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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BULLETIN OF THE WOMEN'S BUREAU, No. 75

**WHAT THE WAGE-EARNING WOMAN
CONTRIBUTES TO FAMILY
SUPPORT**

[PUBLIC—No. 259—66TH CONGRESS]

[H. R. 13229]

An Act To establish in the Department of Labor a bureau to be known as the Women's Bureau

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there shall be established in the Department of Labor a bureau to be known as the Women's Bureau.

SEC. 2. That the said bureau shall be in charge of a director, a woman, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, who shall receive an annual compensation of \$5,000. It shall be the duty of said bureau to formulate standards and policies which shall promote the welfare of wage-earning women, improve their working conditions, increase their efficiency, and advance their opportunities for profitable employment. The said bureau shall have authority to investigate and report to the said department upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of women in industry. The director of said bureau may from time to time publish the results of these investigations in such a manner and to such extent as the Secretary of Labor may prescribe.

SEC. 3. That there shall be in said bureau an assistant director, to be appointed by the Secretary of Labor, who shall receive an annual compensation of \$3,500 and shall perform such duties as shall be prescribed by the director and approved by the Secretary of Labor.

SEC. 4. That there is hereby authorized to be employed by said bureau a chief clerk and such special agents, assistants, clerks, and other employees at such rates of compensation and in such numbers as Congress may from time to time provide by appropriations.

SEC. 5. That the Secretary of Labor is hereby directed to furnish sufficient quarters, office furniture and equipment, for the work of this bureau.

SEC. 6. That this Act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

Approved, June 5, 1920.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

JAMES J. DAVIS, SECRETARY

WOMEN'S BUREAU

MARY ANDERSON, Director

BULLETIN OF THE WOMEN'S BUREAU, No. 75

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BY

AGNES L. PETERSON



**UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1929**

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
JAMES H. DAVIS, SECRETARY
WOMEN'S BUREAU
MARY ANDERSON, CHIEF

BULLETIN OF THE WOMEN'S BUREAU, No. 25

WHAT THE WAGE-EARNING WOMAN
CONTRIBUTES TO FAMILY
SUPPORT

BY
AGNES L. PETERSON



UNITED STATES
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WASHINGTON, 1923

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WHAT THE WAGE-EARNING WOMAN CONTRIBUTES TO FAMILY SUPPORT¹

INTRODUCTION

COMPARABLE data on annual earnings of men and women are not available in sufficient quantity to offer a sound basis for definite conclusions on the relative importance of men and women in the economic status of the family, but a number of reports do offer figures on the contribution of women to family support. Moreover, it is possible to estimate, from hourly rates of pay, the total amounts that men regularly employed during the year can earn in certain occupations, and these data, together with information in regard to the purchasing power of the dollar and the cost of living in selected communities, furnish indisputable evidence of the need in many families for wife and daughters to supplement the earnings of husband and father in order to provide the necessities of life, even under conditions well above the lowest economic levels.

There are available census data of the number, age, and occupational distribution of women and the number in gainful employment who had husbands at the time the census was taken, and figures collected by special studies in regard to (1) work problems, (2) family responsibilities, and (3) wages of women and their contribution to family support. Many of the studies in the groups last mentioned furnish data on the number of single women, the number of widows and separated women, and the number of children involved—in some cases the exact composition of the family and the living conditions are reported—and therefore they furnish material not tabulated in the regular census reports. The material collected varies greatly in regard to type of employment, number and ages of the women involved, time of assembling, and geographical location, but in the aggregate it is very much alike as regards purpose and method of study. By and large, it offers conclusive evidence of the fact that women's contribution to family support is considerable. In fact, the data suggest that in many homes in the United States women form the last line of economic defense.

It is true that some of the studies made offer only fragmentary material, but others pertain to a considerable and representative number of individuals and conditions. Therefore, it is significant that each separate study shows practically the same condition and adds information to that already compiled on the importance of woman's share in family support. In addition to showing this importance, the data offer rather conclusive evidence on a closely related aspect that also is of paramount social significance—namely, the great personal sacrifice demanded of women in order that they may make a contribution to the support of their families. If this service to the family were evaluated in relation to the earnings and to the personal need of the woman concerned, it would represent a spirit of devotion that is, to say the least, heroic; if appraised in relation to the cost in human energy demanded of many of these women, it would indicate the need for State and National Govern-

¹ Reprinted from *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Philadelphia, Pa., May, 1929. Vol. CXLIII, No. 232.

ment to give more serious attention to the problems of employed women than has been given in the past.

It can not be emphasized too strongly that any discussion of woman's contribution to the home that does not include a reference to certain handicaps that tradition and custom have placed upon her sex fails to offer a fair treatment of the subject. A considerable body of fact offers proof that the work women do and the service they render industry, home, and community challenge the practice still obtaining to pay women at a wage standard below that paid to men. As a matter of fact, this practice is in part responsible for the need that compels so many women to carry the double burden of breadwinner and home maker. The general custom of paying wages on the basis of sex not only is unjust but complicates home problems for women. It is a relic of the dark ages when even many women failed to place an economic value on productive labor done in the home.

Another age-worn theoretical myth, of corresponding vintage and value, has reacted to the disadvantage of women, namely, that which is called chivalry in men and which tradition holds should protect women. The exact contrary is the true situation: That the double standard in wages and the absence of chivalry have resulted in the unscrupulous exploitation of the potential motherhood of the land. The majority of employed women are at a great disadvantage, either because the needs of their families are so great that they do not dare to bargain about a job for fear of losing out altogether or because they are too young and inexperienced to choose or bargain among the jobs available.

INCREASE IN NUMBER OF MARRIED WOMEN GAINFULLY EMPLOYED

From census data may be seen the increase in the number and proportion of men and women in gainful employment during the 40 years intervening between the census of 1880 and that of 1920, the increase in the proportion of women in the wage-earning population, and the increase in the employment of married women since 1890. The following table indicates that the proportion of men at work was about the same in 1920 as in 1880, but that the proportion of wage earners among women had increased from 14.7 per cent to 21.1 per cent of the woman population.

TABLE 1.—*Proportion of the population gainfully occupied, 1880 to 1920, by sex*¹

Sex and census year	Population 10 years of age and over	Persons 10 years of age and over engaged in gainful occupations		Sex and census year	Population 10 years of age and over	Persons 10 years of age and over engaged in gainful occupations	
		Number	Per cent			Number	Per cent
Women:				Men:			
1880.....	18,025,627	2,647,157	14.7	1880.....	18,735,980	14,744,942	78.7
1890 ²	23,060,900	4,065,532	17.4	1890 ²	24,352,659	19,312,651	79.3
1900.....	28,246,384	5,319,397	18.8	1900.....	29,703,440	23,753,836	80.0
1910.....	34,552,712	8,075,772	23.4	1910.....	37,027,558	30,091,564	81.3
1920.....	40,449,346	8,549,511	21.1	1920.....	42,289,969	33,064,737	78.2

¹ From Women's Bureau Bulletin 46, Facts About Working Women (based on census statistics), 1925, p. 4.

² Figures for 1890 are exclusive of persons in Indian Territory and on Indian reservations, areas specially enumerated at that census but for which occupation statistics are not available.

