object; something that they could use in the work and pleasures of their daily life? It took ten years to crystallize his notions, mechanical and economic into a company with a capital of $100,000. - that is ten years before he was in a position to hire men and women to run the machines which his genius and the confidence of his supporters had set up. All our great inventions, sewing machines, harvester, telephone, have gone through long and often cruel periods of uncertainty before those who controlled money were willing to risk enough of it to enable the inventors to manufacture - that is to hire workers, but even with the money coming, there was the public to be won and the industry must have its promoter, somebody who had the trick of convincing - selling. One would think that the sewing machine would sell itself, but it took a Prince of Promoters to get it into the American home, Isaac Singer, whose devices were every whit as ingenious as those of today, and in many respects strikingly like them.

Here then you have all this long process essential in industry before there is a call for large numbers of privates and when the privates come they must be taught, they must be directed, they must be sifted and placed according to their various aptitudes, and studied for their capacity to advance, since out of this mass must come the future leaders of the industry. The top is always fed from the bottom and one of the chief tasks of an industrial leader is to bring up, not only superintendents, directors but presidents, from the stuff that comes in at the bottom. This is industry. These are its essential factors. It is not merely a set of complicated mechanical operations.

There is a general notion that women have little or no place in the creative, organizing and executive functions of industry, that she has exhibited little or nothing of the capacities which are required for these higher functions. Now, if it were true that there was no potentiality in

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her, that she had no capacity or will to rise, you would have a sound enough reason for unequal wages, even if the daily output were equal. Wages are determined not merely by what you can do in a day, but partly always by the promise of what you will do in the future. Everyone familiar with a well conducted factory knows that foremen and superintendents are continually on the outlook for capacity and that every man or woman employed sooner or later is studied for what he might do - if given the chance. Industry could not live unless it was keen for talent, for there is a continual seepage at the top, also first class talent is slow in development. The result is, as the adage declares "always room at the top." Now, unless women as a mass, can convince leaders of industry that they, as well as men, have the ability and the ambition to make the higher grades, inequalities of wage will continue

What, if any, are the exhibits of leadership, of creative, organizing, financing, directing power that women have shown in our industrial life. The mass of workers has not done badly, all things considered. Indeed it has given some rather startling proofs of its ability to take care of itself when oppressed and to develop leaders for the task. The Woman's Trade Unions are small bodies considering the number of women in the trades- probably not more than 380,000 out of at least 5,000,000 women in industry as I am considering it here, but they have certainly grown several leaders of which they can rightfully be proud. I personally have had experiences with two ~~Union leaders~~, grown up from the bottom, that have been most convincing to me of the ~~potentiality~~ talent of women for industrial leadership. They date back to the Great War when I was a member of the Woman's Committee of the Counsel of National Defense. The committee had been called by the government with the hope that it would find a practical way of organizing the women of the country for War service. ~~One of our~~

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At the moment women were being mustered out by the thousands into government factories and there was a proper demand that they be protected. The committee could not shirk the matter and asked the Government that a special representative of working women be added to its ranks. Somebody had the good sense to suggest a young Chicago woman - Agnes Nestor, a leader in the Woman's Glove Makers Union. She had grown up in the trade - it was her family's calling. I think I have never been more impressed with a newcomer in a group than by this girl. I had a fear that she might set our teeth on edge. There were various committees in Washington each claiming the exclusive right to look after women in industry. Our function was conciliation, coordination. A member who at this juncture had been aggressive or obstinate, would have plunged us into unpleasant controversies that would have prevented any progress, particularly in securing what we had all set our hearts on and that was the adoption by the government of a set of first class standards for women in factories. But when Agnes Nestor came to us, a quiet faced modest thoughtful little person, it was at once apparent that you could work with her, but not work her. She antagonized nobody and what our committee could do to straighten out conflicts and secure a peaceful adoption of the standards was done through her.

