

[PUBLIC—No. 259—66TH. CONGRESS]

[H. R. 13229]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Approved, June 5, 1920.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
JAMES J. DAVIS, SECRETARY  
WOMEN'S BUREAU  
MARY ANDERSON, Director

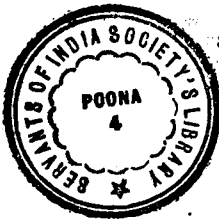
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BULLETIN OF THE WOMEN'S BUREAU, No. 61

# THE DEVELOPMENT OF MINIMUM-WAGE LAWS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1912 TO 1927



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## LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,  
WOMEN'S BUREAU,  
*Washington, July 15, 1927.*

SIR: I am submitting herewith a report giving the results of a research study of the effects of minimum-wage laws, covering the construction and methods of their operation, the costs of their administration, the changes in the position of women workers which they have brought about, and the relation of the courts to such laws.

This report of the history of minimum-wage legislation should be a valuable reference in the forming of employment policies which would stabilize the employment of women in industry.

I very warmly appreciate the assistance given in this research study on minimum-wage legislation by Mrs. Katherine Philips Edson, executive commissioner, Industrial Welfare Commission of California; by Miss Louise E. Schutz, superintendent, bureau of women and children, Industrial Commission of Minnesota; by Miss Maud Swett, director, women's department, Industrial Commission of Wisconsin; by Mrs. Millie R. Trumbull, secretary, Industrial Welfare Commission of Oregon; by Miss Alice McFarland, former director of women's work, Public Service Commission of Kansas; and by Miss Ethel M. Johnson, assistant commissioner of labor, Department of Labor and Industries of Massachusetts, both in giving access to the unpublished records of the minimum-wage commissions and in reading the final report and making helpful suggestions.

The study has been made by and under the direction of Mrs. Mildred J. Gordon, and the report has been written by her.

Respectfully submitted.

MARY ANDERSON, *Director.*

HON. JAMES J. DAVIS,  
*Secretary of Labor.*

# THE DEVELOPMENT OF MINIMUM-WAGE LAWS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1912 TO 1927

## CHAPTER I.—ORIGIN AND EXTENT OF MINIMUM-WAGE ACTIVITY

For the past 15 years an experiment in wage regulation has been carried on in widely varying sections of the United States. Seventeen States<sup>1</sup>—Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, the District of Columbia, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oregon, Porto Rico, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Washington, and Wisconsin—have passed laws with the idea of guaranteeing to working women, in return for their labor, a sum adequate for self support. Though this method of State supervision of wages for women and minors alone has been tried to any extent only in this country and in Canada, it is a direct outgrowth of the system of wage regulation for all workers in specified industries that developed in New Zealand and Australia at the end of the nineteenth century.

### RELATION OF WAGE REGULATION IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND TO THE MINIMUM-WAGE LAWS IN THE UNITED STATES

The last decade of the nineteenth century found New Zealand and Australia beset with labor troubles. Strikes were frequent, long drawn out, and bitter. They were greatly injuring the development of these relatively unsettled countries. Moreover, a concern about sweating and a general feeling that labor, particularly woman labor, was being exploited were becoming current. In an attempt to find a means of adjusting the differences between capital and labor, New Zealand in 1894 adopted a comprehensive scheme of compulsory arbitration in labor disputes. This law created a court of arbitration with the authority to fix conditions of employment. One condition of employment was the establishing of minimum-wage rates. In 1896 the Province of Victoria passed a law creating wage boards to set minimum rates of pay in the sweated industries. From these beginnings there developed in Australia and New Zealand three types of legislation regulating wages. One type, which proved of little importance, set a statutory minimum rate. (For example, Queensland factory and shop act, 1900.) Two other types, as illustrated by New Zealand and Victoria, created bodies which had the power to set minimum rates for all workers in specific industries.

In their original laws the Commonwealth of Australia (1904), two Provinces—New South Wales (1901) and West Australia (1900)—and the Commonwealth of New Zealand created arbitration tribunals one of whose duties was the setting of minimum rates. The four other Australian Provinces—Queensland (1912), South Australia (1900), Tasmania (1910), and Victoria (1896)—created wage boards for the sole purpose of setting rates. Since these early

<sup>1</sup> For the purpose of brevity, the District of Columbia and Porto Rico are referred to as States throughout this report.

## MINIMUM-WAGE LAWS IN THE UNITED STATES

dates there has been a tendency toward combining these plans. The laws in the United States are derived rather from the wage-board laws than from the arbitration laws, but they have elements of both.

A brief description of the first New Zealand legislation will show many points comparable to the action in the United States. The colony was divided into districts with a conciliation board for each. These boards had from four to six members, composed of an equal number of employers and employees, elected by their respective groups, and an impartial outside chairman chosen by the members. From these boards there was an appeal to the arbitration court composed of three members appointed by the governor—one on the recommendation of the workers, one on the recommendation of the employers, and one a judge of the supreme court. This organization is very similar to that of wage boards and minimum-wage commissions in the American laws and the relation of these American bodies one to another. In the case of the Victorian wage boards there is the same balance between employers and employees, and there is, also, the organization of wage boards by industry or occupation which has been so generally followed in the United States. Moreover, these boards took the initiative in setting rates, as did the American commissions, instead of waiting for a dispute to arise in the industry, as was the case of the arbitration tribunals.

Not only did the American laws draw largely on the Australian-New Zealand acts for the principles on which the administering and enforcing agencies were organized, but they included many powers and directions as a result of the problems developed in the administration of these foreign laws. The provisions of the American laws relating to apprentices, substandard workers, communities of varying sizes, and so forth, were to cover situations shown by the Australian-New Zealand experience as bound to arise.

With so many likenesses there still were essential differences among the laws of these two countries, of Great Britain, which passed a wage-board act in 1909, and of the United States. In the first place, all the American laws apply only to women and minors. In the second place, the great emphasis on a wage sufficient to supply the necessary cost of proper living is American. The laws in the British Empire clearly contemplated a setting of wage rates between organized groups where the decision would be a compromise rather than a result of following rules. Particularly in the case of the State's providing for wage boards this was true. Moreover, the rates set, by wage boards and the industrial courts, were for all occupations, skilled as well as unskilled. The "living wage" was accepted as the principle for laborers, but there were many rates set above this level. In a scheme such as this, compromise is permissible as it would not be in a plan which had for its fundamental tenet that every experienced woman worker who gave a full day's work must receive a living wage. Moreover, in such a scheme a carefully considered plan for handling apprentices and minors, a series of regulations extending perhaps over a considerable period of time, is proper, since at the end of the period these apprentices would receive not the "living wage" for laborers but the rate set for the skilled trade which they had learned. The American States set nothing beyond the "living wage." They placed great emphasis on the fact that the



rates were to equal the cost of proper living. They dealt with groups, women and minors, who were practically unorganized. In practice they often forgot these differences, based their rates on compromise, and included in the decrees elaborate provisions for controlling learners or apprentices, though the only rate they set was the "living-wage" rate which corresponded to the rate for laborers in Australia and New Zealand.

Even this slight discussion of the minimum-wage laws within the British Empire shows that, though historically the American laws were a direct outgrowth, there were enough changes in principle that the Australian-New Zealand decrees should not have been too closely followed as models. Many of the criticisms in this report are based on cases where the American commissions have followed too closely their foreign models.

In the matter of incorporating rules in the decrees to aid the executive offices in applying the rates the American commissions would have done well to follow more closely the Australian model. For example, the Australian decrees contain rules on hours of labor, so that rates can be tied up with hours worked; a most necessary provision usually overlooked in American decrees. The conclusion is inescapable that while the Australian-New Zealand experiment provided the American States with almost 20 years' experience in setting and enforcing wage awards, the American States changed the fundamental principles of their laws just enough to invalidate for their use many of the points worked out for administering and enforcing the foreign laws. Moreover, the American States often failed to take over important provisions that would have aided them. The minimum-wage laws in the United States are a separate experiment in wage legislation, rooted in the system used by the various units of the British Empire but distinct in many fundamentals and much of their development.

#### HISTORY OF LEGISLATION IN THE UNITED STATES

The first minimum-wage law in the United States was passed by Massachusetts in 1912, the law to become effective in 1913. In 1913 eight States—California, Colorado, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wisconsin—passed laws providing for the regulation of the rates of pay of women and minors. The year 1913 was really the beginning of the American experiment. Several things contributed to bring about the burst of sentiment for wage regulation. The first decade of the twentieth century saw a growing wave of interest in women workers. The United States awoke to the fact that it was a great industrial community, not a pioneer State. The country began to be concerned about the conditions under which thousands of its citizens labored for wages. To the amazement of many it was discovered that millions of women were employed in store and factory. This growing interest is reflected in the reports published by the State departments of labor. In State after State these reports change from lists of the State's natural resources and development to tables on rates and earnings. Private organizations, too, began studying phases of industrial life and printing their findings. Starting with modest beginnings at just about the beginning of the century the tide grew, culminating in a great study made by

the Federal Government in 1907-1910—"Woman and child wage earners in the United States." The rates and earnings disclosed by these studies were shockingly low in the majority of cases. Public opinion was aroused. The Progressive Party in its 1912 platform had a plank advocating minimum-wage laws for women and children.

That the United States should have turned toward this effort which the other English-speaking nations were making to correct bad conditions, when it awoke to the need of putting its own house in order, was but natural. The laws of Australia, New Zealand, and Great Britain were well known to large groups of people who were disturbed about the exceedingly low rates of pay that so many of the woman wage earners were receiving. These laws seemed to have been successful in alleviating to some extent the distress among the lowest paid groups. They did not seem to have hurt industry. They had been adopted not only by the frontier States of Australia and New Zealand but by highly industrialized Great Britain. It was true they applied to both men and women, and that their administration and enforcement in many cases was tied up to compulsory arbitration. To the American mind State regulation of men's wages and compulsory arbitration were repugnant. Both these smacked too much of the interference of government in everyday life which it is the American inheritance to fear. Moreover, at this particular moment the especial concern was the low wages paid to women. It was proposed, therefore, to adapt the plan to American needs and desires.

By 1912-13 the question of some sort of wage regulation was so prominent in people's minds that Massachusetts and Michigan appropriated money for special investigations of the conditions surrounding woman wage earners. These investigations once more produced startlingly low rates and earnings figures. Massachusetts promptly passed a minimum-wage law for women and minors. Almost at once eight other States joined Massachusetts in putting such laws on their statute books. After this the movement slowed down, but by 1923, when South Dakota enacted a minimum-wage law, eight more States—Arizona, Arkansas, the District of Columbia, Kansas, North Dakota, Porto Rico, South Dakota, and Texas—had enacted minimum-wage legislation.

During the years in which the laws have been on the statute books they have undergone many changes. In the first place, most legislatures have modified the body of the law by amendments, in some States time and again. Usually these amendments have been the result of the activity of friends of the different laws who urged that they be strengthened, so that their good effects would be extended, but in some cases they were brought about by persons who thought the laws harmful and who urged that they be so modified as to mitigate their bad results. In the second place, the laws have been subjected to constant court attacks, which have limited their scope and in some cases have resulted in nullification.

In Nebraska and Texas the laws have been repealed by the legislatures (1919 and 1921, respectively). In the District of Columbia, Arkansas, and Arizona the United States Supreme Court has declared the law unconstitutional. In Porto Rico and Kansas the State supreme courts have declared the law unconstitutional, basing their decision solely on the decision of the United States Supreme Court

in the District of Columbia case. The attorney general of Minnesota has ruled (1925) that the provisions of the law of that State applying to adult women were unconstitutional on the basis of the District of Columbia decision, and Wisconsin, since its law was held unconstitutional by a Federal district court, has passed an entirely new law for adult woman workers from which are possible such wide exemptions as to make any rates set hardly more than standards. The close of the period sees minimum-wage legislation not only nullified in several States by the attacks upon it but subject elsewhere to constant pressure that has influenced the actual powers and duties specified in the laws and the way in which those powers and duties have been carried out from day to day.

It is apparent that to-day many States have finished their experiment in setting minimum rates for adult women. The status of minors under most of these laws still is undetermined, but in most of the States where the provisions for adult women have been held unconstitutional little or no effort is being made to enforce the provisions relating to minors and no new decrees are being issued.

Among the States that have had their laws declared unconstitutional, Wisconsin alone has sought to find some other legislative means of controlling the rates paid to adult women. Instead of enacting a law based on that of Massachusetts, which provided no penalty beyond publication, the Wisconsin Legislature passed an entirely new sort of law. Its great difference from the old law is that while the first law set up the positive principle that the minimum rate must provide the necessary cost of proper living, the new law makes the negative rule that "no wage paid \* \* \* shall be oppressive." An oppressive wage is defined as "any wage lower than a reasonable and adequate compensation for the services rendered." Difficult as it has been to determine the cost-of-living basis for setting minimum rates, this seems a much more ambiguous statement on which to base a rate. The industrial commission is given the power to issue orders setting forth what rates are oppressive and unjust. In the two years the law has been in force no new orders have been issued, though the orders for pea canning and for cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning have been reissued each year. The commission has gone on enforcing the minimum rate set on the cost-of-living basis on the theory that any lower rate was oppressive. The difference in wording therefore has had no significance in practice up to this time.

In addition to changing the method of expressing the principle on which wage rates were to be set, Wisconsin's second law introduces another new feature. It allows an employer to be given a license to pay all his employees less than the rate set by the commission if he can satisfactorily establish that he is unable to pay such rate. This is based on the same theory as the clause in the Massachusetts and Nebraska laws which permits the courts to grant exemption to any employer who proves that he can not pay the minimum rate and continue to operate his business. The Wisconsin law, however, simplifies the procedure for obtaining these exemptions by allowing the commission to issue special licenses. Whether the two departures from the standards set up by the earlier law are fundamental enough to convince the courts that the new law does not interfere with freedom

the Federal Government in 1907-1910—"Woman and child wage earners in the United States." The rates and earnings disclosed by these studies were shockingly low in the majority of cases. Public opinion was aroused. The Progressive Party in its 1912 platform had a plank advocating minimum-wage laws for women and children.

That the United States should have turned toward this effort which the other English-speaking nations were making to correct bad conditions, when it awoke to the need of putting its own house in order, was but natural. The laws of Australia, New Zealand, and Great Britain were well known to large groups of people who were disturbed about the exceedingly low rates of pay that so many of the woman wage earners were receiving. These laws seemed to have been successful in alleviating to some extent the distress among the lowest paid groups. They did not seem to have hurt industry. They had been adopted not only by the frontier States of Australia and New Zealand but by highly industrialized Great Britain. It was true they applied to both men and women, and that their administration and enforcement in many cases was tied up to compulsory arbitration. To the American mind State regulation of men's wages and compulsory arbitration were repugnant. Both these smacked too much of the interference of government in everyday life which it is the American inheritance to fear. Moreover, at this particular moment the especial concern was the low wages paid to women. It was proposed, therefore, to adapt the plan to American needs and desires.

By 1912-13 the question of some sort of wage regulation was so prominent in people's minds that Massachusetts and Michigan appropriated money for special investigations of the conditions surrounding woman wage earners. These investigations once more produced startlingly low rates and earnings figures. Massachusetts promptly passed a minimum-wage law for women and minors. Almost at once eight other States joined Massachusetts in putting such laws on their statute books. After this the movement slowed down, but by 1923, when South Dakota enacted a minimum-wage law, eight more States—Arizona, Arkansas, the District of Columbia, Kansas, North Dakota, Porto Rico, South Dakota, and Texas—had enacted minimum-wage legislation.

During the years in which the laws have been on the statute books they have undergone many changes. In the first place, most legislatures have modified the body of the law by amendments, in some States time and again. Usually these amendments have been the result of the activity of friends of the different laws who urged that they be strengthened, so that their good effects would be extended, but in some cases they were brought about by persons who thought the laws harmful and who urged that they be so modified as to mitigate their bad results. In the second place, the laws have been subjected to constant court attacks, which have limited their scope and in some cases have resulted in nullification.

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of contract between employer and employee thus far has not been tested in the courts.

This brief résumé of the changes made by legislative and court action during the time that minimum-wage laws have been in existence indicates some of the difficulties encountered in studying the development of administration and enforcement when the status of the laws themselves was so insecure and changing. In this report the laws and their administration and enforcement have been studied just as completely in those States where they have been repealed or declared unconstitutional as in those States where enforcement still is going on. In some States where the laws now are dead letters they were in operation over a considerable part of the 15-year period that has included all minimum-wage activity. Particularly in the District of Columbia and Kansas, valuable records of the work accomplished are available. To leave out these States would be leaving out an important phase of minimum-wage development. To treat them in a separate section would isolate them from the other laws to which they are closely akin. They are, therefore, treated exactly like the "active" laws in all cases where their provisions are similar. Even among the active laws a further exception must be noted. Though the Colorado law is active in the sense that it is still on the statute books with no adverse court decisions to hamper its enforcement, it has never been put into operation by the issuance of a decree. Its legal aspect may be discussed carefully, but it naturally drops from sight when the discussion of practice under the laws is taken up.

#### LIMITS OF THE FIELD IN WHICH LAWS HAVE OPERATED

At the beginning of any discussion of minimum wage two very important conditions affecting any decisions must be noted. The first is that the oldest minimum-wage law in the United States was passed only 15 years ago and the time during which any appreciable number of women have been affected by minimum-wage decrees is less than 10 years. It is a question whether it is fair to condemn legislation because it runs counter to a widely accepted economic concept—the belief that the so-called law of supply and demand operating with no restrictions as to the contracting powers of the employers or employees is the only sound way of determining wage rates—when there has been less than 10 years' experience with it. If any considerable body of public opinion supports the new theory—that to preserve the health of the worker the State may interfere with the operation of the law of supply and demand by not allowing the worker to contract to labor for less than a living wage—and if it can be shown by anyone, as is the case to-day<sup>2</sup>, that wages under the old system in many

<sup>2</sup> From 1920 to 1925 the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor conducted state-wide studies of women's rates and earnings in 12 States. The figures following are the median rates for all the women reported, regardless of industry, in the States studied. It must be remembered that the median represents a rate below which fell one-half of the rates received by the women reported.

Year of survey	State	Median rate	Year of survey	State	Median rate
1920	Rhode Island	\$15.00	1922	Ohio	\$13.85
1921	Kentucky	11.10		South Carolina	10.10
1922	Alabama	9.15	1924	Delaware	11.60
	Arkansas	12.00		Oklahoma	13.75
	Missouri	12.80	1925	Mississippi	8.65
	New Jersey	14.55		Tennessee	11.45

## ORIGIN AND EXTENT OF MINIMUM-WAGE ACTIVITY

cases are so depressed that a worker can not live in health on the results of her labor, it would seem that every effort should be made to give minimum-wage legislation a fair trial and a long trial before forming a final opinion about it. A lesson could be drawn from the experience with hour legislation. It, too, interferes between the worker and the employer. It still is strongly opposed in some quarters, but after 75 years of trial its value is questioned by relatively few people.

The other condition that should preclude making sweeping statements is the relatively small field that has been covered. Only 17 States, including the District of Columbia and Porto Rico, ever had minimum-wage laws. According to the census of 1920<sup>3</sup> the population 10 years of age and over of these units was 22,502,634, or 26.8 per cent of the total population of the United States—again including Porto Rico. With the exception of Massachusetts, none of the great industrial States have enacted such laws. In fact, the population, 10 years of age and over, of 8 of the well-known industrial States—Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania—greatly exceeds the population of the 17 minimum-wage States. The actual number of women 10 years of age and over who were gainfully employed in the several minimum-wage States—2,207,435—is less than two-thirds the number of such women in the industrial States listed above (3,548,495). If every woman wage earner in the minimum-wage States were covered by decrees, only 25.6 per cent of all gainfully occupied women in the United States would be affected by these laws. Moreover, in most of the States only part of the women covered by the laws have had rates set for their particular industries or occupations. Surely the relatively small numbers of women who possibly could have been affected by minimum-wage legislation are another reason for its opponents to use caution when they state that minimum wage has been an unfortunate experiment. It is questionable whether it could have had any general bad effect on business. If it has not had such a result, its specific good effects on the women directly affected, and its good or negative effect on business directly concerned, should determine its value.

## DISTINCTION BETWEEN FLEXIBLE AND INFLEXIBLE TYPES OF LAWS

The purpose of all the minimum-wage laws enacted in the United States has been stated, with some variation of wording, in each act. It is that woman wage earners shall not be paid so low a wage that they can not support themselves in a proper and healthful manner. It has long been recognized that if large groups of the population are paid such low wages that they can not provide for themselves decent food, shelter, and clothing, their resulting ill health and often ultimate dependency are inimical to the best interests of society in general. Moreover, many studies of women's wages have brought

<sup>3</sup> U. S. Bureau of the Census. Fourteenth census: 1920, v. 4, Population, Occupations, pp. 45, 47, and 1261.

## MINIMUM-WAGE LAWS IN THE UNITED STATES

out time and again that large groups of women were receiving wages below the cost of subsistence. Some one—the woman's family, the employer who pays an adequate wage to other workers in the family, the general public, or the woman herself—must make up this difference. Since the State usually must step in and help such workers in misfortune, illness, or old age, and since the general depletion of the woman's health and strength is against the interest of society, it has seemed to many people that the State, for the good of its citizens, should interest itself in seeing that all women who do a full day's work get a wage adequate for their own support.

The question of how the State shall guarantee this wage to its woman wage earners has found almost as many different answers as there are States with minimum-wage laws. Roughly divided, the guaranty has taken two main forms: In one group are those laws which establish a fixed minimum sum below which women's wages may not fall; in the other group are the laws which create the administrative machinery for setting such a minimum sum. The main feature of this latter group, or the flexible minimum-wage laws, is the wide powers given to an administrative body so that the decisions of this body have the force of law. In the States which have the inflexible laws the legislatures have delegated no powers whatsoever and have made no provision for having the minimum-wage law so administered that it changes with varying economic conditions. The minimum-wage rate itself is a law and stands until it is changed by another act of the legislature. The opinion is commonly held, after more than 10 years' experience with minimum-wage laws, that establishing a rate by law and making no provision to alter this rate to meet new conditions—except the long and uncertain process of enacting a new law or amending the old one—does not achieve the purpose desired; that is, providing woman wage earners with a living wage, not only at one given date but over a period of time.

Dividing the States into groups according to the method of setting wage rates shows that much the greater number of States have enacted flexible laws. Only Arizona, Porto Rico, South Dakota, and Utah belong in the group first described. The larger group includes the laws passed by California, Colorado, the District of Columbia (the Federal Congress), Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oregon, Texas, Washington, and Wisconsin. Arkansas establishes a fixed minimum and also creates the machinery for adjusting this sum as conditions change. In States where the minimum-wage rate is set by legislative enactment the payment of such rate of course is compulsory, and anyone who fails to pay this rate violates a law of the State. On the other hand, in States where an administrative body is created to establish minimum rates two types of law exist. In the majority of cases the rates set by these regulatory bodies have the force of law. In Massachusetts and Nebraska, however, the regulatory body can only recommend rates and trust that public opinion will force their payment. Both of these differences are in the fundamentals of minimum-wage legislation.