In addition to the increase in the proportion of all women who were employed, women have almost consistently made headway in their place among all occupied persons. From 1900 to 1910 their advance was so spectacular that they receded slightly in the decade following. By 1920 one wage earner in five was a woman, though in 1880 the number had been nearer one in seven, as is indicated by the table following:

TABLE 2.—Sex distribution of persons gainfully occupied, 1880 to 1920¹

Census year	Persons 10 years of age and over gainfully occupied	Women		Men	
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
1880.....	17, 392, 099	2, 647, 157	15. 2	14, 744, 942	84. 8
1890.....	23, 318, 183	4, 005, 532	17. 2	19, 312, 651	82. 8
1900.....	29, 073, 233	5, 319, 397	18. 3	23, 753, 836	81. 7
1910.....	38, 167, 336	8, 075, 772	21. 2	30, 091, 564	78. 8
1920.....	41, 614, 243	8, 549, 511	20. 5	33, 064, 737	79. 5

¹ Compiled from Women's Bureau Bulletin 46, Facts About Working Women (based on census statistics), 1925, p. 4.

The considerable changes in the occupational distribution of women from 1910 to 1920 were in agriculture (largely due to the difference in census date), in domestic and personal service, and in clerical occupations.

The preponderance of young women in the economic life of the nation is illustrated by the fact that one in every five of the more than 8,500,000 women in gainful employment in 1920 was less than 20 years of age—a total of 1,758,000, of whom 346,600 were under 16. The significance of this in the light of the importance to the Nation of the health and normal development of its young women is apparent.

Table 3 shows at a glance that the women are massed more generally in the younger and the men more generally in the older groups.

TABLE 3.—Age distribution of persons gainfully occupied, by sex, 1920¹

Age group	Women		Men	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
10 years and over.....	8, 549, 511	100. 0	33, 064, 737	100. 0
Under 16 years.....	346, 610	4. 1	714, 248	2. 2
16 to 19 years.....	1, 411, 427	16. 5	2, 547, 424	7. 7
20 to 24 years.....	1, 809, 075	21. 2	4, 121, 392	12. 5
25 to 44 years.....	3, 417, 373	40. 0	15, 879, 586	47. 1
45 to 64 years.....	1, 352, 479	15. 8	8, 552, 175	25. 9
65 years and over.....	196, 900	2. 3	1, 492, 837	4. 5
Age unknown.....	15, 647	. 2	57, 075	. 2

¹ From Women's Bureau Bulletin 46, Facts About Working Women (based on census statistics), 1925, p. 26.

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The data for 1920 show in addition that 1 in every 4 of the wage-earning women was reported to be married. Since census figures on married women do not include those widowed or divorced, the great increase shown in the proportion of married women in gainful employment since the taking of the census of 1890 has social significance of great importance. There were reported in 1890 something over 515,000 married women in gainful employment, between 4 and 5 per cent of all married women. In 1920, on the other hand, nearly 2,000,000 married women were employed, constituting 9 per cent, or 1 in 11, of all the married women of the country.

TABLE 4.—*Marital condition of gainfully occupied women, 1890 to 1920*¹

Census year and marital condition	Women 15 years of age and over		
	Total number	Engaged in gainful occupations	
		Number	Per cent
1890			
Aggregate.....	19,602,178	3,712,144	18.9
Married.....	11,124,785	515,260	4.6
Single, widowed, divorced, and unknown.....	8,477,393	3,196,884	37.7
1900			
Aggregate.....	24,249,191	4,997,415	20.6
Married.....	13,810,057	769,477	5.6
Single, widowed, divorced, and unknown.....	10,439,134	4,227,938	40.5
1910			
Aggregate.....	30,047,325	7,639,828	25.4
Married.....	17,684,687	1,890,661	10.7
Single, widowed, divorced, and unknown.....	12,362,638	5,749,167	46.5
1920			
Aggregate.....	35,177,515	8,346,796	23.7
Married.....	21,318,033	1,920,281	9.0
Single, widowed, divorced, and unknown.....	13,858,582	6,426,515	46.4

¹ From Women's Bureau Bulletin 46, Facts About Working Women (based on census statistics), 1925, p. 34.

In addition to the census figures, which show 9 per cent of the married women in the United States to be employed, there are indications of a considerable increase in the proportion as well as in the number of married women since the 1920 census. An instance lies in a recent study of women in a rural section of Pennsylvania, made by the Women's Bureau, for which census figures on marital condition were prepared. (See Table 5.) Attention is called to the fact that the term "married" as used in this table conforms with the usual census classification and does not include women who have been divorced or separated. Nevertheless, in each case the proportion of married women who were employed is much higher than that reported by the census for the country as a whole, which was 23.7 per cent.

TABLE 5.—Number and per cent of married women 10 years of age and over in woman-employing manufacturing and mechanical industries, certain Pennsylvania localities, 1900, 1910, and 1920¹

Census year	Allentown			South Bethlehem ²			Coplay			Northampton ³			Palmerton ⁴		
	Total number of wage-earning women	Married women		Total number of wage-earning women	Married women		Total number of wage-earning women	Married women		Total number of wage-earning women	Married women		Total number of wage-earning women	Married women	
		Number	Per cent												
1900	1,797	109	6.1	464	7	1.5	12								
1910	3,101	420	13.5	1,262	303	24.0	160	56	35.0	378	120	31.7			
1920	3,450	1,112	32.2	993	330	33.2	174	92	52.9	493	230	46.7	90	29	32.2

¹ From unpublished data of the Bureau of the Census.

² Incorporated with Bethlehem in 1917. The data in this table from the 1920 census are comparable with the boundaries of South Bethlehem in 1900 and 1910.

³ Incorporated as Alliance Borough in 1902 and its name changed to Northampton in 1909.

⁴ Incorporated in 1912.

Census figures of the number of women widowed, divorced, or otherwise separated from husbands are not available. Nor do the census data show the number or proportion of single women among those employed. For this reason the Women's Bureau has made a special effort to gather information on marital status in a number of its studies. Table 6 presents evidence of the fact that married, widowed, and divorced women form a greater per cent of the total than could possibly be appreciated from seeing only the census tabulations on marital status of employed women. Some of these data will, in addition, serve as a background for material to be presented in a later section of this article.

The data collected by the Women's Bureau indicate that the number of women who are or have been married is so large that it forms 46.7 per cent of the 169,255 involved in all the studies. In 10 studies single women form less than 50 per cent of the group and in 3 the proportion drops below 35 per cent. This is most remarkable, in view of the fact that one-fifth of all employed women are under 20 years of age and considering that the Women's Bureau studies show the situation usual in woman-employing industries and may be said to be representative of the general situation.² Consequently, these data furnish evidence of the extent to which women who are or have been married are in gainful employment and the great need for additional classification of women according to marital status.

Special attention is called to the figures given in the study "The Family Status of Breadwinning Women in Four Selected Cities" (Women's Bureau Bulletin 41), because these 38,377 women form 38.3 per cent of the woman population 14 years of age and over in the four cities surveyed—Butte, Mont., Jacksonville, Fla., Passaic, N. J., and Wilkes-Barre and Hanover Township, Pa.

² A possible exception is the study of foreign-born women in industry, in which only 25.9 per cent of the women were single.

