the labor force, others developing out of the fact that we are in a period of acute demand for labor at present (in a large number of fields at any rate)—new kinds of problems for women workers, who, speaking broadly, are in a weak position.

How anyone, after hearing the kind of discussion that has gone on here this afternoon, could feel that we ought to take gains for granted, I must admit is something that I as somewhat of an outsider cannot see. Miss Magee further emphasized this impression when she began to quote figures on current hours legislation that sounded like the hours legislation she had described in the early part of her address as existing about a hundred years ago. I was frankly surprised to find how few

States have any kind of protective legislation with respect to hours, earnings, rest periods, lunch periods, and that sort of thing. So that, far from taking gains for granted, I think if there is one thing that we could bring home from this conference, it would be the need to acquaint ourselves with the actual situation and to try to think through what we ought to do about it and where our pressures can be most effectively exerted.

Another point Miss Dickason made also needs, I think, a considerable amount of thought on our part, and that is the point that full employment is after all a major solution of some of our problems. Although that is true and we can readily, of course, understand the advantages of full employment to us as workers—they are obvious—I am afraid that the present full employment situation may be doing a good deal to put us to sleep about the kind of problems that face thousands if not millions of workers in this country.

I know, for example, from what I heard here this afternoon that very low wages are still being paid, in spite of the fact that the generalization most commonly made nowadays is, "Wages are high and we have full employment." I have even heard persons who should be indeed well informed remark that there was no need that they could see for minimum-wage boards meeting in New York at the present time, because all wages were much higher than any rates set by those boards at any time, anyway.

Well now, what is the point of a statement of that sort, when the actual meeting and discussions of the boards revealed that the rates that they wished to set were not entirely satisfactory in all parts of industry? What is the point of it, when representatives of the laundry industry, who are here this afternoon, can quote the kind of figures they have quoted?

I remember that after the War, although controls on wages had been removed, there were spots in New York State where side by side there were wages offered for women workers of 90 cents and $1.20 an hour, and other local employers were offering them 50 cents an hour. You would not think that could happen if you ever studied economics of the old variety which taught that there was one price in a market. But it does happen, and it is going on today.

Now, that is the kind of thing that can exist side by side with full employment, and that I think we have to keep our eye on at all times.

I have also been very much struck, as I am sure you all were, by some of the descriptions of this problem of trying to meet home responsibilities and at the same time work in a plant or in an office. I have an acute personal interest in the problem, I must say. But when I hear these descriptions of what women working in factories particularly are up against, when I see it among my friends who are working in New York, I sometimes think that probably 50 years

from now the conditions under which women worked in this respect will be described in the same imaginative and horrendous tones that Dickens used almost a hundred years ago to describe some of the evils then existing in England.

In other words, it hardly seems possible from the standpoint of proper and humane treatment of a human being that women should be attempting—and I mean this seriously, although there is a lot of joking about it—to run their homes, particularly when there are children, and carry out their many domestic responsibilities, and to work at the same time. Frankly, I don't think it can be done. And I am positive that before long there will be drastic changes made with respect to this problem.

As has already been pointed out, there are plants already that are attempting to face the problem through the creation of day nurseries. There is scarcely anything more sensible that a plant can do that wants female labor than to provide a place where children can be taken care of while the mother works.[1]

Those of you who have followed recent English developments during and since the War know that this is widespread in England as a permanent proposition, just as cafeterias where good hot food can be supplied have become a permanent part of the English factory scene, particularly where there are women workers.

Now, I feel that because it is so extremely difficult—you people are much more experienced in this than I am, and this is just a suggestion on my part—because it is so difficult to get public provision of that kind of assistance to employment, it is possible that industry itself ought to be approached, and the question of providing that kind of factory byproduct, so to speak, ought to be discussed with them if they want to keep women on the job.

If we find out as a result of such discussions that they don't contemplate women as a permanent part of their labor force, then we may have something else to think about. You see, one problem certainly leads to another.

The last point I want to make is that I was considerably impressed by the great need for facts about what is going on. I have already illustrated to you by a few quotations from people I know—and I could have also quoted myself, I may say, in my ignorance of the subject—that the actual situation is not known with respect to wages, working conditions, the problem of night work, or the very limited amount of legislation that apparently actually exists. That, of course,

[1] I have since learned that the Women's Bureau and the Children's Bureau do not favor such nurseries because environmental conditions near factories are frequently not favorable, and because changes in the mother's employment and factory close-downs lead to discontinuous attendance at a nursery by the child. Support of community-wide day-care centers by local industries is preferred.

is where an organization like the Women's Bureau provides an invaluable service.

Now, I am not so naive as to think, I hope, that facts ever convinced a legislature, or for that matter ever convinced the public. The more facts you have the more sleepy they get listening to you. But the reiteration of a fact often helps quite a lot. So let's remember that and not give up on the facts just on the grounds that facts are not persuasive.

February 17 Evening Session

Assistant Secretary of Labor, John W. Gibson, Presiding

CONFERENCE ADDRESSES

***Centennial of the Woman's Movement,* Hon. William H. Stevenson**
***Women's Status—Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow,* C. Mildred Thompson**
***The Idea Takes Root,* Lisa Sergio**

John W. Gibson, Assistant Secretary of the United States Department of Labor, was chairman of the February 17 evening session, to which the public was invited. Mr. Gibson warmly welcomed the members of the conference and its guests. He commended the purpose of the conference and spoke of its wide representation, referring to both the many different parts of the country from which the delegates came and to the diversity of their organizations' interests and activities; he spoke of the concrete values to be derived from their exchange of ideas and experiences.

Representing the Department of Labor as a whole, Mr. Gibson stated that it deals with the problems and forwards the welfare of all workers, and that all its various Divisions and Bureaus are therefore concerned to be of assistance to working women and women's organizations, although the Women's Bureau is the agency having specially designated responsibility for developing policy to promote the welfare of women workers.

Mr. Gibson paid tribute to the movement whose centennial was being celebrated and expressed the hope and belief that new goals would be as successfully sighted and pursued.

CENTENNIAL OF THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT

Honorable William H. Stevenson, Ranking Member of House Post Office and Civil Service Committee

IT was just a century ago this July, while attending the annual meeting of the Friends Society of western New York, that four women concluded to have a conference of the women of that State at Seneca Falls for the purpose of telling the world their grievances. Thus the first woman's rights movement was born.

Lucretia Mott, of Philadelphia, a leader among the Friends or Quakers, was visiting at the home of her sister, Martha Wright. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, formerly of Boston, had gone west to make her new home in Seneca Falls. These three and Mary Ann McClintock put their idea into action and set a convention for Wednesday and Thursday, the 19th and 20th days of July 1848.

The man who owned the town newspaper, the Seneca County Courier, must have been favorably impressed by the appeal of those

four pioneer women, because it is said he did not charge the ladies for space in the Courier for the following notice appearing on Sunday, July 16:

WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION

A convention to discuss the social, civil, and religious condition and rights of woman will be held in the Wesleyan Chapel at Seneca Falls on Wednesday and Thursday, the 19th and 20th of July, commencing at 10 o'clock a. m.

During the first day the meeting will be exclusively for women, who are earnestly invited to attend.

The public generally are invited to be present on the second day, when Lucretia Mott, of Philadelphia, and other ladies and gentlemen will address the convention.

Those ladies did not have the background of world travel and the international, economic, and political experience that our friend Frieda Miller has, who is one of the leaders of your conference here in Washington today. But they did think of the causes of the American Revolution and other grievances expressed by our founding fathers in the Declaration of Independence. So Lucretia and Elizabeth, Mary and Martha, those four pioneers of the woman's movement, drew upon the Declaration of Independence as a model for the foundation of their program of action and resolution.

On Wednesday morning, July 19, 1848, men and women on foot and horseback and by horse and carriage, scores of them, arrived at the door of the Wesleyan Church—to find the door locked. But the women were undaunted. A young professor from Yale College was in the crowd. He climbed through a window of the church—fortunately left unlocked. The professor gaining entrance by way of the window then unlocked the door of the church from the inside, and the crowd of men and women, making up that first convention of the women's rights movement, soon filled the church.

The women had not intended to have their husbands, and the other men who had accompanied them to the church in a spirit of curiosity, take any part in the convention. But inasmuch as it was a man who had gained entrance to the church when the women found themselves locked out, helpless and unable to convene, they then and there decided to let their friends of the opposite sex join with them in the meeting.

In a prayerful attitude around the altar of the church the women concluded that the moment had arrived when the men should help them in their mission of bringing to the attention of the world the plight that woman was in.

And so it happened that the first convention of the women's rights movement was presided over by a man, James Mott, husband of Lucretia, who it is said made a very impressive chairman as he presided over the meetings, tall and dignified in his Quaker costume. Mary McClintock was named secretary of the convention. Lucretia Mott recited the objects of the meeting. A law student, Samuel Tillman,

read from English and American law certain statutes reflecting the legal status of women, setting forth the "charity and mercy shown by men toward their wives," protecting them in their civil rights and taking over their property after marriage.

This conference of the Women's Bureau will be interested in the resolutions adopted by that convention. Some of them read as follows:

Resolved, That woman is man's equal—was intended to be so by the Creator; and the highest good of the race demands that she be recognized as such.

Resolved, That the women of this country ought to be enlightened in regard to the laws under which they live; that they may no longer publish their degradation by declaring themselves satisfied with their present position—nor their ignorance by asserting that they have all the rights they want.

Resolved, That the same amount of virtue, delicacy, and refinement of behavior that is required of woman in the social state, should also be required of men; and the same transgressions should be visited with equal severity on both man and woman.

Resolved, That the objection of indelicacy and impropriety, which is so often brought against woman when she addresses a public audience, comes with a very ill grace from those who encourage by their attendance her appearance on the stage, in the concert, or in feats at the circus.

Resolved, That it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise.

Thus was created the nucleus of the woman-suffrage movement, which resulted years later in the adoption of the nineteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, giving women the right to vote.

The suffrage resolution was the only declaration that was not unanimously adopted at the Seneca Falls convention. The women were not quite certain that the suffrage idea would be accepted by women universally throughout the country. But at the very moment they were about to falter it was a Negro and a former slave—the great Negro exponent of freedom and emancipation, a man who has gone down in history as one of the greatest Negroes in the world, Frederick Douglas, editor of the North Star, a weekly newspaper, devoted to the cause of freedom—who rose on that occasion and delivered one of the greatest orations advocating the freedom of women and their right to vote that has ever been spoken by a man.

It is said of Frederick Douglas that he had such great powers of eloquence he captivated his auditors and never failed to bring home to their hearts the cause which he pleaded. He was a polished gentleman, with a voice that was full and sonorous. He was dignified, without pretension, and a man of lofty reason. It is recorded of the eloquence of Frederick Douglas that his was the kind of eloquence that issued from the depth of his soul as from a spring, rolling along in copious floods, sweeping all before it, overwhelming by its force, more dazzling and more thundering than the bolt which leaps from crag to crag.

At that historical moment when the women of Seneca Falls were undecided whether to launch the cause of the women's suffrage movement, it is significant that it was through the effort and the eloquence of a former slave who, with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, inspired and encouraged the pioneers of the Woman's Movement at their first convention to adopt the suffrage declaration.

The declaration was signed by 100 men and women of the convention. This struck a responsive chord in the hearts of women everywhere.

The Seneca Falls conference passed a final declaration maintaining:

> We shall use every instrumentality within our power to effect our objective. We shall employ agents, circulate tracts, petition the State and national legislatures, and endeavor to enlist the pulpit and the press in our behalf. We hope this convention will be followed by a series of conventions embracing every part of the country.

Sounds very much like a resolution that might be passed by the Conference of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor today, doesn't it.

I am informed that there are today at this Women's Bureau conference representatives from 25 States of the United States, from the District of Columbia and several foreign countries, representing 70 different women's organizations. Ladies, I congratulate you.

There is in our Nation's Capitol a monumental shrine erected in marble, the rock of ages, dedicated to the founders of the Woman Movement of the World. It is the first monument of women to women, presented and executed by a woman.

This monumental shrine to women everywhere is the work of the sculptress, Adelaide Johnson. It is composed of the three great pioneers and founders of the woman movement, Lucretia Mott, Susan B. Anthony, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. This monument was presented to the women of America by the National Woman's Party. It was accepted by Speaker Gillette of the House of Representatives in the name of the women of the Nation, and was unveiled in the rotunda of the National Capitol on the anniversary of the birth of Susan B. Anthony on February 21, 1921, in an imposing ceremony attended by thousands of people, at which more than 8,500 persons were unable to gain entrance to the Capitol, so keen was the interest on that occasion.

I hope every one of the delegates to this conference will visit the shrine in the National Capitol while here to pay honor to the Woman Movement.

In the words of the sculptress, Adelaide Johnson:

> This monument was not made for entertainment, but as an immortal record of the mightiest thing in the evolution of humanity that has taken place since the dawn of mind in the brute. It was at Seneca Falls, in 1848, that began the first movement to succeed. That did not die, but grew, until for the first time in

human history a cause reached every country, and expanded to every field of endeavor.

No statement can be complete without including the three initiators of the women's movement, Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. These three form a unique historic unit in the nature of a trinity, the one of which could not have done her work without the other. They became the embodiment of an idea. Of this trinity, Susan B. Anthony, peerless as an erect monolith reaching skyward out on the desert, whither humanity might journey as to a shrine, will forever stand alone, at the end of an age that produced her and her great contemporaries. Let me say that the National Woman's Party in their instrumentality in placing this monument in our Capitol, where they who have rendered signal service to the Nation are admitted, were in that act placing an everlasting jewel in their own crown of service.

When you view this shrine to the Woman Movement you will note the idea and the purpose of the sculptress Adelaide Johnson to picture the three founders of the Woman Movement, Lucretia Mott, Susan B. Anthony, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, as a trinity, as an ideal rising out of the desert "peerless as an erect monolith reaching skyward."

And when you go back to your homes, to your desks, to your work—contemplate the ideals of those pioneer women who met in the first convention of the Woman Movement at Seneca Falls a hundred years ago. Think of the obstacles they had to overcome, which they met and which they conquered. Then gird yourselves with the inspiration of victory, and say to the world: Our mission shall be accomplished.

Now, ladies of the conference, you are about to hear one of the leading exponents of woman's rights in the world today, a distinguished educator, writer, and lecturer, the dean of Vassar College. She was the only woman member of the United States delegation to the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education in London in 1944, whose report of that conference has been published by the Foreign Policy Association. In 1945 she was again in London as a delegate and representative of the United States at the conference that drafted the constitution for UNESCO. Continuing her activity and influence in education, she has accepted the chair at the University of Georgia as consultant in education and professor of history. She is a writer of national and international acclaim. She has written books on southern history, among which are: Reconstruction in Georgia, and Carpetbaggers in the United States Senate.

I now have the distinct pleasure and high honor to present to you the speaker of the evening, Dr. C. Mildred Thompson, dean of Vassar College, who will address you on the subject, Women's Status—Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow.

WOMEN'S STATUS—YESTERDAY, TODAY TOMORROW

A Chapter in the History of Freedom, 1848–1948

C. Mildred Thompson, Dean, Vassar College

I call this a chapter in the history of freedom because it seems that the development of rights of women in this past century is only one important episode among many in the long-continuing struggle for human freedom, for greater freedom. It is another chapter in the advance of the fundamental principles of our western civilization which received form and durable expression in the Declaration of Independence, in the establishment of the young Republic in this country, and in the principles of the French Revolution. Of the creed which stirred the revolution in France—liberty, equality, fraternity—only the first two have been dynamic ideas to us in America. We have directed our efforts toward more liberty, toward greater equality, but we have least understood and valued fraternity. Eighteen hundred and forty-eight was a significant year, a year of revolutionary movements for freedom on the Continent of Europe where there was stirring of liberal ideas throughout the western world. In France it took the form of a republican movement, and in Germany it broke down in the abortive attempts at liberalism in the various German states. That movement, liberalism, is still to be achieved in Germany.

In this chapter on human freedom my fundamental thesis is that the status of women is to be regarded in each stage as part of the total social and cultural movement of the time. It is a distortion of meaning to think of the movement for women's rights solely or primarily as a movement for women, of women, by women. It must be taken in its wholeness. It is one phase of changing society, one aspect of the continuing struggle for greater freedom of the individual—all individuals; for equality among persons—all persons. To say, as we must, that even in this country after a hundred years there are still limitations upon the liberty of women which do not restrict men, or to recognize that we are far from achieving an ideal of equality among men and women, does not give us reason for saying that no progress has been made in these past hundred years or that we have failed in the struggle for women's rights which had its dramatic formulation in the mid-nineteenth century.

We can justly say that complete equality, the aim of the women who met at Seneca Falls, has not been reached. But can we say, as

did a distinguished head of a college for women in a speech at Dallas a year ago, that "their real goal, equality of status between men and women, may well be as far off as it ever was"? A student of history, to arrive at such a conclusion, must have checked his history at the gate. He must have set aside his customary method of examining evidence and of measuring achievement in relation to the whole process of social change. When we look ahead we may still be far off from the goal upon which our hopes are set; but if we look behind, we can see the many measured miles from where we were in 1848 to where we are in 1948. That look behind gives hope and courage to press on the road ahead.

Let us then look back upon some of the signposts of these measured miles. Our starting point can be taken from the program of that first Convention for Women's Rights, in 1848, as drawn up in their Declaration of Sentiments. With freedom as their aim, it was not unsuitable that Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and the others should take the Declaration of Independence as their model, in setting forth to a candid world their grievances against the tyranny of man.

"All men and women are created equal"—that was their foremost assumption. Violations of this principle in legal and political disqualification were the subjects of the first 4 of the 15 articles of the Declaration. Suffrage was denied to woman. Rights to control her own property, to the guardianship of her own children were denied to woman. As the Declaration states—"He (man) has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead."

The first of these abuses to be removed by law came by the security of property rights to married women. The first law to grant this safeguard to women, preceding the organized agitation for women's rights, passed in Mississippi as early as 1839. In 1848 New York adopted such a law, and this set the pattern which was followed by numerous other States in the next few years. The movement advanced rapidly so that the right of a married woman to control her own property, to dispose of it by will, to make contracts, came to be generally established by law in the different States. And the same may be said of the right of equal guardianship of children in a majority of the States.

The achievement of the right to vote came only after a prolonged and hard-fought struggle. The last gun was fired in 1920 with the ratification of the 19th Amendment. Nineteen twenty thus became a signal year in the achievement of women's political rights. It is indeed a high light, a great high-voltage beacon in the past 100 years. In this country as in England, the last steps toward the victory were hastened by the proof women gave of their capacities for patriotic service in World War I. They proved that they were worthy citizens, that they could bear their part in war, and proved that their

part was bigger and more varied than previously conceived. They were recognized as worthy to be admitted into that Democracy which President Wilson eloquently expressed as the hope of the world.

By 1920, the women of Seneca Falls, had they been alive, would have seen their chief aims attained, at least by statute. But they would not have been deceived, any more than we, in thinking that their hopes for complete equality were truly fulfilled. The achievement of the right to vote was indeed a great step forward in the progress of the rights of women, although the suffrage did not accomplish all that its advocates claimed. Nor did it bring the evils which its opponents foretold. One thing it did accomplish, however, is of no mean importance. It gave to women a sense of dignity and of self-respect as citizens. It has been a great educative force to women. It has made them become less illiterate in the affairs of their own community and it has stimulated their knowledge and their concern in world interests.

These three steps forward, all in the nature of the extension of legal and property rights, had been achieved by the end of the first quarter of this century. Another great field for advance was education. The Declaration of 1848 noted that women were denied thorough education—colleges were closed to them. There were then only few opportunities for thorough education. Lucy Stone, one of the pioneers for women's rights, was a graduate of Oberlin, coeducational from its beginning. In the 1830's there was a distinct awareness of needs of better education for women, and it was in this decade that several seminaries, not possibly of full collegiate rank, gave better education for women than was previously available. One of those was in the South, Wesleyan, at Macon, Ga.; Mary Lyon drove forward at Mount Holyoke; Frances Willard at Troy; and there was Elmira, also in New York State. But these institutions were far from providing for women opportunities for education equal to the best then available to their brothers.

It was not until 1865 and the opening of Vassar that a college with rich curriculum, adequately equipped faculty, and generous endowment, comparable to the highest standards of the best colleges for men, was available to women. So successful was this venture that the pattern was followed in the next 10 years and after by the establishment of other colleges of like type—Smith, Wellesley, Bryn Mawr, also Radcliffe and Barnard, adjuncts of two great universities. These indicated the great demand by women for higher education. The same movement appeared in England with the establishment of the women's colleges at Cambridge and at Oxford at about the same time.

Today there are many colleges, separate colleges for women, with standards equal to the best provided for men, and the universities of the country now admit women to study not only as undergraduates but

in most of the professional schools as well. Still it is far from the truth to say that equality in educational opportunities prevails. Some law schools, some medical schools, still exclude women. Others admit them under more restricted terms than those governing the admission of men. In one library of a great university, women have only limited privileges. They may work in a secluded room but do not have full, free access to library usage as do men in that great and notable institution.

Of course as we all know there is no real coeducation in this country. The universities, coeducational in name, are almost completely taught by men professors. True there are some women on the faculties, but usually in minor positions, assistants or secretaries, not professors or chairmen of departments. The equipment provided for women students also is generally inferior. When a new gymnasium was built at a university, the old gym, out of date and too inadequate for men students, was generously turned over to the women students. Great changes have taken place in the last few years as a result of the war, and now we see not infrequently that men, generally only a few men in proportion to the total number of students, are admitted to some of the women's colleges. As far as I have observed, they exist in very much the same position of inferiority in academic and social privileges to which women have long been accustomed.

It is a matter of fact, one of which we women are not proud, that in the academic world, in the world of research, there are few distinguished women of first-rate achievement. We have noted for a long time in the meetings of professional societies, scientists, historians, economists, very rarely is a paper of notable research presented by a woman. We do not take an equal part with men in productive scholarship or in high academic position. Occasionally there is a mountain peak of distinction like Madame Curie in the field of scientific research, but as far as I know today there is only one woman among many notable men distinguished in the field of nuclear physics. Other forces than the tyranny of men must account for this limitation upon full productivity of women in the advanced fields of education.

There has been a movement, slow but growing in pressure within the last few years, to make the curriculum for women students essentially different from that offered to men. I would think from my experience in education for women that this is distinctly a step backward, not forward. I see no objection whatever to a curriculum which includes with other courses of general and special knowledge of the world of man and of nature, courses which deal particularly with the development of children, with the problems of the family, with household economics, or domestic architecture. It would seem to me that these have rightful place and they are now accepted in colleges of high standard, if the courses themsedves in substance and

in method are as thoroughgoing and as serious as other courses in science or the arts. These courses should be available to women and also to men. Let the individual choose according to his needs and purposes. A special curriculum for feminine education in this mid-twentieth century with all the changes that have taken place in social life would be just as reactionary and out of relationship to modern society and to the preparation of women for modern life as would be a special masculine education for men if introduced in Yale, Harvard, or Princeton. Should men be deprived of the chance to study and to specialize in child psychology if they wish, because children are the peculiar sphere of women? Should principles of nutrition be barred to men, because the feeding of the family is women's work? Should boys and men in school and college not be allowed to study courses in literature and the arts simply because in some places they have been known as "sissy" courses? The absurdity of such a view today, I think, is the answer to these newly pressed demands which have their view backward instead of forward in preparing the education of the future.

The arts have always had more doors open to women than other interests, but only on the stage have women in large numbers risen to highest eminence equal to the distinction of men. There have been many actresses among the greatest on the stage, but no great woman playwright. There are gifted artists, poets, musicians, but women as a rule do not occupy the highest places, or at least if they do they are rare exceptions not comparable in numbers or in brilliance of achievement to men in these fields.

There may be many explanations, and of these I shall hazard only a scant attempt at analysis. I would say first of all that I do not believe it is the tyranny of men that keeps women down from top-place achievement. Nor, in the second place, do I think it is biological differences which account for inferior success. There was a large bulk of writings in the 50's and 60's to the effect that woman's frail physical constitution would be weakened by the manly labor of the study of the classics, of calculus, or serious study of the arts. Of course a little needlework, a little painting on china, a little music for the delight of the home as accomplishments would do no harm to female delicacy. The argument of biological inferiority has long been silenced. At the present time the chief proponent for the case of inferiority of woman to man comes, not from the politicians or lawyers or from the biologists, but from the newer schools of the psychoanalysts and especially the pseudo-psychoanalysts. Some of this last group maintain that the struggle of women to be equal rather than to maintain differences has led to the frustration of the entire sex. As some would say and have said, women are sick. Society is sick, because women are not content to specialize in their femininity.

This is but another phase of "children, church, kitchen" as the true pursuits of women cloaked in the semantics of newer, more high-sounding, semiscientific terms.

We see today a very real reaction against greater equality of men and women which would seem to me costly and wasteful retrogression, in placing emphasis on the separation of spheres rather than the recognition of fraternity of interests. It is but another form of isolationism. This reactionary movement would go contrary to what seems to me the most useful direction in modern society, that is, a movement toward greater cooperation in similar activities. We must be aware of this movement and be prepared to meet it. The data upon which these reactionary postulates are based seem to me to come not from the 17 millions of women in this country who are engaged in occupation but from very limited groups, urban, metropolitan women for the most part, who have lost the home and who have not found new purpose and new interests in the extension of the home into the community.

I have no information upon which to dispute the validity of the data of some of the psychoanalysts and others. I have not studied the case histories of the limited number of women who have the time and the money to frequent the psychoanalyst. But from my observations, I would raise serious question as to the validity of some of their conclusions as applied to an entire sex or an entire society. The answer to their contentions may possibly be found if a book should be published, equally valid, with the title, *Modern Man, the Lost Sex, A Study in Continuous Frustration.* The summary of such a book might be something like this: Man, who for centuries gloried in his complete dominances over woman in the family and in the State, has suffered irretrievable loss one by one of all his cherished marks of superiority. The vote he had is his alone no longer. He could swagger as a soldier or a sailor, but now he finds also defending his country, and theirs, WAVES and WACS. He used to have safe refuge when things at home were not to his liking in the corner saloon where the swinging door gave him security from troublesome women. But now, when he seeks comfort at his favorite saloon, who does he find with feet on the brass rail beside him? Woman! For long years the barber shop with its painted pole outside was his resort and his alone. That, too, he has lost. He used to glory in his short clipped hair and his trousered legs, but those symbols of maleness, and hence superiority, are no longer his monopoly. And so it goes. No wonder man is a lost sex sick with frustration. But no—hope is in sight for his recovery. Another book just published, eagerly sought by despondent man, has already become a best seller. From it man has learned that he, too, has a sex life. This lost sex may be found.

I for one do not take much stock in the battle of the sexes, not at the present time certainly. We have talked about the desirability of a

moral equivalent for war. Why should we not find some intelligent equivalent, some substitution through cooperation, not antagonism; mutual understanding and sympathy instead of crimination and recrimination between nations and between sexes. There are two sexes, but there is one society. Nothing better has been said in the matter than was said by Shelley, 130 years ago: "Can man be free if woman be a slave?" And it is just as true today as it was in 1817 when Shelley wrote "The Revolt of Islam."

Little did the women of 1848 sense the great changes that the revolution in industrial society would bring in women's occupations. Among their charges against the tyranny of man was—"He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments." The industrial revolution in this country was still young in 1848 when this was written, although even in that decade, available documents indicate, there were more than one hundred different occupations in which women were employed. Not only the natural growth of industry but the abnormal stimulus of war needs brought rapid extension of employment for women in the following decades. By 1870 one-seventh of all the women over 16 in this country were engaged in gainful pursuits; by 1900, more than one-fifth. By the beginning of this century women were strongly established in industry, in occupations outside the home, for the activities of the home had by this time largely gone out of the home into the machine world and organized industry. This transformation of home and industry is too well known to a group such as this to need further enlargement. To the unenlightened the home is represented as a kind of sanctuary which woman voluntarily and wantonly abandoned for the factory and the marketplace.

We would do well to distinguish between home and household. "Home is where the heart is." Yes, the home is properly a center of emotional relationships, whereas the household is a physical habitat which in the twentieth century would be almost unrecognizable from our prototype of a century ago. A family household in the city apartment house is worlds apart and centuries distant from the farmhouse or the spacious small-town dwelling of most American families of the early nineteenth century. This change was not the result of the demand of women. The forces of industrial and economic change, and apart from any earnest desire on the part of women, were responsible. Some women may like the change and some may prefer the old ways. But like it or not, the industrial revolution has continued to revolutionize our manner of living, and the end of the revolution is not yet. Industry needs women, and women need gainful occupation for their subsistence. Occupations outside the home are like magnets drawing steadily upon the women who are made more and more idle as their cooking and the processing of foods, the making of clothes and the washing of clothes, the teaching of children, have gone out of the

individual household into mass industry. Hence come our 17 millions of women today and 20 millions and more in the wartime, in gainful occupations. There are still women idle, women left in some households with no children to care for or with others paid to do the job for them—women idle because there are no household arts left to give them a sense of creative productivity in the household—women who have not entered into useful occupations, voluntarily or gainfully, outside the household. These are the women who have not made successful adjustment from the old conditions of society to the new, and these are the ones more than others who breed sources of frustration and provide material for the doctors of sick souls.

(Perhaps it is not entirely a joke but a social case history which appeared recently in the *New Yorker*, told of a new apartment dweller who was being assisted in neighborly fashion by the lady in the apartment across the hall. The newcomer was told where to find the nearest grocer, the best butcher. She was given the address of the baker and the laundryman, and finally the new tenant asked her helpful neighbor, "And what is the address of your psychiatrist, please?")

In any rehearsal of the steps forward in the position of women, even a brief one such as this, we must not overlook the great force for the development of women which has come through women's organizations. They are a sign of women's increasing freedom and self-confidence. They have proved a strong force in the education of women and should be recognized with distinctive place in the various media of adult education. There would seem to be scarcely a woman who does not belong to at least one organization. The church was of course the first organization in which women learned the power of associated effort, and from the special church guilds and circles of women grew other associations for humanitarian service. We may laugh if we will at the kind of club women which Helen Hokison draws with her not too gentle satire, but the club ladies of that type bent solely on their own somewhat trivial cultural entertainment are but a fragment in the world of women's organizations. These today include not merely the clubs of leisure-time activities, but the great associations of political force and civic responsibility, such as the League of Women Voters, and the powerful and constructive trade-union groups. I would name organizations such as these as assuming conspicuous place on this road of progress in the last hundred years.

With all of this progress, all of this greater freedom of women, greater opportunity for choice and wider activities, we cannot blink at some facts which are still disconcerting. Women in this hundred years have not yet risen to distinction equal to that of men in arts, in the professions, in public service. There are, of course, today notable women in high political offices, and it has been the custom in the last few years for the administration to appoint one woman on each of several im-

portant public commissions. But notice, please, that it is generally *one* woman, not five or six among a dozen members. This continued failure to assume full positions of power remains a problem. It is a surprise and a source of disappointment to many women—and to some men—that in these 30 years almost since women attained the franchise, so few women hold public office high or low, and so few even have stood for election to office. We doubtless all know women fully qualified who would make excellent members of our city council or of the county board of supervisors. We know women we would like to see in our State legislatures. And perhaps we can think of some who might make better governors than some governors we have known. It would not be difficult for us to think of women we should like to see in the United States Senate or the House of Representatives. Perhaps some of us have in mind a woman who is better qualified for the eminent position of President of the United States than several, or any one of the candidates who now put themselves forth. No. It is not that women lack the ability, the training, or the public spirit for office. Their absence is due, rather, to social pressures, to the continuance of a mode of thinking which has not caught up with the actual conditions of our time.

It may be that much of the force of women in society today is still indirect rather than direct. In this way it is a force difficult to measure by evident accomplishment. How much of the achievement of a great composer, for instance, is due to the creative force of some woman, through her giving inspiration, protection, understanding, or criticism? Clara Schumann, for instance, a great, brilliant pianist, had to forego and willingly gave up the use of the one piano in their household in Leipzig so that her husband Robert might use it all the time while he was composing his First Symphony. The kind of intense concentration needed for composition, for great productivity in any of the arts, is rarely achieved by a woman. Society still makes demands directly upon her from which she cannot withdraw; or if she did, it would be at a price of ruthlessness which would itself destroy her gift. In the business and industrial world how can we measure success and the contributing force of women behind the giants of finance and the organizers of industry? We may have a suspicion that some of this mastery of captains of industry comes from the imagination, the steady resourcefulness of some woman, very often perhaps from that too little recognized Executive Secretary. Did you happen to see Ruth Draper in her monologue, Three Women and Mr. Clifford? If you did, you will know what I mean by the contributing force of the Executive Secretary, unknown, unsung, unrewarded.

The incompleteness—and I say advisedly *incompleteness*—not failure—of woman's attainments thus far, I believe, does not derive from

biological difference of function or from predestined mental and emotional fixities and inferiorities. It is due, rather, to environmental causation and to traditions of culture. Modes of acceptance and of rejection in social behavior may not create genius, but they can thwart the effective expression of genius. Social pressures change and ideologies of society cause shifts in acceptable standards. The development of women's powers, the conception of their rights, and the measure of their contributions cannot be wisely evaluated apart from the whole of society and the forces which control it. These forces are not immutable, but are constantly changing. For centuries woman was only a sex. As persons we women are still young. Who, then, would dare to predict what the next hundred years may bring forth? When we contemplate where we were in 1848, and where we are today in 1948, we can salute the women of Seneca Falls a century ago. We can say to Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, "You pointed our direction. We are still on our way."

THE IDEA TAKES ROOT

Lisa Sergio

In a little Wesleyan Chapel at Seneca Falls, N. Y., in July 1848, 100 years ago, a handful of American women organized what we now commonly look upon as "the women's great rebellion." This evening you have heard much about the Seneca Falls convention and about the amazing document heatedly discussed and finally accepted by that gathering. It was a document which, in bitter words, listed the wrongs done to women under the rights which men had given to America with the Declaration of Independence.

In 1848, when the Women's Rights resolution was made known, it drew criticism as bitter as the words in which it was couched, and the criticism has endured, to some degree, down the decades, on the part of those who considered it an instigation to antagonism between the sexes and an unfair indictment of man as a tyrant. Nevertheless, the Seneca Falls declaration marked the turning point in the history of American womanhood and initiated the struggle which eventually won for it the right to vote on equal terms with the men. The meeting in the Wesleyan Chapel, that summer day 100 years ago, was fraught with drama, but the impact of its significance might not have so fully hit the outside world if, almost by accident, the story of this unique convention had not been reported on the electric telegraph wire, which was then a new device used only by a few newspapers.

Editors with a flair for news found the document sensational, and used it chiefly as a target for ridicule and jokes. But whether it was praise or attack, ridicule or pity, the document brought forth reactions from every side, and, while remaining for a long, long time a subject for heated controversy, continued to be the banner under which women in all parts of the land fought on, until suffrage was achieved.

What were the events that inspired Elizabeth Cady Stanton to plan and call that fateful meeting? Let us look back upon a few—perhaps the least remembered—from which emerge the issues that women, even then, knew to be vital if this American way of life was to become an enduring reality. Indeed it is important to record today, as we celebrate this hundredth anniversary, that the reason which drove these brave and brilliant women into the fight for suffrage and for other equal rights was not a selfish desire to shake off the inferior status which society had assigned to them, and thus to enjoy greater privileges and freedoms: The reason was deeper and greater, its roots lay in the very core of civilization's progress.

In the early decades of the nineteenth century the machine was moving in upon America. In its wake came changes; some good, some bad unless controlled and counterbalanced. The women whose names have been pronounced here tonight, Stone, Mott, Stanton, Anthony, and the others, saw the changes, feared the evils, felt powerless to make their voices heard in offering correctives. After trying, singly and together, in various ways, to bring a new logic into man's approach to the new problems of their time, they finally concluded that only by achieving a legal right to speak as citizens would their voices be heard. And so they fought for suffrage.

Curiously enough it was a woman who, to a great extent, was responsible for bringing about those changes in the economic and social conditions of the America of the nineteenth century which provided the incentive for the feminist drives of later years. The widow of General Nathaniel Greene, who managed a large plantation in Georgia after her husband's death, first conceived the idea of the cotton gin. Eli Whitney put the idea into mechanical form, but she even shared his royalties, a fact which proves the "maternity" of the invention.

The cotton gin began to bring women out of the home. The old looms were laid aside, and linen goods became all but obsolete. The women began to operate the machines, and the machines were in factories. This revolutionized the entire significance of the work done hitherto by women. At home they spun and wove, as well as baked and tended the household. If, after clothing the family, they worked at the loom for a wage, the wage was a pittance. In the factory, too, it remained a pittance, even in such places as Lowell, Mass., where nearly all the spindles and looms in the town were manned by women. Woman was cheap labor. This was one evil of the machine age. Unwittingly a woman had brought it on, wittingly and bravely other women would combat it. And they did.