The manner of establishing the wage rate has been the cause of wide divergencies in practice so the laws will be considered in this bulletin in two sections, one section on the flexible group and one on the inflexible. The great difference in the adaptability of these two groups of laws and the somewhat more limited field usually included in the inflexible group has meant that this type of law has not been studied with the detail accorded the more effective flexible laws.

#### PROCEDURE AND PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN SETTING RATES UNDER THE FLEXIBLE LAWS

Since it is the flexible laws that usually are thought of in connection with any discussion of minimum wage, and it is on the basis of their work that statements are made as to its effects, it is on the actual record made by the 13 States having such laws that minimum wage should be judged. In these States the laws, though varying in some of their provisions, all create the machinery for establishing minimum rates for women and minors in practically all the industries and occupations in the State, and for varying these rates as the cost of living changes. The principle of having the legislature create an administering body to set the actual amount of the minimum wage has been accepted both in the United States and in foreign countries as the most effective method of handling legislation that regulates wages. The process in all cases is roughly the same. The commission investigates to ascertain whether the wages paid to a considerable number of woman workers are less than the sum which the commission feels is necessary to maintain the women in health and to promote their welfare. In order to find out what this sum is, a cost-of-living study usually has been considered necessary. If any considerable number of women are earning wages below this level, the commission itself or a wage board appointed by the commission holds a series of meetings to determine what the minimum wage shall be, and after a wage rate is decided upon the commission holds a public hearing before announcing its decree. The sum so determined and announced becomes the lowest sum it is lawful to pay to a full-time woman or minor worker. The commission thus decides when an investigation shall be started, how many women shall be included, in investigation and under decree, what the wage rate shall be, when it shall go into effect, and when it shall be changed. The way in which this work is carried out determines the efficacy of minimum-wage legislation.

To form an accurate opinion of minimum-wage legislation it is vital to know as much as possible about the following things, at least: How many women, in how many different occupations or industries, have had their wages regulated by law? Have the wage rates really represented the cost of living at the time they were issued, and have they been changed as the cost of living has changed? Have the rates increased the earnings of the lower-paid groups of women without injuring the position of those somewhat better paid? Have trade and industry in the specific States been injured by having to pay minimum-wage rates? And all this must be

considered in the light of the previous questions: Have these laws covered a large enough territory, and have they been in action over a sufficiently long period of time, for their effect to be unmistakable?

In the present report every available bit of material—in the laws themselves, in the reports of the commissions, or in the unpublished records of the commissions—that could be made available to the Women's Bureau has been collected and analyzed to see what the official records showed on these points. In considering these problems the records vary so from State to State that it is almost impossible to gain comparable information on all the important factors, but a careful statement of the available facts will cover at least some of these points for all the States and all the points for a few States.

#### LENGTH OF TIME THAT FLEXIBLE LAWS HAVE BEEN FUNCTIONING

Minimum-wage legislation in the States with powerful laws has had at the most only 14 years' trial, for all these laws were passed in the seven-year period from 1912 to 1919, and the law passed in 1912 did not become effective until 1913. The larger number of laws were enacted early in the period. Massachusetts passed its law in 1912 (effective July 1, 1913). Seven States—California, Colorado, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, Washington, and Wisconsin—passed laws in 1913. In 1915 Arkansas and Kansas passed similar laws. In 1918 the District of Columbia law was enacted. The period closed by the passing of laws by North Dakota and Texas in 1919. It is not a true picture of the situation, however, to depict the laws as having had from 8 to 14 years each to prove that they were good or bad, effective or ineffective. These flexible laws had no possible relation to the actual conditions under which business was carried on until the commissions had acted to set rates for specific industries or occupations. In several cases this was not done until some years after the passage of the law. The fact is that actual experience with minimum-wage rates has covered a much shorter period of time than that since the date of the laws' enactment. Several factors have united to limit the time during which the rates have been in operation. In almost all instances the commissions' slowness of action has been the first factor. The process required in all these States, of investigation of wages, of wage-board meetings, and of public hearings before any decree could be promulgated, necessarily was slow; but there were striking differences among the States in the amount of time consumed. The State which accomplished this work in the shortest time was Oregon, where the first decree was set nine months after the law was enacted. Four States set their first decrees in a year to a year and a half, while some States allowed as much as three or four years to elapse.

TABLE 1.—Time elapsed between passage of law and going into effect of first decree, by State

State	Date law was enacted	Date first award went into effect	Industry or occupation affected	Time elapsed between passage of law and date decree became effective
Arkansas <sup>1</sup>	Mar. 20, 1915	Sept. 1, 1920	Mercantile industry in Fort Smith.	5 years, 6 months.
California	Aug. 10, 1913	Apr. 14, 1916	Fruit and vegetable canning industry.	2 years, 8 months.
Colorado	May 14, 1913			
District of Columbia	Sept. 19, 1918	Aug. 13, 1919	Printing, publishing, and allied industries.	11 months.
Kansas	Mar. 6, 1915	Mar. 18, 1918	Mercantile establishments.	3 years.
Massachusetts	June 4, 1912 <sup>2</sup>	Aug. 15, 1914	Brush occupation.	2 years, 2 months.
Minnesota	Apr. 26, 1913 <sup>3</sup>	Nov. 23, 1914 <sup>4</sup>	Mercantile, office, waitress, hairdressing occupations.	1 year, 7 months.
Nebraska	Apr. 21, 1913			
North Dakota	Mar. 6, 1919	Aug. 16, 1920 <sup>5</sup>	Public house-keeping occupation.	1 year, 5 months.
Oregon	Feb. 17, 1913 <sup>6</sup>	Nov. 10, 1913	Manufacturing establishments in Portland.	9 months.
Texas	Apr. 3, 1919 <sup>7</sup>	Feb. 7, 1921	Telephone or telegraph office.	1 year, 10 months.
Washington	Mar. 24, 1913 <sup>8</sup>	Apr. 23, 1914	Mercantile establishments.	1 year, 1 month.
Wisconsin	July 31, 1913	June 1, 1917	Pea canning industry.	3 years, 10 months.

<sup>1</sup> A rate for most of the industries and occupations in the State was set by the Arkansas legislature in the minimum-wage law itself (1915).

<sup>2</sup> Effective July 1, 1913.

<sup>3</sup> See text following.

<sup>4</sup> Effective June 3, 1913.

<sup>5</sup> Effective June 17, 1919.

<sup>6</sup> Effective June 12, 1913.

This table shows that minimum wage as an active force should be considered as beginning its work not at the passage of the first law but at a date a year or more later, when the first decree became effective. In several States—Wisconsin, for example—the specific period of minimum-wage activity is reduced by considerable time. Moreover, in Minnesota and North Dakota this period of activity has been further shortened by injunctions restraining the commissions from enforcing the decrees they had issued, so that no Minnesota decree was legal until March 9, 1918, and no North Dakota decree was legal until April 4, 1921. The actual periods of time in which any wage rates have been in effect are as follows:

Arkansas	Between 6 and 7 years.
California	11 years.
District of Columbia	Under 4 years (to 1923). <sup>4</sup>
Kansas	Between 7 and 8 years (to 1925). <sup>5</sup>
Massachusetts	Under 13 years.
Minnesota	9 years.
North Dakota	6 years.
Oregon	Between 13 and 14 years.
Washington	13 years.
Wisconsin	10 years.

Colorado and Nebraska never have entered any wage decrees, and Texas entered a series of decrees that never were effective as they were suspended by the commission pending action by the legislature which repealed the law. Consequently, while there are 13 State

<sup>4</sup> District of Columbia law was declared unconstitutional in April, 1923.

<sup>5</sup> Kansas law was declared unconstitutional in July, 1925.

laws to study, there are decrees in but 10 States. Not only is the geographic field a narrow one, but the 13½ years of decrees in Oregon represent the extreme period possible for this study; an average for all the States of about 9 years is the period which must be considered in proving the effects of minimum-wage laws as carried out by decrees. Moreover, it must be remembered that after 1925 all minimum-wage activity, except in Massachusetts, was very much slowed down as a result of adverse court decisions. Whether this is long enough for a fair valuation of such important legislation is a point usually overlooked in discussions of minimum wage.

## CHAPTER II.—DEFINITIONS OF CLASSES AFFECTED

In each flexible law the commission has been allowed a good deal of latitude in carrying out the provisions of the act. Apparently the legislatures have been unwilling to define all the elements that enter into determining a fair minimum-wage rate so strictly as to hamper the commissions in raising the wages actually paid to woman workers. Nevertheless, it has been considered necessary to define certain classes affected by the law, such as the industries or occupations that may be included, the classes of employees that should be accorded special treatment, and whether or not the size of a locality should be considered in setting the rates. The legislatures have specifically granted power to the commissions to give special treatment to groups whose problems vary, but they have left it to the commissions to decide what this treatment shall be. The terms of the laws are considered briefly in the following paragraphs as a background for the discussion of the actual work done by the commissions.

### INDUSTRIES AND OCCUPATIONS COVERED

Most of the flexible acts are so worded that they cover all gainful employment. Few of the States have made any definite exceptions to these inclusive definitions. Moreover, amendments which have changed the meaning of these sections of the laws have either increased their scope or lowered the number of exceptions. The following table shows how slight are the variations in working from State to State and how inclusive are all the definitions.

TABLE 2.—*Phraseology in the laws which shows what groups of workers may be covered by decrees, by State*

Women and minors in any—					Every person who is in receipt of or is entitled to any compensation for labor performed for any employer	Women in any of the specific industries or occupations listed
Vocation, trade, pursuit, or industry	Business, industry, trade, or branch thereof	Occupation, trade, or industry	Industry or occupation	Occupation		
Colorado (1917). Kansas (1915). Oregon.	District of Columbia. Minnesota. North Dakota.	California. Texas. Washington.	Kansas (1921).	Massachusetts.  Nebraska.	Wisconsin.	Arkansas. <sup>1</sup>  Colorado (1915). <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Any manufacturing, mechanical, or mercantile establishment; laundry; any express or transportation company; hotels, restaurants.

<sup>2</sup> Any mercantile, manufacturing, laundry, hotel, restaurant, telephone or telegraph business.

Arkansas has the only law that lists definite industries or occupations. Colorado in 1917 gave up listing the industries or occupations that might be included, and substituted the inclusive phrase "any and every vocation, trade, pursuit, and industry." Moreover, though Arkansas lists in section 1 of its act the specific industries or occupations covered by all the provisions of the law, including the inflexible rate, in section 10 it speaks of "any occupation, trade, or industry" as the field within which rates may be set by the industrial welfare commission. It would appear that all these laws might be interpreted to include every kind of work done by women for wages, unless specific industries or occupations were excepted.

The State legislatures seem to have had in mind that the laws could include all woman wage earners, since four States—Arkansas, the District of Columbia, North Dakota, and Texas—do provide that wages in certain industries or occupations are not subject to regulation. The most usual exceptions are domestic service and agriculture. North Dakota, Texas, and the District of Columbia except domestic service. Arkansas, North Dakota, and Texas except agriculture. Texas also excepts nurses, student nurses, and students working their way through college, whatever their occupation. In addition to agriculture Arkansas excepts cotton factories, but these exceptions, remaining in 1919, are an improvement over the earlier Arkansas law, which, in addition to excluding cotton factories, agriculture, and canning, granted a general exception to "any firm, corporation, or establishment of any character where three or less females are employed and working at the same time." In addition to these exceptions found in the laws themselves, the attorney general of Minnesota has ruled (December 23, 1920) that the law of that State does not cover farm labor and domestic servants. The remaining eight States do not provide for any exceptions, so the number of woman wage earners who may receive the benefits of having their wages determined by decrees is limited only by the fact that the commissions have not covered all industries and occupations.

#### ESTIMATE OF NUMBER OF WOMAN WORKERS WHO COULD BE INCLUDED

The possible scope of these laws is shown more clearly, perhaps, by expressing them in terms of the number of women affected. The figures on the number of women gainfully employed collected by the United States Bureau of the Census are used for the purpose, but the census classifications not only include employers as well as employees but are grouped very differently from the classes specified in the minimum-wage laws. For the present purpose every effort has been made to exclude all employers and to use those groups that most closely correspond to the groups specified in the laws, but the figures from the census must be considered as only approximating the actual numbers of woman wage earners included in minimum-wage laws. The following table gives the approximate figures for each State.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For exact method used in arriving at number of wage earners as distinct from all gainfully occupied women, see Appendix B, p. 609.

**TABLE 3.—Number of women to whom the commissions could apply minimum-wage orders compared with the total number of gainfully occupied women, by State**

State	Number of women gainfully occupied (1)	Number of women to whom minimum-wage law possibly could be applied (2)	Women to whom it is practicable to apply minimum-wage law <sup>1</sup> (3)	
			Number	Per cent
<b>Total</b> .....	<b>2,051,118</b>	<b>1,258,568</b>	<b>1,080,257</b>	<b>52.7</b>
Arkansas.....	115,810	35,032	16,652	14.4
California <sup>2</sup> .....	286,647	191,429	157,493	54.9
Colorado.....	92,567	39,513	30,225	48.3
District of Columbia <sup>3</sup> .....	92,626	60,119	60,113	64.9
Kansas.....	92,510	56,502	42,651	46.1
Massachusetts.....	503,155	422,635	374,940	74.5
Minnesota.....	164,069	88,081	86,081	52.5
Nebraska.....	71,789	44,249	34,125	47.5
North Dakota.....	28,328	9,522	9,522	33.6
Oregon.....	54,492	35,854	29,836	54.8
Texas.....	303,843	84,378	84,378	27.8
Washington.....	92,900	62,617	52,441	56.4
Wisconsin.....	182,265	130,637	101,800	55.8

<sup>1</sup> Number obtained by subtracting domestic servants and agricultural laborers from column 2.

<sup>2</sup> Figure is a considerable underestimate, since the census was taken in January, the slack season for the State's large canning industry. It is probable that at least 25,000 more women are employed when the canneries are running in full force. The Census of Occupations (1920), the source of the figures in column 1, shows 5,005 women in canning and packing, but the Census of Manufactures shows 31,771 women so employed at the peak of the season of 1919. (U. S. Census of Occupations, pp. 60, 62, and 68; U. S. Census of Manufactures, pp. 112 and 118.)

<sup>3</sup> Figure is an overestimate, since it is impossible to separate the women who are clerks in the Government service. These women could not be included in any minimum-wage decree issued by the commission, but the census does not indicate where clerical workers are employed and they are all included in the totals given in this table.

It is apparent at once, by comparing columns 1 and 2, that a great number of women "gainfully occupied" are either employers or in supervisory or professional positions, occupations which the broadest interpretations of minimum-wage laws have never covered. It is apparent further, by comparing columns 2 and 3, that a large proportion of all woman wage earners are found in domestic service and agricultural labor, two groups where the character of the relationship between employer and employee would seem to make enforcement of a minimum-wage decree by a State commission difficult, if not impossible. The women appearing in column 3, then, are those who might reasonably be included ultimately under a minimum-wage decree. They comprise the groups that are most commonly thought of when woman wage earners are discussed—the women in stores, offices, factories, and hotels and restaurants.<sup>2</sup> An interesting fact at once stands out: That the industrial State of Massachusetts not only has by far the greatest number of gainfully occupied women (503,155), but has much the greatest proportion, 74.5 per cent, of its gainfully occupied women in industries where a minimum-wage rate could be applied. In all the more industrialized States a greater proportion of gainfully occupied women are found in those employments to which the minimum-wage law most naturally would apply. In agricultural Arkansas only 14.4 per cent of the women in gainful occupations could be brought under decrees as a practical matter.

<sup>2</sup> "Hotels and restaurants" do not include cooks, as those working in private homes can not be separated.

This contrasts sharply with the figure for Massachusetts, and with the 54.9 per cent of California and the 55.8 per cent of Wisconsin, both States that are partially industrialized. Again the fact is emphasized that a minimum wage has been applied in but one of the great industrial States where it could reach large and homogeneous groups of women, and has been tested, rather, in States where, at its widest application, it could cover only a small number of women both actually and proportionately. Only three of the minimum-wage States—California, Massachusetts, and Wisconsin—have 100,000 or more women in employments to which the application of decrees seems practicable. The total number of women in the 13 States who could conceivably enjoy the benefits of a minimum-wage law is only a million and a quarter. That the law has not actually touched nearly so many women is shown in the section of this report dealing with the decrees.

In addition to seeing that the laws empowered the commissions to cover almost all gainfully employed women who could be included practically under decrees, the legislatures in some States seem to have been concerned with the necessity for giving the commissions power to set special wages for small groups of women in a branch of a trade or industry. Probably the fact that almost all the laws permit the commissions to set rates for "any occupation" would give the commissions power to select the smallest possible units for investigation and regulation, but some of the laws go even further, providing that the commissions' functions extend to any or all branches of the industries or occupations. This is true in the following States: Colorado (1915), District of Columbia, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, North Dakota, and Oregon. In Wisconsin a general blanket clause covers this point by enabling the commission to determine and fix reasonable classifications. That this provision has proved less important than the attention given it by the legislatures would indicate is shown in the section of this report on decrees. The tendency has been to include larger and larger groups in a single decree.

#### SPECIAL CLASSES OF EMPLOYEES COVERED

Besides the concern for normal women, these laws have given particular attention to three special groups of employees—minors, apprentices, and substandard workers. It has been generally recognized that these classes of employees usually are not capable of rendering the same sort of service as are normal adult experienced women, and should be given a somewhat different status in the minimum-wage scheme. In the flexible laws no legislatures have provided in detail what this treatment shall be, but they have indicated that these groups should have special study and should not necessarily be given the same wage rate as the adult experienced woman worker.

##### Minors.

Twelve of the thirteen States have included both male and female minors in the terms of the law. Only Arkansas confines its application strictly to women. Moreover, most of these States place the establishing of rates for minors on grounds different from the establishing of similar rates for women. In describing the grounds that



make it necessary to set a minimum wage for minors, the right to earn a sufficient sum for healthful, independent self-support is not emphasized, though it is mentioned in every law as the reason for establishing minimum wages for women. Wages set for minors are to correct "unreasonably low" wages or they are to be "suitable minimum wages."<sup>3</sup> It seems fair to conclude that in most cases the various State legislatures did not feel willing to require that all minors working full time should be self-supporting, though they felt that adult women giving a full day's service should be guaranteed a living wage. Probably also it is because of this feeling that 7 of the 12 States—Colorado (1917), the District of Columbia, Massachusetts, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oregon, and Washington—have been careful to keep the minors separate from the adult women in the text of the laws and have granted the commissions special powers in regard to minors in paragraphs distinct from those dealing with women.

Besides these general definitions most of the laws have defined the exact age limits for minors, as appears in the table following:

TABLE 4.—Minors subject to regulation, by State

State	Sex	Age
Arkansas.....	Female.....	Not specified.
California.....	Male and female.....	Under 18 years.
Colorado.....	do.....	Do.
District of Columbia.....	do.....	Do.
Kansas.....	do.....	Do.
Massachusetts.....	do.....	Not specified. <sup>1</sup>
Minnesota.....	Female.....	Under 18 years.
Nebraska.....	Male.....	Under 21 years.
North Dakota.....	Male and female.....	Not specified.
Oregon.....	do.....	Under 18 years.
Texas.....	do.....	Do.
Texas.....	do.....	Under 15 years.
Washington.....	do.....	Under 18 years.
Wisconsin.....	do.....	(*)

<sup>1</sup> Not passed on by the attorney general or the courts, but interpreted by the commission as under 21 years.

<sup>2</sup> Defined by guardianship law as under 21 years. Wisconsin Statutes, 1923, sec. 319.01, p. 2107.

The only variations from the usual limit of 18 years among the States that include both male and female minors in their minimum-wage laws are Minnesota, which includes males up to 21 years among the minor group; Texas, which calls only persons under 15 years of age minors; and Wisconsin, which considers males and females under 21 minors. It is probable that the Massachusetts and Nebraska laws would be interpreted as agreeing with the Wisconsin age groups.

#### Apprentices or learners—inexperienced workers.

With the exception of Arkansas and Wisconsin all these States have provided specifically that the commissions may establish rates for learners (or apprentices) distinct from those established for

<sup>3</sup> In Massachusetts and Nebraska "suitable" rates for minors alone may be set only in those occupations where the majority of employees are minors.

experienced workers. Wisconsin undoubtedly gives the commission this same power when it provides that the commission may classify female or minor employees and set a living wage for each class so established. California, Kansas,\* North Dakota, Texas, and Washington provide that special licenses may be issued to learners (or apprentices) by the commission. Texas and California specify that the per cent of learners in any one occupation or industry shall be limited. California leaves it to the industrial welfare commission to determine how many such licenses may be issued, but Texas sets 10 per cent of the employees in an industry as the greatest proportion of learners allowed. This Texas limitation is the only definite rule governing the treatment of apprentices and learners. Moreover, it is not possible to say that the commissions are required to establish rulings that apply only to apprentices and learners. The laws uniformly use the word "may" in dealing with the setting of special apprentice rates. It is certainly true that the commissions, with the exception of Wisconsin, if they choose to give special study and attention to the group may work out with no legal restrictions what seems to them the most effective method of dealing with apprentices or learners.

In Wisconsin the situation is complicated by the fact that the State has an apprenticeship law. The minimum-wage law (sec. 104-108) requires that the industrial commission, in carrying out its provisions, see that minors who properly come under the apprenticeship law be indentured. These minors are to be paid such wages and work under such conditions as are set forth in the apprenticeship law. Only learners who are not in trades where indenture is possible are classed as learners under the minimum wage law. This situation does not occur in any other State.

#### Substandard workers.

The case of substandard workers is quite different from that of the minors or of the learners or apprentices. Both of these latter groups are supposed to obtain the minimum after a lapse of time which has brought them their majority, increased experience, or both. This third group is a permanent exception, provided so that workers who very evidently can never give the same amount of service as can a normal adult woman will not lose their jobs, as almost certainly they would if they had to be paid as much as a normal worker. Every State except Arkansas has provided for issuing licenses allowing special rates of pay to substandard workers. As in the case of the minors and apprentices or learners, the law merely indicates what the commissions may do if they think it advisable. It is not required that substandard workers be excepted. However, the laws do indicate rather definitely what kinds of workers may be given licenses. The causes for which licenses may be granted are the following.

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\* Not specifically provided for in 1921 law, but inferred. The 1921 law states, "All laws relating to the powers, authority, jurisdiction, and duties of the Industrial Welfare Commission of this State are hereby adopted \* \* \*." The 1915 law specifically gave the industrial welfare commission this power.

TABLE 5.—*Grounds for granting special licenses to substandard workers, by State*

Woman "physically defective"			Woman "crippled"			Woman whose earning capacity is less than that of normal worker	Any person subject to this act
By age	Otherwise	Cause not specified	By age	Otherwise	Cause not specified		
California. North Dakota.	California. North Dakota.	Colorado (1913). Kansas (1915). Massachusetts. Minnesota. Nebraska. Oregon. Washington.	Colorado (1917). Oregon. Washington.	Colorado (1917). Oregon. Washington.	Kansas (1915).	Colorado (1917). District of Columbia. Kansas (1915). Wisconsin.	Texas.

