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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
WOMEN'S BUREAU  
Bulletin No. 149

EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN IN  
TENNESSEE INDUSTRIES

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
FRANCES PERKINS, Secretary  
WOMEN'S BUREAU  
MARY ANDERSON, Director



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TENNESSEE INDUSTRIES

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By  
ETHEL ERICKSON



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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
 WOMEN'S BUREAU  
 EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN IN  
 TENNESSEE INDUSTRIES



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EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN IN TENNESSEE INDUSTRIES

Part I.—INTRODUCTION

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,  
WOMEN'S BUREAU,  
Washington, January 14, 1937.

MADAM: I have the honor to transmit a report on the hours, earnings, and working conditions of women in Tennessee industries, the data covering 27,000 women in factories, stores, laundries, dry-cleaning plants, and hotels and restaurants. The survey, made at the request of the Tennessee Commissioner of Labor, was conducted in the winter months of 1935-36. Some of the most important data show for identical plants changes in hours and earnings when the National Industrial Recovery Act was no longer in effect.

I greatly appreciate the assistance rendered by Commissioner W. E. Jacobs, Mr. R. O. Ross, chief factory inspector, and the deputy inspectors, and the courteous cooperation of employers.

The survey was conducted and the report has been written by Ethel Erickson, industrial supervisor.

Respectfully submitted.

MARY ANDERSON, *Director.*

Hon. FRANCES PERKINS,  
*Secretary of Labor.*

v

At the request of the Commissioner of Labor for the State of Tennessee, a survey of women's wages and hours of work and conditions of employment was made by the Women's Bureau. Field work was begun about the middle of November 1935, and agents of the Bureau worked in the State until late in February collecting pay-roll and other data.

Naturally, not every factory, store, laundry, hotel, and restaurant in the State was included in the survey, but a large cross-section of the State's industries was represented and the findings are considered typical of the State. The 1935-36 survey did not include identical plants. After the survey had been under way for several weeks, at the request of the Commissioner of Labor it was decided to take a sample of men's earnings in the major women-employing industries.

<sup>1</sup> Ward, Frank B. The Industrial Development of Tennessee. *Annals of the American Academy*, January 1931, vol. 32, pp. 141-147.

# EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN IN TENNESSEE INDUSTRIES

## Part I.—INTRODUCTION

The most rapid development of southern industries in the past decades has been in the Piedmont and highland regions, and this drift or tendency of industrial growth is apparent in Tennessee, where the middle and western sections are chiefly agricultural, with farming the outstanding occupation, and the eastern is markedly manufacturing. In the eastern region the surplus labor supply above agricultural needs, the power sites, and for textiles the nearness to raw materials have served as inducements to promoters of factory development.

Excerpts from an article by a Tennessean on the industrial development of Tennessee summarize the economic background of the State. These follow:

Tennessee affords a good illustration of the thesis that economic, political, and personal conditions have their roots in climate and topography. When outside the State, every native is proud of the fact that he is a Tennessean; but within the State, he is more than that; he is an east Tennessean, a middle Tennessean, or a west Tennessean.

\* \* \* East, middle, and west are not casual matters; they represent definite economic as well as topographical divisions.

\* \* \* East Tennessee is largely mountainous with altitudes rising to 2,400 feet above sea level; contrasting with a maximum of 1,000 feet in middle and 400 feet in west Tennessee.

Based on above considerations, one would expect varied agriculture to thrive in middle Tennessee and specialized agriculture to predominate in west Tennessee, with hard-pressed farmers barely holding their own in east Tennessee. Similarly, considering only matters of climate, manufacturing should find encouragement in the eastern section of the State with its equitable climate, mild in winter and comfortable in summer. In the east, the hard lot of the farmers, particularly the mountaineers, leads them readily to accept manufacturing employment. To the extent that the agricultural situation is unfavorable, manufacturing employment becomes attractive.<sup>1</sup>

At the request of the Commissioner of Labor for the State of Tennessee, a survey of women's wages and hours of work and conditions of employment was made by the Women's Bureau. Field work was begun about the middle of November 1935, and agents of the Bureau worked in the State until late in February collecting pay-roll and other data.

Naturally, not every factory, store, laundry, hotel, and restaurant in the State could be included in the survey, but a large cross section of these is represented and the findings are considered typical of the fall of 1935. The first plans for the survey did not include men's earnings. After the work had been under way for several weeks, at the request of the commissioner of labor it was decided to take a sample of men's earnings in the major woman-employing industries.

<sup>1</sup> Ward, Frank Bird. The Industrial Development of Tennessee. Annals of the American Academy, January 1931, vol. 153, pp. 141-147.

The data for men, of course, are not so complete as those for women and may be considered as typical only of certain industries—not of men's employment throughout the State.

#### Areas and cities covered.

Because of the spread of the State from east to west and because of the sectional differences, tabulations have been made for the three geographic areas—the eastern, the middle, and the western. Establishments were scheduled in 38 cities and towns, classed by area as follows: *Eastern*—Chattanooga, Knoxville, Athens, Bristol, Cleveland, Clinton, Elizabethton, Englewood, Erwin, Etowah, Harriman, Jellico, Johnson City, Kingsport, LaFollette, Lenoir City, Loudon, Maryville, Rockwood, Telford, and Winchester; *Middle*—Nashville, Clarksville, Columbia, Fayetteville, Gallatin, Murfreesboro, Shelbyville, Springfield, and Tullahoma; *Western*—Memphis, Bemis, Covington, Humboldt, Jackson, Milan, Trenton, and Union City. Supplementing the area analysis, some of the wage data have been tabulated for the four chief cities.

#### Data from the census of manufactures for 1933.

The 1933 census of manufactures, with combined figures for men and women, gives a statistical picture of the industrial set-up of the State. The following data are for industries with more than 500 employees reported.

The census of manufactures of 1933 gives a total for Tennessee of 1,561 establishments, employing 94,909 wage earners and with a wage pay roll for the year of \$60,871,247—practically 95,000 wage earners and 61 million dollars. The three industries employing the most women in the Women's Bureau survey—knit goods, comprising hosiery and knit underwear, men's work clothing, and cotton mills—also rank high on the census list, though wage earners on that list includes both sexes. Knit goods ranks first, with 18,000 wage earners and 9¼ million dollars in wages; the cotton industry second, with about 6,000 wage earners and 3¼ million dollars; and work clothing fourth as to wage earners, with almost 3,400, but eleventh as to wages, with only about 1½ million dollars.

Five of the cities that have a population of 10,000 or more are in the eastern area, and are evidence of the concentration there of manufacturing. The other three—Memphis, Nashville, and Jackson—together have a much larger number of establishments than the other cities combined but have a smaller average number of employees per establishment. Large-scale industry in Tennessee has its footing in the eastern part of the State.

#### Extent of Women's Bureau survey.

The number of the establishments visited—factories, stores, laundries, dry-cleaning plants, hotels, and restaurants—was 267. The total number of employees in these establishments, exclusive of clerical employees and those working outside the plant, was 58,269. Of this number men comprised 28,644 and women 29,625. In a few cases where the plant was large, with more than 500 women employees, a fair sample was obtained by copying the figures for half the names on the pay roll.

The distribution of the employees, by sex and by industrial group, follows.

Industrial group	Number of establishments	Men		Women	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
All industries.....	267	28,644	100.0	29,625	100.0
Factories.....	179	25,880	90.4	23,424	79.1
Stores:					
Department.....	17	963	3.4	2,265	7.6
Limited-price.....	15	107	.4	873	2.9
Laundries and dry cleaners.....	24	399	1.4	1,789	6.0
Hotels and restaurants.....	32	1,295	4.5	1,274	4.3

#### Size of establishment.

Employees varied in numbers considerably in the firms included, but establishments with fewer than 10 usually were not scheduled. Of the establishments with 200 or more employees, more than four-fifths were factories. The others in the group of 200 and more were 7 department stores, 2 laundries, and 2 hotels. There were 27 establishments covered that had 500 and more employees; three-fifths of these were in textiles, one-fifth in rayon yarns and cellophane, 1 or 2 each were in clothing, shoes, and metal products, and 1 was a department store. Laundries and hotels and restaurants bulked in the less-than-50 groups.

More than one-third of the factories had at least 200 employees. Just over one-fourth had 300 and under 500 workers and two-fifths had 500 or more.

No plant in rayon yarns and cellophane had less than 500 employees, none in shoes had less than 200, and no cotton or woolen mill and no metal plant had less than 100. On the other hand, no plant making bags, silk or rayon fabrics, food products, or miscellaneous clothing had as many as 300 employees, none in drugs and cosmetics as many as 200, and none in paper boxes as many as 100. In fact, three-fourths of the paper-box factories had less than 50 employees.

One-half of the seamless-hosiery mills had 300 or more workers, most of these at least 500. From about two-fifths to one-half of the plants making full-fashioned hosiery, knit underwear, shoes, cotton textiles, and metal products had 500 or more workers.

Seven of the department stores had 200 or more employees, 1 having at least 500. No limited-price store, on the other hand, had as many as 200 workers; only 1 in 5 had as many as 100.

Most of the laundries and dry cleaners had less than 100 employees, but 2 had 200 or more, 1 of them at least 300.

Half the hotels and restaurants had less than 50 employees, but there were 2 with 200 or more, 1 of these with 300 but under 500.

#### Race.

Slightly less than 10 percent of all employees were Negroes. As in most establishments the wage level for these workers is on a lower scale than that for white workers, their earnings have been tabulated separately and are discussed in a later section. The proportion of Negro women in manufacturing and in mercantile establishments for the State as a whole is small. Memphis, in the western area, has the greatest proportion of Negro women in factories.

The industrial employment of Negro women is chiefly in the service industries, laundries, dry cleaners, and hotels and restaurants, and both Negro and white workers must be considered when earnings are discussed for these. Throughout this report discussions of earnings have reference to those of white women unless Negro women are specified or the section of the report covers Negro workers only.

**Comparison of conditions in 1934 and 1935.**

A comparison has been made of women's earnings for periods in 1934, when National Recovery Administration codes were in existence, and in 1935, 5 or 6 months after the Supreme Court's decision had outlawed the National Industrial Recovery Act. It covers most of the firms in the study. The comparison is based on identical firms, those for which a 1935 pay-roll transcription was made but for which 1934 figures were not available having been omitted from these compilations.

**SUMMARY**

**Period covered by the survey:**

Late pay roll: A normal week in fall of 1935.  
Early pay roll: A corresponding week in 1934.

**Scope of survey:**

State-wide; cities and towns visited.....	38
Number of establishments surveyed.....	267
Number of employees (excluding clerical and outside workers):	
Men.....	28,644
Women.....	29,625

**LATE PAY-ROLL DATA**

**White Women**

Industrial grouping:	Percent
Factories.....	82.2
Stores.....	12.7
Laundries and dry cleaners.....	2.4
Hotels and restaurants.....	2.7

Textiles, with seamless hosiery the chief division, ranks first.  
Clothing—chiefly men's work clothing—ranks second.

Week's earnings:	Median	Percent earning—	
		Less than \$12	\$15 or more
Factories.....	\$12.00	50.0	21.8
Department stores (regular employees).....	12.75	12.6	20.4
Limited-price stores (regular employees).....	12.90	33.3	3.3
Laundries.....	7.85	88.1	4.7
Dry cleaners.....	9.90	69.8	10.1
Highest median earnings in manufacturing, printing and publishing.....	\$17.80		
Lowest median, "other clothing", chiefly women's wash dresses.....	8.80		
For seamless hosiery the median was.....	10.20		
For men's work clothing.....	9.55		
In hotel restaurants, white waitresses had median earnings of.....	2.35		
In commercial restaurants.....	7.30		

Hourly earnings:	Median (cents)	Percent earning—		
		Less than 30 cents	30 cents	More than 30 cents
Factories.....	32.3	31.7	8.0	60.3
Department stores (regular employees).....	26.9	73.2	.8	26.0
Limited-price stores (regular employees).....	25.5	97.1	.9	2.0
Laundries.....	17.4	95.9	.3	3.8
Dry cleaners.....	17.6	98.2		1.8

	Cents
Highest median earnings, rayon yarns and cellophane.....	42.0
Lowest median, "other clothing".....	23.0
For seamless hosiery, median was.....	31.5
For men's work clothing, median was.....	25.8

<b>Year's earnings:</b>	
Median for 961 women in factories.....	\$615
Highest median, full-fashioned hosiery.....	850
Lowest median, men's work clothing and "other clothing" combined.....	420

**Negro Women**

Earnings:	Median week's earnings	Median hourly earnings (cents)
Factories.....	\$6.75	16.7
Department stores <sup>2</sup> .....	12.35	26.0
Laundries.....	5.65	14.0
Dry cleaners.....	9.55	20.0
Median week's earnings, hotel lodging departments.....	\$5.65	
Median year's earnings, manufacturing.....	345.00	

**White Men**

Earnings:	Median week's earnings	Percent earning—		Median hourly earnings (cents)
		Less than \$15	\$20 and more	
Factories.....	\$15.80	44.9	29.0	37.8
Stores <sup>3</sup> .....	15.30	48.4	29.3	33.0
Laundries.....	15.15	48.8	22.2	29.4
Highest median was in printing and publishing.....				\$28.25
Second highest was in full-fashioned hosiery.....				25.55
Lowest median was in silk and rayon fabrics.....				10.40
Second lowest was in wood products.....				12.25

**Negro Men**

Most usual earnings were between \$12 and \$13.  
Medians in the various industries ranged from \$9.35 to \$16.

**CHANGE IN WOMEN'S EARNINGS, 1934 TO 1935**

	Percent
Decrease in median hourly earnings, white women in manufacturing.....	1.2
In department stores.....	9.7
In laundries.....	3.4
In dry cleaning.....	29.3

Through longer hours and steadier work, week's earnings increased more often than not.

**WORKING HOURS**

	Percent
In 1935, most common schedule, an 8-hour day and a 5-day, 40-hour week.	
Women in manufacturing who worked less than 40 hours in week recorded..	49.7
40 hours.....	33.1
Over 40 hours.....	17.1
Regular workers in department stores who worked more than 40 hours.....	93.4

**WORKING CONDITIONS**

Better service equipment and plant maintenance needed in many cases.

<sup>2</sup> Includes a few in limited-price stores.  
<sup>3</sup> Seven in eight were in department stores.

## Part II.—EARNINGS AND HOURS OF WORK OF WHITE WOMEN IN 1935 IN FACTORIES, STORES, AND LAUNDRIES <sup>1</sup>

### MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS

Approximately 20,000 white women, about 82 percent of all for whom earnings are reported in the survey, are in manufacturing establishments. In heavy metal industries, some types of wood-working plants, chemicals, cottonseed oil, cake, and meal manufacturing, and others where the product is heavy and physical strength or very special skills are primary requirements for employment, women are entirely absent or employed in very small proportions. The types of woman-employing manufacturing industries and the distribution of women in each are shown in the table on page 8, which indicates that slightly more than one-half of the women are in the textile group. Numerically the outstanding member of the textile group is hosiery, with the seamless variety predominating. The making of hosiery is a basic enterprise. Seamless hosiery has been established in the South for several decades. The full-fashioned has recently been moving southward, but its chief field is still the North. It is said that—

\* \* \* measured by number of machines in place, the South is by far the leading center of the seamless-hosiery industry. The State of North Carolina, with 26 percent of all seamless machines, has the greatest concentration of this equipment. Tennessee, with 17.3 percent of all seamless machines, is the second most important producing State in the industry. The Southern States as a group have over 64 percent of the total seamless equipment. This distribution is in marked contrast to the full-fashioned hosiery industry, in which 16.4 percent of the machines are in the southern district and 58.4 percent are found in Pennsylvania.<sup>2</sup>

The census of manufactures for 1931 showed an average of almost 12,000 (11,979) wage earners in the hosiery industry in Tennessee, which was about 11 percent of those in the country as a whole. The value of the product in this State even in the depression year 1931 was not far from 25 millions. Middle Tennessee has a number of hosiery mills, but the industry centers in the eastern area in Chattanooga and in Knoxville, and almost every town of appreciable size in this section has at least one hosiery mill.

Cotton mills are found all over the State and are of all varieties in their product. Some are making yarns—a number for hosiery or other knit goods, at least one for tire fabric, two or three for bags, and one for mops—and a few make a variety of products from fine goods to sheetings. Cotton mills in this study have about one-half as many women employed as have the seamless hosiery mills and a slightly greater proportion than are in the full-fashioned hosiery mills.

<sup>1</sup> For hotels and restaurants see p. 34; for the earnings of Negro women see p. 38; and for men's earnings see p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Taylor, George W., and G. Allan Dash, Jr. *The Knitting Equipment of Seamless Hosiery Industry*, January 1934. Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, 1934, pp. 7-8.

Knit underwear (data were collected only from the east) is important, especially in Knoxville, though there are plants elsewhere in the same area. Two or three of these mills are especially large and maintain good standards of employment.

The mills weaving silk and rayon fabrics and the woolen mills scheduled were in most cases small and were in the eastern area or in the east part of the middle area. Bags, largely cotton and burlap, were found in the middle and western areas. These three groups when combined make up only about 5 percent of the women covered and are not especially significant.

The making of clothing gives employment to about one-fourth of the women—slightly less than one-half as many as are in textiles—and is next in importance to textiles.

A majority of the clothing establishments and employees are engaged on work clothing. Plants making work shirts, work pants, and overalls are scattered over the State. Many of these work-clothing plants are of a somewhat migrant nature and have separated from or are branches of plants in other localities within and outside of the State. A number of this group offer little that can be considered good work opportunities for any of their employees. Though no special search was made for such information, at least in two instances agents of the Women's Bureau reported establishments that had been enticed to a community by promises of free rent, exemption from taxes, and other concessions. Though the wage level of these plants was at subsistence or below, employees were required to contribute regularly a part of their earnings toward a building fund to reimburse the town or the bondholders for the erection or purchase of the building. In the part of this report that compares earnings for 1934 and 1935, it will be noted that hourly earnings in the work-clothing industry fell drastically after the N. R. A. codes were outlawed.

The men's suit and coat factories of the clothing group, employing about 6 percent of the women in manufacturing, are in the eastern area and differ favorably and materially from the work-clothing group. The other clothing group is small—less than 3 percent—and the products represented are largely women's wash dresses from the western area.

An innovation in comparatively recent years is the manufacture and use of rayon yarns. Partly at least because of the extensive use of cotton linters and wood pulp as raw materials, the new industry found the Southern States with possibilities of cheap labor a convenient location, and Tennessee has some of the largest plants in the industry. The industry is much more man- than woman-employing, but because of the large size of the units considerable numbers of women are employed on secondary processes. Six percent of the women for whom wage data in manufacturing were copied were employed in the five plants scheduled, in three localities in middle and eastern Tennessee.

The manufacture of shoes is an important industry in Tennessee, and there are a number of moderately large shoe plants in the middle and western areas. Bakeries, candy factories, and other food plants catering to local needs are found throughout the State. Memphis has a number of cosmetic and drug plants, and there is a scattering of this type of manufacturing in the other sections, but the western is the only one with many such establishments. In tobacco manufacturing



white women are employed in a few plants packing snuff and smoking tobacco in the middle and western areas, and the more seasonal tobacco work in the warehouses is largely carried on by Negro women. Wood products, furniture factories, planing mills, and other lumber industries are important in the State for the employment of men but less so relatively for women. A small proportion of women are found in furniture factories and in making baskets and containers for fruits and vegetables. Since wood-cased pencils are a small, light, and simple product, a good proportion of the employees in these plants are women.

## EARNINGS

## Week's earnings.

Undoubtedly, few of the women in the present study had their earnings supplemented by other members of the family group. During the depression, most of the employed, whether men or women, were more likely to be sharing their earnings with others than to be receiving help.

