

we returned to a ten-hour working day (with a half-hour pause in the morning and another in the afternoon) we find that our work-women can get through very much more with regular work for ten or even nine hours, than when the working day is longer." (Page 96.)

B. *Effect on Regularity of Employment*

Wherever the employment of women has been prohibited for more than ten hours in one day, a more equal distribution of work throughout the year has followed. The supposed need of dangerously long and irregular hours in the season-trades are shown to be unnecessary. In place of alternating periods of intense overwork with periods of idleness, employers have found it possible to avoid such irregularities by foresight and management.

Report of Conference of Members of Women's Trade Unions on the Factory and Workshops Act, 1875. Vol. XXIX.

The permission granted to season trades for the extension of the hours to fourteen per day, during certain periods of the year, should be withdrawn, with the view of equalizing the work throughout the year. . . .

Bookbinders complained that the trade was most unnecessarily considered by the law a season-trade. . . . The existence of the modification made employers careless of due economy in time. (Page 193.)

Report of the British Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops, 1892.

I am convinced that there is no necessity for this overtime; the season-trade work or the press orders would be executed just the same if overtime were illegal, as it is in the textile and many of the non-textile trades; the work would only be spread over a longer period or mean the employment of more hands. Much of the good done by the Factory Act is undone by allowing delicate women and girls to work from 8 A. M. to 10 P. M. for two months of the year. (Page 89.)

Report of the British Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops, 1892.

I believe that much of the apparent necessity for working overtime is simply the result of want of forethought and organization on the part of employers and their managers. . . . How little actual demand there is for overtime on the part of protected hands, I think the return from this district will show. Out of nearly nine thousand occupiers of factories and workshops, only about two hundred apparently avail themselves of the permission to work overtime; but then these two hundred have between them made overtime on two thousand occasions during the year. (Page 88.)

Report of the British Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops, 1900.

One of the most unsatisfactory results of the present system or lack of system of working hours in laundries is the unfortunate moral effect on the women and girls of this irregularity. The difficulty of securing steady regular work from employees and of ensuring punctual attendance is complained of on all sides, and the more intelligent employers are beginning to see that this is the natural result of the irregularity in working hours. . . . Workers who on one or two days in the week are dismissed to idleness or to other occupations, while on the remaining days they are expected to work for abnormally long hours, are not rendered methodical, industrious, or dependable workers by such an unsatisfactory training. The self-control and good habits engendered by a regular and definite period of moderate daily employment, which affords an excellent training for the young worker in all organized industries, is sadly lacking, and, instead, one finds periods of violent overwork alternating with hours of exhaustion. The result is the establishment of a kind of "vicious circle"; bad habits among workers make compliance by their employers with any regulation as to hours very difficult. (Page 385.)

Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1902.

By forcing the employers to make their trade as regular as possible, the overtime clauses have operated toward increased efficiency. (Page 287.)

Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1903.

A very important, perhaps from the economic point of view the most important, effect of legislation has been to spread the period of work more uniformly through the week, month, and year than had been the case before regulation. (Page 5.)

Restriction is met by adaptation of manufacture or rearrangement of numbers employed and time at which work is done, women being still employed at the work.

. . . Thus, it will be seen that the loss of overtime is not necessarily a loss of work, but a redistribution (and an economical one, too) of the times at which work is done, and does not therefore mean a loss in income, but a steadying and regulation of income. (Page 13.)

C. Adaptation of Customers to Shorter Hours

Experience shows how the demands of customers yield to the requirements of a fixed working day. When customers are obliged to place orders sufficiently in advance to enable them to be filled without necessitating overtime work, compliance with this habit becomes automatic.

Factory and Workshops Acts Commission, 1875. British Sessional Papers, 1876. Vol. XXIX.

A very large number of the orders of customers (to printers, milliners, dressmakers, etc.), which it has been usual to keep back to the last minute and then throw upon the already fully-burdened workers, not merely can be quite as easily given so as to have plenty of time for their completion, but also will be so given, and are in fact so given, when and so often as the customer is made to recognize that he otherwise runs the risk of not having his orders completed in time to suit his own convenience. . . .

We trust in time that the use of overtime in trades of this class may be restricted down to the vanishing point. (Page 41.)

Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1903.

The tendency to put off giving orders to the last moment is easily checked when the customer can be met with a universal legal prohibition. (Page 7.)

History of Factory Legislation. HUTCHINS and HARRISON. 1903.

Tremenheere then took the opinion of certain of the merchants on this point, and found them much more favorable to the extension of the Factory Act. . . . A limitation of hours might, it was admitted, occasionally produce inconvenience, but this would by degrees adjust itself. Merchants would have to think of their orders a little beforehand. . . . One bleacher very candidly admitted that knowing the bleacher would undertake to bleach and finish one thousand pieces of cloth in five days he often, in cases of sudden orders, gave him only five days to do it in; but that, if the hours of the boys and women working were restricted so he would know the work could not be accomplished in that time, he should have to make his arrangements beforehand to give seven or ten days, or to send part of the order to another bleacher. It was pointed out that if a bleacher lost part of an order on one occasion it would be made up to him on another, and that very possibly the bleachers would enlarge their works and keep more hands ready. If legislation were alike for all, the outlay would do the trade no harm. Tremenheere arrived at the conclusion that a limitation of women's and boys' hours would cause the masters to enlarge their works and improve their machinery rather than chance losing an order. . . . In 1857 . . . the mere anticipation of some such measure had caused additions to be made both to buildings and machinery which would considerably augment the firms' power of getting speedily through an increased quantity. (Page 134.)