If the commissions do issue special licenses, they must conform to certain principles. Seven States—Colorado, the District of Columbia, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nebraska, and Oregon—provide for special licenses only in those industries or occupations where minimum-time rates alone are set. The remaining five States grant their commissions power to give a special license to a woman in any occupation coming under a minimum-wage decree. Every State provides that the commission must set the rate of pay allowed each licensee, that rate to be commensurate with the individual woman's earning power. Two States—California and Texas—allow a license to run only six months, though such a license may be renewed any number of times. Three States have limited the number of licenses that the commission may grant: Colorado and Minnesota set the limit at one-tenth of the total number of employees in any establishment; the Texas law based its limit on an industry as a unit and allowed 10 per cent of the employees in a given industry special licenses. As Texas granted the commission power to issue special licenses to any persons subject to the act, this would seem to allow one manufacturing establishment to have all special licenses, provided the whole manufacturing industry in the State did not exceed the 10 per cent allowed of employees on special licenses.

The actual provisions for special licenses made in the law are important largely because they show that the legislatures wished the commissions to give still another group special treatment. The details required are so general that the real test of this plan comes in the way in which the commissions have treated the special licenses, and this will be discussed in a later section of the report.

#### RELATION OF ORDERS TO SIZE OF COMMUNITY

Since the wage orders to be issued by the various commissions were to be based on the cost of living, and since it was generally believed that this cost might vary from place to place in a State, according to whether rural or urban, several of the laws have met

this problem by giving the commissions power to vary the rates for different localities. Four States—Colorado (1915), Kansas, Minnesota, and Oregon—provided originally that the commissions in setting wage rates might issue separate orders for different localities if they considered this course justified by different conditions. In 1917 Colorado failed to reenact this provision. The Kansas law is very ambiguous and hard to interpret. It says (1915 and 1921) “that such board may recommend [establish, 1921] different minima hours and standards for each class in an occupation of different localities in the State.” This was interpreted by the attorney general of Kansas, April 4, 1916, to give the commission power to vary minima standards for the same occupation in different localities. In 1920, however, the attorney general of the State ruled (March 25) that this clause did not give the commission such power and that a minimum standard established in a given occupation must be state-wide. Between the dates of the two opinions, however, the Kansas commission had promulgated (1918) an order establishing wage rates for the telephone industry, in which the minimum rate increased according to the population of the community. This order was still in force when the State supreme court declared the entire law unconstitutional. In addition to the laws whose language expressly indicates that orders may be varied according to the size or the location of the community affected, Wisconsin provides that the commission may “determine and fix reasonable classifications,” a provision that has been interpreted to mean a classification of localities as well as of persons and of occupations and industries. The Wisconsin commission has taken advantage of this provision in its orders, as have Minnesota and Oregon of the definite provisions in their respective laws. Minnesota and Wisconsin have state-wide orders for all industries, with one wage rate for towns of 5,000 or more population and a lower rate for towns of less than 5,000. Oregon in its first orders differentiated all its rates according to the size of the community; now it does so only in its telegraph and telephone order.

The remaining States have no express provisions in their laws that give them power to classify wage rates according to locality, but only four States—California, the District of Columbia, Massachusetts, and Texas—have never made a difference in wage rates according to the size of the community. There is, of course, no question of rural and urban costs in the District of Columbia, the District being practically the same as the city of Washington. In Texas, however, the stumbling block that prevented the minimum-wage commission's putting into force its state-wide order was this very question of varying the wage rates for different districts in the State. The attorney general of Texas in two rulings (October 11, 1919, and January 7, 1920) held that the commission had no authority under the law as written to zone or district the State and to promulgate a wage by district in accordance with the cost of living in such district as disclosed by investigation. So great was the opposition in Texas to a flat rate for country districts and large cities that the legislature repealed the law. California and Massachusetts, then, remain as the only States presenting the contrast of urban and rural communities which have not considered that wage rates should vary with the size of the community.

In three other States—Arkansas, North Dakota, and Washington—some decrees have provided varying terms for different localities, though there was no express provision in the law authorizing this step. Arkansas has made a special order for mercantile establishments in Fort Smith and Little Rock; North Dakota has established rates in its telephone and telegraph decree different for towns of 1,800 population and over and towns of under 1,800. In its telephone and telegraph orders (1914–1922) Washington has exempted minor messengers in rural communities and cities of less than 3,000 population. In Arkansas an opinion of the attorney general of the State (July 29, 1920) held that the commission might set wage minima varying for different localities. In Washington, however, the attorney general of that State ruled that any order fixing a minimum wage must be general throughout the State as to a particular trade or industry affected (October 14, 1913)—a ruling that would seem to preclude the course followed in the telephone and telegraph order. In North Dakota no ruling has been issued on this point. In the varying opinions of attorneys general in Arkansas and Washington, when considering essentially similar phraseology, the lack of uniformity in the application of minimum-wage laws is illustrated.

Outside Texas, how important has been the actual question of varying wage rates within one occupation is hard to determine. To-day only two States, Minnesota and Wisconsin, are using to any extent the principle of lower rates for small communities. Wisconsin, it is true, enacted its first "all industries" order (1919) with a flat rate for the State, but this was changed in 1921 to the present order setting separate rates for large and small communities, a reversal of procedure which suggests that the flat rate did not take care of possible differences in the cost of living. The great majority of orders setting varying rates, however, have been in telephone and telegraph. Kansas, North Dakota, and Washington have never applied this principle to any other group. Oregon has given up using this differentiation for all industries except telephone and telegraph. The two largest industrial States, California and Massachusetts, have never made a distinction in any industry between places of varying population. The consensus of opinion in these States would seem to be that differences in the cost of living between communities of different size are not great enough to result in separate orders for the small and for the large communities.

#### SUMMARY

The importance of the sections of the laws discussed in the preceding pages lies in the fact that they define the fields within which the commissions may exercise their powers and perform their duties. The scope they indicate is broad, and the division of groups which they allow gives the commissions power to regulate dissimilar groups with fairness to all. It is possible at any one time that the laws, due to incomplete or faulty operation, may seem to deal unfairly with some individuals, industries, or localities, but this condition should not be confused with inadequacy in the actual terms of the laws. All industries or occupations are included in the laws. If it can be proved that, in any given instance, minors, apprentices, or substand-

ard workers should be treated differently from normal adult women and differently from each other, the laws provide for so doing. In the face of statements advanced in some quarters to the effect that minimum-wage laws are so drastic as to make it impossible for individuals to get work or for firms in a given locality to exist, and possible for a specific industry to be discriminated against, it should be emphasized that the laws provide that special treatment may be given workers who vary from the normal, that in most States communities with certain conditions may be given special rulings if it seems necessary, and that a proper administration could include without prejudice practically every industry or occupation in the State.

## CHAPTER III.—ORGANIZATION OF ADMINISTERING AND ENFORCING AGENCIES

To understand the effectiveness of any minimum-wage law the first thing that must be discussed is the composition and powers of the body that enforces the law. In practically all these States a new board or commission was created in the original act providing for the setting of rates. The membership of this body was carefully defined by the law, and its powers and duties were outlined in great detail.<sup>1</sup>

As the earliest minimum-wage bodies were created, there was a striking similarity in the membership required. During the period in which the laws have been in force, however, many changes have been made; the tendency in such changes quite generally has been to do away with the commissions created specifically to administer the minimum-wage law and intrust this administration to State commissions established to administer all, or almost all, the labor laws of the State. This has led to a wide diversity of organization in the bodies that are now responsible for minimum-wage administration. The following table gives in detail the membership of these boards during the period in which the laws have been in force.

TABLE 6.—*Organization of commissions as provided in the laws, by State and year*

State and year	Name of agency	Number of members	Special qualifications of members	Method of appointing members	Length of time in office	Compensation
Arkansas: 1915.....	Minimum wage and maximum hour commission.	3	(1) Commissioner of labor (man). (2 and 3) 2 women.	(1) By the governor. (2) Woman by the governor. (3) Woman by the commissioner of labor.	I n d e - t e r m i - n a t e .	None for work on this commission.
1921.....	Industrial welfare commission.	5	(1) Commissioner of labor (man). (2 and 3) 1 man and 1 woman representing employers. (4 and 5) 1 man and 1 woman representing employees.	(1) By the governor; (2 to 5) 1 man and 1 woman by the governor, 1 man and 1 woman by the commissioner of labor.	2 years...	None for work on this commission.
California, 1913.	Industrial welfare commission.	5	1 member a woman	By the governor...	4 years...	\$10 per diem when engaged on official duties. Traveling expenses.

<sup>1</sup> For the purpose of brevity the bodies that administer and enforce minimum-wage laws, though their titles differ widely (see Table 6), are called minimum-wage commissions throughout this report.

TABLE 6.—Organization of commissions as provided in the laws, by State and year—Continued

State and year	Name of agency	Number of members	Special qualifications of members	Method of appointing members	Length of time in office	Compensation
Colorado: 1913.....	State wage board	3	(1) At least 1 a representative of labor. (2) At least 1 a woman. (3) At least 1 an employer of women.	By the governor...	2 years...	Traveling and incidental expenses.
1917.....	Industrial commission.	3	(1) Not more than 1 representative of employers. (2) Not more than 1 representative of employees. Not more than 2 members from same political party.	By the governor by and with the advice and consent of the senate.	6 years...	\$4,000 per annum. Actual expenses.
District of Columbia, 1918.	Minimum wage board.	3	As far as practicable— (1) 1 representative of the employees. (2) 1 representative of the employers. (3) 1 representative of the public.	By the Commissioners of the District.	3 years...	None.
Kansas: 1915.....	Industrial welfare commission.	3	(1) Commissioner of labor. (2) At least 1 member a woman. No relative by blood or marriage of the commissioner of labor, any State officer, or any member of any State board or commission. No two from same congressional district.	By the governor...	4 years...	Traveling and other necessary expenses.
1921.....	Court of industrial relations.	3	None.....	By the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate.	3 years...	\$5,000 per annum.
1925.....	Public service commission.	5	None.....	do.....	4 years...	\$4,500 per annum.
Massachusetts: 1912.....	Minimum wage commission.	3	1 member may be a woman.	By the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the council.	3 years...	\$10 per diem for each day's service. Traveling and other expenses.
1916.....	Minimum wage commission.	3	(1) 1 member an employer of female labor. (2) 1 member may be a woman. (3) 1 member a representative of labor.	do.....	do.....	\$10 per diem for each day's service. Traveling and other expenses.
1919.....	Board of conciliation and arbitration. (Comprises associate commissioners of the department of labor and industries.)	3	(1) 1 member a representative of labor. (2) 1 member a representative of employers of labor.	do.....	do.....	Not to exceed \$4,000 per annum. Traveling and other expenses



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TABLE 6.—Organization of commissions as provided in the laws, by State and year—Continued

State and year	Name of agency	Number of members	Special qualifications of members	Method of appointing members	Length of time in office	Compensation
Minnesota: 1913.....	Minimum wage commission.	3	(1) The commissioner of labor. (2) 1 member an employer of women. (3) 1 member a woman.	By the governor....	2 years..	Traveling and other necessary expenses. Woman member to receive \$1,800 per annum for work as secretary.
1921.....	Industrial commission.	3	Not more than 2 members from same political party.	By the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate.	6 years..	\$4,500 per annum. Traveling and other necessary expenses.
Nebraska, 1913.	Minimum wage commission.	4	(1) The governor... (2) The deputy commissioner of labor. (3) A member of the political science department of the University of Nebraska. (4) A citizen of the State. At least 1 member a woman.	By the governor....	2 years..	Traveling and other expenses.
North Dakota: 1919.....	Workmen's compensation bureau (in the department of agriculture and labor).	3	1 member, the commissioner of labor.	...do.....	5 years..	\$2,500 per annum. Expenses.
1921.....	Workmen's compensation bureau (in the department of agriculture and labor).	5	(1) 1 member, the commissioner of agriculture and labor. (2) insurance commissioner. (3) 1 member, a representative of labor. (4) 1 member a representative of the public.	...do.....	...do..	\$2,500 per annum. Expenses.
Oregon, 1913.	Industrial welfare commission.	3	(1) 1 member represents the interests of the employing class. (2) 1 member represents the interests of the employed class. (3) 1 member represents the public.	...do.....	3 years..	Necessary expenses.
Texas, 1919...	Industrial welfare commission.	3	(1) Head of the bureau of labor statistics. (2) Representative of employers on the industrial accident board. (3) State superintendent of public instruction.	(1 and 2) By the governor. (3) Elected by the people.	(1) 2 years. (2) 6 years. (3) 2 years.	None for work on this commission.

TABLE 6.—*Organization of commissions as provided in the laws, by State and year—Continued*

State and year	Name of agency	Number of members	Special qualifications of members	Method of appointing members	Length of time in office	Compensation
Washington: 1913.....	Industrial welfare commission.	5	(1) Commissioner of labor. No member to have been a member of a manufacturers' or employers' association nor a labor union in five years.	By the governor....	4 years...	Expenses.
1921.....	Industrial welfare committee (in the department of labor and industries).	5	(1) The director of labor and industries. (2) The supervisor of industrial insurance. (3) The supervisor of industrial relations. (4) The industrial statistician. (5) The supervisor of women in industry.	(1) By the governor with the consent of the senate. (2 and 3) By the director of labor and industries. (4 and 5) By the supervisor of industrial relations with the consent of the director.	(1) Pleasure of governor. (2 to 5) <sup>1</sup>	(1) \$7,500 per annum. (2 to 5) <sup>1</sup>
Wisconsin, 1913. <sup>2</sup>	Industrial commission.	3	None.....	By the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate.	6 years...	\$5,000 per annum. Actual expenses.

<sup>1</sup> Not specified in law and could not be obtained from the department.

<sup>2</sup> Date of minimum-wage law; commission was established in 1911.

Originally only North Dakota and Wisconsin intrusted the enforcement of their new minimum-wage laws to bodies created to administer and enforce other labor laws. Of the remaining 11 States, Arkansas, California, the District of Columbia, Nebraska, Oregon, and Texas retained specially created commissions as long as the laws remained in existence, and Colorado, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, and Washington abolished similar commissions and gave the administration to the bodies that were enforcing all or almost all the labor laws.<sup>2</sup> This last is a very important step, and it deserves consideration in forming an opinion as to whether minimum-wage administration has been strengthened during the 13 years such laws have been on the statute books by being more efficiently handled at the end of that period than at the beginning.

There has been a tendency to subordinate minimum-wage administration and enforcement to other State activities by placing it as a subdivision of a department with multitudinous other duties. In the five States—Colorado, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, and Washington—that have abolished the independent commissions; in the two States—North Dakota and Wisconsin—that never created independent commissions to handle minimum wage; and in Texas and Nebraska, which created independent commissions of three State employees with positions in other fields requiring their full-time

<sup>2</sup> The Nebraska and Texas laws have been repealed, the Arkansas, Kansas, and District of Columbia laws have been declared unconstitutional, and the Colorado commission has never functioned as a minimum-wage commission.

attention, it would seem that this work could not fare so well as under a body interested only in minimum-wage work. In the following paragraphs the work accomplished by both types of commission is summarized in an effort to see whether or not consolidation has resulted in lessened activity.

In Colorado, for example, where no minimum-wage decrees have ever been issued, the consolidation of the original wage board with the industrial commission which was already busy with the workmen's compensation law probably was largely responsible for the law becoming a dead letter. Both laws (1913 and 1917) carried a provision for a minimum-wage secretary to administer and enforce the law. Under the wage board created in the 1913 law, this secretary started investigating wages and cost of living so that minimum-wage decrees might be issued. The facts obtained through this work were published in the first report of the wage board.<sup>3</sup> Since the consolidation the legislature has continued to appropriate a yearly salary for the secretary, yet the annual report of the industrial commission shows only two instances of any work on minimum wage. In 1917 the industrial commission reported: "Since the appointment of the [minimum-wage] secretary she has been steadily engaged in collecting information and data from the other States of the Union, in all matters which might be of value or interest to the commission in the performance of the duties devolved upon it by this [minimum-wage] statute. The commission, not having sufficient help to take care of the enormous increase of business in the compensation, industrial departments, and State fund, has been able to use all the spare time of the secretary of the wage commission in important statistical and listing work, necessary for its other departments."<sup>4</sup> Six years later, in 1923, the commission reports that it is conducting an investigation of the wages of women and minors in all the large cities and towns in the State and will publish the results in the annual report for 1924.<sup>5</sup> In the years between these two reports, the commission continued to ask for more money to administer minimum wage but reported no activity in this field on the part of the minimum-wage secretary. Presumably her whole time was devoted to the more pressing workmen's compensation work, for in 1922 it was stated that "the commission has not had sufficient appropriation to properly carry on its work under the compensation law and the industrial relations law and has not been able to divert any of the appropriation for such purposes to the minimum-wage department."<sup>6</sup>

The picture these quotations make clear is a commission to whom minimum wage is a minor job. The members of the commission are not unfriendly, but they have a full-time job in the workmen's compensation law, to which they must add the administration of the industrial-relations law and then that of the minimum-wage law. Their appropriations are not large in relation to the work they must accomplish, and the part- or whole-time services of the minimum-wage secretary, who has no wage decrees to enforce, may be used to good effect on the workmen's compensation work. If the minimum-

<sup>3</sup> Colorado State Wage Board. First report, 1914.

<sup>4</sup> Colorado Industrial Commission. Second report, Dec. 1, 1917-Dec. 1, 1918, p. 127.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* Seventh report, Dec. 1, 1922-Dec. 1, 1923, p. 176.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* Sixth report, Dec. 1, 1921-Dec. 1, 1922, p. 173.

wage law were being enforced by a board that had no other State work, the secretary's full time and the board's full time while on duty naturally would have been used in developing this law. It seems probable that even with such a small appropriation, a keenly interested group could have succeeded in establishing some minimum-wage rates. As it is there is always other pressing work to be attended to by the commission, and even the minimum-wage secretary is not free to further minimum wage.

In Kansas the continued subordination of the minimum-wage work to other State activities has not caused a cessation of work as it has done in Colorado. The history of the Kansas law after the consolidation probably was influenced by the impetus the law received during the relatively long period in which it was administered by an independent commission. For over six years (1915 to 1921) the industrial welfare commission, handling only the women's labor laws, administered the minimum-wage law and covered most of the important woman-employing industries with wage decrees. In 1921 the industrial welfare commission was abolished and the work of administering and enforcing this law was given to the court of industrial relations, which had been created a short time before. This court had multitudinous duties. It was to hear and settle finally all labor disputes within the State and to enforce all the labor laws of Kansas, including the minimum-wage law. Fortunately the court of industrial relations created a woman's division, for which was retained the same personnel as comprised the executive staff of the industrial welfare commission. This division carried on enforcement and investigations which led to a reissuing of three decrees with slightly increased rates. In the four years in which the industrial court was responsible for minimum-wage administration not only were no new decrees issued, so that no more women benefited by the law, but not even an extension of wage investigations was undertaken in new fields. Moreover, in 1925 a further consolidation took place. A public service commission was created to take over the work of the court of industrial relations, the public utilities commission, and the tax commission. If minimum wage was only a relatively small part of the work of the industrial court, how much smaller a part it was when compared to the remainder of the work of the public service commission. A commission that has to regulate all public utilities in the State, to develop plans of taxation, and to administer all labor laws can not be expected to have among its five members an expert in each of these many and diverse fields. The work is done by subordinates, who, no matter how great their interest, have no power to advance or extend minimum-wage rates except through their influencing the already burdened commissioners to take up such problems. It seems significant that no new industries have been covered by decrees since the industrial welfare commission was abolished.

In Massachusetts a consolidation in December, 1919, of all the various State bureaus dealing with labor abolished the minimum-wage commission and gave all its powers and duties to the board of conciliation and arbitration, a division within the newly created department of labor and industries. The three members of this board are the three men associate commissioners of the department

of labor and industries. They serve primarily as a board of conciliation and arbitration. Their next duty is to act in an advisory capacity to the commissioner on all matters coming under the jurisdiction of the department. When any serious labor trouble arises, weeks may elapse during which the board devotes its entire time to conciliation and arbitration. Once again minimum-wage matters must be crowded into spare minutes. They are handled by a group none of whom were appointed to administer minimum wage, the intention being that they should act as conciliators, and be advisers to an executive. The records show that the board has extended little, if at all, the field in which the minimum-wage law is operative. The number of decrees issued since the consolidation of the several bureaus in 1919 is 20, but only 5 of these are in industries not previously covered by orders issued when the law was administered by an independent board. As in Kansas, the executive end of this work has remained in the hands of the same personnel and enforcement has gone on in much the same manner as before the consolidation. Decrees whose wage rates no longer represented the cost of living have been reissued, but little progress has been made in extending the minimum wage to more women.

In Minnesota the change from the independent minimum-wage commission to the industrial commission, as the agency responsible for enforcement, has produced a condition similar to that already described for three States. The situation is analogous to that in Kansas and Massachusetts, for the original minimum-wage commission had established a state-wide decree for all woman wage earners before the consolidation took place. Since that time, however, minimum wage has been administered and enforced by people who have enforcing power but no authority to extend or alter administrative policies. They are subordinates to a commission whose time is taken up in administering labor laws that affect large groups of men and women workers, such as the workmen's compensation law particularly. Actually the work of enforcing minimum wage is done by the division of women and children, all the employees in which are appointed by the commission, though they have civil-service status. This division also enforces all labor laws applying specifically to women and children. As far as the industrial commission is concerned, it has simply allowed minimum-wage administration to go along much the same lines as previously. Although it became effective almost five years ago, the last order issued by the minimum-wage commission and which was reissued by the industrial commission six months later (July, 1921) still remains in force.

In Washington the consolidation took the form of giving the administration and enforcement of the minimum-wage law to an industrial-welfare committee, composed of the director of labor and industries and four subordinates. Two of these, the supervisor of industrial insurance and the supervisor of industrial relations, are appointed by the director to be division heads. The other two members, the industrial statistician and the supervisor of women in industry, are appointed by the supervisor of industrial relations, with the consent of the director, to aid him in the specific fields indicated by their titles. Of this committee, then, only one was appointed

to look after the interests of woman wage earners. As has been the case in the other States, the minimum wage becomes a task to be attended to in the minutes that can be spared from other full-time work. This group, which by its very composition can not be primarily interested in minimum wage nor have expert knowledge of its problems and needs, nevertheless holds the responsibility for its administration and enforcement. The actual enforcement is done by the supervisor of women in industry, whose position seems at first glance somewhat better than the executive officers' in the other States where consolidation has taken place, since she is the only one who is a member of the commission. However, when her responsibility to the supervisor of industrial relations and to the director is realized (the supervisor of women in industry is appointed as an aid to the supervisor of industrial relations), it becomes apparent that in case of a difference of opinion she must conform to their wishes. The effect of this consolidation probably is shown by the fact that no new industries have been included in the decrees; that no investigations of wages have been made to see whether or not new orders might be necessary; and that the only orders that have been issued since this committee was organized are those issued in 1921 to take the place of war orders that lapsed when the peace treaty with Germany was signed.