Some of the factories visited had biweekly pay periods, but for purposes of comparison all earnings have been reduced to a weekly basis. The range of week's earnings in manufacturing was from less than \$1 to an even \$40. The purchasing power of the women is represented in the following showing of the distribution of week's earnings, by industry.

TABLE 1.—Week's earnings of white women in manufacturing, by industry, 1935

Industry	Number of women reported	Median week's earnings <sup>1</sup>	Percent distribution								
			Less than \$5	\$5, less than \$10	\$10, less than \$12	\$12, less than \$13	\$13, less than \$15	\$15, less than \$20	\$20 and more	Less than \$12	\$15 and more
All manufacturing	19,991	\$12.00	8.4	25.8	15.8	12.2	16.1	18.1	3.7	50.0	21.8
Textiles:											
Hosiery:											
Seamless	4,121	10.20	14.9	33.8	13.7	9.7	14.7	11.8	1.5	62.3	13.3
Full-fashioned	1,805	13.40	6.0	20.7	11.9	7.6	16.7	27.0	10.1	38.5	37.1
Cotton mills	2,015	12.50	4.5	18.7	14.4	24.6	24.2	13.3	.3	37.6	13.7
Knit underwear	1,448	12.10	3.9	21.2	23.2	15.5	21.3	12.5	2.4	48.3	14.9
Silk and rayon fabrics	370	10.60	10.3	33.5	26.2	16.8	9.5	3.8	-----	70.0	3.8
Woolen mills	291	13.00	6.5	19.6	14.4	9.7	20.3	25.4	4.1	40.5	29.6
Bags, cotton and burlap	312	10.95	6.4	35.3	21.2	15.1	14.1	8.0	-----	62.8	8.0
Clothing:											
Men's suits and overcoats	1,112	13.25	12.1	15.4	12.9	7.4	17.4	27.1	7.7	40.4	34.8
Men's work clothing	3,073	9.55	12.6	42.2	20.7	11.7	8.3	4.2	.3	75.5	4.5
Other	551	8.80	11.3	56.6	18.0	5.3	6.9	2.0	-----	85.9	2.0
Rayon yarns and cellophane	1,194	16.60	1.3	2.3	3.3	3.3	15.9	64.7	9.3	6.8	74.0
Shoes	1,054	14.15	2.5	8.4	12.4	12.2	23.6	33.0	7.8	23.3	40.8
Food products <sup>2</sup>	665	11.35	7.2	25.0	32.9	11.6	13.2	9.8	.3	65.1	10.1
Bakeries	353	11.65	7.9	26.3	20.1	16.7	13.0	15.3	.6	54.4	15.9
Candy	264	11.30	6.8	20.8	49.6	5.7	13.3	3.8	-----	77.3	3.8
Drugs and cosmetics	410	12.35	-----	18.0	15.4	49.5	9.8	6.6	.7	33.4	7.3
Tobacco and tobacco products	340	14.95	1.5	3.5	4.4	.6	42.6	39.1	8.2	9.4	47.4
Printing and publishing	329	17.80	1.8	3.6	3.3	4.0	15.8	43.2	28.3	8.8	71.4
Wood products	325	10.50	6.8	32.3	33.2	18.2	5.8	3.4	.3	72.3	3.7
Paper boxes	221	13.25	4.1	25.3	10.0	7.7	17.2	27.1	8.6	39.4	35.7
Metal products	74	13.40	2.7	16.2	21.6	4.1	27.0	23.4	-----	40.5	28.4
Other manufacturing	281	12.30	5.7	27.8	13.2	10.7	18.5	23.5	.7	46.6	24.2

<sup>1</sup> The median represents the midpoint in the distribution of earnings from the lowest to the highest.

<sup>2</sup> Includes 48 women in "other food products."

For the manufacturing group as a whole the median week's wage is \$12, half the women receiving less than this in the week reported.

The inadequacy of such amounts to cover present-day needs of living is too obvious to require comment. Seamless hosiery has more women employed than any other industry in the State, and their median week's earnings are the lowest in the textile group. This is at least partly due to the prevalence of undertime in some of the factories. One-third of the women in seamless hosiery had earnings of \$5 and less than \$10; 15 percent had received less than \$5, and 62 percent less than \$12. About 13 percent of the women, or approximately one woman in every eight, had week's earnings of \$15 or more.

In the seamless branch of the hosiery industry a large proportion of the productive or operative jobs are filled by women, who are found on both hand and machine jobs. Men more than women are employed on the automatic circular knitters, which knit the entire stocking from top to toe, though some women are tending such machines. Women work on the same task as men tending rib knitters, and doing string work—a machine job that knits the leg or foot of the stocking in a continuous string. Machine jobs that usually are exclusively women's are topping or transferring and looping. The former consists of transferring the leg of the stocking from one band of needles to another set for completion of either the leg or the foot. Women do topping or transferring in both seamless and full-fashioned manufacture, and toes in seamless hosiery and both toes and heels in full-fashioned usually are closed by the looping operation. Other operative or direct production jobs in hosiery are the cutting of sole threads inside of the foot, welting, and seaming. Some of the common hand jobs are top cutting, mending, boarding, inspecting, pairing, stamping, and packing. Boarding is usually a man's job, but in one large mill Negro women did practically all the boarding, and in a few other mills a small number of women were reported on this job. Boarding is a standing, hot, and rather strenuous job. Its purpose is to iron the stocking into final shape, and usually it consists of drawing damp stockings over heated metal leg-and-foot forms.

Though most of the jobs of women in the seamless and full-fashioned branches are quite similar, the wage levels are different. Full-fashioned workers had the highest median week's earnings of all women in textiles. Knitters—leggers and footers—are almost exclusively men, and they have a fairly high wage level which seems to help to buoy up the wages of the women. The median for women (\$13.40), however, is not high, though it is more than \$3 above that for the seamless. Even in full-fashioned hosiery, the proportion of women who received under \$12 is almost 40 percent. The greatest concentration in the distribution of earnings in full-fashioned is at \$10 and less than \$15, with 36 percent. Ten percent of the women—the largest percent in any industry but printing and publishing—earn \$20 or more. The much higher wage level of men is apparent by turning to the wage data for men, whose week's median was more than \$25. (See p. 43.)

Knit underwear closely approximates the wage pattern for manufacturing as a whole; its median is \$12.10 and the group earning less than \$12 is almost 50 percent (48.3). One-fourth of the women received less than \$10. The proportion earning \$15 or more was slightly above that of the cotton mills, with about 15 percent so reported.

Cotton mills continued to show a close affinity with the textile code standards in hours and rates, and the median earnings of their women employees are \$12.50, with a large percent of full-time workers—almost one-fourth—falling in the \$12-and-less-than-\$13 class. Less than 14 percent earned \$15 or more in the week reported. Women in cotton mills are employed quite generally through the plant, in the card room on intermediate frames and in the spin, spool, wind, weave, and cloth rooms. Usually there are no women in the picker room, slasher room, and dye house, but there are some in most of the other rooms.

Silk mills and mills using rayon yarns to make a commercial silk product tend to be rather small or medium-sized units, with not many more than 100 employees. This is an industry that shows decided breaking away from code standards—hours are longer, rates lower. That 70 percent of the women in these mills had week's earnings of less than \$12 and less than 4 percent earned as much as \$15 a week is evidence of low wage opportunities.

Bag making was another low-earnings industry in 1935, with 63 percent of the women earning less than \$12 and only 8 percent earning \$15 or more.

Woolen mills employ relatively few women, and their earnings distribution and median are indicative of a somewhat higher wage standard than the average for textiles. The median week's earnings of \$13 are next to those of full-fashioned hosiery in the textile group, and about 30 percent of the women had earnings of \$15 or more.

Men's work clothing comprises the second manufacturing group in size, only seamless hosiery having more women. Low wages in this industry seems a calamitous condition. Under the N. R. A. the employers supplemented wages by the make-up system, that is, an addition to earnings where piece-work rates failed to bring them up to the minimum hourly code rates, but not long after the code standards were declared unconstitutional all make-up payments were discontinued and the industry was back on its basis of low piece rates and earnings. Only work clothing and "other clothing", similar in many respects, had median week's earnings of less than \$10. Three-fourths of the women in work clothing and almost seven-eighths of those in "other clothing" had earnings of less than \$12. Considered in \$5 groups, "other clothing" showed a marked concentration of earnings at \$5 and less than \$10. In men's work clothing the concentration was almost equally at \$5 and under \$10 and \$10 and under \$15. Men's suits and overcoats paid the best wages of any class of clothing. Women in this industry had a median of \$13.25.

Rayon yarns and cellophane had more on the credit side of their wage picture than the other industries had. Only 7 percent of the women had earnings of less than \$12 and nearly three-fourths earned \$15 and more. The jobs of women in rayon-yarn production were not directly connected with the yarn-making processes but were chiefly winding, reeling, and various inspection and packing tasks. In cellophane all work was table work; matching up sheets of cellophane, inspecting, sizing, and wrapping.

Many of the women in shoe manufacturing are on skilled jobs in the stitching room that require precision of machine operation and close attention. The median week's earnings of \$14.15 are fourth in rank and more than 40 percent of the women are in the group earning \$15 and over.

The remaining industries (food products, drugs and cosmetics, tobacco and its products, printing and publishing, wood products, paper boxes, metal products, and other manufacturing—the last named including potteries and sport goods) comprise about 13 percent of the women. In some of these industries, such as woodworking, printing and publishing, and metal products, women have a relatively minor part compared to men's activities. In the food industries earnings for nearly one-third of the women are \$10 and less than \$12; a little less than two-thirds have earnings below \$12. Bakeries have the most women, and their median is \$11.65. Candy has a median of \$11.30, with that for the food group as a whole \$11.35. Women's earnings in drugs and cosmetics bulk in the \$12-and-under-\$13 group, with one-half of the women in this class; one-third are under \$12 and approximately 1 of every 14 women has earnings of \$15 and more. Work for women in drugs and cosmetics comprises tending packaging machines, labeling, and general packing operations. The median and distribution of earnings for women in printing and publishing are decidedly above average but unfortunately the group is small. The median for the women in this industry is the highest of all, \$17.80, and it should be noted that 71.4 percent of the women—only slightly less than in the rayon-yarn industry—are in the group earning \$15 and more. Employment conditions and wages for white women in tobacco manufacturing—snuff and chewing tobacco—also are better than average, with a median of almost \$15 and less than 10 percent with earnings under \$12. Wood products is an industry with low wage levels for white women, and in this respect might be classed with work clothing and the silk and rayon fabric group. Paper-box and metal products together employ only 1.5 percent of the women, boxes having twice as many as metals. Earnings are better than in the textile and work-clothing groups.

#### Comparison of women's earnings in manufacturing by area and four chief cities.

Differences in the median week's earnings of women in the geographic areas and the four principal cities are not marked.

Lowest earnings are indicated for the western area and its city, Memphis, the largest metropolis in the State. Nashville and the middle area have the highest week's medians, and the eastern area, the chief manufacturing section and with the most wage earners, holds an in-between position. Earnings in the principal cities are higher than those for the areas around them. Indications are that the small-town factory is maintaining a scale of wages lower than that prevailing in the nearest city. Differences in earnings from firm to firm probably are more significant than those from area to area, and a few instances of this in the principal industries are illustrated at the end of the section on earnings, page 32.

#### Earnings and hours worked.

The preceding discussion of median earnings does not take into account the length of time worked but is concerned only with the amount of money paid to each woman for the week covered. Though this amount is the most telling of the wage figures in light of the worker's purchasing power, an analysis of earnings must also give attention to the time required to earn the amounts reported,

Correlating hours worked and earnings allows consideration of those who have worked less than the usual hours and also those who have worked more, which may tend to lower or to raise the average by marked undertime or overtime. Since more women in manufacturing worked a week of 40 hours than any other schedule, 40 hours has been selected as the most typical of a full-time week. As in some industries there were firms whose full-time week was longer and some who constantly had overtime hours, the medians for the women working the longer hours also are reported.<sup>3</sup>

On the 40-hour-week basis, there are two industries—rayon yarns and cellophane, and men's suits and overcoats—with weekly medians for women workers in the \$16 class. The next in rank, the \$15 group, contains shoes, printing and publishing, and tobacco manufacturing; the \$14 class is made up of woolen mills, paper boxes, and full-fashioned hosiery. Woolen mills and full-fashioned hosiery pay the highest in the textile group. The \$13 group includes cotton mills, seamless hosiery, drugs and cosmetics, and knit underwear. Wood products and other clothing are at the bottom, with medians in the \$10 group. Men's work clothing and food are in the \$11 class, and silk and rayon fabrics and bags have medians between \$12 and \$13.

It is significant that in the case of eight industries the women working more than 40 hours have a median lower than that for the 40-hour workers; these industries are silk and rayon fabrics, woolen mills, bags, men's suits and overcoats, men's work clothing, other clothing, drugs and cosmetics, and shoes. In general, this illustrates the old truism that long hours do not necessarily indicate high wages.

Full-fashioned hosiery, printing and publishing, knit underwear, and the rayon yarns and cellophane group show the greatest increases for the longer hours. Some of the increases are attributed to the overtime rates in these industries, a number of the firms having higher rates for time worked beyond the scheduled week.

Full-time hours in cotton mills were quite uniformly 40, and only 38 women had hours in excess of that; in fact, hours below 40 were more common. Since cotton mills were scheduled in all areas, it is to be noted that there was little variation in their medians for the 40-hour group—for the State as a whole \$13.45, for the eastern area \$13.60, for the middle \$13.20, and for the western \$13.55.

The strikingly lower earnings of women in work clothing in the western area who worked over 40 hours—their median being \$8.75 in contrast to \$12.20 for the 40-hour workers—is indicative of the presence there of plants with the bad combination, long hours and low wages.

#### Average hourly earnings.

The accompanying table 2 shows the average hourly earnings of white women in manufacturing in 1935. Average hourly earnings range from less than 10 cents to more than 50 cents, the bulk of them, about 62 percent, being 25 but less than 40 cents. Several of the industries have large proportions in the interval of 30 but less than 35 cents, these being metal products, paper boxes, shoes, knit underwear, bags, cotton mills, silk and rayon fabrics, and seamless hosiery, with from 35 to 85 percent in this range and medians below 33 cents. Considering the major industries—those in which records were obtained

<sup>3</sup> For table giving these earnings figures see p. 20.

TABLE 2.—Average hourly earnings<sup>1</sup> of white women in manufacturing, by industry, 1935

Industry	Number of women reported	Median hourly earnings (cents)	Percent of women whose hourly earnings averaged—								
			15 cents and less	Over 15, less than 20 cents	20, less than 25 cents	25, less than 30 cents	30 cents	Over 30, less than 35 cents	35, less than 40 cents	40, less than 45 cents	45 cents and more
All manufacturing.....	17,584	32.3	3.6	4.5	9.4	14.2	8.0	22.1	17.7	10.6	9.9
Textiles.....	9,143	30.4	2.2	3.8	7.5	11.3	10.1	31.1	17.7	8.0	8.3
Hosiery:											
Seamless.....	2,982	31.5	2.9	6.0	10.3	13.7	8.4	27.2	18.0	8.6	4.9
Full-fashioned.....	1,795	37.0	1.2	3.3	7.0	10.6	2.5	19.2	15.9	14.2	26.1
Cotton mills.....	1,952	32.8	.3	.3	1.9	3.3	19.2	43.1	22.1	7.2	2.7
Knit underwear.....	1,447	32.4	1.5	2.6	5.5	16.7	4.1	41.9	19.6	3.7	4.4
Silk and rayon fabrics.....	369	30.0	14.6	5.1	14.4	12.7	31.7	18.7	1.4	1.1	.3
Woolen mills.....	286	32.5	2.1	7.7	12.6	14.7	1.0	29.8	16.8	7.0	8.3
Bags, cotton and burlap.....	312	30.0	1.0	6.7	16.7	12.5	22.8	28.5	9.6	1.6	.6
Clothing:											
Men's suits and overcoats.....	1,112	38.4	3.1	.7	3.4	7.9	.3	15.1	26.7	20.9	22.0
Men's work clothing.....	2,501	25.8	12.3	10.7	22.6	24.0	1.7	17.5	7.8	2.3	1.1
Other.....	467	23.0	16.3	20.3	22.3	20.1	5.8	11.5	2.1	1.5	-----
Rayon yarns and cellophane.....	1,194	42.0	-----	-----	-----	.3	-----	.5	32.4	37.1	29.7
Shoes.....	1,052	32.6	.3	.7	8.1	7.7	22.0	16.3	17.5	10.1	17.4
Food products <sup>2</sup> .....	480	28.3	.2	.4	2.9	51.7	10.4	12.3	9.8	11.9	.4
Bakeries.....	238	31.5	-----	-----	-----	31.5	16.4	10.1	17.2	23.9	.8
Candy.....	194	27.5	.5	1.0	1.0	78.9	.5	15.5	2.6	-----	-----
Drugs and cosmetics.....	410	27.3	-----	11.2	12.9	50.0	8.5	8.3	2.9	3.2	2.9
Tobacco and tobacco products.....	340	37.2	1.8	1.5	.9	-----	.3	2.9	54.7	18.5	19.4
Printing and publishing.....	270	40.0	-----	-----	1.9	5.6	3.0	2.9	30.0	36.3	20.4
Wood products.....	235	25.0	.4	6.8	29.4	41.7	5.1	12.3	3.0	1.3	-----
Paper boxes.....	183	32.2	-----	4.9	14.2	8.7	13.7	21.3	15.3	12.6	9.3
Metal products.....	74	30.0	-----	-----	1.4	10.8	66.2	18.9	2.7	-----	-----
Other manufacturing.....	123	38.0	-----	-----	-----	4.9	-----	12.2	54.5	15.4	13.0

<sup>1</sup> Arrived at by dividing each woman's earnings for the week by the number of hours she worked.

<sup>2</sup> Includes 48 women in "other food products."

for at least 1,000 women—it is seen that 59 percent of the women textile workers, about 54 percent of those in seamless hosiery, 37 percent in full-fashioned, 84 percent in the cotton mills, 66 percent in knit underwear and 56 percent in shoes average 30 but less than 40 cents. In the rayon yarns and cellophane group, the bulk of hourly earnings are in the range 35 but less than 45 cents, with 70 percent, as they are also in men's suits and overcoats, with 48 percent. Work clothing, of course, slips farther down the scale, and 47 percent of its women have hourly earnings of 20 but less than 30 cents.

On the basis of hourly earnings the highest wage level was in rayon yarns and cellophane, with 66.8 percent of the women employees averaging 40 cents or more. Printing and publishing followed with 56.7 percent, suits and overcoats with 42.9 percent, full-fashioned hosiery with 40.3 percent, and tobacco products with 37.9 percent.

The lowest wage level on an hourly basis was in "other cotton garments", with 36.6 percent of the women averaging less than 20 cents. This was followed by men's work clothing, with 23 percent, and by silk and rayon fabrics, with 19.7 percent, with so low an average.

In one industry—"other clothing"—the average hourly earnings have a median of only 23 cents. Four industries—wood products,

work clothing, drugs and cosmetics, and food products—have medians of 25 and under 30 cents. In four cases—full-fashioned hosiery, tobacco and tobacco products, the group “other manufacturing”, and men’s suits and overcoats—medians are 35 and under 40 cents; and in two—printing and publishing and rayon yarns and cellophane—they are 40 cents and 42 cents, respectively.

