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WOMEN'S WAGES IN ENGLAND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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WOMEN'S WAGES.

THE subject of women's wages is a very difficult one, partly because of a complication inherent in the very nature of the case, namely, that the choice of work and the wages paid are often determined in the case of women by circumstances in which purely economic considerations play a smaller part than in the case of men. The subject is difficult also in another way, because of the incompleteness of the material.

For quite early times we have very little information as to women's wages. Scattered among Thorold Rogers' vast storehouse of figures, there are it is true, a few figures relating to women, chiefly for out-door work; and in the numberless reprints of parochial accounts that have been made, you can here and there discover what were the day wages of a woman three or four centuries back. Thorold Rogers thinks the average for women rose from $\frac{2}{2}$ early in the 16th to $\frac{2}{6}$ from the beginning of the 18th century. It is not, I think, very useful to spend much labour on piecing these ancient records together, for changes in the value of money form an obstacle in the way of making even an approximate estimate of the real movement of wages.

The best sources of information as to women's wages in more recent times are those contained in Ure's history of the Cotton Trade, published in 1833, the wage census taken in 1886, and Miss Collet's reports. The factory inspectors' reports also have at intervals contained statistics which are unbiassed and probably reliable. Besides these, there are of course many figures of women's wages scattered about in sociological and other literature, but many of these are collected on differing methods, or no method, and cannot properly be compared among themselves. The sets of figures that may be regarded as approximately reliable are to be found only for certain manufacturing industries, especially textiles; for some of these there is even an abundance of material. For other of women's occupations, especially such typical ones as domestic service and dressmaking, we have little or no history, we have no information of scientific value until quite recent times, and we cannot trace the economic history of servants and dressmakers backwards. This is unfortunate, for though textiles are important, they do not, all told, occupy so many women as does the making of clothes and dress, and the other manufacturing industries are, in comparison, quite small affairs. Domestic service employs nearly as many women as dress and textiles together, and it would be particularly interesting to know when the rise in servants' wages began, and how

general it has been, whether for instance, country servants have secured a rise comparable to the rise in and near London, and whether service in lower middle class families has improved in the same proportion as in the upper classes. Dressmaking again, which, combined with millinery, constitutes perhaps the only really skilled handicraft that is open to any large proportion of women, would be a most interesting study, from the wide range it includes. The fitter in the best West End houses, I am credibly informed, may sometimes earn her £500 a year; whilst in the poorer parts of London, the average wage is put by the Charity Organisation Society at only 7/- a week. On these and allied industries, we have such interesting reports as Miss Collet's, Miss Irwin's, and others, which represent the results of investigations made at a quite recent date, but we cannot do much to trace the previous wages, save in a very imperfect manner. For the textile industries, however, a great many statistics have been put together at various times, and if we want to trace the position of the woman wage earner through the 19th century, we have mainly to go to the cotton trade. Generalisations on the economic position of women at different periods have therefore mainly to be based on textiles, and especially on cotton, and should be understood to involve a reservation that a more detailed knowledge of service and dress might alter our conclusions in some degree.

Although as I have said, we cannot go very far back, we may, however, consider one or two estimates made in the late 18th century. Arthur Young's Northern Tour mentions the current wages of women and girls in 1768, in certain localised industries, such as lace in Bedford, cloth at Leeds, fustian at Manchester, pottery at Burslem and Worcester. The figures for weekly wages varied from 6/6 at Burslem to 3/3 at Kendal, for women; and for girls, from 4/- at Bedford to 1/- at Newcastle. The average works out at 4/7 for women, 2/8 for girls; this was in 1768. Then there are some figures collected by Sir Frederick Eden, at the end of the 18th century. He found the highest women's wages at Birmingham 8/- a week, and at Manchester 7/- to 10/- a week. The other wages, which we took from the cotton, wool, lace and silk mills, varied from 3/6 to 5/6. Local divergence was evidently considerable, and the conditions of the labour market were no doubt most unstable. Each introduction of new machinery no doubt greatly depressed the value of the labour it displaced, while at the same time the demand for labour to work on the new machines would be increased. It was a very critical time for the textile workers; they had periods of affluence and prosperity, as occurred with the handloom weavers when the spinning machines were introduced, and therewith the demand for the woman's work was greatly increased. But a few years later, when power-looms were introduced, the handloom weavers' wages became much depressed, and the weavers made matters worse for themselves by the suicidal policy of working