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TABLE 6.—*Marital condition of gainfully occupied women (studies by Women's Bureau)*

STATE STUDIES

State	Date of study	Number of women reporting on marital condition	Number and per cent of women who were—					
			Widowed, separated, or divorced		Married		Single	
			Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total for 17 States surveyed . . .	1920 to 1929	105, 403	16, 501	15.7	26, 081	24.7	62, 821	59.6
Kansas	1920	5, 618	917	16.3	1, 262	22.5	3, 439	61.2
Rhode Island	1920	2, 576	204	7.9	380	14.8	1, 992	77.3
Georgia	1920	3, 132	661	21.1	911	29.1	1, 560	49.8
Maryland	1921	6, 571	944	14.4	1, 186	18.0	4, 441	67.6
Kentucky	1921	5, 004	966	19.3	998	19.9	3, 040	60.8
South Carolina	1921	3, 495	516	14.8	1, 241	35.5	1, 738	49.7
Arkansas	1922	2, 518	627	24.9	637	25.3	1, 254	49.8
Alabama	1922	2, 640	549	20.7	708	26.7	1, 392	52.5
Missouri	1922	9, 699	1, 569	16.2	1, 963	20.2	6, 167	63.6
New Jersey	1922	13, 082	1, 426	10.9	2, 860	21.9	8, 796	67.2
Ohio	1922	16, 222	2, 784	17.2	4, 613	28.4	8, 825	54.4
Oklahoma	1924	2, 383	494	20.7	792	33.2	1, 097	46.0
Illinois	1924	17, 966	2, 207	12.3	4, 032	22.4	11, 727	65.3
Delaware	1924	3, 255	411	12.6	1, 095	33.6	1, 749	53.7
Mississippi	1925	1, 028	172	16.7	230	22.4	626	60.9
Tennessee	1925	6, 915	1, 327	19.2	1, 963	28.4	3, 625	52.4
Florida	1928-1929	3, 290	727	22.1	1, 210	36.8	1, 353	41.1

SPECIAL STUDIES

Total for 8 special studies	1919 to 1928	63, 852	13, 070	20.5	23, 380	36.6	27, 402	42.9
The share of wage-earning women in family support	1919 and 1920	3, 654	756	20.7	959	26.2	1, 939	53.1
Family status of breadwinning women in 4 selected cities ¹	1920	38, 377	8, 118	21.2	12, 895	33.6	17, 364	45.2
Women in the candy industry in Chicago and St. Louis	1921	1, 532	153	10.0	365	23.8	1, 014	66.2
Domestic workers and their employment relations	1923	460	77	16.7	137	29.8	246	53.5
Lost time and labor turnover in cotton mills	1923	2, 350	309	13.1	939	40.0	1, 102	46.9
Women in the fruit-growing and canning industries in the State of Washington	1923	3, 014	419	13.9	1, 565	51.9	1, 030	34.2
Foreign-born women in industry	1924-1925	2, 146	364	17.0	1, 227	57.2	555	25.9
Conditions for women in laundries	1927-1928	12, 319	2, 874	23.3	5, 293	43.0	4, 152	33.7
Grand total, 25 studies ²	1919 to 1929	169, 255	29, 571	17.5	49, 461	29.2	90, 223	53.3

¹ For Jacksonville, Fla., with 15,712 of the 38,377 women in the 4 cities, the women were 65 per cent negroes. For the other studies, State and special, practically all the figures are for white women.

² See footnote 1.

When one considers that in 1920 the number of women in the female population who were in gainful employment was 21.1 per cent of the total, a proportion that had increased from 14.7 per cent in 1880, and that in 1920 as many as 9 per cent of all married women were in gainful employment, a figure that had increased from 4.6 per cent in 1890, the significance of the data is more readily understood.

INADEQUACY OF MEN'S WAGES

The inability of a large number of men to earn sufficient to cover the cost of living for the family makes it necessary for many women, in every State of the Union, to seek employment and to share with husband and father in the support of the family.

Undoubtedly it is true that the degree of this need varies according to individual standards of living, based on the custom, experience, or preference of individuals or the practices of a community. However, there are available the findings of authoritative studies of the food, shelter, and clothing necessary for a family of a given size to meet a standard of living below which families in these United States should not be allowed to fall or to meet the lower standard below which no family can fall without deterioration. In certain lines of work it is impossible for men to earn even the sum required for this lower standard, though employed full time and for the 52 weeks of the year. And few laborers or factory workers have employment the year around.

Cost of living.

A recent study of the wage earner's cost of living is one made by the National Industrial Conference Board of the "average minimum cost of maintaining a fair American standard of living for the family of an industrial worker, his wife, and two children" in 12 industrial cities in 1927. These costs for the family of four, including no provision for savings, range from \$1,442 a year in one of four small cities, Marion, Ohio, to \$1,660 in New York City. The figures are summarized in Table 7. A similar standard for the family of five in New York City averaged \$1,880 in 1926, according to the conference board.

TABLE 7.—Average minimum cost of maintaining a fair American standard of living for the family of an industrial worker, his wife, and two children, in 12 industrial cities in 1927¹

Locality	Weekly cost	Yearly cost	Locality	Weekly cost	Yearly cost
Large cities:			Small cities:		
Boston.....	\$31.30	\$1,627	Butler, Pa.....	\$27.87	\$1,449
Cleveland.....	29.83	1,552	Leominster, Mass.....	28.05	1,459
New York.....	31.92	1,660	Lockport, N. Y.....	30.13	1,567
Philadelphia.....	31.31	1,628	Marion, Ohio.....	27.73	1,442
Medium-size cities:			States:		
Dayton, Ohio.....	28.91	1,504	New York.....	31.60	1,643
Reading, Pa.....	31.12	1,618	Pennsylvania.....	30.22	1,571
Springfield, Mass.....	30.17	1,569	Massachusetts.....	29.84	1,552
Syracuse, N. Y.....	30.80	1,602	Ohio.....	29.08	1,512

¹ National Industrial Conference Board: The Economic Status of the Wage Earner in New York and Other States. New York, 1928, pp. 85 and 90.

To meet these costs of supporting a family, even at the \$1,500 or \$1,600 level of the National Industrial Conference Board for the family of four, the wage earner must receive from \$29 to \$31 a week for the full 52 weeks; while to secure the \$1,800 required by several studies for a minimum health-and-decency standard of living for five persons he must receive at least \$34.50 regularly. What is the actual situation?

Time lost by men.

The first question, before one can estimate annual earnings, is as to how much time the wage earner loses in a year. It is well known that in few cases can he count on 52 full weeks of work. There are, however, no very satisfactory estimates of the average amount of time lost from the various causes, of which illness and slack work are the most important.

In regard to slack work, a number of reports by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics in the years 1923 to 1925 furnish important data. In 15 industrial groups, ranging from lumbering and mining to machine shops and motor-vehicle factories, 2,341 establishments reported the number of days operated and number of week days idle during a 12-month period. The week days idle were 15 and under 20 in 8 industries, 20 and under 40 in 3, and 40 or more (40, 45, 85, and 125, respectively) in 4, the median falling at 19 days, or slightly more than 3 working weeks. When to this figure is added the loss due to illness or other unavoidable personal cause, there is abundant justification for taking lost time into consideration in estimates of earning possibilities.

Average earnings of men.