*Average hourly earnings by area.*—Where the median of week’s earnings is concerned, the eastern area is next to the lowest, but hourly earnings are the highest there, indicating shorter hours. In the eastern area the seven industries in which earnings for 500 or more women have been tabulated are the two hosiery groups, knit underwear, cotton mills, men’s work clothing, men’s suits and overcoats, and rayon yarns and cellophane. The range in median hourly earnings is from 25.1 cents to 42.5 cents. Hosiery manufacturing is concentrated in the eastern area and offers more jobs than any other industry. The most common hourly earnings in seamless hosiery are near 31 cents and in full-fashioned they are 5½ cents higher. The proportion of women averaging 40 cents or more is only a little less than three times as great in full-fashioned as in seamless. The product worked on in full-fashioned is higher priced, but much of the work done by the women is similar.

Median hourly earnings of women in cotton mills differ little by locality but are slightly lower in the western area. In work clothing, too, the differences by area are slight, the eastern and western differing by only one-tenth of a cent and the middle area higher by less than 1½ cents. Work clothing is less important in the western area than in the other sections.

Knit underwear is an important industry in the eastern area, and its most common hourly earnings are 30 and under 35 cents. The hourly earnings in this industry are concentrated in a narrow range, the proportion at under 25 cents being a little less than 10 percent and the proportion at 40 cents or more being 8 percent.

Men’s suits and overcoats, including woolen and palm-beach garments, had a basic code rate of 37½ cents for women. This is reflected in the higher-than-average median hourly rate of 38.4 cents. More than two-fifths of the women have average hourly earnings of 40 cents or more.

The manufacture of rayon yarns and cellophane is limited to a small number of firms—one company in the middle area with two plants, and two companies with three plants in the eastern area. The products are relatively new, the units are extensive in size, and working conditions and hourly earnings are above the average. The median hourly earnings of 42 cents for women are the highest of any industry.

Food-products manufacturing was reported in all areas. In the eastern and the middle area there is no difference in the median hourly earnings—27.5 cents—but in the western the figure is 35.2 cents. The higher average in the western area is due to a median of 38 cents in bakeries. For the State as a whole food has been divided into bakeries, with median hourly earnings of 31.5 cents; candy, with 27.5 cents; and other food, with 27.4 cents. The last-named contains meat packing, egg candling, potato chips, butter, and cheese, all with small numbers of women employed.

Where they can be compared, median hourly earnings for women in the middle area are not very different from those in the eastern area,

the difference being about 1 cent. The striking difference is in silk and rayon fabrics, with the low median of 15 cents in the middle area, that in the eastern area being twice that. Low earnings are largely due to one firm with a considerable number of employees who had been added to the force in the past 6 months, the rates of some of whom were as low as 7½ and 10 cents an hour. Four industries in the middle area had 450 or more women employees represented. These with their medians are as follows: Work clothing, 26.4 cents; seamless hosiery, 31.9 cents; cotton mills, 32.5 cents; and shoes, 35 cents. The largest group of women in tobacco manufacturing are in the middle area, and their median hourly earnings of 35.8 cents are the second highest.

Several firms in wood products in the middle area are making pencils or slats for pencils. As in most woodworking firms, the earnings are low, the median hourly earnings being 25 cents or an amount close to this figure.

The western area, with Memphis as its commercial hub, is less industrial than the middle and eastern areas. Opportunities for employment in manufacturing are fewer than in the commercial and service industries. About 2,100 white women were scheduled here in manufacturing, compared to 12,000 in the eastern area and 5,000 in the middle. Negro women are employed more extensively than in the other areas. Food products and cotton mills are the only industries with median hourly earnings of more than 30 cents. Drugs and cosmetics is a leading industry for women’s employment in Memphis, and the prevailing hourly earnings are massed at 25 and less than 30 cents. Three firms in Memphis and one outside in the general western area are making women’s wash dresses (classed in other clothing for the State as a whole), and their median hourly earnings of 18 cents are next to the lowest found in the State. Except for bakeries, the western area has a low wage level for women, and it has the lowest median earnings, both weekly and hourly, in the State.

#### Time and piece earnings.

The vast majority of operatives in manufacturing have their earnings related directly to production. In stores, laundries, and hotels and restaurants the basis of payment generally is time, that is, by the hour, week, or month. Of the women employees in manufacturing in this study, almost 80 percent were paid by measured output—either straight piece rates, incentive task and bonus systems, or other efficiency plan such as the Emerson or Bedaux.

In men’s work clothing 97 percent of the women, in full-fashioned hosiery, seamless hosiery, and knit underwear from 90 to 93 percent, and in woolen mills and men’s suits and overcoats 87 and 88 percent are paid on measured-output systems. The industries in which less than 50 percent of the women are on piece work are metal products (all women are on time work), drugs and cosmetics, food products, silk and rayon fabrics, printing and publishing, and “other manufacturing.” None of these are industries in which large proportions of women are employed, from the standpoint of the study, and it is generally true that where the number employed is not large the work tends to be varied rather than specialized and cannot so easily be compensated for on a direct measurement basis.

Piece work tends to pay higher earnings than time work. In six cases the median hourly earnings of piece workers are from 5 to 10

cents higher than the corresponding figures for time workers. In only three instances are the medians alike for the two groups, and only in work clothing is the time-work median the higher. Time-work earnings are concentrated more at 30 cents than at any other amount, and this is the median for all branches of the textile group, for all manufacturing, and for three other industries. This prevalence of 30 cents an hour is most likely a hang-over of the textile codes which set a minimum of \$12 for 40 hours. For piece workers in all textiles median hourly earnings are 33 cents, and the range by type of product is from a low of 30 cents in bags and silk and rayon fabrics to a high of 38 cents in full-fashioned hosiery.

Rayon yarns and cellophane, printing and publishing, tobacco, and men's suits and overcoats have median piece-work earnings of 40 cents or more an hour. Their time-work medians of 38, 40, 35, and 37 cents, respectively, also are above the hourly medians of other industries.

Women doing piece work in men's work clothing have low earnings, and in "other clothing" they fare badly whether by time or piece. In work clothing the proportion of piece workers is the largest of any industry, and their median hourly earnings of 26 cents are 4 cents lower than the median for time workers. "Other clothing" and wood products tied for the lowest median of piece-work earnings, 25 cents. Only 22 percent of women on piece work in "other clothing" earned as much as 30 cents, but even fewer (16 percent) of those in wood products earned so much. On the other hand, none of the women in wood products earned less than 15 cents, while 11 percent of those in "other clothing" did so.

More than 80 percent of the women in shoe factories were piece workers and their median hourly earnings, 35 cents, were 10 cents above those of time workers. Eight percent of the piece workers in shoes and 66 percent of the time workers had hourly earnings of less than 30 cents.

Though all systems of measured output are thrown together here as piece work, unpublished figures show that workers under special incentive systems sometimes had higher earnings than those on straight piece-work rates. For example, in work clothing the hourly median of the special-system group was 4½ cents greater than that of the straight piece workers, and in shoes the workers under an efficiency system had an hourly median 50 percent higher than that of regular piece workers. In rayon yarns and cellophane the application of special incentive systems was general throughout for jobs on a measured-output basis. Among these workers no one averaged less than 30 cents an hour. Of those on a time base, only nine-tenths of 1 percent averaged less than 30 cents.

#### Year's earnings.

Year's earnings, usually for the calendar period of 1935, were taken off for 961 white women in representative manufacturing establishments. Earnings of this nature were not sought in stores and laundries, as in these industries employment tends to fluctuate less through the year than it does in manufacturing.

In selecting records for year's earnings the effort was made to take as a sample only those who worked as regularly as possible, and those who lost more than a minimum of time through illness or other

personal reasons were eliminated. Therefore, the amounts given as year's earnings are typical of the steady group, and it is significant that one-half of the white women had an earned income of less than \$615 for the year. Existence on such amounts, that average less than \$50 a month, cannot cover a budget of even the most limited present-day essentials. For 9.2 percent of the women year's earnings were less than \$400.

For white women in the principal factory groups the medians of year's earnings are these:

All manufacturing.....	\$615
Textiles:	
Hosiery:	
Seamless.....	540
Full-fashioned.....	850
Other textiles.....	645
Clothing:	
Men's suits and overcoats.....	665
Men's work clothing and "other clothing".....	420
Rayon yarns and cellophane.....	815
Food products.....	555
Wood products.....	555

The range in year's earnings for these women was from \$200 to \$1,400, but the concentration was at \$500 and less than \$700 with almost one-half of the cases; 90 percent fell between \$350 and \$900. Selecting \$900, or the equivalent of \$75 a month, there were only 54 women of the 961, or slightly less than 6 percent, who earned as much as this, and only 29 women, or about 3 percent, whose earnings totaled \$1,000 or more, 28 of the 54 and 19 of the 29 being in full-fashioned hosiery. It may be noted that women in the full-fashioned branch of the hosiery industry averaged \$310 more than those in seamless hosiery. In men's work clothing and "other clothing", on the basis of median year's earnings of \$420, the monthly average would be \$35; no woman in this class earned as much as \$600. A very different condition was found in rayon yarns and cellophane, where no year's earnings reported were less than \$550, and one woman earned \$1,000 and under \$1,100.

*Hours worked in weeks making up year's earnings.*—In few industries are factory hours characterized by any degree of stability. Short hours, irregular weeks, cut into potential earnings drastically. Records of hours worked week by week throughout the year were available for about one-half of the women for whom year's earnings were secured. The weeks for which time records were recorded total 23,345. Distributed by hours worked per week they are as follows:

	Percent of year's weeks
Less than 20 hours.....	6.4
20, less than 30 hours.....	13.4
30, less than 40 hours.....	32.7
40 hours.....	36.6
More than 40 hours.....	10.9

More than one-half of the weeks were of less than 40 hours; practically one-fifth were of less than 30. A relatively small percent—about 11—were weeks of more than 40 hours. Work clothing and "other clothing", combined in these tables, had a high proportion of weeks of less than 20 hours, and 75 percent of the weeks were of less than 40 hours. Hours were characteristically irregular in the work-clothing industry.

Men's suits and overcoats, on the other hand, showed more stability of hours—66.2 percent fell at 30 and under 40 hours, and the proportions at less than 20 hours and at more than 40 hours were small. Drugs and cosmetics, wood products, rayon yarns and cellophane, and seamless hosiery each had one-half or more of the weeks reported as of 40 hours. The tobacco industry had almost one-half. The largest proportions of weeks of more than 40 hours were in food products, paper boxes, wood products, and "other clothing." In full-fashioned hosiery about 63 percent of the weeks were of 30 to 40 hours inclusive, two-thirds of this group being below 40. Code standards had set hours for most of the workers in full-fashioned hosiery and men's suits and overcoats at less than 40; and this was reflected in the concentration of their weeks in the groups under 40. The manufacture of rayon yarns and cellophane, being of large-scale dimensions, with continuous operation a possibility and to some extent a necessity, showed marked regularity. About 83 percent of the weeks reported for the women throughout the year ranged from 30 to 40 hours inclusive. Only 4 percent of them were of more than 40 hours and about 12 percent were under 30.

#### HOURS

The Tennessee Legislature passed a woman's hour law in 1913 that covers all women included in the present study. Amended in 1915, this law provides that—

It shall be unlawful for proprietor, foreman, owner or other person to employ, permit or suffer to work in, about or in connection with any workshop or factory, any female or any child under 16 years of age in excess of 57 hours in any one week or more than 10½ hours in any one day; provided, that 10½ hours per day will be permitted only for the purpose of providing for one short day in the week.

These hour standards of more than 20 years ago are decidedly archaic when lined up with social and technological changes occurring in the decades since 1915. Few Tennessee establishments employing any appreciable number of women operate on a schedule of the 10½-hour day and the 57-hour week permitted by law. The legal limit is only a maximum barrier beyond which transgressors are liable to punishment; it does not set up a desirable standard. From an efficiency standpoint, few employers could be induced to work so long.

In stores, scheduled hours and actual hours for the regular force tend to coincide; but in manufacturing, actual hours worked differ materially from scheduled hours—a falling off in demand for goods shortens hours, unbalanced departmental production may require either undertime or overtime for part of the force, a rising and unexpected demand may necessitate overtime. In most establishments, however, there are starting and stopping hours definite enough to be used as a basis for comparing work schedules.

When a survey of Tennessee industries was made in 1925, the prevailing daily schedule was 10 hours, and a week of 5½ or 6 days was usual. At that time weekly schedules of less than 48 hours were rare, but in the present survey schedules of more than 48 hours are as rare or rarer. In the fall of 1935 the hour standards most usually set by the codes still prevailed. They were an 8-hour day and a 5-day week, totaling a weekly schedule of 40 hours, for a large proportion of the manufacturing establishments.

#### Scheduled weekly hours.

Approximately four-fifths of the operatives in manufacturing had a weekly schedule of 40 hours. A small proportion had scheduled hours of less than 40, and slightly less than 20 percent had a schedule in excess of 40. The industries in which one-half or more of the women were scheduled to work over 40 hours were drugs and cosmetics, printing and publishing, pottery (earnings for the two plants visited in this industry have been tabulated in "other manufacturing", so as not to disclose the identity of firms), and wood products, but none of these are major industries in the State. Drugs and cosmetics are important in Memphis, where a little more than twice as many firms as in the eastern area were visited.

#### Scheduled daily hours.

Eight hours as a basic day was still in favor. In manufacturing, practically 82 percent of the men and women had a scheduled day of 8 hours; and this was true also of the women considered separately. Only the pottery plants had a large proportion of women with a work-day of more than 8 hours.

#### Scheduled days per week.

Though Tennessee law does not limit the working week to 6 days, no industry but hotels and restaurants reported a 7-day work program for women. The 5-day week still held as a standard in about 70 percent of the factories, but in numerous cases where a 5-day week was reported, Saturday work for either a full day or half a day was resorted to when a rush of orders or emergency demands required extra hours.

#### Actual hours worked.

It is rarely possible to obtain information on actual hours worked for all the women for whom wage records are secured. All firms do not keep full hour records on their pay rolls, and time cards may be incomplete for the selected week.

In manufacturing, one-third of the women worked 40 hours in the week studied. Undertime was much more prevalent than full time, and almost one-half of the women had worked less than 40 hours. The hours worked by white women in manufacturing for the State as a whole are shown in the accompanying table.

Since such a large proportion of the women—49.7 percent—actually worked less than 40 hours, there would appear to be little need of long hours in manufacturing. About 80 percent of the women in the study were employed in manufacturing, and of those with hours worked reported only a little more than one-sixth worked more than 40 hours. Men's suits and overcoats, men's work clothing, food products, paper boxes, shoes, and textiles had larger proportions of their women employees working less than 40 hours than either 40 hours or more than 40. Men's work clothing showed more variation in hours than other major industries. Men's suits and overcoats had good-sized groups with undertime (almost 12 percent had less than 16 hours of work in the week), yet the proportions working longer than the hours that prevailed in textiles were marked. More than ordinary stability in working hours seemed to be in rayon yarns and cellophane, in tobacco manufacturing, and in wood products, where large proportions of women worked 40 hours.

TABLE 3.—Hours worked during the week by white women in manufacturing and median earnings for certain hour groups, by industry, 1935

Industry	Number of women with hours worked reported	Percent of women who worked during the week—								Median earnings for—		
		Less than 24 hours	24, less than 32 hours	32, less than 40 hours	40 hours	Over 40, less than 44 hours	44, less than 48 hours	48, less than 52 hours	52 hours and more	Less than 40 hours	40 hours	More than 40 hours
All manufacturing.....	17,584	11.3	10.8	27.7	33.1	5.5	6.2	3.7	1.7	\$9.65	\$13.90	\$13.15
Textiles.....	9,143	14.0	12.1	29.7	34.9	2.9	3.4	2.0	1.0	9.60	13.35	14.40
Hosiery:												
Seamless.....	2,982	25.7	11.6	25.4	27.8	2.5	6.1	.7	.1	7.60	13.25	14.00
Full-fashioned.....	1,795	11.2	15.2	42.0	26.0	4.5	.8	.2	.1	12.35	14.05	19.75
Cotton mills.....	1,952	6.7	9.7	24.6	57.1	.2	.7	.5	.6	9.70	13.45	(1)
Knit underwear.....	1,447	5.2	13.4	31.5	39.9	3.1	2.6	3.5	.8	10.30	13.05	16.30
Silk and rayon fabrics.....	369	6.2	14.4	33.3	21.1	3.3	4.1	16.0	1.6	9.75	12.35	10.20
Woolen mills.....	286	6.9	7.7	19.2	28.3	10.5	15.4	7.7	4.2	9.05	14.45	13.55
Bags, cotton and burlap.....	312	18.6	9.9	29.5	14.4	5.1	2.9	5.4	14.1	9.10	12.60	12.35
Clothing:												
Men's suits and overcoats.....	1,112	19.5	12.3	33.4	19.6	8.0	4.8	.6	1.8	11.30	16.55	15.65
Men's work clothing.....	2,501	9.9	12.9	33.9	18.0	14.7	7.6	2.8	.1	8.05	11.20	10.80
Other.....	467	8.1	14.6	18.6	14.8	7.7	13.7	22.5	-----	7.20	10.70	9.35
Rayon yarns and cellophane.....	1,194	3.0	4.2	21.0	58.5	1.8	7.7	3.7	.1	14.05	16.95	19.05
Shoes.....	1,052	3.0	3.6	29.6	34.9	3.3	11.5	4.3	9.9	12.55	15.75	14.15
Food products.....	480	10.6	13.1	23.7	39.2	3.7	1.7	5.8	2.1	9.10	11.90	13.20
Drugs and cosmetics.....	410	-----	.9	10.4	21.0	19.8	33.9	1.7	12.2	9.60	13.10	12.25
Tobacco and tobacco products.....	340	1.8	1.5	7.0	87.1	-----	-----	2.6	-----	(1)	15.15	(1)
Printing and publishing.....	270	3.6	3.0	7.8	29.6	7.0	15.6	33.0	.4	(1)	15.20	19.15
Wood products.....	235	7.3	1.3	12.7	50.2	3.4	5.1	17.4	2.6	7.65	10.65	12.00
Paper boxes.....	183	6.5	20.8	10.9	25.7	3.8	18.6	4.4	9.3	7.90	14.40	16.40
Metal products.....	74	5.5	12.2	21.6	1.4	10.8	16.2	23.0	9.5	(1)	(1)	(1)
Other manufacturing.....	123	23.6	26.0	24.4	14.6	8.9	2.4	-----	-----	11.25	(1)	(1)

<sup>1</sup> Not computed; base less than 50.

In manufacturing as a whole less than 2 percent of the women worked 52 hours or more, and the proportion working as much as 57 hours was extremely small.

More women proportionately in the factories of the eastern area than in either of the other two had short hours. Almost 60 percent had worked less than 40 hours in the week for which earnings compilations were made. The effect of the shorter week is apparent in some of the tabulations because, though the average hourly rate is as high or higher in some instances, the week's median is lower for certain industries in the eastern area. Much the greatest proportion of women working over 40 hours were in the western area, the middle area holding a half-way place. The middle area had the largest proportion working 40 hours.

### MERCANTILE ESTABLISHMENTS

About 13 percent of the women for whom earnings were reported were in the mercantile industry—about 9 percent in department stores and 4 percent in limited-price stores. About 3,100 white women were employed in the 32 establishments visited, and of these about seven-

tenths were in department stores and about three-tenths in limited-price stores. Department stores include a few of the general mercantile type in the smaller towns, and the limited-price stores comprise the 5-and-10-cent type and some with goods having a maximum price of \$1 or \$5.

### EARNINGS

Median week's earnings in department stores are much alike in the different areas and cities. All fall at over \$12 and under \$13, with a range of only 80 cents. Nashville has the highest week's median, \$12.90, but the hourly earnings there are the lowest, being 25 cents. The range in medians of hourly earnings is only 2.1 cents.

For women in limited-price stores the highest week's median is \$12 for Knoxville, in the eastern area. This figure exceeds the lowest median—\$9.45 for the western area—by \$2.55. Medians of hourly earnings range from 22.2 cents in the western area to 26 cents in Nashville and the middle area as a whole.

