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WORKING WOMEN

IN

BANGOR

10

A THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts (in Economics)

by

ELEANOR GEORGE DOW

B.A., University of Maine, 1932

GRADUATE STUDY

University of Maine

Orono

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Table of Contents

Chapter I	Introduction	Page 1
Chapter 2	Social and Economic Background	3
Chapter 3	Occupations	11
Chapter 4	Status of the Women Workers	36
Chapter 5	Professional Women	54
Chapter 6	Women in Offices	70
Chapter 7	Women in Retail Stores	102
Chapter 8	Women in Domestic and Personal Service	118
Chapter 9	Women in Miscellaneous Occupations	140
Chapter 10	Effects of the Depression	145
Chapter 11	Cost of Living	153

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The study of labor conditions, especially in relation to women, is a comparatively untouched field in the state of Maine. The Department of Labor of the state, outside of mill surveys and possible other scattered inspections, has evidently collected little or no information as to wages, sick leave, vacations and various other employment factors. At least, no public information is available from this source. Likewise the Woman's Bureau of the Federal Department of Labor has made no such survey, as such investigations are instigated at the request of the state. A survey by Mrs. Flora Hinckley Haines for the second annual report of the Bureau of Industrial and Labor Statistics for Maine in 1888 is the only and most recent publication on the subject which could be found.

But why should one study the employment of women in any community? The answer to this question is all too plain. In the past few decades the financial contribution to the family by women working outside the home has steadily increased. Therefore, the employment of women constitutes a problem of economic importance. The wages received make life possible and perhaps, in more fortunate instances, allow comfort. The number of hours worked determines the hours that are left for rest and other pursuits. Such hours are

of great significance, especially to women who, although they have become industrial workers in many instances, have not ceased to be homemakers. Even though the worker is a single woman who boards, there is always some small task to take up spare moments, even though it is only the washing of a pair of silk stockings.

Vacations give an opportunity to throw off the cumulative fatigue of the year. But if a paid vacation is not allowed, such a supposed benefit results in lowering still further what may be insufficient yearly earnings and in providing an additional cause for worry. The same may be said of sick leave.

The employed woman is a problem which is of vital interest to society, for it is a conceded fact that social progress depends much on the woman, as the mother of future generations. The conditions under which the employed woman works, the occupations which she enters, and the earnings which she receives, determine in large measure her health, her progress, length of life, efficiency and personal happiness, and above all the possibility of her bearing and rearing healthy, happy children. The conditions of the working woman are a matter of concern to the woman herself, to her family, society in general, and future generations.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

Before analyzing the labor conditions in any locality, the economic and social background of the local community must be considered so as to give a proper prospectus. In dealing with a labor problem, the matter of location, resources, the development of these resources, and the consequent social condition of the locality all play an important part.

As the state of Maine represents the agricultural, non-industrialized type of state, so the city of Bangor represents the height of the non-industrialized urban community in an agricultural section. In Bangor, there is a total population of 28,749 people with some 24,070 over the age of ten years.¹ There are 1,200 more women than men, a situation which is not astonishing in an urban community in an agricultural state, as the farm offers little opportunity for a woman, except as a homemaker and there is a tendency for them to come to the city to obtain positions in offices and stores. Likewise, the young men of Maine have tended to move westward in considerable numbers.

The city, popularly known both as the "Queen City"

¹Bangor Directory, 1932, vol. 26, p. 17, H. A. Manning Company, Springfield, Mass.

and the "Center of Maine" , is the third city in size in the state. It is well located geographically on the tidewater, twenty miles from the head of the Penobscot Bay and about sixty miles from the Atlantic Ocean.² There are excellent water, rail, and electric rail transportation facilities.

Bangor is situated in the midst of an rich agricultural section and serves as the commercial and financial center for some three hundred thousand people in northern and eastern Maine.³ Of these three hundred thousand, one hundred and seventy-eight thousand are within a radius of fifty miles.⁴ There are nearly three miles of stores in the shopping district, one thousand retail stores, one hundred wholesale stores, and four hundred professional offices.⁵ The amount of business done by local retailers in 1929 with out-of-town customers was estimated at approximately thirty per cent of the total retail trade, with one organization with a well established mail order department reporting fifty per cent.⁶

In the survey undertaken by the Division of Municipal

² Bangor Directory, 1932, vol. 26, p. 16
H.A. Manning Company, Springfield, Mass.

³ Historic Bangor, Pamphlet of Bangor Chamber of Commerce, p. 6

⁴ Bangor Directory, 1932, vol. 26, p. 18
H.A. Manning Company, Springfield, Mass.

⁵ Ibid

⁶ Industrial Survey of Bangor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1929, p. 12

and Industrial Research of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the following are reported as a partial list of the economic advantages of Bangor.⁷

1. Strategic geographical position
2. Tidewater location
3. Adequate rail facilities
4. Extensive and active agricultural territory
5. Good labor supply at low rates
6. Attractive natural surroundings
7. Adequate supply of electric and water power.

But despite the notable natural advantages and resources of the city, Bangor does not have, has never had, and apparently will not have for some time in the future, any noticeable industrial development. What industrial establishments as there are, employ, in most cases, workers in such small numbers as three, twelve, and eighteen. As the Industrial Survey states, "(this) strikingly brings out the fact that there has been little exploitation of local natural advantages."⁸

Of the total population only five per cent are industrially occupied in comparison with nearly twenty-two per cent in Lewiston and Auburn, twenty-four per cent in Biddeford, sixteen per cent in Waterville, and thirteen per cent in Augusta. Portland, like Bangor, has five per cent thus employed.⁹

7 Ibid. p.6

8. Ibid. p.7

9 Ibid. p.9

Bangor, at one time, was the greatest lumber port of the world, and from the city great numbers of woodsmen went out to cut the lumber in the winter months, and in the spring to float it down the river. But with the development of railroads, and the exhaustion of the forests near the banks of rivers, the color began to fade from the city. Now, as far as the community as a whole goes, it is merely a huge middleman, adding time and place utilities to goods, and performing other functions of a middleman, but producing in the ordinary sense, very little.

Such a condition plainly has an enormous influence on the opportunities, earnings, and working conditions of the laboring groups. The smaller the number of occupations to be entered, in general, the greater the influx of labor into a few fields, with a consequent lessening of bargaining power and wages,

There are approximately, according to the compiled statistics of the federal government for the last census, 12,643 women in the city of Bangor over the age of ten years, and 11,427 men within the same age limit.¹⁰ Of these 12,643 women, 3,439 are listed as gainfully employed, this classification automatically excluding those who, although no doubt they are engaged in work as homemakers, have never been

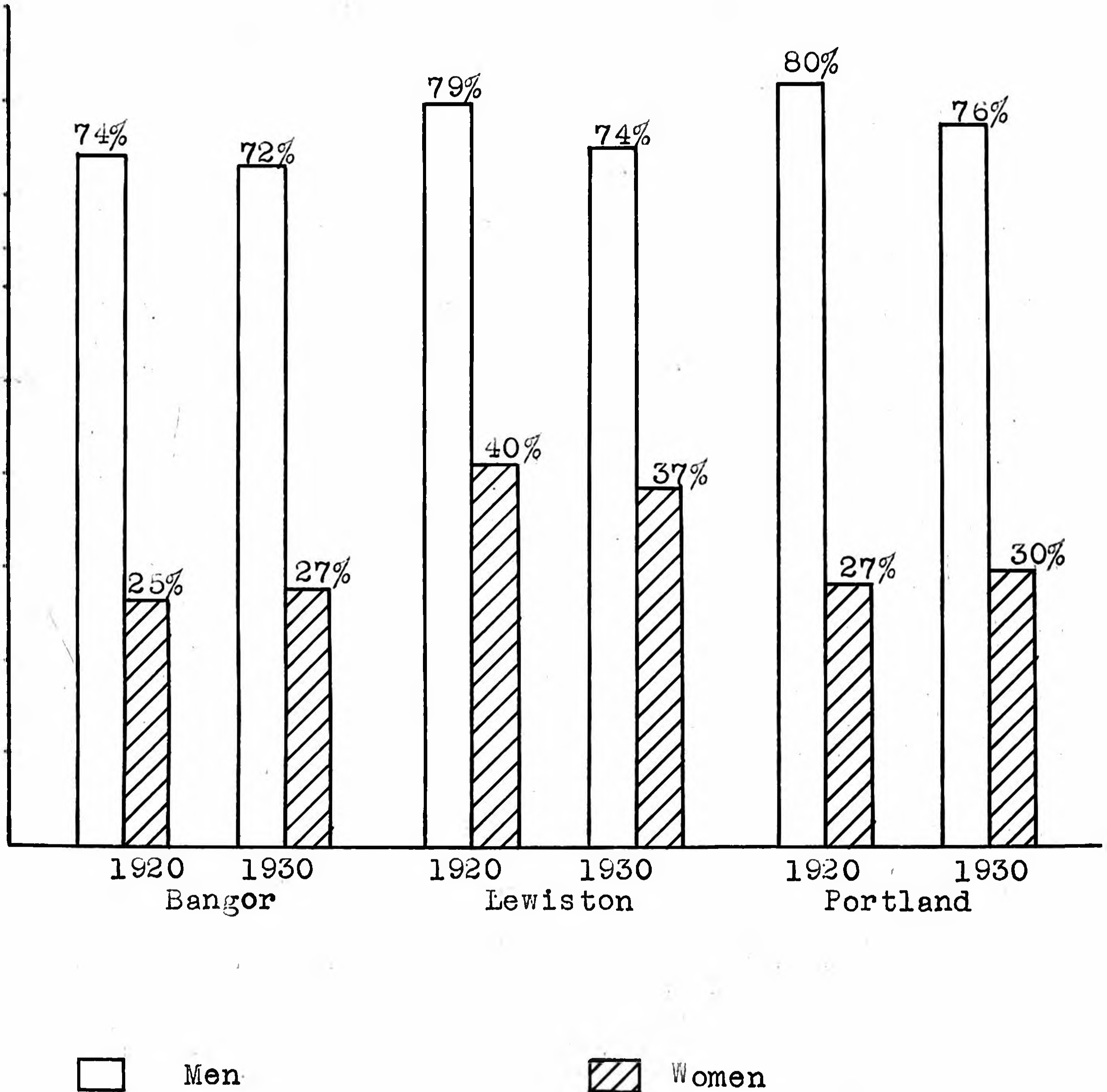
¹⁰ Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930. Occupation Statistics for Maine, Government Printing Office, 1931, p. 10

included among the gainfully employed population. Thus twenty-seven and two-tenths per cent of the women of the city are employed, and they constitute twenty and nine-tenths per cent of the 11,678 employed workers of the city. The percentage of employed men to the total number of male inhabitants is seventy-two and one-tenth per cent. It is rather significant to note that while the number of employed men in the city of Bangor fell two per cent from 1920 to the date of the last census tabulation, the employment of women rose some one and five-tenths per cent.

But concerning opportunities to work, the most information is obtained by a comparative study with the cities of Lewiston and Portland. The employment of women in Lewiston is nearly twelve per cent greater than it is in Bangor, as thirty-five and seven-tenths of the total number of women of the city are working. This is due, no doubt, to the industrial condition of the city. On the other hand, two per cent more men are employed here than in the city of Bangor. Portland more nearly resembles Bangor in its percentage of women workers, as twenty-eight and nine-tenths per cent are employed, or one per cent more than in Bangor. It is also true that over four per cent more men in proportion to the total number of male inhabitants are working in Portland, but likewise that a smaller number of men are actively engaged in work as shown by Table 1. A primary reason for this situation is, no doubt, the lack of opportunities for work in the local city.

TABLE I

Percentage of total population employed,
according to sex, for Bangor, Lew-
iston and Portland, years 1920
to 1930.



Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930.
Occupation Statistics for Maine, Government Printing Office,
1930, p. 5

In Bangor there are twenty-eight public schools, three parochial schools, three business colleges, three private schools, and a school of music.¹¹ Through "commuting" ready access is given to the University of Maine which is situated at Orono, eight miles distant. The high school of Bangor gives courses in commercial, home economic, and industrial subjects.

The city is especially favored with an excellent library of some one hundred and thirty-six thousand volumes¹² with an endowment of eight hundred thousand dollars.¹³ There are also four theatres, twenty-eight churches, fourteen hospitals and sanitoriums, and several parks.¹⁴

However, Bangor has no true public recreational facilities for the average person. There are no public golf links, and neither is there any adequate provision made for tennis, as only four courts in the entire city are available to the public, and two of these for only a limited time during the season.

The survey made by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology suggests that the situation be remedied by a

¹¹ Bangor Directory, 1932, vol. 26, p. 19.
H. A. Manning Company, Springfield, Mass.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Industrial Survey of Bangor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1929, p. 19

¹⁴ Bangor Directory, 1932, vol. 26, p. 21
H. A. Manning Company, Springfield, Mass.

"more adequate provision for public adult recreation . . . public golf links and tennis courts."¹⁵ Surely this should not be a difficult matter in a city which is one of the most wealthy of its size in the country.

¹⁵ Industrial Survey of Bangor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, p. 20

CHAPTER III

OCCUPATIONS

In what occupations are the women of Pangor employed?

Perhaps before an attempt is made to analyze the local situation, a brief survey of occupations available for women in general would be in point.

"Womans's work as we know it is one of the oldest things in the world. In the earliest days of human association it was the woman around whom the little family group revolved."¹

Taking a look backward at the history of the United States, one sees that the idea of work for women is not new. With the start and development of the Industrial Revolution and the consequent introduction of machinery and the factory, women began to be employed to considerable extent. Nor is this to be wondered at. The woman had formerly been a producer in the home and now, with the arrival of machine industry, she became merely a consumer and the family income shrank accordingly. Small wonder then that the woman followed the work from the home into the factory.

Another great factor in the employment of women in this country was the fact that America was a country whose

¹Pidgeon, Mary E., Women in Industry, Bulletin of Womans Bureau, Number 91, 1931, p. 1

natural resources far outran its labor supply. There were rich lands to be taken for the cultivation. Therefore with a small population, male labor was both scarce and expensive. Conditions were the exact reverse of the present situation when an attempt is made to obtain the maximum utility from land and capital. To solve the problem of labor, women and children were put to productive fields which would bring in a monetary return.

There was, in addition, the Puritanical horror of idleness of leisure which, it was considered, must bring moral upset and disaster. How much of this is true religious moralizing and how much is economic foresight is a matter to be speculated upon. Hamilton, the aristocrat, in his Report on Manufactures brought up the point that the great advantage of establishing manufacturing concerns was "the employment of persons who would otherwise be idle . . . In general women and children are rendered more useful by manufacturing establishments than they otherwise would be."²

In 1789, a petition on the part of a Beverly factory, the first cotton factory in Massachusetts, stated that it would "afford employment to a great number of women and children, many of whom will be otherwise useless, if not burdensome to society."³

²Abbott, Edith, Women in Industry, D. Appleton and Company,

³1929, p. 50

Ibid., p. 43

Women in towns distant from the manufacturing centers were said to be "doomed to idleness and its inseparable attendants, vice and guilt." 4 Such pleas are of present interest considering that today the working woman is accused of causing increase in crime, being responsible for race suicide, the lowered marriage and the rising divorce rate, to say nothing of lowering of men's wages and the decline of women's morals. 5

However, granting the fact that women always has worked, it must be admitted that it is within our modern day that a varied field of occupations has been opened to her. Today the question with the majority of women is not, "Shall I go to work?" but is, "What work shall I do?" Forty years ago there was still a "limited number of professions which the young woman so rash as to desert unpaid housework in her father's or brother's home might enter and still retain the title of 'lady'. These were the genteel occupations, these posts of teaching, library work, or that first cousin to the domestic servant, the companion." 6

However, other fields of opportunity opened up, though slowly in most instances. As late as 1855 the employment of women as clerks was still quite unusual. In this

5 Woody, Thomas A., History of Women's Education in the United States, The Science Press, 1929, vol.2., p. 40

6 Leuck, Miriam S., Fields of Work for Women, D. Appleton and Company, 1926, p.86

year a paper in Hunts' Merchants Magazine spoke of "the employment of ladies as clerks in stores", as a condition worthy of note and the "New York Times" advocated the employment of females as clerks in stores..."It would give employment to a great many young ladies, and would be degrading to no one willing to earn a living." 7

In 1862, the first woman was employed by the government as a clerk whose duties were to cut and trim the currency of the United States with scissors. 8 By an Act of 1870, Section 165, "Women may, at the discretion of the head of any department be appointed to any of the clerkships... upon the same requisites. . . conditions . . . and compensation as . . . prescribed for men." 9 However, not until November, 1919, were the Civil Service examinations thrown open to women. 10

Probably the factor having most to do with the entrance of women into the business world came in 1872 with the first typewriter and the organization of the first typing class

7. Abbott, Edith, Women in Industry, p. 2

8 Oglesby, Catharine, Business Opportunities for Women, Harper Bros. 1932, p. 145

9 Woody, Thomas, History of Women's Education in the United States, Science Press, 1929, Vol., 2, p. 13

10 Oglesby, Catharine, Business Opportunities for Women, Harper Bros. 1932, p. 145

for eight stout-hearted girls by the Young Womans' Christian Association. Today the typewriter provides a means of subsistence for great numbers of girls and women.

In the past few decades not only has the number of women workers greatly increased but also fields of work have been opened up. In 1900 there were twice as many women workers employed as in 1880 and the recent census shows that one out of every five workers in America is a woman.¹² The Census Bureau lists six hundred and seventy-eight possible occupations with women included in all but thirty-three of these. It seems that in spite of low wages and public sentiment, women in increasing numbers are entering into hitherto unknown occupations for the feminine portion of our population. There are women authors, doctors, railway officials, bootleggers, bankers, barbers, magistrates, brokers and promoters, morticians, detectives, woodchoppers, blacksmiths, cobblers, airplane mechanics, highway workers, and so on, until it seems that no realm will be left for masculine supremacy. Woman has entered into every field of work to which she can physically adapt herself and into some occupations, it would seem, to which it is hard to believe that she can find herself bodily adept. No longer can it be said:-

"Man for the field and woman for the hearth,
Man for the sword and for the needle she."¹³

¹²Oglesby, Catharine, Business Opportunities for Women, Harper Bros., 1932, p. 3

¹³Quoted from History of Womans' Education in the United States, by Thomas Woody, p. 382. Original author unknown.

How does the situation in Bangor compare with these facts? First, the ten large groups of occupations in which women may be engaged are considered: Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing, Extraction of Minerals, Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries, Transportation and Communication, Trade, Public Service, Clerical Occupations, and Domestic and Personal Service.¹⁴

Bangor has but few women engaged in agriculture - in fact, but ten, making a total of less than one-half of one per cent of the total number of working women of the community. Lewiston and Portland have still smaller percentages as seen by Table 2. Even in rural communities the number of women engaged in active agricultural work is small as seen by the two and two-tenths per cent of the total working women of Maine who are thus employed.

Forestry, Fishing, and Extraction of Minerals provide no work for women in Bangor and indeed, this is also the case in Lewiston, while the fishing industry gives employment to one woman in Portland.

In the Mechanical and Manufacturing industries there is a noticeable difference in the employment conditions of Bangor as compared with the rest of the state. In the total

¹⁴All following figures are compiled from the report of the Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930
Occupation Statistics - Maine
Government Printing Office, Washington, 1931

TABLE II

Comparative Table for State of Maine and Cities
of Bangor, Lewiston, and Portland, Showing
Distribution of Employed Women in Ten
Major Occupational Groups.

Occupation	Maine	Bangor	Lewiston	Portland
Gainful workers - all occupations	100%	100%	100%	100%
Agriculture	2.2%	0.3%	0.07%	0.1%
Forestry and Fishing	- -	- -	- -	- -
Extraction of Minerals	- -	- -	- -	- -
Manufacturing and mechanical	27.3%	8.5%	58.8%	10.9%
Transportation	2.6%	3.5%	1.4%	3.7%
Trade	8.1%	11.8%	6.6%	11.6%
Public Service	0.2%	0.2%	0.1%	0.1%
Professional Service	16.4%	20.2%	10.6%	17.1%
Domestic and Personal Service	29.6%	35.6%	14.4%	31.3%
Clerical Occupations	13.7%	19.9%	7.9%	25.2%

Figures compiled from Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930. Occupation Statistics for Maine, Government Printing Office, 1931, p. 10 - 11.

sum of such industries in Bangor there are only two hundred and ninety-three women employed, or a matter of but eight and five-tenths per cent of the total who are working.

Portland seems to more nearly approach Bangor with a total of ten and nine-tenths per cent but Lewiston is far ahead with fifty-eight and eight-tenths per cent and indeed, the total for the state is twenty-seven and three-tenths per cent, or over three times the percentage for Bangor. Clearly, opportunities for work in the manufacturing trade are slight in the local city.

In Transportation and Communication, a small percentage of women are employed and these are found in the position of telegraph and telephone operators. Bangor has three and five-tenths per cent of its employed women engaged in such professions, as compared with two and six-tenths per cent for the state and three and seven-tenths per cent and one and four-tenths per cent respectively for Portland and Lewiston. The field of Public Service likewise takes even a smaller percentage of the women or a matter of about two-tenths of one per cent.