What are the earnings shown by various surveys, and how adequate are they to meet the cost of supporting a family? Table 8 gives data from the most recent study by the National Industrial Conference Board of earnings in 25 manufacturing industries in the United States, with comparable figures reported by 3 States for the same period, the third quarter of 1927. According to the conference board, the average actual weekly earnings of unskilled men in 25 industries were \$24.13. Had these men averaged 52 weeks of employment they would have earned only \$1,255, and in 50 weeks, a more likely amount of work, they would have averaged \$1,206. Both these figures are far below the conference board's estimate of the cost of maintaining a "fair American standard of living" for the worker with a family of four.

TABLE 8.—Average earnings of male wage earners in manufacturing industries, third quarter of 1927

Group reported	Number of plants reporting	Total number of employees, both sexes	Average of actual weekly earnings of males	Average of annual earnings of males—	
				If employed 52 weeks	If employed 50 weeks
United States, 25 industries, ¹ total	1,600	771,000	\$29.59	\$1,539	\$1,470
Unskilled			24.13	1,255	1,206
Skilled and semiskilled			31.09	1,617	1,554
New York State, 53 industries ²	1,600	470,000	33.25	1,729	1,662
Massachusetts, 39 industries ³	1,000	230,000	29.12	1,514	1,456
Illinois, 56 industries ⁴	1,100	250,000	31.12	1,618	1,556

¹ National Industrial Conference Board. Wages in the United States, 1914-27. New York, 1928, pp. 18, 30.

² New York. Department of Labor. Industrial Bulletin, August-October, 1927.

³ Massachusetts. Department of Labor and Industries. Press releases on Employment and Earnings, August-October, 1927.

⁴ Illinois. Department of Labor. Labor Bulletin, August-October, 1927.

Unskilled laborers, according to the National Industrial Conference Board, averaged 49 cents an hour. Even had they worked 10 hours a day, 6 days a week, for 50 weeks, they would have earned only \$1,470 in the year. Actually, they averaged 49.2 hours' work weekly, and in 50 weeks could have earned only \$1,205. In 15 of the 25 industries, moreover, hourly earnings of unskilled men averaged less than 49 cents, ranging as low as 25 cents in southern cotton mills, 38 cents in northern cotton mills, and 44 cents in the boot-and-shoe and the

woolen industries.³ If these men had worked 60 hours a week for 52 weeks, their earnings would have been only \$780, \$1,186, and \$1,373, respectively.

For unskilled laborers in general annual earnings are not sufficient to maintain a decent standard of living for a family without the earnings of someone other than the chief wage earner.

Skilled and semiskilled labor fares somewhat better, according to the conference board study. This group of men in 25 industries averaged hourly earnings of 65 cents. With an average of 47.6 hours worked they averaged \$31 a week, and with 52 weeks of employment they would have earned \$1,609, enough to meet the conference board's estimate of the cost of living in all but the largest cities. But the wage earner can not count on 52 weeks' work, and if he lost only two weeks his annual earnings would drop to \$1,547, below the conference board's estimate for the family of four in 8 of the 12 cities on which it reported and considerably below the \$1,800 estimate of other agencies for the family of five.

Moreover, skilled and semiskilled labor in 15 of the 25 industries reported on by the conference board earned less than the average, falling as low as 36 cents an hour in southern cotton mills, 51 cents in northern cotton mills, 55 cents in the boot-and-shoe industry, and 56 cents in meat packing—to give only a few examples.⁴ If the men in these industries had worked 60 hours a week for 50 weeks they would have averaged \$1,080, \$1,530, \$1,650, and \$1,680, respectively. In some industries skilled and semiskilled labor had average earnings larger than these, but it is evident that in many industries the men's earnings are inadequate to maintain their families on a reasonable health-and-decency level.

Three States that report monthly on the earnings of men and women wage earners in manufacturing industries show a similar situation. The figures include the unskilled as well as the skilled, and young workers as well as the men with families, and they are so low as to leave no doubt that many adult male wage earners have earnings too low to maintain their families at a reasonable minimum standard of living on their earnings alone.

In the bureau's study of Manchester, N. H.,⁵ the husband's earnings were reported in the case of 113 working wives. Only 31 husbands (27.4 per cent) earned as much as \$1,500; 22 (19.5 per cent) earned less than \$1,000.

In a recent and as yet unpublished study of foreign-born women in Pennsylvania, the husband's earnings were reported in the case of 458 working wives. Only 108 husbands (23.6 per cent) earned as much as \$30 a week—\$1,500 for 50 weeks' work; 83 (18.1 per cent) earned less than \$20 a week—\$1,000 for 50 weeks' work. Interviews brought out the women's dread of sickness and unemployment. A woman cigar maker was supporting her family, consisting of a husband and two young children, because in six months the husband had had only three or four days' work. In another family, with three children, the husband had been laid up for five months because of an injury. His compensation was \$12.50 a week. The family lived in one room

³ National Industrial Conference Board. *Wages in the United States, 1914-1927*. New York, 1928, pp. 29, 37, and 106-156.

⁴ *Idem*.

⁵ See Part I of Women's Bureau Bulletin 30, *The Share of Wage-Earning Women in Family Support*.

and used a neighbor's kitchen. The mother, it is hardly necessary to state, was employed.

The data regarding the earnings of the chief male breadwinner in these families of foreign-born women, as secured by interviews in 456 cases, correspond to the reports published by other authorities. The Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, using actual pay-roll figures for one week, shows that wages in the State of Pennsylvania for one week in September, 1925, averaged \$26.19 for wage earners employed in the manufacture of metal products, an industry including automobiles, engines, blast furnaces, rolling mills, etc. In other man-employing industries the average weekly wage was not very different. In furniture plants it was \$23.75, in leather tanneries \$24.15, and in building materials \$28.15. These were the industries in which many of the men of the families interviewed were employed.

In the face of these facts, and of the risk of illness and unemployment, is it to be wondered at that large numbers of women, both married and single, find it necessary to contribute regularly to the support of their families?

CONTRIBUTIONS BY WOMEN

The economic position of women appears to have been affected to a greater degree and more generally than has that of men by the striking changes made during the past few decades in the production and handling of the business of the Nation. Whereas the new conditions have brought greater freedom of self-expression and action to large numbers of women they have brought to others new economic problems that are heavy and complex. In fact, some of the problems that must be shouldered by women challenge our present social order.

It may be said that the new order of things has changed the actual status of women in the home materially. While sickness, death, and desertion always have brought heavy economic responsibilities to many women, and while from the beginning it has been necessary for some women to take the place of husbands and fathers, the new order probably has aggravated the situation for women in regard to those family problems that are due to the incapacity or loss of the male breadwinner, since in the old days it was more common for the dependent family to be supported by relatives than for the mother to seek regular employment away from home. From the beginning of time wives and daughters have made a contribution to the home equal to, though differing from, the contribution made by wage-earning husbands and fathers; frequently the services rendered by the women in the home have exceeded in actual money value the contribution of the men.

One of the greatest differences between the old and the new order for wage-earning women lies in the fact that in many cases marriage fails to bring to women the economic security considered formerly to be one of its chief advantages. Nowadays, marriage may bring new financial responsibilities for wife as well as for husband. Since able and deserving men in large numbers can not earn sufficient for the needs of a family, a money contribution from the woman, as well as from the man, is a necessity. Consequently, there is this great difference from conditions a generation or so ago: That a large proportion of the families living in cities depend largely upon the earn-

ings of women, and that in many homes the entire income is earned by wife or daughters.