In the following summary are shown the week's earnings of women in the two types of stores:

Week's earnings	Department stores		Limited-price stores	
	Regular employees	All employees	Regular employees	All employees
Number of women reported.....	1,783	2,208	450	870
Median earnings.....	\$12.75	\$12.55	\$12.90	\$10.05
Percent distribution of women				
Less than \$5.....	1.2	14.0	2.9	30.8
\$5, less than \$10.....	3.0	5.3	15.6	19.0
\$10, less than \$12.....	8.4	7.7	14.9	13.4
\$12, less than \$13.....	50.0	42.6	18.2	11.5
\$13, less than \$15.....	17.0	13.9	45.1	23.4
\$15, less than \$20.....	14.3	11.6	3.1	1.7
\$20 and more.....	6.1	4.9	.2	.1
Under \$12.....	12.6	27.0	33.3	63.2
\$15 and more.....	20.4	16.5	3.3	1.8

Regular employees comprise only the women who are normally employed on a weekly basis; the larger group includes also the part-time and contingent workers. There were 425 part-time workers in department stores and 420 in limited-price stores, or about 20 percent of the total in department stores and nearly 50 percent of those in the other group. The proportion of the regulars whose earnings were \$15 and more was 20 percent in department stores and only just over 3 percent in limited-price stores. In department stores the week's earnings of all employees, as well as of regulars considered separately, were concentrated in the \$12-and-under-\$13 group. The median was \$12.55 for all women and \$12.75 for regular workers. In a study of wages made in Tennessee in 1925 the median for all women in department stores was \$14.15 and for full-time workers it was \$15.

The distribution of all women in limited-price stores shows well over three-fifths with earnings under \$12 and not quite 2 percent earning \$15 and more. A much greater proportion of the regular employees

than in the department stores had earnings of \$13 and under \$15. In 1925 the median week's earnings were \$9.20 for all women and \$9.65 for full-time workers, compared to \$10.05 for all women and \$12.90 for regular workers in the present study.

HOURS

Scheduled hours.

Mercantile establishments, more than factories, had increased working hours since the Supreme Court decision on the National Industrial Recovery Act. In department stores more than 90 percent of the regular employees worked over 40 hours. A scheduled week of 48 hours was the most common in department stores, about 60 percent of the women employed regularly in these stores having such hours. A week of less than 48 hours was the schedule of about one-third, mostly in Memphis; and a schedule longer than 48 hours was reported for a small group, 5 percent of all. Part-time and contingent workers, as stated before, comprised about 20 percent of the total workers in department stores and almost one-half of those in the limited-price stores. Some of these workers had fairly regular hours, though not working full time, but others were subject to call and were not on a definite schedule. Many were extras on the busiest day of the week, quite commonly Saturday.

The 5-and-10-cent stores and others in the limited-price group had longer scheduled hours than the department stores had. Weekly schedules of 52 hours or more were not uncommon. The prevailing daily hours in department stores were 8; usually they were longer—8½ to 9—in the limited-price stores. During the National Recovery Administration some of the sales and other employees in department stores had a day off each week to keep their hours within 40, but the 5-day week was no longer a factor in 1935. All the department stores in the principal cities were closed Saturday evenings, but the limited-price stores were open. Hour arrangements for Saturday often included an actual 10-hour day. Store hours in 1935 were only slightly better than in 1925.

Actual hours worked.

Considering the regular women workers in stores, a little more than 90 percent worked over 40 hours in the week recorded. Not far from three-fifths (57.7 percent) of the women in department stores and about three-fourths (74.8 percent) of those in limited-price stores worked 48 hours or more. The percent of women who worked the hours specified in the pay-roll week recorded is as follows.

Hours worked	Department stores		Limited-price stores	
	Regular employees	All employees	Regular employees	All employees
Number of women reported.....	1,783	2,208	450	870
Percent distribution				
Less than 16.....	0.7	12.8	2.9	28.9
16, less than 20.....	.5	2.0	.2	.9
20, less than 24.....	.2	.7	.2	1.5
24, less than 28.....	.8	1.7	.4	2.3
28, less than 32.....	.3	.8	.7	1.7
32, less than 36.....	1.0	1.3	4.2	4.1
36, less than 40.....	1.0	1.1	2.9	4.1
40.....	2.0	1.8	.9	.6
More than 40, less than 44.....	.5	.7	5.6	6.1
44, less than 48.....	35.2	30.1	7.1	7.5
48, less than 52.....	55.9	45.6	52.7	29.6
52 and over.....	1.8	1.5	22.1	12.6

The concentration of hours in the 44-and-less-than-52-hour groups for women in department stores and in those of 48 hours and over for the limited-price employees is apparent. Regulars who have hours under 44 probably are those who lost time for personal reasons. A large proportion of the limited-price employees—almost 30 percent—worked less than 16 hours. Undoubtedly most of these were part-time workers. The corresponding percentage for department stores is 12.8.

All the department stores but one reported increased hours for their week's schedule in the past year. Two-thirds of the limited-price stores also had longer hours. Since more than 90 percent of the women in department stores worked more than 40 hours, for the comparison of hours worked by area 48 hours is taken as the base. The following is concerned with department-store regular employees only.

State.....	Number of women reported	Less than 48 hours	48 hours	More than 48 hours
State.....	1,684	42.3	55.7	2.0
Eastern area.....	644	16.1	81.8	2.0
Middle area.....	221	17.6	81.4	.9
Western area.....	819	69.5	28.2	2.3

The western area differs from the other two in having a large proportion of women working less than 48 hours. This is due to a prevailing schedule of less than 47 for the large department stores of Memphis. In the eastern and middle areas the 48-hour week prevailed.

A comparable set-up for regular employees in limited-price stores follows.

State.....	Number of women reported	Less than 48 hours	48 hours	More than 48 hours
State.....	448	25.2	28.1	46.7
Eastern area.....	130	5.4	34.6	60.0
Middle area.....	185	44.9	24.9	30.3
Western area.....	133	17.3	26.3	56.4

The large proportion working more than 48 hours is the most significant factor here. Most of these stores had been on a week of 48 hours



or less during the operation of the code, but about 6 months later well over one-half of the women in the eastern and western areas were working more than 48 hours.

**LAUNDRIES AND DRY CLEANERS**

**EARNINGS**

In the Tennessee survey 22 laundry and 8 dry-cleaning establishments, with about 1,800 white and Negro women, were included. About 300 women were employed in dry cleaning and the rest in general laundries. Laundry work in the South, whether in the home tubs or in the commercial laundry, is the field of the Negro woman. Of the women whose earnings were tabulated, 71 percent in the laundries and about 50 percent in the dry-cleaning establishments were Negroes.

The median week's earnings of white women in dry-cleaning plants were \$9.90. For the three areas and the chief cities the medians for those in laundries, for the week and the hour, follow.

	Median week's earnings	Median hourly earnings (cents)
State.....	\$7.85	17.4
Eastern area <sup>4</sup> .....	7.55	17.2
Knoxville.....	10.40	17.6
Middle area.....	7.85	17.5
Nashville.....	7.85	17.5
Western area.....	8.25	20.0
Memphis.....	8.50	20.0

These medians are, of course, for white women only, and since most of the women in southern laundries are Negro it may be noted here that the week's median for the latter is still lower, \$5.65 for the whole State and by area ranging from \$5.60 to \$5.70. The median week's earnings for Negro women were \$2.20 less than those of white women. White women hold most of the marking, checking, and sorting jobs, but in some laundries they are found also on the flat-work ironers, the garment presses, and the shirt lines. Hand ironing is almost entirely left to the Negro woman.

The eastern area, as a region, had the lowest earnings for white women, with a median of \$7.55, and in this area the proportion of white women was greatest. Knoxville in the eastern area had much the highest week's median, but since the earnings averaged not quite one-half cent more per hour than those for the area as a whole, and about the same as for Nashville, the higher week's earnings must be due to longer hours.

The western area has the most Negro women and proportionately the fewest white, so in accordance with the law of supply and demand, the earnings of white women are slightly higher than elsewhere.

The week's earnings of white women in laundries and dry cleaners for the State as a whole are as follows:

<sup>4</sup> Only 36 white women were scheduled in Chattanooga.

Area	Median week's earnings	Median hourly earnings (cents)
Eastern area	7.55	17.2
Middle area	7.85	17.5
Western area	8.25	20.0

The large proportion working more than 48 hours is the most significant factor here. Most of these stores had been on a week of 48 hours

	Laundries Dry cleaners	
	Number of women reported	Median earnings
Number of women reported.....	429	149
Median earnings.....	\$7.85	\$9.90
Percent distribution		
Less than \$5.....	14.5	2.7
\$5, less than \$10.....	55.2	49.0
\$10, less than \$12.....	18.4	18.1
\$12, less than \$13.....	4.7	10.7
\$13, less than \$15.....	2.6	9.4
\$15, less than \$20.....	4.0	9.4
\$20 and more.....	.7	.7
Under \$12.....	88.1	69.8
\$15 and more.....	4.7	10.1

Almost 70 percent of the white women in laundries were paid less than \$10 and only 12 percent were paid as much as \$12.

**HOURS**

Daily, weekly, and seasonal changes in demands for laundry service make stability of hours a problem, and scheduled hours in laundries generally are highly variable. Where there is any semblance of a planned schedule in Tennessee laundries it tends to be about 45 hours a week, but most laundry employers reported their hours as irregular, both by days and departments, so no attempt was made to tabulate scheduled hours.

**Actual hours worked.**

The percent of women with hours worked as specified in laundries in the various areas are as follows:

	Number of women reported	Less than 40 hours	40 hours	More than 40 hours
State.....	369	32.0	7.6	60.4
Eastern area.....	205	36.1	2.4	61.5
Middle area.....	74	9.5	31.1	59.5
Western area.....	90	41.1	-----	58.9

In each area approximately 60 percent of the women in laundries worked over 40 hours, a great contrast to the 17 percent so reported in manufacturing. The middle area is the only one with any appreciable number working exactly 40 hours in laundries.

The percent distribution of 369 women in laundries in the State as a whole, according to hours worked, is as follows:

Less than 16 hours.....	4.3
16, less than 20 hours.....	2.7
20, less than 24 hours.....	2.7
24, less than 28 hours.....	3.0
28, less than 32 hours.....	4.1
32, less than 36 hours.....	5.7
36, less than 40 hours.....	9.5
40 hours.....	7.6
More than 40, less than 44 hours.....	14.9
44, less than 48 hours.....	18.2
48, less than 52 hours.....	8.7
52 hours and more.....	18.7

Only in limited-price stores, with 22 percent, did a larger proportion of women work 52 hours or more.

Hours in dry cleaners were much more concentrated, 82.7 percent of the 110 women reported working 48 and less than 52 hours. Only 6.4 percent worked 52 hours and more.

**Part III.—COMPARISON OF EARNINGS, HOURS, AND  
EMPLOYMENT FOR WHITE WOMEN IN 1934 AND  
1935**

The changes in wage structure from the fall of 1934, when code standards were in operation, to the fall of 1935, after the Supreme Court had outlawed the codes, were appraised by a comparison of the earnings in identical plants for the two periods. In some cases it was not possible to procure 1934 records, as pay-roll books had been lost, destroyed, or sent to storage, or firms had changed their set-ups or products. The great majority of firms are represented, however, and the number of employees reported for 1934 is 85 percent or more of that for 1935.

Most of the employers interviewed expressed a sentiment that business activity in the fall of 1935 was as good as or better than in 1934. The accompanying table shows earnings for the week and the hour for 1934 and 1935, by industry.

TABLE 4.—Earnings of white women in one week in fall of 1934 and one in fall of 1935 compared—identical plants

Industry	Number of establishments reporting week's earnings	Number of women with week's earnings reported		Median earnings for 1 week in—		Average hourly earnings for 1 week <sup>1</sup>									
		1934	1935	1934	1935	Median in—		Increase (+) or decrease (–) in median	Percent of women whose hourly earnings averaged—						
						Cents	Cents		Less than 30 cents		30 cents		More than 30 cents		
		1934	1935	1934	1935			1934	1935	1934	1935				
Manufacturing.....	140	15,969	16,817	\$12.00	\$12.25	33.5	33.1	–0.4	13.2	26.3	16.0	7.4	70.8	66.3	
Textiles.....	49	8,294	9,137	11.40	12.05	32.8	32.8	—	11.6	20.0	17.3	9.8	71.1	70.2	
Hosiery:															
Seamless.....	14	2,661	3,185	9.30	10.20	31.2	32.7	+1.5	19.9	21.5	23.0	9.3	57.1	69.2	
Full-fashioned.....	8	1,609	1,805	12.50	13.45	35.4	36.3	+ .9	16.2	24.1	4.0	2.4	79.8	73.5	
Cotton mills.....	12	2,143	2,015	12.20	12.50	32.5	32.8	+ .3	4.0	5.8	20.6	19.2	75.4	75.0	
Knit underwear.....	4	1,233	1,389	12.10	12.25	33.4	32.7	–.7	11.3	23.5	10.6	4.0	78.1	72.5	
Silk and rayon fabrics.....	4	205	198	11.85	10.25	31.0	24.9	–6.1	3.9	61.6	35.1	8.1	61.0	30.3	
Woolen mills.....	4	197	291	11.45	13.00	32.5	32.5	—	.5	37.0	—	1.0	99.5	62.0	
Bags, cotton and burlap.....	3	246	254	10.05	10.85	30.0	30.0	—	9.4	22.4	54.3	28.0	36.3	49.6	
Clothing:															
Men's suits and overcoats.....	4	1,092	1,073	12.40	13.45	37.0	39.0	+2.0	2.1	12.0	.1	.3	97.8	87.7	
Men's work clothing.....	12	1,497	1,523	11.50	9.55	30.3	26.3	–4.0	23.7	71.3	24.7	2.4	51.6	26.3	
Other.....	5	442	445	10.00	9.05	30.1	24.6	–5.5	19.0	76.7	30.7	6.6	50.3	16.7	
Rayon yarns and cellophane.....	4	1,215	1,066	14.35	16.60	40.0	41.5	+1.5	1.6	.3	—	—	98.4	99.7	
Shoes.....	5	938	1,054	12.45	14.15	30.8	35.7	+4.9	9.1	17.8	30.0	8.6	60.9	73.6	
Food products.....	17	617	665	10.90	11.35	27.5	28.3	+ .8	63.9	55.0	9.0	10.7	27.1	34.3	
Bakeries.....	8	271	353	11.00	11.65	30.0	31.5	+1.5	40.1	31.5	12.5	16.4	47.4	52.1	
Candy.....	5	298	264	10.85	11.30	27.5	27.5	—	85.3	81.5	.9	.5	13.8	18.0	
Other.....	4	48	48	10.20	10.50	( <sup>3</sup> )	( <sup>3</sup> )	( <sup>3</sup> )	( <sup>3</sup> )	( <sup>3</sup> )	( <sup>3</sup> )	( <sup>3</sup> )	( <sup>3</sup> )	( <sup>3</sup> )	
Drugs and cosmetics.....	8	389	328	12.65	12.45	32.5	27.3	–5.2	5.9	67.7	18.8	10.7	75.3	21.6	
Tobacco and tobacco products.....	3	367	340	12.95	14.95	32.7	37.2	+4.5	9.8	4.2	20.2	.3	70.0	95.5	
Printing and publishing.....	10	311	329	18.20	17.80	37.0	40.0	+3.0	2.5	7.5	.4	3.0	97.1	89.5	
Wood products.....	10	272	293	11.50	10.35	30.0	25.0	–5.0	34.3	78.3	40.3	5.1	25.4	16.6	
Paper boxes.....	14	211	209	10.25	13.35	32.5	32.7	+ .2	23.5	25.2	17.2	14.6	59.3	60.2	
Metal products.....	3	57	74	10.30	13.40	30.0	30.0	—	5.2	12.2	77.2	66.2	17.6	21.6	
Other manufacturing.....	3	267	281	12.00	12.30	35.0	38.0	+3.0	34.3	—	—	—	65.7	100.0	
Department stores:															
All employees.....	17	2,214	2,208	12.50	12.55	29.8	26.9	–2.9	50.3	77.8	12.9	1.0	36.8	21.2	
Regular employees.....	—	1,821	1,783	12.70	12.75	30.0	26.9	–3.1	46.8	73.7	8.7	.9	44.5	25.4	
Limited-price stores:															
All employees.....	14	756	837	11.30	10.00	27.1	25.0	–2.1	96.5	98.3	—	.5	3.5	1.2	
Regular employees.....	—	401	431	12.55	13.00	27.1	25.5	–1.6	94.2	96.9	—	.9	5.8	2.2	
Laundries.....	20	351	365	7.35	7.90	17.8	17.2	–.6	94.6	96.3	1.3	—	4.1	3.7	
Dry cleaners.....	7	125	148	9.85	9.90	24.9	17.6	–7.3	85.6	98.2	6.6	—	7.8	1.8	

<sup>1</sup> Represents fewer women than those with week's earnings reported, as hours worked were not available in all cases.

<sup>2</sup> Details aggregate more than total because 7 firms manufactured more than 1 product.

<sup>3</sup> Not computed; base less than 50.

**Changes in week's earnings.<sup>1</sup>**

Due primarily to longer hours and better business, median week's earnings in most Tennessee industries were higher in 1935 than in 1934. It is apparent that all industries in manufacturing but silk and rayon products, men's work clothing, "other clothing", drugs and cosmetics, printing and publishing, and wood products showed some increase in median earnings. Fourteen industries had increases ranging from a few cents to \$3.10. The median had increased by \$1 or more in seven cases, and by 50 cents and less than \$1 in five. In considering changes in week's earnings the interplay of work hours must be considered. For example, in the knit-underwear industry the median week's earnings increased from \$12.10 in 1934 to \$12.25 in 1935, the percent of women working over 40 hours rose from 0.2 in 1934 to 10.4 in 1935, and median hourly earnings decreased by 2 percent. For this reason, hourly earnings perhaps give a better picture of the changes that had taken place.

**Changes in hourly earnings.**

Median hourly earnings of white women for all manufacturing firms combined show a slight decrease, amounting to less than one-half a cent. The changes in hourly earnings for the various industries in terms of cents are small—the largest increases being 4.9 cents in shoes and 4.5 cents in the tobacco group, and the greatest decrease being 6.1 cents in silk and rayon fabrics. When changes in hourly earnings are multiplied by weekly hours they seem more significant, and since most of the weekly wages are near the \$12 level, one or two dollars means a lot in the purchasing possibilities of the wage earner.

In the textile group—with the exception of silk and rayon fabrics, where earnings had a considerable decline—women were earning about the same in 1935 as in 1934—in three cases slightly more. Both hosiery branches had advanced a little, earnings for the large group in seamless hosiery having risen almost 5 percent. Women making men's work clothing, another large group, and those on "other clothing", each at one of the lowest wage levels in manufacturing in 1934, had large wage decreases, 13 percent and 18 percent, respectively. Drugs and cosmetics, only just below average in 1934, had a decrease of 16 percent. Wood products, at almost the lowest level, had median hourly earnings one-sixth less in 1935 than in 1934.

Women in shoe and in tobacco manufacturing showed increases of approximately 16 and 14 percent. Printing and publishing, in the top brackets of the earnings rank in this survey, also had a higher median in the 1935 period than in 1934. Woolen mills, bag mills, the textile industry as a whole, candy factories, and the metal industry had the same hourly medians in the 2 years.

Listing the industries in three groups—first, those that showed a decrease from 1934 to 1935, second no change, and third an increase in median hourly earnings—gives the percent of change in descending order, as follows:

<sup>1</sup> For hotels and restaurants, see p. 37.