In the year 1853 many Americans were aware of the low esteem in which the teaching profession was held. Teachers were underpaid, and many of them, chiefly women, were not sufficiently educated themselves to be able to teach others. An educational convention was held at Rochester in that year and Susan B. Anthony attended it. Patiently she sat by while men discussed the fact that teachers were considered to be far beneath lawyers, ministers, or doctors. They wondered why, they beat around the bush. Suddenly Susan Anthony stood up in the audience and asked to speak. This was without precedent as a demonstration of audacity and bad taste. Ida Harper, recounting the fantastic episode, describes the consternation into which this gesture threw the men. For one-half hour they argued whether she should be heard: There was mockery in the tone of President Davies of West Point—a gaudy character in blue coat, full dress, and

gold buttons—when he asked: "What will the lady have?" "I wish, Sir, to speak to the question under discussion." After a much debated vote, winning by a small minority, Susan Anthony was told "The lady can speak." And speak she did:

"It seems to me, gentlemen, that none of you quite comprehends the cause of the disrespect of which you complain. Do you not see that so long as society says a woman is incompetent to be a lawyer, minister, or doctor, but has ability to be a teacher, that every man of you who chooses this profession tacitly acknowledges that he has no more brains than a woman? Thus men must compete with the cheap labor of women. Would you exalt your profession, exalt those who labor with you. Would you make it more lucrative, increase the salaries of the women engaged in the noble work of educating our future Presidents, Senators, and Congressmen." A deep, uncomfortable silence greeted her words and she resumed her seat. Three men eventually walked down the aisle to offer their congratulations, but the lasting comment on Miss Anthony's words—apparently the only pertinent and intelligent words heard at the convention—came from the editor of the Rochester Democrat: "Whatever the schoolmasters might think of Miss Anthony, it was evident that she hit the nail on the head."

Fighting for suffrage was no self-seeking endeavor—the women needed more hammers with which to hit more nails on the head.

The logic of these women soon told them that fighting single-handed was a hopeless affair. Long before the Rochester Convention, which marked a date on the calendar of woman's rise in society, women had formed clubs for pious and philanthropic reasons. But the first well-established woman's club was started in 1833 and, like Susan Anthony's stupendous breaking of precedent, found its incentive in the problem of education. It was founded in Jacksonville, Ill., and was called the Ladies' Educational Association. It spent money to give women a better education for social rather than for society reasons.

In Philadelphia in that same year of 1833 women, with even more audacity than their peers in Illinois, formed a club with a definite political purpose: the fight against slavery. The issue was dangerously hot, but the women were geared against burns, for only 4 years later they called a national convention of "American Anti-Slavery Women." It went fairly well. In 1838 they called a second one, and then the hot issue burst into flames.

Pennsylvania Hall, in Philadelphia, was by public consent dedicated to liberty. Here the convention was held. Speeches were heard for abolition, and the ills of slavery were discussed for 2 days. The third day was to mark the climax, with a resolution to be voted. Mobs, roaring against abolition, pounded on the doors to gain admission and silence the speakers. The doors remained closed to their fists,

but the mob smashed the windows. The police of Philadelphia, out in the streets, stood by and watched. Not a hand was raised to stop the shouting, violent mob. And then, over the pounding and the crashing of glass a hideous yell was heard: "Burn the hall!" Men begged the women to forego their evening session, but the women after calm deliberation decided to hold it. Said the manager of the building: "A more dignified, calm, and intrepid body of persons was never seen."

When the afternoon session was concluded, the women serenely faced the jeering populace and came out. They walked home amid insults and execrations. That night the mob burned down the hall. In Philadelphia, cradle of liberty, the authorities refused to let the women move to Temperance Hall, lest the rioters who believed in slavery reduce it, too, to ashes.

The women who believed in freedom found a schoolroom which gave them shelter for the closing session. Anti-slavery was a burning issue, indeed, the women found. The city authorities were afraid of its flames. Eventually then it would be necessary for the women to speak for liberty, not as guests in a hall, but as citizens having the right to be heard. The enticing idea of suffrage was taking shape, ever so vaguely, on the flame-streaked horizon.

It was no easy matter to cross the Atlantic Ocean in the year 1840, but the women who had braved the Philadelphia flames now braved the waters. The World's Anti-slavery Conference was taking place in London, and the United States delegation was headed by William Lloyd Garrison, from whom the chief speech of the convention was expected. Henry Stanton brought Elizabeth Cady, his bride, and other women went as delegates. England had freed the slaves, but not the women, and the petticoat delegates from America were denied access to the convention hall.

Protests finally led to a compromise: the women might sit behind a screen in the gallery and listen to the proceedings. They might not be heard or seen. William Lloyd Garrison refused to make his speech. He sat with the American women and shared their silent anger.

As the ship plied its way back to American shores, the logic of the women drove them on their course. They could not fight for the rights of humans who were enslaved so long as they had no rights as citizens of a world striving to be free. Now the goal was clear. It was broad. Some day, everywhere, women would have to gain recognition for their rights. Women now would have to begin the struggle, and the struggle would have to begin in America. It did.

Eight years were to pass before the strategy for battle was finally drawn up and made known. Eight years between the bitter lesson learned in London and the bitter rebellion launched at Seneca Falls. Eight fruitful years during which the women who were to work

together for suffrage were working each in her own plot to loosen the soil in which suffrage was to grow.

When the charter that contained the strategy for the fight for women's rights was given to the Seneca Falls convention, its 14 grievances against the men touched 14 neuralgic spots in the male conscience. And the men, both as groups, religious and otherwise, and as individuals responded in language as forthright as that adopted by the charter writers. The document was passed by the convention, but only by a narrow margin. No selfish, narrow aim could possibly have justified the scope of the Nation-wide battles to which the strategy applied. Women sought the right to speak, ballot in hand, not for their own sakes, not merely in antagonism to male control, but in order to gain the power whereby to help right the wrongs that mankind commits against mankind.

After the Seneca Falls meeting, a National Woman's Rights Association was formed, and conventions were held on a regular annual schedule. At each gathering new ground was broken, new pitfalls were discovered, new techniques were developed. At most gatherings some dramatic incident occurred, and once, at Akron, Ohio, in 1851, drama was wrapped in a cloak of high emotion and picturesque contrasts.

The convention was being held in a church, and as the first session opened a tall, gaunt, black woman, clad in gray with a white turban on her head upon which rested a sunbonnet, marched up the aisle with the deliberate pace of a queen and sat upon the steps of the pulpit. Frances Gage, who presided over that convention described her thus: "Morning, afternoon, and evening exercises came and went, and through all of these she sat, crouched against the wall on the corner of the pulpit stairs, her sunbonnet shading her eyes, her elbows on her knees, her chin resting upon her broad hard palms. She was quiet and reticent."

She was so old that she had been born in slavery in New York, but age, apparently, had made no mark upon her determination. She was erect when she walked. Her silence was strangely hard, as granite. The women feared she might want to speak and thereby bring up the issue of slavery and confuse it with that of suffrage which now had to remain alone and to the fore. But she did not ask to speak.

On the second day, Mrs. Gage writes in her reminiscences, ministers of every denomination had come to speak against the resolutions. God was invoked to support their contention that it was antireligious to claim equity for woman. The crowd which jeered and sneered as each resolution came up, waited expectantly for the final defeat of the women.

Suddenly the gaunt black woman rose from the pulpit steps. She asked to speak. A tumult was nipped in the bud by her towering

presence. Her voice was low. It spread into the sudden hush and filled it with awe. She bared her arms and turned the palms of her hands to the audience. She had ploughed and planted and gathered into barns, the low voice said. She had borne 13 children and stood by as each was sold into slavery. No one had comforted her heartbreak but God. She stood there, older than time itself, yet without age, a woman, bigger, stronger, braver indeed by far than the men whose theological arguments she was destroying with her simple human facts.

A black finger, bony and gnarled, slowly came forward from her raised hand and pointed to the minister who had invoked the testimony of God. "Den dat little man in black dar, he say women can't have as much rights as men, 'cause Christ wan't a woman! Whar did your Christ come from? Whar did your Christ come from? From God and a woman! Man had nothin' to do wid Him!"

Applause that rolled like thunder crushed the little man in black, as the black woman stood against the pulpit steps, her hands raised, her head held high under the fantastic bonnet. Then she took up another charge, this time defending Eve herself: "If de fust woman God ever made was strong enough to turn de world up side down all alone, dese women tegedder ought to be able to turn it back, and get it right side up again! Now dey is askin' to do it, de men better let 'em!"

When the ovation subsided, she was sitting in her corner again, quiet and reticent. Her hands now rested on her knees and her face was in the light. Her name was Sojourner Truth. A black woman, so old she could not count her years, had won a battle so young it had no years to count.

February 18 Morning Session

CONFERENCE ADDRESSES *Working Women—Their Home Obligations*

Family Responsibilities of Earning Women, **Hazel Kyrk**
Social Patterns for Women, the Present and the Prospects, **Ordway Tead**

FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES OF EARNING WOMEN[1]

Hazel Kyrk, Professor of Home Economics and Economics, University of Chicago

AT THE latest report there were about 17 million women in the labor force in the United States. We do not know exactly how many of these women with a job have home responsibilities appreciable in amount. We do know, however, that there are great variations among working women in this respect, as there are among men and women in the financial responsibility they must assume for the support of others. Both types of responsibilities vary in the main with marital and parental status. It is necessary, therefore, to analyze separately the situation of the single, widowed, divorced, and married women in the labor force. Generalizations about working women without such differentiation are not likely to be illuminating.

In 1940 half of the women with jobs were single in spite of the fact that decade by decade as the school-leaving age has advanced and the age of marriage has lowered, the relative importance of this marital group in the labor force has declined. The responsibility that single women in the working force must assume for housework and care of children has caused us and probably need cause us little concern. They are a relatively young group. In 1940 more than a fifth were under 20 and more than a half under 25. There was undoubtedly a mother in the households in which most of them were living. Almost a fourth were lodgers in 1940 and although about a tenth were labeled "heads" of households, well over half of these heads were living alone or sharing their dwelling with an unrelated person. We can be fairly certain that not more than one in ten of these households of which single women earners were heads included children.

[1] See charts 7 and 8, Appendix IV, in connection with this address.

Concern has long and frequently been expressed, however, concerning the financial relation of single women workers to members of their families in the same household or outside. Investigations have clearly shown that within certain occupations these workers have earnings insufficient for self-support at an acceptable level. Some of these, the more fortunate ones, undoubtedly had their earnings supplemented from the earnings, or by the unpaid services, of other family members. There are also undoubtedly some, both those with earnings below and those with earnings above an acceptable level, who wholly or partially support others. Data that unmistakably indicate the proportion who are partially supported by others or who support others are difficult to secure. But although we cannot measure with exactness the extent of either of these situations, the social judgment about them is fairly well crystallized and our thinking can proceed on assumptions that are generally agreed upon. It is fairly well agreed that the full-time earnings of an able-bodied person admitted to the labor market should be sufficient to maintain her at an acceptable level without subsidy in any form from family or others. It is also fairly well agreed that wage rates which will not provide such earnings should be declared illegal and that we should seek for causes and correctives.

In the case of those who wholly or partially support others, guiding principles reflected in public policies are at least inp rocess of crystallization. Such actual dependents of single women earners are not their presumptive dependents; that is, this is not the way society avowedly wants or expects these persons to be supported. Single women who are supporting or helping to support a parent or parents, siblings, or the children of siblings, are the victims of a break-down in the system defining rights to, or responsibilities for, support. In our culture, support of children is the parents' responsibility. If they cannot or do not meet it, various policies are proposed or in operation to deal with the situation, none of which involves passing the responsibility to older children or other relatives. Another avowed goal of social policy is economically independent old age and, in lieu of that, public assistance. The care of the ill and the aged is recognized as a problem we have scarcely begun to attack. Until we do so successfully, and until we attain our goals with respect to the economic situation of those too young and those too old to earn, the burden will fall upon those bound to them by ties of blood and affection.

If we could be assured that all employed single women were earning sufficient for self-support at a minimum level and that none had responsibility for the support or care of others, could we dismiss their economic situation from our minds as the occasion for special concern? Single women earners, we should always remind ourselves, are not

simply a group of working women. They represent a period in the economic life history of practically all women. Relatively few now go directly from school to marriage; larger and larger numbers have the experience of earning. In 1940 four-fifths of the urban single women not in schools or institutions were in the labor force. This period of employment is becoming part of the accepted life pattern. In one particular, at least, we can say that the employed single women present no problem. Their presence in the labor force is accepted and approved. We do not fear that they are neglecting home responsibilities, or that their ability to earn will affect adversely the marriage age or rate. It is generally agreed that their skills and energies should be usefully employed and that their social contribution is greatest in some form of specialized work for pay. Family restraints upon their employment are increasingly regarded as ill-advised since some may not marry and some who do may find it necessary later to enter the labor market. The presumption that the single women shall earn is practically as well established as that single men shall do so.

We cannot, however, withdraw our attention from single women earners without raising one further question. Do they suffer from any special disadvantage in the labor market due to limited preparation or opportunities for employment or advancement? Are their preparation and opportunities adversely affected by the fact that the duration of their employment is uncertain and that for many it will be brief? This situation would not be corrected by "equal pay." Nor can "equal" vocational or professional preparation be invoked as a remedy without examining our presumptions in regard to the whole life history of women and certainty that our proposal is not inconsistent with other desired objectives.

The second group of earning women whose economic and domestic state should be separately examined are the widowed, the divorced, and those living separately from their husbands. It would be useful if the facts about the three components of this group were more precisely known since they vary in age and family status. The widows who make up over half of the group are the oldest; probably less than a fifth are under 40. The divorced women, probably less than a fifth of the group, are much younger, probably two-thirds under 40. The third group are also relatively young, two-thirds under 40. The increase in this last group, married women separated from their husbands, was a wartime phenomenon as husbands went overseas or to army camps. It is the women in this group whose separation from their husbands is permanent with whom we are concerned from a long-run standpoint.

The family and economic status of many of the younger divorced, separated, and widowed women is very similar to that of the single. Their present family responsibilities, their economic history, and prob-

able future have been little affected by their marriage and its dissolution. That would be true of those who are about the same age as the single, whose marriage was of short duration, and who have no children. But there are others, who are in the middle years or beyond, whose marriage was not of short duration and who do have children.

Just the description of this latter group is almost enough to answer the questions we would raise about them. If they have in effect two jobs or one and a half, they are at a disadvantage in the labor market. One scarcely needs to spell out why this is so. As a group they labor under another disadvantage as compared with single women and men of the same age. Few among them worked continuously before and during their marriage. Many have returned to the labor market after an absence of several years. Those whose work before marriage required no special skill or experience will have suffered least in level of earnings from the discontinuity of their employment. Those who left a depressed labor market and reentered in a boom area or period will have felt no adverse results of their absence. But there will be some whose leaving and return were not so fortunately timed. There also will be some whose special skills and knowledge will have become rusty or obsolete.

It is impossible to say exactly how many widowed, divorced, or separated women earners have children—probably at least a fourth—or how many of the mothers support or care for their children single-handed. Since most of the mothers are under 40, and in that age group divorced and separated women outnumber the widowed four to one, one might assume that the children are partially supported by the fathers. But since circumstances lessen both the willingness and ability of the latter to make contributions, this assumption seems less tenable in the majority of cases.

It is not the intent of our society that widowed or divorced mothers be the sole support of their dependent children. A legal responsibility, often unenforced and unenforcible, rests upon the living father and a weak and uncertain moral responsibility, weak and uncertain because behind it there are no strong social sanctions. The "good" father insures against the risk of death before his children are of earning age, but none is provided against the risk of separation or divorce which may have equally adverse effects upon the children and their mother. Margaret Mead alleges that our arrangements for providing children with status, security, and support are weak and defective as compared with those in other types of social organizations. If responsibility is limited to two adults, it places the child, she says, "in an indeterminate position economically, socially, and affectionally" since the care and support of one or both can be lessened or disappear with a single blow. Our attempts to improve the situation through greater assumption of social responsibility are shown in the Federal-

State provision of aid to dependent children, survivors' benefits under the Social Security law, and provision of institutional or foster-home care. Complacency disappears when the adequacy of this social provision and the extent of the problem it leaves untouched is examined.

When we turn from the single, widowed, divorced, and separated to the married women in the labor force, questions concerning their homes and families are the first that are generally raised. Are they neglecting, or discharging inefficiently, responsibilities that are theirs by virtue of their marital and parental status? If they are not, do they discharge them at the expense of health and leisure? Or have they reduced their housework burden by alterations in the family mode of living in ways adverse to family welfare? Or is it possible that they have found ways of shifting these responsibilities, or better and more efficient means of discharging them, which should be made available to and adopted by all wives and mothers?

Answers to these and similar questions in regard to married women who are earners have implications for the much larger group who are not, a group whose numbers run into the tens of millions. Only an eighth of the able-bodied married women not in school or institution had jobs in 1940. Are the seven-eighths of the married women without jobs employing their knowledge and skills to the greatest social advantage? Does their withdrawal from the labor force make for a higher level of personal development, child care, and family living?

Our thinking with respect to married women earners is made difficult by the fact that we have not clarified our value judgments as in the case of the single, widowed, and divorced. We agree that the single should be in the labor market and that their responsibility is for self-maintenance. We agree that the widowed and divorced without children should earn and that those with children should not single-handed maintain homes and provide money income. With respect to married women one principle could surely be defended. No restrictions should be placed upon their freedom to enter a gainful pursuit. None should be barred from employment unless some are compelled to take jobs, and the same principle is applied to other workers and nonworkers.

We cannot analyze the economic situation of married women, earning or not earning, without making explicit another value judgment that is a constant in our problem. This judgment or assumption is that people will live in small family groups in independent households. The moment we assume anything else, husbands and wives or parents and children separately domiciled, or arrangements for communal living, we shall have altered the situation entirely. At present the most pervasive and fixed part of our pattern for living is the independent household made up increasingly of the nuclear family without other

members related or unrelated. There is no visible tendency for the household to fall below the minimum set by the size of the nuclear family, and the way it desires to live continues to be reflected in the building of separate dwellings equipped with sleeping, dining, cooking, and other facilities.

Obviously, a basic question is how great is the work load in a modern home. What is it now, what could it be reduced to, and what is it likely to be in the foreseeable future? For some married women now earning this is an irrelevant question. Their earnings are so high relative to those of skilled household help that they can hire what is needed. Among these are the women likely to be publicized as successfully combining marriage, children, a home, and a career. Everyone gains and no one loses under these conditions. We have here, however, no solution of the problem for most married women with jobs, and the proportion for whom it is a solution is likely to become smaller if we attain some goals to which we are committed, viz., greater equality of opportunity for education and employment. Good domestic help on a full-time basis has been a byproduct of an inequality which we are attempting to lessen. The household helpers of the present day constitute, moreover, an important part of the married women earners with whose reconciliation of job and home responsibilities we are dealing.

Light on the question of the burden of housework may be sought through logical analysis. Unfortunately, many who have attempted it have not seen the whole picture and have reached faulty conclusions. What they have seen is the decline in home manufacturing and processing and in the number of children, the increase in labor- and time-saving devices. What they have not seen are the new duties added by the very conditions they emphasize, the change in standards, the increased time as well as money cost of new modes of living, the decrease in the number to do the work, and the fact that the presence of one child even for part of the day or for unforeseeable and occasional days may tie the mother almost as completely as if there were 10 there all the time. What has been happening in the home is in part the counterpart of what has been happening in the economy as a whole, the decline in the proportion of time given to agriculture and manufacturing and the increase in that given to distribution and service; less to producing the fundamental necessaries and more to producing amenities and comforts.

We have no accurate measure of the change in the length of the working day and week of homekeeping women in the last two or three generations. If their working hours have not declined 30 to 40 percent, they have not fared as well as others. The few attempts to gather factual data gave rather suprising results. Even in city homes of the business and professional class an average workweek of 46 hours was recorded, not over-all time but the sum of periods of 15 minutes

or longer. If the hours spent by other family members and paid workers are added, the figure rises to the extraordinary total of 80 hours per week. It may be argued that these figures reflect the inefficiency and dawdling of these women, the amount of time spent in useless ways. A famous economist has said that 2 hours' labor in the home should suffice for all rational daily needs. By the same criteria the hours of all workers could be reduced far below the present number. Needless to say, the length of the workweek of women with young children decidedly exceeded that of those without by almost 50 percent.

It is this latter fact upon which we can profitably concentrate. To speak of the average length of the working week of all homemakers is to obscure the facts. The major fact, and the one that sets the problem, is the variation among them at any one time and the variation for each one at different periods of her life. Ignoring differences in standards and efficiency which alter the length of the working week of these workers as they do not that of wage earners, there are differences due to the place of residence with its concomitant smoke, soot, accessibility to markets, commercial and community services, and, of greater importance, differences in size of the house and its time- and labor-saving arrangements and equipment. In addition, there are those differences due to the number and age of the family members. It is this last variable, inherent in the nature of the family itself, which poses the central problem with respect to the effective utilization of the energies and skills of women.

Paul C. Glick of the Bureau of the Census has traced the cycle through which typical American families go according to data available from the 1940 census. If history should exactly repeat itself, the median age of women at the date of their first marriage would be 21.6 years, with the husband slightly less than 3 years older. About one couple out of five would live with relatives or as lodgers for a while after marriage. About 15 percent would have no children. The first child of the 85 percent who have children would be born about a year after marriage and in the next 4½ years, two others. Thus the typical mother would have borne her final child at the age of 27.2 years. She would have then three children. For about 11 years she would have at least one under 6. For 13 years, if all survive, she would have three under 18, and for about 23 years one or more under 18. When the last is 18, the mother will be 45. If the children do not leave home until they marry and marry at the same age as their parents, she will be 50 or 53 when the family has declined to its original size of two members. On the basis of present life expectations, it will continue at this size for 11 more years, and the wife will probably survive the husband. This mother from the time she is about 40 will have a declining burden of child care and for several years before she is 65 a relatively light burden of housework. Half of the mothers will marry a year or

so earlier than the one whose history has been depicted, and half will marry later; half will have fewer than 3 children, and half will have more, and the children will be differently spaced. Some women will be widowed or divorced; if the former, it is usually late in the family cycle after one or all the children are gone; if the latter, while they are young.

It is in terms of this background that we come back to our two problems: which married women who are not earning could do so without undue sacrifice of health or leisure and without lowering standards for child care and family living? Which of the married women currently with jobs are imperiling their health, sacrificing their leisure, or lowering their family's well-being? The social interest is to decrease both of these groups.

There is clearly a period, increasing in length, in the lives of more and more married women when there is no responsibility for children and when the burden of housework is light. There are also those who marry and have no children. Why are so many of these women absent from the labor force? We need not consider the gross fallacy that we are better off if we do not utilize fully our potential labor supply. It is equal fallacy to say, "It makes no difference how much leisure women have, providing they use it well." Our social aim is the elimination of a leisure class, and the attainment instead of an equal distribution of leisure that we hope all will use well.

The married women with limited family responsibilities who are not earning probably fall into three classes, or the decisions of all in varying degrees are affected by three considerations. One is their own, their husband's, their associates' unfavorable attitude toward gainful employment of married women. More potent a reason for not earning is that they do not want to. They prefer their leisure to what their earnings would buy for themselves and their families. Here are the lazy whose claims upon the income of others enable them to be lazy. Here also are those who find their level of living satisfactory, and judge, perhaps rightly, that more things and less leisure would not add to the sum total of family happiness. A third consideration is closely related, the kind of a job they could get and how much they could earn. This last question is especially pertinent for the woman of 45 or 50 who is contemplating a return to the labor market after 20 to 25 years away from it. We are assuming that she looks for a job in the community where her husband is working, that is, in a geographically limited market. It is not surprising that many conclude that what they would gain by earning would not be worth what it costs.

Who then are the married women with jobs? Not those living on farms; only 3.5 percent of the wives in farm families had paid jobs in 1940. Not in the main women 45 to 65. They were earning only

about half as frequently as wives under 45, even in urban communities in 1940. Not in the main married women with children. In urban communities earning was twice as frequent among those with no children under 18 as among those with one or more. Only about a tenth of those with children under 18 were in the labor force. Not in the main the wives of men at the higher income levels. Taking wives of the age 25 to 29 in those communities—metropolitan districts of 100,000 or more—where earning is at the maximum, half of those with no children under 10 whose husbands were earning under $1,500 had jobs in 1940, and only a fifth of those whose husbands were earning $3,000 or more. A tenth of those with children under 10 in the lower income group were earning and only 2.5 percent of such mothers at the higher income level.

My interpretation of these facts is that married women are pulled or pushed into the labor market. The "pull" is the opportunity for employment at attractive wages under good working conditions. Such opportunities are at a maximum in boom periods, in metropolitan districts, and for the younger women with greater versatility and skills. They are at a minimum in depressed periods, in rural communities, and for the older women who have been long absent from the labor market. The "push" is economic necessity, earnings from other sources insufficient to meet the family's needs. The "pull" need not be so great if there are no children, the housework burden is light, and the husband's earnings moderate. The "push" must be great if there are young children or other heavy family responsibilities. Even great need for money does not bring rural women into paid work since there are no jobs to be had, and a need that will bring the younger women in, or keep them there, will not draw the older back.

We must then come to the conclusion that there are married women without jobs whose earning would yield a net profit to themselves, their families, and the community. Some will not take good jobs that are available and others can find none that are suitable by any reasonable standard. There are also married women with jobs whose situation is not one with which we can be satisfied. They are the ones who in spite of family responsibilities are forced by economic necessity to take any job they can get. Over a fifth of the earning wives had children under 10 in 1940 and almost two-fifths, children under 18. Their families may be better off by virtue of their earning but we could draw up an indictment of the state of affairs on many counts: The disadvantaged position of the woman herself in the labor market, the loss to the family of needed services, the efforts that most must put forth to carry the job and their family responsibilities as well. The most telling figures I know with respect to the load that these women must carry come from a Russian study made available by Kingsbury and

Fairchild. It is a study of the time budget of employed men and women. Both the men and women were family heads and on the job for the same period of time. On the average the women spent almost 4 more hours per day in what was called "indispensable labor" than did the men, 26 more hours per week. It may be different here and now. Perhaps the Women's Bureau will let us know.

I find no easy answers to the problems I have suggested. Most difficult are those posed by the married women who are underemployed. Equally difficult is it to see how it will be made possible for married women, especially those whose employment has not been continuous, to enter the labor market with skills and opportunities for employment equal to those of the single women and of men of the same age. Legal limitations we can remove; adverse social attitudes can be altered. But disabilities due to the discontinuity of their employment and the responsibilities they assumed along with their marital and parental status are a different matter.

Genuine economic necessity that forces mothers into the labor market to take whatever they can get is in a sense our least difficult problem. The assumption of greater social responsibility for children, a willingness to invest in human resources that is somewhere near commensurate with our investment in other types of resources, would greatly reduce the proportions of this problem. When we decide that an undesired situation is remediable, debate on the best ways and means is next order of the day.

SOCIAL PATTERNS FOR WOMEN

The Present and the Prospects

Ordway Tead, Chairman, Board of Higher Education, New York City; Editor, Social and Economic Books, Harper and Brothers

My approach to the subject of the effective patterns of women's life is well suggested by two sentences from Mary Beard's stimulating volume, "America Through Women's Eyes," in which he says:

> What woman conceives her role to be, if any at all, and how she regards civilization become as important to the continuance and quality of civilization as are her activities in every department of society and economy. Here as everywhere a divorce of thought from action leads to a decline in creative intelligence.[1]

It is to assure a better wedding of thought and action with regard to the social patterns of modern women's life and to help an upsurge of creative intelligence by men and women as applied to this problem, that I should like to address my remarks. We are at bottom concerned, as Mrs. Beard soundly remarks, with women's conception of their role in a civilization which shall be of a certain quality. And since an economy of material abundance is conceivable as a reality in the foreseeable future, it is clearly the qualitative or value aspects of what our civilization should cherish that needs to preoccupy us most centrally.

There is not time to enumerate the gains of a hundred years in patterns of women's relation to society. Let us agree that they have been appreciable and most gratifying. Rather on an anniversary occasion I conceive our obligation to be to project the trends of fact and of improvement into another century.

If we are to center attention on the working woman, we have to recognize that basically we are talking about most women in our society. For whether they work from necessity or from desire, for salary or for homemaking, the great majority are not idle.

In purely quantitative terms, the figures released by the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor are instructive and impressive. Over 16,000,000 women were working for wages or salaries in 1946. Of a total of nearly 38,000,000 families, just under 29,000,000 were normal families with both parents functioning. In a little less than one-fifth of these normal families (about 5,000,000) both husband and wife went out to work. And this represented an increase of

[1] Published by Macmillan & Co., 1939, p. 7.

2,000,000 such families since 1940. Yet in families with children under 6 years of age only 9 percent of the wives worked. Whereas in the 6,600,000 families where a widowed mother was the breadwinner (or the family was otherwise headed by women) more than one-third of the women with children under 6 were at work, and 50 percent of those with children above 6 but under 18 were working.

The patent fact is that the number of women working away from home is constantly increasing, although women with young children tend to go out to work only under urgent money pressures.

A realistic grasp of the complexity of the total pattern requires, however, a recognition of the variety of groupings into which women fall in terms of work status.

There is the unmarried younger woman—usually under 25 years of age—who is working in the expectation of marriage which will allow her withdrawal from the labor market.

There is the self-elected career woman, sometimes married, sometimes not, sometimes combining her work with motherhood and sometimes not.

There is the single woman over 25 who continues to work through life, usually from necessity, because marriage has not come her way.

There is the childless married woman who works for various reasons.

There is the married woman with young children up to 15 or 16 who usually avoids leaving home to work if income can be otherwise supplied.

There is the married mother with grown children who in our society is often in the anomalous position of wanting to be busy but is bewildered by lack of opportunity, lack of strong incentive, or lack of trained competence, or by all three together. In passing, her plight may be characterized as among the most tragic of the groups in our national community.

And finally, there is the widowed or divorced mother who, whatever the age of her children, is forced by economic necessity to continue indefinitely in the labor market.

To generalize safely about women in such varied relationships to society is surely not an easy task. And thus to talk oversimply about "working women" can readily lead to false conclusions.

Nevertheless, a few broad characterizations seem worth while as further defining the elements of the problem. These have to do with what I shall call the personal, the domestic, and the economic influences upon women's social patterns of living.

As to the personal factors, it has to be recognized, with education now extended through high school for an increasing majority of both boys and girls, that women, like men, are approaching life with a fuller anticipation of rich, rewarding, and variegated living than was formerly true. People ask more of life today, materially and spiritu-

ally. The expectation of maximizing one's selfhood, of realizing one's varied potentials of capacity and interest, of demonstrating one's functional usefulness to society—all this is a strong, even if often inarticulate, demand being made upon life by women equally with men. It has not been without fruitful results that in the last 25 years the whole concept of "the development of personality" has come prominently to the fore both in the teachings of psychology and in the influential objectives of education at all levels. When Professor William E. Hocking said that "the principle of the future state must be that every man shall be a whole man," he perhaps did not realize the extent to which, at least in aspiration, that principle is already influencing the minds and moods of more and more men and women.

To attain a sense of personal fulfillment with which is coupled a satisfying sense of making a real social contribution has, in short, become a driving motive throughout our society to a truly astonishing degree. Wherein that personal fulfillment comes is no doubt still somewhat obscure to many. And it may well be true that for reasons to be considered, women find it harder today to define that fulfillment for themselves than do men. But the disturbing and provocative influence of this motive is one of the strongest dynamics of our society. And the very variety of the social patterns of woman's relation to society only confuses her situation the more.

Indeed, the existence of something like another "irrepressible conflict" needs, I believe, to be considered. The basic personal demands made upon life are identical for men and women even if in some respects the channels of expression and the functional responsibilities may on occasion differ. We all want security of material status and the inner security of being loved, appreciated, and respected. We all want to express "that one talent it is death to hide," as Milton put it. In other words, we each want some satisfaction of distinctive creativity. We all want a recognition among those with whom we associate that we count for and amount to something. We all want to be assured that for us individually, it can be seen that, as the philosopher has said, "Life means intensely and it means good." We all want to feel that our emotional demands for beauty, for peace of mind, for ability to cope with life's suffering, guilt, sin, and tragedy, can be measurably satisfied.

And for women distinctively there is the reality that the urge to creativity normally includes the desire to bear children and, under certain conditions, not to bear children. A whole train of consequences can follow from this desire with results not only felicitous on the one hand but yielding insecurities, fears, anxieties, guilt feelings, and frustrations on the other.

Such a total body of demands upon life as dictated by our innate desires is by common admission not easy for any individual to attain

in our kind of society with its confused standards, hectic compulsions, and uncertain economic underpinnings. The fact that we have not yet translated our amazing potential material productivity into a reasonably secure, adequate standard of physical well-being for all our families is, I am sure, a pervading disruptive influence in our body politic. Adverse or uncertain provisions for livelihood still hang over our society—in terms of threats of inflation, depression, unemployment and other social hazards—to a degree that has neurotic consequences for many. And all this is an influence in the direction of insecurity which probably falls with heavier emotional force on women than on men, for the simple reason that women's relation to economic activity tends still to be indirect and secondary.

Our ends of security, status, creativity, personal integrity, and personal relation to the spiritual forces at work in and through us, thus comprise a total demand upon life which it is hard to satisfy at best. And when, as with women, the problem of achieving these ends presents the choice of widely different modes of expression which have to be reconciled, the situation can readily give rise to profound inner conflict, and often does.

It is, of course, trite and oversimplified to state her conflict as that between motherhood and career. The dilemma is rather to be stated more profoundly as centering in decisions as to where, when, and how the drive to creativity, love, and self-growth is to express itself. In each individual case how are creative urges—physiological, intellectual, moral, and spiritual—*all* to get reasonably balanced and adequate expression? For many women in today's United States, I venture that this dilemma is harder to resolve than for many men. One is prompted to say on their behalf as Antonio said of himself in *The Merchant of Venice:*

> And such a want-wit sadness makes of me
> That I have much ado to know myself.

I hasten to agree that the dilemma of this irrepressible conflict about the focus and flowering of creativity is not helped but hindered by the typical marital situation, if one can identify any one situation as typical. I refer to the fact that men, broadly speaking, immersed in their own aggressive drives for creativity and for ego-maximizing in a competitive society, do not yet seem ready on as wide a scale as necessary to realize the deep roots of the woman's dilemma. Hence, they do not do what they might as husbands and as citizens to help alleviate the contributing causes. There are still vast accumulations of male pride, possessiveness, false social standards, self-centeredness, and fearfulness of job competition, which aggravate the over-all social picture that women confront. These are a part of the social pattern they encounter. There is no solution, as affecting these negative masculine forces, which can come about without frank collaboration

and a truer equal fellowship between the sexes both in the home and in the marketplace.

Yet I think in all honesty that another deterrent influence from the woman's side has also to be reckoned with, before we try to look for remedies. I refer to the ever-present danger that too many women may be willing to settle their accounts with life too cheaply or too easily. A too ready willingness to adjust to the strong forces opposed to her attaining a *rounded* creativity can be for women a resolution which is no solution. Wherever there is the attitude that to marry, settle down, and have a family is to solve the individual woman's problem, there is a too simple capitulation to conventional influences of the male and society generally. "Settling down" is a withdrawal from the creative arena, which is, of course, not confined to women.

But the male in the necessary process of earning a livelihood can, on the whole, through his work, become creative to some degree if he be so minded. Admittedly the same is true of a career within the home for a woman. It can be of enormous creative satisfaction on all the sides of her personality. But surrender to a less than rounded vision and employment of one's creative powers in the home is often the easier way. For it mollifies the husband, pleases the children, and takes less energy and initiative merely to keep the home fires burning. Always to take from life less than it can offer of richness and personal unfolding is to deny one's very selfhood, or at least to hold it too cheaply.

I need mention but briefly the second kind of influence conditioning women's social pattern. I here have reference to the familiar fact of the changed character of the home as a place to function in. The urban woman and suburban woman working in the home with or without children face an operating problem different in important respects from that of the farm wife, and from every wife of 50 years ago. I do not say the task is necessarily easier, but it is different because of domestic gadgets of all kinds, because of smaller families, and because of the variety of services that are now carried forward outside the home. The tie that binds the woman to the home as a creative moral force over and above its living accommodations is thus, unfortunately, not as strong and as challenging in a sustained way as it was for our forebears. Whether or not this is unfortunate would seem to me to depend basically upon how women in the home deal with these changed conditions. And it may well be that a strengthening of the home as a social institution is one of the major corrective efforts to be faced by men and women alike.

My third set of influences are the economic, as relating to women at work outside the home. And I shall maintain that almost all women who go to work, even those few who can afford adequate paid assistance in their homes, find that they experience at least some tensions

and strains in the effort to do for each claimant upon their time all that they would like to do. There is a running apprehension that if the job is being well served, there may be a slighting of husband, or children, or parents, or home management, or of social relations, or even of one's own limited health and strength. A majority of working women recognize two major obligations while men tend to recognize—for better or worse—only one.

A full-time job of from 36 to 40 hours a week is a demanding experience. If a woman in some sense is also competing with a man at her job, that becomes even more demanding. In all honesty, the posts for women in many organizations are mostly confined to the lower echelons. The limits upon creativity here may thus become formidable. Or where women occupy supervisory positions, the anxiety to deliver satisfactorily can too easily lead to a compensatory display of rather austere authority by them, which is basically at odds with the kind of friendly human relations they would naturally manifest in less strenuous and demanding associations.

Nor is the situation as to the use by women of their bargaining power over terms of employment on some collective basis as advantageous as it should be. In a total labor union enrollment of a little under 15,000,000 out of a wage and salaried group of close to 60,000,000, the number of women workers in unions—namely, around 3,000,000—is not impressive. And since the majority of women workers are in clerical or domestic categories, they fall into occupations as yet relatively little organized by the unions.