This work of our committee brought me into contact with another product of the Trade Union then in Washington - Mary Anderson, who represented women in the Labor Department. I had never heard of her before but it was not very long before I learned that whenever there was a tangle the person to see was Mary Anderson. The record she made in the War led later to her appointment as the Head of the Woman's Bureau in the United States Department of Labor. She is now there and I think it safe to say that there is no woman in public life in this

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country more respected than she and for good reasons. She is the very embodiment of good sense, of trustworthiness, of loyalty, and what an example she is of what a woman can make of herself. She came to this country from Sweden, when she was sixteen, an immigrant who had never done anything but farm work. She went into domestic service and after a trial or two, luckily found a woman who understood that noble task that American women have had put to them - and not always have discharged with the understanding that the importance of the task deserves - that of helping the non-English speaking, untrained foreign girl to become a competent trustworthy American citizen. Mary Anderson found a woman who helped in her development. She learned to read English in that household, keeping a newspaper always in her pantry and picking out words in leisure moments. But she did not like house work and finally found her way to Chicago, where she went into a shoe factory. She joined the Union, went on strike when, in her judgment, conditions forced it, rose to leadership and when the War came was chosen for Washington service. Mary Anderson is a product of honest working and thinking, reliable, vigorous, untiring, One cannot have a finer example of the capacity for leadership than exists and is being developed in the trade unions of this country.

But the Trade Union directs its members toward polital rather than industrial leadership. It concerns itself with conditions, wages, the solidarity of the group. It is a body more or less antagonistic to the advancement of the members into higher positions. There is a danger that the trade union movement, centered as it is on keeping the mass of workers together and concerning itself almost exclusively with their present, not their future wage, may really contribute to keeping down the woman's wage by overlooking the fact that capacity to rise is a factor in what a worker earns,

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But has woman shown any capacity to rise in the shop as she has in her Union? Plenty of it, even though the public at large does not recognize the fact. There is no function in the Industrial organization which is not being discharged today by women. Go into the factories and you will find there acting as inspectors, supervisors, forewomen, occasionally even as superintendent, occasionally though not often you will find a woman who has men under her. There women have risen to their positions in the same way as men do, by showing qualities too valuable to be slighted.

There is a cynical saying, accepted by not a few women, that 'only love, money or pull, gets a woman ahead in business.' I have never known a first class woman - and I have known many - in any line of industry holding a position of responsibility over a period of years, merely through love, money or pull. I am far from saying that there are no women kept in responsible positions because of one or another of these influences, but they are not in the first class. It is nothing byt capacity, energy, ambition, determination, to advance that enables a woman to fill satisfactorily through years an important position in industry.

One of the most interesting studies of women in the country is that of these forewoman, directors or superintendents of women. They are frequently wells of energy and competence. Their promptness, exactness, their ability to handle labor, is often extraordinary, and again and again though not always, I am bound to say, you find in them a priceless human quality, an interest in their operatives, a care for them which enables them to do one of the most difficult things there is in handling women on machine tasks, and that is to hold them. Their loyalty and their pride in the factory they serve are probably the strongest feelings of their

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life. I remember once of talking with a woman in a highly developed and prosperous factory, where the management was making an unusually intelligent - and not at all sentimental - application of the Golden Rule. I had talked with some of the girls and remarked to her as I came out. "This must be a nice place to work." "Nice," she said reproachfully, "elegant, I call it. Anybody who cannot be happy in this factory ought to be six feet under the sod."

I found that she had been all of her working life of twenty-five years or so, in the place; that she had worked up to her present responsibile position from the bottom; that the factory was her home - its activities her life. Her particular cause for enthusiasm the morning I talked with her was that she had just been able to tell her room that hereafter they were to have pay on holidays.

"How would it make you feel," she said to me, in further reproach for my mild adjective, "to be able to go to these girls and tell them they were not only to have two weeks vacation, but two weeks vacation with pay. Nobody ever heard of such a thing before. Wouldn't that make you want to put in your best licks for such a company?"

There are, to be sure, industries in the country were the road to important supervising positions, such as this woman held, is practically closed. Th t is true in the Cotton Mill. Few women ever take part in its management. It is still an industry dominated by tradition. Women have been weavers and spinners in Cotton Mills since the beginning but rarely have they gone further. True, by inheritance, one has occasionally come into the possession of so much stock that it has seemed wise to make her a director and there is no doubt that sometimes she has been an excellent director, though my observation is that generally the rule on the Cotton Directory is like that in the Early Church, "let the woman keep silent."