Thus in all the States where consolidation has taken place minimum-wage work seems to have slowed down. Administration shows this more clearly than does enforcement, since the commission must be the moving force in most administrative problems. In general it may be said that enforcement of minimum-wage decrees depends on a good executive officer with a sufficient appropriation and reliable assistants. An unfriendly commission can, of course, hamper this work, but an uninterested commission does relatively little harm to enforcement of existing decrees provided the executive is interested and able. It is in the administrative field that so much harm can be done.

Moreover, it is much harder under consolidation for citizens who are interested to remedy bad conditions. Public attention can not be focused on a commission's failure to set minimum-wage decrees where it is performing a multitude of other tasks, as it could have been on an independent commission if it failed to put the minimum-wage law into full operation. Nor can the commission be said to be wholly derelict in its duty to the citizens of the State as long as it administers effectively the workmen's compensation law or other labor laws intrusted to it, even though it devotes practically none of its time to minimum wage. The considerable appropriation which these units receive for all their work often obscures the fact that the sum is small when compared with the amount of work to be done, and that in such a case the law affecting the greatest number of workers—in all States the workmen's compensation law—will be bound to get the lion's share of the money. A very serious feature of this continued subordination of the group in charge of minimum-wage enforcement and administration is that often it leaves no one on these commissions who is vitally interested in minimum wage. This interest, which is known to affect a relatively small proportion of the State's citizens, and for the most part only its women citizens,

is practically never represented by an advocate and expert. Thus, both within the commission and outside it, friends of minimum wage are hampered in their efforts to advance the principle by this form of organization. Though at any one given time these subordinates who enforce the law may conduct their work and make their decisions in such a manner as to be in complete accord with the body that is finally responsible, in case of a difference of opinion the group that knows the situation is powerless, for all decisions rest in the hands of the commission which has other full-time jobs than minimum wage. As long as the executive office is content to mark time and to enforce the orders originally issued by the minimum-wage commissions and reissued by the industrial commissions, the weakness of this plan is not very apparent, though there is always the danger that the commission may not realize how important rigid enforcement is; but if an executive officer may wish to increase the rates, or to expand the field covered by decrees, or to strengthen existing decrees, it can only be done through the commission, whose time is otherwise occupied. The various points of this situation, discussed under each State that has intrusted minimum-wage administration to commissions created for other purposes, are possible evils not only in the specific State but in the others as well. If the personalities of the people on these commissions and of their executive assistants have partly overcome the situation—and this is the case in some States—it still has inherent difficulties. A change of personnel might absolutely stop all minimum-wage work because of lack of interest on the part of those in authority.

Minimum-wage legislation is an experiment, and nothing is so vital to its success as that each step taken be watched with the greatest care and modified when the results are not those anticipated and when economic changes produce new problems. It can not be successful when it is more or less neglected and left to run itself.

In North Dakota, Wisconsin, and Texas, minimum-wage enforcement and administration were assigned from the beginning to busy people. Though the records of these commissions compare favorably with those of many of the independent commissions, there are certain cases where lack of action on their part may be attributed to their concern with a multitude of other duties. Wisconsin took more than three and a half years after the law was enacted to issue its first decree. This delay may have been due in part to doubt of the law's constitutionality, but no case was brought in the Wisconsin courts to settle this difficulty. Even after this doubt seemingly was resolved in favor of the law by decisions in other State courts and the United States Supreme Court, it took the commission two years to enter a decree covering any considerable number of women, so that five years elapsed from the time the law was enacted until its effect was felt by the woman wage earners. A primary cause of this delay would seem to be the assigning of this power to a commission already interested in, and busy with, the enforcement of every other labor law in Wisconsin. North Dakota and Texas did enact decrees with reasonable promptness. The immediate repeal of the Texas law after the first decree was issued has made it impossible to judge how this type of commission would work out in practice. In North Dakota the number of decrees has been reduced since their original

issuance. It seems probable that a less busy commission might have retained all the original decrees even though changing conditions caused them to change the substance of the decrees. There is certainly nothing strikingly good in the record of these commissions when dealing with administration, to disprove the contention that minimum wage loses effectiveness when assigned to a multi-functioned commission. It still seems fair to say that in practically all cases minimum wage has made its greatest advances under independent commissions.

#### TYPE OF PERSONNEL

What actually has happened to the membership through these changes is shown by an earlier chart (p. 23). Though the personnel of the original boards changed very frequently, it is apparent that there was an attempt made to give women, the employing group, the employed group, and the general public representation on the body responsible for carrying out the provisions of the minimum-wage law. Moreover, the membership usually was three or five so that the impartial woman or public member would have the deciding vote on disputed questions.

#### Representation of women on commissions as provided in the laws.

Since the law applies to women, it seems particularly important to have their viewpoint represented on the commissions controlling the administration of the law, but the requirement that a woman should be one of the group intrusted with the enforcement of the law is by no means so widespread to-day as it was in 1913. The following table shows the exact status of women as members of commissions.

TABLE 7.—Representation of women on commissions as required by law

	Woman required	Woman suggested	Woman not mentioned
Original law.....	Arkansas. California. Colorado. Kansas. Minnesota. Nebraska.	Massachusetts.	District of Columbia. Oregon. North Dakota. Texas. Washington. Wisconsin.
Amended law.....	Arkansas. Washington.		Colorado. Kansas. Massachusetts. <sup>1</sup> Minnesota.
Status in spring of 1927....	Arkansas. California. Nebraska. Washington.		Colorado. District of Columbia. Kansas. Oregon. Massachusetts. Minnesota. North Dakota. Texas. Wisconsin.

<sup>1</sup> Two amendments to this section of the law; women lost representation on second amendment.



In six States—Arkansas, California, Colorado, Kansas, Minnesota, and Nebraska—the original law required that a woman be a member of the administering body. Massachusetts stated that one member might be a woman. The value of this, except as a hint to the governor in making his appointments, is not apparent, as women are not precluded from serving on those States' commissions where they are not specifically mentioned. In Oregon the industrial welfare commission and in the District of Columbia the minimum-wage board have never been required by law to include a woman. In Texas the commission was composed of one elected State official and two who were appointed, with no provision that any member must be a woman. The labor bodies in North Dakota and Wisconsin, to whom the administration of the minimum-wage laws was intrusted, were not required by their organic acts to have woman members. Moreover, the question of women on the commissions has been considerably changed by the process of doing away with special bodies and including minimum wage under general labor-law-enforcing organizations. When this occurred in Colorado, Kansas, Massachusetts, and Minnesota the requirement or suggestion that there be a woman in a position of authority on the body administering the minimum-wage law was lost. In Washington, due to the fact that the present law requires that the supervisor of women in industry, who is also a member of the minimum-wage committee, be a woman, and that the original law creating the minimum-wage commission did not require that one member be a woman, the change from the old law to the new meant that the law provided a more established place for women in the administration. In one case, then, women have gained a more secure position in taking part in minimum-wage administration; in four they have lost ground. The original position of the States gave women a sure representation in only six States, and they are now reduced to serving in one-third of the States that have laws.

#### **Representation of women on commissions in practice.**

The following table shows that more women have served on commissions than those whose appointments were made because of a requirement in the law. It also shows that where women have never had a representative is the various State commissions that were created primarily to administer general State labor laws and secondarily were assigned minimum-wage enforcement and administration.

TABLE 8.—*Sex of persons serving as members of the various commissions, by State*

State and name of commission	Number of members		Period of service <sup>1</sup>
	Women	Men	
<b>Arkansas:</b>			
Minimum wage and maximum hour commission.....	2	1	1915-1921
Industrial welfare commission.....	2	3	1921-
<b>California: Industrial welfare commission.....</b>	1	4	1913-
<b>Colorado:</b>			
State wage board.....	2	1	1914-1917
Industrial welfare commission.....		3	1917-
District of Columbia: Minimum wage board.....	1	2	1918-1923
<b>Kansas:</b>			
Industrial welfare commission.....	1	2	1915-1921
Court of industrial relations.....		3	1921-1925
Public service commission.....		6	1925-
<b>Massachusetts:</b>			
Minimum wage commission.....	1	2	1913-1919
Division of minimum wage (in the department of labor and industries).....		3	1919-
<b>Minnesota:</b>			
Minimum wage commission.....	1	2	1913-1921
Industrial commission.....		3	1921-
<b>Nebraska: Minimum wage commission<sup>2</sup>.....</b>		3	1919-1920
<b>North Dakota: Workmen's compensation bureau.....</b>		5	1920-
<b>Oregon: Industrial welfare commission.....</b>	1	2	1913-
<b>Texas: Industrial welfare commission.....</b>	1	2	1919-1921
<b>Washington:</b>			
Industrial welfare commission.....	3	2	1913-1915
	2	2	1915-1918
	1	2	1918-1919
	3	2	1919-1920
	4	1	1920-1921
Industrial welfare committee.....	1	4	1921-
<b>Wisconsin: Industrial commission.....</b>		3	1913-

<sup>1</sup> In many cases 1 man or woman has served for the entire period specified; in other cases this period represents the combined terms of several members of the same sex.

<sup>2</sup> Though some members of commission were designated in the law, no information is available to show that they ever performed any services as minimum-wage commissioners.

The District of Columbia, Massachusetts, Oregon, Texas, and Washington all have had women members on their minimum-wage commissions, though such appointments were not required in their laws. As there has been no woman appointed to the Massachusetts commission since the consolidation act of 1919, when women as members of the minimum-wage commission were not mentioned, the provision in the original law for the recognition of women's interests was of distinct value. The fact that Texas had a woman member is not significant, since it occurred only because the elective State school officer, who was designated by the law to serve as a member of the commission, happened at the time to be a woman. In the four other States having woman members, however, their voluntary appointment meant much. This table illustrates clearly that consolidations that have put enforcement under agencies not primarily interested in minimum wage have removed from authoritative positions the group that has done the most to further minimum-wage legislation. The various minimum-wage laws almost invariably have had the support of women's organizations, who have felt them to be vitally necessary and who have made first their passage and then their adequate administration the organizations' concern. In practically every State some woman who has served on the minimum-

wage commission stands out as the person whose interest and zeal have carried the commission on to extend the law to varied industrial groups, to change decrees as shifting living costs have made such action necessary, and to make such decrees a real force in the State. It is, therefore, more than the added press of duties which has resulted in many States in a curtailment of minimum-wage activities. After consolidation the women connected with minimum wage were no longer in positions carrying real power, nor were they able to keep in such close touch with the members; they were subordinates now, not equals. It may seem that undue emphasis is placed on this point, but it is an influence that must be considered when analyzing why some States have slackened in their early efforts at making minimum wage a live force and why other States have never really put their laws into effect.

**Representation of labor on commissions required by law.**

It has been more generally recognized that labor's viewpoint should have a representative on the minimum-wage commissions than that women should have a representative. Moreover, the various amendments doing away with specific minimum-wage commissions have intrusted the enforcement to State bodies organized to enforce other labor laws and for this reason already required to have a labor member. The following table gives in detail the labor representation:

TABLE 9.—Representation of labor on commissions as required by law

	Labor representative required	Chief of State labor bureau required	Labor representation not mentioned	Organized labor representation forbidden
Original law.....	Colorado. District of Columbia. Oregon.	Arkansas. Kansas. Minnesota. Nebraska. North Dakota. Texas. Washington.	California. Massachusetts. Wisconsin.	Washington.
Amended law.....	Arkansas. Colorado. Massachusetts. <sup>1</sup> North Dakota.	Arkansas. North Dakota. Washington.	Kansas. Minnesota.	
Status in spring of 1927.	Arkansas. Colorado. District of Columbia. Massachusetts North Dakota. Oregon.	Arkansas. Nebraska. North Dakota. Texas. Washington.	California. Kansas. Minnesota. Wisconsin.	

<sup>1</sup> Two amendments; the second made no change on this point.

Only Colorado, the District of Columbia, and Oregon originally required a labor representative on the minimum-wage commission. Though Colorado changed from having a special board to having the law enforced by the State industrial commission, this commission was required to have a labor member. In Arkansas, Massachusetts, and North Dakota labor representatives were required in amend-

ments to the original law. The proportion of States requiring labor representation seems small, however, unless there are included the States that make the chief of the State labor bureau a member of the commission. This official, who enforces the labor laws and whose primary interest is the welfare of the wage earners, usually was considered to give them sufficient representation, so he was appointed as the representative of labor by some legislatures that required such a person on the minimum-wage commission. Seven States—Arkansas, Kansas, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, Texas, and Washington—made this requirement in their original law. Kansas and Minnesota have abolished this State office since the laws first were enacted, and the bodies that now administer the minimum-wage laws are not bound to have any representative of labor. Washington alone, of all the States, considered that in order to keep its minimum-wage commission strictly unbiased it was necessary that special groups should not be represented, though the chief of the State labor bureau was required. This prohibition, however, was dropped in the reorganization. The head of the State labor department still must serve on the commission. On the whole, labor has retained its representation on the body enforcing the minimum-wage law better than have women. The losses in Kansas and Minnesota have been more than offset by gains in Arkansas, Massachusetts, and North Dakota. Moreover, Arkansas and North Dakota now have provided for both a representative of labor and the chief of the labor bureau on the minimum-wage commission. Two-thirds of the States must have labor representation on their commissions.

#### **Representation of labor on commissions in practice.**

The representatives of labor, as a group, have played a much less active part in minimum-wage work than have women as a group, and labor has had few direct representatives on the commissions except where the law required that there be a labor member. On the original commissions which handled only minimum wage their representation usually was confined to the chief of the State labor bureau (Arkansas 1915, Kansas, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, Texas, Washington) or to a woman who represented both labor and women (Arkansas 1919, District of Columbia, Massachusetts, Oregon). California originally had a man serving on the commission solely as its labor representative, but this member later became also the chief of the State labor bureau. The presence of woman labor representatives seems particularly desirable, since it means that all final decisions are passed upon by a person who knows the problems of the very group to which the law applies. In this general movement toward consolidation the representation of the women in the labor group has lost out and the representation of labor in general has gained, as the laws show. Actually the practice of appointing labor representatives on these commissions (both the industrial and the minimum-wage commissions) has been general and has increased in about the same ratio as have the requirements of the laws. In Kansas and Minnesota labor has been represented on the commission though these laws do not specifically require it.

The labor representatives in office now, however, not only are less expert in women's problems but, due to the various consolidations, can give only part of their attention to this phase of the work.

**Representation of employers on commissions as required by law and in practice.**

The third group of individuals generally felt to be so vitally interested in the administration and enforcement of the minimum-wage laws that they should be represented on the commissions, is the employers. The following table shows in how far the law has assured them of this representation:

TABLE 10.—Representation of employers on commissions as required by law

	Employer representative required	Employer representation not mentioned	Organized employer representation forbidden
Original law.....	Colorado. <sup>1</sup> District of Columbia. Minnesota. Oregon. Texas.	Arkansas. California. Kansas. Massachusetts. Nebraska. North Dakota. Wisconsin.	Washington.
Amended law.....	Arkansas. <sup>2</sup> Colorado. Massachusetts. <sup>2</sup>	Minnesota.	
Status in spring of 1927..	Arkansas. Colorado. District of Columbia. Massachusetts. Oregon. Texas.	California. Kansas. Minnesota. Nebraska. North Dakota. Washington. Wisconsin.	

<sup>1</sup> Employer of female labor.

<sup>2</sup> One must be a woman.

<sup>3</sup> Two amendments: the first required an employer of female labor; the second made no change on this point.

Five States—Colorado, the District of Columbia, Minnesota, Oregon, and Texas—established the principle in their original laws that employers must be represented on the commissions. Washington, following its idea of absolute impartiality, originally did not allow members of employers' associations to serve; in the present law representation is not required but it is not forbidden. As an amendment to their original laws Arkansas and Massachusetts provided for the representation of employers on their commissions and Minnesota dropped its requirement. In practice, one member of the California Industrial Welfare Commission and of the commission in Minnesota and in North Dakota always has been appointed to represent the employers. Though to-day less than 50 per cent of the minimum-wage States provide by law that the employers must be represented on the commissions, when this group is compared with the labor group and the women group it is realized that the employers, in their relation to the other two, have gained in representation required by law during the years the laws have been in force. Moreover, in only one State have the employers lost ground in the law but not in

the practice, while labor has lost its required representation in two States and women have lost it in four. Though these movements seem slight, they must be noted in considering the tendencies in minimum-wage administration to-day as contrasted with the early days of the commissions' existence.

#### **Representation of the public on commissions.**

A few States have felt that every commission should include a member specifically designated to represent the public as a whole. Nebraska, Oregon, and the District of Columbia made this provision in their original laws. North Dakota added a public member in amending its law. The majority of the States seem to have considered that guaranteeing this representation was less important than guaranteeing representation to the three groups more directly concerned. In practice, at least one member of all these commissions was appointed to serve as an impartial representative of the public.

#### **Representation of political parties on commissions.**

The political affiliations of the members of the commissions usually have not been emphasized. One of the changes that have come about through the amendments making the bodies in charge of all State labor laws responsible for minimum-wage administration is the consideration of political affiliation in making appointments. Two States, Colorado and Minnesota, provide that not more than two of the three members of their industrial commissions may belong to the same political party. This considering appointments as political was quite foreign to all the original laws. The real difference undoubtedly is that the early laws rarely provided any salary for the members of the commissions, so that appointment to these positions was not sought by persons who felt that they should be rewarded for loyal party service.

#### **Summary.**

The rules laid down by the State legislatures for selecting the type of persons eligible for service on minimum-wage commissions have been subjected to considerable change during the years the laws have been in operation. In general, women, the workers, the employers, and the public still are designated as the ones to serve. Women, however, have lost ground; the workers have made some gains and sustained some losses, but are about as well represented to-day as when the original laws were passed; the employers have held all their original appointments and gained a few others; the public has gained one representative. The question of political representation has been introduced. It is questionable whether the laws to-day provide for as impartial and informed membership as they did when first enacted. Certainly women—the group most interested in passing the laws and in seeing that they worked well, since they were the group affected—have been the one group to lose place on the administering bodies.

The tendency to emphasize the importance of employer representation and to consider that a general labor representative was an

adequate spokesman for woman labor has been even more marked in practice than in the laws. When they were organized, 10 of the 13 minimum-wage commissions—Arkansas, California, Colorado, District of Columbia, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Oregon, Texas, and Washington—had women members. Exactly half of these—Colorado, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, and Texas—have been replaced by men. The 3 other States—Nebraska, North Dakota, and Wisconsin—have never had any women on their commissions. The 10 States where women have served have produced outstanding examples of active minimum-wage administration and enforcement. In Colorado, where no decrees ever have been issued, the original minimum-wage board with its woman member had barely two years in office. The work of investigation begun by this board was never used nor continued by the industrial commission. In California and in the District of Columbia (until the law was declared unconstitutional) there is a record of continuous activity and one of continuous service of a woman commissioner. In Massachusetts and Minnesota there is a record of activity in both administration and enforcement, followed by a period of relative inaction in administration, though enforcement continued at as high or even at a higher level, which corresponds to the time when there was and the time since there has not been a woman member on the commission. Consolidation probably has harmed minimum-wage activities most by removing from positions of authority the group most keenly interested in the law's successful expansion. It has made minimum wage a minor concern of a busy commission, a fact shown in the fewer decrees issued and the lessened activities in investigation.

#### METHOD OF MAKING APPOINTMENTS

As the minimum-wage laws originally were enacted they practically all provided that the governor of the State<sup>7</sup> should appoint all commission members. The only exceptions to this were that one member of the Texas Industrial Welfare Commission was an elected State officer and that in Nebraska the governor himself was one of the members. In some cases, however, the governor's appointments had to be confirmed by an elected State body, specifically by the council in Massachusetts and the senate in Wisconsin. As the commissions which attended only to minimum-wage problems were abolished and their work was intrusted to general State labor commissions, it is interesting to note that legislative influence on the appointments to these paid positions seemed more important to the legislators. Colorado, Kansas, and Minnesota joined Wisconsin in requiring the confirmation of appointments by the State senate. In Arkansas and Washington amendments introduced the chief of the

<sup>7</sup> District of Columbia members were appointed by the District Commissioners. These men hold a position in the District roughly corresponding to that of the governor in a State.

State labor department as an appointing officer. The following table shows exactly where the power of making appointments lies:

TABLE 11.—Provisions in the laws regulating the selection of commission members, by State

State	Total membership of commission	Number of appointments made by—				Elected
		Governor	Governor and senate	Governor and council	Chief of State labor bureau	
Arkansas:						
1915.....	3	2			1	
1921.....	5	3			2	
California.....	5	5				
Colorado:						
1913.....	3	3				
1917.....	3		3			
District of Columbia.....	3	1	3			
Kansas:						
1915.....	3	3				
1921.....	3		3			
Massachusetts.....	3			3		
Minnesota:						
1913.....	3	3				
1921.....	3		3			
Nebraska.....	4	3				1
North Dakota:						
1919.....	3	3				
1921.....	5	5				
Oregon.....	3	3				
Texas.....	3	2				1
Washington:						
1913.....	5	5				
1921.....	5		1		2	
Wisconsin.....	3		3			

<sup>1</sup> Appointments made by District Commissioners, practically same as governor.

<sup>2</sup> Other two members appointed by supervisor of industrial relations, one of the members of the minimum-wage committee appointed by the head of the State labor bureau.

### COMPENSATION PROVIDED FOR SERVICES ON COMMISSIONS

The question of salaries paid members of commissions, like the method of the members' appointment, is important only as it bears on the type of person attracted to the work. Service on a commission dealing only with the minimum wage has never been considered a full-time job, and in most cases it has been considered as service that should be given voluntarily by interested citizens. In their original laws California and Massachusetts provided that the commissioners should be paid \$10 per diem for time spent on the work. The only other cases where all the members of the commission received remuneration from the State were when the commissions were responsible not only for minimum wage but for all, or almost all, the labor laws in the State. This was the situation established by the original laws in North Dakota and Wisconsin and brought about by the amendments abolishing the separate commissions in Colorado, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, and Washington. These salaries, however, were established in all cases, except in Massachusetts and Washington, before the commissions were given minimum-wage en-



forcement, and these salaries were not increased when minimum-wage enforcement was added to the duties required. In Massachusetts and Washington the bodies enforcing minimum wage are composed of members of the State labor departments who are paid for their general services. In Texas and Nebraska the members of the minimum-wage commissions were regular State officials in widely varied lines of work, but they were not given any added remuneration for their minimum-wage services. Originally Arkansas, Colorado, the District of Columbia, Kansas, and Oregon provided no salaries for minimum-wage services, and Arkansas, the District of Columbia, and Oregon have never changed this position. Many of the States have provided that the commissioners' expenses should be paid out of the public treasury, but Arkansas, Texas, and the District of Columbia made no specific provision in the law for even this payment. Minnesota alone in its original law provided for one paid member, who was to be the woman member and who was to serve as executive secretary of the commission. Thus, though most of the members of the commissions administering minimum wage are paid State salaries, only California to-day and California and Massachusetts in the past have paid salaries specifically for work on the minimum-wage law.