inordinately long hours, thus lowering the rates against themselves. In 1830-40 the earnings of women at the handlooms were not above three or four shillings a week, except in a few cases where the power looms had not yet been introduced. The fall of wages between 1810 and 1831 was marked, especially in the latter part of the period. Even the power loom weavers' wages went down, which may mean that the domestic workers gave up their miserably paid work and flocked in too great numbers to the factory, and so brought down rates. This was fortunately, however, only temporary. The wages of women in the cotton factories shew an upward tendency after the "thirties," which has been constantly maintained. The rise has been characterised by the interesting fact that not only have the wages of young girls risen, and the wages of grown women also, but the average wage of both has risen more than the wage of either group singly. This may sound mysterious, but is in reality very simple; the proportion of female children employed is smaller than it was, and thus, as the more highly paid workers tend to predominate, by that very fact the average wage becomes increased. The average increase for all cotton operatives' wages in the Manchester district between 1833 and 1886 was 42 per cent., the advance for female workers 46 per cent., and the average wage for all female workers has thus increased through a fall in the proportion of girls, and through a process of transition from a lowly paid occupation to one better remunerated.

For all Lancashire the increase has been even greater, namely 62 per cent. This is because Manchester has become of late years a centre of business rather than of manufacture, while other centres, such as Oldham, have grown in importance, and whereas wages in 1833 were lower at Oldham than at Manchester, they are now higher at Oldham. The Manchester industry having become thus relatively unimportant, the movement of women's wages in recent years is better represented at Oldham for spinning and at Blackburn and neighbourhood for weaving. In these districts women's wages doubled between the "thirties" of the last century and the year 1901; of course that means starting from a very low point. The period of the greatest increase was in the early seventies, when wages generally went up very rapidly, owing to the expansion of trade of the year 1872. There was a fall of wages later on, due to depression of trade; but it is very significant that women's wages, though temporarily reduced, have not reverted to the previous level; the fall was temporary, was soon made up, and the high wages of 1874 which were so great an advance on the previous state of things have now been surpassed in most industries, though not quite in all.*

The calculations made by Mr. G. H. Wood, F.S.S., demon-

* See tables by G. H. Wood, pp. 278 and 279, in *A History of Factory Legislation*, by Hutchins and Harrison.

strate the important fact of a steady rise in women's wages in those industries for which we have reliable information. It is significant that these industries are precisely those which have been most peculiarly influenced by the Factory Act. It was formerly in cotton that the hours were longest, the toil most strenuous, and the conditions most entirely subject to unrestricted competition, it was cotton that was first put under State control, it was the textile industry that was supposed to be so seriously threatened by legal regulations that over and over again social reformers were accused of driving trade from the country, and were asked more in sorrow than in anger whether they realised that the regulations they wished to introduce would spell starvation to the children and women employed. Yet in textiles and most especially in cotton the improvement in women's wages has been extremely marked. Without wishing to claim that the rise in wages has been due to the operation of the Factory Act, for it is no doubt due to many complex causes, we may point out that wages have certainly not been reduced under the Act, except quite temporarily here and there. In recent years, however, the line of opposition to Factory regulation has taken up the wages argument on different lines. It is more usual now to throw up the attack altogether as regards highly organised industries like cotton, and to say that legal regulation does no harm, has even been a success, in highly organised textile industries, where the women are strong enough to bear it, but that in the non-textile, less fully developed industries, unless women may work at night, and overtime, and so on, they are at a great disadvantage, and will either be superseded by men or lose in wages. But I do not think there is any sign of women being superseded by men in non-textile industries, for the last census shows a larger increase of women in non-textile than in textile trades; and as to wages, surely the opponents of Factory Legislation cannot be allowed to use their arguments backwards or forwards as they choose. They used to say, you must not legislate for cotton, the workers are so poor, they will starve; yet now that cotton has been regulated and the women, so far from starving, get higher wages than they used, the cry is that the cotton trade is so strong and the women so well paid, even the Factory Act cannot pull down their wages, it is on the other industries it falls so heavily. But it is rather significant that the longest regulated and most strictly regulated industry is the very one that shows so great a rate of improvement, and we need not be afraid that the status of laundry women, or even of home workers will be injured by stricter regulation, or stricter administration of the existing law, perhaps on the contrary their wages also will rise.