Some of the data collected on women's share in family support suggest that sons do not assume equal responsibility with daughters toward the parental home. Whether this is because daughters assume responsibilities more willingly than do sons toward dependents to which the younger generation falls heir, or whether it is almost wholly a matter of no choice, the daughters being at home and the sons not, can not be said.

It may be considered common knowledge that sons do not forego marriage and careers to anything like the extent that daughters remain at home because of the needs of parents or younger sisters and brothers. From the Women's Bureau report on Manchester, N. H.,⁶ it is possible to compare the contributions of sons and of daughters. This is done in the table following:

TABLE 9.—Contributions of sons and of daughters, Manchester, N. H.¹

	Daughters	Sons		Daughters	Sons
Total number reporting-----	307	289	Per cent contributing all their earnings, by age group:		
Contributing 50 per cent or more of their earnings:			16 and under 18 years-----	76.8	59.4
Number-----	232	176	18 and under 20 years-----	66.2	38.9
Per cent-----	75.6	60.9	20 and under 25 years-----	51.3	25.6
Contributing all their earnings:			25 and under 30 years-----	46.3	13.2
Number-----	184	100	30 and under 40 years-----	64.0	13.6
Per cent-----	59.9	34.6	40 and under 50 years-----	66.7	50.0
			50 years and over-----	100.0	-----

¹ From Women's Bureau Bulletin 30, *The Share of Wage-Earning Women in Family Support, 1923*, pp. 60, 97, and 98.

Data combined from 20 studies of the share of women in family support show that over 50 per cent of the women contributed to the family all their earnings. The bulletin in which these figures appear⁷ and a study of the Women's Bureau pertaining to the marital status of breadwinning women⁸ are two outstanding contributions to the material on the subject of women's responsibilities and can not be overlooked in an article that relates to this subject.

In its report on the share of wage-earning women in family support the bureau has assembled considerable material on women's contribution to the home. These data and some others on the same subject are shown in Table 10.

⁶ See Part I of Women's Bureau Bulletin 30.

⁷ U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. *The Share of Wage-Earning Women in Family Support*. Bul. 30, 1923.

⁸ U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. *Family Status of Breadwinning Women in Four Selected Cities (a study of census figures)*. Bul. 41, 1925.

12 WAGE-EARNING WOMAN CONTRIBUTES TO FAMILY SUPPORT

TABLE 10.—*Women's contributions to the family as reported by various agencies*¹

Type of women studied	Date of study	Number of women reporting on contributions	Women who contributed to their families—					
			All their earnings		Part of their earnings		Nothing	
			Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total for 20 studies ²	1888-1921	58,639	30,795	52.5	22,690	38.7	5,154	8.8
Women in stores and in manufacturing other than textiles in 22 cities: At home	1888	13,722	8,754	63.8	4,267	31.1	701	5.1
Women factory employees in four cities in Illinois: At home	1906	2,094	1,547	73.9	545	26.0	2	.1
Women in hotels and restaurants in seven cities: Total	1907-1909	308	75	24.4	67	21.8	166	53.9
At home		116	75	64.7	27	23.3	14	12.1
Adrift		192			40	20.8	152	79.2
Women in stores and factories in seven cities: Total	1907-1909	5,854	3,436	58.7	1,328	22.7	1,090	18.6
At home		4,580	3,436	75.0	1,043	22.8	101	2.2
Adrift		1,274			285	22.4	989	77.6
Single women in the men's ready-made clothing industry in five cities: At home	1907-1909	1,987	1,742	87.7	245	12.3		
Women in industry in Milwaukee, Wis.: At home	1911	1,078	875	81.2	197	18.3	6	.6
Italian women in industry in New York City: At home	1911-1913	945	758	80.2	174	18.4	13	1.4
Women in candy factories in Massachusetts	1912	836	656	78.5	170	20.3	10	1.2
Women in laundries in Massachusetts	1912	748	448	59.9	293	39.2	7	.9
Women in retail stores in Massachusetts	1912	2,276	1,404	61.7	796	35.0	76	3.3
Women in stores in Boston, Mass.	1913-1914	1,156	462	40.0	521	45.1	173	15.0
Women in stores in Philadelphia, Pa.: Total	1913-1914	362	52	14.4	174	48.1	136	37.5
At home		181	52	28.7	116	64.1	13	7.2
Adrift		181			58	32.0	123	68.0
Single women in industry in Wisconsin: At home	1913-1914	13,686	5,278	38.6	8,114	59.3	294	2.1
Girls under 16 in Wilkes-Barre, Pa.: At home	1914	302	250	82.8	45	14.9	7	2.3
Women in industry in Michigan: At home	1914	5,929	2,458	41.5	2,750	46.4	721	12.2
Women munition workers in Bridgeport, Conn.: At home	1916	97	49	50.5	48	49.5		
Women in an electrical plant in Lynn, Mass.	1918	98	32	32.7	46	46.9	20	20.4
Women in an electrical plant in Schenectady, N. Y.	1918	100	36	36.0	42	42.0	2	22.0
Women in industry in Kansas	1920	5,620	2,102	37.4	1,973	35.1	1,545	27.5
Women in industry in Wisconsin: At home	1921	1,441	381	26.4	895	62.1	165	11.5
The family responsibilities of men and women wage earners in Manchester, N. H. (Women's Bureau survey)	1920	527	302	57.3	167	31.7	58	11.0
Women in the fruit-growing and canning industries in the State of Washington (Women's Bureau survey)	1923	2,513	1,698	67.6	298	11.9	517	20.6
Grand total for 22 studies	1888-1923	61,679	32,795	53.2	23,155	37.5	5,729	9.3

¹ In different order, and with slight changes, taken from Women's Bureau Bulletin 30, *The Share of Wage-Earning Women in Family Support*, 1923, p. 131. At the foot are added two Women's Bureau studies.

² Sources of information: U. S. Bureau of Labor, Fourth annual report, 1888; Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics, Fourteenth biennial report, 1906; U. S. Department of Commerce and Labor, Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the United States, 1910-1912 (three studies); Consumers' League of Wisconsin, Women's Wages in Milwaukee, 1911; Russell Sage Foundation, Italian Women in Industry, 1919; Massachusetts Commission on Minimum Wage Boards, Report, 1912 (three studies); U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Unemployment Among Women in Department and Other Retail Stores of Boston, 1916; Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry, Monthly Bulletin, January, 1915; Wisconsin Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics, Cost of Living of Wage-Earning Women in Wisconsin, 1916; National Consumers' League and National Child Labor Committee, Survey of Wage-Earning Girls Below 16 Years of Age in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, 1915; Michigan Commission of Inquiry on Minimum Wage Legislation for Women, Report . . . into Wages and the Conditions of Labor for Women, etc., 1915; Russell Sage Foundation, Women as Munition Workers, 1917; National War Labor Board, Cost of Living in Lynn, Mass., 1918 (unpublished), and Cost of Living in Schenectady, New York, 1918 (unpublished); U. S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, Women's Wages in Kansas, 1921; and Wisconsin Industrial Commission, Cost of Living of Wage-Earning Women in Wisconsin, 1921 (unpublished).

³ Date of publication of report.

⁴ 27 of these were living adrift.

⁵ Adrift.

Census data for four cities.