Possible effects of this salary situation can only be indicated. It is impossible to prove how directly this has affected the administration of the law in the various States, but it may have had important results. In the original laws which allowed for no salaries (Arkansas, Colorado, the District of Columbia, Kansas, and Oregon), and in Minnesota, where the law made provision for paying only one member, the secretary, service on the commissions was voluntary except in the case of the commissioners of labor in Arkansas, Kansas, and Minnesota, and the secretary of the minimum-wage commission of Minnesota. The citizens who gave their time to this work did so because they were really interested. They sought not salary but to do a service. When the commissioners who were paid salaries are considered, it is found that with the exception of the Minnesota minimum-wage secretary they were all forced to take on minimum-wage duties whether they were interested in minimum wage or not. They already had definite duties which they were paid to perform. They received no increase in salaries because of their added minimum-wage duties. Was there not, then, some excuse for their showing no particular interest in this new work? It was difficult, controversial, time consuming. If the legislatures had been vitally interested in this problem, would they not have been willing to pay something for the services rendered, or would they not have given its administration to an exclusive body with time to do the work? This is only a question; however, it is a tremendously important one when it is realized that, of 13 flexible laws, only 3—Arkansas, District of Columbia, and Oregon—are administered by unpaid voluntary bodies, and but one other, California, by an independent group that receives remuneration from the State only for the actual time spent on minimum-wage administration.

## LENGTH OF TERM OF COMMISSIONS

## In the law.

The legal terms of office of the commissioners are given in the statement following.

Laws in which commissioners' term of office is—					
2 years	3 years	4 years	5 years	6 years	Indeterminate
Arkansas (1921). Colorado (1913). Minnesota (1913). Nebraska. Texas (two members). <sup>1</sup>	District of Columbia. Kansas (1921). Massachusetts. Oregon.	California. Kansas (1915). Washington (1913).	North Dakota.	Colorado (1917). Minnesota (1921). Texas (one member). <sup>1</sup> Wisconsin.	Arkansas (1915). Washington (1921).

<sup>1</sup> State officials, who serve as industrial welfare commissioners during their term of office.

The legal terms are not particularly significant, since the term of office of individuals has so often been shortened by resignation or lengthened by reappointment. The value of continuity of policy has been recognized by the law in that in most cases the members' terms end in different years, so that it is not required that two new members ever be appointed the same year.

## In practice.

In actual practice most of the commissions have had one or more members who have served for long terms and whose knowledge gained by experience has been invaluable to the work. The outstanding example of this is California, where three members, one the woman member, have served since 1913, when the commission was first organized. The following table shows those States that have had one or more members serving for a considerably longer period of time than a single appointed term:

State	Number of commissioners who have served approximately <sup>1</sup> —					
	5 years	6 years	7 years	8 years	11 years	14 years
Arkansas.....	2		1			
California.....		1				3
District of Columbia.....	2					
Massachusetts.....		4		1		
Minnesota.....	3		1	1		
Oregon.....					1	
Washington.....	3	1	1			
Wisconsin.....						1

<sup>1</sup> Table as of spring of 1927.

<sup>2</sup> 2 woman members.

<sup>1</sup> 1 woman member.

With the exception of the very long term in Wisconsin and three members in Massachusetts and three in Minnesota who have served six and five years, respectively, all these long terms were on commissions primarily interested in administering minimum wage, not on paid commissions administering general labor laws. It would

seem that since this office carries little or no remuneration it is not subject to such frequent changes as are those offices which are considered political favors, and that if an incumbent is interested enough to stay in the work a long term results. This has meant that these commissions have been able to go forward more steadily than would have been possible if all the members had changed regularly and had had to learn the needs and problems of this complicated legislation. It is significant that California, which has decrees covering the greatest number of women, has the commission with the largest number of members serving continuously for the longest period of time. Nor does this tendency show in California only. In Massachusetts the number of industries covered by decrees was being steadily increased until a commission with an entirely new personnel took over the administration of the law; after that but two decrees in new industries or occupations were issued in the first five years of the present commission's administration, and three new decrees in the past two years, though only a small proportion of Massachusetts's thousands of wage-earning women are aided by decrees. In Minnesota the period of expansion was during the eight years in which two of its members served long terms on an independent commission. This tendency could be shown much more clearly if the various decrees were considered individually and their development under one group or changing groups were analyzed, but it must be noted here as a real factor in determining the kind of organization that seems to have functioned best as far as the advancement of minimum wage is concerned. It should not be taken as a plea for renewing terms of any commissioner; it is mentioned simply to indicate that the type of man and especially of woman who was willing to serve for many years in these unpaid positions was so interested in the work itself that minimum wage had its real period of growth under such auspices.

#### SUMMARY

The theory of the original laws seems to have been that minimum wage would be best administered through the creation of an unpaid but interested and fair-minded special commission, which would approximate in its membership the viewpoints of the various groups that were touched most closely by the law, as in the foreign laws on which those in this country were based. No one State phrased its law so as to require the representation of women, the employers, the employees, and the public on its commission, but each of these groups was required by at least one State, and in practice most of the States tried to appoint representatives of all these groups. Now, however, even such requirements as were made in the original laws have been lost, or the emphasis has been shifted, in the amendments. The general State labor bodies which in most States are to-day enforcing the active minimum-wage laws are required to represent labor and capital, but not women. Moreover, since the members of these commissions are paid for full-time service, the question of their positions being used as political appointments seems to have been in the minds of at least some of the State legislatures. On the other hand, the commission members themselves need have no feeling that

their salaries are dependent on work done for minimum wage, for their salaries were set for the performance of other duties and they were required to take up this additional work. To-day there seems to be no guaranty in many of the laws that the character of the membership required for the bodies administering and enforcing minimum wage will cause the appointment of individuals who are genuinely interested in seeing that minimum-wage laws are so administered that they are successful in their purpose of protecting woman wage earners.

#### EXECUTIVE OFFICERS OF THE COMMISSIONS

It is apparent from the foregoing discussion of the personnel, terms of office, etc., of the minimum-wage commissions as set forth in the laws, that the State must provide assistants to carry out the details of the work. The commissions were not expected to attend to the routine of carrying out the law, since no State provided for full-time commissioners, but they were to function as a quasi-legislative body determining, as their most important duty, the scope and amount of the rates that they established under the law. Some one was needed, who should be paid to devote all his or her time to minimum wage, to look after the details of administration and enforcement. Such a position has been specifically provided for in most of the laws. In all the States except Arkansas, Wisconsin, and Minnesota (after the industrial commission was authorized to enforce the law) the commissioners were empowered by law to engage full-time employees, usually designated as secretaries. A few restrictions on the commission's choice are found in the laws. Oregon and the District of Columbia provide that the executive secretary must not be a member of the commission. Minnesota, in its original law creating the minimum-wage commission, required just the opposite—that the woman member of the commission serve as its secretary. No other law restricted the field from which the commission might choose this executive officer. Moreover, in most cases both the salary and the term of office were left to the decision of the commission. Texas and the District of Columbia set a maximum salary limit—Texas \$1,800, the District of Columbia \$2,500. Two other State laws set the exact salary the executive officer might receive: Colorado in 1915 set \$1,200, but raised it to \$1,800 in 1917, and Minnesota in its early law set \$1,800. None of the laws required that this officer be appointed under civil-service rules, and Massachusetts specifically exempted the position from civil service. There is nothing in any law to insure that this office will be given to a person who has real knowledge of the problems involved. Moreover, it is evident that the incumbent of this position is not protected in the position by any special legal safeguards, so that, no matter how well founded his or her views might be, any radical disagreement with the commission must be resolved in favor of those officials.

Since it has been possible for the secretary to be so completely controlled by the commission, have the duties of this position been of sufficient importance to require that the secretary be anything more than a clerk trained to carry out instructions laid down by the commission? The laws have not specified the amount nor the importance of the work which should be transferred to the secretary. In practice

this executive, through her knowledge of the whole situation, has been in a position to influence vitally any work that was undertaken.

In the first place, how could this secretary or executive officer affect the administrative development of the law, as distinct from the law's enforcement after decrees were set? Only the commission has power to make final decisions as to what shall be the form and substance of decrees, and so the influence of the executive officer in shaping the very decrees themselves may be overlooked. The executive has been on the job continuously. The earlier commissions met only when there was work to be done. When they met, the commissioners gave their full time and attention to the matters on hand, but they gained a great deal of their detailed information from the executive, who was steadily at work in the office. Similarly the members of the industrial commissions, when they turned their attention to minimum wage, got their information from the executive in charge of the minimum-wage office. Because minimum-wage legislation is of an extremely complicated and experimental nature and because it affects the thing most vital to woman wage earners—their pay envelope—thorough knowledge of the economic position of these women workers and of the general economic conditions in the State has been necessary to administer it. This the executive has supplied. In addition to supplying a knowledge of general conditions, the executive has carried out any special investigations which the commission has felt were necessary. Prior to the commission's considering the provisions of decrees, investigations of wages, cost of living, numbers of women employed, or kinds of work done by women have been carried out by the executive with or without a staff of assistants. The commission then has based its decisions largely on information collected by its executive officer. The value of this information depends on the caliber of the executive and her assistants. Does she know how to collect the facts in a scientific and impartial manner? Has she the will to collect the facts in such a manner? If she has assistants, are they properly equipped to perform their duties intelligently? Later discussion of the process involved in setting rates will show that almost every point had to be decided by the commission as a compromise between the conflicting claims of the employers and the employees. In making a compromise, their source of information has been their executive. Their dependence on the executive officer therefore has been of vital importance in deciding how the law should be administered. An executive with ready access to a sympathetic commission quickly became a prime factor in both administration and enforcement. This, after all, was a desirable thing, for it meant that the development of the law has been directed by the person best acquainted with conditions under which the law must operate.

In the field of enforcement the executive has been even more important, for though no one but the commission has power to make final decisions, the main policies of enforcement are decided when the decrees are formed, so that an executive working along these general lines need bring few problems to the commission. It has been only when new information and changed conditions have caused an executive to desire to inaugurate new policies in enforcement that the commission has had to be brought in close touch with this field. Of course, the degree of supervision over enforcement

exercised by the commission has varied greatly from State to State and from time to time within a State, depending on the personnel of the commission, but, on the whole, enforcement has depended on the interest of the executive—qualified, of course, by her equipment in assistants and money—in making inspections.

Aside from the fact that the executive officer of a commission needs personally either the education or the training and experience that gives her a thorough knowledge of her field, she needs enough trained assistants to carry out the necessary investigations and inspections. The first requisite for this is an adequate appropriation that will allow an executive to employ enough assistants and to pay for assistants with proper training. Later in the report a section will be devoted to the size of appropriation in relation to the size of the State and the possible number of women affected by the law. It must be said here, however, that appropriations, on the whole, have been extremely small. The second requisite is the character of employee demanded. Where politics can be kept out of enforcement and out of civil service, so that through careful examinations, impartially given, the applicants who are best equipped to do the work may be assured of appointment, the executive's hands are enormously strengthened in collecting accurate information and in enforcing the rates. The importance of people of high caliber in all official positions is a truism, but in the controversial field of minimum wage this is particularly true. In gathering facts for use in determining the substance of the decrees, the importance of having data the reliability of which can not be questioned has been paramount. In inspecting for compliance, the necessity for tact, knowledge of the field, and honesty on the part of the inspectors has been vital. For every employer who has come in contact with the commissioners, hundreds have come in contact with the inspectors. The number of employees who have known the commission only through the inspectors has been even greater. The inspectors have borne the brunt of any ill feeling against the law and of any attempt at evasion. In addition they have been engaged in a constant campaign of education as to the requirements of the law so that minor infractions would not occur through ignorance. Therefore the caliber of the inspector—either executive or assistant—who represents the actual point of contact between the citizen and the State's control of his activities is of tremendous importance for the success of minimum-wage legislation.

To turn to the actual executive officers and their assistants and the circumstances surrounding their tenure of office, Wisconsin alone always has had its minimum-wage executive under State civil service. In California, Massachusetts, and Wisconsin the executives' inspection and clerical force all must be chosen from civil-service registers. In Minnesota, since the consolidation which put the enforcement in the hands of the regular woman factory inspectors, the law has been enforced by civil-service appointees, including the executive officer. To determine even roughly how much "being under civil service" has meant is not within the province of this study. It would need a special study of actual examination papers and requirements as to experience to judge whether or not the various State civil-service commissions have issued examinations that really would produce satisfactory minimum-wage assistants. Moreover, to be effective, civil-service administration must be free from politics, in most States

a rule more honored in the breach than in the observance. Civil service undoubtedly does mean longer terms of employment, but it protects every employee who qualifies, both the interested and the uninterested. Even to insist that civil service allow the executive officer to outline the questions and the experience required is not enough. This is only of value if the executive is thoroughly trained and competent. There is, undoubtedly, great need at present for higher civil-service standards and for less political interference with appointments, but civil service is a step well in advance of selecting employees solely for political considerations. Probably if every full-time employee, including those executives who are not members of the commission, were under civil service, it would mean a more fully informed and permanent staff, carrying out a continuous policy.

In Arkansas and California, as well as in Minnesota, the executive officer herself has gained prestige and permanency by being a member of the commission. There would seem to be real value in having the executive officer who carried out enforcement—and who usually influenced administration so markedly—a member of the commission, where she would be entitled to equal standing in discussions and to a vote on decisions. Whether or not this executive is a member of the commission, a long term in office would seem to have proved itself a valuable thing. Length of service gives the executive a thorough knowledge of the territory in which she has worked, of its special problems and special prejudices, and it greatly increases her ability to give sound advice to the commission. On the whole, even in the States where this office has always been held by a paid employee, long terms in office have been the rule. The women keenly interested in the principle of minimum wage have not been confined to members of the commission; many executives have remained at their work for years under all sorts of trying conditions because of a conviction of the necessity for such State control.

The following table shows how usual has been the custom of keeping one executive over a long period of time, often in spite of changes in the personnel of the commission.

TABLE 12.—Number and length of service of executive officers of commissions, by State

[Executive officers are women unless noted to the contrary]

State	Length of time law has been in effect (years)	Number of executive officers during this time	Number whose length of service was approximately—								
			Less than 1 year	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years	5 years	6 years	8 years	9 years and over
Arkansas.....	10	4	1			2		1			
California.....	12	2				1					1 (11 years).
Colorado.....	10	2			1						1 (10 years).
District of Columbia.....	5	2			1	1					
Kansas.....	10	2					1		1		
Massachusetts.....	13	3				2					1
Minnesota.....	12	3		1				1		1	
North Dakota.....	6	3	1		1			1			
Oregon.....	12	3		1		1					1 (10 years).
Washington.....	12	5	2		1		1		1		
Wisconsin.....	12	2							1	1	

1 A member of the commission. Still in office, spring of 1927.  
 2 1 a member of the commission.  
 3 1 a man.  
 4 Still in office, spring of 1927.  
 5 1 a man; 1 a woman, member of the commission.

All the executive officers of these commissions, with the exception of the first secretaries in California and Washington, have been women. Though almost a third of them have served for a year or two, in every place except the District of Columbia (where the law was in operation less than five years) there has been at least one secretary with five or more continuous years in this work. This long term of service has provided the commissions with an authority on minimum-wage problems who has grown increasingly expert with added experience. Unfortunately, however, when the executive officer has been simply an employee, it has not been necessary for the commission to accept her advice. For this reason the executive officer who has been also a member of the commission has been in a singularly good position to secure adequate minimum-wage administration and enforcement. Not only has she met the other members in argument as an equal and had the right to vote on all matters decided by the commission but her tenure of office has not been dependent upon their good will.

The position of the executive officer is now so wholly dependent on the commission that a separate estimate of the office is impossible. The importance of this work would seem to be great enough to require that a member of the commission devote full time to the position. If this method of handling the problem is not followed, it would seem that minimum wage might benefit if this position were filled by a civil-service appointee. The first method would insure relatively long terms of office and an authoritative position for the best informed and most responsible person in the scheme of minimum-wage administration and enforcement. If this is impossible, civil service would not only go a long way toward insuring an incumbent qualified for the job but should guarantee a relatively long term of service—a desirable thing for the person responsible for carrying out such a complicated law. It would also give an executive a much firmer position in advancing the opinions formed as a result of practical experience. On the original commissions this end could be secured by having a member act as executive officer. Under the industrial commissions, or any other form of consolidation, the secure and authoritative position of the minimum-wage executive officer, though doubly necessary, becomes harder to secure. The duties of the commissioners become so complex and extensive that no one could expect that one of them should serve as the executive officer for carrying out one small part of their multitudinous duties. In such a situation a carefully selected employee would be preferable to an overburdened commissioner who had no time to do the job carefully. For such an employee, civil-service status would seem to be desirable.



## CHAPTER IV.—INVESTIGATION OF CONDITIONS PRIOR TO SETTING A WAGE RATE

When the commissions were selected and appointed, the first step toward establishing minimum rates was taken, but all the actual work of determining what the amount of the rates should be, according to the procedure outlined in the various laws, remained to be done. In brief, each commission was to investigate the condition of woman wage earners, determine what was a living wage for these women, declare a minimum rate to meet this necessary cost of living, and enforce this rate. These duties could differ from State to State only in their details. The laws contain only rather general directions to the commissions as to what the procedure shall be in following these required steps, but they do contain very full and careful statements of the powers granted the commissions in order that the purpose of the law may be carried out.

Before any steps toward setting a decree could be taken, the commission had to assure itself of the need of this step. To do this it was necessary to know what the woman wage earners actually were being paid.

### POWERS OF INVESTIGATION OUTLINED IN LAWS

In every State the law provided that the commissions could at any time initiate an investigation into the actual rates of pay and the earnings of woman wage earners. Moreover, in seven States—Colorado (1917), the District of Columbia, Massachusetts,<sup>1</sup> Nebraska,<sup>1</sup> North Dakota, Oregon, and Washington—the legislatures have taken the precaution to specify definitely that the commissions had the power to make special studies of minors' wages. An investigation of all women and minors or of the minors alone might be started by the commission in any occupation or industry or group of occupations or industries, as the commission chose. Moreover, in some of the States they were required to make such an investigation in any occupation or industry if requested to do so. The kind of request that required action on the part of the commission is shown in the statement following.

State	Type of request necessary	Group to be investigated
Arkansas.....	By any person.....	Piece workers.
Colorado (1917).....	By 25 persons in the occupation.....	Women workers.
Kansas (1915).....	Do.....	Do.
Minnesota.....	By 100 persons in the occupation.....	Do.
Wisconsin.....	By any person.....	Do.

Since the Arkansas provision applies to only one kind of employment (piece work), there have really been but four States where there

<sup>1</sup> Special investigations of minors' wages could be undertaken in an industry or occupation only when the majority of the employees were minors.

was ever any chance of forcing the commission to make a general investigation. Moreover, in 1921 this provision was repealed in Kansas. Responsibility for initiating or failing to initiate wage investigations must rest largely on the commissions in all the States and wholly on the commissions in all States except Colorado, Minnesota, and Wisconsin.

Actually Wisconsin has been the only State where this provision of the law has been considered of importance. In 1918 and again in 1920, the Wisconsin Federation of Labor, the Consumers' League of Wisconsin, and the Central Council of Social Agencies of Milwaukee petitioned the industrial commission to investigate the relation between the cost of living and the wages of employed women and to take action to adjust the women's rates of pay. The only two decrees issued by the industrial commission for "all industries" came as a result of these petitions.

That they may carry out these investigations the legislatures have delegated to the commissions certain powers that should enable them to collect accurate and representative figures on rates and earnings, occupations of women, and so forth. Though the wording of the laws varies, much the same kind of authority is granted each commission. Tables 13 to 15, following, show how similar are the commissions' investigating powers.

TABLE 13.—*Powers of commission or its authorized agents relating to the inspection of plants, papers, etc., by State*

State	Right of access to premises	Right to make any investigation	Right of access to pay rolls or any other papers relating to the employment of labor and payment thereof	
			To inspect	To make excerpts
California.....	X	X	X	X
Colorado (1917).....	X		X	
District of Columbia.....			X	
Kansas:				
1915.....			X	
1921.....		X		
Massachusetts.....			X	
Nebraska.....			X	
North Dakota.....			X	
Oregon.....				
Texas.....	X			
Washington.....			X	
Wisconsin.....	X	X		

In Arkansas, Colorado (1913), and Minnesota no specific grant of authority covered these inspection rights. As the next table shows, the Colorado and Minnesota commissions were given the power to demand that certain kinds of information be given the commission, so undoubtedly they were in a position to obtain any needed facts. In Arkansas, however, no powers to aid it in an investigation were granted specifically to the commission. The commission must depend on the general powers of entry, and so forth, granted the commissioner of labor and statistics, who also was a member of the industrial welfare commission.

The following table shows that most laws added, to the general powers authorizing inspections and investigations, powers roughly equivalent to some of those exercised by a court for requiring the production of relevant information.

TABLE 14.—Powers of commission relating to the bringing before it of relevant information, by State<sup>1</sup>

State	To subpoena witnesses	To administer oaths	To require any material submitted to be verified by oath	To compel production of books, papers, pay rolls, or other records	To require statement of full-time wages paid	To require any and all reports or information needed
California.....	X	X	X	X		X
Colorado:						
1913.....	X	X		X		
1917.....	X	X	X	X	X	
District of Columbia.....	X	X		X	X	
Kansas:						
1915.....	X	X		X		X
1921.....	X	X		X		
Massachusetts.....	X	X		X		
Minnesota.....	X	X		X		
Nebraska.....	X	X				X
North Dakota.....	X	X			X	
Oregon.....	X	X			X	
Texas.....	X	X	X		X	
Washington.....	X	X			X	
Wisconsin.....	X	X	X	X		X

<sup>1</sup> Provisions enforced by appeal to the courts in California, Colorado (1913 and 1917), District of Columbia, Texas, and Wisconsin.

In every State except Arkansas and Nebraska the commissions may subpoena witnesses, administer oaths, and compel the submission of a statement of wages. Nebraska gives its commissions the first two powers but not the third.

As a practical aid to carrying out the powers just detailed, the commissions are given the authority to require the various employers to keep records that will show certain facts necessary if a correct report on the condition of woman workers' rates of pay and earnings is to be made.

TABLE 15.—Powers of commission requiring employers to keep registers showing certain facts about employees, by State

State	Employee information to be found on register						
	Name	Address	Age	Occupation	Dates of employment	Hours	Wages
California.....	X	X	X				
Colorado, 1917.....	X	X	X		X		
District of Columbia.....	X					X	
Kansas, 1915.....	(1)						
Massachusetts.....	X	X		X		X (1919)	X (1914)
Minnesota.....	X	X				X	X
Nebraska.....	X	X					
North Dakota.....	X						
Oregon.....	X						
Texas.....	X	X	X				
Washington.....	X						
Wisconsin.....	X		X	X		X	

<sup>1</sup> Items to be decided by the commission.