In the field of Professional Service the number of women workers is greater. Indeed, in Bangor over twenty per cent of the women are engaged in such pursuits as nursing and teaching, a per cent somewhat higher than is found for the cities of Lewiston and Portland, as is seen in Table 2.

Then, again in the Clerical Occupations, there are a great number of women, a total of nearly twenty per cent for Bangor, which is greatly beyond Lewiston with its seven and nine-tenths per cent and the entire state with thirteen and seven-tenths per cent but which is some five per cent below the city of Portland.

However, it is in Domestic Service that the greater number of Bangor's women workers are employed - a total of thirty-five and six-tenths per cent or over a third of the entire number of working women in the city. Lewiston has a far lower percentage of women engaged in these occupations or a total of fourteen and four-tenths per cent, while the entire state and the city of Portland more nearly approach Bangor with twenty-nine and six-tenths per cent and thirty-one and three-tenths per cent thus engaged respectively.

It is also interesting to learn what percentage of the total positions in these working groups are filled by women. This is shown in Table 3. In agriculture, women make up but three per cent of the workers; in the Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries, women constitute slightly over ten per cent of the total number engaged in such pursuits, both male and female; in Transportation services women make up eight and five-tenths per cent; in Trade, seventeen per cent; in Public Service, but two and five-tenths per cent; in the Clerical occupations women constitute fifty-two per cent of the total number of workers in this group, and

TABLE III

Percentage of women to the total number of employees in the ten major occupational groupings.

Occupation	Distribution in the occupation group		Percent of total, male plus female Female
	Male	Female	
Agriculture	3.7%	0.3%	3.1%
Forestry, fishing and Extraction of Minerals	3.6%	- - -	- - -
Manufacturing and Mechanical	29.5%	8.5%	10.75%
Transportation	15.7%	3.5%	8.5%
Trade	23.6%	11.8%	17.3%
Public Service	2.8%	0.2%	2.5%
Professional Service	6.8%	20.2%	55.4%
Domestic and Personal Service	6.5%	35.6%	70.6%
Clerical occupations	7.6%	19.9%	52.1%

Figures compiled from Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930. Occupation Statistics for Maine, Government Printing Office, 1931, p. 10 - 11.

again in Domestic and Personal Services, the number of women far outruns the men, making up seventy per cent of the total number thus employed.

Valuable as these lists of the ten main occupational groups may be for casual observance and comparison, such lists do not indicate whether in the Professional group more are in the nursing profession than in teaching, whether there are any women doctors, lawyers, or dentists in the community, and so on. It is only when the separate vocations are considered that the true significance is obtained.

In just what specific work are the eight and five-tenths per cent of the employed women of Bangor in the Mechanical and Manufacturing industries found? Evidently, these pursuits, due to the industrial conditions of the community, must be limited. There are twelve women engaged as compositors, linotypers, and typesetters. Seventy-five, the largest number in this group, are engaged in the occupation of dressmaker, outside the factory. This number is a decline of over forty per cent from the number so employed in 1921. Fifteen are employed as milliners and fourteen as tailoresses. As operatives in the manufacturing industries, thirteen are employed in cigar factories and forty-six in the clothing industry and sixteen in paper, printing and allied industries. The entire field of the textile industries (cotton, knitting, and wool) employs but

nine women. A total of twenty-three women are reported as engaged as common laborers in the various industries.

A comparison with Lewiston and Portland in regard to this regard is extremely noteworthy. As seen in Table 4 the percentage of dressmakers (not in factories) in Bangor is somewhat larger than is found to exist in Portland or Lewiston but the number in the occupation in all three cities is somewhat negligible. In the clothing industries a little over one per cent are engaged in such occupations in Bangor, while the number is double this, or two per cent in Portland, and five per cent in Lewiston.

The leather industry, which employs a mere one-fifth of one per cent of the women workers of Bangor, and not quite one per cent of the working women of Portland, gives employment to over twenty per cent of the total working women of Lewiston. The same diversity of figures is found to hold true in the textile industries, such occupations engaging only one-fifth of one per cent of the women workers of Bangor and Portland, but nearly twenty-five per cent of the total employed women of Lewiston. Common laborers in the industrial enterprises constitute less than one per cent in Lewiston. Clearly the women of Bangor find little to do in the way of the so-called factory of industrial pursuits but must turn to other fields of work.

Extensive employment is not found in the transporta-

tion and communication services, as almost the entire total of this group is made up of one hundred and two telephone operators who constitute less than three per cent of the total number of women workers of the city. Thirteen women reported as trained telegraph operators. Women are not engaged in road or street transportation nor railroad service and aviation. However, one woman recently advertised in a Bangor paper, seeking a position as chauffeur. Due to the commercial advantages of the city, one would expect to find a large number of women employed in the field of trade. The occupation of clerks and saleswomen in stores gives employment to a total of three hundred and forty-nine women or over ten per cent of the total number of employed in the city. Reckoned in percentages, this group gives employment to twice as many women in Bangor as in Lewiston and is two per cent over the figure for Portland. (Table 4)

The professional field has a large number of women employed, with the list led by the occupation of teacher constituting about eight per cent of the women workers, while this profession in Portland gives employment to over six per cent and in Lewiston, to over four per cent of the employed women.

The next ranking pursuit is that of trained nurse which gives work to a total of two hundred and forty-eight or seven per cent of the total women workers, in comparison

TABLE IV

Percentage of women workers in selected occupations to the total number of workers (female) in the cities of Bangor, Lewiston, and Portland.

OCCUPATION	Bangor	Lewiston	Portland
Dressmaker (not in factory)	2.18%	0.99%	1.78%
Clothing industries	1.33%	5.44%	2.1 %
Leather industries	0.23%	20.3 %	0.8 %
Total textile industries	0.24%	24.9 %	0.2%
Telephone operators	2.99%	1.28%	3.16%
Clerks and saleswomen (In stores)	10.12%	5.59%	8.3 %
Musicians and teachers of music	1.1 %	0.4 %	0.9 %
Trained nurses	7.21%	3.49%	6.7 %
Teachers	8.08%	4.72%	6.0 %
Beauty service	1.62%	1.21%	1.59%
Housekeepers and stewards	4.50%	2.77%	3.3 %
Laundry workers (in laundry)	1.77%	.74%	1.87%
Midwives and nurses (not trained)	3.05%	0.9 %	2.19%
Servants	19.28%	6.09%	14.0%
Waitresses	2.96%	1.4%	3.65%
Bookkeepers, Cashiers	6.45%	3.6 %	7.0 %
Clerks (except in stores)	3.72%	2.2 %	6.0 %
Stenographers and typists	9.71%	1.8 %	11.0 %

Figures compiled from Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930. Occupation Statistics for Maine, p. 10, 11.

with six and seven-tenths per cent for the city of Portland, and three and five-tenths per cent for Lewiston. The presence of various hospitals, and opportunities to train undoubtedly serve to increase the number of nurses in Bangor.

Musicians and teachers of music follow in numbers, engaging thirty-seven women of the city or slightly over one per cent. The presence of such organizations as the "Symphony House" tend to increase the opportunities for such work.

The so-called higher pursuits or professions in Bangor engage but few women. One clergyman is listed, one dentist and three doctors, as compared with Portland's seven women physicians. There are no women in the legal profession, while Portland has two so engaged. The work of photography occupies four women of the city; one woman is, by profession, an osteopath; and two give their occupation as actresses.

In the field of the clerical occupations many women are employed - a total of six hundred and eighty-five. Leading the list is the group of stenographers and typists, or three hundred and twenty-six, making up nine per cent of the total number of employed women of the community as against a little less than two per cent in Lewiston, and a total of eleven per cent in Portland.

Second in numbers in this group are the two hundred and twenty-two women engaged as bookkeepers, cashiers and

accountants, or about six and ~~five~~-tenths per cent as compared with slightly over seven per cent for Portland and three and five-tenths per cent for Lewiston. Third, comes the group of women who are employed as clerks. These women make up a total of three and seven-tenths per cent in Bangor in comparison with the two per cent similarly engaged in Lewiston and six per cent in Portland.

But of all the groups, the field of domestic and personal service gives work to the largest number of woman. A total of twelve hundred and twenty-four women are engaged in the various occupations in this classification. There is also the extremely large figure of six hundred and fifty-five women classified as servants and making over nineteen per cent of the total working women of the city, a rather amazing number considering the fields which women supposedly have to conquer in this era. When compared with the city of Lewiston the figure is even more amazing as in this city only six per cent of the women are thus employed. Portland has fourteen per cent so engaged, some five per cent less than in Bangor.

In addition ~~to the~~ large number listed as servants, there are also employed in domestic work some one hundred and fifty-five housekeepers or four and five-tenths per cent of the total working women, or a total of about twenty-four per cent of the employed women working, not in offices or stores, but in homes. The total figure for

Lewiston is about nine per cent and for Portland seventeen per cent.

The occupation giving employment to the next largest group in this field is that of midwives and nurses (not trained) who make up the rather large number of one hundred and five in comparison to Lewiston's fifty, and one hundred and ninety-nine for Portland. Such a group makes up some three per cent of the employed women in the city of Bangor, an increase of some thirty-three per cent over the year 1920.

The next occupation in relation to numbers is that of waitress, which gives employment to some one hundred and one women in Bangor, or a little less than three per cent of the total number of employed women of the city.

Laundry operatives include sixty-one women and there are in addition twenty-one laundresses, not in a laundry, but doing washings at home. The beauty trade finds employment for fifty-six women.

Table 4 shows the percentage of gainful workers in selected occupations to the total number of gainful workers (female) in the cities of Bangor, Lewiston, and Portland.

At this time it might be well to consider just what percentage of the total number of workers (male and female) is made up by women in these specific occupations.

Referring to Table 5 one notes that women telegraph and telephone operators make up eighty-two per cent of the total in that group. Saleswomen constitute thirty-two per cent of this group, and women art teachers make fifty-five per cent of the small number engaged in this profession. Women also constitute ten per cent of the number of authors, editors and reporters, five per cent of the dentists, and four per cent of the physicians and surgeons; forty-one and eight-tenths per cent of these engaged in the beauty business, fifty-six per cent of the bookkeepers, cashiers, and accountants and twenty-four and seven-tenths per cent of the clerks.

In the leading conventional fields eighty-seven per cent of the teachers of Bangor are women, and sixty-five and six-tenths per cent of the laundry operatives; eighty-two per cent of the servants and seventy-six per cent of the waiters are women. The largest per cent is found in the field of trained nurses where women constitute ninety-seven per cent, while women stenographers and typists also make up eighty-eight per cent of the workers in this occupation. Feminine housekeepers and stewards also constitute ninety-three and four-tenths per cent of those employed in this group, and of the untrained nurses, ninety-three per cent were women.

It is interesting to note that while women in this city do not encroach to any great extent into the fields

TABLE V

Percentage of Women Employees to Total Number of Employees (Male and Female) in Specific Occupations in Bangor.

OCCUPATION	Total number	Number of Women	% of females of total
Tailors and tailoresses	33	14	42.4
Operatives - Cigar and tobacco	47	13	27.6
Factory Textile Industries	24	9	37.5
Telegraph and telephone operators	140	115	82.1
Clerks and Saleswomen in stores	1071	349	32.6
Insurance agents, managers, officials	112	9	8.0
Retail dealers	608	28	4.6
Artists and art teachers	9	5	55.6
Authors, editors, reporters	20	2	10.
Clergymen	41	1	2.7
Dentists	20	1	5.0
Musicians and music teachers	66	37	56.0
Photographers	11	4	26.3
Physicians and surgeons	62	3	4.8
Teachers	320	278	86.8
Trained nurses	254	248	97.6
Barbers, hairdressers, manicurists	134	56	41.8
Boarding and lodging house keepers	62	47	75.8
Cleaners and charwomen	12	3	25.0
Hotel keepers and managers	21	3	14.2
Housekeepers and stewards	164	155	93.4
Laundry operatives	92	61	65.6
Midwives and nurses (not trained)	113	105	92.9
Restaurant, cafe, lunch room keepers	31	6	19.3
Servants	802	655	81.6
Waitors and waitresses	133	101	75.9
Bookkeepers, cashiers and accountants	392	222	56.7
Stenographers and typists	336	326	97.0

Figures compiled from Fifteenth Census of the United States; 1920. Occupation Statistics for Maine, Government Printing Office 1931

generally recognized for men there are only two employments in which women are engaged in which there are no men found - that of dressmaker and milliner.

It is, too, of interest to know how some of the occupations have varied in the past few years. Table 6 gives the changes for certain selected occupations from 1920 until the recent census.¹⁵

As is indicated, there was a gain in all occupations of thirteen and five-tenths per cent. Clerks, excluding clerks in stores, made the greatest gain or an increase of seventy per cent, while the gain in the number of trained nurses was not far behind with sixty-six per cent over 1920. The number of untrained nurses also showed an increase of thirty-three per cent.

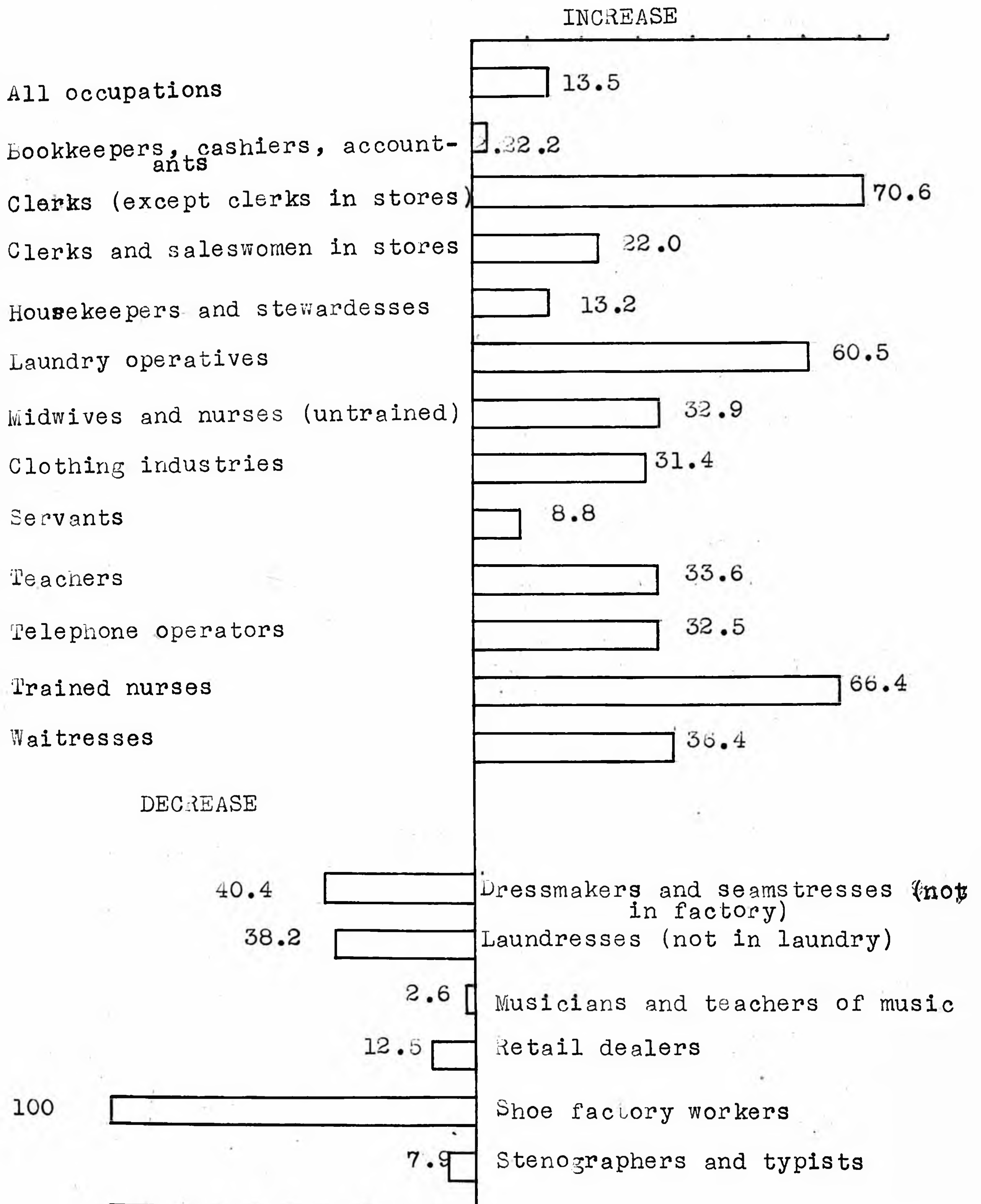
There was a gain of sixty and five-tenths per cent in laundry operatives while, on the other hand, there was a decline of thirty per cent in the number of laundresses outside the laundry, showing the tendency of preference for machine work in establishments outside the home.

While bookkeepers, cashiers, and accountants showed a slight increase of two per cent, stenographers and typists

¹⁵ Figures for 1920 compiled from Census Monographs, number 9, Women in Gainful Occupations, 1870 to 1920.
Government Printing Office, Washington, p. 220

Table VI

Percent of Increase or Decrease in Women Workers
in selected occupations, 1920 - 1930



fell off nearly eight per cent. The tendency apparently was somewhat away from the more or less mechanical operations of stenography and typing to the more satisfying and lucrative positions of clerk, bookkeeper and similar occupations.

Clerks and saleswomen in stores showed an increase of twenty-two per cent over 1920, due, no doubt, to the opening of several new chain stores and the further enlargement of other stores.

In the industrial line, the clothing industry increased thirty-one and four-tenths per cent due to the bringing in of a small pants factory. While in 1920, twenty-eight women were listed as employed in shoe factories, in the last enumeration none were so listed, the industry having gone out of operation.

In domestic work, there was an increase of thirteen per cent in the number of housekeepers, and eight and eight-tenths per cent increase in the number of servants, showing an upward trend in these lines.

Waitresses likewise increased some thirty-six per cent, the tendency of the modern day to patronize public eating places to a greater extent being evidenced here.

Dressmakers (not in the factory) showed a decrease of forty per cent, as might well be expected due to indreased ability of concerns to make machine goods in large quantities and retail them at a lower price than can the dressmaker.

What can one infer, in summary, from an analysis of these figures? What occupations or types of work are open to women in Bangor and what opportunities are there in this community for the trained woman?

It seems apparent that despite the great display of concern evidenced in this country over the entrance of women into far-flung occupations, there is no such problem - if this word may be applied - in Bangor. In fact, such pursuits as women are found in, are of the type which have been recognized as occupations for women for many years.

There is no opportunity for women in either the higher or lower types of industrial positions in the city of Bangor, for there are no industries in the commonly accepted use of the term, nor are there apt to be, for some time in the future. The widest field is that of domestic work - surely no innovation - this classification including nearly twenty-four per cent of the total women workers of the city. The occupation of saleswomen takes care of another ten per cent, while the positions of stenographer, typist, clerk, bookkeeper occupy another nineteen per cent. These three types of occupations take care of fifty-three per cent of the employed women of the city. Do these positions suggest great opportunities for the trained woman?

The recognized profession of teaching - in its lower

forms, occupies another eight per cent, and does show some opportunity for a college woman, while the position of trained nurse takes in another seven per cent, and the occupation of untrained nurse three per cent. Waitresses, dressmakers, laundresses, all recognized occupations for women and pursuits in which it is safe to say there is no advancement, make up the remaining women workers.

Nor is the lack of opportunity confined to positions held, in which the woman is employed by someone else. The number of women carrying on or managing their own business or profession is negligible. There is one owner of a truck, transfer and cab company, three proprietors in the transportation and communications pursuits (not otherwise specified), nine insurance agents, six real estate agents, twenty-eight retail dealers, one laundry owner, and six restaurant and lunch room keepers. Truly, this is not an imposing list of independent business women, and most of these are not what can be termed as outstanding in their lines of work. Bangor does have, however, one popular dress shop which is owned and managed by women.

There are, also, a few individuals who evidently have the pioneer spirit, as can be seen in the small list of rather unusual occupations. There is one representative to the legislature, one deputy clerk of court in the employ of the federal government, a registrar of probate, one policewoman, one dog kennel owner, one essence and extract

manufacturer, three mediums, two antique dealers, one janitor and cleaner, one jig-saw puzzle cutter, one card writer, and three grocers.¹⁶ These women are of little importance as regards numbers but these occupations are rather refreshing after considering the enormous proportion engaged in domestic and personal service work.

As has been stressed previously, the great majority of the women of the community are engaged in a very few, rather standardized occupations which in most cases require not too much intelligence and generally little or absolutely no previous training. Such a condition cannot be too well emphasized, because with so few occupations open and with a large number of women who desire to work, the supply and demand of labor reacts to greatly lower the compensation for such work. The relation of such factors to specific occupation groups ~~w~~will be discussed later.