I stress this need for greater collective action also for important subjective reasons. Training in the assumption of that individual responsibility essential in a democracy is only obtainable by people being explicitly thrust into posts of responsibility. Many more such posts in the unions no less than directly in work relations can greatly multiply the chances for women to learn that the price of personal growth is responsible effort. The more women who can be induced to take some kind of office fitted to their talents, the more women will be matured for responsible leadership.

In short, I am prepared to admit that, except in quite subordinate and relatively uncreative posts, our economic order does not yet recognize women as fully enfranchised participants. Progress has of course been made, but business and industry are in all the crucially determining factors still *a man's world.* And as long as this remains true in spirit even if not in every detail, women at many kinds of work find themselves in subtle conflict with the economic environment and with its animating aims and drives. I hasten to add that this is not women's fault. But that they are psychically the sufferers because of prevailing working patterns, I firmly believe.

Whether we look at women as developing personalities in their own right and with valid democratic claims to autonomy and individual integrity, or look at them in their role as homemakers, or look at them in their capacity as wage and salary earners—it is not a pretty picture.

And we do well on the centenary of the start of the woman's suffrage movement to appraise searchingly where we should go from here.

What, in the light of this analysis, can be done about the obstructing influences in women's social pattern?

I should like to propose a variety of measures touching on various aspects of contemporary life—measures which, could they be simultaneously pressed, would, I believe, help us into another century where in addition to calling the vote her own, the woman of tomorrow could more completely call her soul her own. And this she would do because in a vital sense she would be able to discover her soul more fully and more truly.

1. On the economic side the importance to working women of active participation in some labor organization for collective bargaining provisions is crucial. All labor unions should allow women equal rights of membership and should encourage women members into the councils of union management. Only so will her special problems of security and sufficiency of income, of leaves for maternity, and of provisions for special care for young children, be given more constructive attention.

Unions are needed also in many now unorganized callings where women are numerous.

The present union movement has sufficiently concerned itself with the broad sense of women's stronger status in society. Once union leaders can come to think not alone in terms of rewards for work but also in terms of total personality unfolding as an objective, a rich new area of significant advance will have been charted.

A further effort which the unions should support aggressively, if not take the direct lead in, is the equalizing throughout the States of legislatively enforced protective labor standards with special emphasis on laws requiring equal pay for equal work.

2. One particular provision which collective bargaining might well help to press upon the attention of managements is the granting to women workers as an accepted practice of the right to part-time work. If it were planned that two women should each work on half time to supply a full week's work, that would enable many women better to reconcile the claims of home and of job, of personal health and family duties.

The social benefits of half-time work seem to me so considerable that the adjustments required at the job would in the vast majority of positions be worth whatever bother they might entail. Perhaps the ac-

ceptance of no other single practice would be so helpful to so many women.

3. As a public policy over and beyond possible provisions in union contracts, there should be immediate consideration of a social program of maternity subventions under proper safeguards. We have already accepted the principle involved here so far as widows are concerned; and the possible benefits of an extension of the idea need fresh evaluation.

4. The approach of planned parenthood to child bearing and rearing should be encouraged so that more women might be enabled to relate the rearing of adequate families to their resources as creators and builders of happy and successful homes.

5. More can surely be done than has yet been undertaken to make provision on a dignified and well-paid basis for trained women who on either a whole- or part-time basis can qualify as family workers and domestic assistants.

6. The public educational responsibilities still to be assumed in relation to this problem are tremendous.

Of top priority here is the effort to teach boys and young men about the nature and responsibilities of marriage, of family life, of fatherhood, of women's right to self-fulfillment as that is self-determined. We still have far to go in a realization by men that the family is the primary institution in which democratic principles have to be acknowledged and practiced; and the implications of that practice need careful spelling out to both sexes.

It is next important that women's education as it extends more generally on into the thirteenth and fourteenth year of schooling in community colleges, stress personal and vocational guidance, and help women students to some elementary vocational competence as part of their general education. In the next 10 to 20 years we shall be offering to nearly a half of our men and women 2 more years of free public education. And this should supply a great chance to fit both sexes for personal, vocational, and civic capabilities in ways as yet unattempted.

Women's education, like men's, should help to clarify the areas of citizen obligation for the conduct locally of public housekeeping, education, health, housing, recreation, and worship. The development of civic interest can give scope to many women for invaluable part-time or volunteer community service. We have as a Nation hardly begun to tap the resources of women's rightful contribution to the conduct and oversight of the many public services that contribute to domestic and social well-being.[2]

[2] Excellent suggestions for giving effect to such programs are to be found in Reorganization of Community Services, issued by the Woman's Foundation, 110 East 40th Street, New York, N. Y.

There should be a great extension of public, all-day nursery schools for children as young as 2½ to 3 years of age.

Women teachers should not be required to resign from their teaching when they marry. Indeed, every encouragement should be offered to married teachers to continue professionally whenever that is practical.

7. My final proposal is admittedly in terms of generalities but from my point of view is perhaps the most important of all. I quoted Professor Hocking as saying that the principle of the future state must be that every man and every woman shall be a whole person.

No less for modern woman than for modern man we have the obligation to be more searching within ourselves as to what constitutes wholeness in personality. And we have as men and women to find out in what organized social setting rounded personality can flower to better advantage than here and now.

Many men are narrowed by work and business. Many women are narrowed by home and children—or by jobs and domestic duties. As long as there is fragmented living, there will be frustrated lives.

Abundance of life on the material plane will of itself bring no assurance to either men or women that they possess the secret of inner security, of courage, and of strong ties of creative affection.

The social patterns which now exercise a frustrating influence have multiple causes, as we have seen. But we should not deny that in some measure we can possess within ourselves—both men and women—the resources and the powers which understand wherein true fullness of life inheres.

To work creatively, to love family and friends, to find beauty, to share community obligation, to play productively, to worship reverently—a person, man or woman, is whole only as *all* of these deep desires of life can be realized.

To expect less from *living*, as shown by the narrowness and confusion of one's inner life, is a kind of surrender—and we see this all about us taking different forms in men's and women's patterns of behavior.

Not to surrender, but rather boldly to affirm the ways wherein abundance of the inner life is fed—this is every man's and every woman's summons. This is the basic proposal for spiritual health in our time. *We have to find the fullness of ourselves.*

And as this summons is wisely heeded, the prospect is that each person's response to life can attain an ardor, a glow, and a warmth of compelling grace and power. This grasp of the nature of a larger selfhood can be for women, as well as for men, a new light upon the path of life and a new way to creative social patterns for every person.

February 19 Morning Session

WORKING WOMEN, THEIR CITIZENSHIP RESPONSIBILITIES

Shifting Status of Women: Panel Discussion:

Harrison Smith, *Moderator*
Mrs. Harold Stone
Maida Springer
Elisabeth Christman
Minerva Bernardino
Mildred Fairchild
Dorothy Kenyon
Harrison Smith

SHIFTING STATUS OF WOMEN

Moderator, Harrison Smith
Associate Editor, Saturday Review of Literature:

IT may not be a fair statement to say that I first became interested in women a year ago. Actually, I have been interested in them for a long time. I happen to have been one of those young and ardent men who walked up Fifth Avenue, in the suffrage parade in 1920, carrying one-half a banner in a high wind.

I became involved in what is now known as the "woman problem," in an odd way. A year ago I lost my temper. It happened that I had an editorial to write and went over to the Yale Club to dig up some material the night before. I began to read current magazines, and I discovered, to my consternation, that all the major periodicals of the country were violently attacking the American woman, on all phases of the American woman's life. I said to myself, "How does this happen? As an editor I know enough to realize that they could not have appeared 3 years ago when we were at war."

I decided that during the war women had been, as they always were in wartime, kicked upstairs. They maintained positions, found jobs, discovered new talents for themselves, and earned salaries which they had not dreamed of earning before. When the war was over, there was a united effort to put them back where they came from. Only this time the effort to send them back seemed to me, while not a conspiracy, to be directed in a clever way. The attack was expressed, as you know, through books as well as magazine articles.

Now those attacks on women were serious because they were directed, not only against women who worked for wages, but against the young

married woman, the housewife, and finally that large group of women over 40 years old who number about 25 million today.

I didn't know which end of this problem to tackle. So I wrote a general editorial in a hurry the next morning. It had the most prodigious success, at least for a weekly which has a circulation of only 90,000. Several hundred enthusiastic letters came in. After that, I was asked to speak on the question, before groups and on the radio, and I have been getting deeper and deeper into the woman question every day.

I was like a man who started sinking in a morass and finds that the bog has become quicksand. I have so far, however, halted my progress at the threshold of matrimony. I felt it was extremely dangerous to go behind that door.

While I have jumped the gap of young marriage and the years when a woman is producing her children, I have come face to face with that startling and enormous group of women who are between the age of 42 and that age, 69, at which it is now determined that the average woman should die. There is a most interesting point there. It is incredible and startling to see these life insurance figures rise, especially in regard to women. As you know, women's life expectancy is now stated to be 69, and men's 63. I ask you, will women finally win their battle?

If we don't look out, this group of women will clutter the earth. You see them everywhere. Most of them don't know what to do with themselves. It has been one of my efforts to see if it wouldn't be possible to direct the energies of these women, many of whom have executive capacities. I don't mean those who work or are engaged in such activities as you here are, but the idle women who might give their woman-power to their country in a thousand different ways. Just how we can manage that, I don't know. I don't think they will interfere in the labor market. I don't think they are going to worry anybody, but it will certainly be a spectacle to see these millions of able ladies get started on something, to see their energies engaged in activities that are important to us and to the world.

A man in politics with whom I was discussing the problem said, "Don't talk about that! Can you conceive of what would happen if all the women's clubs ever got together on one thing? There wouldn't be a politician in Washington whose hat wouldn't be blown off." And I think he is right about it, too.

It is true that I have not investigated any of these problems thoroughly. It seemed to me that if, like a traveler in a strange country, I used my first impressions and emotions as best I could and slowly penetrated deeper into the subject, I could perform a service of some value.

What I am actually calling for is a kind of modern crusade, not the old crusade for women's rights which we assumed women had won 28 years ago. We assumed, because women had the vote, that the battle was over. The battle is by no means over. In fact, women are losing it in some ways and in many places day by day. Something must be done about it, and it can only be done by an inspired and intelligent movement for the partnership of women with men in all the fields of activity in America.

There is something to be said for that partnership. In the first place, women own two-thirds of the wealth of the United States. If they were men, that would not only make them partners, but presidents and vice presidents in the firm. Of course, they don't get the power that goes with that wealth. The power goes to the bankers, directors, brothers-in-law, and all the others who become executors of the widow. While the returns from this enormous wealth flow into women's pockets or trickle into them through dividends, the real power of wealth is directed, of course, by men. There would be an economic revolution if something could be done about that. Perhaps the less said about it the better, but it is a power that women could use, if they chose to, in a beneficent way.

Then, of course, the larger undertaking for women is *to make up their minds that there shall be no more war.* How is that going to be done? I confess I don't know, but I do know that if women could decide who were the right men to vote for, determine somehow who were the men who would lead us most definitely toward peace, then, providing those women would join together, a mighty purpose would be achieved. And I'm not referring to Mr. Wallace, incidentally. It is not enough to say, "I will give you peace. Vote for me." I think there is a choice somewhere, and I think it ought to be the women's job to ferret out those men and discover the right ones in the community that will somehow lead us toward lasting peace.

I think also, that in order to achieve this gigantic purpose, more women should get into the legislatures. I certainly think that our Congress here on the Hill furnishes quite a sight: Seven women, after 28 years of women's vote! And a few of those women are, I gather, the widows of what are cheerfully known as "former incumbents."

There is an enormous campaign for women in all of these problems and in others which you are going to talk about today, of which I know very little. So I say, "Let's have a new crusade, not to knock men off their perch but to get a seat beside them."

Mrs. Harold Stone
League of Women Voters:

Of course, I don't hold quite the same view that Mr. Smith does. I am afraid he has been too much in New York. I have been out over

the country. I was born in "Ioway." I taught school in Iowa, Michigan, and Louisiana. I spent some time in California. I have lived in the East for nearly 10 years. But I have been traveling out over the country as part of my responsibilities as a member of the National Board of the League of Women Voters.

I see this American woman a little bit differently. Now, perhaps I am going to paint a somewhat idealized picture, but it will be for the other members of the panel to snipe at her. They can bring her down to earth. But this is the way I see her, and I have met not hundreds, but thousands, of her. Of course, I know that in our organization, at least, our membership has increased 42 percent in the last 3 years. I also know that, at least in our organization, we do speak with one voice. We have representative democratic procedures for finding that voice, and I believe it is heard.

So, when I look at this American woman, I see a woman of heroic proportions, clear of eye and trim of figure. On one arm she carries the family market basket, on "t'other" shoulder swings a smartly tailored bag. She worked 4 or 5 years after she graduated from high school or perhaps college, and she says to herself some day she'll work for dollars again. But not right now. From her experience as a working gal she learned to meet a daily schedule. She learned to organize her work. She learned to work with a lot of different kinds of people. Every weekday morning now she is up and at it for her family and her community. No kimonos at breakfast! She does not meander into her day.

As I said, her day is organized. Not down to the last quarter of an hour, perhaps, not every day, but some days, and she loves it that way. Her doctor tells her that the active life is the healthy life. She is competent. I should like to repeat that: She is competent. She drives a car as if she were born in it. She types, at least 70 words a minute. Yes, and she can take shorthand, too. She knows that Jimmie Byrnes and Anna Lord Strauss take shorthand because they don't want to miss anything. She can write minutes as interesting as a novel. She can cut a stencil and run a mimeographing machine. She uses the telephone for the purpose of conveying a single message at a time. No meandering here, either. Not that she can't tell a funny story occasionally. The morning after the budget hearing she can't resist telling a joke on the stuffiest of the city fathers. That market basket now. She sees it in relation to the entire world. She reads in the paper, "Price Adjustments in the Commodity Market Have Been Greatly Influenced by More Optimistic Forecasts of Total World Food Supply." She reflects on that. It makes sense to her, and she ties it into some other things she knows about, FAO and ERP, and domestic supply and demand. She knows that Americans are better nourished than any other nation in the world has ever been, and

she feels that she plays a part in keeping things that way. So right now she is buying tongue and oleomargarine and skipping the bacon and beefsteak except on special occasions.

She just mailed a letter to a Congressman, telling him exactly what she thinks about the Federal tax on oleomargarine, which isn't much, but she remembered to be polite.

She talks these things over with her neighbors and friends and at regular meetings — small meetings — where she can say what she thinks—brisk and purposeful meetings. They are regular because she knows mighty well that her family's welfare depends on the happy or unhappy trends of world events. She reflects quite a bit on that fact. "Optimistic Forecasts of World Food Supply Next Year" can bring the price of butter down in a big hurry.

Time was when she skimmed the headlines and the meaning of these things went right over her head. But those regular discussions have sharpened her eyes and made her pause at different words coming in on the radio. Recently she was on a committee to compare the news coverage of her home-town paper on UN with that of the New York Times for a 6–7 weeks' period. She did a lot of clipping and pasting, and when the committee work was done she went along to see the editor and asked: "Why not more UN news for the people of Middletown?" Now they're getting it.

She was on a radio program the other day, a regular feature produced weekly by the League of Women Voters. There was a part for a little boy, and her son went along and filled in. Two sentences in all, but this is what he told his friends the next day: "Gosh, I went along with my mother to the radio station yesterday and I talked over the telescope. And—and my mother talked and I got to say a few words, too, and they were *League of Women Voters words.* And gosh, it was hard work. We had to go down afterward and buy me an ice cream strawberry soda." As the twig is bent—

She has found recently that radio producers and theater managers are responsive—indeed very responsive—to her desires.

These heroic proportions I was talking of, well—she came into my office one day last summer, and this time she was from California and she and her husband owned an almond grove. We fell to talking about reciprocal trade and the coming ITO conference. We spoke in generalities for a while, until I asked her about the tariff on almonds. She admitted it was high and that almond raising was very profitable, especially during and since the war. Our talk passed on to other things, and after a bit she got up and said "Good-bye." She walked to the door and then turned back. "I just want to say," she said quietly, "that my husband and I have talked about that high tariff on almonds, and if it is for the good of all and if it is the road to world peace, we would understand if the tariff on almonds was cut. And if almond

growing were no longer profitable, we would find some other way to earn a living."

Within that bag, swinging casually on her shoulder, her various artifacts are neatly and orderly arranged. She can find them without fussing. And there are also a couple of little pamphlets there varying with the season. "Are You Registered to Vote? Here's How You Do It," says one of them. "Have You Written Your Congressman about ERP?" says another. In short, brightly, briefly written, attractively written booklets. She loves them. They are such fun and so much a habit now, that they are no extra trouble.

Are American women good citizens? They are not numerous in public office. Are women irreligious because there aren't more women preachers? You don't change a man-shaped culture overnight. It might be better to work shoulder to shoulder with the men, with an attitude of "I'd like to take my share of the responsibility for things now for a while. Things are really pretty bad, and perhaps it is because I haven't been carrying my weight." There will be more of her holding more responsibilities in the near future, I am sure. But meanwhile, she knows that everyone counts in a democracy. Yes, *everyone counts in a democracy.*

Maida Springer
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

Mrs. Stone, in her final remarks, talked about all women in a democracy; all people must receive their fair share of its benefits and accept their responsibilities. I would like to speak for a few moments on the industrial women in a democracy as distinguished from the homemaker and the professional women. Where the industrial woman is part of an organized trade-union group, she is better able to assume the responsibilities of citizenship and to contribute to her community because of the social and economic benefits she receives through her union. Because of her shorter workweek, higher wages, and sense of personal worth and dignity, she is released to take her rightful place as a citizen.

We are here celebrating a centennial of the struggle of women for equality and against discrimination in any form. You see, it would be easy for me to tell you about equality in my union, the garment workers, where the women are in the majority. We do not discriminate against the *men* in that union. We allow them to have the benefits and the privileges of the 35-hour week, vacation with pay, job guarantee, health benefits, and all of the other advantages, except of course, maternity benefits. This we still reserve exclusively as a woman's privilege. We do intend, however, to teach the men that once they are fathers, they too share in that responsibility and joy.

Seriously, we are celebrating a great deal more than a centennial of the struggle for exclusively women's rights. As I read some of the

heroic efforts of the women who made for great trade unionism, not only for women but for all workers, I am of the opinion that because women fought so hard for better conditions—which led to health legislation, factory inspection, and other safety measures—the conditions of men were also improved. My mind goes back to 1825, when that first strike of tailoresses occurred—for healthier conditions, for shorter hours, and for all of the other improvements which we today accept as a matter of right and of course. We have lost many battles and won a few. And today a trade unionist and a woman are accepted to a degree.

I say "accepted to a degree" because even in 1948 there are still widespread fallacious attitudes about working women. One of these is that women are an unstable labor supply, to be used only during a national emergency and to be discarded when the emergency is over. Another is that most married women's husbands provide them with economic security and that they work merely for pin money. This latter attitude completely overlooks the hard reality that women work of absolute necessity because a great percentage of them are heads of families, or must supplement the meager earnings of their husbands. Furthermore, there is that other large group of women who are single and are their own sole support.

A third fallacy is that women are unorganizable, or difficult to organize, and therefore contribute little to economic advancement. The truth is all people are difficult to organize. We have not yet reached the stage where belonging to an organization to improve one's economic status is as significant in a democracy as one's religion or one's ultimate faith, political or otherwise.

Actually, where hours are reduced and wages increased, the working woman has more time to devote to her own self-development and to her family. Her wages contribute toward a better education for her children. She has more time to learn of cultural things. She has time to join in with the women who have had greater economic and social advantages. This development of the whole person should be the ultimate goal of a rounded democracy. However, we are in our attitudes still a far cry from it. I have in mind a recent incident. My son, who is a college student and who is studying economics, told me that in a class discussion of labor which centered around John L. Lewis and the miners, one of his classmates asked, "Why educate the miners' children, because miners' children have mentalities so low they can never rise above that anyway? And if they are educated, who will dig the coal?" This from a member of the future generation upon whose social consciousness much of the Nation's economic welfare will depend.

This morning my plea to those of you who may not have had much contact with trade-union people, and who may feel that they are people apart, is that you realize that we as a Nation are strengthened

or weakened in the measure that workers succeed. In trade-unionism we stress the principle that a chain is no stronger than its weakest link. If working women and men have no standards, the standards of the whole country are pulled down. If workers cannot supply the simple decencies of life to their families, the entire world suffers.

Today we in America are a bulwark of hope and freedom in the world, and as trade-unionists and as women we have been in the vanguard of enlightenment. We are demonstrating that democracy as a way of life, imperfect though it may be, is the best medium through which to achieve the fullest development of the individual. In the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union we have pioneered in the development of the individual. We have started classes in public speaking to help our members become more articulate. These classes are not just public speaking classes; they are discussions in current events. They concern themselves with what is happening on the European Recovery Program, with the effects of the Taft-Hartley Law, with social insurance, housing, and health legislation. These discussions give an awareness to the workers in the shop of the important issues of the day and what role they can play in deciding these issues.

The trade-unionists today have done an amazing educational job for the Nation, and those of us assembled here belonging to other organizations can go back with the conviction that other public spirited groups must join with the trade-unions and carry on greater intensive efforts to keep this country healthy and vital through an informed and articulate citizenry.

The Women's Bureau, in the evaluation of standards it has been making around the country, has broadened the base of the Nation's understanding of women's role in a democracy. It has given invaluable assistance and provided incentive for us to translate these standards into realities. Congratulations to them for their work, more power to them, and let us go forward!

Elisabeth Christman [1]
National Women's Trade Union League:

A few decades ago women in industry were bypassed as an unknown quantity and scarcely recognized as wage earners. Trade unions too often were not concerned about the wages a woman was paid or the number of hours she worked. In fact, little attention was given to the hazards surrounding her employment. The industrial woman had, as we now say, no status.

Let us briefly review progress made. About 3 million women are now members of trade unions, and a goodly number of them have re-

[1] In Elisabeth Christman's enforced absence her paper was read by Pauline Newman, National Women's Trade Union League.

sponsibilities and contribute significantly to making collective bargaining work. It is true that not many women are in top places in the unions. It is still to a high degree a man's world at the top. But many women without benefit of title or of official recognition are a power behind the throne, and it is simply a matter of time in which to pile up examples of proven capacities until women get the official recognition they deserve.

Luckily, women traditionally have patience and persistence, two qualities that stand them in good stead in their struggle for recognition. Many of the tasks performed by women in industry in World War II, which seemed to be new fields for them, had actually been performed by women during World War I. In the intervening years we forgot what women had done in the first war, so that in the recent war the great discovery of women's ability was made all over again.

The fact that large numbers of women are now in the labor force to stay is recognized by provision for them in union contracts. For instance, the provisions respecting equal pay for comparable work are written into union agreements, which is all leading to the recognition of women as persons in the unions.

We are also participating actively in the strengthening of existing labor laws and in the promotion of other social legislation on national and local levels. Women's auxiliaries of men's unions have an increasing awareness of the importance of laws and of community projects. Women in the labor movement did a more zealous job in connection with price control during the war. Trade-union women served almost universally on price panels in their communities, and auxiliaries and other groups got out thousands of effective releases showing the value of price control to the consumer and the importance of holding the line together. These women were a real factor in helping to make price control work, and they furnish an illustration of what we can do if we organize our efforts.

The status women achieved during the last war was threatened with another setback in the postwar period. But the union membership of women had grown to such proportions that it was not so easy to bypass them or to silence them. They were aware of the changing world and the fact that they are a part of the permanent labor force, part of the 60 million who want, need, and must have jobs. They cannot be denied the right to work, the right to equal pay, the right to job seniority, the right to legal safeguards on the job. These are the basic rights of women workers and a fundamental part of the American way of life.

The trade-union women's program should be to make these principles common everyday practice. There are a number of women on national executive boards of unions, but not enough of them. Women are on wage negotiating committees, but again not enough of them. More and more women are holding local union offices, increasing num-

bers of women are doing work for Federal legislation for national unions and are taking the leadership on State legislation matters and appearing before State legislatures. An increasing number of women hold the position of shop steward, an important post in a union, but considering the number of women organized, the proportion is still far too small.

Women are not assertive enough. They must learn by doing in the union. The National Women's Trade Union League recognized this at its last convention and recommended increased activity in union affairs and in community projects, both for the benefit of the union and of the community.

We have a wealth of proven factual material at our disposal for the asking from the Women's Bureau, and we are increasingly aware of the value of this material and of the importance of learning how to use it effectively.

We are forging for ourselves an increasingly important place in the trade-union movement, which in turn makes us more aware of our citizenship and community responsibilities. It is to the mutual benefit of ourselves as individuals of the trade-union movement and of our Nation that we are constantly striving to strengthen this relationship.

Minerva Bernardino
Inter-American Commission of Women:

Before I start my remarks I would like to express the thanks of the Inter-American Commission of Women to Miss Miller and to the Women's Bureau of the United States for their invitation to be here today. I think it will be a nice opportunity to remind this gathering of outstanding women that a member of the staff of the Women's Bureau is also a delegate of the United States Government to our Inter-American Commission of Women. Her good command of our language, of our culture, her interest in the problems of women in our countries have been a great help to our Inter-American Commission of Women. I am referring to Miss Mary Cannon, for whom we women of the Americas have a great admiration.

Problems of women in the economic, social, and legal fields are universal. They know no national boundaries. Need, the lack of rights and privileges, low standards of living and working—these conditions affect the well-being of women wherever they exist. This fact is evidenced by the many different phases of economic problems discussed in this conference—better working conditions, better rates of pay in large, women-employing industries, proper training for women in industry, and community services to help lighten the burden of women who are both workers and homemakers.

These and other problems have been acute for women workers in Latin America for a long time, and will continue to be serious as those

countries expand their industrialization, which is just beginning in some of them. Women are working because as in this country their earnings are needed for the livelihood of their families. But they are working without adequate legislation or its proper enforcement, and consequently without just and fair pay.

This situation of working women in Latin America has for a number of years been a major consideration of the Inter-American Commission of Women. In an effort to compile definite and authentic data on the subject, the Commission last year asked the cooperation and assistance of the Women's Bureau. Sources of information were found to be scant, and replies received from 6 of the 20 Latin American countries were incomplete for our purpose. However, we were able to secure basic data for a brief statement on the economic status of women in the other Americas, which the Commission will include in its official Report, to be submitted at the Ninth International Conference of American States in Bogota next month. This Report will include also complete data on the political and civil status of women of the American Republics.

We will use the very lack of material on the economic status of women to call attention to the sad plight and neglect of working women in the Latin American countries. We will ask the American governments to include in their legislative programs sufficient provision for a complete study of the economic status of women in the respective countries; and we will urge that trained specialists and technicians be supplied to work on this important project. After the Bogota Conference, the Commission hopes that it may, in cooperation with the International Labor Office, make an exhaustive study on working women in Latin America.

Chiefly through efforts of the Inter-American Commission of Women since 1928, women in ten of the Latin American countries now enjoy equal national suffrage. Municipal suffrage is established in four other Republics. Woman must first be recognized as a deserving citizen of her country, as an integral part of its government, before she can successfully seek rights and concessions in other fields.

The Inter-American Commission of Women, at the coming Conference of the American States on Bogota, will therefore ask for the adoption of a "Convention on Equal Civil and Political Rights"—an agreement in treaty form, which, when ratified by the American governments, would provide equal political as well as civil rights for women in those Republics where it does not yet exist. I am happy to tell you that the delegation of one of the most advanced Latin American countries will sponsor this proposed Convention at the Bogota Conference.

Its adoption would be a distinct step toward the economic betterment of women in the American Republics. With full political

status—the enjoyment of civil equality and responsibility with men—they will have greater right to ask for and expect similar provisions in the economic world.

As you probably know, the Inter-American Commission of Women also was responsible for the adoption of the equal nationality convention at the Montevideo Conference of American States in 1933. This treaty which gives to women married to foreigners the right to keep their nationality and transmit it to their children has been ratified by the majority of the American Republics.

If the direct action of the Inter-American Commission of Women is not needed for aid to women of the United States, I am sure they will feel no less an obligation to help women in sister American Republics to secure the same political freedom which they themselves enjoy. And they will recall that the economic advancement of women in the United States has been greatest since the gaining of their political independence in 1920.

Therefore, the Commission hopes for the support of the United States delegation at the Bogota Conference on adoption of the proposed Convention on Equal Civil and Political Rights. Prolongation of discussion and argument on this subject can only be an anticlimax. The granting of civil and political equality to women constitutes a "new look" of the world. It is a principle established in the United Nations Charter—surely the most important political document of our times.

Mildred Fairchild
International Labor Organization:

Mr. Chairman and members of the conference, as I have sat listening for the last few days to the discussions that have gone on in this room, and as I have sat listening to the panel this morning, I have been impressed with the fact that conferences like this could well take place in all sections of the world. I have been impressed with the fact that the problems that you have discussed in the last 2 days are problems which are comparable in character if not in degree with the problems that are being discussed by women in England, in France, in the other countries of Europe, in India, and—hopefully I say—are beginning to be discussed even by many women in the Near East, and, certainly for some time, have been discussed in Latin America.

The likeness of these problems, it seems to me, pointed up by the very picture which Mrs. Stone has given us this morning. Her heroic woman—I am afraid I can't agree with her that we have reached that stature yet. Sometimes I fumble in my bag for things I want to get out, and surely I ought to be trained by this time in efficient methods of activity. I don't eat breakfast in a negligee, usually.

But the picture that Mrs. Stone painted is a picture that I think women in India, certainly women in Europe, many women in Latin America are beginning to envisage as a necessary goal. I would add some feet to that heroic figure, however, even though it is pretty tall now. Here in these United States some 30 percent of the labor force is composed of women, and a great many of these women are working, not only for 4 or 5 years after finishing school, but after their children are reared. In this country, in Europe, and in the East a great many women not only are carrying family and citizenship responsibilities but are also contributing actively to the necessary economy of the home through working (as well as through swinging the market basket).

While perhaps 30 percent of the American labor force consists of women, there are many countries in which women are 40 and 50 percent of the labor force. Whether or not that indicates that the older industrial countries are leading the way for the rest of us, I don't know. But in this country the proportion of women who work steadily through life is increasing, and I am afraid we must expect that it will continue to increase during the next century. So we must think of women as having to share in sustaining the economic security of the home as well as in the upbringing of the children and in the citizenship responsibilities.

That is a sober prospect, and I, like Mr. Smith, am not at all convinced that we are at all able as yet to meet it. But I am convinced that we have to meet it, and I am convinced that the women of other parts of the world are likewise having to meet it. Indeed, it even holds promise of great advantage to us. For as we take responsibility—as the women of all countries take more and more responsibility—for making contact with each other, for recognizing our common problems, for taking an active part in improving standards of life and standards of work and in insuring the peace of the world (all these I think are interrelated)—it seems to me that, moving into that greater responsibility, we will make an essential contribution to the future of society.

Now we have the instruments at hand. You have commented through these days on the great value that you feel there is in the work of the Women's Bureau, the contribution that it makes to women's organizations all over this country, expanding their knowledge of situations, of problems, of desirable standards. Let me tell you that your Women's Bureau is one of the most effective governmental organizations in the world in contributing knowledge of these things to the world. I wish there were a similar women's bureau in India, in China, in various European countries, and certainly I hope that the women's bureaus that are developing in Latin American countries will be coming along rapidly.

Here you have instruments which can work together, cannot only give but can get information and can feed it into comparable international organizations. You are going to hear from the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women in a few minutes. That is a baby organization, as Miss Kenyon will tell you. The International Labor Organization is older. Most of you know that the ILO was founded in 1919 and, with the help of the president of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Gompers, as well as with European and English ideas, functioned for 25 years. It was founded under the League of Nations and affiliated with it; it is the one organization which survived the war, has continued on to the present day as an affiliate of the United Nations, and is the first of the great specialized agencies.

The work of those 25 years has been in no sense lost. I came into this organization only 2 years ago, and I found it a going concern, with a great body of practice, of knowledge, of established procedure, and a tremendous body of international standards in labor and labor law which are a great contribution to the developing international law of the world. The ILO has about 86 international conventions, as we call them, or agreements covering hours of work, social insurance, child labor, industrial health, safety and hygiene, vocational training, employment and unemployment, maternity protection—the whole range of problems that workers have.

Of these 86 conventions and an equal number of agreements, that are standards nations do not obligate themselves to follow but are interested in—of this great body of standards, the great mass cover men and women alike. It has always been the policy of the International Labor Office that to lift the standards of the working people of the world was the best way to lift the standards of the working women of the world.

Nevertheless, there are certain problems that are specifically women's problems, and such a question as maternity protection is certainly the outstanding one. Do you realize that there are 51 nations in this world that have legislation today providing maternity leave, maternity benefits, and security of employment during the period of leave? Fifty-one nations outside the United States. Not all of them have the same standards. But some 25 have substantially the same provisions as those of the third international convention which was adopted in Washington at the first meeting of the ILO in 1919.

This body of material is dynamic in character. It is possible to revise it. Next June, for example, the regulations concerning night work for women, which have been ratified as conventions by some 34 countries, will be revised for the second time, in the interest of greater flexibility to allow certainly a two-shift system of work, and in the

interest of exempting certain professional and technical people who work in industry. This convention covers only women in industry.

There are new problems eternally coming up. The problem of equal pay is probably going to be laid on the doorstep of the International Conference very soon. I think Miss Kenyon will probably have a little more to say about that, because equal pay has already been discussed in the Commission on the Status of Women, and it is at the moment being discussed in the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. But equal pay is a subject which the ILO has discussed repeatedly, has taken gentle, cautious steps forward to try and move it to the point where it might be looked upon as a recognized standard. There is more that needs to be done, and I think we will be doing it soon.

Last summer there was laid upon us by our Conference the responsibility for studying and working on the problems of the woman with the double responsibility you were discussing yesterday morning: the woman who has a home and who works 8 hours a day in addition to caring for that home. She, and not the part-time worker, is the typical working woman the world over, much as we wish it might be the latter.

Therefore we must attack on an international scale the very problems you are dealing with here. But may I say that I know of no body of women in the world more able to attack those problems than American women, if I may judge from this conference.

I, therefore, would lodge a plea with you not only that you recognize that women elsewhere in the world, have such problems, but that you recognize that your responsibilities as citizens call upon you to remember their problems and study them and ally yourselves with them. By this process I think you will increasingly find that you are following one of the paths that is essential to reach the goal.

Dorothy Kenyon
U. N. Commission on the Status of Women:

It is a familiar slip of the tongue to say "United States" when one means "United Nations." Secretary Marshall finally compromised on "United Stations." I suppose it is appropriate that the baby should speak last, as the baby is growing, and in very husky fashion. You heard our chairman just a little while ago say that this sounded like a self-congratulatory meeting, we were all saying how fine everything was; so, if you don't mind my pursuing my natural bent, I should like to introduce at this point a sour note.

The woman of the future may very well be what Mrs. Stone says she is, and we like to think that that is the woman of the United States and of the world as well. But you sit around a table with women from 14 other countries besides your own, who come from all parts of the world, and you realize right away that the picture is very much more

complex than it appears to us here in the United States, that there are shades and shades of difference. It takes a little international diet of that sort to make us fully appreciate the problems that women face all over the world. In order to understand, we have to sit down at the same table with the Chinese woman, with the Indian woman, with the women from Latin America, with the woman from Syria, with the woman from Byelo-Russia, with the women from Europe, and so on.

Our Commission is very diverse, and yet completely agreed, because the plank on which we stand is that very simple statement in the Charter of the United Nations, "fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion." We are concerned with that part of the plank which has to do with people who happen to be women.

We are united in our aims. We have been trying to hammer out at our last session at Lake Success a practical program for giving ourselves and the rest of the women of the world the key to those freedoms.

We all recognize that the first key in a democratic society, of course, is the vote. Woman suffrage is the key whereby we may unlock all the other freedoms. So we use that as our basic Number One point in our platform.

There are still 22 countries in the world where women do not now have that basic freedom, and so our Commission with its little bow and arrow is moving upon those 22 countries. They are located, except for Switzerland and Portugal, mainly in the Middle East and Latin America. Those are the two black areas on our map, and we are not going to give them very many years, because, as I say, the child is growing rapidly, and the vote is the first key to unlock the box of freedom.

So we are only giving those countries a few years. They must hurry up and give women the vote. Then following that, and so closely related to it that it is almost impossible to distinguish the two, is the use that you make of the vote, the extent of your participation in government. I think it is fine to be able to look around and decide on the right man to vote for, but why not the right man or *woman* to vote for? Mr. Smith, you forgot that.

So we are also concerned in our Commission with the need of getting women to come out of their apathy and to increase, greatly increase, their participation in all aspects of government, both as citizens and also as members of government, in all its various attributes.

We are also concerned about education, because you can't be an intelligent voting citizen in a democracy unless you have at least a minimum of education, and there is an enormous amount of illiteracy in the world. Now it is true, of course, that illiteracy is shared by little boys as well as by little girls, but they have a strange habit

sometimes of educating little boys, pushing them forward, and tending to forget the little girls. And our Commission intends that henceforth there shan't be any such oversight.

In the field of economic rights and opportunities there is also a very large area to be covered. Our Commission has decided that of all the various economic problems the problem of equal pay for equal work is probably the most important. We made a particular point of that at our last Commission meeting. It has since been made a point of in the last session of the Economic and Social Council. We have called upon the ILO to assist us in getting at the facts and in formulating ways and means of bringing about, not only that simple act of justice to women, but what is also the establishment of our economic system on a sound basis. Because, as has been said, when you have a group that are undercutting, they tend to drag down the whole wage scale.

