

"...but the women rose..."

"...but the women rose..."
voices of women in
american history

VOLUME II

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VOLUME II
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...but the women rose vol. 2

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The past few years have seen an emergence of interest and focus on "rediscovering the woman" and her role in American life. Intergrating women into the study of American history is a long time in coming. The scope and depth of women's thoughts, accomplishments and influences are little known, and in many instances, have totally been ignored. Many American women were intellectual equals and close friends of well-known men of their historical time - sharing, debating, and working together on the vital issues of their day.

These two volumes are only a first step in attempting to give a more accurate, comprehensive picture of American history by including the "forgotten woman." The women chose for this series:

Band 1.

Anna Howard Shaw, 1847-1919, grew up in the backwoods of Michigan. The memories of pioneer hardships never left her. She became a preacher and then a physician. Her interest and activity in the Women's Christian Temperance Union was her introduction to the suffrage movement. She was one of its great orators. In 1904 she became the president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Dr. Shaw speaks of her work with prostitutes in her early careers as a preacher and then as a doctor:

When I started out in life... I made up my mind that I would become a missionary and would go to the women who, more than others, need friends and yet suffer the greatest abuses. So I studied theology and, when I graduated, thinking I knew something about what I had undertaken, I attempted to help the homeless and the forsaken and the betrayed women of the community. In a little while I found that I had nothing to give that they wanted, and I also found out that, although I knew something

- made important and lasting contributions in their occupations and/or commitments to American life
- were often the firsts in their field
- conflicted, by their choice of occupation or commitment, with the projected image of women in their historical time
- dealt with the vital issues of their time that are relevant to any comprehensive and cohesive study of American history.

They represent only a fraction of the many American women whose intellect, philosophy and work affected and contributed to the course of American history.

about theology, I knew very little about human beings... for I learned that it is useless to talk virtue to a starving girl...I looked around...and found that I could do practically little. "But," I thought, "there is one woman who does do something, and that is a doctor; for a woman-doctor can go to these women when they are sick and suffering, and minister to them and bring them some sort of relief and comfort." So I went back to school and studied medicine and took my degree, and again went down into the by-ways to live and to work and unceasingly tried to do something to be helpful. At the end of three years I gave up in utter despair. The same desperate problems that had faced all other workers in such lines faced me also..."What is needed first of all for these poor girls is some rational satisfaction for their human nature; what they need is employment under conditions which shall not crush out and atrophy all their natural human demands; what is needed is a fair chance for each - a fair day's wage for a fair day's work..."...I believe so much in women's working...I believed then, in work, but under conditions that left the worker human after the day's toil was done...I believed that working women should have in life this

human satisfaction...This is why, then as now, I wanted to do my share to see that other toilers got an equal day's pay for an equal day's work regardless of whether they were men or women. But...I found that women are a branded sex - and I saw that, so long as women are branded as the inferior sex, and men are distinguished as the superior sex, there is no hope in the market of the world of an equal day's pay for an equal day's work; there is no fair chance anywhere, until that stigma is removed which declares women an inferior sex in the business of life.

Band 2.

The bitter battle over a NY State amendment granting women the vote was won by the suffragists in 1917. Carrie Chapman Catt addressed the Congress of the United States:

Woman suffrage is inevitable. Suffragists knew it before November 6, 1917; opponents afterward. ... distinct causes make it inevitable.

...The history of our country ... The American revolutionists boldly proclaimed the heresies:

"Taxation without representation is tyranny."
"Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Eighty years after the Revolution Abraham Lincoln welded those two maxims into a new one:

"Ours is a government of the people, by the people and for the people."

Fifty years more passed and ... Woodrow Wilson ... proclaimed to the world:

"We are fighting for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts - for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

...However stupidly our country may have evaded the logical application at times it has never swerved from its devotion to the theory of democracy as expressed by those two axioms.

The Logic of the Situation Calls for Immediate Action

...The case against woman suffrage, carefully prepared by the combined wit, skill and wisdom of opponents... during sixty years, has been closed. The jury of the New York electorate heard it all, weighed the evidence and pronounced it "incompetent, irrelevant and immaterial."

In conclusion, we know, and you know that we know, that it has been the aim of both dominant parties to postpone woman suffrage as long as possible... the party machines have evaded, avoided, tricked and buffeted this question from Congress to Legislatures to political conventions. I confess to you that many of us have a deep and abiding distrust of all existing political parties - they have tricked us so often and in such unscrupulous fashion that our doubts are natural. Some of you are leaders of those parties and all are members. Your parties we also know have a distrust and suspicion of new women voters. Let us counsel together. Woman suffrage is inevitable - you know it. The political parties will go on - we know it. Shall we then be enemies or friends?