Perhaps if one wished to study the course of women's wages as much apart from the operation of the Factory Act as possible, the best industry to choose would be dressmaking, in small towns or villages. In places of that kind the Factory

Act is usually not strictly administered in small workshops, and the attraction of the great industry is often quite absent. If anyone had patience to take the trouble to make friends with a number of oldish dressmakers and find out how wages nowadays compare with those of 10, 20 or 30 years ago, it would give a very fair idea of the movement of the actual demand and supply value of women's labour, in a specially woman's trade, little affected by machinery or the law, and not at all by those encroachments of man which are so dreaded by the Freedom of Labour Defence.

Although it is very difficult to trace the influence of Factory legislation on wages, it is an extremely interesting subject to study. The first Factory Act that was at all effectively administered was the Act of 1833, which limited the working hours of young persons to 12, and provided for the appointment of inspectors to see that the law was enforced. There is a table of wages for Oldham, in an inspector's report,* which shows that in the years next following the Act, wages of protected workers, young persons and children, that is, went up. There are also tables which shew the same thing under the Act of 1844. Women were first included under that Act, and the wages of women were higher in 1845 than in the previous year. We need not claim that the Act raised the wages, but it certainly did not prevent the rise. The 10 Hours Act, 1847, is more complicated. This Act, which knocked 2 hours off the working day, might have been expected to reduce wages at least temporarily. But it was a time of extreme depression of trade, few of the operatives were working full time. The Act also was administratively weak, owing to defects which were remedied 3 and 6 years later, and probably was not really enforced for some time, so that it is almost impossible to say what effect the Act had upon wages. There were reductions in piece rates in 1847, which generally amounted to 10 per cent. These were not due to the Act in any way, but to the depression of trade. Some figures in the Returns of wages show average earnings in two mills in 1847, '48, and '49; there was a distinct drop, but curiously enough the drop was not equal to the 10 per cent. reduction of piece rates, or the 16 per cent. reduction in hours. You see it is a puzzle to say what was due to the Act. A little later on, in 1851, Leonard Horner wrote that in the departments paid by piece work, there was little if any reduction of earnings owing to the Ten Hours day. Since that date, as Mr. Wood's table shows, increasing strictness of administration has not hindered a considerable rise in wages. It is not certain that there is a direct connection between factory control and women's wages, but as a rule the sequel of each limitation of hours has been a rise of wages, though for a while there may have been a slight fall. The rise is partly due to progressive restric-

* Quoted in *Factory Legislation* (Hutchins and Harrison) p. 285.

tions on child labour, which have increased the demand for women's labour, and partly to an increase in the efficiency of labour, which maintains or increases the former output in the shortened time. There are certain manufacturing industries where the masters voluntarily work 9 hours or even 8, instead of 10, because they find they get better work done. In these cases the reduction is not directly due to the Factory Act but to considerations of economic efficiency. It is often very difficult to disentangle the exact motive, and the precise bearing of the legal regulation.