So this is a battle not only for women but for men as well. Fortunately the men are beginning to realize it. You will notice that when Pauline Newman was talking about trade unions, she looked at me when she said trade unions worked for equal pay. Well might she have looked at me because she and I have had many discussions on that point, and she knows that I have read many trade union agreements in which inequality in pay was actually written right into the agreement.

So we still have a job to do to educate trade union men, and let's not be too complacent about that, either. My tendency is to let the chips fall where they may, you see.

And then there are other matters, too. We hope to create new international law. There are many hardships that women suffer from as the result of conflicts in laws between different countries, particularly in the fields of nationality, domicile, marriage, and divorce. We hope to pick up the task of the Treaty of Montevideo, which Miss Bernardino has already alluded to, and to make that type of treaty and others that may flow from these same matters into world-wide international treaties. We have a tremendous job in front of us in respect to that, but it is going to be very useful in helping married women, who we all agree do suffer in many countries of the world from special disabilities and who greatly need help on that account.

How can we carry out any part of this program? We have no power whatsoever. We are a part of the United Nations and we share that little disability of powerlessness with the United Nations. There is only one way in which we can carry out any of our program for fundamental freedoms, and that is by virtue of our appeal to public opinion and the support that we get from public opinion.

If the ladies from 42 to 69 want to have a job, all they need do is to organize public opinion in all the countries of the world in support of

the program of the Commission on the Status of Women, and I can promise them that those 27 years of their lives will be happily and busily engaged. They may even die a little sooner, though I doubt it. We seem to be a little tougher than the male, and perhaps a healthy bit of work—since work is good for our health—may help us live even longer.

In any event we need the support of public opinion. We need to have you know what we are doing, support what we are doing, tell us if we are wrong, because occasionally even we may be wrong, and go ahead in your communities and put across these principles. And we are starting to work on that sort of thing right now and I want you to know about it. I want you to see if you think it is a good idea.

This is a technique which, Miss Fairchild, we stole from the ILO and a few other organizations that have done the same thing. We decided that there was no point in our Commission's forever meeting in New York City and discussing things in a vacuum, passing fine resolutions, and so forth and so on. We just couldn't remain little provincial New Yorkers. We had to get out into the world and get into those areas of the world where women need help the most, so that we might see and have our own views in regard to these matters enriched by contacts with people in other places, so that the people in those places might have a chance to get close to us and talk to us and tell us about their problems, so that we could mobilize the public opinion of the world, particularly in those areas where help is needed most.

So we decided to hold regional conferences. We want to be a peripatetic Commission that travels around the world. That is what the ILO has done, and Mildred Fairchild will agree, I am sure, that it has been one of the most rewarding techniques of the ILO.

We had a little trouble, of course, in winning support for the idea on the score of expense. But, then, on the last day of our Commission meeting we had a most delightful invitation from the Government of Lebanon, inviting us to meet there at our next meeting in the spring of 1949, and agreeing to pay all the extra expenses. That wonderful invitation from Lebanon means that our next meeting can be held in the heart of the Middle East. A little bit later, perhaps, we can go to Latin America.

So you see, this matter of the 22 countries where women do not have the vote is almost a footnote of history which we have already moved beyond, because I give them 3 or 4 more years and that will be the end of that. After that all we will have to work for is to see that women use the key to freedom which they have won.

Now, the importance of this meeting in Lebanon is just this: Not only do we want to have the Commission meet there, building our meeting around this matter of the right to vote and the matter of

equal pay, which, together with the nationality treaty, are going to be the three principal items on our agenda; but over and above that, we want to have as many as possible of the women's organizations of the world, the international women's organizations, and those that are located in those areas plan to hold their annual—or whatever it may be—meetings at the same time that we meet, so that we may have a real meeting of minds with the women of the world, and certainly with the women of that particular part of the world.

I want you to know that, and I want you to take it back to the groups to which you belong and see what you can do to help us in building up these women's international organization meetings that we want to take place. And in case any of you should hesitate a little bit, may I tell you that Lebanon in the spring is one of the most beautiful countries in the world. And while I can't do anything about the cost of getting there, I can eliminate time for you by suggesting that you fly. I would like, therefore, to have as much support as possible from the women's organizations of the United States, because I think we are great organizers. We do know how to organize as the women of no other country in the world do. We have learned that. Let us put our backs to this job so that when the Commission goes out to Lebanon it will be to meet with a real convocation of the women of the world.

Harrison Smith:

I think Dorothy Kenyon made the greatest understatement of the day. She spoke of the Commission on the Status of Women as using a little bow and arrow. I should not like to be on the receiving end of that arrow, if Miss Kenyon directs it.

But now perhaps the chairman can say a few words.

Just before the New Masses gave up the ghost—I might say from my standpoint, somewhat happily, although it did perform some valuable functions, and whether it gave up the ghost because of the F. B. I. looking through the window or because of financial troubles, I can't discover. In its last issues it published a two-piece article titled "Woman against Myth." I wonder if any of you have ever seen it. It is an extraordinary and bitter article, written by a woman named Betty Millard, about the status that woman has achieved in the United States. There is a great deal of truth in what Miss Millard says. I think perhaps her most bitter statement is that women have yet to achieve one right in the United States, and that is the right to be lynched because they are women.

We are so apt to regard the ability of women to get together in organizations and in clubs as a victory that I am afraid we don't realize how little they can sometimes achieve. As I sat here today

I suddenly thought of the women's movement, not as a battle, but as a tidal wave; and an appalling idea that is, too.

Nevertheless the movement is in a curious way a tidal wave. Women now are over half the population of the United States. We crossed the border 2 or 3 years ago, and I presume in the world at large women far outnumber the men; in England today there are almost 5 million extra women.

In my small experience since I became a crusader in this movement, I have been sometimes startled. For example, I went for the New York Times Forum to the Pelham Women's Club the other day, and I thought the ladies were charming and intelligent; I thought the work they were doing for charity, and so on, was admirable. But finally I asked them how many women in Pelham were members of the Board of Selectmen, and they said, "None." For the first time they showed violent interest, because a roar went up that shook the windows. Then I asked them how many women in Pelham were on the Board of Education. "One," the answer came. It isn't that they don't want to get on such Boards. They don't know how to get on them.

Through the radio and through editorials and articles in magazines, I am receiving a remarkable mail. They are extraordinarily interesting, these letters. They range from 1 page to maybe a 10-page letter from some woman who wants to tell me how bitter her experiences in life and work have been. So that this movement, while it is a quiet tidal wave, is sometimes an angry one. And I don't think that women can achieve what they want without realizing the hostility that lies around them in this fight. There is a great deal of hostility on the part of men against women's gaining more power or opportunities for work.

February 19 Afternoon Session

CONFERENCE SUMMARY

SUMMARY OF FEBRUARY 17 MORNING SESSION

Thelma Mills, Director of Student Affairs for Women, University of Missouri

WITH my invitation to attend the conference on "The American Woman—Her Changing Role as Worker, Homemaker and Citizen" came Great Expectations. And upon my arrival Tuesday, this anticipation was heightened by Miss Miller's request that I summarize the first morning's session. Perhaps she wished one Missourian to report on another Missourian, our President; and she may also have known that she was asking a Washington Stater to report on her Federal Judge (for I was among his Inland Empire constituency, and I well remember the West Coast Hotel case on Minimum Wage in 1937). Whatever her reason, it is my privilege to summarize our first session together.

President Truman keynoted the conference: he expressed his pride in the women who are serving so capably in international affairs, thus giving form and substance to the social, economic, and spiritual life of our country. He commented upon the success which women have attained in social legislation, in greater economic status, in higher education for women, and in civil and political rights, yet challenged us to effective work on the many unfinished tasks. These problems are being studied but they cannot be accomplished at once. He cautioned us, however, to make our goals known and to persist in demanding action toward them, for a "better life for all our people."

The forward look was emphasized by Secretary Schwellenbach. In his words, "This is not merely a one hundredth anniversay celebration.

I'd like to see you make this meeting a declaration of purposes of women's organizations in the United States." Yes, a declaration that we will expand our economy; that we are going to see that we have prosperity; and that we can have peace and happiness and comfort for all. Ours is this opportunity. The problems of today fall upon women of America and require that women take the leadership to tell the people of America what they need to be told to carry out the program on which we here decide.

We are here, then, to take stock of the future. I should like to repeat one of the Secretary's opening remarks, namely that the President and the Navy Band came, not by accident, but by "realization on the part of the President of the importance of the solution of problems within the sphere in which women's organizations are interested." Hence it becomes our job "to study the economic position of women and strengthen their opportunities." We are privileged then to carry on the building of "a system of morale of civic honor" on which only a beginning has been made.

Since we as women no longer have to feel inferior, because we have full political status (the right to vote and hold office), we must use that status for the general welfare. There are still battles to be fought, and we can lead the way. We can, by way of example, call attention to types of discrimination and see that something is done about them. I liked the Secretary's illustration: In December 1940 he was astounded to find that there had never been a woman and never any other than a white person on any jury in his Federal District Court. And he saw to it that women and other than white people did serve on juries. And he found that the same right results could be reached by a jury when no distinction was made with respect to race or sex.

What would most surprise our noble women of 1848 if they could return in 1948? Probably the changes in the economic field: (1) they would find women as administrators of labor laws in many of our States; (2) they would find among us women with the highest education and skills in many fields; (3) they would find women close to 30 percent of the working population, as against less than 10 percent a hundred years ago, and would find them in hundreds of occupations. Yes, we account for high percentages of the workers in many fields—75 percent of our teachers, 98 percent of our nurses, and 90 percent of our medical laboratory technicians. But we still have a job to do in attaining equal pay for equal work; this is a matter of simple justice.

What are the problems yet to solve? (1) Wider opportunity for training and placement are especially important; (2) minimum-wage legislation; and (3) shortening of legal hours of work for women in many States.

The job ahead—it's ours to do with the help of the trained staffs and technicians of the Labor Department.

Miss Miller gave us our over-all picture of "Women at Work." Recently I had the privilege of working on a publication called "Women Go to Work at Any Age," and Miss Miller showed us that, with our changing pattern, women 35 years of age and over are furnishing the bulk of those who have swelled the ranks of working women in recent years. Employment has been stable at least in the sense that jobs have been available even though the shift has been from the better paying factory jobs into the less well-paying service trades.

Anyone who can make facts and figures as interesting as Miss Miller can is really a rare individual. As I thought back over her talk, these were the items that came to mind (even at 12:30 a. m., following a wonderfully stimulating afternoon and evening) and without benefit of notes:

1. Today about 17 million women are working—28 percent of the entire labor force.

2. Few women today who want to work are without jobs. Eight times as many women are in the labor force today as there were 80 years ago (when our first census figures on women workers became available).

3. Today 46 percent of women working are married and an additional 16 percent are widowed or divorced.

4. There are greater occupational opportunities for women—though there are still professions where it is a handicap to be a woman. Three-fourths of employed women are in 23 occupations.

5. Transitions have taken place from rural to urban life; from dressmaker to operative in the apparel industry; from unpaid home worker to the paid industrial worker. The women tend to concentrate in the "traditional" fields of women's work.

6. There has been great hesitancy in furnishing training for women workers. Women need the returns from the most skilled work they can do.

7. And strangely enough—we know that women still *need* to work regardless of marital status. According to a Women's Bureau report 92 percent of employed women who live with their families contribute regularly toward family expense.

8. Women are entitled to the widest opportunity for training in order to make the most of themselves as employed persons and to discharge their financial obligations to their dependents.

9. Which in turn brings up the whole question of the adequacy of women's earnings. Low-wage scales have persisted even to December 1947 when all wage earners in selected manufacturing industries aver-

aged $57.54 a week, unskilled men $49.79 a week, but women only $41.39 per week.

10. We must not permit the threat to general wage levels that unequal pay to women involves. Let us not be deluded that equal pay for equal work will come without a struggle. The principle will not automatically be applied.

I had a college professor and friend who gave us daily at chapel a capsule or "one minute talk." Proportionally, that is what I have done for you—and it has been a rare privilege to report on this program. I remember the phrase with which my professor used to close meetings:

"Look forward and not backward and lend a helping hand."

SUMMARY OF FEBRUARY 17 AFTERNOON SESSION, AMERICAN WOMEN ON THE JOB

Bess Bloodworth, Vice President, Namm's Inc.[1]

Miss Rittenhouse, who so ably summarized on Tuesday afternoon, and I were impressed with much the same points in Miss Dickason's talk. Some of the homely similes Miss Dickason used struck me forcibly, as when she reminded us not to take our hard-earned gains for granted, and warned of that terrible "guilt by consent" which leads to indifference to important matters with dire consequences, as evidenced by the women in Germany and Italy.

Miss Dickason said that she hoped women made as much progress in the next hundred years as in the past hundred. One of our goals should be to be accepted as individuals and to be judged on the basis of our capabilities and contributions, not our sex, marital status, or economic need.

She warned, however, that though the broad concept for men and women as good citizens and good workers may be the same, men and women are not identical, and there will always be problems relating to women workers. Farseeing management and Government should appreciate these problems; women should work at a community and Federal level to clear any laws that interfere with equal status, and should extend—not ignore—those laws which bring benefits to women and invariably to men as well.

She said that we should educate men to the fact that we have not merely taken over their jobs in industry but have moved outside the home with our own jobs—sewing, cooking, teaching, designing, adorning the world and ourselves that we may have more beauty.

Miss Dickason brought out the advantages that have come to women through trade-union membership, not only in material gains, such as better wages, vacations, holidays, etc., but in development of leadership qualities which have contributed to better citizenship and benefited the community.

She asked for better understanding of the labor movement by all women and asked us to remember that the dramatic strikes and disputes overshadow the many good relations that have existed for years between management and unions. Such understanding will improve our race relations, as well as our labor relations, and will help women to participate in the life of our times—our greatest problem.

[1] In Miss Bloodworth's absence, her paper was read by Mrs. Dorothy Leavell, Washington State Department of Labor and Industries.

Miss Dickason pointed up the need for facilities for the women who run homes and work—the disadvantages of night and Saturday work for those women, and the need to retain some of the considerations and aids that were given working women during the war when women workers were a "must."

Requirements of a job, she said, not merely whether it can be done by a woman, determine whether a job is unskilled or skilled. Real progress, Miss Dickason said, means full employment and properly paid jobs for everyone in our society who wants to work.

The points brought out in discussion were:

1. The need for study and action where advisable on night work.
2. The need for adoption of good minimum wages as a floor for wages but not as a substitute for collective bargaining.
3. The need for retention and extension of present gains: equal pay laws, FEPC, fair labor standards, getting nurses and others under Social Security.
4. The need for child-care centers; advantage of part-time work for women with families.
5. The need for extending protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act to telephone operators in cities with less than 500 telephone stations, now exempt from coverage of the Act.
6. The advantages, especially to the young, of conferences such as this conference.
7. The need for the Women's Bureau as a fact-finding and directing agent for women; that it is "an indispensable agency of good Government."

Miss Magee of the National Consumers League gave an interesting story of our legislative and political progress in the last hundred years. She, too, cautioned us about the lowering of standards at the local level which took place while we were fighting a war on a national level. She pointed out our obligation also to raise national standards to meet the ILO requirements if we are to be effective in the total world, and she asked that women's organizations and women as individuals take positive action to retain and extend our gains.

Wholesome features of the session were the good sportsmanship and the sense of humor portrayed by the women in all the activities represented. As long as we can take ourselves seriously yet humorously, we have hope for the next 100 years.

SUMMARY OF FEBRUARY 17 EVENING SESSION

Dollie Lowther, Educational Director, Laundry Workers Joint Board of Greater New York, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

I am not calm, cool, and collected, but always get a great deal out of these conferences, and today I certainly got something from Miss Mills because she says that when she arrived and was given her assignment, she was thrilled. When I arrived and was given my assignment— well, I have been tense ever since.

I am to cover the evening session of this conference. I have not taken everything from Dean Thompson's speech, and I am reminded of Miss Solomon, a young woman from India, whom I heard lead a panel. When someone said something that was not quite clear, she looked at him—or her—and said, "Profound." So that, if I have left out anything in Dean Thompson's speech which you may have considered important, just note that to me it must have been "Profound."

I am sure that one million women who are striving for equality will look to this conference and appreciate the work that the Women's Bureau has done, and will think of the contributions made by all of you.

I am going to read a short resumé of Tuesday evening's session. The addresses were all informative and inspiring. The session was presided over by Assistant Secretary of Labor Gibson, who, catching the spirit of truth which prevailed throughout the conference, generously gave credit to women of the Bureau for the well-laid plans, and even for the preparation of his own part in the program. Since, as pointed out by Dean Thompson, women have not fallen into the men's "habit of one"—one woman on a committee with six men—there was, of course, participation by more than one man in this evening session. The other male participant was Congressman Stevenson, labeled by most of us as a friend, but, as all men, one to be steered and counseled by the women if he is to serve the best interests of women.

Congressman Stevenson paid tribute to the pioneers of Seneca Falls, those women whose names have been repeated over and over during the conference—Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Stanton, Susan Anthony, Martha Wright, Mary McClintock.

He, of course, gave the man's slant on what happened at Seneca Falls and reported the incident of the locked window which had to be opened by the young Yale professor. But most of us will remember Lisa Sergio's version—that the women had experienced locked windows before and had brought the young man for that particular purpose.

The Congressman also paid a well-deserved tribute to Miss Frieda Miller, leader of this conference.

Throughout his talk, he pointed out instances of cooperation between men and women. From the beginning, women had the cooperation of men of vision and courage. Thus—the well-deserved salute to James Mott, who chaired the Seneca Falls meeting, to the men who attended the convention and signed the suffrage declaration, and to William Lloyd Garrison, who, as Miss Sergio pointed out, gave up the privilege of speaking in Europe on slavery because of the discrimination against and segregation of the women accompanying him. Miss Sergio's contribution did much to dramatize the historical facts prior to and after Seneca Falls.

The gem of the evening, of course, was Dean C. Mildred Thompson's presentation of a chapter in the history of freedom (1848 to 1948), in which she covered the development of the rights of women as one of the important episodes in the struggle for greater human freedom, an advance in fundamental principles of our civilization which received form and expression in the Declaration of Independence.

The status of women in each stage was pointed out by Dean Thompson as a part of the total social and cultural movement of the time. The movement for women's rights is one phase of a changing society, one aspect of the continuing struggle for greater freedom of the individual—for equality among all persons.

Our falling short of the goal set by the women of Seneca Falls does not mean that we have failed. A look behind will give us hope and courage to press on. Dean Thompson pointed out some of the signposts of the measured miles beginning at the convention for women's rights. Their assumption was based on the Declaration of Independence: "All men [and women are created] equal." There were many violations of this principle.

Dean Thompson felt that the signposts in the advancement of women had been many: first—in the extension of legal and property rights—married women were gradually given the right to control property, to dispose of it, and to make contracts; second—they were granted the right of equal guardianship of their children; and, third—the right to vote, the 19th amendment, which was the real highlight of the past 100 years.

The advancement in education was another signpost. In the 1830's there was a distinct awareness of the needs for better education for women. In 1865 we had the founding of the first women's educational institute with standards comparable to the high standards of the best colleges for men. But even today we can't say that equality in educational opportunities prevails. There is no real coeducation in the country.

Dean Thompson felt that the failure of women to reach top places of achievement in certain fields was certainly not due to the reasons given by the pseudopsychoanalyst of the day. She felt that there were many obstacles to, and real reactions against, greater equality of men and women.

The changes brought about by the industrial revolution were never dreamed of by the women of Seneca Falls. Home and industry have been transformed, and our manner of living revolutionized by the industrial revolution which is not yet ended.

Women's organizations have been a great force in aiding the advancement of the development of women. The church was the first organization in which women learned associated effort. Other organizations that assume a conspicuous place on this road of progress are clubs of leisure-time activities, associations of political force and civic responsibility, such as the League of Women Voters, and, of course, the trade unions. But failure of women to assume full positions of power still is a problem.

Dean Thompson felt that the force of women in society was indirect rather than direct. Women's development, powers, and rights cannot be evaluated apart from the whole of society and the forces which control it. Women as persons are still young. Who would dare to predict what the next 100 years may bring forth!

I started on my quest to discover "what is truth?" about 8 years ago, and I started in the trade union. A quotation says "Stay a moment for some answers," and I have been allowed to stay at various places for a few answers. Certainly this conference has been a moment in which I have gotten a lot of answers from those who have contributed to it.

From the Women's Bureau I have gotten some of the answers, and now I am on to Cleveland for another moment in which to get some more answers to my famous question, "What is truth?"

SUMMARY OF FEBRUARY 18 MORNING SESSION WORKING WOMEN—THEIR HOME OBLIGATIONS

M. Eunice Hilton, Dean of Women, Syracuse University

Miss Miller and friends, I should like to express my appreciation for being in attendance at this conference. I know that I owe my invitation to Pauline Newman with whom I served on the Retail Trade Minimum Wage Board in New York.

This type of conference is of inestimable value to women and especially at this time when women are facing problems as difficult as they have faced at any time in their history as workers.

At the close of the Wednesday morning session of our conference on the subject of *Working Women—Their Home Obligations*, many favorable comments were heard. The audience had responded with enthusiasm to both speakers and to the lively period of audience participation which followed the talks.

Miss Kyrk's keen analysis of the variations among wage-earning women with respect to home responsibilities was thought-provoking. Two points that she made concerning single women workers may be reemphasized with profit. The first is that single women earners represent a period in the economic life-history of almost all women. Speaking in broad terms this means that almost every woman must be prepared to be economically independent for some part of her life. It is too bad that education yet has to catch up with this fact. She needs vocational and educational guidance, as was pointed out from the floor. Such guidance is not yet available to a sufficient extent. But although it is fairly well established that the presence of single women in the labor force "is accepted and approved" and that their earnings should be "sufficient to maintain them at an acceptable level without subsidy in any form from family or others," the second thing of importance is that many single women in particular make insufficient wages to support themselves properly. If the fathers of these single women workers could only see that instead of their daughters "helping out at home," they, the fathers, actually are subsidizing, not their daughters, but the establishments where their daughters work, some changes might be made.

Discussion from the floor pointed up a major problem concerning the married woman worker who is in and out of the labor market, depending upon her personal circumstances. We have made almost no provision to assist the woman whose skills or knowledge are not

adequate at the time she wishes to reenter the labor market. The widowed, divorced, or married woman worker who wishes to work or who must work because of economic necessity faces this problem frequently. Time and effort must be given to helping her maintain or relearn her skills and to finding adequate job opportunities.

Miss Kyrk's discussion of the married woman worker very properly took as its starting point the question of the work load in the home. She dismissed this question as irrelevant to women earning enough to hire help. I must admit that my sympathy goes out to the women to whom she referred as those "likely to be publicized as successfully combining marriage, children, a home, and a career." In their behalf, perhaps we should remember what one such successful career woman called to my attention: that before she was considered a successful woman she could not afford household help. She solved the problem of the home-work load through her own efforts and so is now pointed to with pride. However, the solution of the problem of the home-work load is basic to the success, happiness, and health of the woman worker today.

An important statement, likely to be overlooked in Miss Kyrk's paper, is that there are two goals we should be attempting to attain where married women workers are concerned. To put it simply, we want the married women who can work without undue cost to society to do so, and those who cannot do so to be cared for otherwise. Her discussion left us to ponder upon a number of things of import to women, and because they are of import to women, to all society. As always, we look to the Women's Bureau for the information and research basic to the solution of many of these problems. Women in a group, privileged such as this one has been in attending this conference, have an obligation to take back to their organizations, for review and discussion, the problems presented in Miss Kyrk's paper. Thought and effort will be necessary to discover the full implications of the points she made.

Dr. Tead's paper received hearty acclamation from the audience. His discussion of the personal, domestic, and economic influences upon women's present-day social patterns struck many chords of harmony with his audience. Most of us would agree with him that personal fulfillment in modern life is somewhat more difficult for women than for men, and that one cogent reason is the variety of the social patterns of women's relation to society. On the other hand, it seemed to me that he may have given women somewhat too much sympathy here and man a bit too much blame. Man has a problem, too, for he still bears the brunt of the responsibility for family support. His guilt feelings, when he cannot measure up to this demand well enough, can surely match women's feeling of insecurity and confusion in our modern society. Men may be blamed for failing to give women the apprecia-

tion they need, but women should be blamed for failing to understand men's problems too.

We would agree, too, with Dr. Tead's point that whether modern home conditions are unfortunate or not depends upon how these conditions are dealt with. Several participants in the discussion pointed out respectively that home work is sometimes the equivalent of leisure-time activity to the working woman, that is, an outlet for creativity, and that the working woman may have better home conditions because she is forced to manage better. Others had practical suggestions for meeting certain problems in the home by encouraging additional service occupations.

In the economic field, Dr. Tead frankly stated, women are strictly limited as yet, and he noted that these limitations operated not only as to job status and level, but in relation to opportunity for creativity. He was specific in his platform for remedies. His suggestions were practical and well accepted, although some deserve consideration of advantages and disadvantages. His suggestion for the development of part-time work opportunities is one of these. Many safeguards would have to accompany the achievement of this really desirable goal.

The suggestion of nursery schools for the children of working mothers drove home a point that had been made by participants in earlier discussions. His suggestions to trade unions were significant and timely.

Many of the delegates here have referred to women's divisions in some trade unions which are largely male. We hope for the day when "women's divisions" on the basis of sex may disappear as unnecessary in all organizations. This, however, is a goal. In the meantime, organized women's units within organizations are indispensable for defining goals and working out methods for attaining them.

No one in attendance at this meeting will forget Dr. Tead's plea for a full life, a whole individual, and opportunity for creativity. A sentence or two may be worth quoting on many an occasion:

> "As long as there is fragmented living, there will be frustrated lives,"

and

> "Always to take from life less than it can offer of richness and personal unfolding is to deny one's very selfhood, or at least to hold it too cheaply."

Yes, Wednesday morning left us with food for thought and action.

SUMMARY OF FEBRUARY 19 MORNING SESSION WORKING WOMEN: THEIR CITIZENSHIP RESPONSIBILITIES

Olya Margolin, Washington Representative, National Council of Jewish Women

I am honored and privileged to have this opportunity to make this report. However, I didn't have quite as much time as I would have liked to have had to prepare it. Between 12:15 and 1:30 I had to prepare the report and have my lunch; you can gather I didn't have much lunch.

The discussion this morning indicated that the theme, "Working Women, Their Citizenship Responsibilities," presents a serious challenge not only to the women of the United States, but also to the women of the world. The chairman of the panel expressed his concern about the attack on the position of women which developed immediately following the war. During the war women were able to consolidate their position, but now there are evidences of attempts to undermine their status. It was emphasized that the passage of the 19th Amendment did not end the struggle but was a beginning of a tremendous effort on the part of women to acquire rights due them as citizens of their country. It was evident from the chairman's statement that women between the ages of 42 and 69 constitute a potential power which must be utilized in the battle for women's rights. It was suggested that women could be a tremendous force toward the achievement of peace and in the abolition of war and that they should participate more fully in the management of our government. Mr. Smith felt that the renewed efforts of women to improve their status must not take the form of war against man but the form of cooperation between men and women in solving these problems.

Mrs. Stone visualized the American woman as a woman of heroic proportions who has learned to organize her time in such a way as to be able to assume and successfully discharge her responsibilities as a worker, homemaker, and citizen. While women are as yet not numerous in public office, they are good citizens and willing to work shoulder to shoulder with men, because they know everyone counts in a democracy.

We were also told that women's efforts for better working conditions benefit men as well. The difficulties women encounter in the labor

field are that there is some opinion prevailing that they are an unstable labor supply, but the fact that they now constitute a large part of our labor force is a refutation of this contention and a favorable factor in helping women to maintain and improve their position. It was further pointed out that women are becoming more active in the policymaking bodies of the trade-union movement and that they are also very active in legislative activities and community projects.

The discussion of the status of women in other countries as outlined by Miss Bernardino, Judge Kenyon, and Miss Fairchild indicated that Mrs. Stone's conception of the American woman is something that is being envisaged by women in Europe and other parts of the world and might be the woman of the future. We were told of the efforts which have gone on and are going on in all parts of the world to make it possible for women to assume and sucessfully carry out the responsibilities of homemaker, worker, and citizen. Dr. Kenyon emphasized the point that in 22 countries women have as yet not achieved full citizenship and that woman suffrage is the key to unlock all other freedoms. The United Nations Commission on the Status of Women is planning to concentrate most of its efforts on helping the women of all countries to acquire the right of citizenship and also to develop the kind of understanding which is necessary for the intelligent use of the vote. In the field of economic problems Judge Kenyon considered equal pay for equal work the most important one, and felt it was necessary to educate not only the public but trade-union men to the significance of this issue. We were also told that the most effective way in which a program for fundamental freedoms can be achieved is through public opinion. The development of this public opinion, Judge Kenyon felt, was an excellent project for women betwen 42 and 69 to undertake.

It can be fairly accurately said that the general sense of the discussion was that women have won for themselves a position in the working world, but not to the same degree in all countries and in all areas; that there must be a better understanding among various women's groups and among men and women; that there must be a greater body of information as to how women can better participate in government and in the political life of their countries; that there must be a larger body of information on how these ends can be achieved; that there must be better means for channeling such information; that we must reorient the aproach to the solution of our problems by seeking cooperation from the men rather than declaring war upon them. We are cautioned not to end this conference on a gay note, but rather to strengthen our determination to broaden and increase our efforts for the elimination of our many still unsolved problems.

I am a worker, a homemaker, and I hope I am a citizen. I try to carry out successfully all of these jobs. This morning I sensed a conflict in views expressed by several of the speakers. Some felt that

perhaps some women ought only to be workers and others only homemakers. I for one would never want to give up the privilege of being a homemaker, perhaps only because my little boy frequently says that there is no use looking for better cooking than mommy's.

I should also like to point out that I think it is of tremendous advantage to the entire family when the mother is a worker and an active citizen; because of my activities my 6½-year old boy developed such political acumen that he independently arrived at a choice of a presidential candidate and insists at his age that he is going to vote only for Eisenhower.

CONCLUDING ADDRESS

David Morse, Undersecretary of Labor

Miss Miller, Members of the Conference: Mine is a rather pleasant assignment because I have no set speech and because I have not had the headache of conscientious research which a gathering of this kind ordinarily demands.

I know that you will forgive me if I make some casual comments about some things that strike me as being rather important in terms of the conference you have been having here for the last 2 or 3 days, and if I add perhaps one or two other comments that I think worth reiterating whenever one has this kind of an opportunity.

First of all, since your conference is drawing to a close, let me thank you again on behalf of the Department of Labor for having come to these sessions. It has been very encouraging to us; from the reports that I have received I think it is going to prove extremely valuable to us. And I hope that it has been worth while for you.

We would appreciate it if, when you leave, you think not only of the Women's Bureau and its importance and the programs which it projects and which, after your intelligent consideration, either deserves your support or criticism, but of the fact that the Department as a whole speaks on behalf of these problems which fall within our jurisdiction and is concerned always for the public interest.

The Department of Labor has an overriding interest in the kind of issues that you people have been talking about these last 2 or 3 days, and the resources of all of the Bureaus in this Department and all of the Divisions in this Department we hope will always be marshaled to give support to the programs of the Women's Bureau or the programs of other bureaus insofar as they may stand the test of being constructive and worth while, as we believe the programs of the Women's Bureau are.

I would like to say that we have a number of difficult bureaucratic problems in the operations of this Department. I am constantly surrounded by four walls, papers, telephone calls, and pressures, and we are constantly concerned about trying to run our business well.

One of our problems always is having enough money to do our job. I understand that many of you are fairly well informed about that aspect of our situation, and we hope that you will continue to remain informed concerning this problem because, without the necessary help to run the machinery, we just cannot get the job done.

We had that problem last year, and fortunately with the assistance of the Good Lord we came through, and we are hopeful that this year with His assistance we will be sustained once again. I think it deserves some thought and some conscientiousness on the part of everyone concerned with the work of the Bureau and the Department.

In the Department we have hoped that out of this meeting will come some crystallization of ideas and some consensus which will help you and your organizations and be of assistance to us. I read the comments and various speeches that have been made, and I have had reports come back to me. I have been greatly impressed, particularly by the objectives listed here yesterday by Mr. Tead.

I hope you will not mind if I indicate by just a few sentences which of those points we think will be extremely important for us to give further consideration to and perhaps recite as a declaration of intention for further action.

The first point that was very well taken was Mr. Tead's point that on the economic side all labor unions should allow women equal rights of membership and should encourage women members in the councils of union management.

The second point that struck us as being of considerable importance was the granting to women workers, as an accepted practice, the right to part-time work.

Then thirdly, as a public policy over and beyond possible provisions in union contracts, there should be immediate consideration of a social program of maternity subventions under proper safeguards.

Fourthly, the approach of planned parenthood to child bearing and rearing should be encouraged, that more women may be enabled to relate the rearing of adequate families to their resources as creators and builders of happy and successful homes.

His next point has to do with making provision on a dignified and well paid basis for trained women who on either a whole or a part-time basis can qualify as family workers and domestic assistants.

Next, the public educational responsibilities still to be assumed in relation to this problem are tremendous. I think that they are fairly obvious. Foremost is the effort to teach boys and young men about the nature and responsibilities of marriage, of family life, of fatherhood, of women's right to self-fulfillment as that is definitely determined.

Lastly, the principle of the future state must be that every man and every woman shall be a whole person.

As I read this document, I was terribly impressed with its thoughtfulness and its value, and I know that you will not mind my having made this repetition and my having pointed out these items to which we are going to give considerable study.

With these remarks I will close my participation in this meeting. Again thank you very much for having come. Thank you very much for having contributed to the success of the conference. You have lent us a great deal of encouragement. We are going to do the best job we know how to do. There will inevitably be mistakes, but we'll do the best kind of job we can.

Let us know how you feel about what we are doing. Godspeed to you all when you go back to the strength of the country—your home towns.

Part II

Conference Keynotes

EXCERPTS FROM SPEECHES AND FLOOR DISCUSSION

The Social Patterns Which Relate to Women as Workers, Homemakers, Citizens
Women as Workers
Women in Unions
Legislative and Other Standards
Women as Homemakers
Women as Citizens
Cooperation Between Men and Women Is Requisite to the Solution of Social and Economic Problems
Challenges to the Conference

INDIVIDUAL WOMEN WHO HAVE ADVANCED THE WELFARE AND STATUS OF WOMEN

785372°—48——9

THE SOCIAL PATTERNS WHICH RELATE TO WOMEN AS WORKERS, HOMEMAKERS, CITIZENS

The women's movement is only one episode in the world struggle for freedom.

. . . the development of rights of women in this past century is only one important episode among many in the long-continuing struggle for human freedom, for greater freedom. It is another chapter in the advance of the fundamental principles of our western civilization which received form and durable expression in the Declaration of Independence, in the establishment of the young Republic in this country, and in the principles of the French Revolution.

. . . the status of women is to be regarded in each stage as part of the total social and cultural movement of the time. It is a distortion of meaning to think of the movement for women's rights solely or primarily as a movement for women, of women, by women. It must be taken in its wholeness. It is one phase of changing society, one aspect of the continuing struggle for greater freedom of the individual—all individuals; for equality among persons—all persons.

Personal fulfillment is sought by women equally with men.

. . . with education now extended through high school for an increasing majority of both boys and girls . . . women like men are approaching life with a fuller anticipation of rich, rewarding, and variegated living than was formerly true. People ask more of life today, materially and spiritually. The expectation of maximizing one's selfhood, of realizing one's varied potentials of capacity and interest, or demonstrating one's functional usefulness to society—all this is a strong even if often inarticulate demand being made upon life by women equally with men.

Many men are narrowed by work and business. Many women are narrowed by home and children—or by jobs and domestic duties. As long as there is fragmented living, there will be frustrated lives.

Fulfillment is more difficult for women.

To attain a sense of personal fulfillment with which is coupled a satisfying sense of making a real social contribution has, in short,

become a driving motive throughout our society to a truly astonishing degree. Wherein that personal fulfillment comes is no doubt still somewhat obscure to many. And it may well be true that . . . women find it harder today to define that fulfillment for themselves than do men. But the disturbing and provocative influence of this motive is one of the strongest dynamics of our society. And the very variety of the social patterns of woman's relation to society only confuses her situation the more. . . .

And for women distinctively there is the reality that the urge to creativity normally includes the desire to bear children and, under certain conditions, not to bear children. A whole train of consequences can follow from this desire with results not only felicitous on the one hand but yielding insecurities, fears, anxieties, guilt feelings and frustrations on the other.

In each individual case how are creative urges—physiological, intellectual, moral, and spiritual—all to get reasonably balanced and adequate expression? For many women in today's United States, I venture that this dilemma is harder to resolve than for many men.

Too many women are ready to settle accounts with life too cheaply.

Yet I think in all honesty that another deterrent influence from the woman's side has also to be reckoned with, before we try to look for remedies. I refer to the ever-present danger that too many women may be willing to settle their accounts with life too cheaply or too easily. A too ready willingness to adjust to the strong forces opposed to her attaining a rounded creativity can be for women a resolution which is no solution. Wherever there is the attitude that to marry, settle down, and have a family is to solve the individual woman's problem, there is a too simple capitulation to conventional influences of the male and society generally. "Settling down" is a withdrawal from the creative area, which is, of course, not confined to women.

The American family has a typical life history.