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The organization of the Cotton Mill is a good example of graded class consciousness, i.e., it is aristocratic. Groups of men and women are set in molds, according to their functions. The Directors are supreme and hidden from the sight of the heard by distance. An agent or overlord represents them. I have heard it said in New England that if there is a hill in the sight of the Cotton factory, the agent always arranges to live on it that he may look down on the mass. When he passes through the factory he keeps his hat on. It aids in preserving the sense of his authority. The agent works with the overseers and passes on to them the notion that informal dealing is harmful. The show of superiority is necessary to proper factory management. Such a tradition is, of course, antagonistic to the idea of woman in positions of authority. Indeed, it takes a convulsion of natures to get a woman into an upper grade in the traditional cotton mill. The industry is yielding, unquestionably, to modern ideas, but how slowly it is yielding. There are mills that are adopting the modern employment system and even accepting woman as heads of the department, but both the system and the woman are often fought by the old-fashioned overseer. "I won't stay in a mill," said one of these personages to a woman friend of mine, who was explaining the employment service to him, "unless I can take a man by the scuff of the neck and the seat of his breeches and throw him into the street when I want to." Such a notion of industrial management is pretty sure to be coupled with supreme contempt for a woman in the management. He won't consult with her - defies her order - indeed the woman who can make her way as an employment manager in the face of the hostility of an cotton overseer is a rare and superior person, but the records show they exist.

The best friend an ambitious woman has in a factory today is scientific management - intelligently and honestly applied. It plays no

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favorites, indulges in no prejudice, neither "love, pull nor money" can quicken or retard its gauges and calculations. It opens the way to advancement, for active brains count more than active figures in a scientifically mangged shop. Women, as a rule flourish under this system as soon as they begin to understand what it is all about. They sense its orderliness, its justness, its economies. It seems to satisfy something in their nature and they yield themselves usually to its training and are keen to fit themselves for the openings it provides. I know a shop near New York City owned and run by a woman and in continuous operation for nearly fifty years, which a few years ago found its business was falling behind. It decided to remake itself along the lines laid down by scientific management. There were men and women in the place who had been sitting at one machine, doing one kind of work for as long as forty years. If they remained they must now learn new ways, submit to supervision which looked to them like interference. They must stand or sit in new places, run new kinds of machines. - (If you don't know what a man's place in a factory, his machine, means to him, consider this, that, after the War many a boy who returned to his old shop asked only that he have his old corner, his familiar machine -)

But the new system was installed breaking up the catlike habits of both men and women. More women than men stayed on. I visited the shop after it had been completely renovated. I found the old time operators were the most enthusiastic about the changed. The new ways of doing things which they had learned after so many years of repetition, seemed to have given them a new lease of life, new confidence. They were excited over the results and there was great eagerness to advance. Many operatives had developed capacities that nobody had suspected. One woman particularly

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interested me. She had been in the place thirty-eight years, rising to the position of formanship of her department. At 56 years of age she was confronted with the necessity of learning an entirely new system of management if she was to stay on, learn it so well that she could teach it to a shop of operatives, many of them balky because, after years of service they were obliged to change their habits; some of them determined to make the experiment a failure. This woman met the situation squarely, learned the work, did her part in remaking the factory, and when I saw her, was a successful director, earning more and enjoying her work more than she ever had done.

I have seen not a few factories transformed in this way and always it has meant the advancement of woman. Indeed, no single development in modern industrial life has xkreadx done so much to enlarge her opportunity. None other promises so much for her future position. Scientific Management trains, educates workers. Almost invariably women come into shops untrained. They have little or no skill. They have no knowledge of mechanical operation and little interest in them, until recent years. There has been little or no training offered them when they went to work. If they were eager, curious, diligent, they could, with the help of a friendly foreman, forewoman, get ahead, but the shop was unorganized for advancement.

Under this new method, the girl is trained from the start and she is shown that her value depends in no small measure upon her ability to advance. It is through wide spread adoption of this system of management in industry that one of the great hopes of lessening the inequality of wage between men and women in our working life lies.