<sup>2</sup> Commission can not require employer to keep a record of hours for more than a 6-month period.

The purpose of all these powers is, of course, the collection of such facts as will enable the commission to decide whether the adult women's earnings or rates are less than "the necessary cost of living" and whether the corresponding minors' earnings or rates are "unreasonably low." It would seem that this would presuppose that the commission had made a study of the cost of living, though with one exception (Colorado) the laws do not, in so many words, require such a study. However, if a commission has desired to make a cost-of-living study, no one has ever questioned the fact that its authorization to establish rates based on the cost of living carried with it the power to ascertain that cost. Moreover, certain of the general investigatory powers could be used to cover this work; for example, the right to make any necessary investigation granted in California, Kansas (1921), and Wisconsin; the powers of subpoenaing witnesses and administering oaths granted in all the States but Arkansas; the blanket statement that the commissions are authorized and empowered to ascertain what wages are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living, found in the laws of Colorado, District of Columbia, North Dakota, Oregon, and Wisconsin. In spite of the fact that the whole basis of determining what a wage rate shall be is the cost of living, only one law, Colorado (1913), specifically directs the commission to make such a study. This provision of course has had no effect in practice, as the Colorado law has never functioned.

The significance of these three tables is not the differences nor omissions in the material tabulated, but the similarity and the broad scope of the powers listed. Moreover, most legislatures have been so afraid that the commissions' power to require any testimony whatsoever which was related to women's wages might be questioned that they have incorporated blanket authorizations in most of the laws. One of the strongest of such authorizations is in Kansas, where, incidentally, relatively few specific powers are listed. The commission is given, however, "all incidental powers necessary to carry into effect the provisions of this act."<sup>2</sup> Moreover, these very wide powers are found in the original acts in every State except Massachusetts. Even in that State the powers of investigation granted in the original act seem to have been adequate in all respects except the ones relating to the keeping of a register. The only change in these powers of the Massachusetts commission was that in 1914 and again in 1919 the legislature made more specific the items that the commission might require on this register, and removed all doubt as to the commission's power to require such registers and to inspect them by providing a definite penalty in case the employer refused to comply with the commission's orders on these points. It is evident that the intent of these laws was to give the commission authority to get at all necessary facts. The foregoing tables, covering the main items, show clearly that the commissions had such power. Injustices in rates or failure to enforce can not be traced back to a commission's lack of power to obtain the real facts in the case.

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<sup>2</sup>Acts of Kansas. 1920—Extra session. Ch. 29, pp. 35-47.

## INVESTIGATIONS UNDERTAKEN BY THE COMMISSIONS

The first work of practically every commission was to determine what was the position of the woman wage earners. Two things had to be known: (1) What the great numbers of woman wage earners were paid, and (2) how much it cost a woman to support herself in a healthful manner. Soon after organization the various commissions had their employees collect facts on these points. Often the commissioners themselves took an active part, holding hearings and doing some personal investigation work.

**Rates and earnings.**

The commissions in all the States except Arkansas and Nebraska have instituted studies of the actual rates or earnings received by woman wage earners as their first work after the organization of the commission. Even Colorado, which never entered a decree, made an investigation. In most of the States these studies have been state-wide and have included some women from practically all the major woman-employing industries and occupations.

In Oregon, in addition to the small investigation made by the commission's agents in 1913, immediately after the law was passed, the commission had available a state-wide study of rates and earnings made by the consumers' league prior to the passage of the law. This was done by the person who became the first executive secretary of the commission, and it served to all intents and purposes as a commission investigation. In almost all the States it was only after wages were known for a supposedly representative group of women employed in the major industries that the commissions decided whether to call wage boards for separate industries, for all industries, or for selected industries. In the District of Columbia and Massachusetts the commissions did not wait to select a single industry in which to set a decree until they had made a general investigation. Instead they at once chose an industry for investigation, one where only a small group of women were employed in comparison to the total number of workers. It was possible in Massachusetts thus to limit the field before investigation because the yearly report on manufactures published by the Massachusetts Department of Labor (division of statistics) enabled the commission to determine in what industries women's wages were most depressed. It has been felt also in Massachusetts that the provision in the law requiring each wage board to consider the financial condition of the industry in setting a wage rate made it incumbent on the commission to choose industrial or occupational units of such size and similarity that the firms' financial problems would be alike. In the District of Columbia a general study of women's industrial distribution was made, though rates and earnings were not obtained, before one group was selected for intensive study. To judge the value of these commission investigations it is necessary to know whether the facts obtained could show the actual financial condition of the woman wage earners, whether the methods that were used could produce adequate facts, and whether a representative number of women were investigated.

In discussing the value of these investigations the first point to be analyzed is the worth of figures on rates and on earnings when a body such as a minimum-wage commission is attempting to get at the actual situation of large numbers of woman wage earners. Some commissions have sought to collect only rates, some only earnings, and some both.

In the case of rates there are several important reasons why these should not be used, particularly in manufacturing, as the sole basis for determining whether or not the women working in a given industry or occupation need to have a minimum-wage rate set for them. In the first place a woman lives on the earnings she receives in her pay envelope, and not on the rate of pay that she would receive if she were able to work exactly her required hours and had no fines or other deductions. In most studies of rates and earnings for an identical group of woman time workers, earnings are less, often considerably less, than rates. Moreover, no study of weekly rates can include the large number of women who work at piece rates and whose earnings are in many cases higher than those of the time worker. These objections to the use of rates apply with much greater force to manufacturing occupations and laundries than to mercantile, office, or telephone workers. Undertime in the first two industries often is due to the management, not to the worker; in the latter group, where undertime is more likely to be for personal reasons, it is much less extensive. Moreover, in the latter group of industries, where workers' rates are based on the week or half month, there is less tendency for the management to deduct for short losses of time than in the industries where the common method of calculating wages is on an hourly or daily rate. Also the group of mercantile, office, and telephone workers rarely if ever includes pieceworkers. For all these reasons rates perhaps might be accepted as a dependable enough guide in determining the financial position of woman wage earners in mercantile, telephone, or office occupations, but they can not be relied on to the same extent for manufacturing and laundry workers.

If earnings alone are taken there is less danger of getting an incorrect idea than with rates alone, but there is the possibility that if only one pay roll is taken it will give either too high or too low figures, depending on whether the chosen week or half month was a rush or a slack period. Once again this difficulty applies to manufacturing rather than to the other groups of industries. If the payroll period is selected with care for a time when there is neither widespread undertime nor a conspicuous boom, it is possible that, if a large number of establishments are taken, the irregularities will so balance each other as to give a roughly correct idea of the wage situation. This is more probable where all manufacturing is investigated than where just one manufacturing industry, such as paper-box making, is taken, for slack and busy seasons run pretty uniformly through an industry. If it is possible, instead of taking one payroll period for each establishment, to get earnings over a number of weeks so that the women's earnings can be averaged, the resulting picture will be more nearly accurate, for seasonal fluctuation will be taken note of. The ideal situation, of course, would be to take a

year's earnings and find the weekly average, for that really would give a picture of how much the woman had to live on. If earnings are averaged in this way for a large number of women over a considerable period of time, the resulting figures should be an excellent indication of the status of woman wage earners. If, however, only one pay-roll period is taken, rates as well as earnings should be secured, as the two sets of facts will check any too great exaggeration in either group.

The commission's first duty, then, was to see that the type of figures selected for collection was such as to show the real situation. The following table shows the methods by which the commissions sought to obtain figures and also what studies covered rates or earnings, or both. The greater number of the studies covered earnings rather than rates, but very few of them took these earnings over a period of time.

TABLE 16.—Methods used by the commissions in investigations to obtain rates and earnings figures, by State

State	Pay rolls copied by commissions' employees on official forms			Pay-roll information submitted by employers			Source not reported
	Pay-roll period nearest the agent's visit	Selected time covering a number of pay-roll periods	Period not reported	One pay-roll period selected by commission		Method not reported	
				Form provided by commission	Form left to employer		
California	1914 Mercantile. Laundry. Manufacturing. Telephone and telegraph. Hotel and restaurant.	1915 Garment trades (1 year). 1916 Laundry (1 month).	1915 Canning.	1914 Canning. 1917 Laundry. 1919 January-May: Mercantile. Laundry. Manufacturing. July-September: Mercantile. Laundry. Manufacturing. 1922 Needle trades. Mercantile. Laundry. Manufacturing.			
District of Columbia	1919 Printing, etc. Mercantile. Hotel and restaurant. 1920 Laundry. Manufacturing. Building cleaners.			1922 Manufacturing. Building cleaners.			



	* 1922 Manufacturing. Building cleaners. Office workers.	* 1920	* 1916			* 1916
Kansas.....		Laundry. Manufacturing. Mercantile. Telephone. Restaurant (1 year).	Laundry. Mercantile.			Manufacturing.
Massachusetts.....		* 1913-1927 All investigations.		* 1914 Manufacturing. Mercantile.		
Minnesota.....				* 1920 All occupations.		
				* 1923 All occupations.		
North Dakota.....			* 1910 Mercantile. Telephone. Laundry. Hotel and restaurant. Hospital. Factory.	* 1919 Mercantile. Telephone. Laundry. Hotel and restaurant. Hospital. Factory.	* 1919 Mercantile. Telephone. Laundry. Hotel and restaurant. Hospital. Factory.	

\* Rates.  
\* Earnings.

\* Probably earnings.  
\* Covered all pay-roll periods of one season.

\* Rates and earnings.  
\* Earnings; figures supplied by woman workers interviewed.

TABLE 16.—Methods used by the commissions in investigations to obtain rates and earnings figures, by State—Continued

State	Pay rolls copied by commissions' employees on official forms			Pay-roll information submitted by employers			Source not reported
	Pay-roll period nearest the agent's visit	Selected time covering a number of pay-roll periods	Period not reported	One pay-roll period selected by commission		Method not reported	
				Form provided by commission	Form left to employer		
North Dakota—Con.			' 1921 Office workers. Mercantile. Hotel and restaurant. Telephone. Laundry. Factory.			' 1921 Office. Mercantile. Hotel and restaurant. Telephone. Laundry. Factory.	
Oregon			' 1912 Factory. Mercantile. Laundry. Office. Hotel and restaurant. Telephone.			' 1912 Factory. Mercantile. Laundry. Office. Hotel and restaurant. Telephone.	' 1913 Mercantile. Manufacturing. Laundry. Restaurant. Telephone and telegraph.
Washington				' 1914 Manufacturing. Mercantile. Laundry.	' 1914 Hotel and restaurant. Office workers.	' 1914 Hotel and restaurant. Office workers.	' 1914 Telephone. ' 1920 Laundry.
				' 1918 Mercantile. Manufacturing.	' 1920 Hotel and restaurant.		

			Laundry, etc. Office workers. Hotel and restaurant.	Manufacturing.		
Wisconsin.....				1913	1921	1918
				All Industries.....	All Industries.....	All industries.

- Rates.
- Earnings.
- Probably earnings.
- Earnings; figures supplied by woman workers interviewed.
- Probably earnings; Consumers' League investigation; figures supplied by woman workers interviewed.
- Probably earnings; figures supplied by woman workers interviewed.

There are but two sources for collecting wage figures: The pay rolls of the firms and interviews with the women. In an interview a woman may misrepresent her earning capacity, and with most wage earners it is impossible to get their earnings over a period of time; furthermore, one can not be sure whether they give their rate or their earnings for a given pay-roll period. Since these facts are down in black and white on any well-kept pay roll it would seem that there could be no question as to which method should be followed. Nevertheless, North Dakota, Oregon, Washington, and Wisconsin at various times have collected wage figures by interviewing or distributing questionnaires among large numbers of woman workers. Moreover, these States seem to have tried to collect data on weekly earnings by this method. In most of these cases the interviews seem to have supplemented the use of pay-roll records, but in Wisconsin (1913) no definite mention is made of collecting figures from any other source than from the women themselves.

In obtaining pay-roll data the method of having firms send in their records has been a common practice. By thus saving the time of an agent in copying it is possible to handle an enormously increased number of pay rolls. If a form is sent to the firm and both rates and earnings are requested it is probable that the resulting figures are a good indication of wage levels. Of course there is always the danger that figures on rates and earnings will be confused, but this method probably would work better after being used for a number of years, so that the management had become used to filling out the forms and understood thoroughly what was required, than when the first investigation is made.

The best method is to have the commissions' agents take a transcript of the actual pay roll. This is such an expensive and slow procedure that many commissions, because of small appropriations and few employees, and the consequent inability to cover enough women by this method, have not even considered its use. The commissions in Massachusetts and the District of Columbia are the only two that have used this method in all investigations. In the District, however, the figures thus gained were supplemented in some industries by forms sent out by mail and filled in by the employers. California, Kansas, North Dakota, and Oregon have collected some figures through agents' transcripts of pay rolls but have not been able to use this method exclusively. Only in Massachusetts have all the investigation figures on both rates and earnings been collected in this way, the earnings being based, in addition, on the transcripts of a number of continuous pay rolls. It is probable that in those States where figures were collected by interviewing the women the agents could have obtained more accurate wage material by copying pay rolls.

The various ways in which commissions have gathered figures show that one great need of all these groups was a greater knowledge of the means of securing the necessary information. They all made investigations and, as a later table shows, they covered an appreciable number of women in practically all these studies, but their methods

of securing rates and earnings, and the fact that they sometimes do not distinguish between rates and earnings, considerably lessen the value of their figures. The term "wages" is used constantly in these surveys, and in some States, notably North Dakota and Washington, the wage tables are compiled from material collected informally by agents from pay rolls, from personal interviews with woman wage earners, and from material sent in by employers. This miscellaneous mass of figures is treated as comparable and thrown together in one table. Even in the States where all the figures came from reports by employers there is always the danger that the tables represent a mixture of rates and earnings.

That the commissions have failed to make more satisfactory investigations is traceable to one main factor—lack of money. All the appropriations have been extremely small in the light of the magnitude of the task. It is probable, too, that there was a certain feeling in most of the States that a meticulous investigation was unnecessary prior to the establishment of the first wage decree in an industry. After decrees were set the commissions based decisions largely on the relation of the fixed minimum to the changing cost of living. People in general had the idea that women's wages were too low. Studies such as the survey of woman and child wage earners made by the United States Bureau of Labor, 1907 to 1909, and various studies made by State and private organizations in the decade immediately preceding this period of minimum-wage legislation, had shown thousands of cases of unbelievably low wages. The commissions investigated to confirm these figures, not to produce a new body of scientific wage material. As a corollary of this feeling of the great need of getting a minimum-wage rate set for the woman workers, was the desire on the part of the commissions to include all industries. Appropriations which might have covered one small industry thoroughly were stretched to cover all outstanding groups. At this point it is well to note that this speed was applied only to making investigations. Due to a variety of causes, although every State made an investigation within a few months after the time the law was passed, it was years before some of the decrees were set.

While lack of money, haste, and a desire to cover a great deal of ground all combined at different times to lower the standard of these investigations when judged solely as scientific studies of rates and earnings, it does not seem fair to contend that these faults destroyed the value of the studies as a basis for determining when to set a minimum-wage rate. All that the various laws stipulated was that a considerable number of women and minors be found with such low wages that it was necessary to provide higher rates for them if they were to earn the necessary cost of living. The commissions had no difficulty in discovering large numbers of such women. As this report shows, the commissions did include many thousands of women in these investigations. The next table attempts for each State to tie up with the total number of women employed in the industries or occupations studied the number that were included in the commission's investigations. Some such comparison is necessary if it is to be

judged whether or not the commission has carried out the law's directions to ascertain, before undertaking to set a decree, that women were being paid such low wages as to endanger their health and welfare. If the investigations did not cover at least a representative number of women, the resulting figures on rates and earnings surely could not be taken as proving that a decree was or was not needed.

At the outset anyone trying to compare figures from the United States Bureau of the Census (the only source for ascertaining the number of gainfully occupied women in all the various States) with figures collected by these State commissions is confronted with a different grouping of figures that makes it difficult to separate from both sources the figures for women doing the same kind of work. The United States census groups the women by their occupation, e. g., weaving. The commissions usually have studied industries, e. g., the cotton textile industry, and the women employed therein. A brief consideration of the problem of obtaining the number of women employed as cooks and waitresses will illustrate the difficulty of getting comparable figures. A commission will study the hotel and restaurant industry and give figures for all the employees, including the cooks and waitresses but not considering them as separate groups. The nearest approach to a figure from the census which can be compared with this industry group is the number of women listed as cooks, waitresses, chambermaids, and the like. However, the census does not indicate whether a cook works in a private home or in a hotel or restaurant. Undoubtedly most of the women who reported that they were cooks worked in private homes, and for this reason the number employed in hotels and restaurants is not obtainable, and cooks have been omitted from the hotel and restaurant figures compiled from the census report. Probably the vast majority of waitresses and chambermaids do work in hotels and restaurants, so these have been included in the hotel and restaurant group. Bell hops, housekeepers, stewards, and other minor groups also have been included where it seemed true that the great majority of the women so classified actually did work in hotels and restaurants. In this way a figure has been arrived at that shows, as nearly as is possible, the number of women whom the census reports as in the hotel and restaurant industry. In Appendix D of this report a careful list of the occupations included under each industry is given State by State. The hotel and restaurant industry, used as an illustration, is the group that is hardest to compare with the census, but it can not be emphasized too strongly that the census figures used in the table which follows are in all cases an approximation. In most cases they are somewhat of an underestimate, since groups have been omitted when there was doubt as to the advisability of including them. In the States where the law covers male and female minors the census figures always are an underestimate, because it is impossible to obtain from the census of occupations figures on the number of male minors in specific industries or occupations.

In Massachusetts the decree groupings are so specialized (e. g., men's clothing, women's clothing, men's furnishings, etc.) that figures

can not be obtained from the Federal census of occupations to compare with most of the classifications. Instead, the statistics of manufactures published by the Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industries (division of statistics) are used, since most of these reports group the industries in the same way as do the decrees, and these figures supposedly cover all factory employees in the State.

The table following gathers together all available information on the number of women employed and the number of women investigated in the different industries in the minimum-wage States:

TABLE 17.—Investigations of women's wages made by commissions before establishing rates, by State and year

State and date of investigation (when no investigation was made, date of decree)	Industry or occupation investigated	Industry or occupation covered by minimum-wage decree	Estimated number of women employed in industry or occupation in 1920 <sup>1</sup>	Total number of establishments and of women reported by commission as investigated		Greatest number of establishments and of women appearing in rates or earnings tables reported by commission when total number investigated is not reported	
				Estab-lishments	Women	Estab-lishments	Women
<b>California:</b>							
1914	Mercantile.....		20,022	192	12,166		
	Laundry and dry cleaning.....		6,517	96	4,492		
	Manufacturing.....		27,136	141	4,037		
	Telephone.....		8,238	(?)	4,180	(?)	
	Telegraph.....		784	(?)	388	(?)	
	Hotel and restaurant.....		17,839	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)
	Fruit canning.....		(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)
1915	Garments.....		7,035	131	2,914		(?)
	Fruit and vegetable canning.....		29,833	62	(?)		(?)
1916	Laundry.....		6,066	84	4,328		
	Fruit and vegetable canning <sup>1</sup> .....	Fruit and vegetable canning <sup>1</sup> .....	29,833	161	19,861		
1917	Laundry and dry cleaning.....	Laundry and dry cleaning <sup>1</sup> .....	6,517	161	7,184		
	Mercantile.....	Mercantile <sup>1</sup> .....	20,022	(?)	14,946	(?)	
		Fruit and vegetable canning.....	29,833				
		Fish canning.....	1,938				
1918		Fruit and vegetable canning.....	29,833				
		Fruit and vegetable packing.....	2,062				
		General and professional offices.....	67,031				
		Unskilled and unclassified.....	9,149				
1919—		Manufacturing <sup>1</sup> .....	27,136				
January-May	Mercantile <sup>1</sup> .....	Mercantile.....	20,022	1,336	21,627		
	Laundry and dry cleaning <sup>1</sup> .....	Laundry and dry cleaning.....	6,517	(?)	7,919	481	7,315
	Manufacturing <sup>1</sup> .....	Manufacturing.....	27,136	(?)	13,502	674	9,219
July-September	Mercantile <sup>1</sup> .....		20,022	1,605	23,088		
	Laundry and dry cleaning <sup>1</sup> .....		6,517	(?)	8,622	568	7,983
	Manufacturing.....		27,136	(?)	18,921	917	13,302
		Fruit and vegetable canning.....	29,833				
		Fish canning.....	1,938				
		Fruit and vegetable packing.....	2,062				
		General and professional offices.....	67,031				
		Unskilled and unclassified.....	9,149				
		Hotel and restaurant <sup>1</sup> .....	17,839				



1920		Mercantile	20,022				
		Laundry and dry cleaning	6,517				
		Manufacturing	27,136				
		Fruit and vegetable canning	29,833				
		Fish canning	1,938				
		Fruit and vegetable packing	2,062				
		General and professional offices	67,031				
		Unclassified	9,149				
		Hotel and restaurant	17,839				
		Agricultural	2,876				
		Fruit and vegetable canning	29,833				
		Needle trades	( <sup>1</sup> )				
1921			20,022	( <sup>2</sup> )	( <sup>3</sup> )	2,539	31,159
1922	Mercantile <sup>4</sup>		6,517	( <sup>5</sup> )	( <sup>6</sup> )	591	9,131
	Laundry <sup>4</sup>		27,136	( <sup>7</sup> )	( <sup>8</sup> )	( <sup>9</sup> )	18,867
	Manufacturing <sup>4</sup>						
1923		Fruit and vegetable canning	29,833				
		Mercantile	20,022				
		Fish canning	1,938				
		Laundry and dry cleaning	6,517				
		Fruit and vegetable packing	2,062				
		Unclassified	9,149				
		Manufacturing	27,136				
		Hotel and restaurant	17,839				
		Nut cracking and sorting	1,918				
Colorado: <sup>4</sup>							
1914	Retail store		4,140	8	( <sup>10</sup> )		1,543
	Printing		371	13	( <sup>11</sup> )	9	1,133
	Manufacturing		2,302	102	( <sup>12</sup> )	54	1,131
	Laundry		1,274	107	( <sup>13</sup> )	45	1,717
	Telephone		1,770	1	720		
District of Columbia:							
1919	Printing and publishing	Printing and publishing	2,314	50	745		
	Mercantile	Mercantile	3,647	109	4,609		
	Hotel and restaurant		8,339	193	2,209		
	Laundry and dry cleaning		1,248	33	1,190		
1920	Manufacturing		1,913	55	533		
	Office cleaners		1,929	37	604		
		Hotel and restaurant and allied industries <sup>7</sup>	3,339				

<sup>1</sup> The figures in this column were obtained as follows:

Fruit and vegetable canning and fish canning in California—from U. S. Census of Manufactures, 1920, v. 9, pp. 112, 118.

All groups in Massachusetts except laundries, retail stores, building cleaners, and public housekeeping (hotels and restaurants)—from Report of Manufactures, 1920, issued by the Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industries, division of statistics.