If history should exactly repeat itself, the median age of women at the date of their first marriage would be 21.6 years, with the husband slightly less than 3 years older. . . . About 15 percent [of the couples] would have no children. The first child of the 85 percent who have children would be born about a year after marriage, and in the next 4½ years, two others. Thus the typical mother would have borne her final child at the age of 27.2 years. She would have then three children. For about 11 years she would have at least one under 6. For 13 years, if all survive, she would have three under 18, and for about

23 years one or more under 18. When the last is 18, the mother will be 45. If the children do not leave home until they marry and marry at the same age as their parents, she will be 50 or 53 when the family has declined to its original size of two members. On the basis of present life expectations it will continue at this size for 11 more years, and the wife will probably survive the husband. This mother from the time she is about 40 will have a declining burden of child care and for several years before she is 65 a relatively light burden of housework.

Single women earners represent a period in the life history of almost all women.

Single women earners . . . are not simply a group of working women. They represent a period in the economic life history of practically all women. Relatively few now go directly from school to marriage; . . . This period of employment is becoming part of the accepted life pattern. . . . Their presence in the labor force is accepted and approved. . . . The presumption that the single women shall earn is practically as well established as that single men shall do so. . . .

Are their preparation and opportunities adversely affected by the fact that the duration of their employment is uncertain and that for many it will be brief? This situation would not be corrected by "equal pay." Nor can "equal" vocational or professional preparation be invoked as a remedy without examining our presumptions in regard to the whole life history of women and certainty that our proposal is not inconsistent with other desired objectives.

The status of many of the younger widowed, divorced, and separated is similar to that of the single women earners. Those in middle years face special disadvantages.

The family and economic status of many of the younger divorced, separated, and widowed women is very similar to that of the single. . . . But there are others [probably at least a fourth], who are in the middle years or beyond, whose marriage was not of short duration and who do have children. . . . If they have in effect two jobs or one and a half, they are at a disadvantage in the labor market. . . . As a group they labor under another disadvantage as compared with single women and men of the same age. Few among them worked continuously before and during their marriage. Many have returned to the labor market after an absence of several years. Those whose work before marriage required no special skill or experience will have suffered least in level of earnings from the discontinuity of their employment. Those who left a depressed labor market and re-

entered in a boom area or period will have felt no adverse results of their absence. But there will be some whose leaving and return were not so fortunately timed. There also will be some whose special skills and knowledge will have become rusty or obsolete.

In purely quantitative terms, the figures . . . are instructive and impressive. . . . Of a total of nearly 38,000,000 families [in 1946], just under 29,000,000 were normal families with both parents functioning. In a little less than one-fifth of these normal families (about 5,000,000) both husband and wife went out to work. And this represented an increase of 2,000,000 such families since 1940. Yet in families with children under 6 years of age only 9 percent of the wives worked. Whereas in the 6,600,000 families where a widowed mother was the breadwinner (or the family was otherwise headed by women) more than one-third of the women with children under 6 were at work, and 50 percent of those with children above 6 but under 18 were working.

The patent fact is that the number of women working away from home is constantly increasing, although women with young children tend to go out to work only under urgent money pressures.

The married women—earners and nonearners—pose a variety of problems.

When we turn . . . to the married women in the labor force, questions concerning their homes and families are the first that are generally raised. Are they neglecting, or discharging inefficiently, responsibilities that are theirs by virtue of their marital and parental status? If they are not, do they discharge them at the expense of health and leisure? Or have they reduced their housework burden by alterations in the family mode of living in ways adverse to family welfare? Or is it possible that they have found ways of shifting these responsibilities, or better and more efficient means of discharging them, which should be made available to and adopted by all wives and mothers?

. . . with respect to married women workers . . . we have not clarified our value judgments. . . . We agree that the single should be in the labor market and that their responsibility is for self-maintenance. We agree that the widowed and divorced without children should earn and that those with children should not single-handed maintain homes and provide money income. With respect to married women one principle could surely be defended. No restrictions should be placed upon their freedom to enter a gainful pursuit.

. . . we come back to our two problems: which married women who are not earning could do so without undue sacrifice of health or leisure and without lowering standards for child care and family living? Which of the married women currently with jobs are imperilling their health, sacrificing their leisure, or lowering their family's well-being? The social interest is to decrease both of these groups.

There is clearly a period, increasing in length, in the lives of more and more married women when there is no responsibility for children and when the burden of housework is light. There are also those who marry and have no children. Why are so many of these women absent from the labor force? . . . Our social aim is the elimination of a leisure class and the attainment instead of an equal distribution of leisure that we hope all will use well.

Only an eighth of the able-bodied married women . . . had jobs in 1940. Are the seven-eighths of the married women without jobs employing their knowledge and skills to the greatest social advantage? Does their withdrawal from the labor force make for a higher level of personal development, child care, and family living?

The married women with limited family responsibilities who are not earning probably fall into three classes, or the decisions of all in varying degrees are affected by three considerations. One is their own, their husband's, their associates' unfavorable attitude toward gainful employment of married women. More potent a reason for not earning is that they do not want to. They prefer their leisure to what their earnings would buy for themselves and their families. Here are the lazy whose claims upon the income of others enable them to be lazy. Here also are those who find their level of living satisfactory, and judge, perhaps rightly, that more things and less leisure would not add to the sum total of family happiness. A third consideration is closely related, the kind of job they could get and how much they could earn. This last question is especially pertinent for the woman of 45 or 50 who is contemplating a return to the labor market after 20 to 25 years away from it . . . in the community where her husband is working, that is, in a geographically limited market. It is not surprising that many conclude that what they would gain by earning would not be worth what it cost.

The plight of idle women, of women over 40, of mothers with grown children is especially severe.

There are still women idle, women left in some households with no children to care for or with others paid to do the job for them—women

idle because there are no household arts left to give them a sense of creative productivity in the household—women who have not entered into useful occupations, voluntarily or gainfully, outside the houshold. These are the women who have not made successful adjustment from the old conditions of society to the new, and these are the ones more than others who breed sources of frustration and provide material for the doctors of sick souls.

. . . I have come face to face with that startling and enormous group of women who are between the ages of 42 and that age, 69, at which it is now determined that the average woman should die . . . women's life expectancy is now stated to be 69 and men's 63. . . . Most of them don't know what to do with themselves. It has been one of my efforts to see if it wouldn't be possible to direct the energies of these women, many of whom have executive capacities . . . the idle women who might give their woman-power to their country in a thousand different ways.

There is the married mother with grown children who in our society is often in the anomalous position of wanting to be busy but is bewildered by lack of opportunity, lack of strong incentive, or lack of trained competence, or by all three together . . . her plight may be characterized as among the most tragic of the groups in our national community.

These problems have no national boundaries.

Problems of women in the economic, social, and legal fields are universal. They know no national boundaries. Need, the lack of rights and privileges, low standards of living and working—these conditions affect the well-being of women wherever they exist.

While perhaps 30 percent of the American labor force consists of women, there are many countries in which women are 40 and 50 percent of the labor force . . . in this country the proportion of women who work steadily through life is increasing, and I am afraid we must expect that it will continue to increase during the next century. So we must think of women as having to share in sustaining economic security of the home as well as in the upbringing of the children and in the citizenship responsibilities.

These and other problems have been acute for women workers in Latin America for a long time, and will continue to be serious as those countries expand their industrialization, which is just beginning in

some of them. Women are working because, as in this country, their earnings are needed for the livelihood of their families.

Today, we in America are a bulwark of hope and freedom in the world, and as trade unionists and as women we have been in the vanguard of enlightenment. We are demonstrating that democracy as a way of life, imperfect though it may be, is the best medium through which to achieve the fullest development of the individual.

WOMEN AS WORKERS

Women's place in the industrial economy has increased greatly in importance.

The most basic single fact before this meeting is that today about 17,000,000 women are either working or seeking work, and they are, in exact figures, 28 percent of the entire labor force. . . . At the peak of their wartime employment, in July 1944, they numbered almost 20½ million. . . . There have been shifts from the better-paying factory jobs into the less well-paying service trades. . . . However, very few women today who want to work are without jobs.

This figure of 17,000,000 women in the labor force has a many-sided significance. In size alone, it is impressive. But it has an even greater significance as an index to the present nature of our society and the change that society has undergone in the past century. . . . when Harriet Martineau came to this country in 1836 . . . she found [she said] women employed in only seven occupations, and those were mainly humble ones.

. . . there are over 8 times as many women workers today as there were 80 years ago . . . another striking change [is] that while the entire labor force has somewhat more than doubled since 1900, the women in it have tripled . . .

Women's occupational opportunities have expanded.

Along with these changes have come widening occupational opportunities for women. It is true, of course, that even today there are occupations and professions where it is still a handicap to be a woman. . . . But we have come a long way from the days of Harriet Martineau and her seven occupations. The Census of 1940 tells us that women were employed in all but 9 of the 451 occupational classifications then used. . . . it is still true that three-fourths of the employed women are concentrated in only 23 occupations . . .

Employed women closely touch the daily living of millions of Americans in other ways. Women account for 93 percent of all household employees and for two-thirds of those who wait on the public in restaurants and hotels. They also are about 95 percent of all telephone

operators and 40 percent of all persons engaged in light manufacturing work. Even in the so-called masculine realm of heavy industry, they constitute 13 percent of all production workers and help to turn out such products as machinery, transportation equipment, automobiles, and furniture. They are the great majority of office workers and of clerks in our great retail industry. It would be a sorry day, indeed, for the men if women should suddenly decide not to work any more in paid employment.—*The Secretary of Labor.*

In the professions, women's representation still is minor.

As for the woman lawyer, the woman scientist, or the woman business executive, these are still the exception in the present world of women's work. Less than 5,000 women are employed in each of the more "glamorous" occupations such as airplane stewardess, actress, radio commentator, photographer. Even after one hundred years of "emancipation" women represent less than 5 percent of any such high-grade professional groups as doctors, dentists, engineers, chemists, architects, lawyers, certified public accountants.

The present trend is toward the prewar pattern.

Present indications . . . point to an approximate return to the prewar pattern, with gains over the prewar period notably in clerical and in manufacturing occupations.

. . . during the war, women had been, as they always were in wartime, kicked upstairs. They maintained positions, found jobs, discovered new talents for themselves, and earned salaries which they had not dreamed of earning before. When the war was over, there was a united effort to put them back where they came from. Only this time the effort to send them back seemed to me, while not a conspiracy, to be directed in a clever way.

Now those attacks on women were serious because they were directed, not only against women who worked for wages, but against the young married woman, the housewife, and finally that large group of women over 40 years old who number about 25 million today.

During the war women were able to consolidate their position, but now there are evidences of attempts to undermine their status.

Women's need to work was a major subject of discussion.

. . . even in 1948 there are still widespread fallacious attitudes about working women. One of these is that women are an unstable labor

supply, to be used only during a national emergency and to be discarded when the emergency is over. Another is that most married women's husbands provide them with economic security and that they work merely for pin money. This latter attitude completely overlooks the hard reality that women work of absolute necessity because a great percentage of them are heads of families, or must supplement the meager earnings of their husbands. Furthermore, there is that other large group of women who are single and are their own sole support.

. . . women's efforts for better working conditions benefit men as well. The difficulties women encounter in the labor field are that there is some opinion prevailing that they are an unstable labor supply, but the fact that they now constitute a large part of our labor force is a refutation of this contention and a favorable factor in helping women to maintain and improve their position.

It would seem almost unnecessary to dwell upon women's need to work, but I do not wish to pass over this need lightly because there are still too many who quarrel with the idea of women on the job, and who keep saying, "Why don't the women go home?" Why they don't is clear from every recent study of why women work. They work for the same reasons men do—because they must.

Interviews . . . have disclosed that 92 percent of employed women who lived with their families contributed regularly toward family expenses, and well over half of them turned over 50 to 100 percent of their earnings to the family purse. The New York State survey . . . revealed that . . . practically without exception, women living with their families regularly contributed to the family's support; almost three-fourths of them contributed half or more of their pay.

A 1939 survey of Cleveland's women workers showed that in over half the families it was the earnings of women members that accounted for 50 percent or more of the total contributions received by the family from all its earners. A comparable survey in Utah disclosed that in three-fifths of the families, women's contributions made up half or more of the family's receipts from earners.

Single women need to work to support themselves and, many of them, dependents.

Single women who are supporting or helping to support a parent or parents, siblings, or the children of siblings, are the victims of a

break-down in the system defining rights to, or responsibilities for, support. In our culture, support of children is the parents' responsibility. If they cannot or do not meet it, various policies are proposed or in operation to deal with the situation, none of which involves passing the responsibility to older children or other relatives. Another avowed goal of social policy is economically independent old age and, in lieu of that, public assistance. The care of the ill and the aged is recognized as a problem we have scarcely begun to attack. Until we do so successfully, and until we attain our goals with respect to the economic situation of those too young and those too old to earn, the burden will fall upon those bound to them by ties of blood and affection.

If the fathers of these single women workers could only see that instead of their daughters "helping out at home," they, the fathers, actually are subsidizing, not their daughters, but the establishments where their daughters work, some changes might be made!

Widowed, divorced, and separated women need to work to support their children.*

It is impossible to say exactly how many widowed, divorced, or separated women earners have children, probably at least a fourth, or how many of the mothers support or care for their children single-handed. Since most of the mothers are under 40, and in that age-group divorced and separated women outnumber the widowed 4 to 1, one might assume that the children are partially supported by the fathers. But since circumstances lessen both the willingness and ability of the latter to make contributions, this assumption seems less tenable in the majority of cases.

It is not the intent of our society that widowed or divorced mothers be the sole support of their dependent children. . . . The "good" father insures against the risk of death before his children are of earning age, but none is provided against the risk of separation or divorce which may have equally adverse effects upon the children and their mother. Margaret Mead alleges that our arrangements for providing children with status, security, and support are weak and defective as compared with those in other types of social organization.

Married women are pushed or pulled into the labor market.

. . . married women are pulled or pushed into the labor market. The "pull" is the opportunity for employment at attractive wages under

*Conference discussion on the double burden of home and a job will be found under the section on Women as Homemakers, pp. 152.

good working conditions. . . . The "push" is economic necessity, earnings from other sources insufficient to meet the family's needs. The "pull" need not be so great if there are no children, the housework burden is light, and the husband's earnings moderate. The "push" must be great if there are young children or other heavy family responsibilities.

There are also married women with jobs whose situation is not one with which we can be satisfied. They are the ones who in spite of family responsibilities are forced by economic necessity to take any job they can get. Over a fifth of the earning wives had children under 10 in 1940 and almost two-fifths, children under 18. Their families may be better off by virtue of their earnings but we could draw up an indictment of the state of affairs on many counts: the disadvantaged position of the woman herself in the labor market, the loss to the family of needed services, the efforts that most must put forth to carry the job and their family responsibilities as well.

Particular disadvantages of women in the labor market were discussed.

The theory that women do not need to work.

With 15 million people unemployed, married women should not work, was the idea current [in the 1930's].

. . . we have no needs test for men as workers, and that is what questioning the right of married women or of girls living at home to work amounts to. All of us are well aware that many men work who inherited money or whose fathers make enough money so that they could support those men, could even support the families of young men. But our society doesn't think of saying to a young man when he applies for a job, even in a depression, "Well, now, can your father support you? Do you really need this job?" It is expected that a man should have a job. And I think, as we do not apply a needs test to men for jobs, that we should not apply a needs test to women. And certainly, we should not assume that just because women are married they have no need to work. Nobody when talking about married women working has proposed to find out how many dependents the man and wife are supporting. We haven't talked about a needs test for jobs, anyway. We think in terms of: "Can this worker do the job?"

The claim that women take away men's jobs.

And as for those people who have complained about the competition of women workers in the labor market, I think it would be well for

them to realize that women are not going out and taking away jobs that were formerly men's or that really belonged to someone else, but that they are merely following into the public place of work the job which formerly was performed at home.

. . . we should educate men to the fact that we have not merely taken over their jobs in industry but have moved outside the home with our own jobs—sewing, cooking, teaching, designing. . .

The young girl in the family of 30 or 40 years ago, when she left school, was a productive worker at home in that she helped with the canning, she helped with the sewing, she helped with the baking, she helped with the washing, she helped with all of those things that are done in factories now. The girl had a job at home. The idea that the girls stayed at home and were supported by their fathers and brothers has, of course, been just one of those things that has no basis in reality.

Women's general wage levels lower than men's.

. . . the general wage levels of women are lower than those of men, and . . . the predominantly woman-employing industries are the low-wage industries. . . . when women were first entering industry as a new part of the labor force, they carried over into the factory household skills that did not have a high money value. They were paid in the factories at lower scales of wages than those usually paid to men. This was the same type of wage exploitation that ordinarily occurs with the entrance into industry of any new group, like migrant workers or workers of different nationalities or races.

Which in turn brings up the whole question of the adequacy of women's earnings. Low-wage scales have persisted even to December 1947 when all wage earners in selected manufacturing industries averaged $57.54 a week, unskilled men $49.79 a week, but women only $41.39 per week.

After the war, . . . side by side there were wages offered for women workers of 90 cents, and $1.20 an hour, and other local employers were offering them 50 cents an hour. . . . That I think we have to keep our eye on at all times.

The tendency to classify women's work as unskilled.

. . . one of the effects of the shortage of women workers during the war, and since, has been to change the attitudes about the classification of certain jobs that women work on. Work in the shirt factories, for example, was always considered unskilled until the last 3 or 4 years.

Since that time it is not any longer considered unskilled. . . . The effect of there not being a mass of women outside the doors looking for those jobs has resulted in their being classified as what they have always been—skilled jobs.

I think a little more of that kind of experience in American industry may have some influence on the attitude toward all of the jobs which women hold which are considered unskilled just because women hold them. By definition they are unskilled because women do them. I think that attitude has been changing.

I was very much interested in the statement the speaker made in relation to the unskilled workers being classified as skilled workers, primarily because it has been only in the past year that nurses have been considered professional workers instead of semiprofessional workers.

One of our goals should be to be accepted as individuals and to be judged on the basis of our capabilities and contributions, not our sex, marital status, or economic need.

Cooperation by Government, industry, and workers to devise conditions of employment which take into consideration the normal functions of women was discussed as an alleviating measure.

For a long time we met with a very natural reaction of irritation about women being absent, or women taking maternity leave, but only irritation, not planning to meet the normal conditions of employment of women. But as we have gone along during these years, the basic fact that, in a woman-employing industry, a method of operation must be devised which takes into consideration the normal functions of women and which does not prove burdensome (or even catastrophic, as when on section work, too many women on the same section leave at the same time) has been more clearly recognized. So that now, instead of an attitude of irritation and complaint about absenteeism and so on, there is more understanding, and if management and workers, jointly with government, begin to study just how much labor turn-over there is among working women and what the causes of absenteeism are, and they then work together at the job of solving the problem, progress can be made.

Part-time work was proposed as a major social benefit.

One particular provision which collective bargaining might well help to press upon the attention of managements is the granting to women workers as an accepted practice of the right to part-time work.

If it were planned that two women should each work on half time to supply a full week's work, that would enable many women better to reconcile the claims of home and of job, of personal health and family duties.

The social benefits of half-time work seem to me so considerable that the adjustments required at the job would in the vast majority of positions be worth whatever bother they might entail. Perhaps the acceptance of no other single practice would be so helpful to so many women.

The problems and needs of workers in several fields came under special consideration.

Household employees.

. . . you will find plenty of interest in household employment among the women who have had to stay at home and among the women who are working in kitchens.

I am sure I don't need to remind you that this is one of the largest occupations in which women are engaged. Still, in this country, although the number is geratly reduced, women should be interested and are interested in it, because women are employers and women are the bulk of the employees.

I am going to throw out the idea to the two sides of the panel, asking the trade union women what plans there were in their organizations to help working women in this field and to ask the women in the international field whether some foreign countries had not progressed.

. . . domestic service . . . is a problem, but as a trade unionist, I can see only two ways by which to remedy the situation: (1) That they organize into trade unions, and (2) through legislative standards. We have to work for both of these measures in order to solve the problems of the domestic group.

. . . we have already a cultural training center for domestic help and a homemaking center at Atlanta, Ga. . . . We have started in four States and four cities cultural training centers for domestic help and homemaking.

More can surely be done than has yet been undertaken to make provisions on a dignified and well-paid basis of trained women who on either a whole- or part-time basis can qualify as family workers and domestic assistants.

Good domestic help on a full-time basis has been a byproduct of an inequality which we are attempting to lessen. The household helpers of the present day constitute, moreover, an important part of the married women earners with whose reconciliation of job and home responsibilities we are dealing.

Nurses.

. . . nurses have some peculiar problems in their employment. However, I think that we realize more and more that we do have many more similarities with all other working women than we have peculiarities, and all of the discussion of the various sessions has emphasized that to me.

Perhaps the greatest peculiarity we have is in the particular position that we stand in in relation to the advances that women have made in controlling the wages, and so forth, of employment. Aside from the small proportion of nurses who are employed in industries engaged in interstate commerce, we have hardly any nurses to whom the Labor Relations Act or any other collective bargaining legislation applies.

Also, we would like to call the interest of the various groups to the legislation of the various States regulating the hours of work for women. To my knowledge, there is no State law that puts any limitation on the hours of work that a graduate nurse may work. Only this last year in California a law that had been on the statute books since 1915 and did protect the student nurses, not by a workweek limit but by an 8-hour day limit, was subjected to efforts to exempt the student nurses—along with the workers in the perishable fruit industry—from that protection. Fortunately, the Nurses' Association in combination with many other women's groups and other groups was able to eliminate that amendment.

I believe we would like very much for all women to be interested in our efforts to secure better employment conditions for nurses. We feel that we not only have an interest in the welfare of nurses, but almost every group that is represented here today, I believe, has matters of health among its objectives. The great health programs that trade unions are sponsoring now are one of the most significant matters in health care in this country; and we know that if our nurse supply is threatened (and we feel that the employment conditions have a great bearing on that supply), we are not going to be able to help achieve those objectives.

We also want your understanding in our attempts to do collective bargaining under the many handicaps that we now have. We are interested in all this legislation; even though the limitations on work for women in the various States do not specifically apply to us, they are a great help in the background. We are all for them. We are con-

vinced that that is not enough and written agreements are necessary, even in the work called "nursing." And so we hope that we will have your understanding, your suggestions and your criticism, and your help.

I would like to strengthen just a moment what the last speaker has said, or put some additional emphasis on it, because that is a problem which I think most Americans don't appreciate. We are so used to seeing the rather high-paid nurse that we sometimes have great difficulty getting, because there are not enough of them, to come into our homes, and we assume that that is the typical situation for the average nurse in this country.

We don't realize that by and large she is written out of all of the legislation which is passed to protect women in State after State. Nor do we realize, interestingly enough, that the same problem that you have heard here for America, you could have heard at a similar gathering in England or France or Europe or India, and I think probably Latin America, although I don't happen to have heard it expressed there.

There is a shortage of nurses in the world. We haven't enough of them. We haven't been giving enough attention to them, and to the problem of lifting their standards of wages and hours, so that they can be the kind of professional workers that enough women will become in order to meet the rising need for health workers of this sort, with developing health programs in country after country over the world. That is something that we need to bear in mind.

Telephone operators.

I wonder if most of us here realize that there is an amendment to that law, the Fair Labor Standards Act. . . which provides that telephone operators in cities which have less than 500 telephone stations are exempt from being paid the munificent sum of 40 cents an hour. It is very interesting that this amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act does not cover any of the occupations which men normally fill, but is designed only to exempt the woman telephone operator. . . . And this is a wonderful opportunity, I think, for the telephone workers to convince you people here that, since you represent women, it is part of your job to see to it that the telephone operator exemption is once and for all removed from that Fair Labor Standards Act.

The need was emphasized for extending education and training for women workers, but also for all women; and for men on responsibilities toward family life.

Now it is true, of course, that illiteracy is shared by little boys as well as by little girls, but they have a strange habit sometimes of

educating little boys, pushing them forward, and tending to forget the little girls.

Women are entitled to the widest opportunity for training in order to make the most of themselves as employed persons and to discharge their financial obligations to their dependents.

It is next important that women's education as it extends more generally on into the thirteenth and fourteenth year of schooling in community colleges, stress personal and vocational guidance, and help women students to some elementary vocational competence as part of their general education. In the next 10 to 20 years we shall be offering to nearly a half of our men and women 2 more years of free public education. And this should supply a great chance to fit both sexes for personal, vocational, and civic capabilities in ways as yet unattempted.

We have made almost no provision to assist the woman whose skills or knowledge are not adequate at the time she wishes to reenter the labor market. The widowed, divorced, or married woman worker who wishes to work or who must work because of economic necessity faces this problem frequently. Time and effort must be given to helping her maintain or relearn her skills and to finding adequate job opportunities.

A major victory still to be won by and for women, however, is wider training opportunity. Few women, for example, are in apprenticed occupations, the way into skilled technical and mechanical employment.

Some of the larger concerns now are using aptitude testing. . . . We haven't enough experience yet . . . to tell whether or not that is going to be constructive. . . . As a matter of fact, most women are found to have the ability to perform the machine jobs if they are given the proper training.

There has been great hesitancy in furnishing training for women workers. Women need the returns from the most skilled work they can do.

I think our most difficult problem in the lower income groups is that the women who are working every day in the factory are sometimes left out because of lack of culture or their ability to take their

place in society. And that is another reason that I think aid to education is absolutely necessary.

The public educational responsibilities still to be assumed in relation to this problem are tremendous.

Of top priority here is the effort to teach boys and young men about the nature and responsibilities of marriage, of family life, of fatherhood, of women's right to self-fulfillment as that is self-determined. We still have far to go in a realization by men that the family is the primary institution in which democratic principles have to be acknowledged and practiced; and the implications of that practice need careful spelling out to both sexes.

Full employment is a major solution to women's and minority group problems. It should not, however, put us to sleep.

The real line of progress for women, of course, lies in jobs for everybody in our society. Women's problems, as well as minority problems, and all other related types of problems are less acute when we have full employment and prosperity. Through improving conditions of work for women we work in that direction, and in working in that direction lies the greatest possibility of improvement of working conditions for all working women.

Requirements of a job . . . not merely whether it can be done by a woman, determine whether a job is unskilled or skilled. Real progress . . . means full employment and properly paid jobs for everyone in our society who wants to work.

. . . full employment is, after all, a major solution of some of our problems. Although that is true and we can readily, of course, understand the advantages of full employment to us as workers—they are obvious—I am afraid that the present full employment situation may be doing a good deal to put us to sleep about the kind of problems that face thousands if not millions of workers in this country.

A greater understanding of the labor movement by all women will contribute to the improved status of women.

. . . during the next few years . . . greater understanding of the labor movement . . . will contribute to an improved status for women. The trade union movement so often gets misrepresented because strikes are so much more dramatic than, say, a record of 30 years of peace. I have never seen a headline saying that a union has had a contract in this or that factory for 30 years, standards have steadily improved, and there never has been a day's work lost due to a strike. We don't have headlines about that. We only have headlines where collective bargaining breaks down. And I think one of the things that can be helpful to women is a greater understanding of the labor movement by all women.

Progress of women in the union movement.

About 3 million women are now members of trade unions . . . not many . . . are in top places in the unions. It is still to a high degree a man's world at the top. But many women, without . . . title or . . . official recognition are a power behind the throne . . .

Unions are needed in many unorganized industries where women are numerous.

Nor is the situation as to the use by women of their bargaining power over terms of employment on some collective basis as advantageous as it should be. . . . And since the majority of women workers are in clerical or domestic categories, they fall into occupations as yet relatively little organized by the unions.

That women are difficult to organize is a fallacy.

A third fallacy is that women are unorganizable, or difficult to organize, and therefore contribute little to economic advancement. The truth is all people are difficult to organize.

Through trade unions, women have obtained many gains of immediate cash benefit.

One of the greatest gains outside the legislative field—one of the greatest gains for women workers during recent years has been their

increasing membership in trade unions. Through trade unions women have been able to increase their wages. They have been able in many unions under many union contracts to secure paid holidays, paid vacations; so that, instead of a holiday or a vacation being a burden to women because they then do not know how to pay their room rent or pay the grocery bill, they can actually get some rest on those holidays and during the vacations.

The fact that large numbers of women are now in the labor force to stay is recognized by provision for them in union contracts. For instance, the provisions respecting equal pay for comparable work are written into union agreements, which is all leading to the recognition of women as persons in the unions.

The trade union contracts have provided for rest periods, for maternity leave; many of them now provide for insurance which is payable during sickness and for cash benefits for maternity. All of those things have been helpful to working women. Those are the things in the trade union contracts which are of immediate cash benefit, or are benefits enabling a woman to get more rest and make her better able to carry that terrific job of a combination of work at home and work in the factory.

In our machinists' agreement we have also gone a long way . . . six paid holidays. Most of our contracts call for that, and it is very, very essential that you get that extra day. And I don't think we want to make the manufacturers poor or anything of that type. It is just the idea that we think we are entitled to it, and with good working and labor management relations, a company should offer it to you without having to negotiate, but they don't. You will have to fight hard for these things and all of the things that we have gained through the trade union movement in the last 13 years—gains not only for men or for women, but for workers in general all over the United States.

I am representing an industry whose wages years ago were lower than the laundry workers, I am ashamed to admit. But by taking one of our country's mottoes, "United we stand, divided we fall," we have brought up our wages, although we are unskilled labor. Right now, some of our women in the cigarette industry are making as high as $1.19 an hour, working a 40-hour week . . . .

I work in a factory. Women's work in a tobacco factory is work that men have actually refused to do. We women have united, worked into an organization, went out and fought when we were laughed at and when we were told that our places were in the home where we

could probably make better pies than cigarettes. But we have proven that by a little bit of fight and a little bit of guts, we can accomplish anything we make up our minds to do.

Women should participate in union management councils.

On the economic side the importance to working women of active participation in some labor organization for collective bargaining provisions is crucial. All labor unions should allow women equal rights of membership and should encourage women members into the councils of union management. Only so will her special problems of security and sufficiency of income, of leaves for maternity and of provisions for special care for young children, be given more constructive attention.

There are a number of women on national executive boards of unions, but not enough of them. Women are on wage negotiating committees, but again not enough of them. More and more women are holding local union offices, increasing numbers of women are doing work for Federal legislation for national unions and are taking the leadership on State legislation matters and appearing before State legislatures. An increasing number of women hold the position of shop steward, an important post in a union, but considering the number of women organized, the proportion is still far too small.

Union participation develops capacity for leadership in the labor movement and in community life.

I stress this need for greater collective action also for important subjective reasons. Training in the assumption of that individual responsibility essential in a democracy is only obtainable by people being explicitly thrust into posts of responsibility. Many more such posts in the unions no less than directly in work relations can greatly multiply the chances for women to learn that the price of personal growth is responsible effort. The more women who can be induced to take some kind of office fitted to their talents, the more women will be matured for responsible leadership.

But I think one of the greatest contributions that the trade union movement makes to women workers is the opportunity that it gives women to exercise their capacities for leadership. . . . as . . . those women participate in the organization, they find the scope of their thinking expanding very broadly, not only with reference to the daily work of their jobs, but into political fields, fields of civil rights, to all of the things that citizens should be interested in. So I think that through the union movement and through the increasing member-

ship of women in unions, a great contribution to good citizenship in this country has been made.

We are forging for ourselves an increasingly important place in the trade union movement, which in turn makes us more aware of our citizenship and community responsibilities. It is to the mutual benefit of ourselves as individuals of the trade union movement and of our Nation that we are constantly striving to strengthen this relationship.

Where the industrial woman is part of an organized trade-union group, she is better able to assume the responsibilities of citizenship and to contribute to her community because of the social and economic benefits she receives through her union. Because of her shorter work-week, higher wages, and sense of personal worth and dignity, she is released to take her rightful place as a citizen.

Women are not assertive enough. They must learn by doing in the union.

An outstanding southern editor recently said that the trade union movement could make a greater contribution toward the solution of the racial problem in the South than could any other group in the country. It is my firm conviction that the trade union movement can make an equally great contribution, working with millions of women in factories and in the service occupations, in helping them to participate fully in the life of our times.

The present union movement has insufficiently concerned itself with the broad sense of women's stronger status in society. Once union leaders can come to think not alone in terms of rewards for work but also in terms of total personality unfolding as an objective, a rich new area of significant advance will have been charted.

Trade unions alone are not enough; labor legislation is needed.

Several factors stand out in the last decade which have bearing on legislative trends. One is the substantial increase in the organization of women in trade unions. This, of course, has meant very real gains both for the women in the unions and for the unorganized workers whose standards and status are affected by the achievements of the organized. The increased organization, however, has led to a public

impression in many quarters that there is no need for labor legislation, because the unions can take care of working conditions themselves. That this is a short-sighted and erroneous conclusion is obvious when we realize that although several million women probably are in trade unions, there are many kinds of work in which women are employed that are completely unorganized.

A further effort which the unions should support aggressively, if not take the direct lead in, is the equalizing throughout the States of legislatively enforced protective labor standards with special emphasis on laws requiring equal pay for equal work.

LEGISLATIVE AND OTHER STANDARDS

The importance of labor legislation for women was repeatedly emphasized, both by speakers and by conference representatives from the floor.

Concern has long and frequently been expressed, however, concerning the financial relation of single women workers to members of their families in the same household or outside. Investigations have clearly shown that within certain occupations these workers have earnings insufficient for self-support at an acceptable level. Some of these, the more fortunate ones, undoubtedly had their earnings supplemented from the earnings, or by the unpaid services, of other family members. There are also undoubtedly some, both those with earnings below and those with earnings above an acceptable level, who wholly or partially support others. Data that unmistakably indicate the proportion who are partially supported by others or who support others are difficult to secure. But although we cannot measure with exactness the extent of either of these situations, the social judgment about them is fairly well crystallized, and our thinking can proceed on assumptions that are generally agreed upon. It is fairly well agreed that the full-time earnings of an able-bodied person admitted to the labor market should be sufficient to maintain her at an acceptable level without subsidy in any form from family or others. It is also fairly well agreed that wage rates which will not provide such earnings should be declared illegal and that we should seek for causes and correctives.

Minimum wage laws are an essential safeguard.

I prefer to speak of the minimum wage as a protective rather than a restrictive piece of legislation. I think it is erroneous when we speak of such legislation as restrictive. We may perhaps have a blind spot on this issue but I am sure the blind spot can be whitened out by a round table discussion.

But although it is fairly well established that the presence of single women in the labor force "is accepted and approved" and that their earnings should be "sufficient to maintain them at an acceptable level without subsidy in any form from family or others," the second thing of importance is that many single women in particular make insuffi-

cient wages to support themselves properly. If the fathers of these single women workers could only see that instead of their daughters "helping out at home," they, the fathers, are subsidizing, not their daughters, but the establishments where their daughters work, some changes might be made.

The importance to women of having State minimum wage legislation as well as Federal legislation was recognized.

In the second place, Federal labor legislation of the last decade is of great significance. Outstanding among the enactments of the New Deal period was the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1938, bringing minimum-wage protection to thousands of women for the first time. But Federal action cannot cover all workers. State laws must be enacted to establish minimum wages for the large body of women employed in strictly intrastate occupations, such as retail and service trades, and to conserve the shorter workday. But somehow, the public has gotten the impression that Federal legislation has taken care of everything!

A large employer recently stated the role which minimum wage should play in this period:

> If we review what happened in the 15 years after the ending of the last war, we note that once the pent-up war demands had been filled and competition had become more intense, it was common practice to cut wages in order to procure specific orders at narrowing margins. This was frequently offered to labor as an alternative to idleness and finally wound up in a deflationary spiral which brought the average wage in the country to such a low level that the entire economy almost became stalled—want and misery were everywhere. No thinking businessman would like to risk such a spiral as a prospect for the 1950 decade. The surest way to avoid a recurrence of such tragic happenings would be a revision upward of minimum-wage levels to bear some reasonable relationship to labor's present-day living costs. Unbridled wage cutting is a practice which should be forever removed from the arena of legitimate competitive activities.

The basic purpose of minimum wage legislation in relation to collective bargaining was discussed.

. . . I hope none of us makes the mistake of thinking that minimum wage legislation can take the place of trade union agreements. It was never so intended, I am sure. . . . It was never intended to do anything except prevent exploitation. It was not intended to create a going wage. And don't you let them shove up the minimum to a going wage. You make the people unionize and get the going wage themselves, but you use this very effective plank in the labor program to keep exploitation wiped out.

Standards in maximum hour legislation should be raised. Women's need for Saturday off, a 5-day workweek, a shorter workday, and more leisure for home and citizen responsibilities was emphasized.

As we look at our situation today, viewed from the standpoint of one hundred years ago, great progress has been made in reducing the workday and week, in achieving what Florence Kelley used to call "leisure by statute," but it is not good enough. Only 24 States and the District of Columbia have either an 8-hour day or a 44–48-hour week, or both. The 9-hour day with a 50- or 54-hour week is the limit in 10 States; the 10-hour day with a 54- to 60-hour week, in 7 States. One State allows a 10½-hour day, and one sets a weekly limit only. In five States—Alabama, Florida, Iowa, Indiana, and West Virginia—there are no limits, either daily or weekly. In other words, in half of the States the 8-hour day has no legal basis.

Closely related to the weekly and daily hours is the day of rest. Again about half of the States provide one day's rest in seven, and half are without it. There is probably no more important standard for the protection of health, both of men and women, than this.

The statutes affecting working conditions for women, such as lunch periods, seating, protection from dangerous materials, are very "spotty." Over 20 States, for instance, have no requirement of a meal period.

The harmful effects of night work were clearly recognized.