16

Statistics compiled from Bangor Directory, 1932, Vol. 26, p. 16

CHAPTER IV

STATUS OF THE WOMEN WORKERS

1. Race

A study of the race and nationality groups of the local community shows that Bangor, a small non-industrial city of old New England atmosphere, has few working women of foreign birth or of other racial groups. The exception is a small negro colony which is found in one section of the city. Of the 3,439 employed women of the community, a total of 3,003 are native born women of the white race, or a total of eighty-seven and three-tenths per cent of the whole. There are only four hundred and eight foreign born women or eleven and eight-tenths per cent of the total, and twenty-eight negroes or slightly less than one per cent, with no female workers of other races (Chinese, Japanese).¹ Thus Bangor's working women are almost exclusively white persons of native birth. In a questionnaire answered by seventy-five working women, sixty-three were native born with native parents, nine were native born with foreign parents, and only three were foreign born. The predominating nationality descents are those of the British Isles - English, Irish, and Scotch - with some French Canadians.

¹ Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930. Occupational Statistics for Maine, Government Printing Office, 1931, p. 12

TABLE VII

Women Workers of Bangor Over Ten Years of Age, (Race and Color)

City	Total Number	Native white		Foreign born white		Negro	
		number	%	number	%	Number	%
Bangor	3439	3003	87.3	408	11.8	28	0.9
Lewiston	5613	3686	65.7	1920	34.2	6	0.1
Portland	9079	7550	83.1	1485	16.3	42	0.5

Fifteenth Census of the United States
Occupation Statistics for Maine, p. 12

In comparison with Lewiston and Portland, Bangor has the least number of working women of foreign birth and descent. Portland has about five per cent more foreign born white working women than Bangor has, and the industrial city of Lewiston has more than three times as many of foreign birth as does Bangor. This is due to the large numbers of French employed in the mills of this city. Both Lewiston and Portland have a somewhat smaller percentage of negro working women than does Bangor.

II. Marital Status

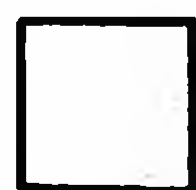
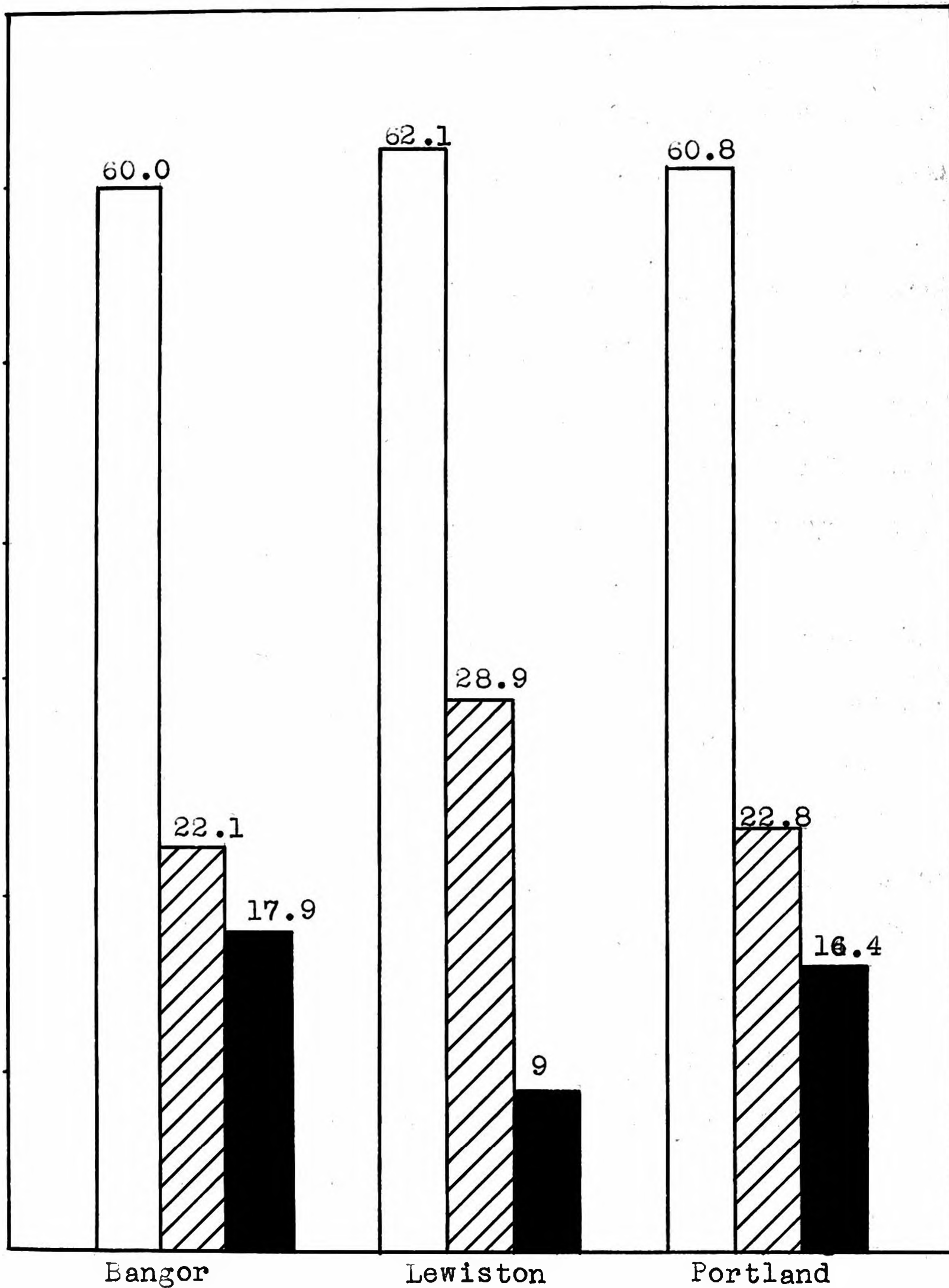
Over one-half of the women workers of the city give their marital status as single (including a few unknown.) In fact, the number is just under sixty per cent of the total number of employed women, while twenty-two per cent, or about one out of every five employed women, are married. The remaining seventeen per cent are either widowed or divorced.²

Certain concerns of Bangor, employing in the main large numbers of women, have been selected to show the comparative relation of the numbers of married and single women workers.

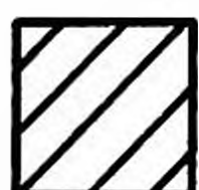
Organization A has sixteen and two-thirds per cent married and eighty-three and one-third per cent single women

²Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930. Occupation Statistics for Maine; Government Printing Office: 1931. p. 12

Comparative Table of the Marital Status of Employed Women of Bangor, Lewiston, and Portland



Single



Widowed and Divorced



Married

employed.³ The policy of this company since 1930 has been to request the resignation of a girl when she marries.

Organization B, a small concern employing only three women, employs one widow with three children, and two married women whose husbands are working only part time.

Organization C reports that twenty per cent of its women employees are single women, twenty-three and three-tenths per cent are married, and fifty-six and seven-tenths per cent are reported by the owner of the concern as women who have been married and now, either as widows or divorcees, have a family to support.

Organization D employs sixty-six and seven-tenths per cent single women, and thirty-three and three-tenths per cent married women, and Organization E, with a total of one hundred and fifty-six women employed, reports twelve and eight-tenths per cent married women, and eighty-seven and two-tenths per cent single.

Organization F has a total of seventy-five per cent single women employed, and twenty-five per cent married, while Organization G has sixteen per cent married and eighty-four per cent single women.

3

In the majority of the following cases, "single" includes widowed and divorced women also.

Organization H, giving employment to one hundred and sixteen workers, has thirty-three per cent married, and sixty-seven per cent single women employed.

Organization I reports a total of six per cent married and ninety-four per cent single women, while Organization J makes it a policy to employ no married women.

Organization K employs forty-six women, none of whom are married. Some time ago it was necessary to let a considerable number of the workers go, and those discharged were married women.

Organization L, employing ten women, has ten per cent married and ninety per cent single workers.

The percentage of married women varies according to the work done and the policies of the establishment. Two organizations employ no married women and the others range from six per cent to sixty-six and six-tenths per cent married women. In general, the smallest number of married women is to be found in the chain stores where the age range is low.

Approximately twenty-two per cent of the working women of Bangor are married, or about one-third the number of single workers. Just what is the position of the married woman who works outside the home? A writer for the "Woman's Bureau" well expresses the situation.

"There are some people who believe that women go into stores, factories, and mills because they prefer that kind of labor to housework. If these theorists could take a peep into the homes of most wage earning women, they would discover these same women, after eight or ten hours of industrial work, toiling in the home, at the stove or over the dishpan, or sewing machine."⁴

It is claimed that inventions have greatly lessened womans' work in the home, but it lessens the work chiefly of those who are able to pay for such improvements. The woman who must, from financial necessity, work outside the home, is the least likely to have all these labor saving devices at her command.

Women, when spinning and similar tasks were carried on in the home, could combine such work with housework, but such is no longer the case. A woman cannot tend the baby with one hand and manage the spinning wheel with the other. Work is carried on outside the home, and when "working hours" are over, there are still tasks to be done in the home. Interviews with a few of these women who are carrying this double burden will soon convince one who is doubtful concerning this situation.

The Womans' Bureau states the following conclusion as a result of an investigation.

"From the material on married women wage earners which we have assembled in this report, we have reached one definite conclusion. Whatever may be the extent of

⁴Pidgeon, Mary E. Women in Industry, Bulletin of Woman's Bureau, 1931, No. 91, p. 21.

their earning capacity, whatever may be the irregularity of their employment, married women are in industry for one purpose, and generally speaking for one purpose only—to provide necessities for their families or to raise their standard of living. Although the earnings were not as a rule large, they often brought the family income up to a level which was adequate for the maintenance of a satisfactory standard of health and education for the children. That is what married women are gaining from their employment in industry. They are gaining the personal joy and satisfaction of adding to the family income so that it more nearly comes up to the level necessary for maintaining adequate standards.

"But what are they losing? Because of overfatigue of long hours in the factory (and other occupations), followed and preceded by long hours at home, they are losing health and opportunities for educational development and participation in community affairs." 5

It is not expected that a man will come home tired from his day's labor to work another five or six hours. Why should the woman be expected to do so, or, why if she does, should her happiness be emphasized by saying that "she had so much rather work in the store or office than do housework?"

It is not claimed that there are not exceptions to this rule. There are several instances in Bangor where women whose husbands are perfectly capable of supporting them adequately are working. The most peculiar case is that of a woman of thirty-two, with a young son ~~seven~~ years old. The husband receives more than an ample salary and there is no need for the woman to work, but she does domestic work at the rate of thirty-five cents an hour, and she also does

5 Winslow, Mary N., Married Women in Industry, Bulletin of Womans Bureau, 1924, No. 38, p. 4

laundry work for others in her own home. The partial explanation of this condition is that the woman herself has very little education and does not seem at all adapted to her present situation. The solution to this problem lies outside the field of economics and ranges into the realm of education and psychology. Therefore, while it is not claimed that such cases do not exist, they are found to be the exception in the city of Bangor.

Not only, moreover, does the married woman work because she has to, but, for the same reason, most of the single women are working. In a questionnaire answered by seventy-three, fifty-nine of them stated that they were working because of financial necessity only; four were working for reasons other than financial; and ten were working for both financial and other reasons. These individuals do not appear, in most cases, to be looking for careers. As Helen Woodward, a well known writer on the problems of the working woman expresses the situation:

"One thing that I have learned is that women, as a rule, do not care anything about making a career. What women want is to make a living, to hold a job, to get a husband. As a whole they want security. They want to know that a pay envelope is coming in every week. They'd rather have that than the risk that comes from an adventurous life."⁶

⁶Woodward, Helen, The Business Girl, Scribners Magazine, March, 1933. p. 181

Of the six married women reporting in this questionnaire, all said they were working because of financial necessity. One woman whose husband was not working stated that she was working because of financial necessity and also because of other reasons. One merely stated that she was working because of financial necessity. One woman, whose husband was working, had one dependent, and was working due to financial necessity. The husband of one married woman had only part time work, and the husbands of two others were unemployed. This number is small but it is interesting to note that all these women had some financial necessity for working.

While this information came from the employees, many employers tell of similar situations. One small organization is employing two women whose husbands had only part time work and whose family obligations required their assistance.

The same is true of widows. Of four reporting in the questionnaire, three said they were working only because of financial necessity and one said she was working because of financial reasons and because she "would not be content without being occupied." Two of these women had no dependents besides themselves. One had one dependent, and another had two dependents.

One employer has in her organization a widow with three children depending on her earnings and another business

reports seventeen widowed employees who are now called upon for the support of a family.

It is needless to give further examples. It is not necessary even to dwell at length on the fact that great numbers of women, both married and single, are now seeking positions so that their families may live. Someone must support the family, and the more the unemployment and wage slashing of men grows, the greater becomes the necessity for the women of the family to find work.

III. Age

In considering the ages of employed women in Bangor there is first need for a brief summary of the state child labor laws and their importance in this problem. These laws are, in effect, that no children under fourteen years of age shall be employed in connection with any manufacturing or mechanical establishment at any time. No child under fifteen years of age shall be employed at any business for pay during the hours that the public schools are in session.⁷ Work permits may be issued to minors between fifteen and sixteen years of age under certain conditions. The issuing officer may require a birth record; the education qualification is the completion of elementary school, and a physical

⁷ Revised Statutes of Maine, Chap. 54, Section 18, p. 833

examination may also be required. Work permits may also be issued to mentally sub-normal minors. Issuance of these work permits excuses minors from school attendance.⁸

Vacation work permits may be issued to minors between fourteen and sixteen years, allowing employment in manufacturing and mechanical establishments. No work permit is necessary during summer vacation for minors employed in mercantile establishments. Educational requirements are not effective during vacations.⁹

From this last section it appears that the legislators who passed this law believed that the working of very young girls, perhaps the full fifty four hour week with an eleven hour day Saturday, was not detrimental enough to her health to require a work permit which may entail a physical examination. However, this is of little concern in the present situation, for there is apparently but a small problem connected with the very young girl worker in the city of Bangor. The Census Report lists but ten girl workers, fifteen years of age or younger.¹⁰ This is due, no doubt, to the lack of opportunity for work suited to children in a non-industrial community. No violation of the child labor law has been discovered in the city. The mercantile establishments do not

⁸ Revised Statutes of Maine, Chap. 54, Section 19, p. 833

⁹ Ibid. Section 20, p. 834

¹⁰ Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930. Occupation Statistics for Maine, Government Printing Office, 1931, p. 20

need to employ child labor when there is a sufficient supply of mature workers who can be secured at low wages. The only possible violation of the child labor law might come in such periods as those of great rush in the stores, such as "Dollar Day". But an actual instance of such employment even in this period has only been discovered once, when a child of thirteen was employed for the day and cautioned to say that she was older if anyone asked. Other instances probably do occur but it is not a general practise and there can be no severe condemnation of the employers of Bangor on this specific point.

The statement of ten establishments, all but two employing over twenty women, was obtained as to the age ranges of employee, and the policies of the business in regard to making a certain minimum or maximum wage limit.

Establishment A, employing forty-one women in all branches of office work, has no women employed under eighteen years of age. Sixty-five and nine-tenths per cent are from the ages of eighteen to thirty-four. Thirty-one and seven-tenths per cent are between the ages of thirty-five and forty-five, and only two and four-tenths per cent are over forty-five years of age.

Establishment B employs only three women, all of whom are between the ages of twenty and forty. One is twenty-three; one, twenty-seven; and one, thirty-six years of age.

Establishment C, having fifty-four women employess, has six per cent under the age of eighteen; fourteen per cent between the ages of eighteen and thirty-four; thirty-six per cent from the ages of thirty-five to forty-five; and forty-four per cent are over forty-five years of age. These women are all employed in different types of domestic service.

Establishment D, employing thirty women, has no woman employed who is under eighteen years of age. Twenty per cent are from eighteen to thirty-four years of age; sixty per cent from thirty-five to forty-five years of age; and twenty per cent are over forty-five. These women also come under the classification of domestic service.

Establishment E, in the industrial field, employs six women, none of whom are under eighteen. Sixteen and seven-tenths per cent are between the ages of eighteen to thirty-four; eighty-two and three-tenths per cent between the ages of thirty-five and forty-five; and none are over forty-five.

Establishment F, employing twenty-five women, reports none under eighteen years of age, and Establishment G with twenty women employees has none under eighteen, and the average age of the women employed here is thirty-five.

Establishment H employs thirty-three girls, none of whom are under sixteen years of age. The great majority are from sixteen to twenty-five, with a very few over twenty-five years of age.

Establishment I employs twenty-six women with the age of seventeen as the lower limit, and twenty-five the maximum. The average age is twenty years.

Establishment J, employing thirty girls, has an age range of sixteen to twenty-seven years. It is the stated policy of this concern to employ only young women.

The percentage of the different age groups varies, as has been seen, according to the nature of the work performed and the policies of the specific organization. But what are the age groupings for the total number of working women in the city? Statistics concerning this have been compiled from the last federal census.¹¹

The percentage of young people working is larger among the women workers than among the men. One out of every three employed women is under twenty-five, while only one out of every eight men is under this age. While only eleven per cent of the working women are over fifty-five years of age, twenty-one per cent of the working men are above this age. This is to be expected as women, in general, spend fewer years in education, marry younger, and leave industry to establish a home of their own. Then, too, a woman often ages more quickly than a man, and fewer work in their more advanced years.

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Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930; Occupation Statistics for Maine, Government Printing Office, 1931, p. 13

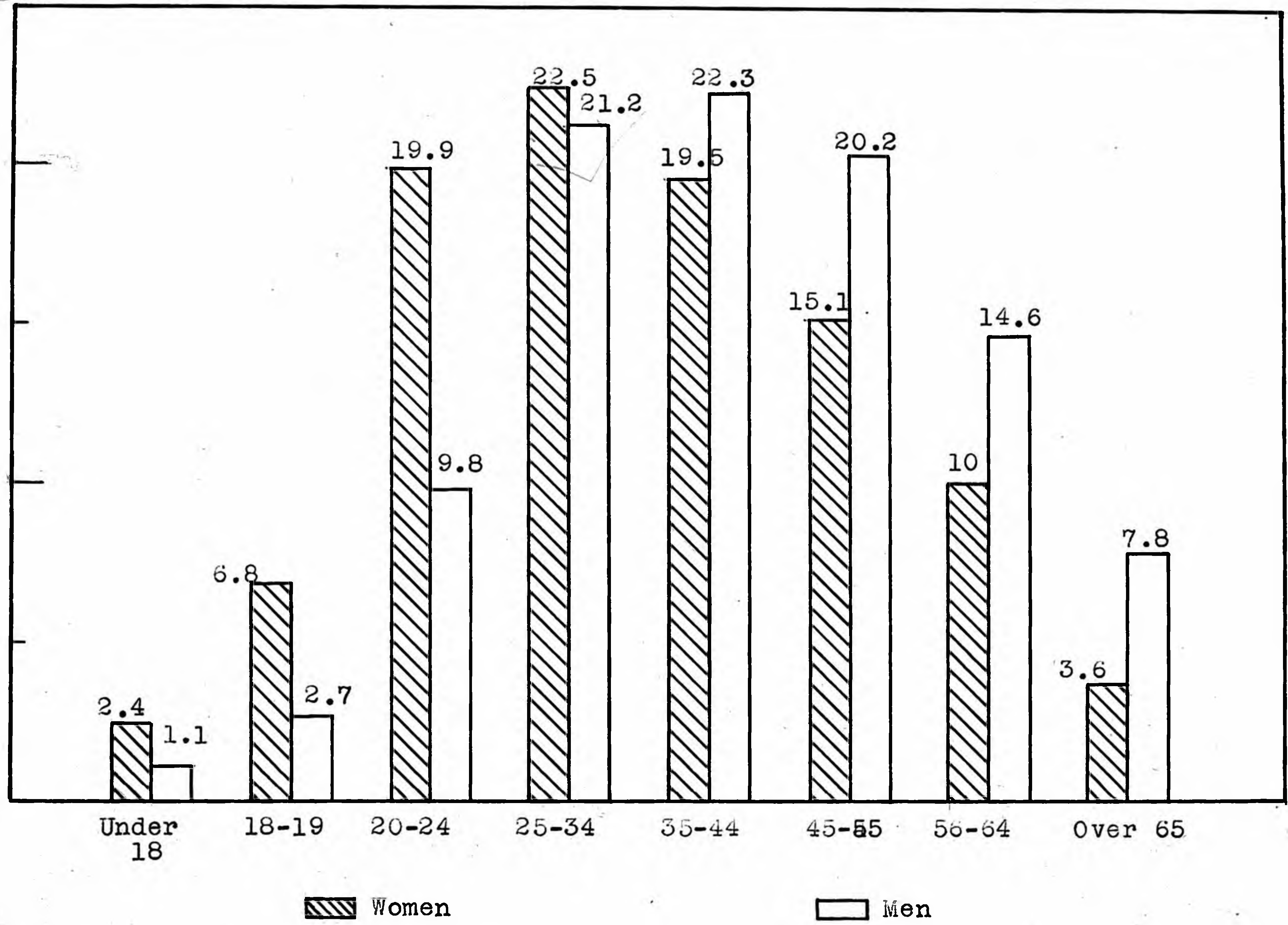
Thus, it is evident that women find employment usually at a younger age than do men, and that they likewise stop work at an earlier age.