Of 31,481 women in four cities reporting for the census of 1920 the number of breadwinners in the family, 27.1 per cent stated that the breadwinners were women only, 21 per cent reporting themselves as sole contributor. Correlating these figures with the marital condition of the women, it is not surprising that 82.8 per cent of those widowed or divorced should have been without male assistance in the support of the family, but that 11.2 per cent of the women reported as married and 20.8 per cent of the single women also had no male help is remarkable. The married women thus burdened were those deserted or having husbands incapacitated or idle. The single women would appear to illustrate the thesis regarding the responsibilities assumed by daughters and sisters, since 1 in 5 were without the assistance of father or brothers and 1 in 11 were the sole breadwinners in their families. Table 11 gives in detail the data upon which the foregoing statements are based.

TABLE 11.—Family status and family responsibilities of breadwinning women, by marital status—four cities, 1920¹

Family status	Women breadwinners		Number reporting as to number of breadwinners in family	Women who were sole breadwinners		Women who were one of two breadwinners				Women who were one of three or more breadwinners			
	Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Having men breadwinners		Number	Per cent	Having men breadwinners	
								Number	Per cent of 2 breadwinners group			Number	Per cent of 3 or more breadwinners group
All classes.....	38,377	-----	31,481	6,622	21.0	15,504	49.2	14,113	91.0	9,355	29.7	8,830	94.4
SINGLE													
All classes.....	17,364	100.0	11,473	1,056	9.2	3,203	27.9	2,280	71.2	7,214	62.9	6,801	94.3
Living with parent or parents.....	10,418	60.0	10,418	503	4.8	2,893	27.8	2,168	74.9	7,022	67.4	6,646	94.6
Maintaining home.....	1,055	6.1	1,055	553	52.4	310	29.4	112	36.1	192	18.2	155	80.7
Living with relatives.....	1,413	8.1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Boarding or lodging.....	2,834	16.3	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Other.....	1,644	9.5	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
MARRIED													
All classes.....	14,934	100.0	14,551	1,547	10.6	11,352	78.0	11,289	99.4	1,652	11.4	1,633	98.8
Average number of children in family.....	-----	-----	-----	0.6	-----	1.2	-----	-----	-----	3.1	-----	-----	-----
Husband a breadwinner.....	12,705	85.1	12,705	-----	-----	11,159	87.8	11,159	100.0	1,546	12.2	1,546	100.0
Husband not a breadwinner.....	190	1.3	190	85	44.7	52	27.4	38	73.1	53	27.9	44	83.0
Husband not living at home.....	2,039	13.7	1,656	1,462	88.3	141	8.5	92	65.2	53	3.2	43	81.1
Maintaining home.....	782	5.2	782	622	79.5	115	14.7	75	65.2	45	5.8	36	80.0
Living with relatives.....	491	3.3	464	434	93.5	22	4.7	13	69.1	8	1.7	7	87.5
Boarding or lodging.....	595	4.0	409	405	99.0	4	1.0	4	100.0	-----	-----	-----	-----
Other.....	171	1.1	1	1	100.0	-----	-----	4	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

WIDOWED AND DIVORCED

All classes.....	6,079	100.0	5,457	4,019	73.6	949	17.4	544	57.3	489	9.0	396	81.0
Average number of children in family.....				0.7		1.8				3.1			
Maintaining home.....	3,946	64.9	3,946	2,626	66.5	844	21.4	492	58.3	476	12.1	384	80.7
Living with relatives ²	925	15.2	810	737	91.0	65	8.0	31	47.7	8	1.0	7	87.5
Boarding or lodging.....	834	13.7	569	537	94.4	29	5.1	16	55.2	3	.5	3	100.0
Other.....	374	6.2	132	119	90.2	11	8.3	5	45.5	2	1.5	2	100.0

¹ Butte, Mont., Jacksonville, Fla., Passaic, N. J., and Wilkes-Barre and Hanover Township, Pa. From Women's Bureau Bulletin 41, The Family Status of Breadwinning Women in Four Selected Cities (a study of census data).

² Includes those living with parents.

16 WAGE-EARNING WOMAN CONTRIBUTES TO FAMILY SUPPORT

For three of the four cities under discussion, the number and sex of the wage earners were tabulated according to size of family. Of the 20,559 families reported upon, 1 in 5 had no male breadwinner and 1 in 9 was supported by a woman alone. About 60 per cent of the 2,231 families having only a woman breadwinner consisted of two persons, but almost a fourth had three persons and a number had seven to nine, or more. There were 262 cases of a family of four or more persons being supported by two women. The size of the family and the number of men and women breadwinners are shown in Table 12.

TABLE 12.—Number of men and women wage earners in breadwinning families, by size of family—three cities, 1920¹

Size of immediate family	Families having specified number of wage earners													
	Total	1 woman wage earner	2 wage earners			3 wage earners			4 wage earners			5 or more wage earners		
			Total	Both women	Woman and man	Total	3 women	Women and men	Total	4 women	Women and men	Total	5 or more women	Women and men
Total	20,559	2,331	11,655	1,334	10,321	3,560	316	3,244	1,930	73	1,857	21,083	12	1,071
2 members	6,814	1,387	5,427	742	4,685									
3 members	4,053	531	2,739	330	2,409	783	129	654						
4 members	3,086	228	1,570	132	1,438	1,013	78	935	275	20	255			
5 members	2,245	106	858	51	807	704	62	642	502	24	478	75		75
6 members	1,642	42	528	50	478	387	25	362	430	12	418	255	5	250
7 members	1,148	23	291	15	276	287	14	273	296	9	287	251		251
8 members	654	7	139	12	127	188	2	186	167		167	153	6	147
9 or more members	917	7	103	2	101	198	6	192	260	8	252	349	1	348
Per cent distribution:														
Number of wage earners	100.0	11.3	56.7			17.3			9.4			5.3		
Sex of wage earners			100.0	11.4	88.6	100.0	8.9	91.1	100.0	3.8	96.2	100.0	1.1	98.9

¹ Butte, Mont., Jacksonville, Fla., and Wilkes-Barre and Hanover Township, Pa. From Women's Bureau Bulletin 41.

² Of this number nearly 300 families had 6 or more wage earners.

Extremely important factors in the consideration of the woman wage earner are those of the number of children involved and of whether the mother worked at home or outside the home. The following table furnishes a complete picture of these factors. From this it will be seen that almost two-fifths of the women who worked outside the home had children under 5 years of age.

TABLE 13.—*Breadwinning mothers having children of specified age groups at home, in school, or at work—four cities, 1920*¹

Class	Women reporting number of children		Women working outside the home		Women working in own home	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total women having children.....	11,060	100.0	4,274	100.0	6,786	100.0
Women having children under 5.....	4,466	40.4	1,641	38.4	2,825	41.6
Women having children 5 and 6:						
At home.....	1,561	14.1	660	15.4	901	13.3
In school.....	1,134	10.3	462	10.8	672	9.9
Women having children 7 and under 14:						
At home.....	361	3.3	145	3.4	216	3.2
In school.....	5,247	47.4	2,265	53.0	2,982	43.9
Women having children 14 and under 18:						
At home.....	274	2.5	97	2.3	177	2.6
In school.....	1,686	15.2	742	17.4	944	13.9
At work.....	1,266	11.4	651	15.2	615	9.1
Women having children 18 and over:						
At home.....	420	3.8	183	4.3	237	3.5
In school.....	221	2.0	91	2.1	130	1.9
At work.....	2,263	20.5	871	20.4	1,392	20.5

¹ From Women's Bureau Bulletin 41.