Working at night is not a virtue for anybody. It is not good for women, but it is not good for men either. Working at night does not contribute to a happy home life for men anymore than it does for women. And as an ideal—not for the moment while we have great shortages, but we are talking here about goals—as a goal, it would seem to me that if we set our sights on an adequate productive mechanism, so that no people—men or women—would have to work at night except in those industries or occupations that must be carried on at night, we would have a sounder social outlook.

And another point of particular interest is the night shift, and I think we are in the type of profession in which little or nothing can be done about the night work, but we are having a problem of getting graduate nurses into the institutions primarily because the night work is more or less of a disadvantage to their families and to their family responsibilities. I don't suppose there is much that this conference can offer in suggestions, because it is a "must" as far as institutional work is concerned.

Women's labor laws should be extended to additional occupations.

In all these laws many women are left out of coverage. Hospitals and other institutions have resisted regulation successfully in many States. Women in industrialized agriculture are practically without any regulation. In the occupations close to agriculture, such as canneries, fruit and vegetable packing sheds, and the like, unlimited overtime is allowed in many States. Domestic service is a field which is practically without standards. The regulation of hours and wages for this group presents very special difficulties, but there is certainly no good reason why they should be excluded from the protection of Social Security laws.

Perhaps the greatest peculiarity we [nurses] have is in the particular position that we stand in in relation to the advances that women have made in controlling the wages, and so forth, of employment. Aside from the small proportion of nurses who are employed in industries engaged in interstate commerce, we have hardly any nurses to whom the Labor Relations Act or any other collective bargaining legislation applies. Also, we would like to call the interest of the various groups to the legislation of the various States regulating the hours of work for women. To my knowledge, there is no State law that puts any limitation on the hours of work that a graduate nurse may work. . . . We also want your understanding in our attempts to do collective bargaining under the many handicaps that we now have. We are interested in all this legislation, even though the limitations on work for women in the various States do not specifically apply to us, they are a great help in the background. We are all for them. We are convinced that that is not enough and written agreements are necessary, even in the work called nursing. And so we hope that we will have your understanding, your suggestions and your criticism, and your help.

The need for legislative standards to meet women's special problems was stressed.*

Nevertheless, there are certain problems that are specifically women's problems, and such a question as maternity protection is certainly the outstanding one. Do you realize that there are 51 nations in this world that have legislation today providing maternity leave, maternity benefits, and security of employment during the period of leave? Fifty-one nations outside of the United tSates. Not all of them have the same standards. But some 25 have substantially the same pro-

*See also "Men and Women, Though Equal are not Identical," etc., p. 171.

visions as those of the third international convention which was adopted in Washington at the first meeting of the ILO in 1919.

As a public policy over and beyond possible provisions in union contracts, there should be immediate consideration of a social program of maternity subventions under proper safeguards. We have already accepted the principle involved here so far as widows are concerned; and the possible benefits of an extension of the idea needs fresh evaluation.

. . . though the broad concept for men and women as good citizens and good workers may be the same, men and women are not identical and there will always be problems relating to women workers. Far-seeing management and Government should appreciate these problems; women should work at a community and Federal level to clear any laws that interfere with equal status, and should extend—not ignore—those laws which bring benefits to women and invariably to men as well.

Group action, especially at local levels, is essential to getting better laws enacted. There is danger in complacency. Representatives urged that unions and national organizations take an active stand in support of specific legislation and responsibility for carrying it through.

We are also participating actively in the strengthening of existing labor laws and in the promotion of other social legislation on national and local levels. Women's auxiliaries of men's unions have an increasing awareness of the importance of laws and of community projects. Women in the labor movement did a more zealous job in connection with price control during the war. Trade union women served almost universally on price panels in their communities, and auxiliaries and other groups got out thousands of effective releases showing the value of price control to the consumer and the importance of holding the line together. These women were a real factor in helping to make price control work, and they furnish an illustration of what we can do if we organize our efforts.

I wish, also, that more effort would be made by State branches of women's organizations to see to it that legislative standards for women workers are raised in their own States. There are some notable exceptions but, by and large, there is little activity in State legislation now, either to improve existing standards or to defend them when they are under attack.

I recognize the preoccupation with legislation in the field of foreign affairs on which women have worked hard and successfully, but in considering our international obligations, let us not forget our share of responsibility for implementing the programs for domestic standards involved in our own membership in the United Nations.

I profoundly wish that more national women's organizations would take a position on such a basic measure as the Fair Labor Standards Act, the amendment of which is now under consideration by the Congress. The philosophy of the whole minimum-wage idea is now under bitter attack by certain organizations, which are taking advantage of what they undoubtedly consider the postwar reactionary spirit, to get rid of this legislation.

As the standards of living of the working population have improved, partly as a result of legislative measures, the philanthropic and benevolent attitude toward working women has changed. This is all to the good. At the same time there has developed considerable indifference toward the problems which still exist, which are not as dramatic and colorful as those which aroused sympathy some decades ago.

The fundamental importance of good working conditions standards and their effect on the happiness and well-being of all workers was emphasized again and again.

In 1944, in the midst of the war, the International Labor Conference held its meeting in Philadelphia, at which it adopted a set of principles to guide the nations in the postwar period. In this so-called "Philadelphia Charter" there is this significant statement: "The Conference recognizes the solemn obligation of the International Labour Organisation to further among the nations of the world . . . policies in regard to wages and earnings, hours, and other conditions of work calculated to ensure a just share of the fruits of progress to all." What should the fruits of progress include for women workers? A rising standard of living, leisure, safety at work, healthful conditions, widening opportunities, security. Certainly these are goals which challenge all of us.

One of our responsibilities as a member of the United Nations is to see that the standards and policies adopted by the International Labor Organization become implemented throughout our country. By recent amendment of the constitution of the ILO, the United States will be obligated to work for compliance with ILO conventions on the part of the states. The ILO conventions include such basic

standards as the 8-hour day, minimum wage, protection of youth against hazardous occupations.

Actually, where hours are reduced and wages increased, the working woman has more time to devote to her own self-development and to her family. Her wages contribute toward a better education for her children. She has more time to learn of cultural things, she has time to join in with the women who have had greater economic and social advantages. This development of the whole person should be the ultimate goal of a rounded democracy.

. . . we as a Nation are strengthened or weakened in the measure that workers succeed. In trade unionism we stress the principle that a chain is no stronger than its weakest link. If working women and men have no standards, the standards of the whole country are pulled down. If workers cannot supply the simple decencies of life to their families, the entire world suffers.

Equal pay legislation and effective action against all discrimination is needed.

There was agreement on the importance of equal pay to women.

The great expansion of industry and the increased demands for labor [in World War II], widened occupational opportunities for many women; it brought out clearly the need for equal-pay legislation. . . .

But we still have a job to do in attaining equal pay for equal work; this is a matter of simple justice.

Let us not be deluded that equal pay for equal work will come without a struggle. The principle will not automatically be applied.

In consideration of our national objective of high living standards and full employment, I submit that we cannot afford to risk the threat to general wage levels that unequal pay to women involves.

Our [U. N.] Commission [on the Status of Women] has decided that of all the various economic problems, the problem of equal pay for equal work is probably the most important.

Then there is the question of equal pay for equal work. The old, old story is brought out; women do not need as much pay as men

because they do not support the home. That, I say, is entirely fallacious. Only those women go out to become laborers who have no adequate wage earners at home. Why should women go out into factories if their men were earning enough money to support a home?

We took a census in one part of our country [India], in one town, and we found that only two women out of a hundred women went out as wage earners simply to add a little pocket money. The others, 98 percent, were all women who really needed the money for their homes.

I operate presses from 25 tons up to 190 tons. . . . Our contract . . . specifies one thing: a wage rate. That is, equal pay for equal work. The girl receives the same amount of pay as a man on the job. If she is able to do the job, she receives the same compensation for her work.

I also would like to comment . . . on . . . these manufacturers claiming that it is not necessary to have the type of legislation where you compensate a woman to equalize her with a man. It is necessary, because it happens in all of the industries, wherever they can get away with it; and especially where there isn't a union agreement, they will try to—and I have worked in this type of shop—they will try to give you less pay, doing the same type of work as a man.

Just remember that never have they invented an aircraft which is able to determine the sex of the pilot: when you approach a control tower anywhere in any country, until you pick up your own receiver and they recognize it's a woman's voice, they never know who is flying that ship, regardless of the weight of the ship, the number of motors, or the type of ship.

Some representatives described steps taken to attain equal-pay legislation.

We have in Pennsylvania just been able to put on the statute books what we call the uniform pay bill which is an equal pay bill. . . . We started this work in Pennsylvania in 1944. . . . We organized this State, and then at that time we had 103 clubs all strategically placed, but the State was divided into ten sections, each with a special chairman. We contacted each other, and in those 2 years between 1945 and 1947 we built up a program, and it was all done in these sections. We contacted educational, political, labor, and management groups.

This is really one of the idiosyncrasies. At the beginning of our campaign we had quite some encouragement from management. When the bill was presented, they seemed to have lost their voices. So we had the privilege of going on without them.

Others discussed union action to achieve equal pay and to eliminate other types of discrimination.

Just a few days ago we met with some of our regional representatives who are about to go into contract negotiations. We of the Fair Practices Department recommended . . . that they negotiate the "no discrimination" clause. . . . The clause . . . is all-inclusive. In some States we do not yet have a Fair Employment Practices law, and also we do not have the provisions that will prohibit management from discriminating against women workers. So, in the clause we ask that there shall be no discrimination in hiring or promotion, regardless of race, creed, color, sex, or marital status.

When we get to the point of the marital status, that is quite a job, and it has been a job in the UAW as well as in some other unions. And the men said that when they came to that point of negotiating with management, management would not go for that section, the section that includes marital status. So right away I began my little argument with one of the fellows, to say, "Why do you not want to negotiate that clause? Why would you weaken down on the section on marital status?" He said, "Management will agree on all the other points with the exception of marital status." He said, "Would you make an exception of the section on marital status of women?" I said, "On one condition, that it be the marital status of men as well as of women."

So I think that at this point we should not pit the married women against the single women or the colored against the white. So we maintained in that committee meeting that in negotiating the clause it would be much better not to negotiate the clause at all rather than to have it stripped to pieces and torn out, one section after the other.

In my own office we find that the question of discrimination is pretty sharp. . . . We find that many of these oppressed people are able to attain the education needed for a job which would allow them to be an office worker, but when it comes to the time when they are going to enter into an office, they are barred for one reason or another. . . . The most important part of the fight against discrimination is the fight against the discrimination with regard to the Negro people. . . . The Fair Employment Practices Bill before Congress . . . would aid our women workers considerably; . . . all people regardless of race, color, creed, or sex . . . should get paid exactly the same wage for the exact work that they produce, and . . . they should have equal opportunities for a job.

WOMEN AS HOMEMAKERS

The American woman as homemaker was a major theme of the conference.

. . . workers, homemakers, citizens. I want to reverse that order. I want to say "homemakers, workers, citizens," for if it were not for the homemakers we would have neither the citizens nor the workers.—*The President of the United States.*

We, as trained homemakers, feel that homemaking can be as challenging a job as any other job. And we would like to see the situation brought about where it would not be necessary to take the homemaker out of the home unless she definitely wishes to go out of the home. . . . The homemaker holds in her hands the weapons for shaping the future destiny of this world, through character training, through the purse strings, and through many other ways. . . . I would like to see us work toward an economic situation where it would not be necessary to take so many homemakers out of the home unless they desire to work outside of the home. I also would like to see the working conditions such that there will be an opportunity for women to work outside of the home, if they care to, without discrimination as to opportunity or remuneration.

The changed character of the home came under consideration.

. . . the second kind of influence conditioning women's social pattern [is] . . . the changed character of the home as a place to function in. . . .

The tie that binds the woman to the home as a creative moral force over and above its living accommodations is thus, unfortunately, not as strong and as challenging in a sustained way as it was for our forebears. Whether or not this is unfortunate would seem to me to depend basically upon how women in the home deal with these changed conditions. And it may well be that a strengthening of the home as a social institution is one of the major corrective efforts to be faced by men and women alike.

We are still struggling with the horse and buggy way of running homes. With some strange old traditions we American women, who are supposed to be so free of tradition, find foreign women ahead of us. I was brought up on a ranch in Colorado. You know out there

you are considered to be rather queer as a woman if you don't prefer the actual household jobs above everything else. The men used to have to plow to eat and we had to cook to eat. But the men don't have to plow to eat any more. I think we need to apply job analysis to homemaking just as we do to all industries and be more intelligent about reorganizing our homes and our homemaking in order to get more freedom to do the other things. So we need a conference, another conference in which to pool the wisdom of the women of America who in one way or another are trying to meet this problem, and very badly too as the divorce courts show, to find out new ways of building home life and family life and the new world ahead of us.

Speakers stressed the value of the multiple role of homemaker, worker, citizen.

. . . home work is sometimes the equivalent of leisure-time activity to the working woman, that is, an outlet for creativity, and . . . the working woman may have better home conditions because she is forced to manage better.

I am a homemaker, I am a mother. I have a little boy and I have a girl, and my husband works, and I know that old saying about married women working. I don't work because I don't have anything else to do. I also get up in the morning, prepare my children's breakfast, dress them, carry them down to the nursery about three blocks away, in which I am fortunate. And I am on the job at 7 o'clock. We have a half hour for our lunch. We get through work at 3:30, and then there is shopping to do. That part is where your job and your homemaking comes in. The citizen part, I would say, is our women's part in the Red Cross work, the community work, your educational programs, all of those things. . . . One day I go to work in overalls and a bandana around my head and flat heels, and 3 weeks ago my husband and I chaperoned at a sorority dance for my daughter and he had on a tuxedo and I had a formal.

Some felt that perhaps women ought only to be workers and others only homemakers. . . . It is of tremendous advantage to the entire family when the mother is a worker and an active citizen. . . .

I think that my participation in the trade union movement has made me a better mother, a better homemaker, and I expect in the next couple of years to be a better grandmother.

There is a general feeling around that perhaps you can't be as good a homemaker if you do take on an outside job. From 25 years experience (and I think this experience would be generally testified to by other social workers) I want to say that some of the finest mothers are the ones who successfully carry homemaking and a job. In other words, it is not the hours a mother or a homemaker puts into the job; it is the quality of what she gives. And I would like to say a word again of endorsement of Dr. Tead's paper because it is only as people do have more than one interest that they can successfully compete on either side of this fence. I don't like the fence there at all. . . . The richer a woman's experience, the broader her interest, the better mother she makes for her children, and as an old maid, may I say, the better wife she should make for her husband.

The burden imposed by the dual role of worker and homemaker was given special consideration.

A majority of working women recognize two major obligations while men tend to recognize—for better or worse—only one.

. . . another value judgment that is a constant in our problem [is the assumption] that people will live in small family groups in independent households. . . . The most pervasive and fixed part of our pattern for living is the independent household made up increasingly of the nuclear family without other members related or unrelated. There is no visible tendency for the household to fall below the minimum set by the size of the nuclear family, and the way it desires to live continues to be reflected in . . . separate dwellings equipped with sleeping, dining, cooking, and other facilities.

Light on the question of the burden of housework may be sought through logical analysis. Unfortunately, many who have attempted it have not seen the whole picture and have reached faulty conclusions. What they have seen is the decline in home manufacturing and processing and in the number of children, the increase in labor- and time-saving devices. What they have not seen are the new duties added by the very conditions they emphasize, the change in standards, the increased time as well as money cost of new modes of living, the decrease in the number to do the work, and the fact that the presence of one child even for part of the day or for unforeseeable and occasional days may tie the mother almost as completely as if there were ten there all the time. What has been happening in the home is in part the counterpart of what has been happening in the economy as a whole, the decline in the proportion of time given to agriculture

and manufacturing and the increase in that given to distribution and service; less to producing the fundamental necessaries and more to producing amenities and comforts.

And I shall maintain that almost all women who go to work, even those few who can afford adequate paid assistance in their homes, find that they experience at least some tensions and strains in the effort to do for each claimant upon their time all that they would like to do. There is a running apprehension that if the job is being well served, there may be a slighting of husband, or children, or parents, or home management, or of social relations, or even of one's own limited health and strength.

. . . the proportion [of women whose earnings permit them to hire the skilled housework help needed] is likely to become smaller if we attain some goals to which we are committed, viz., greater equality of opportunity for education and employment.

. . . discussion of the married woman worker very properly took as its starting point the question of the work load in the home. She dismissed this question as irrelevant to women earning enough to hire help. I must admit that my sympathy goes out to the women to whom she referred as those "likely to be publicized as successfully combining marriage, children, a home, and a career." . . . However, the solution of the problem of the home-work load is basic to the success, happiness, and health of the woman worker today.

Last summer there was laid upon us [the International Labor Office] by our Conference the responsibility for studying and working on the problems of the woman with the double responsibility . . . the woman who has a home, and who works 8 hours a day in addition to caring for that home. She, and not the part-time worker, is the typical working woman the world over, much as we wish it might be the latter. Therefore we must attack on an international scale the very problems you are dealing with here.

. . . it hardly seems possible from the standpoint of proper and humane treatment of a human being that women should be attempting—and I mean this seriously, although there is a lot of joking about it—to run their homes, particularly when there are children, and carry out their many domestic responsibilities, and to work at the same time. . . . I am positive that before long there will be drastic changes made with respect to this problem.

Hours spent on household tasks were assessed.

We have no accurate measure of the change in the length of the working day and week of homekeeping women in the last two or three generations. If their working hours have not declined 30 to 40 percent, they have not fared as well as others. The few attempts to gather factual data gave rather surprising results. Even in city homes of the business and professional class an average workweek of 46 hours was recorded, not over-all time but the sum of periods of 15 minutes or longer. If the hours spent by other family members and paid workers are added, the figure rises to the extraordinary total of 80 hours per week.

So many women are exhausted because with 8 hours in the factory or other occupation and an hour for lunch and a couple of hours of traveling time, there you have 11 hours a day. Before they have come to the factory they have been up, cooked for the children, got them dressed and off to school. Then, after work, they go home, get supper, do some washing and mending, and only go to bed to get enough sleep to be able to get up and do it again the next day.

The most telling figures I know with respect to the load that these women must carry come from a Russian study made available by Kingsbury and Fairchild. It is a study of the time budget of employed men and women. Both the men and women were family heads and on the job for the same period of time. On the average the women spent almost 4 more hours per day in what was called "indispensable labor" than did the men, 26 more hours per week.

To speak of the average length of the working week of all homemakers is to obscure the facts. The major fact, and the one that sets the problem, is the variation among them at any one time and the variation for each one at different periods of her life . . . differences due to the place of residence with its concomitant smoke, soot, accessibility to markets, commercial and community services, and, of greater importance, differences in the size of the house and its time- and labor-saving arrangements and equipment . . . differences due to the number and age of the family members. It is this last variable, inherent in the nature of the family itself, which poses the central problem with respect to the effective utilization of the energies and skills of women.

Suggestions for alleviating the household burden were made.

The greatest problem facing the women in the factories, the laundries, the stores—and I think this applies to secretaries and profes-

sional women as well—the most difficult problem is the problem of combining home and job. During the war more progress was made on that, I think, than had been made in the previous years. A great many things were tried out, experimented with. Some firms brought laundry machines in and set aside space, hired somebody to take care of them, and the women workers could bring their laundry in in the morning, it was put through the machines, and when they got ready to go home, they could take it home with them. Grocery stores were opened up in factories and time allowed for women to do their shopping. Arrangements were made with retail stores for salespersons to come to the factory with samples at given hours, during rest periods and at other times, so that women could buy staple household articles, articles of clothing. All of those things may seem small things, but all of them were a tremendous step in the right direction.

The one thing that women workers whom I have worked with most in the last 10 years most strongly wanted was that Saturday off. That meant so much to women because, if they had Saturday off from the job, then they could do the laundry, they could scrub the floors, they could do their housework, and could actually have a day of rest on Sunday. But even with the Saturday off, the double burden . . . is so great a problem that some thinking during the coming years along the lines of what industry, government, and organized labor together can do to reduce that burden will, I think, be one of the most constructive programs that can be carried on as far as working women are concerned.

Publicly supported child care centers were called for as a major step toward a solution.

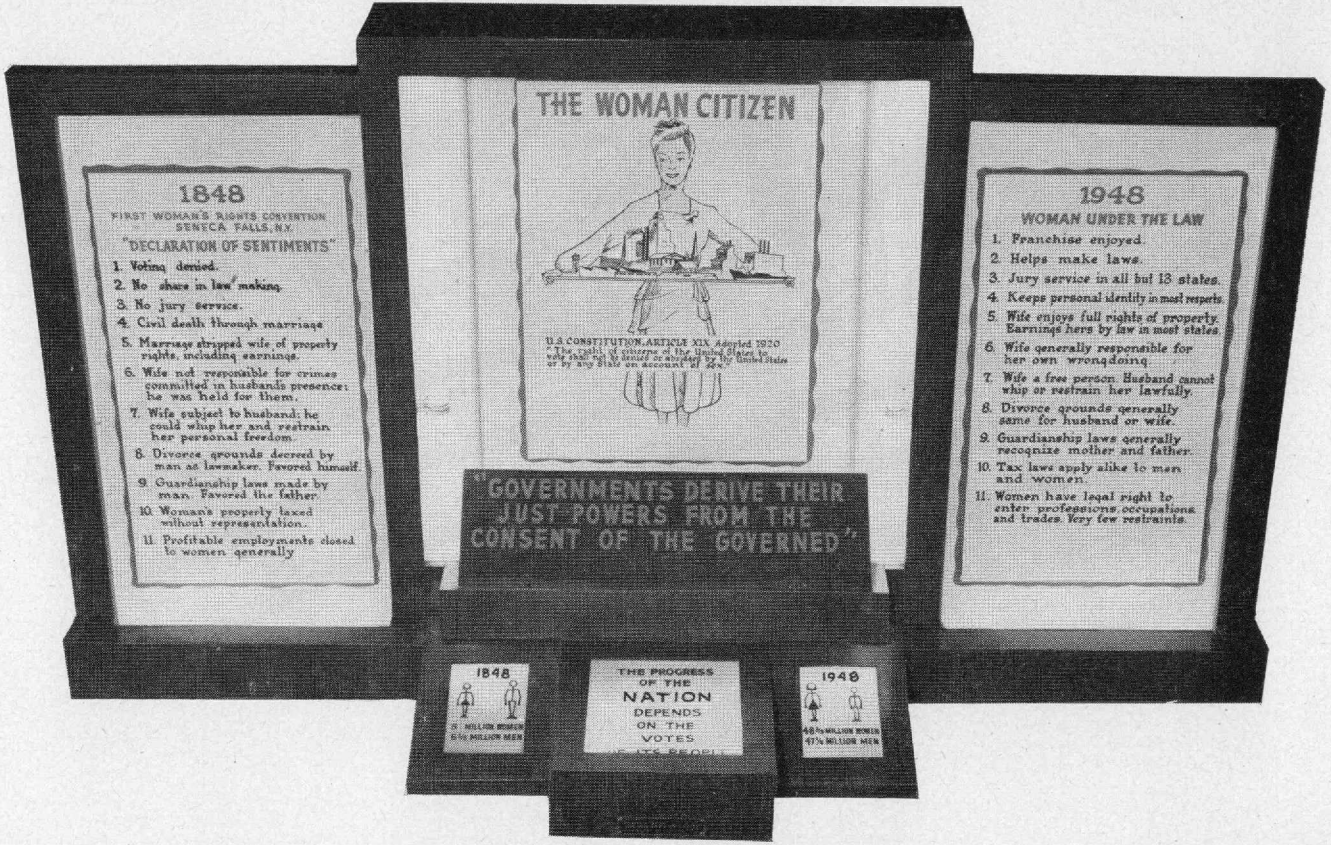
There should be a great extension of public, all-day nursery schools for children as young as 2½ to 3 years of age.

It is rather unfortunate that with the close of war we no longer considered it necessary, for example, to continue maintaining child-care centers. . . . Working mothers today are confronted with that problem in addition to so many others of their problems on what to do with their children. . . . One of the reasons why the hotel and restaurant industry has been attractive to women is because it does afford the opportunity of part-time work. . . . It would be a little easier if we would continue a school-lunch program so that they know that their children are adequately fed while they are in school. . . . It certainly is a long-range goal to do something about the culture of a nation where poems have never been written about the children com-

ing home from school and being greeted by the daddy with a cookie and a cookie jar in his hand. . . . And when the mother has to work, whether it is for economic reasons or whether it is simply that she realizes she will be a happier individual by giving herself an additional stimulus that comes from working, we should at least make the day easier by having an adequate child-care program for working mothers.

There is a group of mothers, of children from the age of 1 month to 3 years old, who should not be working because these children need their mothers at home. They are the present prenursery children that we are concerned about. . . . We contact . . . more than 150 women each month, talking to the women who have to work because their husbands' salary is not sufficient under present prices to meet the cost of living, and these women are going out to work and not making adequate provision for their children.

When we go back, I hope that our groups will fight for not only publicly supported nursery schools, but some provision for making men's salaries more adequate to meet the inflationary costs of living, for we want to meet that and we can't meet it too quickly. If women have to work, everyone should lend a hand in making some provision for the care of their children.



1848

First Woman's Rights Convention
Seneca Falls, N. Y.

"DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS"

1. Voting denied.
2. No share in law making.
3. No jury service.
4. Civil death through marriage.
5. Marriage stripped wife of property rights, including earnings.
6. Wife not responsible for crimes committed in husband's presence; he was held for them.
7. Wife subject to husband; he could whip her and restrain her personal freedom.
8. Divorce grounds decreed by man as lawmaker. Favored himself.
9. Guardianship laws made by man. Favored the father.
10. Woman's property taxed without representation.
11. Profitable employments closed to women generally.

1848

5 MILLION WOMEN
5⅝ MILLION MEN

U. S. CONSTITUTION, ARTICLE XIX, Adopted 1920: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."

"GOVERNMENTS DERIVE THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED"

THE PROGRESS OF THE NATION DEPENDS ON THE VOTES OF ITS PEOPLE

1948

WOMAN UNDER THE LAW

1. Franchise enjoyed.
2. Helps make laws.
3. Jury service in all but 13 States.
4. Keeps personal identity in most respects.
5. Wife enjoys full rights of property. Earnings hers by law in most States.
6. Wife generally responsible for her own wrongdoing.
7. Wife a free person. Husband cannot whip or restrain her lawfully.
8. Divorce grounds generally same for husband or wife.
9. Guardianship laws generally recognize mother and father.
10. Tax laws apply alike to men and women.
11. Women have legal right to enter professions, occupations, and trades. *Very few* restraints.

1948

48⅝ MILLION WOMEN
47¼ MILLION MEN

WOMEN AS CITIZENS

Throughout the conference women's responsibility as citizens was reiterated and reemphasized.

Carrie Chapman Catt made a speech to the school children in which she said, "We have spent 50 years getting freedom for women. You must now decide what you are going to do with the freedom, and that's the toughest decision of all."

You have inherited the great gains they fought for, and you are going on with the building of "a system of morals of civic honor" on which we have only made a beginning.—*The Secretary of Labor.*

As far as India's ideology goes, we lay a great stress on responsibilities when we ask for rights of citizenship. We have always taken that attitude from the beginning of our women's movement. We do not desire so much rights of place or even rights of politics, but we place the right of service, service for our country, and taking up the responsibilities for our country as the first thing to be done for all nations.

Suffrage is the first key to freedom in a democratic society, in other countries of the world and in the United States.

Then we [in India] consider what the spearhead should be, and that spearhead is certainly political rights. It is only when you get the right of franchise, when you get the right of electing the right men and women to the right places that you really pull your weight in any country.

We all recognize that the first key in a democratic society, of course, is the vote. Woman suffrage is the key whereby we may unlock all the other freedoms. . . .

There are still 22 countries in the world where women do not now have that basic freedom. . . .

Woman must first be recognized as a deserving citizen of her country, as an integral part of its government, before she can successfully seek rights and concessions in other fields.

We have exactly the same battle [for suffrage for all men and women] here [in the United States] that there is to be waged in all the other countries. . . .

So I think we would do well to leave this conference, realizing that there is much that has to be done economically for the people of this country, not only the women. I also think it would be very unfortunate not to have some mention made here, where it was pointed out that the vote and the suffrage are the door that opens the path to freedom, that the Mary McLeod Bethunes of Mississippi in this country do not vote. I think it would be quite well for the women of this conference, who are aware of the value of the vote, to lend their efforts in the future to extend that privilege to all citizens of the United States.

Education is essential to intelligent voting and participation in Government.

. . . you can't be an intelligent voting citizen in a democracy unless you have at least a minimum of education, and there is an enormous amount of illiteracy in the world. Now it is true, of course, that illiteracy is shared by little boys as well as by little girls, but they have a strange habit sometimes of educating little boys, pushing them forward, and tending to forget the little girls.

We should educate women for positions of office, and it is highly essential that we should, because a woman who achieves position without the ability to hold it does hold back the cause of women. . . . We should educate the ordinary woman voter in the techniques of our electoral system and in the techniques of the party government.

Women's education, like men's, should help to clarify the areas of citizen obligation for the conduct locally of public housekeeping, education, health, housing, recreation, and worship. The development of civic interest can give scope to many women for invaluable part-time or volunteer community service. We have as a nation hardly begun to tap the resources of women's rightful contribution to the conduct and oversight of the many public services that contribute to domestic and social well-being.

As important as the vote is participation in Government.

They must hurry up [the 22 countries without woman suffrage] and give women the vote. Then following that, and so closely related to

it that it is almost impossible to distinguish the two, is the use that you make of the vote, the extent of your participation in government. I think it is fine to be able to look around and decide on the right man to vote for, but why not the right man or *woman* to vote for?

So we are also concerned . . . with the need of getting women to come out of their apathy and to increase, greatly increase, their participation in all aspects of government, both as citizens and also as members of government, in all its various attributes.

I would . . . like . . . to stress the importance of women getting into their political parties, and I would like to remind you that Carrie Chapman Catt herself in 1920 took as her slogan "Join the Party of Your Choice"—not your father's, not your brother's, not your husband's, but the party of your choice. . . . The participation of women in parties increased markedly in the last few years and . . . we expect it to show marked increase again this year. . . . You ought to go back and get into your precinct caucus or into the very smallest unit of your party in your State, and that is what the League of Women Voters is saying to our members as individuals: "Go and get into the parties!"

. . . in order to achieve this gigantic purpose, more women should get into the legislatures. I certainly think that our Congress here on the Hill furnishes quite a sight: Seven women, after 21 years of women's vote!

One of our problems in placing women in high positions . . . has been that there have not been enough women elected to office. In connection with that I would like to suggest that one of the troubles is that not enough women vote. They don't exercise the suffrage. We worry about the poll tax States, but only 50 percent of the people in the other States vote.

. . . I am very proud to tell you that in India not only have we one woman Minister, who is the Minister of Health (and she has by the way, made out a very fine scheme for the protection and training of nurses, where the nurses get adequate pensions and adequate care) . . . but we also have a woman Governor, a woman Ambassador, and we have many women representing their country all over the world, and we are not denied any place of which we are worthy. I hope that this will be an eye-opener to many nations in the world.

A man in politics with whom I was discussing the problem said, "Don't talk about that! Can you conceive of what would happen if all the women's clubs ever got together on one thing? There wouldn't be a politician in Washington whose hat wouldn't be blown off."

Women's lack of knowledge about how to participate in government must be met by beginning in a small way, on the local level, and progressing with training and experience.

. . . I thought the ladies were charming and intelligent; I thought the work they were doing for charity, and so on, was admirable. But finally I asked them how many women in Pelham were members of the Board of Selectmen, and they said, "None." For the first time they showed violent interest, because a roar went up that shook the windows. Then I asked them how many women in Pelham were on the Board of Education. "One," the answer came. It isn't that they don't want to get on such Boards. They don't know how to get on them.

I want to toss an idea into all these organizations. I think that somebody ought to get out a pamphlet which tells women how to do things, how to get in at the beginning of things, what is the practical way for a woman to get into the local politics. They simply don't know where to start, any more than the woman past the 42-year age limit knows how to get a job.

I have had the privilege of serving for 7 years on our county board of supervisors. . . . There were two of us women to be appointed. . . . I do feel that women have a great privilege in working in their cities and should know their local governments. We cannot all aspire to be a State representative or a State senator or in our Congress, but if we would start in our local governments, school boards, we could do a great deal there.

The two of us women on the board have found that the board of supervisors was made up of a great many farmers and it was a very difficult thing to make those rural men appreciate that the city women coming on the board could do a creditable job. But in no way did we try to tell the men what to do, but we found that if we made the ball and let the men play it, that usually worked out well . . . . You can really think up the thing and get the men to do it.

I want to take up the particular suggestion . . . that women do not know enough about getting into politics, and . . . that that was one of the keys to a better position for women in the world. I have

just returned from England where I have had the pleasure of meeting a woman's group known as The Women for Westminster. That particular group is planning for women to nationally go into politics and they have a very marvelously planned course which they suggest women take before they go into politics, and after they have taken that course that particular organization gets behind the women that have taken the course and they make very sure that those particular women are elected to the offices for which they are running.

. . . political alertness is one of our chief aims . . . . We have recently conducted a survey of women in elected and appointive office to discover how they got there, and the majority of them got there because their husbands had died. . . . We do not plan ahead for these things. . . . We all want to start at the top. . . . So often we go and say, "We want a woman on a board," instead of sticking with a qualified woman . . . . We must get away from this point of view of thinking about "we women want." We must start thinking and working for what "we women want for the people of the whole country and of the world." Then we will really get somewhere.

As I see it, the key to participating in government is getting some understanding of government machinery and how you work with other people, who possibly differ with you, yet you have a goal to aim at, and you have to get their cooperation. . . . The place to begin is on the appointive boards of your own communities. That is where the man first begins, that is where he gets his first experience, and it is from that that he comes to public attention . . . .

We have sent women to our legislatures, they have served one term and come home. They have been in 60 days, and the whole thing was over before they knew what it was all about. The place to begin is in the smaller places, and then we can go farther and have more responsibilities. . . . The contribution we have to make is not just for women . . . it is for the good of society as a whole.

"To strengthen democracy at its roots" it is essential that all groups understand each other, meet and discuss mutual problems, and work together.

I just want to touch on the thought that . . . everyone in a democracy counts. . . . Even though we may have differences of opinion, the whole thing must be won or lost by all of us working together, Negro and white, Jew and Gentile, Protestant and Catholic.

I think the Women's Bureau has done a splendid thing in bringing together this group of persons who have been the leaders in women's organizations, volunteer organizations, and trade unions. And it seems to me that this should be extended into the community more than it has been. . . . And the leadership here . . . is tremendous. . . . The problem is one of lack of understanding of each other's language, of the terms under which union development has extended, the very real need for better standards of living for the great mass of our people. You are the people who can tell your communities that there should be more understanding of these things. It seems to me that is one of the gulfs which we must bridge, and this very meeting is helping to do that.

But I would like to see more activity in the community. I am a great crusader for group discussion, the group discussion which sits people down around a table to really talk things out, where there is a meeting of minds. And that is what we need more of, and if everyone of these leaders can take back to their communities the thought that they ought to make an effort to sit down with labor union leaders, the representatives of women's groups in the labor movement, and the representatives in the volunteer groups, so many of them made up of homemakers, that they ought to sit down around a table and try to understand each other's problems and discuss their differences, and there are places where they can come together. I think that is one real problem for all of us.

I am very fortunately in charge of the women's program in New York State. I have a women's council of 34 women—CIO, the AFL, and various business and women's groups. There are 26 million in women's groups in the country today and I wonder how many of them really understand the women's trade union point of view. How many of the women's trade unions, the clubs, understand the other's point of view. I would like to say each group ought to invite the other group and talk to other groups. Then we will not have the troubles we have today.

For 10 years I have served in the New York Legislature, and I know they do not understand each other, and I am hoping very devoutly that you will all go back home and ask the other groups to sit with you in the future.

We haven't quite broken down those organizational barriers. We have got to get these small discussions going and they must be cross sections. I hope more of the women who can devote themselves in the middle years of adulthood to their families will be able to retain their union cards and be able to keep their connections with the unions.

I hope that more of our organizations can strive to go beyond their membership and bring together on all possible occasions in all parts of town women who do different things, because we haven't got a double job, as you were saying yesterday. It is a triple job: it is work; it is home work, whether you work for dollars or not; it is citizenship; and the third responsbility is just as important as the other two. And the only way we can bring these three things together is through small discussion groups.

Everything that we can do to promote the technique, to get a comprehension of what the small discussion is, will strengthen our democracy at its very roots.

An informed and articulate public opinion is needed.

. . . the most effective way in which a program for fundamental freedoms can be achieved is through public opinion.

The trade unionists today have done an amazing educational job for the Nation, and those of us assembled here belonging to other organizations can go back with the conviction that other public-spirited groups must join with the trade unions and carry on greater intensive efforts to keep this country healthy and vital through an informed and articulate citizenry.

Compelling pleas were made for organizing public opinion in support of women the world over, primarily through cooperation with the ILO and the UN Commission on the Status of Women.

I therefore would lodge a plea with you, not only that you recognize that women elsewhere in the world have such problems, but that you recognize that your responsibilities as citizens call upon you to remember their problems and study them. . . .

If the ladies from 42 to 69 want to have a job, all they need do is to organize public opinion in all the countries of the world in support of the program of the Commission on the Status of Women, and I can promise them that those 27 years of their lives will be happily and busily engaged.