Gentlemen, we hereby petition you, our only designated representatives, to redress our grievances by the immediate passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment and to use your influence to secure its ratification in your own state, in order that the women of our nation may be endowed with political freedom before the next presidential election, and that our nation may resume its world leadership in democracy.

Band 3.

Jane Addams is known for her work as social worker, feminist and pacifist. She founded Hull House in 1889. She was the first vice-president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Miss Addams' work in the peace movement led to her receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931.

Jane Addams comments on the work and commitment of the American women towards peace during World War I:

Why should it be surprising that certain women in every country have remained steadfast to their old occupation of nurturing life, that they have tenaciously held to their anxious concern that men should live, through all the contagion and madness of the war fever which is infecting the nations of the earth.

The efforts at spiritual adjustment necessitated by the war are attempted by many people...as I met those women who were bearing their hardships and sorrows so courageously, I often caught a glimpse of an inner struggle, as if two of the most fundamental instincts, the two responsible for our very development as human beings were at strife with each other. The first is tribal loyalty, such unquestioning acceptance of the tribe's morals and standards that the individual automatically fights when the word comes; the second is woman's deepest instinct, that the child of her body must be made to live...The suffering mothers of the disinherited feel the stirring of the old impulse to protect and cherish their unfortunate children, and women's haunting memories instinctively challenge war as the implacable enemy of their age-long understanding.

On the whole I am quite inclined to agree with Chesterton when he wrote, "Many people have imagined that feminine politics would be merely pacifist or humanitarian or sentimental." The real danger of feminine politics is too much of masculine policy.

Band 4.

Mrs. Mary Harris Jones, better known as Mother Jones, lived from 1830 to 1930. She did not become active in union organizing until the 1870's and 80's. Mother Jones worked, at first, for the Knights of Labor and later became a familiar sight in the coal towns of Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Colorado, organizing for the United Mine Workers. She continued to be an active and defiant woman well into her nineties.

In her autobiography, she tells about one of her experiences in 1900, organizing in the Pennsylvania coal region:

In Arnot, Pennsylvania, a strike had been going on four or five months. The men were becoming discouraged...

I held a meeting. It was not as large a gathering as those we had later but I stirred up the poor wretches that did come.

"You've got to take the pledge," I said. "Rise and pledge to stick to your brothers and the union till the strike's won!"

The men shuffled their feet but the women rose, their babies in their arms, and pledged themselves to see that on one went to work in the morning.

(The secretary of the Arnot Union, a young boy) took me up to the mountain to a miner's house.

Early in the morning his wife rose to keep the children quiet, so that I might sleep a little later as I was very tired. At eight o'clock she came into my room crying, "Mother, are you awake?" "Yes, I am awake." "Well, you must get up. The sheriff is here to put us out for keeping you. This house belongs to the Company."

The family gathered up all their earthy belongings, which weren't much, took down the holy pictures, and put them in a wagon, and they with all their neighbors went to the meeting. The sight of that wagon with the sticks of furniture and the holy pictures and the children, with the father and mother and myself walking along through the streets turned the tide. It made the men so angry that they decided not to go back that morning to the mines. Instead they came to the meeting where they determined not to give up the strike until they had won the victory.

Then the company tried to bring in scabs. I told the men to stay home with the children for a change and let the women attend to the scabs. I organized an army of women housekeepers. On a given day they were to bring their mops and brooms and "the army" would charge the scabs up at the mines. The general manager, the sheriff and the corporation hirelings heard of our plans and were on hand. The day came and women came with the mops and brooms and pails of water.

I decided not to go up to the Drip Mouth myself, for I knew they would arrest me and that might rout the army. I selected as the leader an Irish woman who had a most picturesque appearance. She had slept late and her husband had told her to hurry up and get into the army. She had grabbed a red petticoat and slipped it over a thick cotton nightgown. She wore a black stocking and a white one. She had tied a little red fringed shawl over her wild red hair. Her face was red and her eyes were mad. I looked at her and felt that she would raise a rumpus.

I said, "You lead the army up to the Drip Mouth. Take that tin dishpan you have with you and your hammer, and when the scabs and the mules come up, begin to

hammer and howl. Then all of you hammer and howl and be ready to chase the scabs with your mops and brooms. Don't be afraid of anyone."