Table 19 is interesting as indicating how in each consecutive age group before the thirty-five to forty-five grouping, the relative percentage for men lags behind that of the women in each group. With the age group of twenty-five to thirty-four, the number of women - twenty-two and one-half per cent - reaches its peak and a decline is started with the thirty-five to forty-four group in which the men reach their peak. Decline then continues for both but with succeeding smaller numbers of women employed in proportion to the total number than men.

While about two and one-half per cent of the employed women are under eighteen years of age, and while nearly seven per cent of the women are either eighteen or nineteen years of age, making a total of over nine per cent under the age of twenty years, a little less than four per cent of the males are under twenty years of age.

At the other end of the scale only thirteen per cent of the women are over fifty-five years of age, while twenty-two per cent of the men are over this age limit. While seven and eight-tenths per cent of the men are over sixty-five years of age, only one half of this number or three and six-tenths of the women are over this age.

25
20
10
5
0



Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Occupation Statistics for Maine, 1931, p. 12

It is not extraordinary that the years of twenty to thirty-five should include about forty-two per cent of the total number of women workers, as these ages, especially those ranging from twenty to thirty are the so-called stop-gap years, or the interlude for the woman between school and marriage. True, about nine and one-half per cent of the workers range in age from thirty-five to forty-four but this section is probably made up of three groups of women; those **single** women who have found their occupations to be not a "hope chest" before marriage, but a blind alley; those women who find that their husbands are unable to bear increased family burdens and responsibility; and third, the group of divorced and widowed workers.

The relation of age to earnings varies greatly as will be seen in the consideration of specific occupations. For example, age shows a definite relation to earnings in clerical work, but little relation in store work because of the lack of opportunity for advancement.

CHAPTER V
PROFESSIONAL WOMEN

1. Teachers

Teaching in the public schools has become essentially a woman's vocation. The teacher is inevitably a "she". In the United States there are approximately six women teachers to every man in the elementary schools and twice as many women teachers as men in the secondary schools.¹ It has been shown previously that eighty-seven per cent of the teachers in the city of Bangor are women.

In the public schools of Bangor there is a set wage scale with salaries for the grades and kindergartens ranging from nine hundred to thirteen hundred and sixty-six dollars and sixty-seven cents. The minimum high school salary is twelve hundred dollars increasing up to fifteen hundred and seventy-seven dollars and seventy-eight cents. This scale is the result of a straight twelve and one-half per cent salary cut made by the city.

There is not the same difficulty here as in the stores, for even the minimum wage in the group is sufficient to cover the cost of living of single women with no dependents.

¹ Williams, Charl, Position of Women in the Public Schools
Annals. American Academy of Political Science, Vol. 143
May 1929, p. 154

However, it would seem from these figures that the monetary reward of teaching is not to be greatly emphasized. In consideration of the training demanded, the wage would seem to be rather low in comparison with that received for the higher types of office work. Of course, teachers are public servants and, consequently, as nearly all others in this class, consistently underpaid.

An examination of the salaries of ten women teachers shows earnings ranging from eleven hundred and fifty dollars to nineteen hundred dollars,² with an average of thirteen hundred and four dollars and sixty-nine cents, and a median of twelve hundred dollars. Of these ten women, six were college trained, one had a high school education, one a high school and business college training, and two a training or normal school education.

It is also interesting to note how little that experience has to do with the earnings of this particular group. For example, one girl with two years experience was earning twelve hundred dollars, the same amount as another woman with thirteen years experience was receiving. One woman with thirty-five years experience was getting a salary of fifteen hundred dollars, and one with twenty years experience, fourteen hundred dollars annually.

²The woman receiving this amount has extra earnings apart from salary, probably from tutoring.

The reason for this situation is evident when one examines the salary scale, for the difference of four hundred and sixty-six dollars and sixty-seven cents and three hundred and seventy-seven dollars and seventy-eight cents respectively between the minimum and maximum salaries in the grade and secondary schools gives but small chance for advancement through the years. That is, if a woman starts at twelve hundred dollars, with twenty years experience, she may be receiving fourteen hundred dollars, an increase of some eighteen dollars and eighty-eight cents a year. This is not a too pleasing situation for one intending to make teaching a life career.

Just as the seemingly large weekly salary decreases when spread over the entire fifty-two weeks of the year, so also do the apparent easy hours of teaching dissolve when carefully considered. This is merely a misconception. While in the elementary schools the teaching hours are from eight-thirty to eleven-thirty in the morning, and one-thirty to three-thirty in the afternoon, and in the high school eight to twelve-forty-five for one set and twelve to four-forty-five for another, these hours by no means make up the teacher's entire day. Perhaps, as in no other profession, work for the teacher is constantly at hand. At the end of the teaching day, reports remain to be made, papers to be taken home and graded, and preparation made

for the next days work. Then, too, the long summer vacation is not all pleasure, for if salary permits, more educational training must be secured to allow for promotion or the holding of the present position. If the salary is not sufficient to cover the expenses for the entire year, supplementary work in the form of the occupation of waitress at summer hotels, salesgirl in a store, or similar work must be found.

There is also another feature to be considered in regard to salaries - the comparatively high standard of living which teachers of necessity must maintain. For example, a teacher needs to have money for further education and books in order to keep up her efficiency. Furthermore, a teacher cannot skimp in clothing, for probably no group of people is more critical than high school boys and girls and the teacher is supposedly a model in appearance to the high school girl. Moreover, can one imagine a teacher searching the community to find the place where board can be obtained for the least money? This cannot be done, for the affairs of the teachers are apt to be the affairs of the entire community. The teacher, too, is more apt to be living away from home than is the salesgirl or office worker. Of the ten teachers reporting, three of them maintain their own home with dependents; two live with other relatives; two live at home; and three board.

Therefore it can be seen that in relation to the pre-requisite training and the necessary high standard of living, the teachers of the city are not overpaid. This, however, seems to be a rather general situation, for an investigation conducted in New York State by the National Industrial Conference Board brought out the fact "that a larger percentage of teachers were working for annual salaries of one thousand dollars to two thousand dollars than for any higher wage".³ Recent experience has also shown that teachers are not immune from salary slashing and will be even more subject to it if the advice of the self-styled "economy leagues" is regarded. In fact, the teachers of Bangor, in the light of some other Maine towns, are fortunate in having received only a twelve and one-half per cent cut.

It must be admitted, however, that what is lacking in salaries and chances for advancement is made up somewhat by the working conditions and privileges of teaching and the social status which it gives. Working conditions seem to be very agreeable in this profession as evidenced by the fact that eight of the ten teachers called their working conditions "excellent", and two, "fair". None reports their working conditions as poor.

³Williams, Charl, Position of Women in the Public Schools Annals, American Academy of Political Science, Vol. 143, May 1929, p. 154

Sick leave for teachers is also allowed in Bangor with a maximum of five days a year. This is in all probability merely a temporary depression measure as the provision formerly was that five days leave was allowed for the first year of teaching and an increase of one day was made for each successive year taught until a maximum of fifteen days was reached.

With the exception of the three women in the city who are in the employ of the federal government, teachers are perhaps the only women workers who are definitely assured of a pension. Such pensions are provided for by the laws of the state, and due to recent legislation are varied in their application. Such pensions vary with length of service, ranging from five hundred dollars for thirty-five years service to two hundred and seventy-five dollars for twenty-five years service. Different provisions apply to those teachers who entered their positions after July 1, 1924, as these teachers must contribute to the fund jointly with the state, the five per cent of the salary contributed being matched by equal amounts by the state.⁴

These pensions seem to be for a rather small amount and it is true that they are, but even such a small income as this, if assured, gives a much greater sense of security

⁴Revised Statutes of Maine, Chap. 19, Sec. 219, 220, 229, 236, 238, 239

when old age approaches. Then, too, in most instances in Bangor, although salaries are low in regard to prerequisite training, they would be sufficient to allow some provision for saving. In truth, the two instances where provisions are made for pensions in Bangor are in occupations where the yearly salary also allows for saving. In many instances where neither sick leave nor pensions are available, the yearly wage is not enough to cover the cost of present living, to say nothing of saving.

Is there sex discrimination in the matter of salaries? New York State and a number of cities have passed laws seeking to prevent such discrimination but such differences in salaries are perhaps the common rule rather than the exception. One writer states:

"Compared with salaries of men teachers, women's salaries are generally one-fourth less."⁵

This, incidentally, is the exact difference between the beginning salaries of the men and women teachers in Bangor in the secondary schools, or fifteen hundred and twelve hundred dollars respectively. Whereas the maximum limit set for women is fifteen hundred and seventy-seven dollars and seventy-eight cents, there is no set limit for men. The reason for this lower wage is not inefficiency, but the supply and demand of labor and the force of tradition.

⁵Williams, Charl, Position of Women in the Public Schools Annals, American Academy of Political Science, vol. 143, May 1929, p. 159

II. Library Workers

The number of women engaged in library work in Bangor is small in comparison with those engaged in teaching and nursing. There are fourteen staff librarians who are paid a yearly salary with a range of one thousand to seventeen hundred dollars. The working conditions are unusually pleasant and the surroundings are attractive and comfortable. The allowance for vacations is extraordinarily liberal, two weeks with pay being given those who have been in the organization less than four years, and four weeks vacation with pay granted to the older members.

Each woman works a minimum of forty-one hours a week with a possible maximum of forty-three hours with extra pay. One free afternoon is given each week and when, from November through March, one member of the staff is on duty Sunday afternoon, she has compensatory time off four hours during the week. Sick leave is granted at the discretion of the librarian, and for long time sickness, the matter is considered as an individual problem by the board of directors. Two hours time is allowed for lunch. A month's notice is required either before discharge or voluntary leaving.

In addition to the so-called staff, there are six other women employed, two of whom are full time workers. All are paid at the rate of thirty-five cents an hour. The two full time workers receive a two weeks vacation with pay but no sick leave is granted.

A total of five college graduates are employed and it was stated that, in view of the prevailing conditions of unemployment among college women, any possible openings are awarded to them. It is also rather encouraging to note that this is perhaps the one place in the city where business is increasing rather than decreasing, and more workers are steadily being required to meet the demand. The turnover in the library is light, four of the women employees having been in the establishment over twelve years.

This work is attractive to women because:

1. the salary allows a very comfortable living;
2. the working conditions and surroundings are attractive;
3. the work is suited to women.

In view of these facts, it is unfortunate that library work is an occupation in which the number of workers is limited.

LII. NURSES

The situation in regard to the earnings, working conditions and vacations of nurses is a matter somewhat different from the conditions in the occupations already discussed. The nurse, unless an institutional employee, is never certain of a definite amount of work. This is due to the supply of nurses and the climatic and economic conditions.

The private nurse is first considered.⁶ The standard wage for the registered nurse is five dollars a day for ordinary cases, with six dollars a day or forty dollars a week for certain exceptional cases.

If the nurse is on "twenty-four hour duty" she must have three hours free time for recreation during the afternoon and should have seven or eight hours sleep, but naturally this varies with the condition of the patient, and in some cases the nurse may obtain very little rest throughout the entire night. If, on the other hand, the nurse is on what is termed as "twelve hour duty" no time off is given. Supposedly fifteen minutes is allowed for meals but when the case is serious, food may be snatched at any convenient moment.

The nurse pays for the laundry of her uniforms; fifty cents a uniform. About three uniforms a week are necessary in ordinary cases, but in contagious and infectious cases, one a day is required.

The great difficulty with the wages of nurses is that there may not be sufficient work to provide an adequate living. It is difficult to determine just what nurses earn in the course of a year, as this varies so greatly

⁶The private nurse so considered is the woman who is a registered nurse with certain qualifications and training. The untrained nurse and midwife come under the heading of personal service and are regarded as unskilled workers.

and the nurses themselves often do not know. Dr. May Ayres Burgess makes the following general statement:

"The private duty of the average nurse averages about seven months work a year with four months idleness and one month devotion to charity."⁷

Of course the situation varies greatly with the individual nurse. For example, one nurse in the city has been steadily employed in one position for over two years with an occasional holiday or a few days vacation. On the other hand, her sister, also a registered nurse, has been unemployed for six months. One source from which authentic information is available reported two nurses unemployed since September 1932; two since October, 1932; one since November, 1932; two since December, 1932; four since January, 1933; ten since February, 1933; and eight since March. One nurse who is competent to judge said that a nurse would perhaps be fortunate at this period to have work one-half of the time.

It is certain that the nursing field seems rather overcrowded in this community due, perhaps, to the presence of several training schools. Then, too, the work in the professions varies according to certain outside factors. The winter season with its consequent pneumonia is probably the most lucrative, but circumstances have apparently

⁷Cades, Hazel Dawson, Jobs for Girls, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1930, p. 93

combined to make the lot of the nurse more unfortunate in Bangor, for coupled with the economic situation, it is stated that the sickness in this community was much less in the past winter season than is usually the case. Indeed, it is said that since the standardized wage was cut from six to five dollars a day, there has been less work.

These statements give evidence that the earnings of a nurse are not large. This is especially true when one considers the physical strain that the nurse is so often under, the difficult working conditions which she may encounter in many cases, and the mental strain that is involved in the occupation for the more sensitive woman.

The situation in regard to institutional work is somewhat different. The conditions in four of the establishments of the city which employ nurses was investigated and the following results were obtained.

Institution A pays graduate nurses eighteen dollars per week with maintenance, and those nurses who are not graduates, nine to twelve dollars a week, with maintenance. Nurses in higher executive positions receive twenty-five to thirty-five dollars weekly, also with maintenance. The hours vary from eight to nine a day, and five and a half to six days a week. A two weeks vacation with pay is allowed, and one hour is granted for lunch. Working conditions in this establishment are reported by employees as excellent.

Institution B employs graduate nurses at a salary of one hundred dollars a month with maintenance, and allows a two weeks vacation. Working conditions are reported as excellent in this establishment also.

Institution C employs graduate nurses at fifty dollars a month plus maintenance ("such as it is" one nurse expressed herself). Non-graduates are paid forty dollars a month also with maintenance. There are no paid vacations and the allowance for sick leave is very uncertain. One employee stated that they might get paid when sick or, on the other hand, they might not.

Institution D pays seventeen dollars and fifty cents a week with partial maintenance - that is, meals but not a room. The hours are seven to seven, or a twelve hour duty, with three hours off. There is supposedly one-half hour off for lunch, but the nurses are on call duty during this time. Formerly the uniforms were done by the institution but now they are laundered at the expense of the employee at an average cost of one dollar and fifty cents a week.

In order to more fairly equate these earnings and allowing the arbitrary amount of one dollar a day for maintenance, the following earnings for the nurses in these institutions result. Institution A pays graduate nurses twenty-five dollars a week or thirteen hundred dollars a year; non-graduates, sixteen to nineteen dollars a week

or eight hundred and thirty-two to nine hundred and eighty-eight dollars a year; those in higher positions receive to thirty to forty-two dollars a week or fifteen hundred and sixty to twenty-one hundred and eighty-four dollars yearly.

Institution B pays its employees fifteen hundred and sixty-five dollars a year, and Institution C, nine hundred and sixty-five dollars for graduates; for non-graduates, eight hundred and forty-five dollars yearly. Allowing four dollars and fifty cents a week for meals along, it is found that Institution D pays twenty-two dollars a week or a total of eleven hundred and forty-four dollars yearly.

Of two nurses employed full time outside of institutions, one nurse receives fifteen hundred dollars annually, and another receives twenty-one hundred dollars with a working week of forty-four hours, fifteen days vacation with pay, and a ten days sick leave allowance.

Clearly institutional work with its certainty is much to be preferred to private nursing as far as monetary gain is concerned. While in one year the returns from private nursing might somewhat exceed the salary for institutional work, in the long run it is probably quite considerably less than the salaries paid in Institutions A and B, and perhaps even less than those paid in Institutions C and D.

IV. Other Professional Workers

The scattered professional workers are grouped to-

gether under the heading of other professions, first, because of the very small number engaged, and second, because of the desire not to reveal the earnings of specific individuals. All these women are trained, skilled workers engaged in such occupations as dieticians, social workers, and like pursuits.

In this group, one worker received twenty-five dollars weekly with maintenance, or a total of thirteen hundred dollars yearly, or sixteen hundred and sixty-five dollars if maintenance is included at the rate of one dollar per day.

Another worker in this group reports a salary of eleven hundred and ninety-seven dollars a year. The hours of work are uncertain and variable, but one and one-half hours are allowed for lunch and a months vacation with pay is given. Working conditions were said to be excellent and "some" chance for advancement was reported.

A third woman employed in a different capacity receives twenty-five dollars a week plus maintenance, and three others receive one hundred dollars a month plus partial maintenance (meals).

The remaining professional women, three in number, receive one hundred and forty-four dollars a month plus maintenance, or two thousand and ninety-three dollars yearly, allowing one dollar a day for maintenance.

IV. Helpers

For want of other classification certain workers who

are assistants in the professional offices and services are included in a separate grouping under the head of professional service. Such women truly fall neither under the classification of clerical or domestic workers, although their work may take on some of the attributes of both classes, and they seem nearest in their approach to the professional service.

There are comparatively few opportunities offered to such a group of workers, and perhaps this is fortunate, for the remuneration, at least outside of institutions, seems very small. In two instances, the girls receive five and eight dollars respectively per week and in a third instance the worker receives twelve dollars, paying one dollar of this for laundry of uniforms. Comment on the insufficiency of these wages is not necessary. The fact that the labor supply is large and the work of the unskilled type is the primary factor for such low remuneration.

Another group of assistants in professional services receive considerably more in wages, or ten to twelve dollars per week with maintenance. Again using the one dollar a day as the arbitrary figure for board and room, the total earnings amount to seventeen to nineteen dollars per week or eight hundred and eighty-four dollars, and nine hundred and eighty-eight dollars per year.

CHAPTER VI

WOMEN IN OFFICES

Office work is perhaps the favorite of all occupations for women who are not of the career type. There is no manual labor involved, there is no social stigma attached to the office worker, the hours are generally short, the surroundings and environment pleasant.

While these remarks can be made of all office work, there is great stratification of types of work within this occupational group. The employed women in this group range anywhere from the worker with comparatively little training to the woman who is more of the professional type and is trained and skilled in her field of work.

In the lower range of work there is the typist and stenographer whose duties consist of more or less mechanical tasks. As an author of a vocational book for women remarks:

"One could leave high school, even before graduation, spend from three weeks to three months in a business school and then count upon receiving the coveted weekly pay envelope."¹

A general stenographic course usually requires from six to nine months training period, but this is a slight period when compared with the training necessary in the professional fields. Even a high school education is not

¹Oglesby, Catharine, Business Opportunities for Women, Harper and Brothers, 1932. p. 184

essential and one may enter business school without even attending a secondary school or, on the other hand, business training may be acquired in many secondary schools, such business courses being given in Bangor High School.

From numerical data the importance of office work to women may be judged. Indeed, there has been great growth in the opportunities for women since the invention of the typewriter by Christopher Sholes in 1807. The census of 1870 recorded only seven women typists and stenographers² while according to the last census three hundred and twenty-five workers are so engaged in the city of Bangor alone. In a bulletin of the United States Department of Labor entitled "The Effect of Applied Research Upon the Employment Opportunities of American Women," the following statement is made:

"Not only therefore has the typewriter revolutionized modern business methods, but it has created an occupation calling for more women than have been employed as a result of any other invention."³

The stenographers and typists employed in Bangor constitute over nine per cent of the employed women of the city and ninety-seven per cent of the total number of persons (male and female) engaged in such an occupation.⁴ This

²Coyle, Grace L. Women in Clerical Occupations, Am. Acad. of Pol. Science, v. 143, May, 1929, p. 180.

³United States Department of Labor, Bulletin of the Woman's Bureau, Government Printing Office, 1926, p. 42.

⁴Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930: Occupation Statistics for Maine, 1931. p. 10 - 11.

figure indicates that stenography is almost exclusively a woman's field. Pangor, of course, gives opportunities because of its commercial and financial position and its many offices, both business and professional.

What remuneration is received by these three hundred stenographers and typists? As in all occupations, it varies greatly. One great difficulty in compiling earnings for this class of workers is in the distinguishing of the stenographer from the private secretary. For example, a woman earning eight hundred dollars may give her occupation as that of secretary, while one earning sixteen hundred dollars may class herself as a stenographer. The dividing line is not clearly defined and even inspection of salaries will not always indicate the duties performed. A worker may be paid a stenographer's wages and yet be doing the work of a secretary. No clear definition of secretary seems available from any source. The business school divides the stenographer and secretary by the fact that the secretary has a knowledge of bookkeeping while the stenographer does not, but probably a better indication of a secretary is whether or not she is capable of writing her employer's letters instead of merely receiving them in dictation. As the line of demarcation here is so very obscure, stenographers and secretaries have been included in one group, with the presumption that those receiving wages in the highest groups more properly fall in the secretarial group.