Decreases		No change	Increases	
Silk and rayon fabrics	19.7	Woolen mills.	Shoes	15.9
"Other clothing"	18.3	Bags.	Tobacco and tobacco products	13.8
Wood products	16.7	Candy.	Miscellaneous manufacturing	8.6
Drugs and cosmetics	16.0	Metal products.	Printing and publishing	8.1
Work clothing	13.2		Men's suits and overcoats	5.4
Knit underwear	2.1		Bakery products	5.0
			Seamless hosiery	4.8
			Rayon yarns and cellophane	3.8
			Full-fashioned hosiery	2.5
			Cotton mills	.9
			Paper boxes	.6

**Comparison of proportions earning less than 30 cents.**

Since 30 cents was the most usual minimum rate applying to large numbers of women in manufacturing during the life of the National Recovery Administration, the proportions who received less than 30 cents an hour in 1934 and 1935 are shown on table 4.

Sixteen of the twenty-one manufacturing industries with comparable figures show such proportion to have been greater in 1935 than in 1934.

The industries showing the most marked recession by having increased proportions of women earning under 30 cents an hour are these: Men's work clothing, "other clothing", silk and rayon fabrics, drugs and cosmetics, wood products, and woolen mills. Unpublished figures show that in 1934 only two industries had so many as 1 percent of their women with average earnings of less than 20 cents an hour, but a year later, in 1935, almost 28 percent of the women in "other clothing", 25 percent of those in silk and rayon fabrics, 15 percent in men's work clothing, 10 percent in woolen mills, and 7 percent in wood products had hourly earnings of less than 20 cents; in each case but woolen mills, much more than one-half averaged less than 30 cents. The proportions averaging 20 and less than 30 cents had also increased greatly in all these industries. On the 1934 pay rolls the average hourly earnings of only 6 percent of the women in drugs and cosmetics fell below 30 cents, but one year later 67.7 percent, or slightly more than two-thirds, were below the 30-cent level.

Shoes, bags, and knit underwear also showed considerable increase in the proportion at less than 30 cents. In seamless hosiery, paper boxes, and cotton mills the increases were small. In rayon yarns and cellophane the percent receiving less than 30 cents was insignificant in both periods.

In 1934, 30 cents—the usual National Recovery Administration hourly minimum—generally was the base rate, and when piece-work earnings were less than this the total was brought up to that amount. The extent to which 30 cents was the hourly earnings in 1934 and in 1935, shown on table 4, is indicative of what happened to make-up payments after the cessation of the National Recovery Administration.

Of the 21 manufacturing industries with comparable figures for the 2 years, all but 6 show smaller proportions of women in 1935 than in 1934 with average hourly earnings of 30 cents. These differences in

percents do not all represent a lowering of the wage level. In seamless hosiery and tobacco, much more of the change from 30 cents was upward than downward; in cotton mills, bags, shoes, and metal products, there was little or no difference in the direction of change; but in the remaining cases—knit underwear, wood products, silk and rayon fabrics, work clothing, "other clothing", and drugs and cosmetics—not only was the change from 30 cents a downward one but there was a decline in the proportions of women paid more than 30 cents, a very heavy decline in all but the first and second mentioned.

From the columns in the table that give the proportions of women whose average hourly earnings were above 30 cents, it is clear that for 11 of the 21 industries the proportion of women with such earnings was lower in 1935 than in 1934. For 6 of the 11 the decline was less than 15 points, but in the case of men's work clothing, silk and rayon fabrics, "other clothing", woolen mills, and drugs and cosmetics the 1935 percentage was less than that of 1934 by from 25 to 53 points. Two industrial groups—tobacco products and the "other manufacturing" group—had large increases in 1935, respectively 25 and 34 points over the 1934 percentage. For 8 industries the increase was less than 15 points.

For all manufacturing, unpublished figures show that the proportion of women earning 30 and under 35 cents an hour had decreased by 13 points, but the proportion earning 35 cents and more was practically unchanged. In 13 of the 21 manufacturing industries listed, there was an increase in the proportion earning 35 cents and more. In seamless hosiery the increase in this highest group almost offset the decrease in the group 30 and less than 35 cents, and most of the decrease in the proportion averaging 30 but less than 35 cents has been absorbed in the higher group. Naturally, the industries showing the largest decreases in these groups are the ones that show the largest increases in the groups at less than 30 cents, which have been discussed: Drugs and cosmetics, "other clothing", silk and rayon fabrics, men's work clothing, woodworking, and woolen mills.

#### Comparison of hours worked.

The main trend of changes in hours actually worked in the two wage periods is summarized in the following, which shows the percent of women in each of three hour groups.

	Less than 40 hours	40 hours	More than 40 hours
Factories—1934	63.3	34.3	2.5
1935	49.9	36.5	13.6
Department stores:			
Regular employees—1934	11.8	33.8	54.4
1935	4.7	2.0	93.3
Limited-price stores:			
Regular employees—1934	8.3	.5	91.2
1935	12.1	.9	86.9
Laundries—1934	41.4	2.0	56.6
1935	36.4	1.6	62.0

When manufacturing is divided into its component industries on the basis of the proportions working more than 40 hours in the two periods covered, it is seen that in 21 of the 23 separate industries or groups the proportion of women who worked more than 40 hours was larger in 1935 than in 1934. In most cases the difference was great,

being from 30 to 50 points in silk and rayon fabrics, woolen mills, "other clothing", drugs and cosmetics, paper boxes, and metal products. Only in shoes and tobacco was the proportion of women who worked more than 40 hours smaller in 1935 than in 1934, and here the differences were slight. A 44-hour week has been basic in printing and publishing for many years, so a large proportion were working more than 40 hours at both dates, and the proportion working more than 40 hours was only 1.5 points greater in 1935 than in 1934.

The general tendency to increase hours after the spring of 1935 seems obvious. Almost one-half of the factories admitted that hours had been increased or that there was greater elasticity in the length of the working week. "We work on Saturdays whenever there is need", was a typical comment.

#### Changes in numbers employed.

Since the data compared for the years 1934 and 1935 are those of identical firms, it has been possible to place the numbers of women employed side by side, industry by industry, and determine the employment trends in the intervening period. These figures appear in table 4, page 27.

In manufacturing as a whole the increase was 5.3 percent. Since the knit-goods industry—hosiery and underwear—is the outstanding field of employment it is interesting to note that its numbers increased.

#### Changes in stores, laundries, and cleaning plants.

Stores and laundries were all in the red from the worker's point of view when hourly earnings in 1935 are considered. Department-store median hourly earnings indicate a fall of about 10 percent from the year before. Those in the limited-price stores show decreases of 6 to 8 percent. Hourly earnings of women in dry-cleaning plants had the greatest decline of all, with a decrease of nearly 30 percent. Laundries, with their low median of 17.2 cents in 1935, had fallen from 17.8 cents in 1934.

Median hourly earnings went down in all cases, from 0.6 cent in laundries to 7.3 cents in dry-cleaning plants. Median week's earnings for department stores, regular and all employees, had risen by 5 cents. In limited-price stores the median for regulars had gone up by 45 cents, that for all employees down by \$1.30. The laundry median went up by 55 cents, the dry-cleaning median by 5 cents.

Department stores had practically the same number of employees in both years, a decline of only 6 in 1935. There was, however, a decrease of 38 regular employees and an increase of 32 in the part-time and contingent force. Limited-price stores, laundries, and dry-cleaning plants all had more women on their pay rolls in the week taken in 1935 than in the week taken in 1934.

#### Summary of changes in wages, hours, and numbers of employees in 1935.

The most significant factors revealed by the tabulation of wage and hour data for the 2 years were these:

Median hourly earnings for women in some of the industries had decreased materially; examples of this are 13 percent in men's work clothing, 18 percent in "other clothing", 16 percent in drugs and cosmetics, 17 percent in wood products, 10 percent in department stores, and 29 percent in dry cleaning. Hosiery, knit underwear,

cotton, woolen, and bag mills did not show material changes in hourly earnings.

The proportions of women earning less than 30 cents an hour had increased materially with the discontinuance of "make-up" payments.

Longer hours and greater business activity had increased the median week's earnings—though in most cases only slightly—in more than one-half of the industries covered.

In manufacturing, the proportion of women working more than 40 hours had increased from 2.5 percent to 13.6 percent.

Numbers of women in manufacturing had increased by 5.3 percent, regulars in department stores had decreased by 2.1 percent, regulars in limited-price stores had increased by 7.5 percent, women in laundries by 4 percent, and those in dry-cleaning plants by 18.4 percent.

#### Changes in wage rates as reported by management.

General inquiries were made in each plant visited as to the course of wages and hours during the year 1935, especially after the middle of May. Agents found in some instances that policies as reported by the management did not agree with practice—some wage reductions were overlooked or forgotten and the lengthening of weekly hours by Saturday work whenever production required was disregarded by the staff member interviewed. Tabulations of the data reported on changes in hours and wage rates show a significant number of firms with a letting down of the code standards even though all actual instances may not be reported.

More than two-fifths (42 percent) of the factories had lower wage rates in 1935 than in 1934; as many as one-half of the seamless hosiery mills and two-thirds of the factories making men's work clothing were so reported. Twelve of seventeen department stores reporting on this point admitted a reduction of hourly earnings due to longer hours, and though 5 reported no change in rates, they too undoubtedly had lengthened hours. Laundries, with a code rate of 14 cents, showed fewer with reductions—only 5 of 22 laundries reporting, or less than one-fourth. It may be interesting to note that all but one of the large rayon yarns and cellophane plants had increased rates during the year. In the one exception rates were not changed.

#### Comparison of earnings in a few selected firms in the same industries.

Variations in earnings from firm to firm within the same industry are considerable in some cases. In seamless hosiery median week's earnings in 1935 ranged from \$5.10 in one firm to \$13.75 in another, median hourly earnings from 29.5 to 37.7 cents. The lowest median—both week's and hourly—was in the second largest plant, and the highest median of week's earnings was in the largest. Two firms had median hourly earnings above 35 cents—37.7 and 36.7 cents, respectively—and continuing in a descending scale the median hourly earnings of the other firms included in 1935 were 33.8, 31.7, 31.5, 30.6, and 29.5 cents. For the same seven firms in 1934, median hourly earnings were respectively, 37.5, 34.8, 37.3, 34.9, 30.6, 30.4, and 30 cents.

Comparing seven cotton mills, median week's earnings in 1935 ranged from \$11.40 to \$14.30, but the firms at these extremes had little differences in median hourly earnings, which were respectively 34.4 and 35 cents. Of the seven mills, four had week's medians in the \$12 group, one in the \$11, one at \$13, and one at \$14.30. The lowest

median hourly earnings were 31 cents and the highest were 35 cents. Of the seven medians, two were 31 and under 32 cents, two were 32 and under 33, one was 33 and under 34, one was 34.4, and one was 35 cents. Two had slightly higher median hourly earnings in 1935 than in 1934, two had the same, and three had medians slightly lower but not more than one-half cent in any of the three cases. There was remarkably little change in the hourly earnings in cotton mills in the pay-roll periods of the 2 years.

Earnings of women in four full-fashioned hosiery establishments showed considerable variation from firm to firm. In the week's pay roll in 1935 median hourly earnings ranged from 30.9 to 50 cents and week's medians from \$9.30 to \$19. In 1934 the comparable ranges for the same firms were 32.1 to 47.9 cents and \$11 to \$18.75. It is interesting that the firm with an \$18.75 week's median and an hourly median of 47.9 cents in 1934, in 1935 had a week's median of \$19 and the hourly median had increased to 50 cents; at the same time the firm at the lower extreme had week's median earnings reduced from \$11 in 1934 to \$9.30 in 1935 and median hourly earnings fell from 32.1 to 30.9 cents. Another factor that stands out in the comparison of 1934 and 1935 in these full-fashioned firms is that in every instance the proportion with earnings of less than 30 cents had increased.

Week's medians as shown for six men's work-clothing firms in 1935 ranged downward in this order: \$11.40, \$10.85, \$10.10, \$9.30, \$8.95, and \$7.50; in 1934 the same firms had medians of respectively \$10.60, \$12.35, \$12.35, \$11.95, \$11.40, and \$9.15. Average hourly earnings were available for five of the six firms. Again in descending order the medians were, in 1935, 29.4, 28.3, 27.3, 23.6, and 22.5 cents, though the year before (1934) they had been respectively 30, 31.1, 30, 27, and 37 cents. It is apparent that a figure below 30 cents was the median in only one of the plants in 1934 but in all five of them in 1935.

#### Part IV.—EMPLOYMENT AND EARNINGS OF WOMEN IN HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS

Conditions in hotels and restaurants do not readily lend themselves for comparable analysis with other industries. Since demands for service in some departments cover all hours of the day and night, work hours necessarily vary with jobs and present many irregularities. For dining-room and kitchen employees the spread of working hours may be broken into three shifts covering the meal intervals. In many cases chambermaids and other house employees are required to work 7 days a week. Wages usually are supplemented by meals, especially in restaurants, and sometimes by lodging. In Tennessee more jobs in the hotel industry are open to Negro than to white employees, so to get a picture of the wage set-up it is necessary to consider the two races together.

##### Lodging divisions.

In the lodging division of hotels most of the jobs open to women are those of chambermaids, cleaners, and linen-room attendants. The first two were filled by Negro women and the last by white women. Housekeepers were white women. Telephone operators have been included in the lodging-division tabulations of the white women.

The median of week's earnings for Negro chambermaids and general cleaners was \$5.65 and the most common rate of pay for this work was about \$25 a month. White women employees in the lodging divisions—linen-room attendants, housekeepers, and telephone operators—had a week's median of \$10.20, or about \$45 a month. About two-fifths of the employees in lodging divisions were furnished with a noon meal or lodging and meals, and this was true of both white and Negro women and more often of small than of large hotels. Housekeepers in hotels almost always had full maintenance, covering meals and lodgings.

A few of the hotels maintained their own laundries. The operatives were predominantly Negro, and their week's median—\$4.60—was the low point in the lodging division.

The percent distribution of women according to week's earnings in the lodging divisions of hotels follows. The 95 white women had a median of \$10.30 and the 313 Negro women a median of \$5.65.

	White women	Negro women
Less than \$5.....	11.6	11.8
\$5, less than \$10.....	34.7	87.5
\$10, less than \$15.....	42.1	.6
\$15, less than \$20.....	8.4	----
\$20 and more.....	3.2	----

More detailed figures show that white women fell chiefly in the earnings group \$10 and under \$11; the next largest number earned \$13 and under \$14. These two groups were principally telephone opera-

tors. Housekeepers and an occasional better-paid telephone operator comprised the groups paid \$15 or more.

Sixty-one percent of the Negro women were receiving \$5 and under \$6; about 21 percent received \$6 and under \$7. The proportion who earned as much as or more than \$7 a week, or \$1 a day, was very small, being only about 1 in every 16 or 17 Negro women who worked as maids in the Tennessee hotels.

##### Hotel restaurant employees.

Restaurant workers have been divided into those working in the kitchen and those in the dining room. Further, those receiving tips and those not likely to receive tips are tabulated separately.

In hotel kitchens the jobs open to women were generally in the nature of vegetable and pantry work. Most of the cooks were men. Even as second cooks, women were not found in any appreciable number in Tennessee. Both white and Negro women were found in kitchen jobs. They were allowed meals while on duty but, of course, did not receive tips. The median week's earnings were \$5.50 for Negro women and for the smaller group of white women they were approximately \$8. Earnings for 32 white women in hotel kitchens ranged from less than \$2 to between \$17 and \$18 a week; about three-fourths of the women received less than \$10. For Negro women the prevailing wage was \$5 and under \$6, with one-half of the women so paid. None of the Negro women in hotel kitchens had earnings as high as \$10 a week.

The women employees of hotel dining rooms were chiefly waitresses, and white women were the rule. Negro waiters were found in the more formal main dining rooms of large hotels, but in the coffee shops the serving of food was a white woman's job. The most common rate of pay for waitresses in hotels was \$10 a month, with meals on duty as additional compensation. The tabulation of earnings of the waitresses gave a median for week's earnings of \$2.35, and the most common wage was between \$2 and \$3 a week. All but 6 of 190 waitresses received less than \$5 a week. Tips supplemented this to some extent, of course, but the cash wage paid by the hotel to the waitresses averaged only \$2.35. In most instances the waitress had to provide and care for the laundry of her uniform. Women in the dining rooms who did not receive tips, such as cashiers, checkers, head waitresses, and bus girls, had a median of \$10.35, and the most common earnings as well as the midpoint fell at \$10 and less than \$11. One-third of these nonservice workers earned \$5 and less than \$10, and about one-half had earnings of \$10 but less than \$15. Of 14 Negro girls who were working in hotel dining rooms, 12 had earnings of less than \$5, and 5 of the 12 received no tips.

##### Restaurants not in hotels.

In the kitchens of restaurants not in hotels the wage scale for women was somewhat higher than that for similar jobs in hotels. White women in these restaurants were in some cases cooks, dietitians, salad girls, or in other jobs more responsible than those of women in hotel kitchens, and their earnings were higher. Less than 50 white women in these commercial restaurants were in kitchens, so no median week's earnings were calculated, but a distribution of their earnings shows that they averaged between \$9 and \$10 a week and that the most common wage was \$8 and under \$9. Earnings of Negro women in restaurant

kitchens were higher than those in hotel kitchens, the medians being respectively \$8.55 and \$5.50. Over 80 percent of the Negro women—many of whom served as the chief cook of the restaurant—had earnings below \$10.

White waitresses in these restaurants who were classed as receiving tips had a week's median of \$7.30, much higher than the \$2.35 in hotels but the amount of tips might be considerably less. About 20 percent of them earned less than \$5 a week.

The largest group of women in restaurants not in hotels were employed in cafeterias and were not likely to receive any appreciable amount in tips. In this group were a few cashiers and supervising waitresses but not enough to affect the findings as they apply to cafeteria workers among the white women of Tennessee. The median week's earnings for the white women in this group were \$8.30. Three-fourths of these women earned less than \$10. A small group, about 3 percent, comprising the cashiers, supervisors, and hostesses, earned \$15 or more.

Even when allowance is made for meals, and for tips on some of the jobs, the earnings for most women were very low. Many kitchen employees are furnished work uniforms, but waitresses are expected to provide or to pay a linen or laundry service rental for their uniforms, which represents a material deduction from earnings. Hours often are irregular and exceedingly long. The hotel and restaurant industry is one needing a basically new code of employment relations.

#### Hours in hotels and restaurants.

Hotel guests may require service at any hour, and in some departments service must be provided for 24 hours of every day in the year. The nature of the hotel industry presents a real managerial problem in planning and maintaining hours that satisfy the demands of the guests and that are not socially unjust and unfairly taxing to the worker.

The work standards of the N. R. A. gave an impetus to some hour reduction in hotels, but workdays with a spread of hours of 12 and more, and 7-day workweeks, are still found far too frequently. Reduced spread of hours and at least 1 day a week off for each employee is an attainable and needed standard for most Tennessee hotels. Conventions, banquets, and various emergency demands occur to upset routine operations and to extend hours beyond a reasonable limit, but even without emergencies the scheduled and actual hours of many employees are too long.

For women employees in hotels (both white and Negro) the longest hours generally are in connection with the food divisions. Tabulating the workday hours scheduled for the waitresses, other dining-room employees, and kitchen helpers, it was found that about 38 percent of the employee-days had a spread of 10 hours or longer and that for more than 25 percent the spread was at least 12 hours. The spread of hours, or over-all time, is broken by time off for meals and sometimes by periods of 2 or more hours, but in many cases such breaks in work are not sufficiently long to be used to advantage and the result is that waitresses and kitchen employees loll around in dark, poorly equipped, almost airless basement restrooms waiting for the next shift of work. Actual daily hours of duty were not excessively long in Tennessee, as for more than 80 percent of the women the working schedule was 8 hours or less.