The number of children tabulated in relation to the mother's marital status, as separated, widowed, or divorced, or having a husband who was not employed, is the subject of Table 14. One in five of the women without a husband's earnings had children under 5. And for one-half of those whose husbands were at work, children of tender age complicated the home conditions for the employed mothers.

TABLE 14.—*Breadwinning mothers having children of specified age groups at home, in school, or at work, by marital status of mother—four cities, 1920*¹

Class	Women reporting marital status and number of children		Women who were—									
			Married, husband a breadwinner		Married, husband not a breadwinner		Married, husband not living with family		Widowed		Divorced	
			Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total women having children.....	11,055	100.0	7,459	100.0	113	100.0	742	100.0	2,560	100.0	181	100.0
Women having children under 5.....	4,465	40.4	3,710	49.7	20	17.7	246	33.2	447	17.5	42	23.2
Women having children 5 and 6:												
At home.....	1,560	14.1	1,255	16.8	9	8.0	80	10.8	196	7.7	20	11.0
In school.....	1,134	10.3	900	12.1	7	6.2	51	6.9	167	6.5	9	5.0
Women having children 7 and under 14:												
At home.....	361	3.3	246	3.3	4	3.5	27	3.6	71	2.8	13	7.2
In school.....	5,244	47.4	3,676	49.3	44	38.9	329	44.3	1,098	42.9	97	53.6
Women having children 14 and under 18:												
At home.....	274	2.5	170	2.3	4	3.5	21	2.8	74	2.9	5	2.8
In school.....	1,686	15.2	1,071	14.4	28	24.8	95	12.8	464	18.1	28	15.5
At work.....	1,266	11.4	695	9.3	18	15.9	93	12.5	436	17.0	24	13.3
Women having children 18 and over:												
At home.....	420	3.8	218	2.9	14	12.4	20	2.7	162	6.3	6	3.3
In school.....	221	2.0	154	2.1	3	2.7	8	1.1	51	2.0	5	2.8
At work.....	2,262	20.5	1,162	15.6	51	45.1	134	18.1	883	34.5	32	17.7

¹ From Women's Bureau Bulletin 41.

Other studies.

The Women's Bureau has made studies of the family responsibilities of women employed in the canning industry in the States of Delaware and Washington. The figures show that of 733 women reporting in Delaware, 9.5 per cent were the chief wage earners in the family,⁹ and of 2,591 reporting in Washington, 5.7 per cent were the sole wage earners in the family and another 6.8 per cent had no male wage earner.¹⁰ In the latter study, of the 2,513 women who reported the extent of their contributions to the family, 67.6 per cent contributed all their earnings.

In Delaware industries other than canneries and restaurants, the data for which are tabulated separately, 31.5 per cent of the families were maintained primarily by the earnings of the women in the group. In almost one-fourth of the families the worker scheduled was the principal bread winner.¹¹

Ordinarily, women with total dependents form no considerable proportion of the total, the more common condition being one of joint contribution, but there are, nevertheless, large numbers of such women. In a study of the type of dependents of some 1,800 women, made by the Women's Bureau in 1919, 1 in 3 of the 751 single women reported the mother to be dependent, and 1 in 7 of the 490 married women reported a dependent husband.¹² The following table, also from the study of the share of wage-earning women in family support, shows that 1 in 7 of the women included in eight studies incorporated in that report were supporting total dependents.

TABLE 15.—Women who had total "dependents" as reported by various agencies *

Type of women studied	Date of study	Total number of women included	Number and per cent of women who had total dependents	
			Number	Per cent
Total for 8 studies ^b	1912-1921	16,964	2,301	13.6
Women teachers in Massachusetts.....	1921	190	54	28.4
Women in industry in Kansas.....	1920	4,326	266	6.1
Women street-car conductors in Detroit.....	1919-1920	47	22	46.8
Women in an electrical plant in Schenectady.....	1918	100	9	9.0
Women in one division of Library of Congress.....	1917	23	13	56.5
Wage-earning women and girls in Connecticut.....	1915-1916	8,722	1,676	19.2
Women in stores in Boston.....	1913-1914	1,156	29	2.5
Women in stores in Kansas City.....	1912	2,400	232	9.7

* From Women's Bureau Bulletin 30, p. 127.

^b Sources of information: Women's Educational and Industrial Union, Old-Age Support of Women Teachers, Provisions for Old Age Made by Women Teachers in the Public Schools of Massachusetts, 1921; U. S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, Women's Wages in Kansas, 1921; U. S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, Women Street-Car Conductors and Ticket Agents, 1921; National War Labor Board, Cost of Living in Schenectady, N. Y., 1918 (unpublished); U. S. Congress, Sixty-fifth Congress, second session, 1917-18, Statement of Librarian of Congress on Appropriations; Connecticut Bureau of Labor, Report on the Conditions of Wage-Earning Women and Girls, 1916; U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Unemployment Among Women in Department and Other Retail Stores of Boston, 1916; Kansas City Board of Public Welfare, Fourth Annual Report, 1913.

⁹ From Women's Bureau Bulletin 62, Women's Employment in Vegetable Canneries in Delaware, 1927, p. 108.

¹⁰ From Women's Bureau Bulletin 47, Women in the Fruit-Growing and Canning Industries in the State of Washington, 1926, p. 11.

¹¹ From Women's Bureau Bulletin 58, Women in Delaware Industries, 1927, p. 108.

¹² From Women's Bureau Bulletin 30, p. 128.

A number of other studies, generally of a later period, report the extent to which women contribute to the support of persons they consider to be "dependent," though this term is not defined. Of seven surveys, covering more than 13,000 women,¹³ 21.7 per cent of the women were contributing to the maintenance of dependents, as is shown in Table 16.

TABLE 16.—*Women contributing to "dependents" as reported by various agencies*¹

Type of women studied	Date of study	Number of women who reported on dependents	Women who contributed to "dependents" (type not specified)	
			Number	Per cent
Total for 7 studies.....	1920-1927	13,188	2,656	21.7
Single women wage earners under 35 years of age in Cincinnati.....	1927	² 368
At home.....		214	³ 82
Adrift.....		73	³ 20
In organized homes.....		81	³ 14
Employed women, chiefly single, in Toledo.....	1926-1927	95	29	30.5
Teachers in Minneapolis.....	1926	² 530	137	25.8
Single.....		446	102	22.9
Married.....		84	35	41.7
Women earning \$18 or less in Arkansas.....	1924	59	24	40.7
Wage earners in Oregon.....	1922-1924	11,438	1,971	17.2
Industrial home workers in Wisconsin.....	1921	194	176	90.7
Women in the manufacture of druggists' preparations in Massachusetts.....	1920	504	319	63.3

¹ Sources of information: Helen S. Trounstine Foundation, Wage-earning Girls in Cincinnati, 1927; Information Bureau on Women's Work (Toledo), The Floating World, 1927; Meeker, Royal, Study of Costs and Standards of Living of Minneapolis Teachers in Relation to Their Salaries, 1926; Arkansas Bureau of Labor and Statistics, Wage-Earning Women, 1924; Oregon Bureau of Labor, Eleventh biennial report, 1924; National Consumers' League, State Minimum-Wage Laws in Practice, 1924; Massachusetts Department of Labor, Wages of Women Employed in the Manufacture of Druggists' Preparations, Proprietary Medicines, and Chemical Compounds in Massachusetts in 1920, 1923.