Due to the duties performed, the earning range varies greatly. While one organization having employment facilities for this type of work stated that they did, or would, not place girls below a minimum of eight dollars a week or four hundred sixteen dollars yearly, one girl was found who was employed for a fifty hour week at six dollars. It may even be possible that some women are working for even less, for generally, the smaller the salary, the more difficult it is to obtain information either from the employer or the employee. There is also, too, the question of the unemployed worker in this group. One experienced stenographer expressed herself as being "glad" to work for five dollars a week and such a condition helps to force the wage down. Another girl stated that she would work for six dollars a week, and four said that they were willing to work for eight dollars a week, one saying that "she would like to get this amount". Five others said they would work for ten dollars a week, one saying that she would consider herself "fortunate" to get this. Three others said they would work for twelve dollars and five others wanted fifteen dollars weekly. All of these women were experienced stenographers, some, of course, with much longer experience than others. What would the young business school graduate with no experience expect to receive? These figures are quoted as being important because these individuals are representative of the labor market for this type of work in the city.

and with due allowances for experience and efficiency, the salaries of employed workers may have a tendency to approach the wage at which the unemployed worker of similar ability would do the same work.

On the other hand there is a more encouraging situation when the earnings of forty-eight stenographers and secretaries who are at present employed in Bangor (mostly by varied organizations) are inspected. As can be seen in Table 10 Three hundred twelve dollars yearly or six dollars a week is the lowest figure. A total of fourteen of this number receive one thousand dollars or less, eleven of these earning less than eight hundred dollars yearly. The popular figure, or that at which the largest number in this group are employed, is an annual salary of thirteen hundred dollars, or twenty-five dollars a week, eight of the group receiving this salary. The median is twelve hundred dollars with eleven hundred eighty-four dollars ninety-three cents as an average for the group of forty-eight. The highest salary paid is thirty-five hundred dollars, which is, incidentally, the highest salary reported by any working woman in Bangor in any occupational pursuit. The next highest figure in this group is eighteen hundred dollars with two others reporting salaries of seventeen hundred dollars. The tendency for stratification which has previously been commented on, is especially noticeable when the highest and lowest salary of the group is compared, the

TABLE 2

Yearly Earnings

Forty eight Stenographers and Secretaries

Number of Workers

Yearly Wage

1	\$312
1	\$528
2	\$624
1	\$660
1	\$700
1	\$702
1	\$728
3	\$780
1	\$836
1	\$936
1	\$1000
1	\$1040
3	\$1092
3	\$1100
7	\$1200
1	\$1250
8	\$1300
2	\$1400
1	\$1425
1	\$1500
1	\$1560
1	\$1600
1	\$1638
2	\$1700
1	\$1800
1	\$3500

Average Wage

\$1184.93

stenographer receiving the lowest wage earning less than one-tenth of the salary commanded by the woman earning thirty-five hundred dollars. Neither of these women can be said to be typical of their group, but represent the two extremes.

This group, in all probability, overestimates rather than otherwise, the earnings of this class of workers because, as it is necessary to emphasize, the lower wages are less often obtained by one seeking to compile data. Then, too, this group has perhaps a larger number of older, more mature women than younger girls. The relation of experience and age to earnings in the field of office work is later discussed. In general, the statement can be made that those in the very lowest wage groupings are the younger, less experienced girls, while those in the highest groups are more mature, earnings varying directly with experience.

There is, also, considerable opportunity for part time work in the field of typing and the rather standardized wage paid for this type of work is twenty-five cents an hour.

The earnings of thirty-five bookkeepers and cashiers in several organizations were likewise compiled and the result is evident in Table II. The lowest amount earned was six hundred seventy-six dollars or thirteen dollars a week, over twice the amount which the stenographer with the lowest wage received. This bookkeeper was employed in a retail organization, these establishments evidently

TABLE XI

Yearly Earnings

Thirty five Bookkeepers and Cashiers

Number of Workers	Yearly Wage
1	\$676
1	\$728
2	\$780
1	\$884
1	\$900
1	\$910
2	\$936
2	\$1000
1	\$1040
5	\$1100
1	\$1140
1	\$1196
3	\$1200
1	\$1240
1	\$1250
6	\$1300
1	\$1362
1	\$1400
2	\$1500
1	\$1820
Average Wage	\$1139.37

not confining their low wage policies to saleswomen. Eleven of this group of about one-third earned one thousand dollars or less annually. The salaries of twenty-one of these workers ranged above one thousand dollars but below fifteen hundred dollars. Three received fifteen hundred dollars or over, the highest one reporting in this group was eighteen hundred twenty dollars yearly. The popular wage groups were eleven hundred dollars with five receiving this salary and thirteen hundred dollars with six in this grouping. The median wage for the group was eleven hundred forty dollars and the average of the thirty-five workers was eleven hundred thirty-nine dollars and thirty-seven cents.

The wage for part time bookkeeping seems to range at fifty cents an hour or at the rate of about twenty-four dollars for a forty-eight hour week. The part time bookkeeper apparently received just twice the amount paid for the part time typist.

In order to complete the study of office occupations, a study of clerks⁵ was made in a manner similar to the survey for stenographers, bookkeepers, and cashiers. The results in this field were the most favorable of all office positions. The lowest earning reported was seven hundred eighty dollars, or slightly over fifteen dollars a week, higher than the minimum earning for either the stenographic

⁵These are women in office, clerical work, and not saleswomen who are often erroneously termed clerks.

TABLE XII
 Yearly Earnings
 Thirty Clerks

Number of Workers	Yearly Wage
1	\$780
2	\$884
2	\$1000
2	\$1092
3	\$1100
1	\$1144
2	\$1192
4	\$1200
2	\$1300
3	\$1400
4	\$1500
1	\$1600
2	\$1664
1	\$1785
Average Wage	\$1262.44

or bookkeeping group. Five of this number of clerks or only one-sixth earned one thousand dollars annually or less; and eight, or over twenty-six per cent of the total received earnings of fifteen hundred dollars or over, while the percentage of stenographers in this wage grouping was fifteen and the percentage for bookkeepers and cashiers, five.

The highest salary reported in this group is seven-hundred and eighty-five dollars, which is below the maximum salaries in both the secretarial and bookkeeping groups. The average wage for the group of thirty clerks is twelve hundred sixty-two dollars and forty-four cents, and the median is twelve hundred dollars. (Table 12)

While this information has been carefully compiled according to the titles reported by the workers, it is felt that the earnings for each group can not, in all fairness, be assigned to one occupation. This is due to the fact that a person reporting as a stenographer may also perform some of the duties of a clerk, bookkeeper, or cashier. Therefore, these three specific groups have been combined to give a more comprehensive picture of the earnings of the office workers of Bangor without regard to specialized function.

What is discovered from this compiled list? The lowest recorded salary for an office worker is three hundred and twelve dollars, and the maximum is thirty-five hundred dollars. Of the total of one hundred and thirteen workers,

TABLE XIII

Yearly Earnings

Total Office Group- One Hundred and Thirteen Workers

Number of Workers	Yearly Wage
1	\$312
1	\$528
2	\$624
1	\$660
1	\$670
1	\$700
1	\$702
2	\$728
6	\$780
1	\$826
3	\$884
1	\$900
1	\$910
3	\$936
5	\$1000
2	\$1040
5	\$1092
11	\$1100
1	\$1140
1	\$1144
2	\$1192
1	\$1196
14	\$1200
1	\$1240
2	\$1250
16	\$1300
1	\$1362
6	\$1400
1	\$1425
7	\$1500
1	\$1560
2	\$1600
1	\$1638
2	\$1664
2	\$1700
1	\$1785
1	\$1800
1	\$1820
1	\$3500
Average Wage	\$1165.68

twenty-two per cent of the group earn less than one thousand dollars annually and seven per cent of these earn less than fifteen dollars weekly. Sixty-one per cent of the total group earn one thousand dollars or over, but less than fifteen hundred dollars. Sixteen per cent of the group earn fifteen hundred dollars or over annually, but less than two thousand. There is only one worker earning over two thousand dollars annually, thus giving a percentage of a little less than one per cent. The average of the group is eleven hundred sixty-five dollars and sixty-eight cents yearly, and the median is twelve hundred dollars.

While the monetary factor in a position is to be considered as the most important item, yet there are a great many other considerations entering into the matter of determining the desirability of a position. For example, a very average wage may carry with such a desirable number of hours to be worked that the position surpasses one where higher wages are paid but where the number of hours to be worked is considerably increased. In fact, the problem of office work can not be treated from the viewpoint of salary alone but one must also consider the hours worked. The question of weekly hours is also more important than that of daily hours, as it is the cumulative fatigue rather than occasional daily overwork that is to be guarded against.

An analysis was made of the hours worked by thirty-seven office workers, who are, in the main, employed by

different organizations. It is found that the lowest number of hours worked per week was thirty-three, with thirty-six hours as the next lowest number. Twenty-six women so employed worked a forty-four hour week or less.⁶ Four other women worked a total of forty-six hours or less per week. Only three of this group worked a total of fifty hours or over, two of them working fifty-four hours which is the maximum allowed for stores and industries by the state law⁷ which does not apply to office workers. (Table IV)

Four other women reported rather varied hours of work. One had an ordinary six and a quarter hour day but also worked some evenings. Another could not state the hours as extra work might be done at any time. The hours of another office worker might vary anywhere from twenty-five to forty-seven weekly, and still another worked forty-two and forty-eight hours on alternate weeks.

Of this total number, only three worked Saturday afternoon. One worked every Saturday night and one worked alternate Saturday nights. Thus it is seen that the situation of work for Saturday night varies greatly between the office worker and the saleswoman, again in the favor of the office worker.

⁶The general forty-four hour week consists of an eight hour day for five days with a Saturday half holiday.

⁷Revised Statutes of Maine, 1930, Chap. 54, Sec. 23, p. 834

TABLE XIV
 Weekly Hours
 Thirty seven Office Workers

Number of Workers	Number of Hours
1	33
3	36
8	39
4	40
1	40 $\frac{1}{2}$
1	41
2	43
6	44
1	44 $\frac{3}{4}$
1	45
2	46
1	50
2	54
1	Ordinary 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ hour day but works some evenings so the total varies.
1	25 to 47 hours- variable
1	42 to 48 hours- alternate weeks
1	Hours vary as there may be extra work at any time.

Many of the members of this group are employees of large organizations so that the hours for all employees are comparable. One large concern has a forty-four hour week; another a forty-two hour week, and one organization employing a large force of women in office work has a thirty-nine hour week. The longest number of hours for office workers seems to be found in the store offices.

Likewise, an analysis was made of the time allowed for lunch. While this is not nearly so important as the total weekly hours worked, yet the period is of some concern, as the rest period or change in the middle of the day should be long enough to allow lunch to be eaten in comfort and also should be of sufficient length to afford some relaxation. The state law says that "no woman shall work more than six hours continuously without an interval of at least one hour"⁸, but this law, as is the case with the total weekly hours worked, does not apply to office workers.

Just what time then is allowed for these office workers of Bangor? According to the thirty-nine reporting, the general allowance was one and one-half hours as shown by the fact that twenty-five of this number were allowed this time. (Table 15) One-half hour reported by one woman was the least time allowed while seven workers had one hour, one had one and one-quarter hours; one, one and three-

⁸Revised Statutes of Maine, 1930. Chap. 54, Sec. 24, p. 834 - 835.

TABLE XV
Time Allowed for Lunch
Thirty nine Office Workers

Number of Workers	Time Allowed
1	$\frac{1}{2}$ hour
7	1 hour
2	$1\frac{1}{4}$ hours
25	$1\frac{1}{2}$ hours
1	$1\frac{3}{4}$ hours
3	2 hours

quarter hours; and three workers had a luncheon period of two hours. Here again, it is found that in length of lunch hour, the office workers are again in a more favorable position than the storeworker whose lunch time is either one, or one and one-quarter hours.

A third factor influencing the value of a position is whether or not a paid vacation is given. From the standpoint of the employee, a vacation is necessary and desirable, but it is also felt that it is a necessary thing also from the standpoint of the employer, as the worker is able "to pay for it" by his increased efficiency, production and contentment.

The positions of the same thirty-nine women were again analyzed and it was found that the two weeks vacation with pay was the standardized rule in the majority of instances, thirty-one of the women receiving this amount, while one received one week only with pay and one worker received fifteen days - exclusive of Sundays and holidays - with pay. One reported that no vacation was allowed, three workers that two weeks vacation without pay was allowed and two employed women stated that there was uncertainty as to whether or not pay was given for their two weeks vacation. A paid vacation is essential in order to make it of any value unless the earnings are high enough for the remainder of the year as to permit this monetary loss throughout the vacation period. (Table 16)

TABLE XVI

VACATIONS

Thirty nine Office Workers

Number of Workers	Time Allowed
1	No paid vacation
1	One week with pay
3	Two weeks without pay
2	Two weeks (not stated whether with or without pay)
1	Fifteen days (exclusive of holidays and Sundays) with pay.
31	Two weeks with pay

Again the statement of these thirty-nine office workers was analyzed as to the allowance of sick leave in their organizations. Such allowance is another important feature in connection with the desirability of a position. Is money taken out for each hour or half day lost through sickness? Is sick leave granted after a period of time, or waiting period, as it is termed in insurance, or does it cover all illness irrespective of length of time, up to a certain limit?

The result of this analysis is shown in Table 17.

It seems that in relation to this factor there is more uncertainty and indefiniteness than in regard to vacations. Eight of the office workers reported that no sick leave was granted and eight others said that sick leave was allowed but failed to describe its details. Seven others reported that the arrangement in regard to such leave was indefinite. One had two days sick leave allowed by the organization; seven had two weeks sick leave or more at the discretion of the head of the office. Another worker reported that she had ten days sick leave cumulative indefinitely with a provision that only six months could be taken in one year. Another worker said that any reasonable time was allowed, three had as much as was necessary, and two others worked in an organization where sick leave was treated as an individual matter in each case.

Of the large organizations employing office workers

TABLE XVII

Allowance for Sick Leave

Thirty nine office workers

Number of Workers	Time Allowed
8	None
8	Sick leave allowed but not described.
4	Not given
3	Indefinite
1	Two days
7	Two weeks
1	Two weeks or more at the discretion of the head of the office.
1	Ten days cumulative
3	As much as necessary
1	Reasonable Time allowed
2	Considered as an individual matter.

in considerable numbers, two of the concerns gave two weeks sick leave with pay and another concern grants any time lost from sick leave up to one week. Then, after the employee has been with the company for two years, sick benefits are given up to four weeks. Organizations having both an office and industrial force usually grant sick leave to their office workers but not to their industrial force, as there is opportunity for overtime work. While the yearly wage may thus be maintained, there is no relation between payment for sick leave and for overtime and an opportunity for the latter does not justify non-payment of time lost from work due to sickness.

It is evident that despite the rather indefinite allowances reported by some office workers, in the main, the amount of sick leave granted is much greater for the office worker than for the saleswoman, as the women in this group, in general, receive none.

Besides the factors of vacations, sick leave, and so forth, there may be various other benefits accruing to the members of various organizations. For instance, one organization carries on group insurance, and also has a death benefit plan by which not over five hundred dollars is allowed when necessary to cover burial expenses. This organization has also a stock purchase plan whereby stock can be paid for at the rate of seventy-five cents a week with one share of stock allowed for every three hundred dollars of salary. The money may be withdrawn at any time.

Two other organizations dealing partially in transportation allow free passes. Such privileges are not important but merely serve to make the position more pleasant and to add to its attractiveness.

What do these thirty-nine representative office workers think of the conditions under which they work? According to their own statement, twenty-three, or over half of this number find their working conditions excellent;⁹ fifteen report them to be fair; and only one reported such surroundings as poor. Such reports reflect the personal characteristics of the employee and may be variable, but probably no one is a better judge of such conditions than the individual working under them. There is great reason to believe that the working conditions surrounding the office employed are as favorable as those of any other occupation group, as the employers themselves are generally in the same surroundings. Then, too, the incessant opening of doors which is so common in stores is not a factor in the office situation.

Another question which is usually raised by the applicant for a position is: - "Is there any chance for advancement in this work?" In answering this question in regard to their work, twenty-seven of these thirty-nine represen-

⁹Working conditions refer to light, heat, air, etc.

tative women said there was "some"; seven replied that there was "no chance for advancement"; five gave no answer; and no one said that they considered there was "a great deal".

It might be asked, "Just what is meant by 'some' chance for advancement?" This is another problem which involves a personal factor. One man who has an extensive knowledge of the working conditions of the office forces of Bangor said in answer to the question that there was little or no chance for advancement in the office work in this city and that there were few organizations which gave any real chance to work up to a position of more than moderate worth. He is looking at the situation from the standpoint of responsibilities and status involved, while the workers are generally looking at the situation from the monetary viewpoint and state that there is "some" chance for advancement where someone else in the organization, for instance, the chief clerk, is earning a few hundred dollars more than they are.

But as a final end, are there any opportunities for advancement to the positions of the highest type in the city of Bangor? It would seem not. For instance, the highest position in one organization will be thirteen hundred dollars for the chief clerk, which seems to be not an overwhelming amount, although it is a comfortable wage for a single woman.

Another company has a top office salary of twenty-four dollars a week or twelve hundred forty-eight dollars, while

in another organization salaries begin at fifteen dollars a week and increase yearly one dollar up to a maximum of twenty-four dollars with the statement made that an exceptionally superior girl might receive thirty dollars.

Still another organization has salaries ranging from twelve dollars to thirty-five dollars, according to experience and type of work. The range here is considerable, but even the top figure of eighteen hundred twenty dollars annually, while a very excellent salary, is not tremendous and could scarcely be termed a great opportunity.

As has been seen in the previous table of salaries of the office workers the general wage for such work tends to range between one thousand dollars and fifteen hundred dollars with an average of less than twelve hundred dollars. It is also noticeable that only one receives above two thousand dollars, and although at least one other normally receives a salary above this figure, the earnings during the depression period are less. Both of these positions, however, are of a fairly unusual type and do not offer extensive opportunity to many Bangor women and such opportunities are obviously limited. Therefore it may be concluded that while there is more or less opportunity for advancement to a very comfortable standard of living for a single woman, there are very limited opportunities for further advancement, especially beyond the two thousand dollar deadline.

Individual instances show such cases as a woman who

has been working thirty-seven years in the same position who receives thirty-five dollars weekly and one who has been employed in her position steadily for twenty years who receives thirteen hundred dollars annually or twenty-five dollars weekly. Another employed in her present position twenty-seven years receives fifteen hundred dollars, and another who has occupied her present position for twenty-six years is also receiving fifteen hundred dollars. A fifth woman has been employed in her position for a total of thirty-two years and is receiving seventeen hundred dollars annually.

Perhaps, in regard to the salaries of these women, the most interesting of all factors is found in the relation of their earnings to their education, age groupings, and years of experience in this one position which they are now holding.

As can be seen by Table 18 the years and kind of education seem to have no relation to the earning capacity of the office worker. While the lowest average comes for the few members of the group having only a grammar and business school education, also the second lowest group is made up of those people who have not only had a college education but also a business school training with this. The third group is made of women having a high school and business education, the average of these women being the second highest. The highest group is made up of those women, who if they secured a business training, obtained it in the

TABLE XVIII

Relation of Education to Earnings of
Thirty-four Office Workers

Grammar school and business college

<u>Number of workers</u>	<u>Earnings</u>	
1	\$ 1000	
1	1300	\$ 1150
	Average	
	<u>High school education</u>	
1	\$ 780	
1	830	
1	936	
1	1000	
1	1300	
1	1362	
1	1400	
1	1425	
1	1500	
1	1638	
1	1785	
1	1820	
1	3500	
	Average	\$ 1482
	<u>High school and business school</u>	
1	\$ 528	
1	702	
1	780	
1	900	
1	910	
1	1000	
1	1040	
1	1200	
1	1250	
1	1500	
1	1600	
1	1700	
2	1800	
	Average	\$ 1214
	<u>College and Business college</u>	
1	\$ 1000	
1	1250	
2	1300	
	Average	\$ 1212.50

secondary school, for this group has a high school education only. It is evident that other factors have a much greater influence on the earnings of this group than does the matter of education when considered separately from all other factors.