In any event we [the U. N. Commission on the Status of Women] need the support of public opinion. We need to have you know what we are doing, support what we are doing, tell us if we are wrong because occasionally even we may be wrong, and go ahead in your communities and put across these principles.

[The U. N. Commission on the Status of Women] would like, therefore, to have as much support as possible from . . . women's organizations of the United States, because . . . we are great organizers. We do know how to organize as the women of no other country in the world do. . . . Let us put our backs to this job so that when the Commission goes out to Lebanon, it will be to meet with a real convocation of the women of the world.

Not only do we want to have the Commission on the Status of Women meet [in Lebanon], building our meeting around this matter of the right to vote and the matter of equal pay, which together with the nationality treaty, are going to be the three principal items on our agenda; but over and above that, we want to have as many as possible of the women's organizations of the world . . . hold their . . . meetings at the same time that we meet, so that we may have a real meeting of minds with the women of the world.

We [the U. N. Commission on the Status of Women] hope to create new international law. There are many hardships that women suffer from as the result of conflicts in laws between different countries, particularly in the fields of nationality, domicile, marriage, and divorce. We hope to pick up the task of the Treaty of Montevideo . . . and to make that type of treaty, and others that may flow from these same matters, into world-wide international treaties. . . . It is going to be very useful in helping married women, who we all agree do suffer in many countries of the world from very special disabilities and who greatly need help on that account.

COOPERATION BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN IS REQUISITE TO THE SOLUTION OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS*

A number of the conferees said it is still a man's world.

In short, I am prepared to admit that except in quite subordinate and relatively uncreative posts, our economic order does not yet recognize women as fully enfranchised participants. Progress has of course been made, but business and industry are in all the crucially determining factors still a man's world.

There is something to be said for that partnership. In the first place, women own two-thirds of the wealth of the United States. . . . Of course, they don't get the power that goes with that wealth . . . the real power of wealth is directed, of course, by men.

. . . men, broadly speaking, immersed in their own aggressive drives for creativity and for ego-maximizing in a competitive society, do not yet seem ready on as wide a scale as necessary to realize the deep roots of the woman's dilemma. Hence, they do not do what they might as husbands and as citizens to help alleviate the contributing causes. There are still vast accumulations of male pride, possessiveness, false social standards, selfcenteredness and fearfulness of job competition, which aggravate the over-all social picture that women confront. These are part of the social pattern they encounter. There is no solution, as affecting these negative masculine forces, which can come about without frank collaboration and a truer equal fellowship between the sexes both in the home and in the market place.

Men also have problems that require understanding and solution.

Most of us agree . . . that personal fulfillment in modern life is somewhat more difficult for women than for men, and that one cogent reason is the variety of the social patterns of women's relation to society. On the other hand . . . he [a previous speaker] may have given women somewhat too much sympathy here and man a bit too much blame. Man has a problem too, for he still bears the brunt of the responsibility for family support. His guilt feelings, when he

*Stressed by both men and women participants in the conference.

cannot measure up to this demand well enough, can surely match women's feeling of insecurity and confusion in our modern society. Men may be blamed for failing to give women the appreciation they need, but women should be blamed for failing to understand men's problems, too.

There are one or two fallacies which we must get out of our minds. When we ask for equal rights we are not forgetting that some women are not as strong as men, but we always forget that some men are not as strong as women physically.

When we ask for maternity care, when we ask for food for our babies, when we ask for anything special in the way of protection in special work like work in mines, let us remember that it is as necessary for us, for any nation, to have healthy men as it is to have healthy women.

Men and women, though equal, are not identical. Women will always have special problems which require protective measures. The line of progress is to extend such measures to include men.

I think that everyone will agree that differentiation is the outstanding characteristic of democracy. I feel that that same differentiation of treatment with reference to the groups where real differences exist is a constructive feature of democracy.

The fact that men and women are equals does not make them identical. Being not identical, there will always be special problems relating to women. By recognizing that fact and making gains as we can through protective legislation, by clearing away all of those laws which interfere with equal status for women, women can have a more assured position and can be more assured of equality than they can by ignoring the differences and seeking only a theoretical equality.

A man can't support or feed children on a substandard wage any better than a woman can. And I have talked with men in the garment industry who have worked for as long as 7 years, and at the end of the 7 years were earning only $3 a week. That, of course, was during the depression, but it happened. It wasn't only to women. More women, of course, than men were working at those very low wages. But the line of progress—and that line has been adopted by the Federal Government in wage and hour legislation—seems to me to

lie, not along giving up any of the protective regulations that we have put into effect which benefit women, but rather along extending those regulations so that they benefit men as well as women.

Many spoke up against continued warring and for cooperation between men and women.

. . . we shall make our greatest contribution in working through general projects that involve both men and women. . . . If we lose the peace we shall lose all the gains that we have gained as women; and probably women's organizations should stop spending one-third of their convention time in adopting constitutions and bylaws and get their teeth into the problems that are facing the country as far as the various bills that are going to be passed in the Congress—the Marshall Plan, Universal Military Training, and all the other things that are going to affect the life of this country perhaps for the next decade. . . . But let us also start looking ahead and see if we can't work as men and women, as American people, to a world as a whole, rather than women against men, men against women.

I will ask you to look back, only go back 50 years. Look at the woman on each side of you. Fifty years ago the woman on either side of you would expect to die at the age of 45. And now, take another look. You may now expect to reach 69. That gives the results of the progress in chemical, physical, medical, and allied sciences.

This is a new field for women. We are your baby. We need people. We have been working with men and for men in research in hospitals, in doctors' offices, for a long time. We do not have any law; we don't need any. Perhaps we owe to you women the fact that your newest baby can work with men, hold their own with men, and have no difficulty. We get along beautifully.

May I plead with you to remain feminine, my colleagues; that is your greatest weapon—your womanliness. We are a group of women working in a man's field with male competition. We love it. And we think that they love us.

Not 10 years ago the work that was done went out in the name of men that we assisted.

There was a woman that got on her feet somewhere this morning and said that "Women, can you not make the snowballs that the men fire?" We have made snowballs, and they have fired them, and they have come so hot and fast that the men say they can't fire them fast enough, and they say, "fire them yourselves." . . . Your own ability is the question and the answer to how far woman can go. Do you have the ability? If you have the ability, make the snowballs for

men to fire, make them so good that they ask you to fire them, and you will be there in no time flat.

The battle is by no means over. In fact, women are losing it in some ways and in many places day by day. Something must be done about it, and it can only be done by an inspired and intelligent movement for the partnership of women with men in all the fields of activity in America.

. . . the renewed efforts of women to improve their status must not take the form of war against man but the form of cooperation between men and women in solving these problems.

Are American women good citizens? They are not numerous in public office. Are women irreligious because there aren't more women preachers? You don't change a man-shaped culture overnight. It might be better to work shoulder to shoulder with the men, with an attitude of "I'd like to take my share of the responsibility for things now for a while. Things are really pretty bad and perhaps it is because I haven't been carrying my weight."

So I say, "Let's have a new crusade, not to knock men off their perch but to get a seat beside them."

CHALLENGES TO THE CONFERENCE

The President, the Secretary of Labor, and the other speakers challenged the conference not to take gains for granted; to look forward, not back; to deal with unfinished tasks; and to work together for the general welfare.

You are all bringing your talents and experience to serve a common purpose—to carry out a program in which you could join together, sinking minor differences because of your vital common objectives. . . . You have still before you many unfinished tasks. . . . You have been studying them and seeking remedies that will increase the dignity and usefulness of women in our society. These things cannot be accomplished all at once, or all by the same means. Some of them are now before the Congress, like equal pay for equal work, and the ending of specific discriminations against women, such as limitations on the right to serve on Federal juries. It is within your strength to accomplish these things in which you believe, but only if you make your goals known and persist in demanding action. And there is not a single man in the Government who can resist you if you really want to do something.—*The President of the United States.*

And you who are met here today have an opportunity. Don't talk too much about Seneca Falls and a hundred years ago. . . . The problems today require that the women of America take leadership. . . . —*The Secretary of Labor.*

I . . . caution the conference against winding up on a very gay note that all is well with women and the citizens of America. Our job is for women everywhere, women throughout the rest of the world.

We sometimes take for granted the gains that women have made. Our natural point of view that the world just automatically gets better has been somewhat shaken by two World Wars, but none the less, quite unconsciously we keep on thinking, believing, "Well, if we let it alone it will just go along; things will do all right by themselves."

I think with reference to women's role in society that what happened in Germany and Italy should teach us a lesson. Women were thrown backward in the fascist countries, as women's place, women's status is always made inferior in periods of reaction.

. . . she reminded us not to take our hard-earned gains for granted and warned of that terrible "guilt by consent" which leads to indifference to important matters. . . .

Since we as women no longer have to feel an inferiority because we have full political status (the right to vote and hold office), we must use that status for the general welfare. There are still battles to be fought, and we can lead the way.

It seems to me that the one note we can carry away from this conference is that it is possible for women of every walk of life to come to an understanding and work together for a common purpose and a common aim.

It has been my good fortune to have the experience to work with women who were not in the trade union movement, who were not trade unionists themselves, but because we have the opportunity to sit around the table, we have learned from each other how we can work together.

The composition of a minimum wage board as you know consists of three groups of people: The public, labor, and industry. I want to go on record as saying here today that in my opinion there is no greater experience for any one of us than to sit down at the table to discuss our problems and learn to give and take for the common good.

I would like to see you make of this meeting a place of declaration of purposes. . . .—*The Secretary of Labor.*

Facts are needed, and work on a Federal, State, and local level.

In the Department we have hoped that out of this meeting will come some crystallization of ideas and some consensus which will help you and your organizations and be of assistance to us.—*The Undersecretary of Labor.*

I think we will fail in our duty if we do not go back to our communities and in the smaller way emulate the excellent examples set by the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor. I think we can do it. I think we should do it. Always having in mind there is a job to be done—Federal, State, and local. By getting together, by inviting each other to our own organizations in our communities, I think we can do it and accomplish the thing we are here for.

. . . far from taking gains for granted, . . . if there is one thing that we could bring home from this conference, it would be the need to

acquaint ourselves with the actual situation and to try to think through what we ought to do about it and where our pressures can be most effectively exerted. . . .

. . . the actual situation is not known with respect to wages, working conditions, the problem of night work, or the very limited amount of legislation that apparently actually exists. That, of course, is where an organization like the Women's Bureau provides an invaluable service.

Now, I am not so naive as to think, I hope, that facts ever convinced a legislature, or for that matter ever convinced the public. The more facts you have the more sleepy they get listening to you. But the reiteration of a fact often helps quite a lot. So let's remember that and not give up on the facts just on the grounds that facts are not persuasive.

We hope for the day when "women's divisions" on the basis of sex may disappear as unnecessary in all organizations. This, however, is a goal. In the meantime, organized women's units within organizations are indispensable for defining goals and working out methods for attaining them.

I would like to see that around the country we also have women's bureaus and, while we are striving to make our women's bureaus stronger, perhaps a department (as was mentioned here on two occasions) with cabinet status. I think we who are interested in things that go on at the grass-root levels should think in terms of strengthening our State women's bureaus.

The problems need to be attacked on a world-wide scale.

. . . women have won for themselves a position in the working world, but not to the same degree in all countries and in all areas; . . . there must be a better understanding among various women's groups and also among men and women; there must be a greater body of information as to how women can better participate in government and in the political life of their countries; . . . there must be a larger body of information on how these ends can be achieved; . . . there must be better means for channeling such information; . . . we must reorient the approach to the solution of our problems by seeking cooperation from the men rather than declaring war upon them. We are cautioned not to end this conference on a gay note, but rather to strengthen our determination to broaden and increase our efforts for the elimination of our many still unsolved problems.

Therefore we must attack on an international scale the very problems you are dealing with here. But may I say that I know of no body of women in the world more able to attack those problems than American women, if I may judge from this conference.

I sometimes wonder if our young women just growing up realize the blood and sweat and tears that went into that battle; or if they realize that, in large areas of the world, that battle is still being fought by women no less determined than our own women in the past century to gain full political status. . . . the problem now is to use it for the general welfare.

Don't take it too much for granted. Not too much progress has been made. There are still battles ahead.—*The Secretary of Labor.*

If the direct action of the Inter-American Commission of Women is not needed for aid to women of the United States, . . . they will feel no less an obligation to help women in sister American Republics to secure the same political freedom which they themselves enjoy . . . they will recall that the economic advancement of women in the United States has been greatest since the gaining of their political independence in 1920.

For as we take responsibility, as the women of all countries take more and more responsibility—for making contact with each other, for recognizing our common problems, for taking an active part in improving standards of life and standards of work and in insuring the peace of the world (all these I think are interrelated)—it seems to me that, moving into that greater responsibility, we will make an essential contribution to the future of society.

Women have learned the arts of peace. They can be a great force toward the achievement of peace.

Then, of course, the larger undertaking for women *is to make up their minds that there shall be no more war.* . . . if women could decide who were the right men to vote for, determine somehow who were the men who would lead us most definitely toward peace, then, providing those women would join together, a mighty purpose would be achieved.

I do want here just to express a very deep appreciation for this significant conference of thinking, conscientious women who have been gathered from all over America to think together how we may in a day like this better prepare ourselves to meet the challenge that is ours as women of America and of the world today, and to face

squarely the problems that are confronting us, that we may be able to bring about the peace and the democracy and the fellowship that we must have if we are to have a warless world.

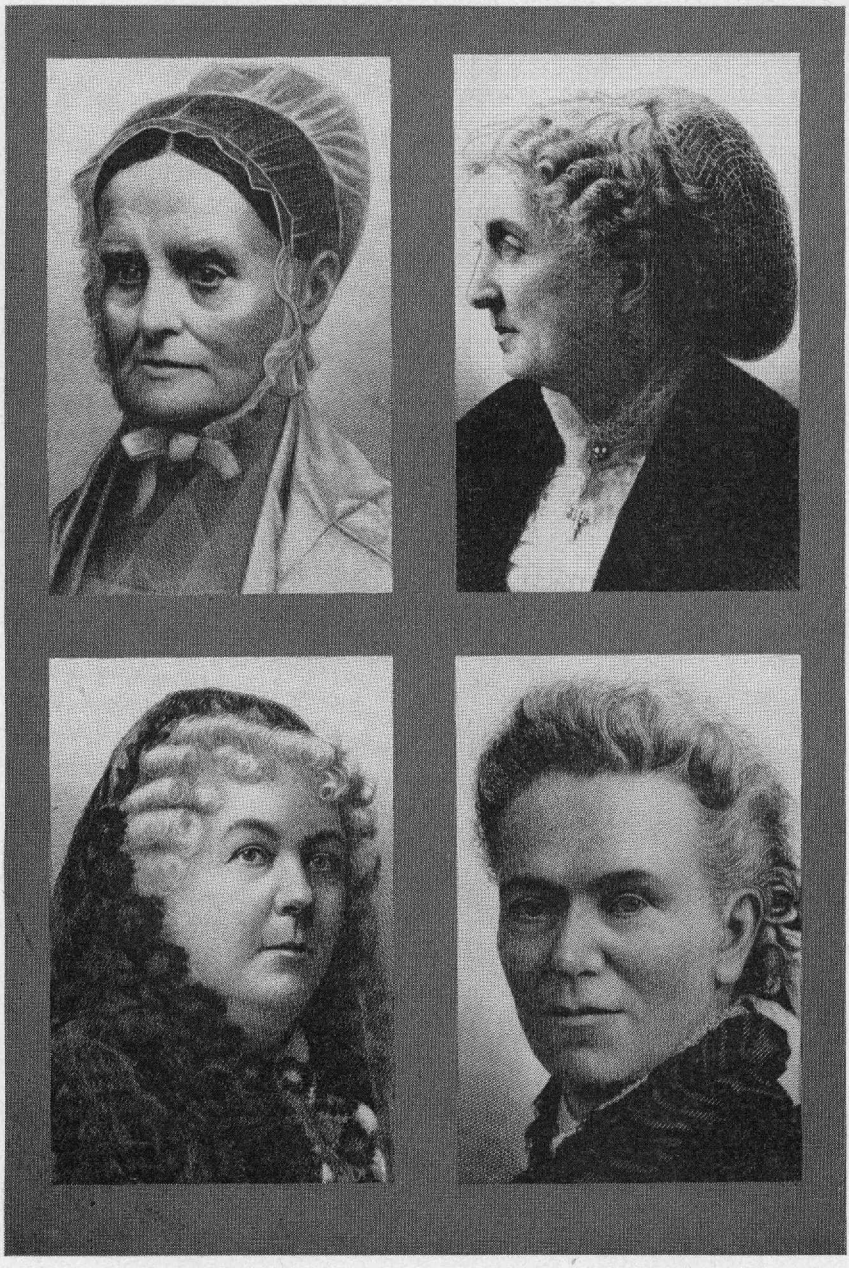
I want to thank the Bureau, and I am very happy to be able to participate, and I am hoping that the 6½ million brown American women whom we are privileged to represent may just catch the gleam, get the rays that will go out from such a meeting as this and find out ways day by day of more closely integrating into the problem of service, real unselfish consecrated service of the womanhood of the world.

. . . women could be a tremendous force toward the achievement of peace and in the abolition of war. . . .

Women have learned the arts of peace. They have discovered ways of making peace exciting and full of challenge. They know, better than men, that the war against poverty and fear and disease and hunger is the war to which we can, as yet, see no end. Even in the United States, where the standard of living is higher than anywhere else in the world, much remains to be done.

It is your special responsibility to carry on this fight, to persuade the men to support you in it, so that the United States can push on toward the goal of a better life for all our people.

In this task I wish you all Godspeed.—*The President of the United States.*



Lucretia Mott

Paulina W. Davis

Elizabeth Cady Stanton

Matilda Joslyn Gage

INDIVIDUAL WOMEN WHO HAVE ADVANCED THE WELFARE AND STATUS OF WOMEN

IT IS impossible to list here all the many women who made substantial contributions toward advancing the position of women. The following are among those not now living who were so outstanding that their names scarcely could be omitted from a list of women who furthered women's progress in this country.

Grace Abbott 1878–1939

Social and settlement worker. Director of U. S. Children's Bureau, 1921–34. U. S. Government delegate to International Labor Conferences, 1933, 1937.

Abigail Smith Adams 1744–1818

Urged in 1776 that in the Continental Congress attention be paid to women's rights.

Jane Addams 1860–1935

Active in social service; head resident for many years, Hull House, Chicago. Advocate and worker for woman suffrage and for international peace.

Susan B. Anthony 1820–1906

American woman suffrage advocate. Organizer, National Woman Suffrage Association, first national body in this field. Lecturer and campaigner.

Sarah G. Bagley [1]

Nineteenth century American labor leader. Active in forming the Lowell Female Labor Reform Association in Massachusetts in 1845. Editor and vigorous campaigner for reforms in Massachusetts textile mills and in labor conditions in general.

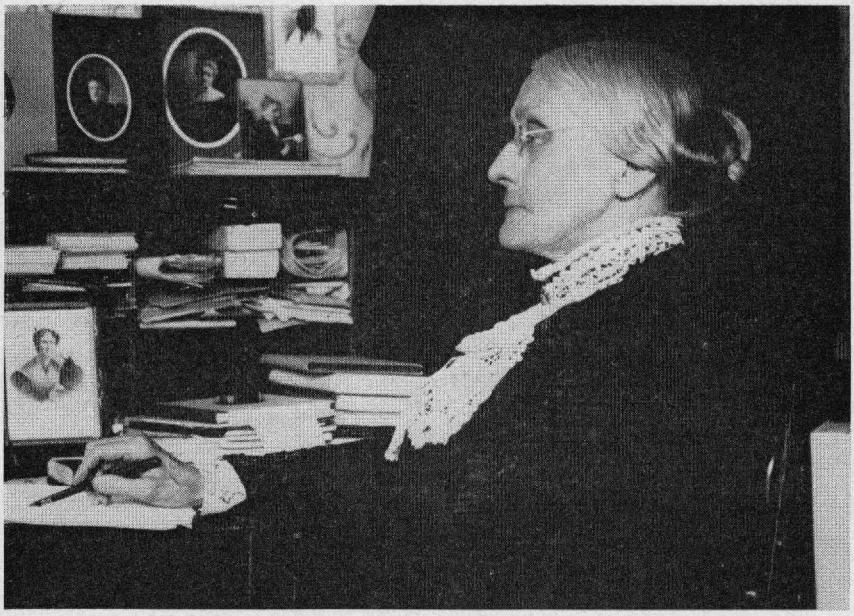
Clara Barton 1821–1912

Founder of American Red Cross, and its first president, 1882–1904. Clerk in Patent Office, Washington, 1854–61, before women were generally employed by the Government in Washington.

Dorothy Bellanca 1894–1946

Vice president and one of the founders of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Her life work was betterment of working and living conditions for wage earners.

[1] Dates of birth and death not available.



Susan B. Anthony

Clara Barton

Antoinette L. (Brown) Blackwell 1825–1921

First woman to complete a theological course (1850) and to be ordained a minister in the United States.

Elizabeth Blackwell 1821–1910

First woman of modern times to receive a medical degree (1849). Established the New York Infirmary for Women (chartered in 1854) and, a year later, the Woman's Hospital.

Margaret Brent 1600–1670 or –71

America's first feminist. Appointed by Provincial Court of Maryland as attorney for Lord Baltimore's estates. Requested a "voyce" and vote in the Maryland Assembly and, being denied this, protested all of its acts.

Carrie Chapman Catt 1859–1947

American woman suffrage leader and lecturer in a campaign resulting in adoption of Nineteenth amendment to United States Constitution.

Lydia Maria (Francis) Child 1802–80

Author of an early history of women and later active in the abolitionist movement.

Hannah Lee Corbin [1]

Protested in 1778 against taxation of women in Virginia unless they were allowed to vote.

Paulina Wright Davis 1813–76

Organized the first *National* Woman's Rights Convention, at Worcester, Mass., 1850.

Sarah Margaret Fuller 1810–50

Author, critic, and advocate of social reforms. On staff of New York Tribune as literary critic, 1844–46.

Matilda Joslyn Gage 1826–98

Reformer and ardent advocate of women's rights. Author of many books on subject. Associated with Susan B. Anthony and others in woman suffrage movement.

Helen Hamilton (Chenoweth) Gardener d. 1925

Active in movement for women's progress and for social reform. Author. First woman member, U. S. Civil Service Commission (1918), the highest Federal appointment given a woman up to that time.

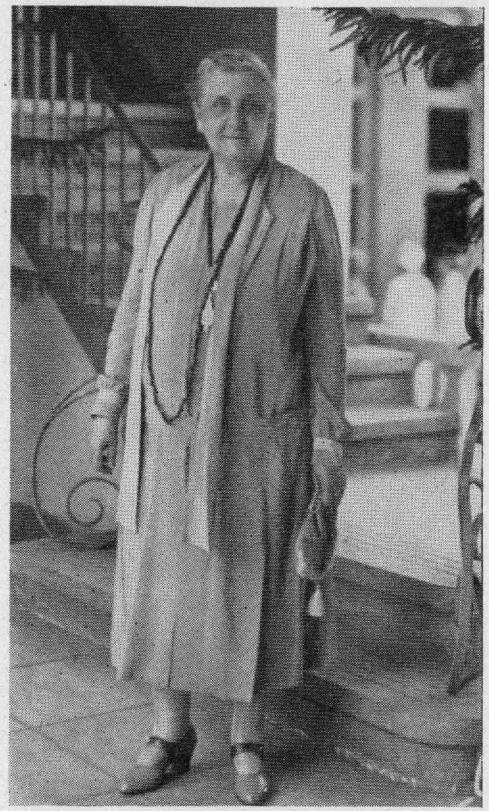
Anne (Marbury) Hutchinson 1591–1643

A pioneer in the establishment of the Rhode Island Colony, which provided an opportunity for women to develop their own religious thinking.

[1] Dates of birth and death not available.

Anna Howard Shaw

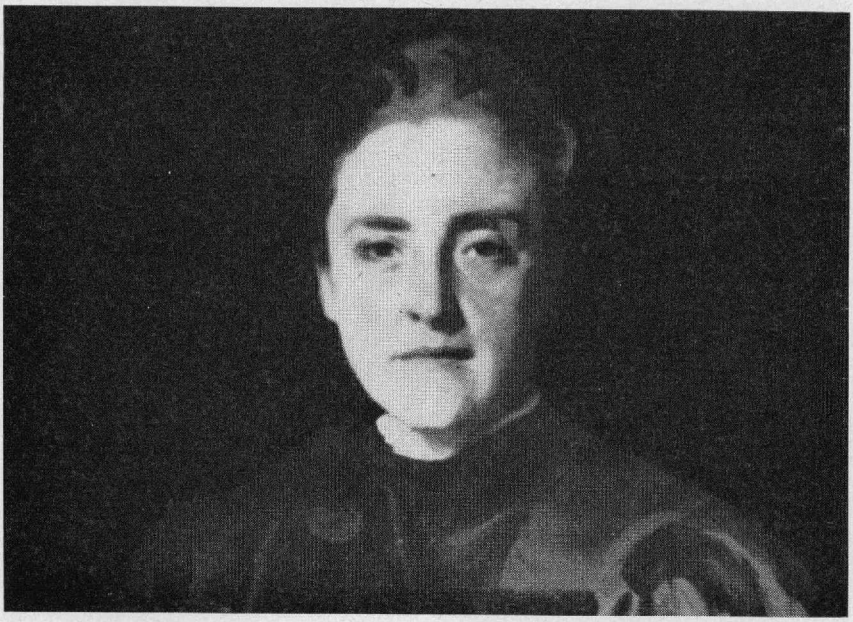
Mary McDowell



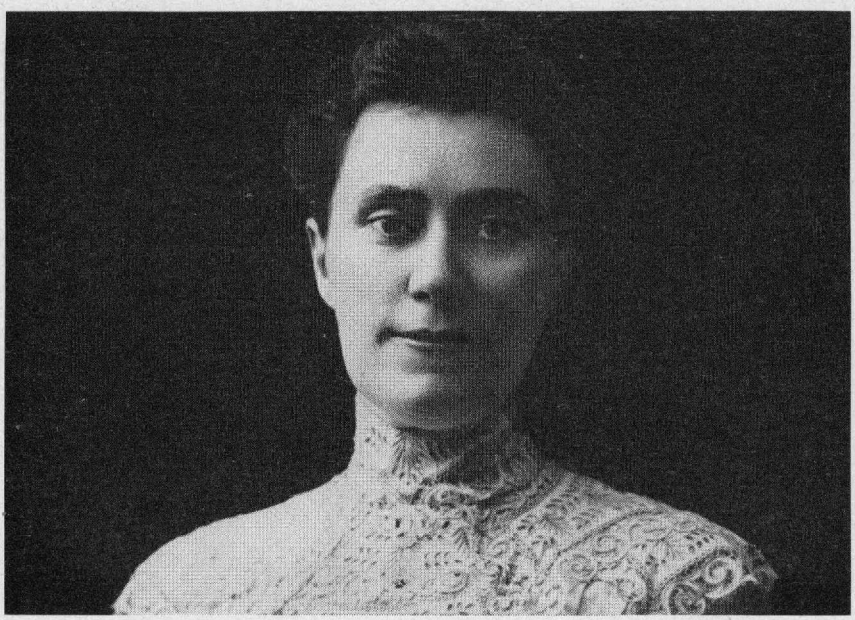
Jane Addams

Carrie Chapman Catt

Florence Kelley



M. Carey Thomas



Dr. Mary E. Woolley

Lillian Wald

Mrs. Raymond Robins

Florence Kelley 1859–1932

American social-settlement worker, resident at Hull House and Henry Street Settlement. First woman chief factory inspector (Illinois, 1893).

Julia Clifford Lathrop 1858–1932

Social and settlement worker. Member, Illinois State Board of Charities, 1893–1909. First woman appointed by the President as chief of a Federal bureau, the U. S. Children's Bureau (1918).

Mary Lyon 1797–1849

Organized trustees and promoters and raised funds to establish a permanent endowed college for women on the same conditions as for men and with fixed standards of work; opened it in 1837.

Mary McDowell 1854–1936

Leader in the establishment of the University of Chicago Settlement House (1894); was its first director and headed it for many years. Initiator of first comprehensive survey of employment of women and children in industry. Active in many organizations and social reforms.

Lucretia Mott 1793–1880

Associated with Elizabeth Cady Stanton in calling first woman's rights convention at Seneca Falls, 1848. Active in antislavery movement.

Ann Preston 1813–72

A pioneer medical woman. Established Woman's Hospital of Philadelphia (1861). Professor from 1853 on, and in 1866 the first dean of Female Medical College of Pennsylvania. Active in antislavery and temperance movements.

Mrs. Raymond Robins 1869–1945

Social economist. As president, convened the International Congress of Working Women in Vienna, 1923. Associated with many organizations defending and promoting the interests of working women.

Anna Howard Shaw, M. D. 1847–1919

Also licensed in Methodist ministry. Lecturer and advocate of woman suffrage. Chairman of Woman's Committee of Council of National Defense, World War I.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton 1815–1902

American woman suffrage leader. Organizer, convention for woman's rights at Seneca Falls. First president, National Woman Suffrage Association.

Lucy Stone (Blackwell) 1818–93

Organizer of American Woman Suffrage Association. Made first speech on woman's rights in her brother's church at Gardner, Mass.

Harriet (Beecher) Stowe 1811–96

Author of Uncle Tom's Cabin, one of the most powerful anti-slavery influences.

Dr. M. Carey Thomas 1857–1935

Educator. President, Bryn Mawr College, 1894–1922. Founder of first school on a college campus for workers in industry.

Lillian D. Wald 1867–1940

Social worker. Founder of Henry Street Settlement, New York. Originator of idea of Federal Children's Bureau. Member of many organizations connected with public health and welfare, national and international.

Angelina Grimke Weld [1]

She and her sister Sarah were active in the suffrage and abolition movements. Daughters of a superior court judge in South Carolina, in 1828, as young women in their early twenties, they sold their slaves and moved North. Angelina lectured widely and Sarah published a book replying to the clergy's arguments for slavery and the subjection of women.

Phillis Wheatley 1753–84

Negro poetess. Brought from Africa as a child, she became a member of a Boston family who responded to her extraordinary intelligence by personally tutoring her and affording her opportunity for travel. Her education was remarkable among women of her time. Her place in the history of American literature, though not a large one, is secure.

Emma C. (Hart) Willard 1787–1870

Pioneer in women's education. Established in 1819 the first school to which a State government contributed money, the first girl's school to teach higher mathematics. Wrote a book on circulation of the blood.

Dr. Mary E. Woolley 1863–1947

Educator. President, Mount Holyoke College, 1900–1937. Active in movements for world peace. Full delegate from the United States to World Conference on Disarmament, 1932.

[1] Dates of birth and death not available.

Dorothy Bellanca

Appendix I

CONFERENCE ATTENDANCE

Over 200 people attended the working sessions of the conference (exclusive of speakers, Labor Department and other Federal agency staff, and attendants who failed to register). They came from 25 States, the District of Columbia, and 2—delegates to the U. N. Commission on Status of Women—from India and Syria. The President of the Inter-American Commission of Women participated, and two members of the International Labor Office—one of them from the Washington and one from the Geneva, Switzerland office—attended, and, on one day, the cultural attachés from four of the embassies.

The representative distribution of the delegates and conference guests was in fact one of the significant things about the conference. Apart from those already mentioned, they came as representatives of national women's organizations, civic and professional groups, labor unions, administrators of women's State labor laws, management and personnel groups, working members of the press and radio, and as individuals specially concerned with the problems and achievements of women who have cooperated in the work of the Women's Bureau.

The following is a list of the organizations invited:

Advertising Federation of America.
Altrusa International.
Amalgamated Clothing Wokers of America—CIO.
American Association of Industrial Nurses.
American Association of Social Workers.

American Association of University Women.
American Civil Liberties Union.
American Dental Hygienists' Association.
American Dietetic Association.
American Federation of Labor.
American Federation of Soroptimist Clubs.
*American Federation of Teachers.
American Home Economics Association.
American Library Association.
American Management Association.
*American Medical Women's Association.
*American Newspaper Women's Club.
American Nurses' Association.
American Occupational Therapy Association.
American Physiotherapy Association.
American Society of Medical Technologists.
American Vocational Association.
American Woman's Society of Certified Public Accountants.
*Association of American Women Dentists.
Association of Bank Women.
Association of Women Broadcasters.
*Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—AFL.
*Boot and Shoe Workers Union—AFL.
Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees—AFL.
Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems.
Committee on Women in World Affairs.
Communications Workers of America—Ind.
Congress of Industrial Organizations.
Congress of Women's Auxiliaries—CIO.
*Council of Guidance and Personnel Associations.
*Democratic National Committee—Women's Division.
Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers Union of America—CIO.
General Federation of Women's Clubs.
Home Missions Council of North America.
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America—AFL.
International Association of Machinists—Ind.
International Association of Women Lawyers.

*Did not send delegates.

International Brotherhood of Bookbinders—AFL.
*International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union—AFL.
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union—AFL.
Laundry Workers International Union—AFL.
League of Women Voters of the United States.
National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses.
National Association of Deans of Women.
National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women's Clubs.
National Association for Practical Nurse Education.
National Association of Women Lawyers.
*National Congress of Parents and Teachers.
National Consumers League.
National Council of Catholic Women.
National Council of Jewish Women.
National Council of Negro Women.
*National Council of Women of the United States.
National Education Association.
National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs.
National Federation of Women's Republican Clubs.
*National Home Demonstration Council.
National League of Nursing Education.
National Nursing Council.
National Organization for Public Health Nursing.
*National Service Star Legion.
National Vocational Guidance Association.
National Woman's Christian Temperance Union.
National Women's Trade Union League of America.
*Office Employes International Union—AFL.
*Pilot Club International.
Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.
Quota Club International.
Republican National Committee.
*Retail Clerks' International Association—AFL.
*Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union—CIO.
Textile Workers Union of America—CIO.
Tobacco Workers' International Union—AFL.
United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America—CIO.
United Council of Church Women.

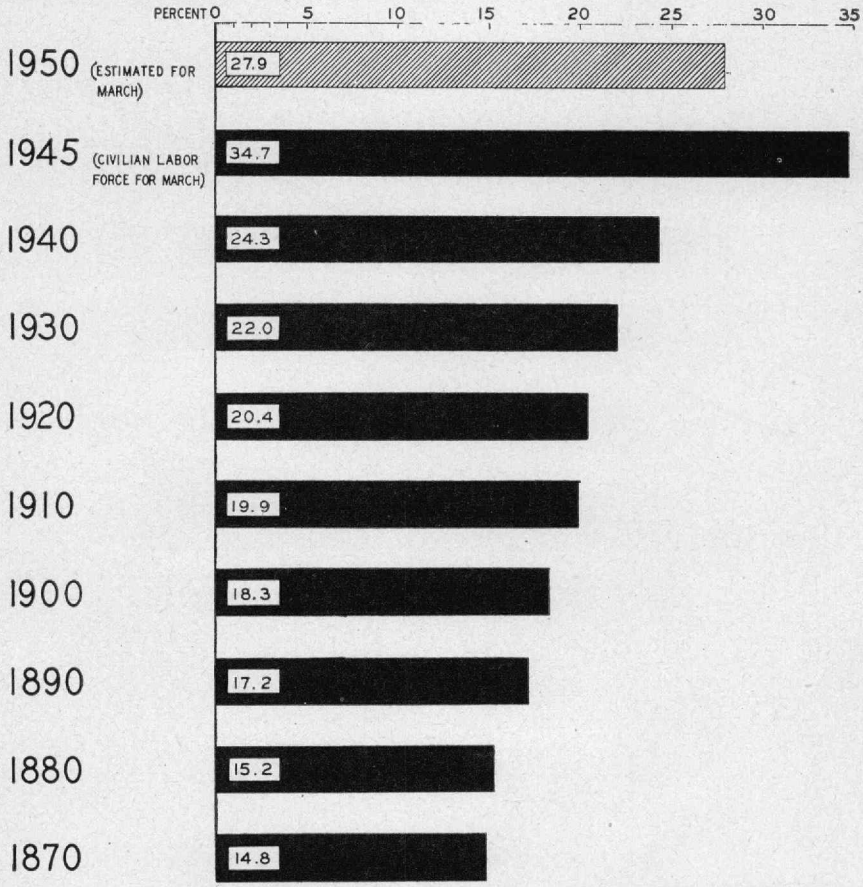
*Did not send delegates.

United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union—AFL.
United Office and Professional Workers of America—CIO.
*United Packing House Workers of America—CIO.
*United Pocketbook, Leather Goods and Novelty Workers of America—Ind.
*United Shoe Workers of America—CIO.
United Textile Workers of America—AFL.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America—AFL.
Woman's National Democratic Club.
*Women's National Press Club.
Young Women's Christian Association of the United States, National Board.
Zonta International.

*Did not send delegates.