Up the mountain side, yelling and hollering, she led the women, and when the mules came up with the scabs and the coal, she began beating on the dishpan and hollering and all the army joined in with her. The sheriff tapped her on the shoulder.

"My dear lady," said he, "remember the mules. Don't frighten them."

She took the old tin pan and she hit him with it and she hollered. "To hell with you and the mules!"

He fell over and dropped into the creek. Then the mules began to rebel against scabbing. They bucked and kicked the scab drivers and started off for the barn. The scabs started running down hill, followed by the army of women with their mops and pails and brooms.

There was a great big doctor in the crowd, a company lap dog. He had a little satchel in his hand and he said to me, impudent like, "Mrs. Jones, I have a warrant for you." "All right," said I, keep it in your pill bag until I come for it. I am going to hold a meeting now."

From that day on the women kept continual watch of the mines to see that the company did not bring in scabs. Every day women with brooms or mops in one hand and babies in the other arm wrapped in little blankets, went to the mines and watched that no one went in. And all night long they kept watch. They were heroic women. In the long years to come the nation will pay them high tribute for they were fighting for the advancement of a great country.

Band 5.

Emma Goldman was a leading American anarchist around the turn of the 20th century.

Here, she speaks out on the issue of woman suffrage:

...I am not opposed to woman suffrage on the conventional ground that she is not equal to it. I see neither physical, psychological, nor mental reasons why woman should not have the equal right to vote with man. But that cannot possibly blind me to the absurd notion that woman will accomplish that wherein man has failed.

The American suffrage movement has been, until very recently, altogether a parlor affair, absolutely detached from the economic needs of the people. Thus Susan B. Anthony, no doubt an exceptional type of woman, was not only indifferent but antagonistic to labor; ... in 1869, she advised women to take the places of striking printers in New York...

There are, of course, some suffragists who are affiliated with working women...but they are a small minority, and their activities are essentially economic. The rest look upon toil as a just provision of Providence.

Few countries have produced such arrogance and snobbishness as America. Particularly is this true of the American woman of the middle class. She not only considers herself the equal of man, but his superior, especially in her purity, goodness, and morality. Small wonder that the American suffragist claims for her vote the most miraculous powers. In her exalted conceit she does not see how truly enslaved she is, not so much by man, as by her own silly notions and traditions. Suffrage cannot ameliorate that sad fact; it can only accentuate it, as indeed it does.

Her views on woman's emancipation were controversial for her time;

The great movement of true emancipation has not met with a great race of women who could look liberty in the face. Their narrow, Puritanical vision banished man, as a disturber and doubtful character, out of their emotional life...But woman's freedom is closely allied with man's freedom, and many of my so-called emancipated sisters seem to overlook the fact that a child born in freedom needs the love and devotion of each human being about him, man as well as woman. Unfortunately, it is this narrow conception of human relations that has brought about a great tragedy in the lives of the modern man and woman.

History tells us that every oppressed class gained true liberation from its masters through its own efforts. It is necessary that woman learn that lesson, that she realize that her freedom will reach as far as her power to achieve her freedom reaches...

Band 6.

Dorothy Day is the noted co-founder with Pete Maurin of the personalist-pacifist Catholic Worker movement. Before her conversion to Catholicism in the mid-1920's, she dabbled in leftist politics and joined the I.W.W.:

...I had a strange and unforgettable experience, a shocking experience, but one which I would not have done without. I was arrested again, and this time under quite different circumstances from those in Washington some years before. Then I had been part of an organized body of women of all ages and stations in life...There had been the solidarity of the group. Now I was to have a solitary taste of the injustice, or the ugliness of men's justice, which set me more squarely on the side of the revolution.

It was the time of the "Palmer Red Raids" and that night detectives raided the I.W.W. hotel as a disorderly house and arrested all they found there...

Mae and I, not knowing what was happening, were awakened by a pounding on the door and the voice of the police.

...I had opened the door in fear and trembling and had been forced to dress practically in the presence of two detectives leering...We were then escorted down to the street corner together with several men and forced to stand there waiting for a police wagon which had been summoned. We were being arrested as inmates of a disorderly house...

...I was a victim, yes, of the red hysteria at the time, but I was also a victim of my own imprudence, of my own carelessness of convention. And...on the one hand there were the loose moral standards of the radicals, those same standards condemned by Lenin. And on the other there was the world's judgment of those same moral standards. It was the I.W.W. house which was being raided, but we as women had no right to be in that house. Our presence there meant only one thing to the men who arrested us, and when we were booked for the morals court, they had the law on their side, and we had by our very presence there given that place the reputation of being a disorderly house.