The results of the growing application of scientific management in the Clothing Industry and Needle trades are particularly noticeable, for here you have science coming to the aid of the woman in an industry which is already wide open to her. Indeed, there is no other trade in the country

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Taken as a whole the Garment Center is already one of the most impressive parts of New York City and no where in any city is it possible to study the men and women of a great industrial undertaking so satisfactorily.

Now, half or more of those busy in the quarter are women and it is difficult to find a shop in which there are not one or more in positions of authority, and this is ligical enough. The garment to be made must be a garment that women want. It must meet the notions that she holds at the moment of style and of utility. The woman that can design clothes which will please other women is a priceless possession to a manufacturer and naturally enough, there are more women who can do this than there are men. Where the sense of style, the talent for design will develop in a shop no one can tell. The designer is born, like the poet. An unkept poverty-striken little errand girl may be a genius. The gift is pretty sure to show itself sooner or later. The wise manufacturer is always on the watch for signs of it - and ready to give a promising girl a chance. If she has ambition and willingness to work her future is fairly sure. Nearly all of the great designers in the Garment Center of New York have come from close to the bottom. There are one hundred or more of them there today, I am told, earning $30,000 or more dollars a year.

The designer does not, by any means, always remain with the manufacturer who has developed her. If she is ambitious and can get the initial capital, she frequently starts her own shop, not necessarily in New York but wherever she learns of an opening. In all the cities of the country there are high class shops that are largely owned and managed by women who have begun as designers but who have sufficient thirst for independence to venture on a business of their own.

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The model in the Woman's Garment trade has almost as clear a road before her as the designer. She is an essential person in the show room of these factories, chosen with care that neither her manner or her looks clash with the elegance of the surroundings for the show rooms are usually elegant in all their appointments, some of them really beautiful. Along one side are tiny reception rooms for buyers and up and down the long room the girls parade, showing what the firm is offering for the coming season. The model should be beautiful, but, more important - she must have a genius for wearing clothes. If she can show to perfection the garments offered, she is invaluable to the manufacturer and if, in addition to this, she has a saleswoman's tongue, that is, if she can not only carry the garment but talk to the buyer with enthusiasm and conviction, her way is almost as open as the girl who has shown a sense of style and a talent of design. That is if she has in addition ambition and determination.

It is out of the ranks of models that many of the best saleswomen in the great shops come. Buyers for big houses, ever on the alert for salesmanship talent, quickly sense their possibilities. Once placed in a great shop as a saleswoman, the next upward step is that of buyer. Frequently, as buyers, they are sent abroad, where their large success depends upon the discoveries they may make, the adaption they suggest for American markets. Not infrequently the buyer, like the designer, acquires her own shop and becomes an independent business woman.

There is an interesting exchange in this business between the cities and the small towns. It is necessary that the representatives of the garments know the shops for his grade of goods the country over. They should be on friendly terms with their women; not infrequently indeed they become confidential and advisers on all sorts of matters. If one of these

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representatives finds a woman of special ability, it is not infrequent for him to sing her praises to the "big fellows" in the East. I know of one case where a representative of a large first class manufacturer established in New York had become so impressed with the business acumen of a woman in a little shop in an out-of-the-way town, in the West that he recommended her as a manager to a substantial Eastern firm. She was taken on with many misgivings. The effect of her efforts was almost immediate. She was given more and more responsibility, finally taken into a partnership and today those who look on are wagering that sooner or later she will be sole owner and director.

The stories of some of these women who have made their way in the designing, manufacturing and selling of garments, are impressive examples of what may be made out of natural gifts, if they have sturdy enough qualities behind them, however hopeless the situation at the start may look to an outsider. There is the case of Madam Jacob Reich, a famous figure in the Garment Center of New York, as conclusive a proof as you would want of the combination of qualities it takes for a woman to build up from the bottom a brilliant success in the woman's garment trade.