If you start investigating at a town like Birmingham or Liverpool, what you will find is that in factories at least it is seldom customary to work the full legal day. So far as the daily working hours are concerned, the Factory Act is not felt at all,* and therefore, it would seem, cannot have much effect on wages. You begin then to wonder whether the Factory Act is only an illusion like all the rest, and the real improvements are due merely to common sense as the individualists tell us.

If you survive the stage of disappointment and go on visiting some more factories and especially workshops, you will perhaps come to see that the effects of the law, though less evident than you expected, are present, and are influential on wages, though in a more subtle and indirect manner. I was much struck by the remark of an old inspector of workshops in a big town, who was evidently a close observer. He told me that the factory inspector had been making a special effort to enforce the law as to hours in women's workshops and small workshops. I asked, then do the women get less pay for the shorter hours? No, he said, for if the small masters can work the women as long as they like they cut them down in their wages. This seems to me a very illuminating remark, it shows that even in the case of women, who are so easily exploited, there is a limit, there is a standard wage that even women must have, and if the hours are indefinitely extensible, the influence of competition makes them lengthen their hours to earn their wages, but if the hours are restricted, still the women get the same weekly earnings. In another way the sanitary regulations also help to raise wages, because they tend to crowd out the poorest and most incompetent masters who cannot afford the capital outlay necessary for proper sanitary appliances, and the probabilities are certainly that the less poor and more capable masters will pay rather better wages.

In one rather curious way, however, it seems possible that the Factory Act may have an indirect tendency to lower wages in the regulated industries, because it makes the conditions more attractive, and draws a new supply of labour from a rather higher class. It is not at all unusual to be told by the master of a works that the stamp of girl he employs is much more

* Except in textile factories, in which the full legal hours are usually worked.

refined and better mannered than formerly. If this is so, still women's wages generally are no lower, it only means that there will be rather more competition to enter factories and rather less for shop-serving or even type-writing.

The anomaly of factory workers' wages is that though they have risen, they are still so low. One would, on the whole, have expected that the developments of machinery and the increased number of employments open to girls would have raised wages much higher. By so much perhaps the Factory Act may really have tended to depress wages, though we may well believe that, taking it all round, improved conditions are worth having even at a small money sacrifice. In another way, however, the regulations have an opposite effect, which may tend to counter-balance the depressing tendency. As employers are not now permitted to work unlimited overtime, as in the bad old days, they are compelled to keep down their cost of production by getting as much work as possible out of the factory during the time in which it is at work. They, therefore, are impelled to improve their machinery, and to compete with one another to secure the best and most intelligent workers. Now although the supply of girls seems to be practically unlimited, the supply of really clever, ready, reliable girls is by no means so great, and it becomes important to secure them. In this way the Factory Act increases the demand for efficient workers, even though it may tend to increase the supply, and by so much lower the wages of the average girl.

In regard to the interesting question of the wages of domestic servants, it is unfortunate that, with the exception of Miss Collet's report in 1899, there is very little evidence, and therefore nothing very definite can be stated. We have made a few extracts from Thorold Rogers, for the years after 1760. The wages varied from £3 6s. a year to £7. The average was £4 3s. Miss Collet's average for servants in all England and Wales comes to £15 18s., or say £16 a year. This makes arise 380 per cent. since the 18th century, which is, no doubt, easily explicable by the great increase of wealth and the numbers of servants required in the households of the very rich. The rise in servants' wages probably greatly exceeds the rise in textiles. How do present day servants' wages compare with factory work? If we add 10s. a week for board and lodging, say for 50 weeks, to Miss Collet's £16, it makes £41. Now Mr. Wood's average of workers in textiles, &c. is 12s. 4d. a week, or £30 10s. a year, on the assumption that the worker is employed 50 weeks. This shews the servant to be about 30 per cent. better off than the factory worker; 30 per cent. is a good difference, but is after all not quite so vast a difference as is supposed by the employers of servants, who are always rather prone to exaggerate the advantages of service. Again, to allow 10s. for servants' board and lodging is not overstating the money value, but we must remember that the independent factory girl would not spend