It was as ugly an experience as I ever had to pass through, and a useful one. I do not think that ever again, no matter of what I am accused, can I suffer more than I did then of shame and regret, and self-contempt. Not only because I had been caught, found out, branded, publicly humiliated, but because of my own consciousness that I deserved it.

Band 7.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, known as "The Rebel Girl", speaks out about the "Woman's place" around the turn of the century:

The unionization of women, even in occupations like the needle trades, where they predominated, had scarcely yet begun. Equal opportunities, equal pay, and the right to be organized were the crying needs of women wage earners then and unfortunately these demands remain with us today. Many union leaders, like Samuel Gompers... did not consider women workers organizable or dependable. "They only work for pin money!" was the usual complaint...

There was a prevalent concept that "woman's work" was confined to the domestic scene. "Woman's place is in the home" was the cry. Women were constantly accused of taking "men's jobs." I spoke in my first speech of the drudgery and monotony of woman's unpaid labor in the millions of American kitchens, of primitive handicraft jobs done by women at home and hangers from a time when the home was the center of hand manufacture. With the advent of power-operated machinery many tasks which traditionally belonged to women had been taken out of the home into mass production industry, such as

spinning, weaving, sewing, baking, soap-making, food-preserving, making dairy products. Women were forced to follow their jobs into the outside world, there to be accused of taking away "men's jobs." I stressed the possibility, at least under Socialism, of industrializing all the domestic tasks by collective kitchens and dining places, nurseries, laundries, etc.

...I recall an experience at Guffanti's restaurant over forty years ago, when I was with Margaret Sanger and a woman doctor friend, who started to smoke cigarettes. We were ordered by the management to desist or leave. The doctor asked a man smoking a big cigar: "Do you object to my smoking?" He replied: "Hell, no, lady, go right ahead." Finally, the manager ordered a screen placed around our table to shut the "hussies" from view.

Side 2

Band 1.

Margaret Sanger, 1883-1966, devoted her life to the cause of birth control.

Here she speaks of woman and her destiny:

...Woman's mission is not to enhance the masculine spirit, but to express the feminine; hers is not to preserve a man-made world but to create a human world by the infusion of the feminine element into all of its activities...When woman chooses her new, free course of action, it must be in the light of her opinion - of her own intuition... Only thus can she free her mate from the bondage which he wrought for himself when he wrought her. Only thus can she restore to him that which he robbed himself in restricting her. Only thus can she remake the world.

How can woman solve the predicament which makes her unable to fully develop her potential?

The chief obstacles to the normal expression of woman's force are undesired pregnancy and the burden of unwanted children. These obstacles have always been and always will be swept aside by a considerable proportion of women. Driven by the irresistible force within them, they will always seek wider freedom and great self-development, regardless of the cost. The sole question that society has to answer is, how shall women be permitted to attain this end?

Look at it from any standpoint you will, suggest any solution you will, conventional or unconventional, sanctioned by law or in defiance of law, woman is in the same position, fundamentally until she is able to determine for herself whether she will be a mother, and to fix the number of her offspring. This unavoidable situation is alone enough to make birth control, first of all a woman's problem. Voluntary motherhood is chiefly the concern of women...She has learned that whatever the moral responsibility of the man in this

direction, he does not discharge it. She has learned that lovable and considerate as the individual husband may be, she has little to expect from man in the mass, when they make laws and decree customs. She knows that regardless of what ought to be, the brutal, unavoidable fact is that she will never receive her freedom until she takes it for herself. Birth control is woman's problem.

Band 2.

Eleanor Roosevelt was often asked if she had planned her career and if she had had specific objectives in her mind throughout her lifetime.

I am sure that my objectives, during those early years at least were constantly changing. In the beginning, because I felt, as only a young girl can feel it, all the pain of being an ugly duckling, I was not only timid, I was afraid. Afraid of almost everything, I think... afraid of my own inadequacy. My chief objectives, as a girl, was to do my duty. This had been drilled into me as far back as I could remember. Not only my duty as I saw it, but my duty as laid down for me by other people. It never occurred to me to revolt. Anyhow, my own overwhelming need in those days was to be approved, to be loved, and I did whatever was required of me, hoping it would bring me nearer to the approval and love I so much wanted.