Laundries, retail stores, building cleaners, and public housekeeping (hotels and restaurants) in Massachusetts, all groups in California except fruit and vegetable canning and fish canning, and all groups in the remaining States—from U. S. Census of Occupations, 1920, v. 4.

See Appendix D.

<sup>2</sup> Not reported.

<sup>3</sup> Not obtainable.

<sup>4</sup> All investigations thus marked followed a decree. In most cases they were inspections for the established decree, but they were near enough the date of the new decree to serve as information when the new wage rate was determined.

<sup>5</sup> First decree following general investigation of 1914.

<sup>6</sup> No decrees ever issued.

<sup>7</sup> Investigation made in previous year.

TABLE 17.—Investigations of women's wages made by commissions before establishing rates, by State and year—Continued

State and date of investigation (when no investigation was made, date of decree)	Industry or occupation investigated	Industry or occupation covered by minimum-wage decree	Estimated number of women employed in industry or occupation in 1920	Total number of establishments and of women reported by commission as investigated		Greatest number of establishments and of women appearing in rates or earnings tables reported by commission when total number investigated is not reported	
				Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women
District of Columbia—Continued.							
1921.....		Laundry and dry cleaning <sup>7</sup> .....	1,248				
		Mercantile (reaffirmed).....	3,647				
1922.....	Manufacturing.....		1,913	30	338		
	Office cleaners.....		1,929	24	329		
	Office (clerks, etc.).....		( <sup>9</sup> )	193	2,108		
Kansas:							
1916.....	Manufacturing.....		6,582	( <sup>9</sup> )	( <sup>9</sup> )	( <sup>9</sup> )	2,198
	Mercantile.....		8,634	( <sup>9</sup> )	( <sup>9</sup> )	( <sup>9</sup> )	2,095
	Laundry.....		1,424	( <sup>9</sup> )	900	( <sup>9</sup> )	
1918.....		Mercantile <sup>8</sup> .....	8,634				
		Laundry <sup>8</sup> .....	1,424				
		Telephone.....	3,519				
1919.....		Manufacturing <sup>8</sup> .....	6,582				
1920.....	Manufacturing <sup>8</sup> .....		6,582	77	2,649		
	Mercantile <sup>8</sup> .....		8,634	132	2,264		
	Laundry <sup>8</sup> .....		1,424	54	932		
	Telephone <sup>8</sup> .....		3,519	27	938		
	Public housekeeping <sup>8</sup> .....		3,734				
	Restaurant.....		( <sup>9</sup> )	80	505		
1922.....		Mercantile <sup>8</sup> .....	8,634				
		Laundry <sup>8</sup> .....	1,424				
		Manufacturing <sup>8</sup> .....	6,582				
Massachusetts:							
1913.....	Brushes.....		742	32	837		
	Corsets.....		1,628	8	2,388		
	Candy.....		7,491	14	( <sup>9</sup> )		3,326
1914.....	Laundry.....		3,784	36	( <sup>9</sup> )		2,901
	Retail store.....		20,537	26	( <sup>9</sup> )		9,465
1915.....		Brushes <sup>10</sup> .....	742				
	Paper boxes.....		3,448	24	( <sup>9</sup> )		2,178
	Women's clothing.....		5,424	36	( <sup>9</sup> )		1,961
	Cotton textiles.....		54,939	( <sup>9</sup> )	( <sup>9</sup> )	( <sup>9</sup> )	9,190

	Hosiery and knit goods.....		( <sup>1</sup> )	27	( <sup>2</sup> )		3,460
	Men's clothing.....	Laundry <sup>11</sup> .....	4,219	100	2,318		
6	Men's furnishings.....		8,784		8,218		
	Muslin underwear.....		2,748	40			
	Hotel and restaurant.....		( <sup>1</sup> )	51	( <sup>1</sup> )	36	2,481
	Millinery—wholesale and retail.....		24,436	265	9,408		
		Retail store <sup>11</sup> .....	<sup>12</sup> 1,619	190	2,404		
7	Cotton textiles.....		20,537				
	Building cleaners.....		64,939	86	62,907		
		Women's clothing <sup>13</sup> .....	1,718	201	1,768		
			5,424				
8	Restaurant (supplementary).....		( <sup>1</sup> )	70	1,624		
	Wholesale millinery (supplementary).....	Wholesale millinery <sup>1</sup> .....	1,619	7	108		
	Canning and preserving.....		435	22	976		
	Candy.....		7,491	7	1,675		
		Men's clothing and raincoats <sup>14</sup> .....	4,219				
		Men's furnishings <sup>1</sup> .....	2,748				
		Muslin underwear <sup>1</sup> .....	( <sup>1</sup> )				
		Retail millinery <sup>1</sup> .....	( <sup>1</sup> )				
9	Canning and preserving (supplementary).....		435	21	( <sup>1</sup> )	20	345
	Paper boxes.....		8,448	16	1,301		
	Corsets.....		1,628	10	1,628		
	Knit goods.....		8,826	( <sup>1</sup> )	344	8	344
	Loom harness.....		( <sup>1</sup> )	4	( <sup>1</sup> )		139
	Minor lines of confectionery.....		4,555	42	801		
	Men's clothing <sup>1</sup> .....		4,219	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )	23	404
		Office and other building cleaners <sup>15</sup> .....	1,718				
	Druggists' preparations.....		1,486	51	2,180		
0	Women's clothing <sup>1</sup> .....	Women's clothing.....	5,424	22	( <sup>1</sup> )	16	232
	Stationary goods.....		3,268	28	2,379		
	Office and building cleaners <sup>1</sup> .....		1,718	207	1,368		
		Candy <sup>16</sup> .....	7,491				
		Canning and preserving <sup>16</sup> .....	435				
		Corsets <sup>17</sup> .....	1,628				
		Men's clothing <sup>18</sup> .....	4,219				
		Knit goods <sup>19</sup> .....	8,826				
		Paper boxes <sup>20</sup> .....	3,448				

<sup>1</sup> Not reported.

<sup>2</sup> Not obtainable.

<sup>3</sup> All investigations thus marked followed a decree. In most cases they were inspections for the established decree, but they were near enough the date of the new decree to serve as information when the new wage rate was determined.

<sup>4</sup> Investigation made in previous year.

<sup>5</sup> Investigation made in 1916.

<sup>6</sup> Investigation made in 1920.

<sup>7</sup> Investigation made in 1915.

<sup>11</sup> Investigation made in 1914.

<sup>12</sup> Underestimate; figure for wholesale only, retail not obtainable.

<sup>13</sup> Investigation made in 1915.

<sup>14</sup> Investigation made in 1917.

<sup>15</sup> Investigations made in 1913 and 1918.

<sup>16</sup> Investigation made in 1918.

<sup>17</sup> Investigations made in 1913 and 1919.

<sup>18</sup> Investigation made in 1919.

<sup>19</sup> Investigations made in 1915 and 1916.

TABLE 17.—Investigations of women's wages made by commissions before establishing rates, by State and year—Continued

State and date of investigation (when no investigation was made, date of decree)	Industry or occupation investigated	Industry or occupation covered by minimum-wage decree	Estimated number of women employed in industry or occupation in 1920	Total number of establishments and of women reported by commission as investigated		Greatest number of establishments and of women appearing in rates or earnings tables reported by commission when total number investigated is not reported	
				Establishments	Women	Establishments	Women
Massachusetts—Contd.							
1921	Public housekeeping		28,911				
	Restaurant		( <sup>1</sup> ) 3,448	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )
	Paper boxes <sup>4</sup>		1,718				
1922		Office and other building cleaners	243				
		Minor lines of confectionery <sup>11</sup>	( <sup>1</sup> )				
		Muslin underwear	3,784				
		Laundry	5,924				
		Women's clothing	2,748				
		Men's clothing	20,537				
		Retail store	3,448				
		Paper boxes	2,748				
		Men's furnishings	3,651	44	( <sup>1</sup> )		2,653
1923	Jewelry		2,297	21	( <sup>1</sup> )		1,295
	Bread and bakery products	Brushes	742				
1924	Canning and preserving and minor lines of confectionery		990	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )	41	435
	Millinery—		1,619	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )	48	1,078
	Wholesale <sup>4</sup>		( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )	83	407
	Retail <sup>4</sup>		1,366	25	( <sup>1</sup> )	15	837
	Toys and games		1,486				
1925	Candy <sup>4</sup>	Druggists' preparations <sup>1</sup>	7,491				
		Canning and preserving and minor confectionery <sup>10</sup>	678				
		Millinery—wholesale and retail <sup>10</sup>	<sup>12</sup> 1,619				
		Bread and bakery products <sup>11</sup>	2,297				
1926		Stationery goods and envelope	3,268				
		Candy	7,491				
		Jewelry	3,651				
1927		Toys and games	1,366				

<b>Minnesota:</b>						
1914	Manufacturing	Manufacturing and mechanical	17,678	(?)	(?)	(?)
		Telephone and telegraph	5,120			
		Laundry and dry cleaning	1,979			
		Lunch work, restaurant and hotel	7,172			
	Mercantile	Mercantile	19,324	(?)	(?)	550
		Office	37,472			
		Waitress	4,330			
		Hairdressing (experienced workers)	521			
1918		Any (learners and apprentices). Included under "experienced"				
		Any other (experienced workers not covered in 1914)	1,485			
1919		Any	86,081			
1920	All *	Any †	86,081	(?)	24,631	(?)
1921						
<b>North Dakota:</b>						
1919	Mercantile		1,896		(?)	
	Telephone		754		27	(?)
	Laundry		213		18	(?)
	Hotel and restaurant		2,658		125	(?)
	Hospital		(?)		10	(?)
	Manufacturing		498		5	(?)
	Office		3,217	(?)		(?)
1920		Public housekeeping ††	2,687			
		Personal service ††	308			
		Office	3,217			
		Manufacturing ††	498			
		Laundry ††	213			
		Student nurse	(?)			
		Mercantile ††	1,896			
		Telephone ††	754			
1921	Manufacturing †		498	(?)	47	(?)
	Mercantile †		1,896	(?)	171	(?)
	Laundry †		213	(?)	94	(?)
	Hotel and restaurant †		2,658	(?)	124	(?)
	Office †		3,180	(?)	45	(?)
	Telephone †		754	(?)	113	(?)
1922		Public housekeeping ††	2,687			
		Manufacturing ††	498			
		Mercantile ††	1,896			
		Laundry ††	213			
		Telephone ††	754			

? Not reported.  
 † Not obtainable.  
 †† All investigations thus marked followed a decree. In most cases they were inspections for the established decree, but they were near enough the date of the new decree to serve as information when the new wage rate was determined.  
 \* Investigation made in 1920.

† Underestimate; figure for wholesale only, retail not obtainable.  
 †† Investigation made in 1919.  
 ††† Investigation made in 1924.  
 †††† Investigation made in 1923.  
 ††††† Investigation made in 1921.

TABLE 17.—Investigations of women's wages made by commissions before establishing rates, by State and year—Continued

State and date of investigation (when no investigation was made, date of decree)	Industry or occupation investigated	Industry or occupation covered by minimum-wage decree	Estimated number of women employed in industry or occupation in 1920	Total number of establishments and of women reported by commission as investigated		Greatest number of establishments and of women appearing in rates or earnings tables reported by commission when total number investigated is not reported		
				Estab-lishments	Women	Estab-lishments	Women	
Oregon: 1912 <sup>21</sup>	Factory.....	.....	4,791	(3)	1,306	(3)	.....	
	Mercantile.....	.....	5,363	(3)	2,281	(3)	.....	
	Laundry.....	.....	1,121	(3)	259	(3)	.....	
	Printing.....	.....	249	(3)	213	(3)	.....	
	Hotel and restaurant.....	.....	4,147	(3)	363	(3)	.....	
	Office.....	.....	10,863	(3)	1,785	(3)	.....	
1913.....	Telephone.....	.....	1,839	(3)	570	(3)	.....	
1913.....	All (minors).....	.....	( <sup>24</sup> )	.....	.....	.....	.....	
	Manufacturing (Portland)—except adults <sup>22</sup> .....	.....	3,320	.....	.....	.....	.....	
	Mercantile (Portland)—except adults <sup>22</sup> .....	.....	3,322	.....	.....	.....	.....	
1914.....	Office (Portland)—except adults <sup>22</sup> .....	.....	7,171	.....	.....	.....	.....	
1916.....	All (adults)—except those covered by 1913 decrees.....	.....	14,808	.....	.....	.....	.....	
	Mercantile.....	.....	5,363	.....	.....	.....	.....	
	Manufacturing.....	.....	4,791	.....	.....	.....	.....	
	Personal service.....	.....	309	.....	.....	.....	.....	
	Laundry.....	.....	1,121	.....	.....	.....	.....	
	Telephone and telegraph.....	.....	2,070	.....	.....	.....	.....	
	Office.....	.....	10,863	.....	.....	.....	.....	
	Public housekeeping.....	.....	4,633	.....	.....	.....	.....	
	1917.....	All (minors).....	.....	( <sup>24</sup> )	.....	.....	.....	.....
	1918.....	Cannery.....	.....	481	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mercantile.....		.....	5,363	.....	.....	.....	.....	
Manufacturing.....		.....	4,791	.....	.....	.....	.....	
Personal service.....		.....	309	.....	.....	.....	.....	
Laundry.....		.....	1,121	.....	.....	.....	.....	
Telephone and telegraph.....		.....	2,070	.....	.....	.....	.....	
Office.....		.....	10,863	.....	.....	.....	.....	
Public housekeeping.....		.....	4,633	.....	.....	.....	.....	
1918.....	All (minors).....	.....	( <sup>24</sup> )	.....	.....	.....	.....	

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1919		Mercantile	8,363				
		Manufacturing	4,791				
		Personal service	309				
		Laundry	1,121				
		Telephone and telegraph	2,070				
		Office	10,863				
		Public housekeeping	4,633				
		All (minors)	(*)				
		Cannery	461				
1922							
Texas:							
1919	All		84,378	(*)	16,316	(*)	
1921		All <sup>11</sup>	84,378				
Washington:							
1913	Factory		7,613	(*)	(*)	(*)	3,011
	Mercantile		9,715	(*)	(*)	(*)	5,323
	Laundry		2,115	(*)	(*)	(*)	2,304
	Telephone		2,981	(*)	(*)	(*)	1,884
	Office		19,727	(*)	(*)	(*)	
	Hotel and restaurant		7,715	(*)	(*)	(*)	(*)
1914		Mercantile <sup>12</sup>	9,715				
		Manufacturing <sup>12</sup>	7,613				
		Laundry and dye works <sup>12</sup>	2,115				
		Telephone and telegraph (adults) <sup>12</sup>	3,327				
1915		Office	19,727				
		Hotel and restaurant—except waitresses	4,041				
1917		Telephone (rural)	2,981				
1918		All industries or occupations listed above (minors)	(*)				
1919		All occupations, trades, or industries	52,441				
1919		Public housekeeping	8,586	(*)	(*)	(*)	830
1920		Manufacturing <sup>13</sup>	7,613	(*) 87	(*)	(*)	991
		Laundry and dye works <sup>13</sup>	2,191	(*)	(*)	(*)	739
1921		Public housekeeping <sup>14</sup>	8,586				
		Public housekeeping	8,586				
		Laundry and dye works (adults)	2,115				
		Telephone and telegraph (adults)	3,327				
		Mercantile (adults)	9,715				
1922—							
January		Any occupation other than public housekeeping (minors)	(*)				
		Manufacturing (adults)	7,613				
October		Any occupation other than public housekeeping (minors)	(*)				

<sup>1</sup> Not reported.

<sup>2</sup> Not obtainable.

<sup>3</sup> All investigations thus marked followed a decree. In most cases they were inspections for the established decree, but they were near enough the date of the new decree to serve as information when the new wage rate was determined.

<sup>11</sup> Investigation made in 1913.

<sup>12</sup> Investigation made in 1919.

<sup>13</sup> Investigation made in 1921.

<sup>14</sup> Consumers' league study; commission made small supplementary study about June and July, 1913, for which no figures are available. It covered fruit canning in addition to the groups included in the 1912 study.

<sup>15</sup> Not separable from adult figures.

<sup>16</sup> Investigations made in 1912 and 1913.

TABLE 17.—Investigations of women's wages made by commissions before establishing rates, by State and year—Continued

State and date of investigation (when no investigation was made, date of decree)	Industry or occupation investigated	Industry or occupation covered by minimum-wage decree	Estimated number of women employed in industry or occupation in 1920	Total number of establishments and of women reported by commission as investigated		Greatest number of establishments and of women appearing in rates or earnings tables reported by commission when total number investigated is not reported	
				Estab-lishments	Women	Estab-lishments	Women
Wisconsin:							
1913	All	Pea canning	101,800 (?)	448	23,127		
1917	All	Pea canning	101,800 (?)	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)
1918	All	Pea canning	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)
1919	Tobacco stemming	Telephone	4,326 (?)	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)
		Telephone	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)
		Pea canning <sup>15</sup>	(?)				
1920		All	101,800 (?)				
		Pea canning	(?)				
		Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning	(?)				
		Tobacco stripping <sup>16</sup>	(?)				
		Beauty parlor	402 (?)				
		Hospital and sanitarium	(?)				
1921	All <sup>4</sup>	All	101,800 (?)	516	32,689	(?)	
	Tobacco stemming <sup>4</sup>	Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning	(?)	(?)	1,161		
		Pea canning	(?)				
1922		do	(?)				
		Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning	(?)				
1923		Pea canning	(?)				
		Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning	(?)				
1924		Pea canning	(?)				
		Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning	(?)				
1925		do	(?)				
1926		do	(?)				
1927		do	(?)				

<sup>1</sup> Not reported.<sup>2</sup> Not obtainable.<sup>4</sup> All investigations thus marked followed a decree. In most cases they were inspections for the established decree, but they were near enough the date of the new decree to serve as information when the new wage rate was determined.<sup>15</sup> Investigations made in 1913 and 1918.<sup>16</sup> Investigation made in 1919.



The first general point brought out by this table is the care with which the commissions have made some sort of an investigation of rates and earnings before setting minimum-wage rates. Except the office decree in North Dakota, the first decree in every industry or occupation, in every State, followed an investigation. Even in North Dakota records for a few office workers' wages were obtained from those who did clerical work in manufacturing and mercantile establishments.

It is much more difficult to judge whether the investigations were extensive enough to give a true idea of the wage condition of woman workers prior to the establishment of a decree. As was pointed out, the figures taken from the Federal census are only approximate. Nevertheless, the number of women investigated usually runs so large in the light of the number of women in the whole industry that even if the census figures are an underestimate it is still possible to say that the commissions, in almost all cases, made adequate studies. Only in North Dakota, of the States for which figures are reported, do the investigations cover such a small number of women that their value is questionable. For 1919 the records do not show how many women were investigated, but the number of establishments may give representative groups, when it is considered what a relatively small population lives in North Dakota. Moreover, as in all other States, every main industrial group was covered. For 1921, however, the figures are given and seem very inadequate, but it must be pointed out that this was an investigation after a decree had been set, though, due to an injunction, no rates actually were in effect. This investigation may have been considered simply as supplementing that of 1919.

When investigations before changing or renewing a decree are considered, the situation is very different. In seven States—California, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, North Dakota, Washington, and Wisconsin—after a decree was entered for the first time in an industry, special figures on rates and earnings were collected by the commissions. These figures therefore were available before this decree was amended or a new one was issued. Such data in most cases have been collected occasionally, rather than regularly. They serve primarily, of course, as a test to show whether or not the rate set really was being paid, and in consequence they are inspection figures rather than an investigation looking toward altering an existing rate. The collection of this considerable body of material at one time is, however, quite different from ordinary inspection for non-compliance. Moreover, the figures put into the hands of the commission evidence not only of whether employers are complying with the order but of how the wage rate is working. It is always possible for earnings to fall below rates to such a degree that the rate must be increased before earnings can cover the cost of living. Earnings may run ahead of the rate in one industry and fall behind in another. Rate tables may show that the minimum-wage rate is lagging behind even the figure most commonly used as an entrance rate in a given industry. With all these points in mind, it would seem that each commission or its wage board would need figures on current rates and earnings when a decree is to be amended. In most

States these figures are not considered so necessary that a special study is made to obtain them. The rate already established is considered in relation to changes in the cost of living since it was put into effect, and is raised or lowered by this scale. It is of special note, therefore, that for at least some of their amended decrees these seven States had available actual rates and earnings figures.

Besides the investigations that either preceded original decrees or were available when decrees were amended a few investigations were made in industries for which no decree ever has been issued. California made two such investigations—in the telephone and telegraph industry and in the garment trades. The second group was covered in the general manufacturing order issued in 1919, but telephone and telegraph workers remain the only considerable group of wage earners in California, except domestics, who have never been included in a minimum-wage decree. In the District of Columbia the Supreme Court decision declaring the minimum-wage law unconstitutional was made before any action had been taken on the investigations in manufacturing and the office-cleaning occupations. In clerical occupations the rates disclosed by the investigation were so high that the commission decided that action on its part was unnecessary. In Massachusetts the failure to follow with decrees the investigations in the cotton-textile industry and the hotel and restaurant industry is of great interest, since both of these industries employed large numbers of women and in every year studied showed very low rates and earnings. (The manufacture of cotton textiles employed 54,939 women and hotels and restaurants employed 24,436 women in 1920. Median rates in cotton textiles were \$6.35 in 1915 and \$8.90 in 1917. In hotels and restaurants median rates, not including lodging nor any meals, ran under \$5 in 1916, \$7.20 in 1918, and \$7.60 in 1921. Earnings in both these industries were lower than rates.) The reasons for inaction in these instances are somewhat complicated. In both industries some branches were much better paid than were others, so that the question arose how to select the groups which, according to law, were eligible for minimum-wage awards. Also the commission felt that the general rise in women's rates which was going on through most of the period in which the investigations were made, was advancing the rates in these industries as rapidly as, if not more rapidly than, the cost of living increased, so there was a difference of opinion as to whether action by the commission was necessary. Before these points were definitely settled—in fact, a second check-up of the wage situation in the cotton-textile industry had been started—the consolidation act brought about a complete change in the personnel of the commission. No further action was taken with respect to cotton textiles, and, though another investigation was made in 1921, no wage board ever was organized for hotels and restaurants.

Each group, then, that starts to set a wage decree must learn two fundamental things: What are women now receiving? What does it cost to live, frugally but decently? If it is a matter of amending an old decree, the group should know how the cost of living has changed since the rate was set. It should know whether or not the rate truly represented the cost of living when it was set, and it should have rates and earnings figures to show how the rate affected the

practical situation. All these data should be furnished by the impartial agency, the commission. All these facts the commissions have tried to supply.

#### Cost of living.

At the same time that the commissions investigated the wages of women, in many cases they studied their cost of living. The two most common methods of conducting a cost-of-living study were these: (1) To obtain from the employed women information concerning what they actually spent, and (2) to have the commission's investigators price actual articles and build up a theoretical minimum budget. Often the second method included the first, for the investigators would seek budgets from employers, the public, and the working women, on what was actually spent or on what was considered necessary, in order that their theoretical budget might represent truly the needs of the workers. Nevertheless, anyone wishing to differ from a budget, secured by either method, could find so many flaws in these studies that the main point of dispute in all minimum-wage conferences has been what a working woman actually must pay in order to secure the necessities of life.