The situation is quite different when one comes to the age groupings as shown in Table 19. Here the youngest group, that of twenty to twenty-four years, has the smallest average yearly earning. The average wage then rises to one thousand ninety-nine dollars in the age grouping of twenty-five to thirty-four years and averaging all workers the earnings reach their height with the thirty-five to forty-four year group. It is found, however, that omitting the woman who earns thirty-five hundred dollars and who from all ascertainable knowledge receives a salary all out of proportion to the other workers of the city, there is a rise only to fourteen hundred and two dollars for the average of this group. The average again rises with the group of the ages from forty-five to fifty-five years with the average at fifteen hundred fourteen dollars, and the average declines to nearly the point of the thirty-five to forty-four year group with the group of workers who are over fifty-five who, as is generally conceded, tend to lose their efficiency from this point on. From these figures it can be seen that, different from the factor of education, the age of the worker in this occupation does play a very definite relationship,

TABLE XIX

Relation of Age Groups to Earnings of
Thirty-four Office Workers

<u>Number of workers</u>	<u>Group 1 - - Age 20 to 24</u>	<u>Earnings</u>	
1		\$ 528	
1		780	
1		830	
1		900	
1		936	
1		1000	
1		1300	
	Average		\$ 896
	<u>Group 2 - - Age 25 to 34</u>		
1		702	
1		780	
1		936	
3		1000	
1		1040	
1		1400	
1		1500	
1		1638	
	Average		\$ 1099
	<u>Group 3 - - Age 35 to 44</u>		
1		1200	
1		1250	
2		1300	
1		1362	
1		1600	
1		1800	
1		3500	
	Average (omitting \$3500)		\$ 1402
	Average		1664
	<u>Group 4 - - Age 45 to 55</u>		
1		1250	
1		1300	
1		1425	
1		1775	
1		1820	
	Average		\$ 1514
	<u>Group 5 - - Age over 55</u>		
1		910	
2		1500	
1		1700	
	Average		\$ 1403

the earnings steadily rising with the age groupings until the age of fifty-five is reached.

The same situation holds true when one considers the relationship between the earnings of these workers and the number of years which they have held their present position, a factor which is, of course, more or less related to age. It is seen that the average ~~for~~ the workers who have been in their position under five years is eight hundred eighty-one dollars and seventy-five cents and for those who have held their positions for five years or over but less than ten years receive an average of twelve hundred thirty-four dollars seventy-seven cents. Coming ~~to~~ the next group again the same correction which was inserted in the age groupings is made. Including the woman earning thirty five hundred dollars, the average for the group having at least ten years experience but not over fifteen is fifteen hundred ninety-two dollars. However, excluding her, there is an average for the group of thirteen hundred nineteen dollars, and an average ~~for~~ the group which has had over fifteen years experience of fifteen hundred sixty-four dollars. Evidently, too, years of experience in one position holds a very definite and positive relationship to the earnings which increase with each additional year of service classification.

What conclusion, then, can one draw concerning the position of the office worker of Bangor? Evidence seems to point to the fact that in general, conditions in this

TABLE XX

Relation of Years of Experience in present
position to earnings - Thirty-four
office workers

<u>Group 1 - Less than five years</u>	
<u>Number of workers</u>	<u>Earnings</u>
1	\$ 528
2	780
1	830
1	900
1	936
1	1000
1	1300
Average	
	\$ 881.75
<u>Group 2 - Five years, less than ten</u>	
1	702
1	810
2	1000
1	1040
1	1200
2	1250
1	1300
1	1425
1	1500
1	1775
1	1800
Average	
	\$ 1234.77
<u>Group 3 - Ten to fifteen years inclusive</u>	
1	936
1	1000
1	1300
1	1362
1	1400
1	1600
1	1638
1	3500
Average	
	\$ 1592
Average (omitting \$3500)	
	1319
<u>Group 4 - Over fifteen years</u>	
1	1300
2	1500
1	1700
1	1820
Average	
	\$ 1564

type of work compare favorably with all occupational groups while the entering wage for young girls may seem fairly low, it does not, on the average, begin to compare with the low earnings of store work and furthermore, as has been demonstrated, earnings do increase with age and experience to a fairly comfortable level of salaries, a situation which can not be said to be general in store work.

Then, too, surroundings in the office are pleasant on the average, working hours are short and, in general, work ends when the office is closed and the burdens of such a position are not taken home, as for example, is the case with school teaching. The weekly hours are also short with a seemingly rather standardized half holiday on Saturday and few office employees work Saturday night. Vacations with pay are the rule and sick leave is also a fairly general allowance, thus increasing the attractiveness of the positions as additional compensations in addition to a fair wage. Such generalities do not, of course, apply to each office position of the city, but the common consensus of opinion among the workers seems to be that the remuneration and privileges which go with office work of various sorts in the city of Bangor are fairly satisfactory.

CHAPTER VII

WOMEN IN RETAIL STORES

In the retail stores of Bangor the most interesting employment situation is found. The occupation of saleswoman to many seems to demand neither training, education, nor experience. Neither is middle or increasing age a bar to such work as is the case in many industries. Therefore, there is the continual demand of women for store work and the supply of labor in this field is one of the factors which must be considered in regard to wages.

Presumably not much mentality is required in the making out of sales slips and, in fact, a great many stores do not even require this routine. The saleswoman in many instances is merely a "counter server." She takes the goods, wraps them or merely puts them in a bag, and takes the customers' money. These actions, to many women so employed, constitute a sale.

It is little wonder that many unskilled girls make this occupation a stop gap before marriage, especially in a community such as Bangor where there are no industries for women to enter, and domestic work is always more or less shunned because of its social stigma. Store work casts no stigma and allows plenteous conversation with neighboring saleswomen. Such is the general attitude taken by the salesgirl in Bangor. As Helen Woodward aptly describes the situation:

"There are thousands of women in the country who have to sell goods for a living; most of them are poor saleswomen, always on the ragged edge, hating their work and doing it badly."¹

But a writer of a vocational book for girls states:

"The department store offers bigger chances to more girls and women than any other business I know."²

Another woman writing on this occupation says:

"Never in the history of merchandising has personal service and ability been so eagerly sought by customers and valued by employers. Never has the position of salesclerk been so highly considered and so well paid."³

It may be said both personal service and ability are sought by the customers in Bangor but the statement concerning the employer and high wages may be omitted. These women enumerate the opportunities for advancement to stylist, personnel manager, and comparison shopper. These women know the occupation of which they are speaking, but they are considering progressive organizations in localities other than Bangor. It is true that store work should offer almost unlimited opportunities for women. Who should know better how to forecast the demands of the feminine public, than one of this sex, and therefore who is more competent than a woman.

¹Woodward, Helen, The Business Girl, Scribners Magazine, March, 1933, p. 180

²Cades, Hazel Rawson, Jobs for Girls, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1930, New York, p. 50

³Oglesby, Catharine, Business Opportunities for Women, Harper and Bros. 1932, p. 251

to be saleswoman or buyer? It is perhaps almost the only field outside of the home in which woman have what might be termed the "edge" on men.

A truly competent and valuable salesgirl must perhaps be more versatile than any other type of worker. She must have a thorough knowledge of selling psychology and reactions in general; she must be familiar with her stock, know all its uses, how it is advertised and manufactured and all its selling qualities; she must know how to arrange and keep her stock attractive; she must have a pleasing personality with, above all, the ability to adapt herself to the need and conditions of all walks of life.

Search fails to reveal many of this type of woman in the Bangor stores. There is an excellent reason. Pride may be taken in the securing of an excellent stock and in conducting a well planned advertising campaign, but little attention is devoted to the matter of the employment of workers. The idea is apparently far from the thoughts of the employers that an adequate, excellent and well displayed stock attractively advertised may be effectively negatived by inattentive, inefficient, and "dumb" salesgirls. Complaints concerning service in some of the Bangor stores are not in the form of such casual remarks as may be heard in any locality but in the form of general comment. In many instances it is necessary for the customer to request that the sales-

girl serve her.

The question arises as to why there is this general inefficiency. There are several reasons, but even a casual glance at wages reveals a most satisfactory explanation. A study of eight of the retail stores of Bangor was made but the figures gathered from one are omitted as the material given by the owner was so evidently inaccurate.

Table 21 shows the seven establishments with the wages, hours worked, vacations, sick leave and additional compensation, if any is allowed.

For many years the manufacturing industries have been suspected and looked upon as the establishments exploiting women but it would seem in the light of these figures that it is time attention was turned to other fields.

More than one-half of these women are receiving nine dollars or less a week - a week in this instance of not less than fifty hours and generally fifty-two. The maximum is set by the state law at fifty-four - a full maximum which, incidentally, one store reaches. A significant number receive seven dollars and a half or even less for a full weeks work. The part time worker in certain stores receives from thirteen to fifteen cents an hour, or twenty-five cents an hour for short periods of one or more hours.

If the minimum salaries be divided by the number of hours worked weekly it is found that in two stores these

girls receive the munificent sum of fourteen cents an hour. Incidentally, a considerable number of girls are included in this group. In another establishment fourteen and a half cents, and in two others fifteen cents per hour is received. In a sixth organization seventeen cents an hour is the wage, and in one very small establishment where all the workers receive the same, twenty-one cents an hour is paid.

The woman who said "An attractive inducement to department store work is the potential salary. An apprentice goes in at perhaps eighteen dollars a week but if she is a successful apprentice, bonuses, sales, commissions, and promotions soon increase her income,"⁴ certainly visited Bangor. She might have said truthfully of this community that after fifteen or twenty years steady advancement, the fortunate individual might reach a salary of perhaps fifteen or eighteen dollars a week.

Another writer does not refer to Bangor when she says:

"The usual salary for a sales clerk is from fifteen to twenty dollars a week. In the cities it averages eighteen to twenty-five dollars."⁵

True, it may be said that the wages quoted are the minimum wages but a considerable number are included in these groups and women getting the minimum wage must live.

⁴Cades, Hazel Rawson, Jobs for Girls, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1930, p. 50

⁵Oglesby, Catharine, Business Opportunities for Women, Harper and Brothers, 1932, p. 25

Wages in the ten, eleven, and twelve dollar class go to the so-called trained or experienced woman. But just how many years does it take to become experienced? One woman who has been working for twenty-eight years reports a salary of fourteen dollars and another who has worked over twenty-five years, receives fifteen dollars a week. Another competent saleswoman over fifty years of age, who has been with one organization over eight years, receives twelve dollars a week. Advancement, evidently, is anything but rapid.

There is always the general cry that chain stores by paying a lower wage are able to sell goods at a lower price than the independent store. This statement does not apply to Bangor. The two stores paying the lowest beginning wage are not members of a chain but are local independent dealers of long standing.

It is seen that beginning salaries are decidedly low for the number of hours worked and that salaries are not increased with any rapidity or for any great numbers, as sixty-five per cent in one organization receive ten dollars or less. But what are the opportunities for advancement in store work in Bangor? It can be truthfully said, that there are none. In one organization the two girls occupying the higher positions receive fourteen dollars a week, and in another, the two occupying the most responsible positions get eighteen and twenty dollars a week respectively. The woman receiving a salary of twenty dollars has been with the

organization twenty-two years. In still another organization, the top figure is twenty dollars, and in a fourth, one saleswoman and buyer of many years experience receives twenty-five dollars weekly. One store pays one woman, who is a combination buyer and saleswoman, thirty-five dollars a week, which, incidentally, is the top figure paid for any woman employed in Bangor stores. In still another establishment some ten women receive from fifteen to thirty dollars a week - thirty-dollars being the top figure paid for buyer, a position involving the great responsibility, care, and hard work. Why any one should care to work for years in order to assume a position of such nerve-wracking responsibility as that of buyer, is to be wondered at, when it is fairly common for a bookkeeper or clerk to receive over twenty-five dollars weekly. But even if such a salary is available these positions are open to but few. Such positions as store manager, stylist, comparison shopper, and personnel manager simply do not exist in Bangor stores, so one is either a saleswoman getting anywhere from seven to twenty-five dollars a week or possibly a buyer receiving a top figure of thirty-five dollars weekly. It is certain that few opportunities are offered.

A comparison was made of a store in another locality of the state with a Bangor organization. The size of the communities is quite similar, the organizations are similar in size, in ownership, in goods carried, and in general

selling policies.

In the Bangor store which is designated as Store X, one half of the wages are below nine dollars a week with a considerable number employed at the minimum salary of seven dollars and fifty cents. Sixty-five per cent of the wages in this store are ten dollars or less. On the other hand, Establishment Y, outside of Bangor, pays a starting or minimum wage of eleven dollars a week, which is more than sixty-five per cent of the employees of the Bangor store receive. In Establishment Y the salary is increased according to experience and ability to eighteen dollars a week for saleswomen. The highest salary for Store Y is thirty dollars a week for assistant buyer. This amount is paid in Store X for buyer. Both these stores give discounts and commissions. Store Y has a shorter working week by one half hour than does Store X and the working conditions are somewhat more comfortable and pleasant. While Store Y gives two weeks vacation to all, Store X gives one to two weeks according to length of service. Sick leave is allowed by neither establishment. The policies of the seven Bangor stores concerning the granting of vacations and sick leave are shown in Table 21.

Working conditions and surroundings are also an important factor in store work. Of all stores in the city, Store G has the poorest working conditions. The aisles are narrow, and the space behind the counter is not of sufficient

width to allow a great degree of comfort and ease of movement; the store has a crowded, messy look with various articles hanging around the counters thus preventing good air and light conditions. The basement has an especially low ceiling with very poor air and victrolas usually go at "full blast" adding to the general confusion. The seats provided are stools attached to the counter. These seats do not appear any too comfortable, but it is extremely doubtful if the girls in this store have much opportunity to discover whether or not they are satisfactory. In fact, one former employee of the store said that they treated the salesgirls more as machines than as persons and certain statements made by the manager in an interview also indicates this attitude.

In Store E conditions are found to be much better. The general atmosphere of the place is much more satisfactory; the air, although not excellent, is not too oppressive. The ceilings are high and the aisles are fairly wide. A rather unsatisfactory situation does exist here in the fact that, in winter months, the doors are often left open for some minutes at a time in an effort to secure better air but with the consequent danger of draughts. Girls working for this organization reported that the working conditions are fair.

Store D also seems satisfactory. The ceilings are

high, lighting is indirect, ventilation is fair, and the general appearance of the place is fairly attractive. Girls employed here report that the working conditions are excellent and that the management is very considerate.

Store B is very average. The store is orderly but the ceilings are somewhat low, with the consequence that the air is poor and the building stuffy. Regular chairs are in general use with occasional stools. One clerk was seen sitting on an orange box. This, no doubt, is one of the "contrivances" mentioned in the state seating law. The stairs in the establishment are narrow and slippery and might conceivably become the cause of accidents.

The whole question of seating equipment is one of great interest. The statutes of the state of Maine read as follows on the subject:

"The proprietor, manager, or person having charge of any mercantile establishment, store, shop, hotel, restaurant, or other place where women or girls are employed as clerks or help therein in this state shall provide chairs, stools, or other contrivances for the comfortable use of such female employees for the preservation of their health and for rest when not actively employed in the discharge of their respective duties. Whoever violates any of the provisions of this section shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$10 and not more than \$100".⁶

This law fails to state the number of chairs, or that they really be chairs. Although it provides for "comfort-

⁶Revised Statutes of Maine, Chap. 54, p. 838, sec. 37, 1930

able use" it also provides that stools or other "contrivances" may be used. According to the standards set up by the "oman's bureau the seating equipment, for comfortable use, should consist of chairs with backs. It is also noticeable that the penalty is anything but severe and furthermore, the provision for seats does not include the permission to use them. Even though there may be no explicit rule that employees must stand, there is often an understood, tacit rule to that effect and the result is that the worker must either stand or lose her position. Such is the case in at least two Bangor stores. This state law, as is the case with so many others, is one which looks good on the books to the casual observer, but which in effect and accomplishment amounts to little.

Seats for use in spare moments are essential to the health of the woman working in the store. That great physical strain is caused by long hours of standing is not to be doubted, and for some reason, it is a greater strain to stand while unoccupied than while engaged in work.

The matter of the hours worked in stores would also seem to need correction. Some years ago, it was not the universal custom to keep the stores open in Bangor Saturday afternoon and evening throughout the hot summer months but now, with the exception of one store, they are open both Saturday afternoon and evening, the year round. This is due to competition and because it has become the custom of the

people of city and those from out-of-town to shop Saturday nights in the summer. Some people probably do shop Saturday night because it is most convenient for them, but many people probably come simply because they know they can do so. If all stores were closed Saturday night during the hot summer months, nothing would be lost by competition and the situation of the workers would be considerably better. At least if the system is not abolished, as it should be, compensatory time off during the week should be given. One Bangor store followed this policy for some time but finally gave it up.

Several of the employers interviewed admitted that the wage scale did not constitute a living wage but three of them said an effort was made to employ only those girls who lived at home. This is, no doubt, a well meant policy, but as will be seen in the discussion of the cost of living, there is doubt as to the advisability of a situation which causes the family to subsidize its members because the employer fails to pay a living wage for services rendered. The majority of store workers of the city are either living at home with their parents or with their husbands and thus, though making in most cases, some contribution to the family, are not totally self-supporting.

The reason for working in the stores is almost without exception given as financial necessity. In fact, only one exception was found to this statement. One woman, earning nearly the top salary of any paid in the city for this type

of work, has a husband who had a very comfortable income and a maid is employed in the home. This case, however, is decidedly the exception. One woman with two children was working because her husband had been out of work for two years.

Another girl, age twenty-three, was married but her husband was not earning an amount sufficient to support her, and she was hoping that in a couple of years, conditions would be such as to allow her to leave the store. She made some very descriptive remarks on the matter of the double burden carried by the working woman saying that she worked when she got home but was so tired some nights that she "couldn't even wash the dishes and do the things she should." Other nights she cooks, mends, and cleans the house. Another woman working in a store is divorced from her husband and is supporting her daughter and herself.

The managers and owners complain of large turnover and lack of purpose. A low wage is conducive to these very two things, especially where a very slight chance for advancement is possible. There should be more definite chances for promotion, and above all, there should be provision for a definite starting wage sufficient to cover living expenses not only for the girl who is living with her family but also for the woman who is independent. Surely, at the present time, any woman entering the field of merchandising in this city with the thought of future advancement to higher

positions should claim Pollyanna as a patron goddess. If monetary consideration is what is sought, better results are to be obtained in either typing or housework.

There is but little doubt that if saleswomen were carefully chosen for their ability, paid an adequate wage, and given a definite chance for advancement, that the situation would be improved from the angle of everyone concerned. The employer would not complain of such lack of purpose and great turnover; the employee would not spend her time figuring out how little work she can do, and the public would feel amply repaid in being able to get courteous and efficient service.

Forty-five years ago, Mrs. Flora Haines Hinckley in a report of the Department of Labor for the state of Maine made the following statement:

"Saleswomen receive the lowest pay of any adult held."⁷ Just how much the situation has been remedied may be seen from the foregoing data. Surely when one counts almost five decades with little progress in the wages paid in stores, it is clear that "laissez faire" has not been successful.

⁷ Hinckley, Flora Haines, Working Women of Maine, Publication by the Maine Commissioner of Labor, 1888, p. 116

TABLE XXI

Comparative Study of Seven Retail Stores
in Bangor

<u>Store</u>	<u>Wages</u>	<u>Hours Worked</u>	<u>Sick Leave</u>
A	\$ 10	8:30-5:30, Sat. night until 9:30 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ hours lunch 47 $\frac{1}{4}$ hour week	None
B	Beginning wage \$ 7.50. $\frac{1}{2}$ re- ceive \$9.00 or less 15% - \$10 10% - \$12 15% - 15 10% - \$15 to \$30	8:15-5:45, Sat. night until 10:00 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ hours lunch 52 $\frac{1}{2}$ hour week	None
C	\$ 7.00 15.00 25.00	8:00-5:30, Sat. night until 9:00 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ hour lunch 50 hour week	None
D	Range is \$8.00 to \$14.00. Nor- mal pay is \$10 to \$15. \$.15 an hour for part time work.	52 hour week 1 hour lunch	None
E	Salesgirls \$9 to \$15. Higher posi- tions (2 in num- ber) \$18 and \$20	8:30-6:00, Sat. night until 9:30 1 hour lunch 52 hour week	Total salary for serious illness (over two weeks)
F	\$8 to \$35 Average \$15	8:30-5:30, Sat. night until 9:30 1 hour lunch 51 hour week	None
G	\$8 to \$20 Average \$10 to \$12	8:30 to 6:00, Sat. night until 10:00 1 hour lunch 54 hour week	None

<u>Store</u>	<u>Vacations</u>	<u>Additional Compensation</u>
A	Two weeks without pay. Also had to take two extra weeks off.	None
B	One week with pay for those who have been in the store since October 1. Two weeks with pay for those who have been in the store one year or longer.	Discount and Commission
C	No vacation with pay at present. Did get two weeks with pay after one year service.	Discounts One gets commission
D	Six months service, one week with pay. One year service, two weeks with pay	Formerly bonus system at Christmas. After 6 months service, \$5 a year. A year service, \$10. Each additional year \$5 added, up to \$50
E	6 months service, one half week. One year, one week. Two years, two weeks	None
F	One week with pay	None
G	Usually two weeks, one week with pay, but no pay was given last year.	None

CHAPTER VIII

WOMEN IN DOMESTIC AND PERSONAL SERVICE

I. Domestics

In general, in any discussion of employed women, or of women in industry, the occupation of domestic is excluded. The investigation of the working conditions of this class is perhaps the most difficult of all groups. The employment conditions and the wage of any working group are hard enough to establish, but additional difficulties are presented in the domestic class. It is impossible to personally interview the housewives of the city and inquire as to the wages which they pay their maids. Then, too, the employment conditions in such an occupation vary greatly. Does the domestic live at the home of her employer or "live in", as the phrase is in the occupation, or does she work by the day or hour and receive only her lunch at the place of employment, or does she perhaps furnish all her own meals?