so much on her own board and lodging, or have so much spent on her if she lived at home. Supposing then we reduce the servant's board and lodging to a sum corresponding more with the subjective valuation of this class, and say 7s. instead of 10s. 7s. a week for 50 weeks makes £17 10s., the servant's wages are therewith reduced to £33 8s., which is only about £3 more than the factory girl's £30 10s. It is not so difficult to understand the preference for factory employment, when one works out the figures in this way. The gentlefolk who talk about the advantages of service are very apt to exaggerate the average wage; they perhaps pay good wages themselves, and assume the good wage to be the average, forgetting the vast number of small households that pay much smaller wages; they also exaggerate the value of food and lodging, by measuring it by their own standard instead of the worker's standard. It is a common mistake also in discussing women's employments and wages to compare a superior kind of service with a very inferior kind of factory, as if a girl who earns 8s. or 9s. in a jam factory, could, if she liked, get £25 a year all found in Kensington. The fact is that the 8s. or 9s. girl, if she went to service, could probably only take a rough hard place at £6 or £7 a year, and the factory worker of a standing equal to a really superior servant can now-a-days earn her 18s. or 20s. a week. The real difference in favour of service is, no doubt, the greater regularity of employment; domestic service is not a season trade, and is not so much affected by fluctuations of trade as other employments. But in the matter of wages we are bold enough to think that the inequality is more apparent than real, if the classes of work are carefully graded for comparison.

There is another aspect of women's wages which is interesting, and that is the effect on a very large, supremely important, and often badly paid industry, namely, marriage. The proportion of women occupied appears to have slightly gone down, and the proportion of women married has also slightly gone down. That is in the totals. If we take the young women separately, which is the better method, we find that more young women are occupied, but much fewer married, than used to be the case. The proportion of young women married did not shew any decline in the census until 1881, well after the rise of wages. Since that date the decrease of young married women has been very marked, and must have materially increased the available girl-labour. One can scarcely doubt that the improvement in wages, together perhaps with the greater freedom enjoyed by women, has somewhat lessened the attractiveness of marriage at the earlier ages. In some of the cotton towns early marriage has decreased, much more than the average decrease in England and Wales. If it turns out in the future that the tendency to defer marriage becomes still more pronounced, women will probably become more professional, better trade unionists, keener about their economic position. You will

remember how in "Women in the Printing Trades," and also in Mrs. Spencer's book on Liverpool,* the fact is brought out that the likelihood of marriage tends to make girls apathetic, both about improving their technical efficiency, and joining their trade unions. As girls come to marry less or marry later, they will doubtless become better craftswomen and better unionists, more professional altogether, and women's wages will rise. We cannot touch here on the very far-reaching question whether the decrease of early marriage is altogether for good; that would be outside the scope of this paper, but it undeniably makes the need of training and organisation for girls more pressing.

There seems some reason also to suppose that high wages of women coincide with low wages of men. There are some tables in Miss Collet's invaluable Report, pp. 62 and 63, which shew that at Burnley and neighbourhood, women's wages in 1895 averaged nearly a pound, men's only a little above, whereas, at Oldham women's wages averaged 14s., men's 29s. The tables are well worth study. Burnley, in the census of 1901, shews a larger proportion of women employed in cotton than does Oldham, and a very much larger proportion of married women occupied. It is quite obvious that where men's wages tend to approximate with women's, the women will injure their social and economic position by marrying and leaving work. There is therefore a considerable inducement for women either to postpone marriage, or to marry and continue working.