As a young woman, my sense of duty remained as strict and rigid as it had been when I was a girl, but it had changed its focus. My husband and my children became the center of my life and their needs were my new duty... Duty was perhaps the motivating force in my life, often excluding what might have been joy or pleasure. I looked at everything from the point of view of what I ought to do, rarely from the standpoint of what I wanted to do. There were times I almost forgot that there was such a thing as wanting anything. So I took an interest in politics. It was a wife's duty to be interested in whatever interested her husband...I felt I must acquiesce in whatever he might decide and be willing to go to Albany. My part was to make the necessary household plans and to do this as easily as possible, if he should be elected. I was having a baby, and for a time, at least, that was my only mission in life...I was still timid, still afraid of doing something wrong, of making mistakes, of not living up to the standards required by my mother-in-law, or failing to do what was expected of me.

As a result I was so hidebound by duty that I became too critical, too much of a disciplinarian. I was so concerned with bringing up my children properly that I was not wise enough to just love them.

It was not until I reached middle age that I had the courage to develop interests of my own, outside of my duties to my family. In the beginning, it seems to me now, I had no goal beyond interests themselves, in

learning about people and conditions and the world outside our own United States. Almost at once, I began to discover that interest leads to interest, knowledge leads to more knowledge, the capacity for understanding grows with the effort to understand.

Band 3.

In 1963 Betty Friedan completed a book entitled The Feminine Mystique. In it she identified the dilemma of the contemporary middle class American woman.

...I came to realize that the problem that has no name was shared by countless women in America... It is no longer possible to ignore that voice, to dismiss that desperation of so many American women... I have heard so many women try to deny this dissatisfied voice within themselves because it does not fit the pretty picture of femininity the experts have given them.

... The feminine mystique says that the highest value and the only commitment for women is the fulfillment of their own femininity. It says that the great mistake of Western culture...has been the undervaluation of this femininity. It says this femininity is so mysterious and intuitive and close to the creation and origin of life that man-made science may never be able to understand it... The mistake, says the mystique, the root of women's troubles in the past is that women envied men, women tried to be like men, instead of accepting their own nature, which can find fulfillment only in sexual passivity.

But the new image this mystique gives to American women is the old image: "Occupation; housewife." ... The feminine mystique is so powerful that women grow up no longer knowing that they have the desires and capacities the mystique forbids

It is my thesis that the core of the problem for women today is not sexual but a problem of identity - a stunting or evasion of growth that is perpetuated by the feminine mystique. It is my thesis that as the Victorian culture did not permit women to accept or gratify their basic sexual needs, our culture does not permit women to accept or gratify their basic need to grow and fulfill their potentialities as human beings, a need which is not solely defined by their sexual role.

...There have been identity crises for man at all crucial turning points in human history... For the first time in their history, women are becoming aware of an identity crisis in their own lives, a crisis which began many generations ago, and will not end until they or their daughters, turn an unknown corner and make of themselves and their lives the new image that so many women now so desperately need.

Band 4.

The National Organization for women, now, is a civil rights organization composed mostly of middle and upper class women and men. They fight within the system for legislative changes that will improve the status of women. Redstockings, a collective, organized in 1969, reflects another viewpoint about the plight of the contemporary woman.

Women are an oppressed class. Our oppression is total, affecting every facet of our lives. We are exploited as sex objects, breeders, domestic servants and cheap labor. We are considered inferior beings, whose only purpose is to enhance men's lives. Our humanity is denied. Our prescribed behavior is enforced by the threat of physical violence.

... In reality, every... relationship...(between a man and a woman) is a class relationship, and the conflicts between individual men and women are political conflicts that can only be solved collectively.

We identify the agents of our oppression as men. Male supremacy is the oldest, most basic form of domination. All other forms of exploitation and oppression (racism, capitalism, imperialism, etc.) are extensions of male supremacy: men dominate women, a few men dominate the rest... Men have controlled all political, economic and cultural institutions...through history...and backed up this control with physical force. They have used this power to keep women in an inferior position. All men receive economic, sexual and psychological benefits from male supremacy. All men have oppressed women.

Our chief task at present is to develop female class consciousness through sharing experience and publicly exposing the sexist foundation of all our institutions.

...We define our best interest as that of the poorest, most brutally exploited woman... We repudiate all economic, racial, educational or status privileges that divide us from other women... We call on all our sisters to unite with us in this struggle. We call on all men to give up their male privileges and support women's liberation in the interest of our humanity and their own... The time for individual skirmishes has past. This time we are going all the way.

Band 5.

Shirley Chisholm is the first black woman elected to the House of Representatives. She speaks to her colleagues on May 21, 1969 on the problem of equal rights for women:

... Why is it acceptable for women to be secretaries, librarians, and teachers but totally unacceptable for them to be managers, administrators, doctors, lawyers and Members of Congress.