For white and Negro women in restaurants not in hotels, the proportion of employee-days with a long spread of hours was somewhat smaller. Less than one-third—31.3 percent—had a spread of 10 hours or more, and the proportion with a spread of 12 hours and more was one-eighth. A lapse of 12 hours or more between beginning and ending work is not insignificant even though it affects only 1 in 8 workdays. For more than nine-tenths of the employee-days reported, actual hours on duty were 8 or less.

In the lodging division of hotels, the work of the maids and linen-room attendants does not present the problems in meal-hour shifts that the work of dining-room and kitchen employees does, so their hours usually are continuous except for a meal break. The most commonly reported hours for maids were from 8 a. m. until 3 or 4 p. m. or from 7 and 7:30 a. m. to 3, 4, or 4:30 p. m. On one day a week, generally Sunday, the maids were allowed to leave early or when their rooms had all been made up. The hour findings for all women in the lodging division show more of these women than of any other group having workdays with an 8-hour spread. Only a small percent—less than 5 of the days—had a spread of 10 hours or more.

#### 7-day week.

In the lodging division of hotels, 91 percent of the women and 92 percent of the men worked on 7 days. In hotel restaurants, 54 percent of the women and 83 percent of the men worked every day.

In some cases other restaurants were closed on Sundays, so the proportion working 7 days a week was less. In these, 8 percent of the women scheduled and 30 percent of the men worked on all 7 days.

#### Changes in earnings.

Since reliable records of actual time worked in hotels and restaurants are rare, it is not possible to compare earnings in 1934 and 1935 on an hour basis. Hours undoubtedly were increased in 1935 without increased wages, and in some places where the 6-day week had been in effect in 1934 there was a 7-day week in 1935. Then, too, in certain cases less effort was being made to keep hours within planned schedules, and more emergency demands with increasing business were requiring overtime without extra compensation to the worker.

Hotel and restaurant pay rolls were compiled for a 1934 and a 1935 period in identical firms, and the differences in earnings are so slight that they are hardly indicative of any trend. White women in the lodging divisions of hotels, such as telephone operators, housekeepers, and linen-room attendants, had median week's earnings of \$10.10 in 1934 and of \$10.20 in 1935, a 10-cent increase. In the food divisions of hotels, white women on jobs in kitchen and in dining room that would not be affected by tips showed a slight increase in median week's earnings. For hotel waitresses the 1935 median was 25 cents higher than that of 1934.

In the commercial restaurants not connected with hotels the median week's earnings for waitresses receiving tips had dropped by 40 cents, but for the other workers—counter girls, cashiers, and so forth—there was an increase of 50 cents in the median.

Such increases as appear in earnings in the hotel and restaurant industry are due almost entirely to better business conditions in 1935 and longer hours or fuller work time than in 1934.



**Part V.—EARNINGS AND HOURS OF NEGRO WOMEN**

Because of the prevailing difference in the wage level and jobs for white and Negro workers, the data on earnings have been tabulated separately by race. The wage-earning field of the Negro women in the South is principally domestic service and agriculture. Manufacturing has relatively few Negro women, and the same is true of the mercantile field. The service trades—laundries, dry cleaning, and hotels and restaurants—offer the Negro woman the most probable chance of employment.

More than 2,700 Negro women were included in the Tennessee survey, and they comprised 9.4 percent of all the women covered. They represented roughly 4 percent of the women in manufacturing, 2 percent of the women in stores, 71.2 percent of those in laundries, 49.5 percent of those in dry-cleaning plants, and 44.8 percent of those in hotels and restaurants.

The numbers of Negro women for whom earnings were reported, by industrial group and area in which they were employed, are as follows:

	State	Eastern area	Middle area	Western area
Factories.....	924	98	361	465
Department stores (all employees) <sup>1</sup> .....	50	22	5	23
Laundries and dry cleaning plants.....	1,205	221	321	663
Hotels and restaurants.....	485	(2)	(2)	(2)
Hotel laundries.....	54	(2)	(2)	(2)

Though Negroes were only 4 percent of all women in manufacturing, the proportions varied considerably with the area of the State. In the eastern area they comprised not quite 1 percent. The textile industries, which dominate this area industrially, do not tend to employ Negro women as operatives, but they are sweepers and cleaners in some of the mills.

**Median of the week's earnings and of hourly earnings.**

For the State as a whole, the week's medians by industrial group are as follows:

Factories.....	\$6.75
Department stores.....	12.35
Laundries.....	5.65
Dry cleaners.....	9.55

Stores show by far the highest earnings for Negro women, and 80 percent of those in stores earned as much as \$10. The work of these women is largely in the capacity of maids in the ready-to-wear departments, attendants in rest rooms, and elevator operators.

In the middle area 361 women—or about 6 percent of all in manufacturing—were Negro. The median of week's earnings was \$7.30 and that of hourly earnings was 22.5 cents. Most of the women were employed in tobacco plants and warehouses on jobs such as stemming,

<sup>1</sup> Includes a few in limited-price stores.  
<sup>2</sup> Not tabulated by area.

stripping, and hanging tobacco leaf. Median week's earnings in tobacco manufacturing—snuff and chewing tobacco—were \$6.30, and in tobacco warehouses the median was \$7.15 in this area. One large hosiery mill employed Negro women on boarding—that is, pulling damp stockings over heated forms to shape and press them. Men and boys usually are employed on this job, but the Negro women seemed to be satisfactory in this mill. Their wages, all of which averaged over 30 cents an hour, compared favorably with those of white women on other operations in the same plant, though somewhat less than those of men boarders in other plants.

More Negro women were employed in the western area of the State, especially in Memphis, than elsewhere. About 18 percent (465) of the women in manufacturing in this area were Negro. They were working as operatives in one or more establishments in the shelling of nuts; in work on cotton and burlap bags, especially the rehandling of bags; in various jobs in woodworking—caning chairs, and making fruit boxes and baskets; in packing cosmetics and other pharmaceutical products, and making paper boxes for cosmetics. Unfortunately, the wage level does not rise with the opportunities for employment. With only a small number in the eastern area, the week's median for Negro women was \$10.30, the median of hourly earnings 31 cents. For the much larger number in the western area the week's median dropped to \$4.50, the hourly median to 15 cents. Since only the western area has numbers of Negro women in manufacturing sufficient to consider by industry, the following medians are shown:

	Number of women	Median week's earnings
All manufacturing.....	465	\$4.50
Nuts.....	189	2.55
Textile bags.....	68	7.95
Wood products.....	130	5.25
Other manufacturing.....	78	7.95

Nut shelling showed the lowest earnings of any job tabulated for the State except that of white waitresses in hotel dining rooms, who had their earnings supplemented at least by tips. None of the 189 Negro women shelling nuts earned as much as \$5; 122 earned from \$1 to \$3. Time records were poor in this industry, but indications were that the majority had worked 4 or 5 days for these wages.

Negro women in the bag industry usually worked on the rehandling—the repairing—of cotton and burlap bags. Median week's earnings for those in the bag industry were \$7.95, and 53 of the 68 women had earnings ranging from \$7 to \$9. About seven-eighths of the women worked 52 hours and more.

Laundries and dry-cleaning plants gave employment to nearly one-half of the Negro women covered in the survey. Laundries had a large proportion of Negroes in all areas and there was little variation in the median week's earnings. For the State, the median was \$5.65, and the range by areas showed a difference of only 10 cents, the western median being \$5.60, the middle \$5.65, and the eastern \$5.70. However, 10 percent of the women in the eastern area earned \$10 or more, while none in the western area and only one in the middle area had such earnings. The most usual hourly rate of pay and of earnings was 14 cents; 45 percent of the Negro women in laundries were so paid.

The differences in the earnings of white and Negro women in laundries were considerable, in spite of the fact that those of white women were extremely low. These differences, all in favor of the white women, were \$2.20 for the State as a whole, \$1.85 for the eastern area, \$2.20 for the middle area, and \$2.65 for the western area. Wages in dry cleaning were better, with median week's earnings of Negroes \$9.55 and median hourly earnings 20 cents.

#### Hourly earnings.

For the State as a whole the median hourly earnings for Negro women were as follows:

	Cents
Factories.....	16.7
Department stores.....	26.0
Laundries.....	14.0

The jobs of white and Negro women usually are not comparable, but the disparity in their earnings in manufacturing (see p. 13 for white women) would seem to be greater than is warranted by difference in duties.

#### Year's earnings.

Since the number of Negro women in manufacturing was not large, year's earnings were secured for only a small group—62. For this group the median was only \$345, or less than three-fifths of the \$615 computed as the median for white women. For 16 of the 62 Negro women the earnings fell in the group \$300 and less than \$400. Only 7 earned \$600 or more, 1 of this group exceeding \$700. About one-third had year's earnings below \$300. The year's earnings records for Negro women are chiefly in wood products and tobacco. These data indicate a decidedly low level of purchasing power even for the steady worker.

Where hours worked week by week throughout the year were reported for Negro women, such records indicate more short time for them than for white women.

#### Hours worked and earnings.

A correlation of earnings and hours worked for Negro women shows a steady progression as hours increased in laundries, where the women were paid on an hourly basis, but in factories, where some of the work was on a piece-work basis, earnings were higher at 40 hours than at any other hourly division. In many cases plants with shorter hours have better conditions and pay better than plants with long hours. A summary of hours worked and median week's earnings follows.

Hours worked	Laundries	Factories <sup>3</sup>
36, less than 40.....	\$5.45	\$5.55
40.....	5.65	9.90
More than 40, less than 44.....	5.70	(4)
44, less than 48.....	6.35	8.75
48, less than 52.....	6.50	7.80
52 and over.....	7.75	8.05

#### Negro women in hotels and restaurants.

Negro women's employment in hotels and restaurants has been included with that of white women in the section on hotels and restaurants. (See p. 34.) Almost 600 Negro women in hotels and restaurants were covered. In the earlier discussion it was shown that

<sup>3</sup> Shelling of pecans not included in this correlation of hours and earnings.

<sup>4</sup> Not computed; base less than 50.

maids, cleaners, and laundry workers in hotels were almost exclusively Negro women. Hotel elevators, too, in many cases were operated by Negro girls. Negroes served as dining-room waitresses and counter girls in cafeterias, and as bus girls, vegetable cleaners, or silver girls in the kitchens. For Negro maids, the median week's earnings were \$5.65. The most common rate of pay for maids was \$25 a month, and most of them worked 7 days a week.

In some of the hotels—usually the smaller ones—chambermaids and other cleaning workers were given their noon meal. Cash earnings of those who were given a meal had a week's median 45 cents below the median for those who were not. In hotel kitchens, where Negro women worked as kitchen helpers rather than as cooks, their week's median was \$5.50, with meals on duty as additional allowance. In restaurants not connected with hotels, many Negro women in kitchens worked as cooks, and their week's median was considerably higher, being \$8.55. Bus girls and dining-room helpers, largely in cafeterias, had a week's median of \$6.80.

Some of the larger hotels had their own laundries, which employed Negroes almost exclusively; here the earning scale was even lower than for hotel maids, being \$4.60. Except for work in laundries, hotel employees are almost always required to wear some type of uniform, which in most cases must be provided and maintained by the employee.

#### Changes among Negro women—1934 to 1935.

Negro women to a much greater extent than white women are seen to have been affected by changes between 1934 and 1935. In the identical factories for which comparisons have been made, the number of Negro women employed had increased by 8.3 percent, though the increase of white women was only 5.3 percent. Negro women had decreased in textiles and wood products but had increased materially in food and tobacco products. In manufacturing, both the median week's earnings and the median hourly earnings of Negroes had decreased, the former by 5.5 percent and the latter by 27.6 percent. In contrast, the median week's earnings of white women had increased by about 2 percent and median hourly earnings had decreased by 1.2 percent.

Numbers of Negro women employed in textiles, largely as sweepers, showed a decrease of 13 percent, but their week's earnings had increased by a little more than 5 percent. In food products the Negro employees had increased by 33.8 percent, due to the number in nut picking almost doubling. Median week's earnings in food declined by nearly 20 percent. In the tobacco industry the median week's earnings had decreased by 22.6 percent, due undoubtedly to short time and greater number of employees, as the hourly earnings had decreased by only 1.1 percent. In wood products, the median hourly earnings had decreased from 25 to 15 cents, or by 40 percent. Other manufacturing includes Negro women in drugs and cosmetics, printing and publishing, metal products, paper boxes, clothing, shoes, and pottery. In many of these factories they were employed largely in the capacity of maids and their numbers had increased. Median week's earnings had increased by 6.5 percent, but median hourly earnings had decreased by 30.8 percent.

A comparison of the earnings distribution of 1934 and 1935 in identical factories shows that in the earlier year 37 percent of the Negro women had average hourly earnings of 30 cents or more but in 1935

there were only 19 percent with such earnings. In 1934, about 20 percent averaged 15 cents or less, and in 1935 there were 43.6 percent in this class. In wood products, the 1934 pay rolls had average hourly earnings of 15 cents or less for one-fourth of the women, but in 1935 three-fifths of the women had such earnings. Hourly earnings in wood products, as already stated, had decreased by 40 percent.

In stores the number of Negro women had decreased, and though the median of their week's earnings was higher by 10 cents, or 0.8 percent, median hourly earnings had decreased by 2 cents.

Negro women were employed more extensively in laundries than in any other industry, but though white women increased in number by 4 percent in the laundries covered, Negro women declined by 10 percent. Their median hourly earnings had remained the same—14 cents. The concentration at 14 cents, however, declined from 78 percent in 1934 to 45 percent in 1935, and the proportion at less than 14 cents increased accordingly. Numbers in dry cleaning had increased by 15.6 percent, and though hourly earnings showed a decrease of 20 percent, due to longer hours, the median week's earnings had increased by 14.8 percent.

#### Hours of Negro women.

Working hours increased more for Negro women than for white women. More than one-third of the Negro women (34.7 percent) worked over 40 hours in 1935, though in 1934 only 11 percent exceeded 40 hours. An increase, though of varying proportions, appears in every industry. A comparison of the percentages at more than 40 hours in the two periods follows.

	1934	1935
Factories.....	11.1	34.7
Department stores.....	44.4	81.2
Laundries.....	50.5	64.6

## Part VI.—MEN'S EARNINGS AND HOURS

Earnings tabulated in factories, stores, laundries, dry-cleaning plants, and hotels and restaurants covered nearly 7,300 men. Of these, 667 in hotels and restaurants and 719 in the other 4 groups were Negroes. Since the purpose of the study was to report on the woman-employing industries, the emphasis was placed on firms that had women in significant numbers. Naturally, industries that employed men exclusively or only a few women were not covered. While the data are not nearly so extensive for men as for women, the sample is large enough to be representative of men's earnings in the industries specified.

TABLE 5.—Earnings of white men, by industry, 1935

Industry	Number of white men reported	Median week's earnings	Median hourly earnings <sup>1</sup> (cents)	Percent of men with week's earnings of—							
				Less than \$5	\$5, less than \$10	\$10, less than \$15	\$15, less than \$20	\$20, less than \$30	\$30, less than \$40	\$40 and more	\$15 and more
Manufacturing.....	5,185	\$15.80	37.8	2.4	8.4	34.1	26.1	20.6	6.7	1.7	55.1
Textiles:											
Seamless hosiery.....	414	12.65	36.1	6.5	24.2	36.2	15.2	13.8	2.9	1.2	33.1
Full-fashioned hosiery.....	207	25.55	65.9	.5	4.8	11.6	14.0	32.9	29.9	6.3	83.1
Cotton mills.....	773	13.25	32.7	1.4	9.6	56.0	26.1	6.6	.3	-----	33.0
Knit underwear.....	140	14.40	35.0	3.6	12.9	40.0	27.9	12.9	2.8	-----	43.6
Silk and rayon fabrics.....	81	10.40	24.0	12.3	35.8	34.6	13.6	3.7	-----	-----	17.3
Woolen mills.....	791	15.25	35.0	2.8	6.8	36.8	35.3	16.4	1.5	.4	53.6
Bags, cotton and burlap.....	66	15.50	37.0	1.5	7.6	37.9	19.7	18.2	13.6	1.5	53.0
Clothing:											
Men's suits and overcoats.....	159	22.05	56.0	-----	.6	13.2	27.0	42.8	15.7	.6	86.2
Men's work clothing.....	249	14.15	34.5	1.2	9.6	45.8	28.5	10.8	3.6	.4	43.4
Other.....	81	12.60	30.0	3.7	23.5	44.4	21.0	7.4	-----	-----	28.4
Shoes.....	894	20.45	53.9	.2	1.0	16.4	30.1	38.8	12.7	.8	82.3
Food products:											
Bakeries.....	185	14.70	35.0	6.5	8.6	41.6	24.9	13.0	4.9	.5	43.2
Candy.....	132	14.00	35.0	.8	2.3	59.1	21.2	14.4	2.3	-----	37.9
Drugs and cosmetics.....	136	15.80	34.3	.7	5.1	38.2	36.0	18.4	1.5	-----	55.9
Tobacco and tobacco products.....	92	18.35	47.5	1.1	-----	29.3	39.1	21.8	3.3	5.4	69.6
Printing and publishing.....	170	28.25	65.0	1.8	1.8	8.2	16.5	26.4	27.6	17.6	88.2
Wood products.....	263	12.25	27.0	5.3	14.8	48.7	16.7	10.3	2.7	1.5	31.2
Paper boxes.....	72	16.60	39.5	1.4	5.6	36.1	22.2	22.3	12.5	-----	56.9
Other manufacturing.....	280	20.15	55.0	3.2	6.8	15.0	24.3	36.4	7.5	6.8	75.0
Stores.....	2,426	15.30	33.0	6.8	4.0	37.6	22.3	22.3	3.9	3.1	51.6
Laundries.....	90	15.15	29.4	13.3	13.3	22.2	28.9	16.6	5.6	-----	51.1
Dry cleaners.....	41	( <sup>2</sup> )	( <sup>3</sup> )	-----	4.9	36.6	24.4	19.5	14.6	-----	58.5

<sup>1</sup> Represents fewer men than those with week's earnings reported, as hours worked were not available in all cases.

<sup>2</sup> 374 in department stores, 52 in limited-price stores.

<sup>3</sup> Median not computed; base less than 50.

Larger proportions of men than of women were employed in maintenance and on supervisory and other jobs of an overhead nature, for which reason the proportions of men operatives and of piece workers are less for men than for women.

White men's earnings in all but hotels and restaurants are shown in table 5.

#### Week's earnings of white men.

The median week's earnings for men in manufacturing are almost \$16 (\$15.80), or about \$4 higher than those for women. In full-fashioned hosiery, men's suits and overcoats, and printing and publishing, median week's earnings for men are from \$8 to \$12 higher than women's. Though some of the men in these industries are doing highly skilled work as knitters, cutters, or pressers, and machine fixers, and earnings of men and of women are not strictly comparable, the figures show what the industries offer to the two sexes in the way of wages.

Though higher than for women, the earnings of men are low except in a few industries; the distribution figures show that about 45 percent of the men had earnings of less than \$15. In seamless hosiery two-thirds of the men's earnings were under \$15 and only 10 percent were as much as \$25. Men's work clothing and "other clothing" made a poor showing. In work clothing slightly more than one-half were earning less than \$15 a week and only about one-sixteenth earned as much as \$25. In "other clothing", about 70 percent were earning under \$15. Men in these industries were employed as cutters and pressers, and in general work such as packing or carrying supplies. Printing and publishing has the highest median and also the highest proportion of those in the upper earnings brackets. Shoes had a median slightly less than that of men's suits and overcoats but in general followed the same trend. Wood products had a low figure.