D. Incentive to Improvements in Manufacture

The regulation of the working day has acted as a stimulus to improvement in processes of manufacture. Invention of new machinery and perfection of old methods have followed the introduction of shorter hours.

Report of the Wisconsin Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1903-1904.

Wherever a uniform standard of wages, hours of labor, and wholesome sanitary conditions have been uniformly enforced, the result has been that laborers have been stimulated to render

greater services to their employers, and, in turn, employers strive to excel in improved machinery and devices for the protection of employees, sanitation, and methods of production in general. (Page 138.)

That the enforcing of a certain standard in regard to hours of labor, wages, and sanitary conditions compels employers to continually seek more improved machinery and methods of production is as true in practice as in theory. (Page 140.)

The Case for the Factory Acts. Edited by Mrs. SIDNEY WEBB. London, 1901.

But the exemption from regulation is also responsible for corresponding deficiencies in the technical administration of the industry. The very fact that the employers are legally free to make their operatives work without limit, and to crowd any number of them into one room, makes them disinclined to put thought and capital into improving the arrangements.

. . . We might indefinitely prolong the list of examples of the effect of the Factory Acts in improving the processes of manufacture. (Page 53.)

Woman in Industry. R. GONNARD. Paris, 1905.

The inspector of labor of Lyons says:

"It has come about that this decrease of the legal maximum limit of hours of labor (ten hours a day), which went into effect the 28th of March, 1902, obliging the employer to pay a higher wage for overtime hours, has urged the manufacturers to replace their former equipment by machines of great producing power. In short, for the manufacturers in question, the regulation has become a powerful stimulus, which has driven them to do away with methods of manufacture already somewhat superannuated." (Page 78.)

History of Factory Legislation. HUTCHINS and HARRISON. 1903.

If it could be shown that this regulated industry, far from suffering in competition with others, went ahead, improved its machinery, and developed a higher standard of comfort than its rivals, then, although the improvement might not be due to the legislation, there would be, at all events, a strong presumption

that good and not harm had been done. And this is what has taken place. . . . The improvement in the regulated industry was clear and conspicuous. (Page 121.)

E. *Effect on Scope of Women's Employment*

The establishment of a legal limit to the hours of woman's labor does not result in contracting the sphere of her work.

Foreign Work and English Wages. By THOMAS BRASSEY, 1st Baron Brassey. London, 1879.

The argument that the tendency of the Factory Acts is to place an artificial restriction on the employment of women, and thus to depreciate the market value of this labor, is refuted on every hand by practical experience in the textile manufactories. Here the restrictions upon women's work are the most stringent, and yet the tendency for a long series of years has been the opposite—the proportion of women employed has steadily increased. The same observation applies to many of the trades and occupations carried on in London. As for the rate of wages paid, there is not an employer in the metropolis who will hesitate to acknowledge that there has been during the last ten or fifteen years a very substantial and important advance in the remuneration given to women for their work. (Pages 338, 339.)

The Case for the Factory Acts. Edited by MRS. SIDNEY WEBB. London, 1901.

But, it may be objected, that although Factory Legislation would improve the women, it annoys the employer, and makes him inclined to get rid of women altogether and employ men. As a matter of fact, this course, though often threatened beforehand, is not in practice followed. Where women can be employed, their labor is so much cheaper than that of men that there is no chance of their being displaced. The work of men and women tending automatically to differentiate itself into separate branches, it follows that there is very little direct competition between individual men and women. (Page 209.)

The Night-work of Women in Industry. PROF. E. BAUER. Jena, 1903.

All the official Swiss figures indicate that the establishment of the normal, legal working day has never, or rarely, narrowed the field of women's industrial activity. The restriction has exercised upon the distribution of the classes of people who compose the working world no notable influence.

The results show how unfounded were the fears cherished both as to the loss for the working women of a part of their wage, and the advantages which arise from the regulation of the working day are, on the other hand, considerable for the whole body of the workers. (Page 38.)

History of Factory Legislation. HUTCHINS and HARRISON. 1903.

It is surely extremely significant that whilst the attack on the regulation of women's labor has been fruitless in better organized industries—that is, in those which can make their wishes felt—it has taken effect precisely in those industries which are unorganized and collectively inarticulate. By the admission of the opposition itself, the women whose trades have been under State control for thirty, forty, or fifty years are now so strong, so efficient, so well organized that even those who most strongly disapprove of State control do not wish to withdraw it from them. Yet we are to believe that to those who are still working long hours, in unsanitary conditions, State control would mean lowered wages, perhaps ruin! (Page 193.)

Women's Work and Wages. By EDWARD CADBURY. London, 1906.

This witness (Mr. Johnson, Sub-inspector of Factories) did not think that the limitation of hours of women would lead to the substitution of men for women, nor to any reduction of women's wages. He did not consider that there were many trades where men could be substituted for women, because of the nature of the work. This was an intelligent and true forecast of what has actually happened. (Page 36.)

It is often stated by those who oppose regulation of women's work by legislation that the effect of such legislation is to displace women in favor of men. Our inquiry seems to prove, however, that this idea is erroneous, and that in the large majority of cases . . .

it is other questions altogether that determine the division of labor between men and women. A great deal of light has been thrown on the question of women's work and wages generally by the elucidation of the fact that as a rule men and women do different work, and the relation between men and women workers is, on the whole, that of two non-competing groups. It is quite true that that marginal division between the two groups is constantly shifting, but in the particular trades where this is the case the questions considered are the difference in wages between the two groups, their aptitude and physical fitness for certain work, and the fact that women expect to leave work when married. (Page 39.)