The unspoken assumption is that women are different. They do not have executive ability, orderly minds, stability, leadership skills, and they are too emotional.

It has been observed before, that society for a long time, discriminated against another minority, the blacks on the same basis - that they were different and inferior. The happy little homemaker and the contented "old darky" on the plantation were both stereotypes produced by prejudice.

This country is both racist and anti-feminist. Few, if any, Americans are free of the psychological wounds imposed by racism and anti-feminism.

Prejudice against blacks is becoming unacceptable although it will take years to eliminate. But it is doomed because, slowly, white America is beginning to admit that it exists. Prejudice against women is still acceptable. There is very little understanding yet of the immorality involved in double pay scales and the classification of most of the better jobs as "for men only."

More than half of the population of the United States is female. But women occupy only 2 percent of the managerial positions. They have not even reached the level of tokenism yet. No women sit on the AFL-CIO Council or Supreme Court. There have only been two women who have held Cabinet rank, and at present there are none. Only two women now hold ambassadorial ranks in the diplomatic corps. In Congress, we are down to one Senator and 10 Representatives.

Band 6.

Margaret Mead has worked as an anthropologist with peoples of different cultures in the South Pacific. As a result, she has had the opportunity of bringing new insights to Western women and men concerned with their functional roles in this society:

... We may well find that there are certain fields, such as the physical sciences, mathematics, and instrumental music, in which men by virtue of their sex, as well as by virtue of their qualities as specially gifted human beings, will always have that razor-edge of extra gift which makes all the difference, and that while women may easily follow where men lead, men will always make the new discoveries. We may equally well find that women, through the learning involved in maternity, which once experienced can be taught more easily to all women, even childless women, than to men, have special superiority in those human sciences which involve that type of understanding which...is called intuition. If intuition is based... upon an ability to recognize difference from the self rather than upon one to project the self in building a construct or a hypothesis, it may well be that the greatest gifts will be found among women...

... We shall be ready to synthesize both kinds of fights in the sciences, which are now sadly lopsided with their far greater knowledge of how to destroy than of how to construct, far better equipped to analyze the world of matter into which man can project his intelligence than the world of human relations, which requires the socialized use of intuition. The mother who must learn that the infant who was but an hour ago a part of her body is now a different individual, with its own hungers and its own needs, and that if she listens to her own body to interpret the child, the child will die, is schooled in an irreplaceable school. As she learns to attend to that different individual, she develops a special way of thinking and feeling about human beings. We can leave these special learnings at the present level, or convert them into a more elaborate part of our civilization... We can build a whole society only by using both sexes - by using the gifts of the whole of humanity.

In her studies of different cultural attitudes learned from peoples in the South Pacific, Dr. Mead said:

...We may contrast mothers in different societies with...different emphases. The Arapesh treat a baby as a soft, vulnerable, precious little object, to be protected, fed, cherished. Not only the mother, but the father also, must play this over-all protective role... Whenever it is willing to eat, even if it does not show any signs of hunger, it is fed, gently, interestedly...

... The Arapesh form of child-rearing stresses complementarity in a form that is most easily transformed by women into an adult feminine role... It is a society that makes it much more difficult to be a male, especially in all those assertive, creative, productive aspects of life on which the superstructure of a civilization depends. Where the upbringing fits most women, it fits only a few men.

... We find among the Iatmul headhunters ... (that) from birth the baby is handled as if it were a separate little entity capable of a will of its own...

As soon as the Iatmul child is a few weeks old, the mother no longer carries it everywhere with her, or sits with it on her lap, but instead places it at some distance on a high bench, where it must cry lustily before it is fed... The child learns... that anger and self-assertion will be rewarded. Children of each sex form images that will later inform their feelings about copulation, the girl-child forming a more active picture of her own role, the boy-child a more active picture of the female's role.

Fleanor Holmes Norton was appointed Chairwoman of the NYC Commission on Human Rights in 1970.

Here, she gives one version of the dilemma of the black woman in her fight for independence within the black liberation struggle today:

We conceive our mission in terms which are often different from the expressed goals of many white women revolutionaries. To be sure, our goals and theirs in their general outlines are the same, but black women confront a task that is as delicate as it is revolutionary. For black women are part of a preeminent struggle whose time has come - the fight for black liberation... Black women cannot - must not - avoid the truth about their special subservience. They are women with all that that implies. If some have been forced into roles as providers or, out of the insecurity associated with being a black woman alone, have dared not develop independence, the result is not that black women are today liberated women. For they have been "liberated" only from love, from family life, from meaningful work, and just as often from the basic comforts and necessities of an ordinary existence. There is neither power nor satisfaction in such a "matriarchy". There is only the bitter knowledge that one is a victim.