The working conditions of the domestic are also rather unusual. In general, this type of work vies with factory labor for the lowest position in the occupational strata. There is still rather a stigma attached to such manual or physical labor and a consequent lower place in the social scale is awarded. Also, in what type of surroundings does the domestic find herself? Is she in a well-ordered house-

hold, where her hours are comparatively regular and the work well-planned, or is she on call at any time, with uncertain hours of work and consequent loss of a great deal of personal liberty? The situation varies not only with the employer but with the worker. A rather amazing situation was found in one institution where the cook was the only employee receiving a two weeks vacation with pay, while the others (professional workers), when desirous of a vacation, took it without pay or not at all. The reason given was that the employer was "scared" of the cook. More women of the cook's type are evidently needed in some of the concerns of Bangor.

Although any consideration of the domestic situation is complicated by these factors, the very great number of women so employed in Bangor make it important that they be included in a survey of working women. Women classified as servants make up nearly twenty per cent of the entire female working population and, adding to this number those classified as housekeepers and untrained nurses, there is a total of nine hundred and fifteen women so engaged, or twenty-six and six-tenths per cent of the total number of working women. In other words, one woman in about every fourteen in the city of Bangor is engaged in domestic work outside of her own home, and about one out of every four of the employed women of the city is so occupied.

— This is perhaps of more significance when compared

with other communities of the state. The number of employed domestics in the city of Portland is about nineteen per cent of the total number of working women in the community, and the number for Lewiston is not quite ten per cent.¹ These figures have been previously stated, but are herewith repeated because of their great importance. It appears that in the city of Bangor, at least, in total numbers there has not been too much progression away from the idea that woman's work is primarily in the home, whether it be in her own house or that of someone else.

The possible explanation of the great employment in this group comes from both the demand and supply phases of the labor market. Bangor is, and has been for many years past, a wealthy community, with the wealth not too well distributed. Consequently, on the one hand there is a class which is able to afford such employment and which has become accustomed to such service, and on the supply side of the scale there is also a class which is willing to do such work, the number of these workers increased because of the lack of industrial opportunities in the community.

In domestic work, as in all other occupations, the remuneration for services varies greatly. The wage differs

¹ Figures compiled from Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930. Occupation Statistics for Maine, Government Printing Office, 1931. p. 10, 11.

among classes of work and as among individuals in these classifications.

First, the work of domestics in private homes is considered. They may be employed as maids, servants, or whatever title is chosen to apply to general housework where board and room is given. In such instances, the wage may be from maintenance alone to around eight dollars a week. The situation of work for maintenance only is further complicated by the presence of a number of school girls who are thus employed. Two schools each give an estimate of forty girls who attend school and are working in outside hours for their board and room. But such conditions are not confined to school girls only. Advertisements similar to the following appear in the "positions wanted" column of the local newspapers:

"Woman, 40, capable and neat would work board for a while in or near Bangor".

One organization which has employment facilities reported that many women who could afford to pay more are taking advantage of the depression and are giving no monetary wage.

One dollar and fifty cents a week, plus maintenance, is, however, the usual amount which is paid for the untrained worker, and three dollars a week is the average wage, with the better type of worker receiving anywhere from five to eight dollars weekly, and one employment house reported a call for one domestic at ten dollars weekly but

this is an exceptional case. It is generally agreed by the people at the head of the exchanges that eight dollars is about the highest wage paid, and this is usually for workers who have been with the family for years or who have had a great deal of experience.

The pay varies also with the duties performed and the earnings are apt to be low in cases where little cooking or washing is done. One domestic was receiving five dollars a week for work which included little cooking and no washing, but no doubt this is rather higher than the general pay for such services.

More competent and better trained and educated women may receive more as nursemaid to children. One girl, age twenty-six, with a high and business school education, was earning fifteen dollars a week with maintenance in such a position.

Fortunately there is not the same question of sufficiency of wages for such domestics as for other occupations. Board and room is provided, so there is, at least, no going without lunches in order to make both ends meet. It is needless to say, however, that there is necessity for some additional money with which to provide clothes and recreation. But in the matter of clothes, there is another consideration. The type of clothes so essential to the store or office worker is not a prerequisite to the domestic, as her efficiency is not so dependent upon her appearance.

The situation changes somewhat when the domestic who works by the hour or by the day is considered. Payment for such services varies from twenty-five cents, thirty-five cents, or possibly forty cents an hour. Twenty-five cents an hour is probably the most common figure paid at present, although higher remuneration is occasionally obtained if the worker is extremely efficient or the work demanded is out of the ordinary. It is a very common thing to see advertisements such as the following in the newspapers:

"A capable woman wants cleaning. Twenty-five cents an hour."

This wage seems rather standardized for such workers, as a Lewiston organization reported; that workers of this type receive twenty-five to thirty cents an hour in that community.

Girls who act as "mothers helpers" and who do not live at the home of the employer receive from two dollars to two dollars and fifty cents weekly for their services, and women doing general housework by the day and going home nights receive two dollars daily.

Conditions change when the workers employed, not in private homes, but in organizations are considered.

Organization A pays its maids the equivalent² of fourteen dollars a week and its kitchen helpers sixteen dollars weekly.

²Including maintenance estimated at one dollar a day.

Organization B pays domestic workers in its establishment the equivalent of fifteen to seventeen dollars weekly with a nine hour day and a six day week. In another organization paying similar wages, the workers are employed on an average of fifty-eight hours a week. A two weeks vacation with half pay is allowed and although no sick leave is permitted, the concern pays fifty per cent of the premium on an accident and health policy if the employee desires such protection.

In Organization C the cook receives forty dollars a month plus maintenance or about seventeen dollars weekly if maintenance is estimated at one dollar per day. She also receives the only paid vacation which is allowed by this establishment.

In Organization D a cook and helper are employed for nine and twelve dollars weekly with two meals furnished daily. The hours worked are nine daily, with a total of fifty-four per week. The owner of the concern remarked that the wage scale was formerly twice as high as this and would be increased again when business conditions permitted. Two weeks vacation without pay is allowed and sick leave is made an individual matter and given when necessary. A definite arrangement for sick leave was formerly tried and abandoned, as unfair advantage was taken, and it has been found that allowance for such loss when granted as an individual matter is much more satisfactory.

Probably domestic work in these organizations is preferable to work in the private home because the hours of work and the working arrangement are permanent and fixed rather than indefinite as in the ordinary household.

The opportunities and wages of the domestic group are limited by the incompetence and lack of training and general education which is characteristic of the labor supply in the field. The number seeking positions in this occupation is very great because such education and experience are not absolute prerequisites. At the present time the numbers of women seeking this sort of work is growing rapidly, due to the unemployment of the male members of the family which, in turn, forces the untrained woman to seek work which must be of the type not demanding skill and previous experience.

In relation to the personal factors concerned with domestic employment which have a bearing on the conditions in the occupation and wages, an analysis of the age, education, marital status, and number of dependents of a group of one hundred and ninety employed domestics was made.

Table 22 gives a summary of the education of this group. The number in the lower groups, that is, those who have only a grammar school education or who perhaps do not even possess a full elementary education makes up thirty-nine per cent of the whole. It is also quite likely that

TABLE XXII

Education

One hundred ninety employed domestics

Education	Number in Group	Per Cent
Grammar school not completed	15	7.9
Grammar school	59	31.1
Partial high school course	38	20.0
High school	32	16.8
Advanced training	12	6.3
Not stated	34	17.9
Total	190	100.0

a large percentage of the eighteen per cent who did not give their education fall in this class.

In addition to those possessing a grammar school education or less, twenty per cent did not finish their secondary school training. Only twenty-two and eight-tenths per cent had a full high school education and only six per cent of these had had further training beyond the secondary school. These figures demonstrate the well known fact that the domestic worker in general has not much educational training.

Inasmuch as young girls now work, it would be expected that they would be found in the domestic group, for the obvious reason that they are unprepared for and unsuited to any other industry than one of the type of domestic or personal service or the factory. This premise is borne out by the fact that while sixteen per cent of these one hundred and ninety domestics were under twenty years of age, only nine per cent of the total working women of the city were under this age limit. In the older groups, the percentage number of domestics increases, the percentage of the group between the ages of twenty to twenty-four being sixteen, while the similar percentage for the total working women of the city was a little less than twenty. This fact is still more striking in the grouping between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-four, in which twenty and one-half per cent of the total working group fell, but only fourteen and one-half per cent of this domestic group. After this group,

TABLE XXIII

Age Groups

One hundred ninety employed domestics

Age Range	Number in Group	Per Cent
Under 20 years	31	16.3
20-24 years	31	16.3
25-34 years	28	14.7
35-44 years	37	19.5
45-55 years	45	23.8
55 years and over	18	9.4
Total	190	100.0

the domestic workers more nearly approach or even exceed the proportion in the total group. This is not unusual, for at this age the number of widowed women increased and these women have perhaps little or no experience with any occupation other than that of homemaking, or are women who, by marriage, have lost contact with the business world.

The fact that domestic work does offer a refuge for the widow or divorced woman is proved by an analysis of the marital condition of this group of women. (Table 24) Such a study shows that over twenty four and one-half per cent of the women in this group are widowed, divorced, or separated from their husbands, the widows making up eighteen and one-half per cent. The figure for the divorced and widowed women in the total working population is only seventeen and one-half per cent or some seven per cent below that for the domestic group. The per cent of married women is something over one per cent larger than for the total group, and the single women in the domestic class is less by some fourteen per cent.

Since it will probably be conceded that women do not do domestic work as a profession, what causes such an extensive number of women to enter such an occupation? It has already been suggested that lack of education and skill in other lines causes girls and women to go into such fields, but perhaps further information can be obtained by examining

TABLE XXIV

Marital Status

One hundred ninety employed domestics

Marital Status	Number in Group	Per Cent
Single	87	46
Married	46	24
Widowed	35	19
Divorced	12	6
Not Given	10	5
Total	190	100

the number of dependents of these one hundred and ninety workers. This tends to shed light on the necessity for working and on the responsibilities borne by this group of employed domestics.

According to Table '25 out of this group of one hundred and ninety, only twenty are married and have no one dependent upon them. This gives a percentage of eleven per cent who presumably are not obliged to work, presupposing that the husband is able to support them and that they have correctly stated that they are without dependents. These women may be working for various reasons; to pay for their home, to raise the family standard of living, or to educate the children.

Next there is a group of eighty-six single domestics who are working because of the financial necessity of supporting themselves. One single woman also reports a sister who is dependent upon her for support, and of those not stating their marital condition, two reported one dependent each, and one woman had three dependent upon her for support.

In the next grouping there are thirteen married women who have several dependents, ranging from the most common number of one dependent each, to one who has four people who rely upon her for support.

Ten women report that their husbands are unemployed, thus causing a necessity for them to find work. Of this number two have no dependents, four have two each, two have

TABLE XXV

Dependents
One hundred and ninety employed domestics

Number of Dependents	Number of Women in Group
<u>Single Women</u>	
None	86
One	1
<u>Married Women</u>	
None	20
One	8
Two	3
Three	1
Four	1
Husband out of work	2
Husband does not work regularly	1
Husband out of work- 2 dependents	4
Husband out of work- 3 dependents	1
Husband out of work- 4 dependents	2
Husband out of work- 6 dependents	1
Husband unable to work- 5 dependents	11
Husband ill- 3 dependents	1
<u>Divorced Women</u>	
None	7
One	2
Two	2
<u>Widowed Women</u>	
None	26
One	4
Dependent parents	1
Two	4
<u>Marital Status Not Given</u>	
Not given	7
One	2
Two	3

four each, and one woman, age thirty-five, has five dependents, and the tenth woman, age thirty-six, has six dependents. As has been stated, all these are dependent upon the mother, as the father is out of work. Another woman reports that her husband has no regular work, so there is necessity for her to contribute to the family income. One woman, age seventy, has a husband who is unable to work, and another, whose husband is ill, has three dependent children.

Evidently where the husband is physically unable to provide or is unable to secure employment, or enough employment to support a family, the woman must make her contribution. Domestic work is turned to, where there is not previous training in specific fields, for no woman considers herself utterly inexperienced in this type of work.

Widows, too, apparently find a means of living for themselves and their dependents in the field of domestic employment. Twenty-six reported no dependents except themselves to provide for, four had one dependent each, and five had two dependents each.

Of the divorced women and the women separated from their husbands, seven reported no one to support but themselves, two have one dependent each, and two have two dependents each.

What can be said of the employment situation in the domestic group? As for the work of those who "live in", although the monetary wage may seem small, there are still

rather decided advantages. The inclusion of room and board gives a sense of security and allows more money for other expenses and for saving. It is probably also true that the employer is more interested in the welfare of the domestic than is generally true of the employer in other lines of work.

On the other hand, there is the general disadvantage of too little independence, no opportunity for advancement, and a still remaining taint of social stigma. As to whether a higher social rating or an assurance of food and shelter is to be given most consideration is a personal matter, and may be the basis for many untrained women in deciding between store and domestic work. It must be admitted that perhaps the domestic of the city of Bangor does not have as forceful bargaining power as the women in mill towns who are similarly situated, for there are few alternative occupations. This factor also causes a large number of women to enter domestic work and competition becomes more keen. This is especially true at the present moment when economic conditions make it necessary that many either aid their families or completely support them.

II. Laundry Workers

Laundry workers constitute a second group of women in the field of domestic and personal service. While in numbers, these workers are but a small part of the employed

women of the city, yet the importance of this occupation is growing, an increase of over sixty per cent being noted between the year 1920 and the last census. Such an increase is due to changing conditions, the favoring of machine work outside the home rather than the old-time laundress, and also, to some extent, to the increased number of women employed outside the home.

Laundry work has never been in high repute as an occupation for women principally because the working conditions are apt to be rather uncomfortable and a fairly strong constitution is necessary to carry on such work.

Conditions vary greatly among establishments, but in an analysis of Organization A it is seen that an attempt is being made to better such working conditions.

The wage scale in this establishment begins at nine dollars a week and there is a possibility of working up to seventeen dollars "if they are capable". The owner remarked that "as far as the person is intellectually able to carry a job, anyone can work to the head of a department but everyone cannot take responsibility".

The hours are from 7:30 A. M. to 5:30 P. M. One hour for lunch at noon, and fifteen minutes for lunch at nine in the morning and also at three in the afternoon are allowed. Such rest periods, incidentally, are in accordance with standards approved and set up by the Womans Bureau. Such hours give a total of eight and one-half hours a day, or

fifty-one hours a week.

Vacations are without pay, and no sick leave is allowed. However, as stated, "any employee can have her job back at any time".

About ninety per cent of the workers of this establishment live at home although no special attempt is made to employ such workers. An effort is made, however, to hire those who really need employment. Of the total number employed, twenty per cent are single, twenty-three per cent married, and fifty-seven per cent have formerly been married but now, either as widowed or divorced women, are supporting themselves or a family.

Eighty-one per cent have a grammar school education only, and nineteen per cent have finished high school. None of the workers are under eighteen years of age; twenty per cent are between the ages of eighteen to thirty-four, sixty per cent are from the ages of thirty-four to forty-five, and twenty per cent are over forty-five years of age. Evidently, there is little place for the young worker in this organization, older women whose education will not permit more skilled work, being employed generally.

Another group of laundresses are paid fourteen dollars a week for the same number of hours.

It is notable that this type of work is suited to the untrained worker, as in store work, but the minimum wage is higher than the starting wages of the stores and the

hours are not, in many instances, as long. The physical straining is, of course, more exacting and the social standing is lower.

III. Waitresses

A third group of women in domestic and personal service is made up of waitresses. The occupation of waitress varies somewhat from other employment fields in that remuneration is largely in the form of tips rather than in stated wages. In other words, the duty to provide an adequate wage for the waitress is placed upon the public rather than the employer. Such earnings depend largely on the ability of the worker and on the type of organization in which she is employed.

A representative group of establishments which employ waitresses have been selected in order to show the employment conditions in this occupation.

Organizations A and B pay a set wage of three dollars weekly and furnish one meal. (The girls employed remarked that sufficient time was not allowed in which to eat the meal but that it must be "grabbed" at opportune moments.) Tips average about seven dollars a week, making their total earnings approximately ten dollars weekly.

Organization C pays a fixed wage of four dollars weekly and this concern is of such a type that additional compensation in tips is fairly small. Three meals a day are also

provided, adequate food time being allowed and sufficient time given in which to eat it.

Organization D pays seven to nine dollars weekly with maintenance. No tips are received.

Organization E employs waitresses at wages ranging from eight to twelve dollars weekly with maintenance. No additional compensation is received.

Organization F pays six dollars and fifty cents a week with tips, which are reported as "very good even in times of poor business." One waitress who has additional duties receives ten dollars weekly plus tips. Two meals a day, six days weekly, are also provided. It is stated that the regular wages are nearly double those at the present time and will be increased again when business conditions permit.

The working conditions and the privileges granted in this type of work are not satisfactory. Due to the fact that such businesses do not generally close on Sunday, the weekly hours are long, the probable average being around fifty-eight hours. One organization which does not remain open on Sunday has a straight nine hour day or an fifty-four hour week. The state laws limiting hours of work for women do not apply to restaurants, hotels, or similar organizations.

Likewise, the provision for sick leave and vacations is not liberal. In general, no pay is allowed for either.

One organization, however, allows two weeks vacation with half pay, and the same concern also pays fifty per cent of the premium of health and life insurance under a group policy if the worker wishes it.

In general, it may be stated that the long and late hours of work in this occupation are one of the causes of dissatisfaction. The changing of positions is apt to be a fairly frequent occurrence. One woman interviewed had been in one place for two years, another waitress had held the same position for three years, and a third had remained in the same concern for four years. It is a generally conceded fact that the younger waitresses tend to move about to a considerable extent. Lack of opportunity for advancement also makes for unrest.

CHAPTER IX

WOMEN IN MISCELLANEOUS OCCUPATIONS

1. Industrial Workers

Dressmakers make up the largest group in the field of industry in the city of Bangor. These workers have felt technological unemployment keenly in the past few years. Standardization of styles and sizes allows machines to produce quantities of dresses to be distributed throughout the country and sold at a low price. Chain shops which sell dresses at "two dollars and ninety-eight cents and up" have sprung up even in such small communities as Bangor. There is no doubt that such a condition has gone far to lessen the earnings of the dressmaker.

Nevertheless, there is still some opportunity left for the employment of dressmakers. Such workers are used by institutions, as "fitters" in retail stores, and by individualistic women who prefer not to be standardized and who are willing to pay somewhat more for clothes which they will not see duplicated frequently on the street.

The earnings of dressmakers vary according to whether work is full or part time. The dressmaker who has permanent work is first considered.

In one establishment dressmakers receive sixteen dollars weekly and in a second organization, dressmakers and tailoresses are paid nineteen to twenty-one dollars weekly.

Organization C employs a seamstress at twelve dollars a week and pays fifteen dollars weekly for a machine operator. One worker in Establishment D reports earnings varying from eighteen to twenty-eight dollars weekly. She also receives a discount on goods purchased from the establishment. In Organization E the earnings of the seamstress are twenty-three dollars weekly.

The situation varies greatly when the seamstress works in her own home. One dressmaker with sixty years experience reported that her earnings were "negligible" and another who does needlework at home stated that her earnings are "greatly varied." One dressmaker who sews by the day stated that the general daily compensation for such work ranged from one dollar and one-half to two dollars, according to the skill of the worker. In many instances, remuneration is based on the article made, and such figures as five to eight dollars a dress are quoted by dressmakers.

In another field of industrial work¹ in Bangor there are several women employed. The workers receive compensation varying from twenty to thirty dollars for a forty-eight hour week. This consists of an eight hour day from seven in the morning to four in the afternoon with one hour allowed for lunch, although the workers may leave when the work is

¹The industry is not named as specific organizations would be revealed.

completed, so that full time each day may not be worked. Work is on the hour basis with opportunity for overtime. There are no paid vacations, although these were formerly given, and there is no allowance for sick leave. Turnover among these workers is reported as small, not only at present but also during times of prosperity. One great factor in this is, no doubt, the comparatively high wage which is paid.

In a third industrial organization¹ of Bangor the majority of the workers are employed on the piece basis. The earnings of the average worker seem to be around one dollar a day, but one woman was earning such small amounts as sixty-five and thirty-five cents daily. A worker who had been employed here in previous years said that she, as an average worker, had been able to earn twelve dollars a week, while the most able worker sometimes made as much as eighteen dollars weekly. It is evident that the piece rate has been reduced considerably.