Madam Reich came into the business thirty-eight years ago, a fourteen year old girl, born in Hungary but brought to this country when she was but three. Her parents were poor and hard working but they had that compelling ambition for education and material independence which has been, from the day of the first English immigrant the chief directing and driving motives which have built up this country. It has come with every new influx of peoples. Anglo Saxons, Latins, Slavs, Russians, Orientals, Little Miss Reich had it, and as she said, "I had to work it from both ends." She went to school until three in the afternoon and then acted as an errand girl for a garment manufacturer. She ~~understood~~

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kept her eyes and ears open and soon understood several things about the practices employed that errand girls were not expected to know. The firm did customing for the threatre and for and parades. By chance she learned that a tremendous order had been secured - ten s of thousands of garments for the Columbus Centennial Parade of 1892. The terms of the contract gave a profit of something like a dollar a garment. The garments were to be put out. Why should not she handle a few thousand? Her request was refused rather contemptuously. She was too young. What did she know about making "pants"? Quite as much as the man who handled the order. He did not make the garments. He farmed them out to others, why should she not do the same thing. She persisted and succeeded finally in getting ten thousand pairs of pants to make at $1.25 per pair. It cost her something like 70¢ to make and deliver them. So before she was fifteen years old and still in school, she had put through a business deal which netted her about five thousand dollars. It was only the beginning. "Money is easy to make," she says scornfully. "It is not made by labor. It is made by superior skill or sense of some kind."

Madam Reich had business sense. She had also sense of style, the designer's genius. It was written all over her and her sister, for they made their own clothes and soon their friends began to ask them to design frocks for them. It promised so well that they opened a shop. The first year these two girls, sixteen years old, made $25,000. They went on making quantities of money until Miss Reich was twenty-three years old, when she married and gave up her business. " I thought I had enough," she will tell you, "but times changed and the $150,000. that I had put away was not worth so much in 1914, so my sister and I decided to

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go back into business - as wholesale manufacturers. We each spent ten days in different wholesalers at work and learned enough to start ourselves in a big loft. We paid $14,000. a year for that loft and the first year we did a business of a million dollars!"

There have been many ups and downs and changes in Madam Reich's life since she and her sister made that brilliant start thirteen years ago, for she has been in a business that has had violent fluctuations, but the outcome has been steadily ahead, not merely steadily towards a larger yearly return in money, but towards stability and position in the industry. Today she is the silent partner in the firm of Jacob Reich, for she and her husband finally concluded to combine. "The woman needs a man in the business." she will tell you. "It makes for stability. Women, like myself, of artistic temperament," - and she exudes it, "care little for money. We are primarily creators. The artist does not think of what things cost. The business man does."

But nobody can make any mistake about the importance of Madam Reich in the firm which bears her husband's name. A commanding figure on the creative side, a sound philosppher too, in this matter of getting on in industry. If you can get her to talk she explains herself, giving the advice, in terse and picturesque English. "Yes, I had what you call business acumen, to start with, and I had a talent for design. So have others, but that is not enough. You must have ambition, ambition enough to drive you out in the morning. You can't say, I will lie another half-hour, and you must not cry. Never cry, whatever happens. Never think of what has happened, always think of what is coming. I have had my hard knocks. I have always put up my chin in trouble. You must always keep telling yourself there are more wonderful things ahead, and there are. And you must keep young in heart. A heart dries up if you stay in a rut.

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Get out, be always doing something ne , that keeps you young. Do not believe them when they tell you that years are a handicap. At twenty-five you are foolish, unreliable, uncertain. At fifty you are hardened. You look where you are going before you start and you do not make things so seriously. You have learned that many things that you thought counted, do not matter. You know a thing or two at fifty of which you had no idea at twenty-five. But, Oh! Honey, hold on to your money. (~~Sit on the damn thing!~~) Sit on it!"

There is but one other industry in the country in which so many women are rising to independence and often large wealth as in this of creating and selling clothes to other women, and that is inventing, preparing and providing foods, - foods of every description sold in every conceivable way - by mail, over the counter, in tea rooms, restaurants, hotels. A special talent for candy or cake making, for preserving or pickling, for cooking and ~~serving~~ serving used intelligently, is as sound a base for a good business as a woman ambitious for independence, can have. Not that it is a simple matter to establish a profitable candy or pickle or cake factory, - even on a most unusual product. It requires the same kind of qualities that it does to put an automobile or a radio set in the market and persuade a multitude that they can't live without it. Hundreds of ambitious women are finding ways however, to overcome the difficulty and to establish firmly on small or large scales, their food creations and thousands more are succeeding in the none the less difficult taks of running tea-rooms and hotels. Almost every town and city in the country can - and does - boast these days of the pluck, endurance and good judgment of some daughter who has built up a tidy fortune by making or handling food. New York City's favorite story of this nature at this writing is of a woman who has just signed a million dollar lease for a coffee house. The town has a right to be proud of her. Twenty years ago she found herself - thirty-eight