On the road to equality there is no better place for blacks to detour around American values than in forgoing its example in the treatment of its women and the organization of its family life... With black family life so clearly undermined in the American environment, blacks must remake the family unit, not imitate it. Indeed, this task is central to black liberation. The black male will not be returned to his historic strength - the foremost task of the black struggle today - if we do not recreate the strong family unit that was a part of our African heritage before it was dismembered by the slave-owning class in America. But it will be impossible to reconstruct the black family if its central characters are to be crepe-paper copies acting out the old white family melodrama...

If we are to avoid this disaster, the best, perhaps the only place to begin is in our conception of the black woman. After all, the immediate tasks of the black man are laid out for him. It is the future role of the black woman that is problematical. And what she is allowed to become - or relegated - will shape not simply her future but that of the black family and the fate of its members.

The women...

Jane Addams 1860-1935. Social worker, feminist, pacifist.

Jane Addams founded Hull House, the first settlement house in America, in 1889. She served as the first vice-president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association from 1911-1913. In 1912 she organized Women for Peace and in 1915 she was chairwoman of the World Peace Party. She participated in the International Congress of Women at the Hague in 1915. Her devotion to the cause of peace was acknowledged by a Nobel Peace Prize in 1919.

Carrie Chapman Catt 1859-1947. Suffragist.

After graduating from Iowa State College in 1880, Mrs. Catt became a school administrator in Iowa. She joined the Iowa woman suffrage organization in 1887, and rose rapidly in the national movement. In 1900 she succeeded Susan B. Anthony as president of ANWSA, only to resign it a few years later because of her husband's illness and subsequent death. She reassumed the presidency in 1915 after leading the movement in NY State. She had a genius for organizing and devised the famous "Winning Plan" - emphasizing work on state and national levels and through both political parties. She later was a founder of the League of Women Voters and was active in the world peace movement.

Shirley Chisholm 1920 - Politician, Congresswoman, Educator.

Born in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Mrs. Chisholm is recognized as an authority on early childhood education and child welfare. In 1964 she was elected to the NYS Assembly. In 1968 she became the first black woman to become a member of the House of Representatives. She advocates women "moving into politics on a leadership level".

Dorothy Day 1897 - American Catholic Social Activist.

A reporter for such left-wing publications as the Call, The Masses and the Liberator, Miss Day was a member of the Socialist party and of the IWW before entering the Roman Catholic Church in 1927. She and Peter Maurin founded the Catholic Worker in 1933. Throughout her life, Miss Day has given active support to the labor movement, the fight for interracial justice, pacifism, and disarmament.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn 1890-1964. IWW organizer, American Communist Party leader.

In 1906 at the age of 15, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was an organizer for the IWW. In the next ten years she participated in IWW strikes in the West; textile-workers strikes in the East; and iron-ore miners' strikes in the Middle West. In the 1920's she was a driving force in the Workers Defense Union. She helped found the ACLU in 1920 and remained with it until 1940 when she was asked to resign because of her Communist Party activities. She joined the Party in 1937 and rose quickly through its ranks to become Chairwoman in 1961 - a post she held until her death. She wrote a weekly column in the Daily Worker. In 1953 she was convicted under the Smith Act of conspiring to teach and advocate the forcible overthrow of the US Govt. She acted as her own attorney at her trial; she served 2 1/2 years of her 3 year term.

Betty Friedan 1921 - Author, Feminist leader.

Mrs. Friedan's book, The Feminine Mystique, analyzed the effect of the post World War II "back-to-home" movement on the American woman. In 1966 she founded and became the president of the National Organization for Women, a group of professional women and housewives who seek change through legislative means. She organized the nationwide Women's Strike for Equality of August 26, 1971, the first large scale demonstration of feminine protest since the suffragist movement.

Emma Goldman - 1869-1940. International anarchist, writer.

Emma Goldman emigrated to the United States from Russia in 1885. At first she worked in a clothing factory in Rochester, NY, and later moved to NYC. She was in constant conflict with the American government and its policies. In 1893 she was sentenced to a year's imprisonment on Blackwell Island for speeches and actions that "incited to riot". In 1917 she was fined and imprisoned for interfering with the recruitment of soldiers. She founded the anarchist publication, Mother Earth, with Alexander Berkman. She was deported to Russia in 1919 along with hundreds of others under the Alien and Sedition Acts. She later authored My Disillusionment in Russia and her autobiography, Living My Life.