If we now look back over the subject, and try to see it as a whole, one of the most important and most purely beneficent causes for the rise in women's wages has evidently been the progressive restriction on child labour, through the Factory and Education Acts. In 1835, children under 13 years old, formed 13 per cent. of all employed in cotton, in 1895, only 6 per cent., who were working half-time only. It is unnecessary to state all the figures, but in some industries the diminution has been even greater.†

The reduction of child-labour has increased the demand for girls and women, and thereby raised their wages. Cannot we assist the upward movement? Organisation is good, education is good, but we cannot but think the most effective means is through the children. To raise the age of half-timers to 16, and eventually perhaps to 18, would be a most beneficent arrangement for the boys and girls themselves, who now it is to be feared lose much of the benefit of their schooling, because it stops so early. To give girls more time and opportunity for technical training, and for the study of domestic arts and nursing would be an immense boon. There are people of course who think Board Schools and Council Schools ought to turn out accomplished housekeepers, knowing all about cookery and the

* Women's Industries in Liverpool, by Amy Harrison, D.Sc., 1904.

† The figures are given in Mr. Wood's appendix, already quoted, p. 304.

care of infants at 13 or 14, but it was amply demonstrated to the committee on Physical Deterioration, and it is evident to any one of common sense, that to teach these subjects to little girls of 12 and 13 is not much use, whereas for the young girl and half-fledged woman, they are eminently useful and civilising. But also the demand for women's labour would be almost mathematically certain to be increased, and their wages raised, by restricting child labour. Of course, to raise the age of half-time, is, doubtless, a very revolutionary proposal, and would meet with great disfavour at first. There would be alarums and excursions in Lancashire, a bomb or two might be thrown at the Home Secretary, and the textile trades would be ruined, but then they've been ruined so often before by Factory Acts, that they must be pretty well accustomed to it by this time, and to judge from the figures calculated by unsentimental statisticians, the output of yarn and goods per loom, per hour, and per operative, has increased so enormously that the process of being ruined must have a wonderfully bracing effect.

The result of restricting the supply of young persons by turning them into half-timers would be to improve the efficiency of production, and increase the demand for improvements in machinery and the demand for grown women's work. Of course we cannot expect to do it all at once, public opinion must be educated. We all ought to try and educate it. The evidence adduced in "Women in the Printing Trades"* showed how difficult it is for girls to attend technical classes after their long day's work, the evidence of the Physical Deterioration Committee showed how greatly women are in need of knowing more about health and housekeeping. We might try and keep these two points before the public, until it insists on Parliament passing a Half-time Act to get rid of us.

The fact that women's wages are still so inadequate after so remarkable a rise, can, we think, be thus explained. Capital, as Lily Braun* says, inevitably tends to seek employment by exploiting the cheapest labour it can get. In the early nineteenth century women and children were just so many units of labour, the women were not organised, and neither women nor children were protected. The children being the cheaper of the two were grievously exploited, while the women got a wage it would be absurd to call a subsistence one. As the supply of child-labour has been gradually cut off, the women got a chance of improving their position, and thus after 70 years have gradually raised the average to 12s. 4d. a week. Let us stop some more child-labour and turn some more young persons into half-timers, and with this longer period of training, our girls would be able to develop a greater variety of skill and a higher range of occupations. The wages question may become a most terrible one as years

* Edited by J. Ramsay Macdonald, published by P. S. King, 1904.

* Die Frauenfrage, by Lily Braun, p. 209.

go on. It is difficult not to think that the competition of the yellow races will be seriously felt, especially in some of the lighter manufactures that lend themselves to export trade and now employ so many of our women and girls. Signor Villari has described the ruin that has overtaken the Italian straw-plait industry owing to the competition of Japan. Unless we look ahead, we may suffer severely ourselves. There will be a cry for protection, but what can protection do against articles manufactured by labour costing about one-tenth of what ours does? Our only chance of protecting the standard of life of our own workers will lie in giving them better training and preparation for life, so that instead of having their whole livelihoods bound up with any special processes, they shall be able gradually to adapt themselves to a higher range of employments, and, if necessary, in course of time surrender the inferior mechanical arts to other races.

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REPORTS ON TRADES.