#### Median hourly earnings of white men.

Median hourly earnings in manufacturing were about 6 cents greater for men than for women. While for men the median was 37.8 cents an hour, unpublished figures show that the most usual earnings were in the 30-and-under-35-cent groups. The following industries had the largest proportions earning less than 30 cents an hour: Silk and rayon fabrics with about 73 percent, wood products with 54 percent, laundries with 51 percent, stores with 42 percent, "other clothing" with 36 percent, drugs and cosmetics with 25 percent, and men's work clothing with 22 percent. Industries with at least 40 percent of the men earning 50 cents and more an hour were these: Printing and publishing 73 percent, full-fashioned hosiery 71 percent, men's suits and overcoats 64 percent, shoes 57 percent, "other manufacturing" 57 percent, and tobacco products 42 percent.

#### Hours worked and earnings of white men.

In manufacturing the proportion of men working more than 40 hours was 28 percent. The largest proportion, 39.2 percent, worked 40 hours. About three-fifths of the men in cotton mills, a little more than one-half of those in tobacco, and practically one-half

of those in woolen mills, wood products, and candy worked a 40-hour week. Industries with one-half or more of the men employees working more than 40 hours were these: Men's work clothing, drugs and cosmetics, paper boxes, printing and publishing, bags, silk and rayon fabrics, laundries, and stores. In the last mentioned slightly more than 50 percent worked 48 hours and more. Men's median week's earnings and hours in manufacturing were—

Less than 40 hours.....	\$13. 90
40 hours.....	15. 50
Over 40 hours.....	17. 45

In all the individual industries where median earnings could be computed for the various hour groups (except stores, where earnings declined for those working more than 48 hours), men's earnings increased consistently as hours increased.

#### Piece-work earnings of white men.

General labor jobs, inside truckers, helpers, and maintenance jobs are filled by men. Women are more likely to be machine operators, inspectors, menders; that is, working in one way or another in connection with the product. Approximately one-third of the white men in manufacturing were on piece work, in contrast to almost four-fifths of the women. Full-fashioned hosiery in textiles had the highest proportion of men on piece work, with about three-fourths. The earnings of the men piece workers in this industry were about twice those of the time workers, the median hourly earnings for piece work being 73.2 cents and those for time work 37.5 cents.

#### Earnings of Negro men.

The earnings of Negro men, while generally higher than those of women, were low. The survey covered 445 Negro men, and their most usual earnings fell between \$12 and \$13. In an array of median earnings, the range for Negro men was from \$9.35 to \$16. The lowest field in men's earnings, as in women's, was the laundry industry.

The median week's earnings of Negro men follow.

Manufacturing.....	\$12. 45
Drugs and cosmetics.....	12. 40
Tobacco and tobacco products.....	16. 00
Wood products.....	10. 15
Other manufacturing.....	12. 65
Stores <sup>1</sup> .....	12. 55
Laundries.....	9. 35
Dry cleaners.....	13. 45

A comparison with medians of white women on pages 8, 21, and 25, shows that six of the eight medians for Negro men are higher than the corresponding figures for white women. This includes stores, of which it may be assumed that if department and limited-price stores were combined for women as for Negro men, the women's median would be below \$12.55.

<sup>1</sup> Almost nine-tenths of the Negro men were in department stores.

In a distribution of earnings, the following are the proportions of Negro men who were receiving less than \$15:

	Percent of total
Manufacturing.....	70.8
Drugs and cosmetics.....	82.4
Tobacco and tobacco products.....	27.6
Wood products.....	92.9
Other manufacturing.....	74.4
Stores.....	89.7
Laundries.....	88.7
Dry cleaners.....	70.5

Tobacco manufacturing offered more to Negro men in earnings possibilities than any other industry. Men in this industry were more often operatives or actually on some productive process, while in most of the others the majority of the jobs were in the nature of cleaners and general labor, with low wage levels.

#### Earnings of white men in hotels and restaurants.

Men employees in hotels and restaurants were predominantly Negro. Of 810 men for whom data were secured, only 143 were white. These men were employed as engineers, watchmen, maintenance men, cooks, and stewards, but the bus boys, porters, bell boys, cleaners, and elevator operators were almost all Negro.

The white men employed as engineers, watchmen, carpenters, painters, and general maintenance men in hotels—67 in number—had median week's earnings of \$16.15. About one-half of these were given one or more meals daily in addition to their earnings. In the food departments of hotels, cooks, assistant cooks, and workers in the stewards' departments had median week's earnings of \$13.55. White men as employees in commercial restaurants, not connected with hotels, were a small group—an occasional cook, counter man, and waiter. Their earnings ranged from \$2 to \$30, three in five earning \$15 or more. White men on jobs where pay would be supplemented by tips were so few that their earnings were not tabulated separately.

#### Earnings of Negro men in hotels and restaurants.

Occasionally a hotel was scheduled whose bell boys received no pay at all but were expected to obtain their earnings entirely from tips. Even where bell boys had cash earnings, their wages were low. Porters also were poorly paid, but none were found depending on tips alone. Monthly rates frequently were less than \$10. Hotel employees usually are paid on a monthly basis—payment being semimonthly—but for purposes of comparison all earnings have been reduced to a weekly amount. On this basis, the week's median was \$1.50 for bell boys, porters, and other employees who would receive tips but had no wage supplements from the management. A smaller group who received some meals had a median of \$1.90. In both cases, however, the employees were dependent on tips for their livelihood.

For Negro men employees in hotels whose work was such that ordinarily tips could not be expected—for example, housemen, cleaners, window washers, elevator operators, and firemen—the median was \$6.20. Dividing this group into those who received meals and those who did not gives a week's median of \$5.65 for the former and of \$8.45 for the latter.

Negro male waiters had a week's median of \$3.60. Usually they were required to furnish and to care for the laundering of their own uniforms. Bus boys and kitchen helpers had a median of \$5.60, which was 20 cents higher than that for Negro women in the kitchen. With only a few exceptions all employees, male and female, white and Negro, in the kitchens and dining rooms received meals while on duty.

In commercial restaurants, Negro men included were chiefly working as kitchen helpers and bus boys, and their median was \$8.55 with the addition of meals in most cases.

For the Negro men in hotels and restaurants, it is significant that the wage scale was so low that the highest week's median where tips were expected was \$3.60 and for jobs not having tips it was \$8.65.

#### Men's hours in food divisions of hotels and restaurants.

In general, working hours in hotels were longer for men, both white and Negro, than for women. Frequently the men waiters and cooks and kitchen attendants were on duty for a period extending over the three meals. In the food division more than one-half of the workdays reported had a spread of 10 hours or more, and most of those in excess of 10 hours were 12 hours or more. The actual working hours were more than 8 for two-thirds of the days of men in hotel food divisions.

In restaurants not in hotels, indications are that workdays for men were even longer; with allowance made for time off—meal and other periods between shifts—the most frequent workday (more than 1 in 4) was of 9 hours, and about one-fifth of them were longer than this. Somewhat more than 40 percent of the men's reported days had a spread of 12 hours or more.

#### Men's hours in lodging sections of hotels.

Before the National Recovery Administration standards were set up the most common arrangement for daily hours of hotel employees who tended elevators, answered bells, and served as porters was the alternating of long and short days. The longer day usually began at 6 in the morning, had a break at noon until 6 in the evening, when work began again and lasted until midnight. The following day had work hours of 12 to 6. This gave 1 day a spread or overall of 18 hours and the next day one of 6 hours. The long and short day was quite a hotel institution. The National Recovery Administration set-up discouraged this alternating of long and short days, and though hotels were found that still had such an arrangement, many had their bell boys and others to whom the long shifts used to apply working on a continuous 8-hour shift. On such a shift there usually was no time allowed for meals, but only a few minutes' relief, depending on business demands, when the employee might eat a sandwich. In the present survey, 31.5 percent of the days had a spread of 8 hours, but almost 60 percent of the workdays were longer than this. About 30 percent of the days were spread over 12 hours or more. Hours to be worked were 9 or more for practically 40 percent of the days reported. The 8-hour day is not established as yet for either men or women.

#### 7-day week.

Almost all the men in the lodging divisions of hotels, like most of the women, worked 7 days a week. Service such as these employees rendered is a 7-day necessity, but it is possible for shifts to be so arranged that everyone has at least 1 day a week free.

Men in hotel restaurants—both dining-room and kitchen employees—were more likely than women to have a 7-day schedule, the proportions being about five-sixths of the men and slightly more than one-half of the women.

A number of cafeterias and commercial restaurants were closed on Sundays, which eliminated the 7-day problem in these cases. However, in those that were open 7 days a large proportion of both men and women were on duty every day. Those who worked on 7 days were not employees who came in for only a few hours, but to a large extent were the regular full-time workers.

Part VII.—WORKING CONDITIONS

Most State labor laws set up standards and regulatory provisions with the object of providing healthful working conditions. Such provisions usually deal with toilets, washing facilities, seats, and safety measures. The general labor law of Tennessee governing the division of factory inspection covers seating and toilet facilities for women as well as making provision for the safety and welfare of all workers. An order of the commissioner of the department of labor concerning toilets, washrooms, and foundry baths sets forth in greater detail specifications for adequate conveniences of this nature.

In a good many instances employers seem unaware of what actually constitutes good working conditions. During the course of inspection agents of the Bureau often pointed out especially bad features and facilities, and the person in charge of the department or plant seemed completely unconscious of the need. In this State, as in others, there is a marked need for educating employer and employee alike along lines of standards for better working conditions and maintenance.

In formulating standards for working conditions for wage-earning women the Women's Bureau has made certain recommendations as minimum essentials. Examples of some of these follow:

Workroom floors should be kept clean. Lighting should be without glare and so arranged that direct rays do not shine into the workers' eyes. Ventilation should be adequate and heat sufficient but not excessive.

A large number of plants were visited where floors were not clean—surface debris usually was swept away but floors were spotted, dirt and dust was evident under tables, and housekeeping generally was poor. Dirty windows were noted much too frequently. Natural light is greatly dimmed when windows are almost opaque with a film of soot and dust.

In some of the plants, especially in full-fashioned hosiery, artificial lighting was very good, but in a larger number lighting was haphazard—in some instances good and wretchedly bad within the same plant. Drop-cord lights hung at eye level without shades. Lighting has a very direct relation to productivity, and lighting improvements may be justified on a cost basis as well as a health measure for employees. Ventilation, particularly in laundries and a few of the textile mills, could be greatly improved by the introduction of exhausts and air-blowing devices. Poor air conditions are debilitating both psychologically and physically, and workers should not be subjected to such strain. On the whole, heating was adequate, except in a few plants—usually small clothing shops, wood-working plants, and at least one cosmetic factory—where stove heat did not provide enough radiation for comfort on the cold days of midwinter.

Drinking water should be cool and accessible, with individual drinking cups or sanitary bubbler provided.

Bubbler fountains were found quite generally, but many of them were of the insanitary type where the jet of water falls back on the orifice. To be sanitary the jet of water should be projected not vertically but at an angle of at least 30 degrees. Common cups were not much in evidence, but individual drinking glasses owned by workers were passed around. Like the insanitary bubbler, the individual drinking glass, when carelessly used, may be a carrier of colds and other infections. In the South, where outdoor temperatures are high over long periods of the year, cooled water is a necessity. Fortunately, an increasing number of firms are installing the electrically refrigerated type of water cooler with the sanitary type of bubble facility.

Washing facilities with hot and cold water, soap, and individual towels should be provided in sufficient number and in accessible locations to make washing before meals and at the close of the workday convenient.

For the State as a whole washing facilities were poor in equipment and adequacy. The number of plants that furnished hot water, soap, and towels was small. A workroom sink or a somewhat clean basin (more often very dirty) with only cold water was too common. Every toilet room should be equipped with washing facilities, and in most places workroom washbasins and facilities should be considered a necessary convenience.

Dressing rooms should be provided adjacent to washing facilities making possible change of clothing outside the workrooms.

Rooms in which wraps can be hung and clothing changed when this is necessary should be provided as part of the employees' service facilities. In many instances, dressing or cloak room, rest room, and lunchroom combined meets the needs of a small plant if the provisions are well planned. In a fairly large number of Tennessee establishments the only facilities consisted of hooks and nails around the walls, with an occasional shelf for hats and packages. Unless closely supervised and inspected, lockers become cluttered and generally untidy, with broken doors. Racks with hangers and shelves—high for hats and low for shoes—seem the most satisfactory arrangement.

Rest rooms or any rest-room provisions in the way of cots and comfortable chairs were lacking in most cases. The value of a rest room, not only as a place for employees who are injured or become ill but as a place for rest and relaxation during the lunch period, should be impressed on all employers. Rest and cloak rooms can be simply and inexpensively furnished, but a high standard of maintenance is needed. A dirty couch with a mattress losing its stuffing, shoes, paper, discarded lunches, broken chairs, several days' accumulation of newspapers, lost rubbers, and bits of clothing do not constitute much of a combination as a rest and cloak room.

A room separate from the workroom should be provided wherein meals may be eaten, and whenever practicable hot and nourishing food should be served.

As far as the product is concerned, it is generally undesirable to have lunches eaten at work table or bench. If workers live near their place of employment and go home for their noon meal, or there are nearby commercial lunchrooms which the workers as a whole

prefer to patronize, plant lunchrooms are not important, but for those who must eat in the plant there should be a clean place equipped with table and chairs and some facility for obtaining a hot drink or hot water for coffee and tea. Where most of the workers come from a distance, or when the lunch period is very short, the provision of a lunchroom falls in the category of essentials.

Toilets should be clean and accessible and separate for men and women. Their number should have a standard ratio of 1 toilet to every 15 workers employed.

An adequate number of toilets, conveniently located, is a necessity, but toilet equipment is not the only need, maintenance of a high grade being just as necessary. A bad feature found repeatedly in Tennessee was lack of enclosure of toilet seats. In many cases the door to a toilet room opened on an array of five or six seats placed close together, affording no privacy. In others there would be walls between but no doors in front. Two important features in toilets are proper ventilation and lighting. Where natural ventilation is inadequate, the provision of artificial measures should be required. Some form of artificial lighting in addition to natural lighting is a necessity. Inspection of toilets and daily cleaning, and in cases where as many as 25 or more use a toilet room an extra midday cleaning, should be a regular routine of housekeeping.

Posture at work: Continuous standing and continuous sitting are both injurious. A chair should be provided for every woman and its use encouraged. It is possible and desirable to adjust the height of the chairs in relation to the height of machines or work tables, so that the workers may with equal convenience and efficiency stand or sit at their work. The seats should have backs. If the chairs are high, foot rests should be provided.

Posture seating was rare in Tennessee. The hard common kitchen chair or the simple cane-seated chair was found most frequently. In many places the first floors of department and limited-price stores had no chairs. Where the hinged counter chair was provided, it was rarely seen in use. In some factories seats had been purchased, but for some reason their use did not seem practicable, and they were piled up in odd corners of the workroom or along the walls, laden with goods in process. Many workers on standing jobs had no nearby seats for use when a pause came in the flow of work for a few minutes' respite after hours of standing. Most of the work in laundries does not lend itself to sitting operations, but there should be seats available nevertheless. Then, too, where the floors are cement and the worker must stand, platforms or mats should be provided.

Other excerpts from the standards set up by the Women's Bureau which concern working conditions are these:

Safety—risks from machinery, danger from fire, and exposure to dust, fumes, or other occupational hazards should be scrupulously guarded against. First-aid equipment should be provided. Adequate fire protection should be assured. Fire drills and other forms of education of the workers in observance of safety regulations should be instituted.

Job efficiency and human well-being are supported and encouraged by healthful conditions of work, and all hazards and strains that interfere needlessly with them should be attacked and remedied. Guarding of machines is a technical matter, and such an inspection

was not attempted in this study. Many bad features could be altered easily without much effort or financial expenditure. One of the first steps seems to be to make employers conscious of the bad features they allow to exist and to suggest needed changes and improvements.

Large plants, with plenty of capital, high standards, specialization, and efficient management, are more likely than the small plant with less than 100 employees to offer special conveniences such as rest rooms, well-equipped hospital rooms, a first-aid nurse, shower baths, and cafeterias, but there are minimum essentials to good conditions that even the smallest plants should, and in some cases do, provide. Size of an establishment, however, is not the determining factor. Good conditions were found in some small plants and very bad ones in some large plants.

The following comments are based on notes taken from schedule write-ups on working conditions.

### Hosiery.

Hosiery plants were visited that had only about 25 employees and others that had more than 500. Two of the smallest plants had bad working conditions. About the only feature in the nature of a service facility was a toilet. In one of these, two toilet seats were crowded into a dark little closet without natural light or ventilation, the only light being a small low-voltage bulb dangling on the end of a cord and tied back to the wall to prevent its being knocked out by the door. In the other, the toilet was badly in need of general overhauling, scrubbing, and disinfectant. Washing facilities were common sinks in the workroom without towel, soap, or hot water. Wraps hung around on nails and hooks. Rest-room or lunchroom facilities were undreamed of.

Following are descriptive notes from the schedules of plants with several hundred women employed on seamless hosiery:

The general service facilities were poor. Toilets were not designated, and some toilet rooms were dirty. Only some of the seats were enclosed. There was no water, no soap, no towels. The foreman or firm officer escorting the agent through the plant said, "They don't use soap at home, why should we give it to them here?" The cloak rooms were small, crowded, and dirty. There was no rest room. The buildings were old and generally dilapidated.

For another large seamless plant not quite so bad, the conditions were described as follows:

There were five toilets, all dirty and the floors littered. Seats were not enclosed. Paper was furnished. Washing facilities provided were a dirty sink on each floor. Cloak rooms were two small sections of the workroom partitioned off, with a window in each; racks were provided for wraps and floor was clean. Each floor had an insanitary bubbler. There was a small dilapidated cafeteria in which food was sold at low prices. There were no chairs for girls on standing jobs and girls on sitting jobs had hard kitchen chairs. The general impression was that of an old building, wholly inadequate, small windows, narrow steep steps, and little evidence of any improvements.

To show good conditions, the next describes a seamless-hosiery plant with several hundred women employees that was well above the average.

The toilets were adequate in number, convenient, clean, enclosed, and screened from view of the workroom, with outside ventilation

and good lighting. A matron was in charge and good supervision of service facilities was evident. Washbasins were clean. There was hot water and soap, though no towels. Walls of workrooms were clean, recently painted a light color; there were new venetian blinds, and the artificial light was well arranged and adequate for all jobs. Adjustable lights for loopers and seamers had in most cases a dull-painted blackboard behind the machine to absorb some of the glare. Posture chairs for most of the sitting jobs, and girls on standing jobs had convenient stools. Cloak-room facilities were racks, hangers, high shelves for hats and low ones for shoes and rubbers. Each girl had a tin box in which to put her lunch, pocket book, and other small articles. These were all painted white and in good repair. Conditions were decidedly superior to those in most plants. There was no lunchroom, but the town was small and most employees went home at noon, and there was a good commercial lunch counter across the street from the plant.

Full-fashioned hosiery had better workrooms as well as better wages. Plants had been built more recently and more attention was given to upkeep, conveniences, and general comforts for the worker. Good lighting and seating were found more often than bad. Notes from two schedules follow:

A modern building with air conditioning that changes air in rooms every 7 minutes. Employees reported as having very few colds since air conditioning, and it was felt that the effect had been beneficial from a health standpoint. Floors were maple throughout and were clean. Venetian blinds were provided. Lighting excellent; saw-tooth roof, enameled ceiling, and modern type of artificial lighting were good illumination features. Washbasins were of the circular-fountain type. Seats were adjustable chairs. Cloak rooms had racks, chairs, tables, mirrors. Rubber mats were provided where there was danger of slipping. There was no lunchroom, but three small restaurants nearby served the mill.

This firm had a comparatively new building—only 7 years old—and workrooms were good. Drinking fountains were sanitary. Toilets clean and adequate in all respects. Dressing rooms adequate. Nurse in charge of first aid had general supervision of conditions and maintenance of workroom and service facilities. Lighting good.