Mother Jones (Mary Harris Jones) 1830-1930. Union organizer.

When a yellow fever epidemic in 1868 took her

husband and four children, Mary Harris Jones went back to Chicago to work as a dressmaker. Her involvement in 1870 with the Knights of Labor led to fifty years of work and commitment to the labor movement. A paid union organizer for the United Mine Workers of America, she worked with striking miners throughout the United States, making fire-brand speeches, defying company guards and state militia, and being thrown into jail numerous times for violating labor injunctions. In 1905 with Debs, Haywood and others, she helped found the Industrial Workers of the World.

Margaret Mead - 1900- . Anthropologist, writer.

From 1926 on Dr. Mead has worked in various capacities at the Museum of Natural History from assistant curator to Curator of Ethnology. She has studied, visited and written books on the following cultures: Polynesian, Samoan, Guinean, Indian, Balinese, French and Manuan. She has mastered seven of the primitive languages of the native people of the Pacific. She writes scholarly authoritative works on anthropological subjects that have become best sellers. She has been married twice and is the mother of four children.

Eleanor Holmes Norton. Lawyer.

Mrs. Norton was appointed the Chairwoman of the New York City Commission of Human Rights in 1970. Prior to that, she was an ACLU lawyer, from 1965-

70. She was also on the staff of the 1963 March on Washington and in 1964, served as Counsel to the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. A 1960 graduate of Antioch, Mrs. Norton earned her MA in American Studies in 1963 and her LLB in 1964, both from Yale.

Eleanor Roosevelt - 1884-1962. First Lady and Stateswoman.

Her early childhood led her to feelings of dependency, shyness and homeliness. She emerged in a new role when as first lady she lectured abroad, traveled extensively and became FDR's eyes and ears in strike sights, poverty areas, governmental projects, etc. She was an advocate of many liberal causes which made her a controversial figure during her twelve years in the White House. In 1945 President Truman appointed her as a delegate to the United Nations where she became the chairwoman of the committee that drafted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Margaret Sanger - 1883-1966. Feminist and advocate of birth control.

Margaret Sanger, nurse and feminist, devoted her life to the cause of birth control. In 1914 she was indicted for sending the Woman Rebel - birth control literature - through the mails. In 1915 she opened the first birth control clinic in Brooklyn; she was arrested and served thirty days in the workhouse, but later reopened the clinic despite constant

harassment. Founder of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America in 1942, she became the first president of the International Planned Parenthood Federation in 1953.

Anna Howard Shaw - 1847-1919. Suffragist, minister, physician.

Dr. Shaw came to the US from England when she was four years old. In 1873 she graduated from the Boston University of Theology and took her MD at BU in 1885. After having been the pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church in two communities, she was refused ordination by the New England Conference because of her sex, and the decision was confirmed by the General Conference at Cincinnati in 1880. Dr. Shaw was ordained in the Protestant Methodist Church in 1880, the first woman ordained by that denomination. In 1885 she resigned her pulpit and became very active in the suffragist movement, becoming president of the NAWSA from 1904-1915.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton - 1815-1902. Social reformer and militant feminist.

Active in the temperance and abolitionist movements, Mrs. Stanton devoted her chief energies to the crusade for women's rights. She and Lucretia Mott organized the first woman's rights convention at Seneca Falls in 1848. She was president of the National Woman Suffrage Association (1890-92) and its successor body, and was co-editor of the Revolution, an organ of the feminist movement. She was the wife of the lawyer and reformer, Henry Brewster Stanton, and the mother of seven children.

For the past two years, Doreen Rappaport and Susan Kempler have worked as free-lance writers of educational material. As partners, they have collaborated on creating and writing educational filmstrips, films and curriculum for Spoken Arts, Educational Activities, Community News Service, Holt, Rinehart and Winston and Look, Listen and Learn. Prior to that, for seven years, Miss Kempler was a teacher in the Newark and New York City public school systems - teaching on the elementary and secondary school levels.

In 1969-70 she translated the off-Broadway play "Dogs" from French into English, as well as translating articles in various publications. Miss Kempler has a B. A. in French and History and an M. A. in American Civilization from New York University. For seven years, Miss Rappaport taught vocal music in junior high schools in New Rochelle, N. Y., and New York City. She has a B. A. in Music History from Brandeis University. In 1968 Miss Rappaport studied composition and harmony in Paris.

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