Reports of women's work in the following trades have appeared in back numbers of the *Women's Industrial News*. Except Nos. 8, 13 and 18, the enquiries were the work of the Investigation Committee of the Women's Industrial Council.

1. Fur-pulling (*News*, March 1898; *Nineteenth Century*, November 1897).
2. Typing (*News*, June 1898 and September 1898).
3. Boot Trade (*News*, September 1898).
4. Printing Trades (*News*, Dec. 1898 and Dec. 1904; *Economic Journal*, June 1899).
5. Straw Plait Industry (*News*, Sept. 1899).
6. What Occupations are taken up by Girls on Leaving School? (*News*, March 1900).
7. Upholstery (*News*, March 1900; *Open Doors for Women Workers*, 1903).
8. Birmingham Pen Trade (*News*, June, 1900).
9. Women's Work in Dustyards (*Economic Journal*, Sept. 1900).
10. Cigar-making (*News*, Sept. 1900 and Dec. 1900; *Economic Journal*, Dec. 1900).
11. Domestic Service (*News*, March 1900, June 1901; *Nineteenth Century*, June 1903).
12. Pharmacy (*News*, June 1901).
13. The Clothing Trade in Amsterdam (*News*, Sept. 1901, Dec. 1901).
14. French Polishing (*News*, March 1902).
15. Sanitary Inspecting (*News*, March 1902).
16. Machining (*News*, March 1903).
17. Artificial Flower-making (*News*, June 1903; *Economic Journal*, March 1903).
18. Fruit-picking (*News*, Sept. 1903).
19. Jewel Case Making (*News*, June 1904).
20. Embroidery, Part I. (*News*, Sept. 1904).
21. Tailoring (*News*, Sept. and Dec. 1905; *Economic Journal*, 1904).
22. Millinery (*News*, March 1906).

The Committee have also partially investigated the following trades, and the information collected may be consulted in manuscript at the office, after written application to the Secretary.

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| 1. Lacquering. | 8. Confectionery. |
| 2. Box-making. | 9. Haircutting. |
| 3. Military Cap Making. | 10. Boot-making. |
| 4. Dress-making. | 11. Jewel Case Lining. |
| 5. Mantle-making. | 12. Electrical Fittings Making. |
| 6. Military Tailoring. | 13. Gentlemen's Hat Lining. |
| 7. Leather Working. | 14. Laundry Work and Ironing. |

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W.I.C. COMMITTEE MEETINGS.

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|--------------------------|---------|-------------------------------|
| 1st Monday, 3-15 p.m. | - - - - | INVESTIGATION COMMITTEE. |
| " 5-0 p.m. | - - - - | EDUCATION COMMITTEE. |
| 1st Wednesday, 2-30 p.m. | - - - - | CLUBS INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION. |
| " 3-30 p.m. | - - - - | ORGANISATIONS COMMITTEE. |
| 4th Monday, 4-30 p.m. | - - - - | LEGAL COMMITTEE. |
| 4th Thursday, 3-0 p.m. | - - - - | EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. |

Visitors are welcomed to all the Committees except the last.

Publications of the Women's Industrial Council.

(Postage as stated, or ½d. for single copies; 1d. per dozen.)

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- Memorandum to the Central Committee *re* Unemployed Women.**
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- "Life in the Shop"** (Articles contributed to *Daily Chronicle*).
Report on Technical Education of Girls at Home and Abroad
(edition of 1903).
How Women Work.
Home Work among Women in Glasgow. Part I.

PUBLICATIONS OF OTHER SOCIETIES KEPT FOR SALE.

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Report of Committee on Wage-Earning Children, 1d. (W.E.C. Committee).
Home Work amongst Women in Glasgow. Part II., 6d., by post 7½d. (Scottish Council for Women's Trades). Part I. is out of print.
Women as Barmaids, price 1/-, postage 1½d. (Joint Committee on Barmaids).
The Problem of Home Work, by Miss Irwin. Price 4d., post free 5d. (Scottish Council).