² Total number of women reporting in the study.

³ In this case per cents only were reported.

From other reports similar testimony may be gathered. For example, of 74,000 Rochester women reported by the census of 1920 as married, widowed, or divorced, 28 per cent were gainfully occupied.¹⁴ Even in the 59,000 cases where the husband lived with the family, almost 9 per cent of the wives were employed away from home; and of 2,300 cases where the husband was absent, 48 per cent of the wives had outside employment. In about 4,300 families the wife or widow was the only bread winner.

In a study of 843 working mothers with dependent children in Chicago¹⁵ 68 per cent of the families had no support from the father. In less than 20 per cent of the cases was the father a regular contributor.

And all this leaves out of consideration the woman's contribution in the way of labor in the home—the eternal cooking, dishwashing, scrubbing, laundering—and her care of those who are dependent upon her not alone for material things but for the wisdom and patience which, though essential in dealing with the very young and the very old, are so difficult to maintain by the woman who works for long hours away from home.

¹³ Nearly nine-tenths were in one study.

¹⁴ U. S. Bureau of the Census. The Woman Home Maker in the City, 1923.

¹⁵ U. S. Department of Labor. Children's Bureau. Children of Wage-Earning Mothers, 1922.

In many instances the efforts of women to provide for the family are far more heroic than are some of the things officially recognized as heroism. Because of love of family and good citizenship, many women must shoulder economic burdens caused by conditions that should not be permitted to exist. The stamina and the courage required to face the responsibilities shouldered would carry the women far if opportunity would open up for them. Society must awaken to the fact that the double standard in wages is an unfair discrimination and must recognize that in matters of employment opportunities and equal wages women find chivalry a myth. Since, as has frequently been demonstrated in history, a nation can be only as strong as its women, there is great need of concern about an economic organization that forces upon women burdens that menace their health and welfare, great need of an effort to mitigate the practices that tend to handicap and exploit women, and great need of a broad and thorough study of these problems by the State and National Governments.

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[Any of these bulletins still available will be sent free of charge upon request.]

- No. 1. Proposed Employment of Women During the War in the Industries of Niagara Falls, N. Y. 16 pp. 1918.
- No. 2. Labor Laws for Women in Industry in Indiana. 29 pp. 1919.
- No. 3. Standards for the Employment of Women in Industry. 8 pp. Third ed., 1921.
- No. 4. Wages of Candy Makers in Philadelphia in 1919. 46 pp. 1919.
- *No. 5. The Eight-Hour Day in Federal and State Legislation. 19 pp. 1919.
- No. 6. The Employment of Women in Hazardous Industries in the United States. 8 pp. 1921.
- No. 7. Night-Work Laws in the United States. (1919). 4 pp. 1920.
- *No. 8. Women in the Government Service. 37 pp. 1920.
- *No. 9. Home Work in Bridgeport, Conn. 35 pp. 1920.
- *No. 10. Hours and Conditions of Work for Women in Industry in Virginia. 32 pp. 1920.
- No. 11. Women Street Car Conductors and Ticket Agents. 90 pp. 1921.
- *No. 12. The New Position of Women in American Industry. 158 pp. 1920.
- No. 13. Industrial Opportunities and Training for Women and Girls. 48 pp. 1921.
- *No. 14. A Physiological Basis for the Shorter Working Day for Women. 20 pp. 1921.
- No. 15. Some Effects of Legislation Limiting Hours of Work for Women. 26 pp. 1921.
- No. 16. (See Bulletin 63.)
- No. 17. Women's Wages in Kansas. 104 pp. 1921.
- No. 18. Health Problems of Women in Industry. 11 pp. 1921.
- No. 19. Iowa Women in Industry. 73 pp. 1922.
- *No. 20. Negro Women in Industry. 65 pp. 1922.
- No. 21. Women in Rhode Island Industries. 73 pp. 1922.
- *No. 22. Women in Georgia Industries. 89 pp. 1922.
- No. 23. The Family Status of Breadwinning Women. 43 pp. 1922.
- No. 24. Women in Maryland Industries. 96 pp. 1922.
- No. 25. Women in the Candy Industry in Chicago and St. Louis. 72 pp. 1923.
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- No. 27. The Occupational Progress of Women. 37 pp. 1922.
- No. 28. Women's Contributions in the Field of Invention. 51 pp. 1923.
- No. 29. Women in Kentucky Industries. 114 pp. 1923.
- No. 30. The Share of Wage-Earning Women in Family Support. 170 pp. 1923.
- No. 31. What Industry Means to Women Workers. 10 pp. 1923.
- No. 32. Women in South Carolina Industries. 128 pp. 1923.
- No. 33. Proceedings of the Women's Industrial-Conference. 190 pp. 1923.
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- No. 35. Women in Missouri Industries. 127 pp. 1924.
- No. 36. Radio Talks on Women in Industry. 34 pp. 1924.
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- No. 38. Married Women in Industry. 8 pp. 1924.
- No. 39. Domestic Workers and their Employment Relations. 87 pp. 1924.
- No. 40. (See Bulletin 63.)
- No. 41. Family Status of Breadwinning Women in Four Selected Cities. 145 pp. 1925.
- No. 42. List of References on Minimum Wage for Women in the United States and Canada. 42 pp. 1925.
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- No. 45. Home Environment and Employment Opportunities of Women in Coal-Mine Workers' Families. 61 pp. 1925.
- No. 46. Facts about Working Women—A Graphic Presentation Based on Census Statistics. 64 pp. 1925.
- No. 47. Women in the Fruit-Growing and Canning Industries in the State of Washington. 223 pp. 1926.
- *No. 48. Women in Oklahoma Industries. 118 pp. 1926.
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- No. 58. Women in Delaware Industries. 156 pp. 1927.
- No. 59. Short Talks About Working Women. 24 pp. 1927.
- No. 60. Industrial Accidents to Women in New Jersey, Ohio, and Wisconsin. 316 pp. 1927.
- No. 61. The Development of Minimum-Wage Laws in the United States, 1912 to 1927. 635 pp. 1928. Price 90 cents.
- No. 62. Women's Employment in Vegetable Canneries in Delaware. 47 pp. 1927.
- No. 63. State Laws Affecting Working Women. 51 pp. 1927. (Revision of Bulletins 16 and 40.)
- No. 64. The Employment of Women at Night. 86 pp. 1928.
- *No. 65. The Effects of Labor Legislation on the Employment Opportunities of Women. 498 pp. 1928.
- No. 66. History of Labor Legislation for Women in Three States; Chronological Development of Labor Legislation for Women in the United States. 288 pp. 1929.
- No. 67. Women Workers in Flint, Mich. 80 pp. 1928.
- No. 68. Summary: The Effects of Labor Legislation on the Employment Opportunities of Women. (Reprint of Chapter II of Bulletin 65.) 22 pp. 1928.
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- No. 76. Women in 5-and-10-cent Stores and Limited-Price Chain Department Stores. (In press.)
- No. 77. A Study of Two Groups of Denver Married Women Applying for Jobs. (In press.)
- Annual reports of the Director, 1919*, 1920*, 1921*, 1922, 1923, 1924*, 1925, 1926, 1927*, 1928, 1929.

*Supply exhausted.