II. Transportation and Communication

Because of the introduction of new machinery there is little work for women in this field in Bangor. Since the work is somewhat skilled, Organization A carries on something of a training period for the first year of the work. A student is started at nine dollars a week. After the first, third, sixth, and ninth months, the wages are ten, eleven, twelve, and thirteen dollars respectively. After one year,

fourteen dollars and fifty cents weekly is the wage, which is, in reality, the starting point. For each year until the maximum is reached, one dollar a week increase in pay is possible. Thirteen hundred and twenty-six dollars yearly is the highest salary paid but this cannot be reached until the worker has at least ten years experience.

The hours vary according to the time of day the work is performed and may be six, seven or eight hours, with two relief periods of fifteen minutes each. That is, one group of girls works from eight to twelve and from five to nine and has two fifteen minute periods free, one in the afternoon and one in the morning.

Vacations are scheduled throughout the year and are on the basis of two weeks with pay.

There is no pay for sick leave for time lost up to one week, as overtime is available in this work, and the two supposedly "wash out." However, after the period of one week and after the employee has been with the organization for two years or over, sick benefits may be paid for a period of four weeks. There is also a death benefit plan whereby a maximum of five hundred dollars is paid to cover funeral expenses when such aid is necessary.

Organization B pays twelve dollars weekly with an allowance for maintenance which amounts to approximately one dollar a day. The number of hours worked are eight, and a two weeks vacation is allowed, but no sick leave.

Organization C pays ten dollars a week plus maintenance estimated at one dollar a day. An eight hour day is worked and a two weeks vacation with pay is also allowed by this establishment.

CHAPTER X
EFFECTS OF THE DEPRESSION

Just how great is the unemployment in the country or in one community is not definitely known but an approximation can be made through the various indications. The Newspaper advertisements cannot be used in such an estimate, for in the present economic situation, money used to advertise in newspapers for positions is generally considered to be wasted. But perhaps one of the best indications of unemployment is the number of individuals listed at the employment exchanges. These exchanges in the city of Bangor are rather limited, as there is but one private agency of any size where women are registered. No information concerning numbers was available from this source, either due to inability or unwillingness to cooperate.

However, since the start of the depression, Bangor has maintained a public employment agency for both men and women, and material was readily available at this source. Here there are four hundred women listed who desire work. Most of them are willing to do any sort of work, although domestic work is the most frequent type mentioned. This again indicates the fact that when there is necessity for the woman of the family to work, she turns most often to the domestic field.

Most of the women listed are from thirty to thirty five but workers who are beyond their fiftieth year frequently apply. This agency makes no attempt to set any wage standard but merely serves as a place to bring the employer and employee together.

The number of women applying to private employment offices is also some indication of the extent of unemployment. There were a considerable number of applications previous to the Christmas season, but after the holidays there was a lessening due, the employers thought, to the feeling that it was useless to search for work. However, recently, the call for work has again increased, whether due to increased hope or to increased necessity is not known. One store reported as high as ten to twelve applications daily for work, and another employer stated that about ten women applied daily.

Data was gathered from several sources in regard to loss of privileges, part time work, discharge of workers, and salary cuts.

Establishment A employs a number of part time workers who work from twenty four to thirty six hours a week at the rate of fifteen cents an hour. It has also been the practise of this organization to give two weeks vacation, one with pay, but this policy was discontinued last year.

Establishment B has a wage scale of eight to fourteen dollars weekly at the present time, whereas there was a range formerly of ten to fifteen dollars. There are, however, more regular workers than there were a year ago. There are seventy five women on the call list ready to work if their services are desired. The Christmas bonus plan of this concern has also been abolished.

Establishment C has a minimum at present of seven dollars and fifty cents weekly instead of the usual nine dollars and other salaries have been cut accordingly. The present number of workers is only slightly over half of the usual number. Three hundred applications of new people seeking work are on file, in addition to two hundred applications of former employees.

Establishment D has made wage cuts ranging in amount from fifteen to twenty five, thirty five and forty per cent. Formerly, two weeks vacation with pay was given but this has been discontinued.

Establishment E has approximately twenty per cent fewer employees on its force than in former years. There have been two wage cuts and paid vacations have been discontinued.

Establishment F has had a twenty five per cent salary cut.

Establishment G has inaugurated a "spread the work plan", and five days a week are worked by each employee.

Organization H has had a twelve and one half per cent salary cut and the number of days allowed for sick leave have also been decreased.

Establishment I has had no wage cut for those earning less than fifteen dollars weekly but a ten per cent cut for those receiving over this amount. A "spread the work plan" is also in use here for all employees, and instead of permanently discharging any of the workers, three or four each week are given part time work only.

In Establishment J several workers have been discharged, one on Christmas Eve with no previous notice given. Salaries have been reduced and vacations with pay abolished. Previous to the discharge of the employees, each worker was obliged to take an extra two weeks off without pay, in addition to the unpaid vacations.

Establishment K formerly had a ten per cent cut, and now has in addition a thirty five hour week with a corresponding cut in pay.

Establishment L has had a straight fifteen per cent cut in pay.

Establishment M usually employing a fairly small number of full time workers, now has only part time work for all.

Establishment N has approximately two-thirds of the former number of employees at about two-thirds of the former wage.

Information given by individuals shows similar circumstances. One woman whose husband is unemployed has had her salary cut from twenty dollars weekly to fifteen dollars, and another who earned twenty five dollars weekly received a twenty five per cent cut. An office worker who has one dependent now receives fourteen dollars weekly after successive ten and twenty five per cent cuts. Still another woman, a bookkeeper, has two hours work daily at fifty cents an hour. The head of one organization having employment facilities stated that the wage of office workers had been reduced about twenty five per cent in the past two years.

Further data on unemployment was also obtained from a study of one hundred women of the city who were seeking some type of domestic work. Of this group, five did not state their age; one was under eighteen; twenty four were between the ages of eighteen and twenty four; twenty six were between the ages of twenty five and thirty four; sixteen were between the ages of thirty five and forty four; and twenty eight were forty five or over. The marital status and number of dependents of this group is, however, most interesting in relation to unemployment. Thirty four of the women are

single with no dependents but themselves, while three married women stated that they have no dependents. The married women with dependents numbered sixteen, and the single women with dependents, four. There are ten widows with no dependents, and eleven widows who have others relying upon them for support. Of the five divorced women, one has dependents. Eleven gave no information on the subject.

More complete personal information concerning these women is also of interest. Six of the married women have husbands who are out of work, and have dependent children relying on them. The husband of one woman is ill and can not work, so the wife finds it necessary to obtain a position. One widow has four dependent children, another has three to support, and three widows have two children each. Four widows have one dependent child each. It is not necessary to continue this list to show that it is not a desire for "pin money" that motivates these women.

A similar study was made in analyzing a group of fifty five unemployed stenographers. This number included a great many relatively young women, but they were not, in the main, inexperienced girls just out of business college. The majority had had experience, and while some had worked for short periods only, twenty six had long years of experience ranging from three to seventeen years.

The majority of this group are single women, but,

nevertheless they seem to have responsibilities in addition to supporting themselves. Twelve have no dependents and ten made no statement concerning this, but the remainder have financial responsibility of some nature, ranging from assisting in the upkeep of a home to several actual dependents.

The following statements made by these women themselves are adequate proof of the need for work:

"There are five in my family, none of whom are employed at present."

"As my husband's pay has been decreased considerably within the past year, it is expedient that I obtain some sort of employment."

One girl, nineteen, the oldest of seven children stated:

"My father has been out of work all winter."

"A salary of \$5.00 weekly would enable me to help my family."

Another is:

"Married with two children and my husband is unemployed at present."

"Five in the family and no one is working."

"Married and my husband has been out of work for one and one-half years, so I have been trying to find work."

In the light of these remarks it would seem that little need be said concerning the financial responsibilities of women in this crisis. When the man cannot secure work, the woman endeavors to earn something- no matter what the amount- so as to secure the necessities of life and to keep the family from becoming "charity seekers". This is shown clearly by the fact that of the one thousand men and four hundred women listed at the public employment agency, many are man and wife, hoping that if one does not secure work, the other may do so.

CHAPTER XI

COST OF LIVING

At best, data on the cost of living is specific for one person only and any generalities which are drawn must be merely approximate, as such costs vary so greatly with the individual concerned. For example, if a woman rents a small room at a low price, if she gets her own meals, attends sales regularly, and is an excellent buyer, if she makes her own clothes, and even waves and shampoos her own hair, she may be able to live on an income which would be far below the sum on which another woman could possibly exist.

But for most women such is impossible. It is no easy matter to work an eight or nine hour day or more and then come home to a small room too tired to get anything to eat more than what is absolutely necessary. The food eaten will depend, not on what is desirable or beneficial, but upon what is easiest to prepare. Such a condition is not desirable; it is inclined to be too detrimental to the health of the individual and to reduce her efficiency at her work.

Also, the average working woman has no time to sew except evenings and Sundays - her supposed rest hours. For a woman whose eyes are already strained from working under electric lights in a store or an office all day long, this

would be most undesirable. The average working woman does not care to use her spare moments in dressmaking, nor is she capable of doing this if she so desired. Such a woman also has little time to shop advantageously. The habits and capacities of the average woman, and not the exception, should be considered.

What items should be included in the making up of an estimate of a living wage? The opinion of labor authorities is of some assistance.

Professor Warren B. Catlin says:

"Similarly where women work for wages, their pay under normal conditions should be adequate to provide for themselves individually all the bodily and cultural necessities which have been listed for the family. Otherwise their health, efficiency, morals, and the welfare of the community are gravely endangered.

"The food should be wholesome and sufficient in quantity and variety to maintain the working efficiency. Clothing should not only be such as to protect the health, but should make some small concessions to individual taste and social demands . . . There should be a provision for medical attendance and supplies, and for insurance or saving against a 'rainy day'. Car-fare, amusements, education, and reading matter are all to be regarded as necessary connecting links with a larger world outside the home. Contributions to churches, clubs, charity, and other sundries are not extravagances."¹

The statement of the Industrial Welfare Commission of Oregon on the matter of a proper wage is as follows:

1. Catlin, Warren B., The Labor Problem, Harper and Brothers, 1926, p. 165

"The absolutely essential elements of such decent conditions are:

1. respectable lodging
2. three meals a day
3. clothing according to the standard demanded by the position such employee fills
4. some provision for recreation, care of health, and self-improvement²

A favorite phrase of former Secretary of Labor Davis is that of a "saving wage", and Professor Paul Douglas remarks that:

"This should include an allowance for saving just as for men. Marriage is a mutual affair, and there is just as much necessity for a woman to save for it, as for a man."³

In the light of these remarks, what is the situation in the city of Bangor?

The starting and basic point of any budget is the expense of food and rent. In Bangor, according to the newspaper advertisements rooms may be obtained from "two dollars up" although no one was personally interviewed who was paying less than two dollars and fifty cents a week and several were paying three and three dollars and a half. It is very probable that a fairly comfortable room in a congenial neighborhood would be at least two dollars and fifty cents weekly. One woman was paying fifteen dollars monthly for three unfurnished, unheated rooms.

²Morris, Victor P. Oregon's Experiment with the Minimum Wage Columbia University Press, 1930, p. 103

³Douglas, Paul H., Wages and the Family, University of Chicago Press, 1925, p. 202

Figures also vary as to the cost of board and room. This is advertised as low as six dollars weekly in one instance, but as in the case of the rooms, no one was found who paid so small an amount. Room and board usually costs seven or eight dollars weekly. Two women were paying seven and eight dollars respectively and eating one meal a day "out".

If the room is rented and the woman gets her own meals, the costs are somewhat lower. One woman who does this averaged five dollars weekly for rooms, light, heat and food, allowing one dollar to one dollar and a half a week for the latter item. She stated that most careful economy and attendance at "sales" was necessary to keep within such a limit. Another woman paid three dollars for a room and kitchen privileges and allowed herself forty cents daily for food, or a total of two dollars and eight cents a week.

The difficulty with such a situation has already been pointed out, and it is generally conceded that the preparing of food by the working woman is not a desirable thing from the standpoint of health and efficiency.

In the consideration of the cost of clothing the situation is much more difficult. Where the salary is small, food and rent and various other necessities are first taken care of, and the remainder goes for clothes. That clothing does constitute a great expense, especially for women, is shown by the estimate of the Oregon Wage Commission which

apportioned twenty-six per cent of the entire budget for this item.⁴

Likewise it is difficult to estimate laundry expenses as the surplus is used for these. However, information has been collected on the total cost of living of several women of Bangor.⁵

Of the sixteen women maintaining their own home, the lowest figure was placed at four hundred dollars yearly, while another gave four hundred and sixty-eight dollars as her total cost of living during the year. Two women estimated their costs are five hundred and twenty dollars annually, another at six hundred and fifty dollars, and three gave seven hundred and eighty dollars as their total expense. In the higher costs brackets, five women gave estimates of one thousand dollars, eleven hundred and sixty dollars, thirteen hundred dollars, fourteen hundred dollars and fifteen hundred respectively. The two highest figures were fifteen hundred and sixty dollars and seventeen hundred and eighty-five dollars. One woman with three dependents said her living expenses were "enough", which is, no doubt, a very true statement.

Of five women who board and room, two gave five hundred

⁴Morris, Victor, Oregon's Experiment with the Minimum Wage
Columbia University Press, 1930, p. 115

⁵Women living at home are omitted in this compilation.

and twenty dollars as their annual cost of living. One stated that five hundred and seventy-two dollars was her annual expenditure and the two remaining spend six hundred and twenty-four dollars and seven hundred and eighty dollars respectively. One woman who lived with relatives (not parents) gave her yearly cost as seven hundred and eighty dollars, and fifteen dollars weekly. These figures all vary greatly because of the standards of living, the number of dependents, and the individuals concerned, but they are of great value in relation to the cost of living in Bangor.

The Oregon Commission of the Minimum Wage sets forth the following percentages as making up the total budget of a working woman.⁶

Food	39%
Rent	15%
Clothing	26%
Sundries	20%

Taking the wage of seven dollars and fifty cents weekly,⁷ and applying these percentages, what is the result? The forty-four per cent applied to food and rent amounts to four dollars and five cents. As has been seen previously no Bangor woman was found who was able to feed herself on this

⁶Morris, Victor, Oregon's Experiment with the Minimum Wage Columbia University Press, 1930. p. 113

⁷This wage is low but is by no means the minimum amount paid in the city and is a wage which a considerable number of workers receive.

amount, even by getting her own meals and practising the strictest kind of economy. It has also been noted that the prevalent price of board and room (seven dollars) is nearly three dollars in excess of the amount which is allowed for such an item according to this scientific budget.

The twenty-six percentage of the total wage allowed for clothing amounts to one dollar and ninety-five cents or one hundred and one dollars and forty cents yearly, an amount which would not cover clothing necessities in this climate unless possibly a girl were able to do her own dress-making. Even presupposing this, when it is considered that probably a full twelve dollars of this amount would have to be allotted to stockings and at least this much again for shoes, it is evident that this one hundred and one dollars and forty cents is not a liberal budget.

For sundries, twenty per cent or one dollar and fifty cents is allowed to cover the multitude of expenses which this comprehensive title includes. This sum would by no means take care of expenses for doctor and dentists bills, church, newspapers, recreation, savings, or insurance.

Since there are women receiving such a wage and since it is almost impossible to live on such a wage in the city of Bangor, what is the solution to the problem? The key to the whole situation is that a great majority of these girls live at home with their families. Of twenty-eight girls

living at home, ten contributed nothing to family support; in other words, did nothing to help pay for their own maintenance. One of them stated that she "supported herself" which might be true as far as incidentals and clothing are concerned. The amounts contributed by the remaining eighteen girls varied greatly. One gave one dollar and eighty cents weekly; one, two dollars and a half; another, two dollars and eighty cents for family support. A fourth girl contributed three dollars and fifty cents; two others gave four dollars, and five gave five dollars each. The twelfth girl in the group paid five dollars and fifty cents, and another six dollars, while two other girls paid seven dollars each. Of the remaining three, one contributed nine dollars and two, ten dollars each. Some of these girls paid their living expenses and also added to the family income, but others plainly did not cover the extra cost. These figures were obtained in general from a higher salaried group where more would be contributed to the family than in the lower groups, but even in this instance over a third do not pay for their additional cost to the family.

The fact that many girls do live at home is one of the causes of low wages in Bangor, and this is especially true in the stores. Three employers stated either that they hired no girls who did not live at home, or that the number who lived away from the family is slight. No doubt this policy

is well meant but it merely looks to the surface of the matter. What the employer does not pay, someone else must.

The author of a bulletin published by the Womans Bureau well expresses the situation:

"But more important . . . is the fact that if an employed woman living at home does not earn enough for her own support, she is a financial burden on her family, and to that extent, the family must subsidize both the girl and the industry in which she works . . . It may be the cause of submerging an already overburdened family."⁸

A statement of similar nature is made by the Commission for the Minimum Wage in the state of Massachusetts.

"Whenever the wages of such a woman are less than the cost of living and the reasonable provision for maintaining the worker in health, the industry employing her is in receipt of the working energy of a human being at less than its cost, and to that extent is parasitic. The balance may be made up by the industry employing the father; it is sometimes paid indirectly by the future inefficiency of the worker herself and by her children, and perhaps in part ultimately by charity and the state."⁹

The Oregon Wage Commission makes another thought provoking comment on the subject:

"Family life is more economical per individual than life adrift, but by what line of reasoning does the employer convince himself that he is the one entitled to savings made thereby?"¹⁰

It seems that although the fact that the woman received outside aid in addition to her earnings is a cause for low

⁸Pidgeon, Mary E., Women in Industry, Bulletin of Womans Bureau, number 91, p. 59

⁹Reeley, Mary, Selected Articles on the Minimum Wage, The H. W. Wilson Company, 1913. p. 19

¹⁰Morris, Victor, Oregon's Experiment with the Minimum Wage Columbia University Press, 1930 p. 118

wages, such a situation is not justifiable.

There is also the idea that turnover makes women less valuable and therefore wages are lower. This theory has, without doubt, an element of truth as almost every normal woman looks forward to marriage and a consequent cessation from work outside the home. However, many women do not marry and women are also forced in many instances to work after marriage. A number of organizations of the city varying in nature from hotels, newspapers, banks, and offices were requested to comment on the turnover among their women employees. The following answers were given.

Organization A - "Practically none."

Organization B - "None now. All have been here over five years and some over twenty."

Organization C - "Very small but women must stop working upon marriage."

Organization D - "There is practically no turnover among our female employees. Two resigned in the past ten years to marry and their places were filled by present employees."

Organization E - "Very little. In five years, one girl married and left and one girl was out one year and came back. The only turnover is among dishwashers, a class and occupation in which it seems inevitable."

Organization F - had no specific records, but "it was low. We have built up a force of employees who have been with us many years, several over forty."

Organization G - "Little turnover."

In fact, the only unfavorable comment on turnover was found in the stores and even in these organizations at the present time there is little of this. The general complaint, however, is that the employees lack purpose and that the turnover is great. As has been seen the wages are very low in the stores and chance of advancement to any degree is slight. Just as to whether turnover is cause and low wage effect, or vice-versa, is a problem not easily solved. However, has one the right to suppose that given an adequate wage and chance for advancement, store workers would arbitrarily have a higher turnover than these other groups in which the employers themselves state that turnover is small?

Further material tending to show that turnover for women employees is not as great as generally supposed is gathered from personal data given by the women themselves. Some of the results are as follows:

Two women had both held one position steadily for three years; and two had also held their same positions for ten years; two for twelve years; one for sixteen years; one for twenty-nine years; one for thirty years; and one for thirty-seven years.

In the grouping of those women who had held two positions, one had been working four years; two, five years; two, seven years; and others, eight, fifteen, sixteen, eighteen, nineteen, twenty, twenty-three, twenty-four, thirty-eight and forty years respectively.

In the group of those who had had three positions the following figures were given. One had been working only four years; one, five years; one, ten years; and one, fourteen years. Others had been working for twenty-five, twenty-eight, thirty-two, and forty years respectively.

Of those who had held four positions one had been working ten years, and others twelve, thirteen, fifteen, eighteen, thirty-eight, and forty years respectively. The following examples would apparently lend some strength to the turnover theory as one woman had held five positions in twelve years; one, five positions in thirty-nine years; one, six positions in twenty-five years; and another, six positions in thirty-nine years; and perhaps the most potent evidence of turnover was the woman who had held seven positions in thirteen years.

However, when one regards these figures in general it would seem that the turnover among this group of working women is not great and the exceptions may not be due alone to the fault of the worker, as the reasons for the turnover are unknown.

The principal cause of low wages for women in Bangor, however, is to be found in the factors of supply and demand of labor, this being greatly affected by the limited fields of occupations which may be entered. The wage does not depend upon the amount of work done or the productivity of the worker, on the cost of subsistence, or on equal bargaining between the employer and the employee. The situation in this

city affords an admirable example of many women attempting to enter a limited number of occupations in a city where there are no industries. Store, domestic and office work offer the only opportunities, whereby wages are lowered below even the minimum cost of subsistence, to say nothing of provision for illness, recreation, saving for old age, and like necessities. The solution to this problem is to be found in the minimum wage.

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