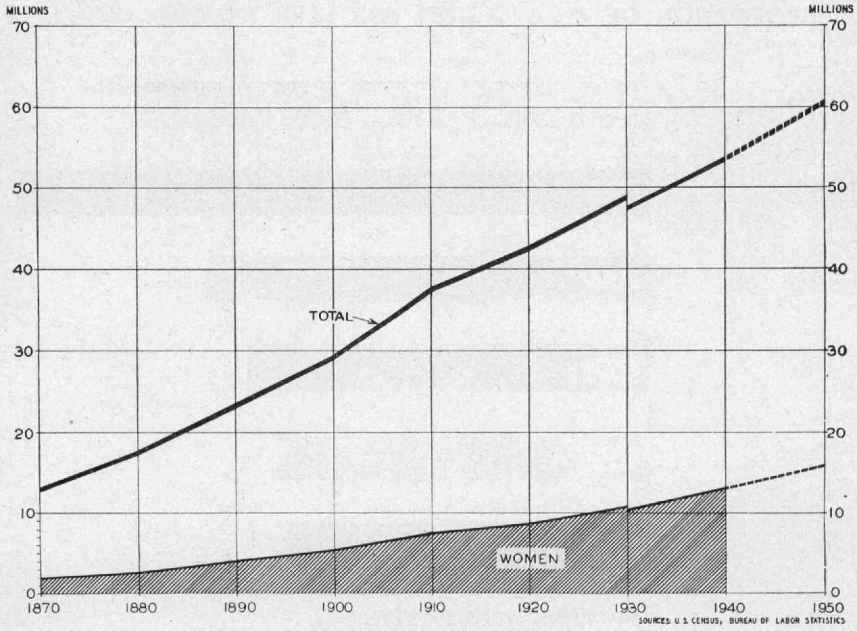
Appendix II

1. PROPORTION OF ALL WORKERS WHO ARE WOMEN, 1870–1950



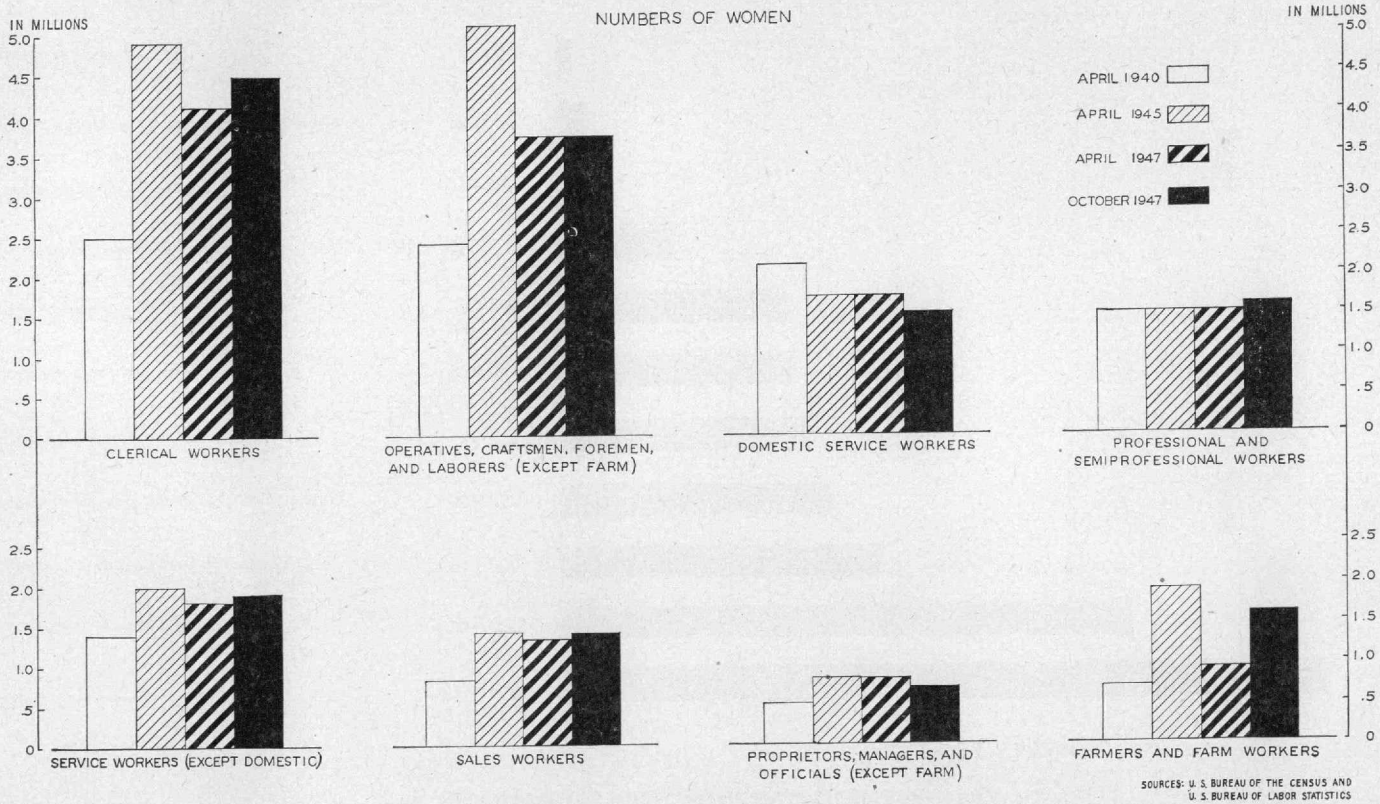
SOURCES: U S. CENSUS; BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

2. NUMBER OF WOMEN WORKERS AND ALL WORKERS, 1870–1950

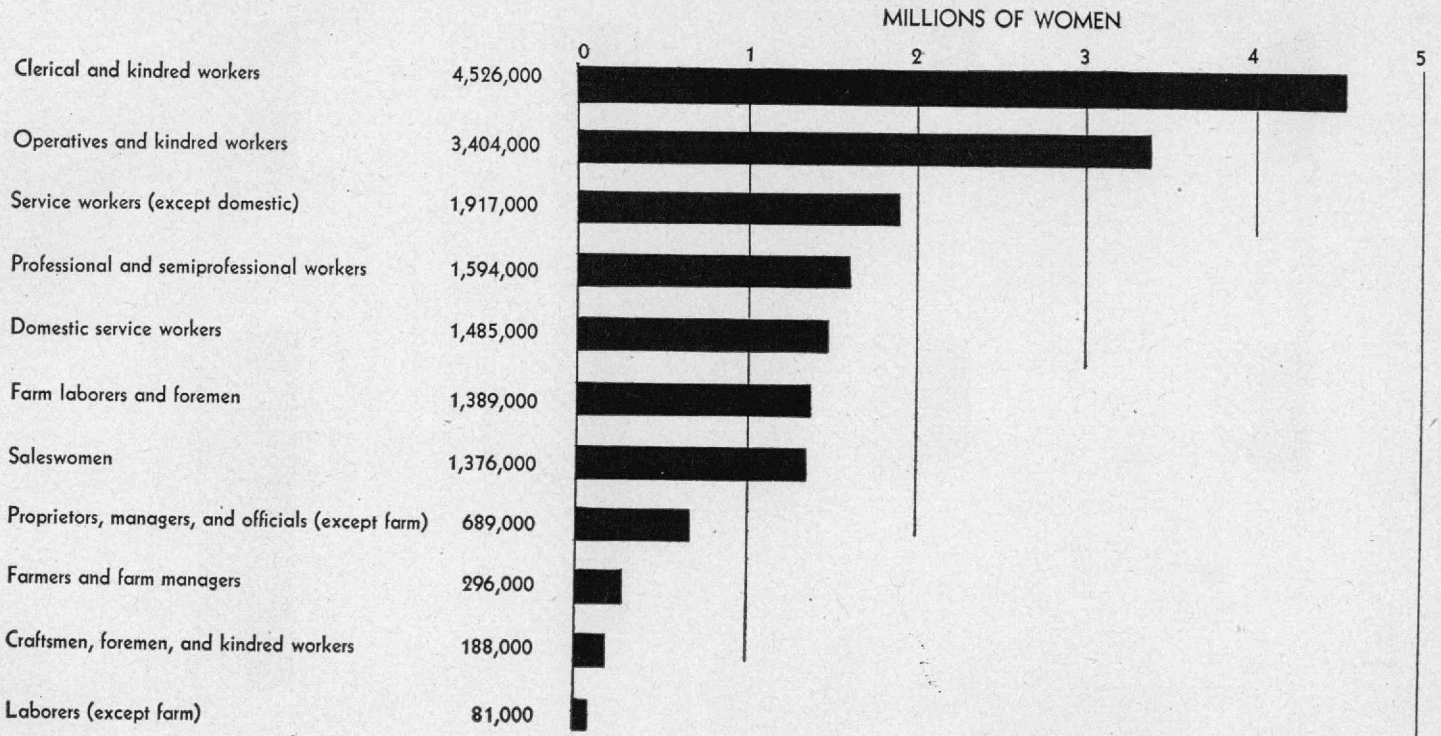


785372°—48——14

3. OCCUPATIONS OF EMPLOYED WOMEN, APRIL 1940, 1945, AND 1947, AND OCTOBER 1947

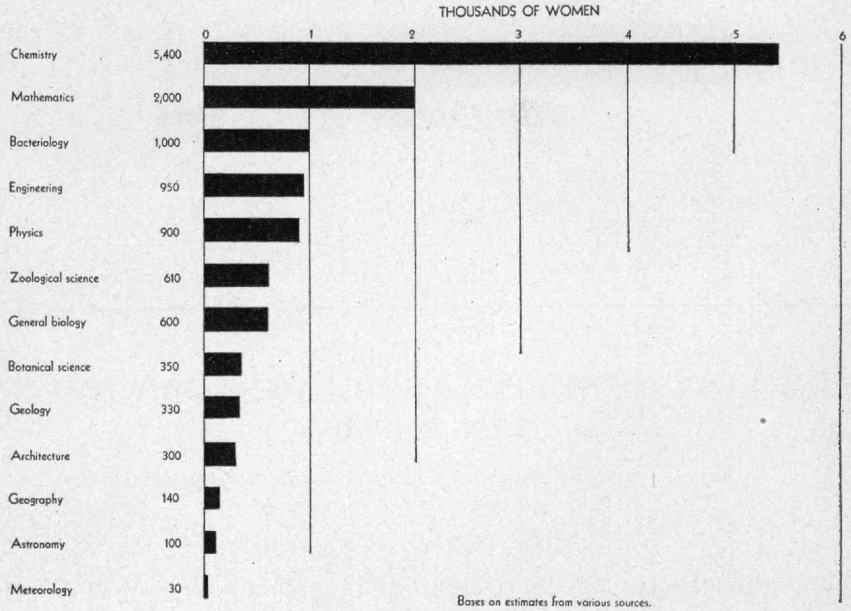


4. OCCUPATIONS OF WOMEN—OCTOBER 1947



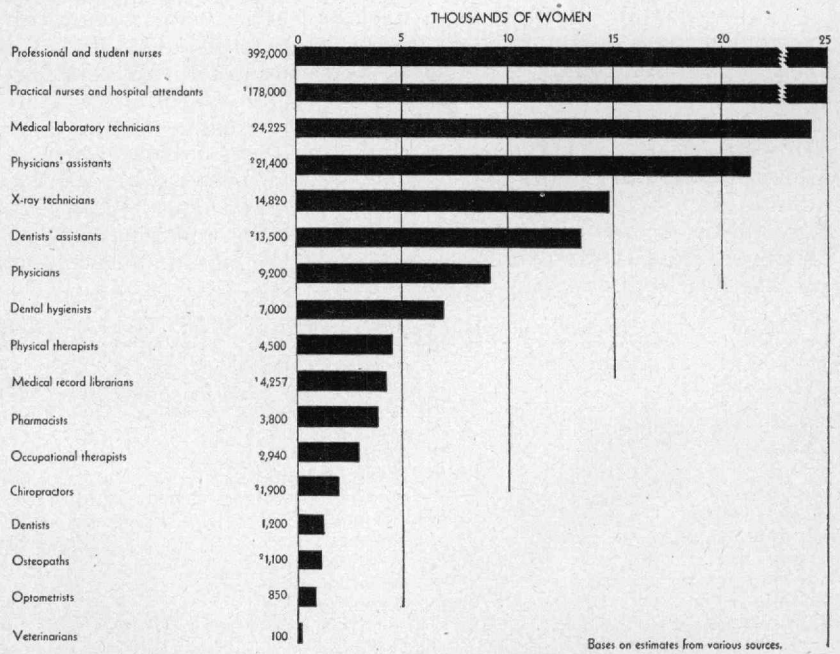
Total Women Employed: 16,944,000.
Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census.

5. WOMEN IN PRINCIPAL SCIENTIFIC FIELDS, 1946–47



Bases on estimates from various sources.

6. WOMEN IN MEDICAL AND OTHER HEALTH OCCUPATIONS, 1947



Bases on estimates from various sources.
[1]1946 estimate. [2]1940 census.

Appendix III

SUMMARY OF STATE LABOR LAWS FOR WOMEN, JAN. 1, 1948

(Basic standards, exclusive of temporary wartime modifications)

1. DAILY AND WEEKLY HOURS

Forty-three States and the District of Columbia have laws limiting the daily and weekly hours of employment in one or more industries.

Five States—Alabama, Florida, Indiana, Iowa, and West Virginia—do not have such laws.

One-half of the States (24) and the District of Columbia have set 8 hours a day and/or 48 hours a week or less as the maximum time a woman may be employed in one or more industries.[1] In 23 of the 24 States (Kansas is the exception), manufacturing establishments are covered by such standards. South Carolina's statute, however, covers only one branch of manufacturing—textile mills. In Connecticut the maximum workweek is 48 hours for several industries but daily hours may not exceed 8 in mercantile establishments nor 9 in manufacturing plants. The 8–48 hours law in Kansas applies to public-housekeeping occupations and telephone exchanges; in manufacturing establishments, the maximum is 9 hours a day, 49½ hours a week.

Arizona	8–48	New York	8–48
California	8–48	North Carolina	9–48
Colorado	8	North Dakota	8½–48
Connecticut	8–48	Ohio	8–48
	9–48		9–45
District of Columbia	8–48	Oregon	8–44
Illinois	8–48	Pennsylvania	10–48
Kansas	8–48	Rhode Island	9–48
Louisiana	8–48	South Carolina (men and women)	8–40
Massachusetts	9–48	Utah	8–48
Montana	8	Virginia	9–48
Nevada	8–48	Washington	8
New Hampshire	10–48	Wyoming	8–48
New Mexico	8–48		

[1] For States with different legal maximum-hour standards for different industries, the law establishing the lowest maximum hours was selected for this summary.

Ten States have set a maximum 9-hour day for women, and the weekly maximum in all but one of these (Idaho) is 50 or 54 hours. Arkansas has no weekly hours specified in its statute, but it has a 6-day week provision, which in effect makes a 54-hour maximum week.

Arkansas	9–6 days	Nebraska	9–54
Idaho	9	Oklahoma	9–54
Maine	9–54	Texas	9–54
Michigan	9–54	Vermont	9–50
Missouri	9–54	Wisconsin	9–50

Eight States have set a maximum day of 10 hours and a week of from 54 to 60 hours. In 2 of these—Georgia and South Carolina—the law applies to one type of manufacturing plants only, cotton and woolen mills.

Delaware	10–55	New Jersey	10–54
Georgia (men and women)	10–60	South Carolina (men and women)	10–55
Kentucky	10–60	South Dakota	10–54
Maryland	10–60		
Mississippi (men and women)	10–60		

In one State—Tennessee—the maximum is 10½ hours a day, 57 hours a week. This applies to manufacturing and other industries.

Minnesota has fixed no daily limit in its statute, having only a 54-hour weekly limitation for manufacturing establishments and several other industries.

2. DAY OF REST [2]

About half the States (23) and the District of Columbia prohibit employment of women for more than 6 days a week in some or all industries. In 2 of these States—Colorado and Utah—the law does not apply to manufacturing establishments.

Arizona.
Arkansas.
California (men and women).
Colorado.
Connecticut (men and women).
District of Columbia.
Delaware.
Illinois (men and women).
Kansas.
Massachusetts (men and women).
Louisiana.
Nevada.
New Hampshire (men and women).
New Jersey.
New York (men and women).
North Carolina.
North Dakota.
Ohio.
Oregon.
Pennsylvania.
South Carolina.
Utah.
Washington.
Wisconsin (men and women).

3. MEAL PERIODS

Well over half the States (27) and the District of Columbia have provided that meal periods varying from ⅓ to 1 hour must be allowed to women in some or all industries. This provision applies to manufacturing establishments in all but 4 of these States—Colorado, Illinois, North Carolina, and Washington. The States are as follows:

Arkansas.
California.
Colorado.
District of Columbia.
Delaware.
Illinois.
Indiana (men and women).
Kansas.
Kentucky.
Louisiana.
Maine.

[2] Rhode Island in its 1945 reenactment of an earlier law covering employment on certain holidays includes Sunday in the list of days when employment not absolutely necessary is prohibited. The law, however, does not establish a 6-day week.

Maryland.
Massachusetts.
Nebraska (men and women).
Nevada.
New Jersey (men and women).
New Mexico.
New York (men and women).
North Carolina.
North Dakota.
Ohio.
Oregon.
Pennsylvania.
Rhode Island.
Utah.
Washington.
West Virginia.
Wisconsin.

4. REST PERIODS

Rest periods of 10 minutes after a work period of 4 consecutive hours or during each half day are provided for in the laws of California, Colorado, Nevada, Oregon, and Utah.

5. NIGHT WORK

Twenty-two States and the District of Columbia place some limitation on the hours of employment of women or persons between 18 and 21 at night.

The following 13 States prohibit night work for adult women in certain industries or occupations. In Washington only elevator operators are covered.

California.
Connecticut.
Delaware.
Indiana.
Kansas.
Massachusetts.
Nebraska.
New Jersey.
New York.
North Dakota.
South Carolina.
Washington.
Wisconsin.

In three additional States—Arizona, Kentucky, Rhode Island—a night work prohibition applies only to persons under 21 years of age in messenger service. In one other—Virginia—and the District of Columbia, similar limitations apply only to girl messengers.

In five additional States—Maryland, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Pennsylvania, and Utah—the laws do not prohibit the employment of adult women at night but regulate such employment either by limiting the number of hours that may be worked at night or by setting specific working-conditions standards which must be complied with.

6. SEATING

Forty-six States and the District of Columbia have seating laws—all but one of them applying exclusively to women. Florida's law applies to both males and females.

Illinois and Mississippi have no seating laws.

7. OCCUPATIONAL LIMITATION LAWS

[NOTE.—Asterisk preceding entry indicates that law applies only to persons under 21 years of age.]

Alabama	Labor in or about a coal mine.
Arizona	Work in or about a mine, quarry, or coal breaker.
Arkansas	Not to be permitted to enter any mine to work therein.
California	May not mix alcoholic beverages containing distilled spirits on premises used for the sale of alcoholic beverages, unless she is the licensee or wife of any such licensee.
	*Employment of person under 21 on portion of premises used for sale and service of alcoholic beverages for consumption on premises.

Colorado	Employment in or about a coal mine or coke oven except in a clerical capacity. *Persons under 21 may not sell or dispense spirituous liquor.
Connecticut	Employment in any tavern, unless employee is the wife or daughter of proprietor.
Delaware	Employment of person under 21 in room where intoxicating liquors are sold or dispensed, unless the establishment sells for medical or scientific purposes.
Florida	*Employment of person under 21 in pool room, billiard room, or place where intoxicating liquors are manufactured or sold. *Exemptions:* Professional entertainers; drug or grocery stores licensed to sell beer and wine for consumption on premises; hotel workers if work is apart from place where alcoholic beverages are sold.
Illinois	Manual labor, in or about a mine. Municipal authorities are empowered to prohibit by ordinance employment of women (other than a licensee or wife of licensee) as dispensers in retail liquor establishments.
Indiana	Employment within a coal mine. *Employment of person under 21 in any public pool or billiard room.
Kentucky	Employment by retail liquor licensee for duties other than as waitress, cashier, or usher.
Louisiana	Employment as dispenser or seller of spirituous liquors, wines or malt in any concert hall or saloon where such liquors are sold.
Maryland	Employment, other than office work, in connection with any mine. *Employment of person under 21 in or in connection with any place where intoxicating liquors are sold.
Massachusetts	*Employment of person under 21 in, about, or in connection with a saloon or barroom where alcoholic liquors are sold.
Minnesota	*Employment of girl under 21 as messenger for telegraph or messenger company.
Missouri	Employment within any mine.
Montana	*Employment of person under 21 to serve liquor, beer, or wine.
New Mexico	*Employment of girl under 21 as messenger for telegraph, telephone, or messenger company.
New Jersey	Employment in the manufacture of nitro and amido compounds. *Exemptions:* Office, works hospital, or welfare room or building.
New York	Employment in or in connection with a mine or quarry. *Employment of females under 21 as conductors or guards on any type of railroad. *Employment of females under 21 as messenger for telegraph or messenger company.
Ohio	Employment as bellhop, crossing watchman, express driver, taxi driver,[3] jitney driver, meter reader (gas or electric), metal molder or section hand, or in the following occupations or places: Baggage handling. Barroom and saloons or public drinking places which cater to male customers only and in which substitutes for intoxicating liquors are sold.

[3] The prohibition of taxicab driving was declared unconstitutional by a county court of Ohio in 1928, but the prohibition has remained continuously on the statute books and was repeated in the 1947 amendment to the law.

Ohio	Blast furnaces; mines; quarries; or smelters. (Except in offices.) Bowling alleys. Delivery service. Freight handling. Operating freight or baggage elevators. Pool rooms. Shoe-shining parlors. *Employment of girls under 21 in the personal delivery of messages.
Oklahoma	Employment underground in the operation of a mine, or in any quarry. Office work exempted if on top of the ground.
Pennsylvania	Employment in or about a mine (except in office or clerical work).
South Carolina	*Employment of person under 21 in a retail, wholesale, or manufacturing liquor business.
Utah	Employment in a mine or smelter.
Virginia	Employment in or around a mine or quarry.
Washington	Employment in or about a mine (except in clerical or messenger duty about the surface workings). Employment as a bellhop.
Wisconsin	Employment in or about a mine or quarry. Employment in place established by court order as a disorderly house or employed to work for any person convicted as keeper of a disorderly house. *Employment of girl under 21 as bellhop in hotel. *Employment of girl under 21 as caddy on golf course.
Wyoming	Employment in or about a coal or iron mine or in any other dangerous place (except in office or clerical work).

8. WEIGHT-LIFTING LAWS

Nine States have some regulation regarding the lifting or carrying of heavy weights by women. These States are:

California.	Minnesota.	Oregon.
Massachusetts.	New York.	Utah.
Michigan.	Ohio.	Washington.

9. EQUAL-PAY LAWS

Nine States have enacted statutes which prohibit discrimination in rate of pay because of sex. Two of these laws—Illinois and Michigan—apply to manufacture only.

Illinois.	Montana.	Pennsylvania.
Massachusetts.	New Hampshire.	Rhode Island.
Michigan.	New York.	Washington.

10. MINIMUM-WAGE LAWS

Twenty-six States and District of Columbia have minimum-wage laws on their statute books. These laws are broad in their coverage of industries, most of them being all-inclusive with a few listed exemptions, usually domestic service and agriculture. The Maine law is the only one of limited scope; it applies to one industry only—fish packing. Most of these laws apply to women and minors; the exceptions are noted in the following list:

Arizona.
Arkansas (women and girls).
California.
Colorado.
Connecticut (all persons).
District of Columbia.
Illinois.
Kansas.
Kentucky.
Louisiana (women and girls).
Maine.
Massachusetts (all persons).
Minnesota.
Nevada (women and girls).
New Hampshire.
New Jersey.
New York (all persons).
North Dakota.
Ohio.
Oklahoma (women).
Oregon.
Pennsylvania.
Rhode Island (all persons).
South Dakota (women and girls).
Utah.
Washington.
Wisconsin.

11. INDUSTRIAL HOME-WORK LAWS

Twenty States and the District of Columbia have industrial home-work laws or regulations. In all but three—Colorado, Oregon, and Utah—and the District of Columbia the law applies to "persons"; in these four jurisdictions the law applies to women and minors only. The States are:

California.
Colorado.
Connecticut.
District of Columbia.
Illinois.
Indiana.
Maryland.
Massachusetts.
Michigan.
Missouri.
New Jersey.
New York.
Ohio.
Oregon.
Pennsylvania.
Rhode Island.
Tennessee.
Texas.
Utah.
West Virginia.
Wisconsin.

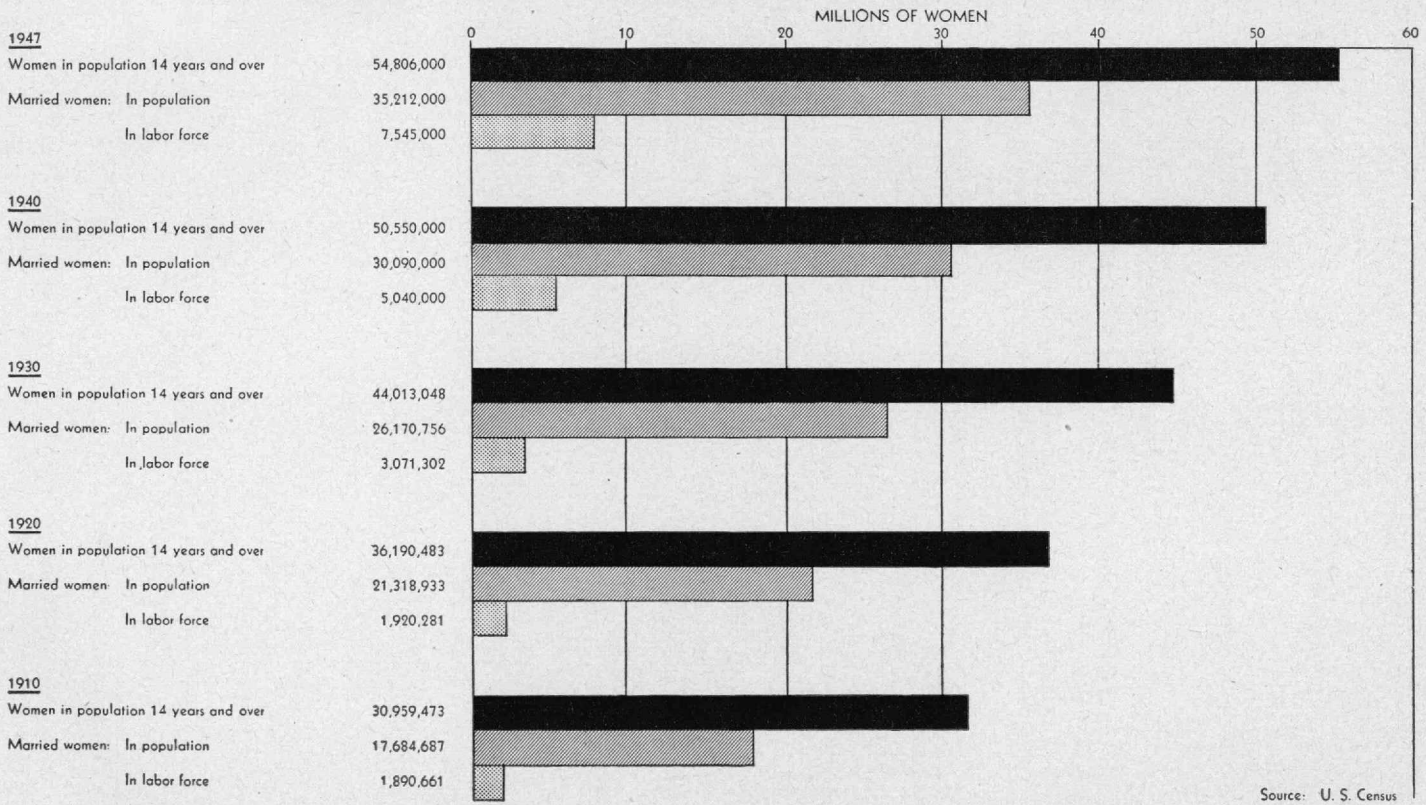
12. EMPLOYMENT BEFORE AND AFTER CHILDBIRTH

Six States have laws prohibiting the employment of women immediately before and after childbirth. These States and the periods during which women may not be required to work are:

Connecticut	4 weeks before and 4 weeks after.
Massachusetts	4 weeks before and 4 weeks after.
Missouri	3 weeks before and 3 weeks after.
New York	4 weeks after.
Vermont	2 weeks before and 4 weeks after.
Washington	4 months before and 6 weeks after.

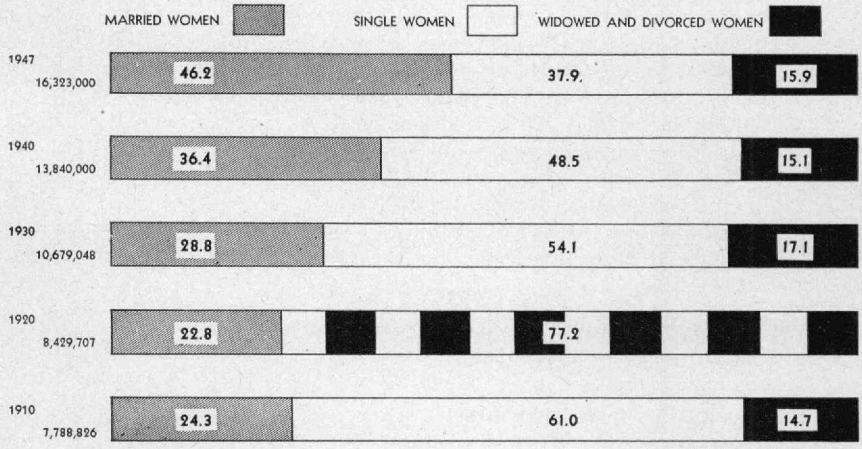
Appendix IV

7. MARRIED WOMEN IN POPULATION AND IN LABOR FORCE, 1910–47



Source: U. S. Census

8. MARITAL STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE LABOR FORCE, 1910–47



Source: U. S. Census (14 years and over)

CURRENT PUBLICATIONS OF THE WOMEN'S BUREAU

FACTS ON WOMEN WORKERS—issued monthly. 4 pages. (Latest statistics on employment of women; earnings; labor laws affecting women; news items of interest to women workers; women in the international scene.)

EMPLOYMENT OUTLOOK AND TRAINING FOR WOMEN

The Outlook for Women in Occupations in the *Medical and Other Health Services*, Bull. 203:

1. Physical Therapists. 14 pp. 1945. 10¢.
2. Occupational Therapists. 15 pp. 1945. 10¢.
3. Professional Nurses. 66 pp. 1946. 15¢.
4. Medical Laboratory Technicians. 10 pp. 1945. 10¢.
5. Practical Nurses and Hospital Attendants. 20 pp. 1945. 10¢.
6. Medical Record Librarians. 9 pp. 1945. 10¢.
7. Women Physicians. 28 pp. 1945. 10¢.
8. X-Ray Technicians. 14 pp. 1945. 10¢.
9. Women Dentists. 21 pp. 1945. 10¢.
10. Dental Hygienists. 17 pp. 1945. 10¢.
11. Physicians' and Dentists' Assistants. 15 pp. 1945. 10¢.
12. Trends and Their Effect upon the Demand for Women Workers. 55 pp. 1946. 15¢.

The Outlook for Women in *Science*. Bull. 223:

1. Science.
2. Chemistry. (In press.)
3. Biological Sciences. (In press.)
4. Mathematics and Statistics. 21 pp. 1948. 10¢.
5. Architecture and Engineering. (In press.)
6. Physics and Astronomy 32 pp. 1948. 15¢.
7. Geology, Geography, and Meteorology. (In press.)
8. Occupations Related to Science. (In press.)

Your Job Future After College. Leaflet. 1947.

Training for Jobs—for Women and Girls. [Under public funds available for vocational training purposes.] Leaflet 1. 1947.

EARNINGS

Earnings of Women in Selected Manufacturing Industries, 1946. Bull. 219. 14 pp. 1948. 10¢.

EMPLOYMENT

Employment of Women in the Early Postwar Period, with Background of Prewar and War Data. Bull. 211. 14 pp. 1946. 10¢.

Women's Occupations Through Seven Decades. Bull. 218. (In press.)

Women Workers After VJ-Day in One Community—Bridgeport, Conn. Bull. 216. 37 pp. 1947. 15¢.

INDUSTRY

Women Workers in Power Laundries. Bull. 215. 71 pp. 1947. 20¢.
The Woman Telephone Worker [1944]. Bull. 207. 28 pp. 1946. 10¢.
Typical Women's Jobs in the Telephone Industry [1944]. Bull. 207–A. 52 pp. 1947. 15¢.
Women in Radio. Bull. 222. 30 pp. 1948. 15¢.

LABOR LAWS

Summary of State Labor Laws for Women. 7 pp. 1947. Mimeo.

MINIMUM WAGE

State Minimum-Wage Laws and Orders, 1942: An Analysis. Bull. 191. 52 pp. 1942. 20¢. (Supplements through 1947. Mimeo.)
State Minimum-Wage Laws. Leaflet 1. 1948.
Map showing States having minimum-wage laws. (Desk size; wall size.)

EQUAL PAY

Equal Pay for Women. Leaflet 2. 1947. (Rev. 1948.)
Chart analyzing State equal-pay laws and Model Bill. Mimeo. Also complete texts of State laws (separates). Mimeo.
Selected References on Equal Pay for Women. 9 pp. 1947. Mimeo.

HOURS OF WORK AND OTHER LABOR LAWS

State Labor Laws for Women, with Wartime Modifications, Dec. 15, 1944. Bull. 202. (Supplements through 1947. Mimeo.)

I. Analysis of Hour Laws. 110 pp. 1945. 15¢.
II. Analysis of Plant-Facilities Laws. 43 pp. 1945. 10¢.
III. Analysis of Regulatory Laws, Prohibitory Laws, Maternity Laws. 12 pp. 1945. 5¢.
IV. Analysis of Industrial Home-Work Laws. 26 pp. 1945. 10¢.
V. Explanation and Appraisal. 66 pp. 1946. 15¢.

Map of United States showing State hour laws. (Desk size; wall size.)

LEGAL STATUS OF WOMEN

International Documents on the Status of Women. Bull. 217. 116 pp. 1947. 25¢.
Legal Status of Women in the United States of America.
United States Summary, January 1938. Bull. 157. 89 pp. 1941. 15¢.
Cumulative Supplement 1938–45. Bull. 157–A. 31 pp. 1946. 10¢.
Pamphlet for each State and District of Columbia (separates). 5¢ ea.
Women's Eligibility for Jury Duty. Leaflet. 1947.

WOMEN IN LATIN AMERICA

Women Workers in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay. Bull. 195. 15 pp. 1942. 5¢.
Women Workers in Brazil. Bull. 206. 42 pp. 1946. 10¢.
Women Workers in Paraguay. Bull. 210. 16 pp. 1946. 10¢.
Women Workers in Peru. Bull. 213. 41 pp. 1947. 10¢.
Social and Labor Problems of Peru and Uruguay. 1944. Mimeo.
Women in Latin America: Legal Rights and Restrictions. (In press.)

RECOMMENDED STANDARDS for women's working conditions, safety and health:

Standards of Employment for Women. Leaflet 1, 1946. 5¢ ea. or $2 per 100.
When You Hire Women. Sp. Bull. 14. 16 pp. 1944. 10¢.
The Industrial Nurse and the Woman Worker. Sp. Bull. 19. 47 pp. 1944. 10¢.
Women's Effective War Work Requires Good Posture. Sp. Bull. 10. 6 pp. 1943. 5¢.
Washing and Toilet Facilities for Women in Industry. Sp. Bull. 4. 11 pp. 1942. 5¢.
Lifting and Carrying Weights by Women in Industry. Sp. Bull. 2. Rev. 1942. 12 pp. 5¢.
Safety Clothing for Women in Industry. Sp. Bull. 3. 11 pp. 1941. 10¢.
Supplements: Safety Caps; Safety Shoes. 4 pp. ea. 1944. 5¢ ea.
Night Work: Bibliography. 39 pp. 1946. Multilith.

WOMEN UNDER UNION CONTRACTS

Maternity-Benefits under Union-Contract Health Insurance Plans. Bull. 214. 19 pp. 1947. 10¢.

HOUSEHOLD EMPLOYMENT

Old-Age Insurance for Household Employees. Bull. 220. 20 pp. 1947. 10¢.
Community Household Employment Programs. Bull. 221. 70 pp. 1948. 20¢.

REPORTS OF WOMEN IN WARTIME: 16 reports on women's employment in wartime industries; community services; part-time employment; equal pay; recreation and housing for women war workers.
Changes in Women's Employment During the War. Sp. Bull. 20. 29 pp. 1944. 10¢.
Women's Wartime Hours of Work—The Effect on Their Factory Performance and Home Life. Bull. 208. 187 pp. 1947. 35¢.
Women Workers in Ten War Production Areas and Their Postwar Employment Plans. Bull. 209. 56 pp. 1946. 15¢.
Negro Women War Workers. Bull. 205. 23 pp. 1945. 10¢.
Employment Opportunities in Characteristic Industrial Occupations of Women. Bull. 201. 50 pp. 1944. 10¢.
Employment and Housing Problems of Migratory Workers in New York and New Jersey Canning Industries, 1943. Bull. 198. 35 pp. 10¢.
Industrial Injuries to Women [1945]. Bull. 212. 20 pp. 1947. 10¢.

REPORTS ON WOMEN WORKERS IN PREWAR YEARS: Women at work (a century of industrial change); women's economic status as compared to men's; women workers in their family environment (Cleveland, and Utah); women's employment in certain industries (clothing, canneries, laundries, offices, government service); State-wide survey of women's employment in various States; economic status of university women.

THE WOMEN'S BUREAU—Its Purpose and Functions. Leaflet. 1946.

Women's Bureau Conference, 1948. Bull. 224. (Instant publication.)
Write the Women's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington 25, D. C., for complete list of publications available for distribution.