### Cotton mills.

Most of the cotton mills were large. On the whole, working conditions were not good and many improvements were needed. The first of the following excerpts points out features in a good mill and the other is typical of less favorable workplaces.

Toilets convenient, good equipment, adequate number, enclosed compartments—wall tiled and clean, floor clean. Cleaning women make rounds several times a day and keep rooms in good condition. For washing there were good porcelain basins, hot and cold water, soap in most cases, and clean scraps of cotton cloth for towels. Dressing rooms were combined with toilets and large lockers and benches were provided. There was a hospital room with several beds and a nurse in charge. Sanitary and insanitary bubblers, cooled water, in all rooms. Employees worked a straight 8-hour shift with no lunch period, but a food cart made several trips each shift and sold milk, sandwiches, and cool drinks. The food cart had an electric icing arrangement and could be plugged into a socket to keep milk and drinks cool. There was a cafeteria. Many more seats than are usually found in most cotton mills were in evidence and not so much lint and humidity as usual. Lighting and ventilation were good. The general impression was that of a very good mill in contrast to some others.



Quite different was the following:

Toilet conditions were as bad as any seen in mill employing over 50 women. There were three seats—none enclosed or separated; one seat was out of use and boarded over, the plumbing of the others was filthy; floor was wet and slippery, walls were dirty and much written on; a small window and a dim electric light; door leading to workroom had sagged on hinges. Only washing facility was a sink in the workroom with cold water. Wraps hung around the walls on nails and were covered with lint from short-staple cotton. A new electrically-cooled bubbler was completely enveloped in a furry coat of sticky lint. A few broken stools and a rough bench were the only seats seen. Windows were dirty and covered with lint. Maintenance was generally wretched. There was nothing good to report in the way of working conditions.

Most mills fell between these two in work standards, but more attention to maintenance, ventilation, and service facilities was needed by mills generally.

#### Other textiles.

Two large mills making knit underwear had good conditions on the whole, but smaller mills in the industry could only be classed as mediocre and were poor in service facilities and maintenance.

One woolen mill visited was considered bad. It was run-down inside and out; walls were dirty and rooms dark. The product was a shoddy one, and much dust and lint had draped itself on overhead rafters and supports. The entrance was cluttered and crowded and everywhere there seemed to be boxes and impediments in the aisles to fall over.

All the plants weaving silk and rayon fabrics (not making rayon chemically) were poor. When the Women's Bureau agent, on walking through one of these mills, pointed out the need of seats, platforms (women standing on cement floors), and better toilet, washing, and drinking facilities, the manager's reply was to the effect that he had always felt that conditions were good enough as long as the workers did not complain. He had considered a rest and cloak room in some unused space on the second floor; but as the employees had made no request for it, he had let it slide.

#### Rayon yarns and cellophane.

These plants were new, well-equipped, and well-maintained. All were reported as good.

#### Clothing.

The plants making men's suits and overcoats were better in working conditions as well as wages than the plants making work clothing and other cotton clothing. In the work-clothing plants, including shirt factories, conveniences for the employees' comfort usually were confined to the bare necessities. In many cases toilets were poor and seats not separated. In the workroom, wraps hung around on the walls or on racks. Rest and lunchrooms were unusual features. There were a few good plants, but they were in the minority. One of the good ones was described as follows:

A large modern plant in a good brick building. Housekeeping excellent. Service facilities were clean; reported as repainted several times a year. There were 15 toilet seats, with separating partitions though no doors. Two cots were provided in the cloak room but they were not equipped with pillows or clean bedding. There was a cafeteria in an adjoining building.

Not so good was the one next described:

In a small overall factory women were sitting in the middle of a large barn-like room. Natural light was insufficient and the artificial light was such that some were subjected to a strong glare. A pen-like arrangement had been boarded up in part of the room with cloth around to serve as a dressing or rest room but most of the coats were hanging on walls.

This illustrates both good and bad conditions:

In a relatively small plant toilets were reported as deplorable in several respects—dark and dirty with broken plumbing. The cloak room was serving as a place for storing large bales of scraps and rags. Each worker paid 15 cents a week for soap and towels. However ventilation was good and there were skirt guards on all power machinery.

Then there were clothing plants where local business-boosting organizations had allured garment factories to their communities with promises of free power, no taxes, and no immediate charge for buildings. Employees were paying for the buildings from their meager earnings. As a member of one of these organizations said, "The workers have jobs which they might not otherwise have"; but such firms were not carrying their full operating expenses, though they sold in the same markets as did their competitors who paid taxes and rents out of their earnings. Thus the subsidized firms could undersell, and they had a depressing effect even beyond the communities immediately concerned.

#### Food products.

Consumers should be interested in conditions in all plants, but especially have they a very close interest in the cleanliness and sanitation surrounding the production of food products. In most instances food plants were cleaner than textile plants. Bakeries, both the fresh-bread type and those making crackers, were cleaner and more adequately equipped with facilities for their employees than were candy factories and some of the other food producers.

In most cases candy factories were old and not well maintained. Notes on one include comments on poor lighting, gray-painted walls adding to the gloom, dirty floors, absence of stools for most of the women, towels provided but used again and again. No lunch period was allowed, and a girl was seen eating a sandwich while standing at her worktable surrounded by boxes in process of packing.

Notes from a bakery schedule are indicative of better conditions:

Place clean and well kept—well painted and modern in equipment. Comfortable chairs and footstools provided for packers. A large dressing room with cot, tables, and chairs where girls may eat lunches. Toilets clean and satisfactory. Shower baths and washbasins, with towels furnished three times a week. Lockers available for all.

In going through one bakery, the forelady reported that girls wore their fingers sore scraping the rough wire conveyor which carried the cookies past them for packing.

#### Nut shelling.

Three nut-shelling plants with Negro women employed were included. Work of this kind is seasonal, and as little equipment is needed almost any kind of building can be used. Since the industry cannot be considered a prosperous one in most respects, cheap rent is

an essential and all the plants were in old buildings. Work arrangements were most informal. Women sat around on low stools and picked the kernels from nut shells. Little was done in the way of conveniences in any plant. Due to local health regulations women wore uniforms. Except for a sweeping away of surface dirt, maintenance was not high. Toilet and washing arrangements were simple and generally inadequate.

#### Drugs and cosmetics.

Women's work in drugs and cosmetics was chiefly packaging and packing into cartons. Conditions varied greatly, from very good to very bad. On the whole, work was not speeded and in several places seemed to go on at a leisurely pace. More places were good than bad. One of the large, long-established firms had a rather rambling building, but toilet and washing facilities were adequate in number and conveniently located for all. One of the toilet rooms was very clean and light, but seats were not enclosed. When this latter condition was pointed out to the superintendent as a bad feature he said that it had never been called to his attention before, and he volunteered that since repairs were being made in other parts of the building he would have the carpenters install partitions and doors. This fact is noted merely as an instance where management, not aware of a bad feature, was most ready to act on suggestions.

In a drug and cosmetic plant where a fairly large number of Negro women were employed, much to warrant unfavorable comment was found. Toilet facilities were inadequate—one seat for more than 25 women—and inconveniently located, as it was necessary for the women to walk the length of a cluttered warehouse to reach the toilet. The inspection was made on a cold February day and water pipes had frozen, there being no heat in this part of the building; as a consequence, the pipes had cracked and the water was seeping out. Sawdust had been piled up to absorb the excess moisture, and the place was a sorry sight. The employee escorting the agent described it en route as "terrible." Sinks used for washing bottles were the only washing arrangement. Cloak, rest, and lunch rooms were unthought of. Heating was poor, and some of the girls were wearing their outside wraps and had bound their feet in burlap sacks. Lights were dim. Workroom was crowded with boxes and had packing debris in the aisles. Empty boxes were used by some women for seats, as chairs and stools were almost entirely lacking.

In two plants women were reported on jobs where respirators seemed to be needed. Two women were acting as assistants at a machine used in packaging a bug exterminator containing naphthalene and nicotine. There were fumes around the machine. Men on the job, but not the women, were wearing respirators. In another plant where two or three women were employed on a dusty operation (powder filling) the air was thick; the manager reported that the company had respirators, but none were seen.

#### Wood products.

Only one of the woodworking plants visited was reported as having good working conditions for women. In the others, failure to provide cloakrooms, washing facilities, or any convenience other than a toilet

was usual. Lighting was poor. Buildings in some cases were shed-like and draughty, with too much natural ventilation. Dinginess was the common condition.

#### Tobacco and tobacco products.

Two large plants and a small one making snuff or chewing tobacco were inspected. Conditions were good in both the large ones, and more attention than usual was paid to conveniences for the worker. Though neither had posture chairs, ordinary stools and chairs in sufficient numbers were available. Drinking fountains were not of the sanitary type. Both plants had cafeterias and one served hot coffee or tea free at noon. Though conditions were not outstandingly good, there was a general impression of good housekeeping and an attempt to make the best of available facilities for employees.

In plants in which Negro women were employed almost exclusively, conditions were not good, but even here they were not so bad as in some places. In the seasonal warehouse work the surroundings were crude and shedlike. Little or no attention was given to facilities for the workers' comfort.

#### Paper boxes.

All the paper-box plants visited were small, and small paper-box plants proverbially have a tendency toward poor housekeeping and poor arrangement. Floor space is unnecessarily cluttered and machinery poorly arranged. Paper wrappings, boxes in process, paper stock, and tools seem to be dropped or deposited wherever there is a bit of space. Seating is unsatisfactory, and all service facilities are haphazard and poor. Except in one or two cases, Tennessee paper-box plants visited conformed to this general pattern.

#### Printing and publishing.

Printing and publishing were characterized by a high wage level, and work conditions, too, were better than ordinary. One of the best plants visited in the State was in this group, and from its schedule the following résumé is submitted:

Plant quite new and modern; housekeeping excellent, and a great deal of attention given to comfort of employees. Everywhere cleanliness prevailed; corners and stairways painted a light green; aisles wide. Artificial light excellent. Proofreaders have individual desks and individual lamps. Toilets ample in number, spotlessly clean. Washbasins clean, and liquid soap, hot water, and paper towels provided. Lockers provided for all. A nurse was in attendance for first aid and in a small room were two cots freshly made up for emergency illness and for lunch-hour resting. For recreation or for use after work there was a room that would do credit to a clubhouse. Modernistic cushioned chairs, couch, radio, reading lamps, current books, and magazines were all available and used. In addition, this company had group insurance with death, sickness, and hospitalization benefits, and a credit union.

Probably few plants would care to have all these features, but many could do more of this sort of thing than they do now.

Only two of the printing plants were reported as poor and they were both small, the total number of women being less than 20.

**Laundries.**

Cleanliness is the service sold by laundries, but in the housekeeping in their own plants it is often of secondary importance. In too many instances laundries offer women merely a place of work, with little in the way of good ventilation, seating, or facilities for the workers' convenience. Two or three laundries stood out as offering conditions better than average.

From the schedule of one of the best is the following:

All employees were furnished with uniforms, provided and laundered at no cost to the worker. A cafeteria served a plate lunch for 15 cents. Toilets, though not clean, were adequate and had seats enclosed. Washrooms had both hot and cold water. White girls had a large cloak and dressing room with outside windows, chairs, benches, lockers, racks for coats, and mirrors, and all was clean and neat. Though workrooms were better than most, some equipment was old and in need of repair. Lighting was good. Ventilation inadequate, in spite of devices. More had been done before the depression than was being done at the present time.

From other schedules the following have been selected:

This laundry employed about 65 women, more than three-fourths Negroes. There were two toilets for white women. Both were filthy. They were screened from view of the workroom, but the door opened inward, making a difficult entrance because of room arrangement. Liquid soap and cold water but no towels. In the cloakroom clothes, shoes, and debris were strewn around. There was no cot or rest-room facility. There were no drinking fountains and the general water spigots had cream bottles, broken cups, and such, serving as drinking cups. Maintenance of workrooms was poor—floors were wet and sloppy. Cloak and toilet rooms were cleaned only once a week.

Chairs and seats were generally missing. Floors were slanting and rather slippery. The walls had a concrete inside finish and in cold weather the natural laundry dampness condensed and the walls literally streamed with wet. All the workrooms were in need of paint. At the flat-work ironers the women were working under a canopy to prevent water dropping from the ceiling onto the finished work. A rack of clean clothes was covered with paper to keep the water off.

The building was in poor condition throughout. The floor was wet. Markers were working near steamy washers and near to a door on loading platform, and strong draft was pouring in. Both artificial and natural lighting were poor. Walls and windows were dirty. A dressing room had hooks along the walls, a bench, a dirty couch, and the whole place was littered with old shoes and papers. The toilet was poor—two seats not enclosed, in a very small compartment off the workroom. There was a washbasin in this small toilet room.

A bad feature reported in a number of laundries was the use of old foot-power presses, which are strenuous for the operator. Modern air presses are more expensive for the management, but such expense is more than compensated by their safety and the prevention of workers' fatigue.

**Stores.**

Workroom conditions in stores ordinarily tend to be fairly good, partly because the customer as well as the employee is affected by the surroundings. In alteration and drapery workrooms space is limited, rooms are small and crowded, seats of machine operators are poor, and lighting may be poor, but the number affected is small. First-

floor salesrooms do not provide enough seats for the sales force, and aisles are too narrow for convenient work space. Limited-price stores are worse in this respect than department stores. In small department stores employees generally use the same toilet and washrooms as customers, and maintenance is good. Rest rooms and cloakrooms are a usual provision. Most limited-price stores have a standardized type of toilet, rest room, cloak room, and lunchroom combined, on the second or third floor. When the manager's standards of housekeeping are high these are quite acceptable. In a few instances in Tennessee limited-price stores had basement rest-toilet rooms. The stairs leading to these were narrow, and in at least one instance treacherous because of twists, turns, and unexpected step-offs. Ventilation and lighting were poor in these basement or sub-basement rooms.

Some of the large department stores in cities provided exceptionally good service facilities, and the following is a description of one of these:

General employees' service facilities were on one of the upper floors. Here there were cloakrooms, rest rooms, hospital, and cafeteria. Toilet rooms were located at convenient places on the sales floors as well as in this general room. The arrangement for caring for wraps was especially well planned and supervised. Each department had certain racks and each person her individual location and hangers, with boxes for overshoes or extra shoes and other boxes for hats, gloves, and so forth. A hospital room with nurse in attendance was well equipped, and in addition there was a rest room with wicker chairs and tables for reading. The employees' cafeteria was nearby and practically the same menu as was served in the company's tearoom was available at prices about one-half those of the tearoom.

**Restaurants.**

Small restaurants with only a few employees can hardly be expected to provide special personnel facilities in the way of rest room and cloakroom. The need is less, relatively, and in small places personal adjustments can be made with greater freedom and the informality which a small staff allows. There should, however, be provision for such minimum conveniences as a clean toilet, washing facilities with towels and soap, and chairs to rest in between standing duties; and if street garments must be changed for uniforms, a place to make the change, satisfactory from the standpoint of privacy, sanitation, and care of clothing. The criticism of small restaurants and some of the larger ones in Tennessee and elsewhere is that no provision at all is made for the comfort of employees. Girls often come dressed in their uniforms because there is no place to change or leave street clothes—except perhaps a basement storeroom—and sometimes toilet facilities are lacking and employees must go to nearby stores, filling stations, or a public building. The only washing facilities are the kitchen sinks.

One of the best arrangements of service facilities reported in restaurants visited in Tennessee was this:

There were clean toilets, adequate in number, and for washing facilities besides the usual basins there were shower baths, soap, hot water, and towels available. The dressing room had plenty of racks and benches and all was neat. The white girls had the use of the same rest room as is provided for the customers, and it was an attractive room, well carpeted—couches, chairs, and outside windows. The kitchen was not so crowded as most and was ventilated with

washed air. Though service facilities for the Negro women were not so good as for the white women, they were adequate and better than most.

A larger cafeteria had the following notes on working conditions:

There were about 80 women employees and practically one-half were Negro. The toilet arrangements for the Negro women were poor—one seat for more than 30 women and in the basement. The washing facilities were inadequate, and on the day of inspection the floor of the toilet room was dirty, covered with paper, and the washbasins were very dirty. The cloakrooms were so crowded that with only a few of the girls in they seemed packed. There was no rest room.

**Hotels.**

Hotels pay very little attention to personnel problems relating to the convenience of employees on the job. Waitresses usually have broken shifts, and unless they live nearby they need a place in which to spend the time between shifts. Rest room, cloakroom, toilet, and washing facilities frequently are crowded together in a small, dark basement room with no outside ventilation or light and with poor artificial light. Rest-room facilities for Tennessee women hotel employees were much more frequently inadequate than satisfactory. An arrangement that seemed satisfactory in a medium-sized hotel had allotted the use of a regular hotel bedroom on the fourth floor—near the service elevator—to the white waitresses and other employees. There were three single beds, dressers, closet and lockers for clothing, ironing board, writing table, comfortable chairs, and a fully equipped bathroom. In cases of unusually late hours, due to special parties, girls had been allowed to spend the night in this or other vacant hotel rooms.

**APPENDIX**

**SCHEDULE FORMS**

**SCHEDULE I**

This schedule was used for recording the firm's scheduled hours, the number of employees, and data on working conditions.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

**WOMEN'S BUREAU**

TENNESSEE

1. Establishment----- Industry----- Product-----  
 Address----- City-----  
 Home office----- Person interv----- Position-----

2. Pay roll:  
 Date of current----- Pay period----- No. work days-----  
 Date of early----- Pay period----- No. work days-----

3. Number employed current pay roll:

	Total	White	Negro	Shift 1	Shift 2	Shift 3
Men-----						
Women-----						
Total-----						

4. No. F. 25 cards-----

5. Scheduled hours for women employees:

	Shift 1				Shift 2				Shift 3			
	Begin	End	Lunch	Total	Begin	End	Lunch	Total	Begin	End	Lunch	Total
Daily-----												
Saturday-----												
Other-----												
Total weekly-----	Days-----		Hours-----		Days-----		Hours-----		Days-----		Hours-----	

Are there any differences in hours of men operatives?-----

If so, specify:-----

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6. Changes in scheduled hours in 1935: (Give dates, daily and weekly changes, and reasons.) -----  
-----  
-----

7. Changes in rates and methods of payment in 1935: -----  
-----

8. Supplements to wages and special deductions: -----  
-----

9. Explain any other basis of payment than straight time and straight piece rates: -----  
-----

10. Working conditions:

Describe in a brief summary bad features of workrooms such as poor ventilation, lighting, inadequacy of washing, toilet, and general service facilities (cloak rooms, rest rooms, etc.), lack of seats, poor maintenance, and any appreciable hazards or strains.

SCHEDULE II

Pay-roll information was copied onto this card, one card being used for each woman employee.

F. 24

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
WOMEN'S BUREAU

Firm				Address		
Name or Number of Employee				Sex	Race	Learner
Department				Occupation		
Basis of Payment	Piece	Hour	Day	Week	Month	Other
		\$	\$	\$	\$	
Hours worked		Overtime hours		Days on which worked		
Earnings this period		Additions		Deductions		

NOTES:

Sch. hrs.
Days
Date

F. 25—U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR—WOMEN'S BUREAU

Name or No. of Employee } \_\_\_\_\_ Occupation \_\_\_\_\_ Firm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Earnings \_\_\_\_\_ Bonus \_\_\_\_\_ Total \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_

Date	Earnings	Date	Earnings	Date	Earnings	Date	Earnings
1		14		27		40	
2		15		28		41	
3		16		29		42	
4		17		30		43	
5		18		31		44	
6		19		32		45	
7		20		33		46	
8		21		34		47	
9		22		35		48	
10		23		36		49	
11		24		37		50	
12		25		38		51	
13		26		39		52	

This schedule was used to record earnings for each week in the year of individual women.

SCHEDULE III

APPENDIX

PAMPHLET