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years old with an invalid husband, three chidren and $38.00. Her husband had been a coffee broker, a coffee broker who would never sell roasted coffee, though she, the wife, had always believed there was money in it. Forced to act she followed her judgment; bought, roasted, and packed coffee which she sold by correspondence, "between weeps and wails for I was an hysterical woman at that time." She struggled along with her roasting and packing and letter writing until eight years ago when she decided to open a little coffee shop in the Grand Central Station and to give away hot waffles of her own making with every purchase! She literally struck it rich. The call for waffles was so great that she was soon obliged to enlarge her quarters. Within eighteen months she had doubled her space twice and she has been going on doubling and doubling until now, after twenty years, she signs a million dollar lease. In 1926 she did business of two million dollars.

When one goes outside of garment making and of foods, the only other industry in which women are everywhere succeeding is that of beautifying their sex. The Beauty Shop is even more universal than the tea-room and sweet shop and there are almost as many women making fortunes in Cosmetics as in foods. The methods used too are almost the same.

But if there are but three great industries to which women are furnishing fresh and fruitful ideas - doing what we may call creative work - and in which they are unaided, building up enterprises which they own and direct; there is a respectable representation of women owners, partners and managers in various other walks. This the last census proves. It counted something like a quarter million women farmers, probably 10,000 florists, fruit growers, nurserymen; more than 5,000 bankers, brokers, money lenders. That is, when you come to go over the whole land with a note book in hand and set down the women who are actually at the heads of enterprises in fields outside of the three which they so largely dominate, you have an

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impressive result.

Perhaps nothing shows their standing better than their relations to local Chambers of Commerce. In most our cities and towns all men of standing belong to that organization. A few years ago a Chamber of Commerce was as exclusively masculine as a Union League Club but now they are taking on a feminine cast. There are seventy-five women on the roles of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce, fifty-five on that of Sacramento, California, one hundred on that of Niagara Falls, three hundred in Des Moines and three hundred in Brooklyn. The Civic Social and educational activities of these bodies explain the large numbers though always you find on the list active owners and managers of businesses. Sometimes they are heads of the last enterprise in the world where you would look for a woman: a Trucking Service, a Varnish factory and strangest of all, in Albany, where a woman owns and runs an Amusement Park! True, some of the Chambers relegate women members to departments or auxiliaries but generally they are received on equal terms with men. There are four cities, the chief among them Brooklyn, New York, which admit them to the directorate.

It is a significant proof that men are coming to recognize women's contribution to industries as too important to be ignored or patronized. It is not sentiment with them. It is business. Those who start things and succeed have to be reckoned with. Women are making money. Manufacturers want to sell them their products. The real estate agents want them to buy his property the banker wants their accounts, is even willing to lend them money. There is no sex in buying and selling. Business circles cannot afford to shut out those who prosper in their work, - man or woman.

This hurried survey was undertaken, you will remember, to discover what, if anything, women were doing in industry - apart from running machines. If it showed she was not or apparently could not - create, organize, train, execute, then we agreed there was a powerful reason for a

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certain inequality of pay. But we see the contrary is true. She has proved that she can learn new trades, can adapt herself to new methods, that she can take training, rise to leadership, that she can start and carry on a business, that, if forced to take one over, she can carry it on, often build it up to greater solidity. She has become a factor in the industrial world and a necessary factor. Industry needs her help in normal times and must have it in national crises, but, these facts do not prevent inequalities of pay, difficulties in getting on. The men remain the preferred.

What is it that stands in her way of securing that absolute fifty-fifty in pay envelope and in opportunity that the militant feminist demand, even have asked an amendment to the constitution to secure! an amendment that would be about as effective as the famous bull against the comet. There must be reasons and there are. The reasons are in the nature of the woman herself and in the traditions of society, built up by long experience. It is not merely masculine perversity that keeps her in an inferior position in the industrial world. There are handicaps that it is necessary that we examine.

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