The question of what is a proper budget for a working woman can only be touched upon in this report. A discussion of this subject would comprise a study in itself. The main controversial points must be mentioned, however, to realize the difficulties that beset a commission or wage board in determining a cost-of-living minimum. One thing that seems to have been agreed on in all minimum-wage work is that a worker should receive enough money to support herself when living independently of her family. No allowance is to be made, on the one hand, for the fact that she may support others, nor on the other hand for the fact that she may receive assistance from her family. Even this agreement has been reached and maintained only by a determined effort. Employer groups in all the States have persistently urged that the majority of their workers live at home and that family economies reduce their cost of living far below that estimated for the independent woman. Employees and the public usually have stood together in answering that the family should not be required to make up part of the working woman's expenses, and budgets have been made on the basis of independent self-support. Nevertheless rates often have been set below the reported cost of living. It seems probable that constant repetition of the phrase "economies of family life" has influenced these determinations, even when official statements maintain that all workers should be self-supporting. In making cost-of-living studies, however, the commissions have applied the theory of self-support.

If this theory is applied, the budgets collected by the first method—actual expenses of working women—at once become questionable. It is hardly possible to find any considerable group of working women who live independently and neither give nor receive financial aid. Moreover, what one woman succeeds in living on can not be accepted as a criterion for thousands. For example, it is only when large numbers of women report approximately the same figure as the cost of room and board that such a sum can be accepted as

a standard for all working women. Furthermore, what these women spend is determined by what they earn. They may be self-supporting only because they deny themselves proper food, clothing, or shelter. Moreover, the wage earner who knows just how much of each week's earnings goes for the many items of living cost is a *rara avis*. Therefore, on the ground of the insufficient number of women who meet the condition of independent self-support, the fact that even these workers are not necessarily living in a healthful manner, and the question of whether or not it is possible to get accurate reports from so depressed a group, anyone who disagrees with the figures obtained by this method has little difficulty in casting doubt on their value or even in thoroughly discrediting them.

The budget that results from first-hand investigations and interviews with persons cognizant of living costs, though conducted by the impartial agents of the commission, is open to one fundamental attack. It is theoretical. No woman can be pointed out who wears just the articles of clothing priced and listed. Everyone knows, for example, that some people are harder on shoes than are others, but the theoretical budget can not take any individual variations into account. Particularly as far as clothing and incidental expenses are concerned, there may be as many opinions of what are necessities as there are people consulted. No one can prove his point. Moreover, the claim can always be advanced that the territory covered in obtaining the figures was not inclusive enough, or was badly selected and did not represent places frequented by wage earners. In spite of all this the commissions have in most cases felt the necessity of making out a theoretical budget. It served as a means of telling when wages were too low for healthful living and what sum should be established as a wage rate. To try to meet the objection of the budget's impracticability the agents usually have obtained detailed estimates of the necessities of living from employers, employees, and representative citizens, and have selected for their budget the items appearing on the majority of these estimates. They have then obtained the prices of these items by personal visits. In some cases the prices themselves in the budgets submitted have been modified in the light of budgets of actual expenditures. The following table shows the care with which the various commissions, in most cases, have made the cost-of-living studies.

TABLE 18.—Methods used by the commissions in securing cost-of-living figures, by State and year

State and year	By commission or its agents			Budgets submitted by woman workers		
	Study by agents in given locality	Interviews with persons or organizations familiar with field	Use of secondary material	Number	Industry	Locality
California: <sup>1</sup>						
1914.....	San Francisco. Los Angeles. Oakland. Sacramento. San Diego.	Y. W. C. A. Other organizations.		1,000.....	Any.....	Entire State.
1918.....	San Francisco. Oakland. Los Angeles.	Y. W. C. A. Cafeterias and lunch rooms catering to women workers. Los Angeles Apartment House Association.	U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. University of Washington. National Industrial Conference Board. Prof. M. E. Jaffa, of the University of California.			
1920.....	San Francisco. Oakland. Los Angeles.	Workers..... Y. W. C. A. Hotel and Apartment Home Association. Retail Dry Goods Association.	Department of Home Economics of the University of California.	Union..... Not reported.	Laundry.....	San Francisco. State.
1922—April..... December.....	Not reported. San Francisco. Oakland. Los Angeles.	Y. W. C. A. Cafeterias and lunch rooms catering to women workers. Settlement workers. Personnel directors.		963 (on rooms only).....	Factory..... Laundry.	San Francisco. Los Angeles.
Kansas:						
1915 <sup>2</sup> .....	State-wide.....			Not reported.....	Mercantile.....	Not reported.
1921 <sup>3</sup> .....	38 cities and towns throughout the State.	Merchants, dentists, oculists, physicians, club women. Groups of employed women.	U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.		Laundry..... Any.	Do. State.

<sup>1</sup> California Industrial Welfare Commission. Fourth biennial report, 1919-20 and 1921-22, pp. 13-27.

<sup>2</sup> Kansas Industrial Welfare Commission. First biennial report, 1916-17, p. 46

<sup>3</sup> Kansas Commission of Industrial Relations. Cost-of-living survey, pp. 7-42.

TABLE 18.—Methods used by the commissions in securing cost-of-living figures, by State and year—Continued

State and year	By commission or its agents			Budgets submitted by woman workers		
	Study by agents in given locality	Interviews with persons or organizations familiar with field	Use of secondary material	Number	Industry	Locality
<b>Massachusetts:</b>						
Note.—The Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission usually supplied each wage board with some material on the cost of living. This included budgets from other States, references to published material on living costs, and in some cases figures on special articles collected by the agents of the commission. These original investigations by the agents most commonly covered some sample figures on the cost of room and board.						
Minnesota (1914) <sup>4</sup> .....	Minneapolis..... St. Paul (room and board).			2,303 (earning less than \$12.50 a week).	Any.....	St. Paul. Minneapolis. Duluth.
North Dakota: 1919 <sup>5</sup> .....	State-wide.....	Workers..... Employers. Persons furnishing necessities to the public.	U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. National Consumers' League.	35 (clothing)..... 30 (incidentals).	do.....	Not reported.
1921 <sup>6</sup> .....	State-wide (27 towns).....		Original investigation by U. S. Women's Bureau.	594.....	Mercantile..... Hotel and restaurant, telephone, laundry, factory, office.	27 towns.
Oregon: 1912 <sup>7</sup> .....	Portland.....	Employees..... Rooming and boarding house keepers.		181 (room and board)..... 509 (clothing and incidentals).	Any..... do.....	Portland. Do.
1917-18 <sup>8</sup> .....	Not reported.....	Realty Board..... Chamber of Commerce. Portland merchants. Paul H. Douglas, professor of Economics at Reed College.	U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Macy Commission.			
Texas (1920) <sup>9</sup> .....	State-wide (40 cities and towns).	Employees.....		439..... 2,750.	All.....	40 cities and towns.
Washington: 1914 <sup>10</sup> .....	State-wide.....	Employers.....		138.....	Mercantile, factory, undry, miscellaneous, office, telephone, etc.).	Not reported.
		Employees.....		112.....		
		Employees.....		27.....	Mercantile.....	Do. Do.
			Budgets prepared by conferences of employees, employers, and public.	Not reported.....	Mercantile, factory, laundry, telephone and telegraph, hotel and restaurant, office.	

1919-20 <sup>11</sup>			U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.	213	Public housekeeping	Do.
Wisconsin: 1913-14 <sup>12</sup>	Milwaukee and other cities	Y. W. C. A. Cafeterias and lunch rooms serving working women. Store price lists.		342	Manufacturing	Do.
				223	Laundry	Do.
1921 <sup>13</sup>	State-wide (24 villages, towns, and cities.)	Employees  Store men. Restaurateurs. Landowners.		1,640 (board and room) <sup>14</sup>	Any	State-wide.
				128 <sup>15</sup>	do	Milwaukee.
				1,993	do	Outside of Milwaukee.

<sup>11</sup> Minnesota Minimum Wage Commission. First biennial report, 1913-14, pp. 23-37.

<sup>12</sup> North Dakota Workmen's Compensation Bureau. Bul. No. 1 under minimum-wage act, 1920, pp. 9-11.

<sup>13</sup> North Dakota Workmen's Compensation Bureau. Cost of living, 1921, pp. 1-2 (mimeographed).

<sup>14</sup> Oregon Consumers' League. Report of the social survey committee on wages, hours, and conditions of work and cost and standard of living, 1913, pp. 57-67.

<sup>15</sup> Oregon Industrial Welfare Commission. Third biennial report, 1917-18, pp. 10-12.

<sup>16</sup> Texas Industrial Welfare Commission. Report, 1919-20, pp. 5, 6, and 9.

<sup>17</sup> Washington Industrial Welfare Commission. First biennial report, 1913-14, pp. 18-23 and Appendix A, pp. 47-65.

<sup>18</sup> Washington Industrial Welfare Commission. Fourth biennial report, 1919-20, p. 51.

<sup>19</sup> Wisconsin Industrial Commission. Cost of living of wage-earning women in Wisconsin, pp. 2-29

<sup>20</sup> Schedules for these budgets supplied by industrial commission.

<sup>21</sup> Wisconsin Industrial Commission. Cost of living study, 1921, p. 1 (typewritten).

The foregoing table is presented to show the sources of the cost-of-living information used by the various commissions in determining the sums necessary for healthful self-support. It is interesting to note that, except for a small investigation in Kansas in 1915, every commission that has made a cost-of-living study has had its agents conduct a first-hand study and has supplemented this information by schedules of actual expenses made out by working women. Moreover, as appears in the table next presented, the majority of the cost-of-living budgets submitted have been theoretical, worked out by the commission's agents from all available material. In the few cases where budgets from interested groups are presented, they merely supplement the composite budgets.

The following table gives the actual amounts found by the cost-of-living studies. Incidental items vary so that they have been lumped in this table. The expenses most commonly included under this head are laundry, car fares, doctors' bills, church, charity, and recreation.

TABLE 19.—*Cost-of-living figures in studies made by commissions, by State and year*

State and year	Source of budget	Total		Room and board		Clothing		Incidentals	
		Per year	Per week <sup>1</sup>	Per year	Per week <sup>1</sup>	Per year	Per week <sup>1</sup>	Per year	Per week <sup>1</sup>
California:									
1914 <sup>2</sup> .....	Industrial welfare commission.	\$500.45	\$9.63	\$300.00	\$5.77	\$112.25	\$2.16	\$88.20	\$1.70
1919 <sup>3</sup> .....	Industrial welfare commission.	705.95	13.57	429.00	8.25	170.75	3.28	106.20	2.04
1920 <sup>3</sup> .....	Industrial welfare commission.	837.95	16.11	560.55	10.78	156.40	3.01	121.00	2.33
1922—									
April <sup>4</sup> .....	Industrial welfare commission.	779.80	14.99	545.00	10.48	113.80	2.19	121.00	2.33
December <sup>5</sup> .....	Industrial welfare commission.	836.30	16.08	573.00	11.02	142.30	2.74	121.00	2.33
Kansas:									
1915 <sup>6</sup> .....	Employees.....	379.49	7.30	250.73	4.82	85.04	1.64	43.72	.84
1921 <sup>7</sup> .....	Court of industrial relations.	880.57	16.93	507.00	9.75	172.33	3.31	201.24	3.87
Minnesota, 1914 <sup>8</sup> .....	Wage boards:								
	Mercantile (Twin Cities).....	449.80	8.65	249.60	4.80	104.00	2.00	96.20	1.85
	Manufacturing (Twin Cities).....	458.64	8.82	260.00	5.00	99.84	1.92	98.80	1.90
	Duluth.....	451.88	8.69	254.80	4.90	104.00	2.00	93.08	1.79
	Average of three above.....	453.44	8.72	254.80	4.90	102.61	1.97	96.03	1.85
	Minimum-wage commission.....			302.20	5.81				
	Employees.....	434.72	8.36	229.32	4.41	89.96	1.73	115.44	2.22
North Dakota:									
1919 <sup>9</sup> .....	Workmen's compensation bureau—Minimum-wage department.	845.00	16.25	481.00	9.25	208.00	4.00	156.00	3.00

<sup>1</sup> In some cases the result of dividing by 52, so details and total do not always agree.

<sup>2</sup> California Industrial Welfare Commission. Fourth biennial report, 1919-20 and 1921-22, pp. 13-27.

<sup>3</sup> California Industrial Welfare Commission. Mimeographed budgets.

<sup>4</sup> Kansas Industrial Welfare Commission. First biennial report, 1915-1917, p. 46.

<sup>5</sup> Kansas Industrial Court. Cost of living study, Aug. 31, 1921, pp. 40 and 41.

<sup>6</sup> Minnesota Minimum Wage Commission. First biennial report, 1913-14, pp. 26, 30, 37, and 39.

<sup>7</sup> North Dakota Workmen's Compensation Bureau. Report by secretary and special investigator of the minimum wage commission from Aug. 4, 1919, to Dec. 31, 1919, p. 11.



TABLE 19.—*Cost-of-living figures in studies made by commissions, by State and year—Continued*

State and year	Source of budget	Total		Room and board		Clothing		Incidentals	
		Per year	Per week <sup>1</sup>	Per year	Per week <sup>1</sup>	Per year	Per week <sup>1</sup>	Per year	Per week <sup>1</sup>
North Dakota—Continued. 1921 <sup>a</sup>	Workmen's compensation bureau—Minimum wage department	\$949.53	\$18.26	\$508.04	\$9.77	\$277.68	\$5.34	\$163.80	\$3.15
Oregon: 1912 <sup>b</sup>	Employees.....	527.23	10.14	266.34	5.12	153.03	2.94	107.86	2.07
	Consumers' league investigators.....	545.00	10.48	300.00	5.77	130.00	2.50	115.00	2.21
1917-18 <sup>c</sup>	Industrial welfare commission.....	604.24	11.62	326.56	6.28	157.04	3.02	120.64	2.32
Texas, 1920 <sup>d</sup>	Industrial welfare commission.....	704.60	13.55	507.00	9.75	92.56	1.78	105.04	2.02
	.....	786.24	15.12						
Washington: 1914 <sup>e</sup>	Employees.....	507.69	9.76	284.21	5.47	140.02	2.69	83.46	1.61
	Employers.....	535.10	10.29	331.67	6.38	118.17	2.27	85.26	1.64
	Mercantile—employees.....	558.28	10.74	287.56	5.53	131.80	2.53	138.92	2.67
1919-20 <sup>f</sup>	Industrial welfare commission.....	1,175.17	22.60	566.24	10.89	337.60	6.49	271.33	5.22
Wisconsin, 1913-14 <sup>g</sup>	Industrial commission.....	494.00	9.50	338.00	6.50	98.80	1.90	57.20	1.10
	Employees.....	439.22	8.45	196.36	3.78	108.88	2.09	133.98	2.58

<sup>a</sup> North Dakota Workmen's Compensation Bureau. Minimum wage department. Cost of living survey, 1921. Mimeographed; not paged; tables not numbered.  
<sup>b</sup> Oregon Consumers' League. Report of the social survey committee on the wages, hours, and conditions of work, and cost and standard of living, of women wage earners, 1913, pp. 61-67.  
<sup>c</sup> Oregon Industrial Welfare Commission. Third biennial report, 1917-18, pp. 10-12.  
<sup>d</sup> Texas Industrial Welfare Commission. Report June, 1919-Aug. 31, 1920, pp. 11 and 23.  
<sup>e</sup> Washington Industrial Welfare Commission. First biennial report, 1913-14, Appendix A, pp. 51-65.  
<sup>f</sup> Washington Industrial Welfare Commission. Fourth biennial report, 1919-20, p. 51.  
<sup>g</sup> Wisconsin Industrial Commission. Cost of living of wage-earning women in Wisconsin, pp. 19 and 29.

As in the case of the investigations of wages, the commissions have been particularly careful to make cost-of-living studies before establishing their first decree. The revised decrees in some cases have been preceded by complete cost-of-living studies—in California this was done before each new group of orders—but the more usual procedure has been to raise or lower rates according to changes in the cost of living while the original budget remained the basis on which the changes were calculated. Moreover, the budgets presented are only those made by the commissions prior to calling wage boards. Almost every wage board did some work on this question. If they accepted a previous study of the commission or of another wage board, they estimated changes in the cost of living to bring their studies up to date. The basis most commonly used for these estimates was the cost-of-living study of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. The first cost-of-living study, therefore, was much the most important one, since when once a budget was established the means of altering it as conditions changed was available.

To bring out the differences in these budgets due to date and locality, the following table showing cost of living for the total year is included:

TABLE 20.—*Estimated yearly cost of living, by State and year of completion of survey*

State	Source of budget	1912	1914	1915	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922
California	Industrial welfare commission.		\$500.45			\$705.95	\$837.96		\$779.80
Kansas	Employees.			\$379.49					\$836.30
	Court of industrial relations.							\$880.57	
Minnesota	Employees.		434.72						
North Dakota	Workmen's compensation bureau—Minimum wage department.					845.00		949.52	
Oregon	Consumers' league.	\$545.00							
	Employees.	527.23							
	Industrial welfare commission.				\$604.24				
Texas	Industrial welfare commission.						704.60		
Washington	Employees.		507.69				786.24		
	Employers.		535.10						
	Mercantile—employees.		558.28						
	Industrial welfare commission.						1,175.17		
Wisconsin	Industrial commission.		494.00						
	Employees.		439.22						

<sup>1</sup> April.

<sup>2</sup> December.

In the studies completed in the years 1912 and 1914, the total cost in all the estimates runs surprisingly the same; \$500 to \$550 is roughly the sum that these studies present as their conclusion. The only two figures that fall considerably below \$500 are \$434.72 in Minnesota and \$439.22 in Wisconsin. These two figures and the one submitted by women in mercantile stores in Washington are the only ones that represent women's expenditures based on their actual earnings. They do not necessarily show a healthful standard of living. If these two sums are considered as the smallest amount on which a self-supporting woman can exist, their agreement, as well as their falling below the sums estimated as the cost of decent living, is explained. The only figure that runs over \$550 is the average budget of 27 girls employed in mercantile stores in the State of Washington. It runs so slightly over \$550 that the difference is not significant. It is important, though, in its relation to the employee budgets from Minnesota and Wisconsin, for it runs \$120 higher than these. The small sums in these two budgets and in the 1915 Kansas budget are convincing arguments for the need of establishing a minimum-wage rate. They fall far below the impartial investigations by commissions in two States and the theoretical minimum budgets submitted by either employers or employees.

The budget studies completed after 1915 show a steady increase in the cost of living, but they do not produce figures that are approximately the same in all the States. In 1919 studies in two States showed a range of \$140 in the estimated cost of living. In 1920 California and Washington were almost \$340 apart in their estimates of the cost of living—a tremendous difference when the small size of even the larger sum is considered—and Texas arrived at

an estimate \$133 below that of California. It must be that in some States items have been considered necessities that in other States have been omitted. The 1920 figures in Table 19 show that there is less than \$6 difference in the sums estimated as the cost of room and board in California and in Washington (\$560.55 and \$566.24, respectively). The Washington estimate for clothing is more than \$180 higher than the California estimate (\$337.60 and \$156.40, respectively), and for incidentals the Washington figure is \$150 higher (California, \$121, and Washington, \$271.33). It is in clothing and incidentals that opinion as to what are necessities plays the greatest part. It would appear that the commissions were making independent lists of necessary articles and that in some States these lists were much more inclusive than in others. If commission figures can be so far apart it is easy to see why it is so hard for wage boards, where conflicting interests are represented, to agree on what the cost of living really is.

#### Summary.

The importance of these investigations by the commissions can not be overemphasized. They show how uniformly the commissions have studied the wage situation before instituting any wage boards or taking action on rates themselves. All the investigations could have covered more territory, more women, more places of business, but a comparison of the number of women investigated and the approximate number employed proves that the commissions included a substantial proportion of the woman wage earners in their studies. Though their methods of obtaining these figures are not in most cases the ones considered most careful and accurate, some States have used the most approved methods and most of the States undoubtedly have secured figures sufficiently good to fulfill the requirement of the laws that it be ascertained before the setting of a decree that a large number of women and minors need this aid. Moreover, the table giving the methods employed in making cost-of-living studies shows that a very real effort was made to do this part of the work thoroughly. It is undoubtedly true that after the first series of wage boards was established the commissions, in most States, did not make so careful investigations before reconsidering rates as they did before the original rates were set. In some States, however, their methods of making investigations improved. Though continued investigation of wages and living costs may have been desirable, it was not strictly necessary after a budget was accepted and a rate was set. All revisions of the rate could be according to changes in the cost of living. It is probable that most of the commissions, when once they had some rates to enforce, lacked money to look after enforcement and to institute new investigations. That continued investigations would have been extremely valuable is not denied. The original budgets were far from perfect and continued study would be likely to lead to a better balance among items and the inclusion of those things that were really vital to the worker. Moreover, investigations that enabled the wage boards and commissions to see what were the results of earlier decrees would be of great value in determining how those decrees should be changed.

## CHAPTER V.—PROCEDURE IN ORGANIZING FOR THE PURPOSE OF DETERMINING WAGE RATES—LAW AND PRACTICE

To return to the mechanics of setting the decree: If an investigation discloses such low wages that the commission determines to establish a wage rate, its method of procedure in determining this rate is carefully set forth in the laws. To carry out the express purpose of these laws it is necessary that someone should study carefully the relation between the wages received and the cost of living and determine what is the lowest wage that will provide the woman worker with a decent, if frugal, livelihood. This effort to set a rate to conform to actual conditions is the fundamental point in these laws. The legal provisions that arrange for a body to do this work and give this body certain powers set up a scheme that necessitates every other provision in the laws. All acts authorized in the laws are either in preparation for the work of this group or to enforce the rates it sets.

### BODY THAT SETS WAGE RATES

#### Provisions of laws.

Whether the commissions shall undertake this important work themselves or shall delegate it to bodies organized for the purpose, which will report their decisions to the commission for final acceptance or rejection, is carefully considered in the laws. The following statement shows which body is required by law to determine the amount of the minimum wage:

Commission that administers law	Wage board appointed specifically to determine this amount	Commission itself or a wage board—decision as to method to rest with commission
Arkansas. Colorado (1913). Kansas (1921). Texas.	California (1921). <sup>1</sup> District of Columbia. <sup>2</sup> Kansas (1915). Massachusetts. <sup>2</sup> Nebraska. <sup>2</sup> North Dakota. <sup>2</sup> Oregon. <sup>2</sup> Washington. <sup>2</sup> Wisconsin. <sup>2</sup>	California (1913). Colorado (1917). <sup>2</sup> Minnesota.

<sup>1</sup> Board only recommends amount to commission.

<sup>2</sup> Rates may be set for minors by commission without wage-board procedure.

<sup>3</sup> Called "advisory" board by the law and meets with commission to determine amount.

The principle of having a group of citizens, in no way connected officially with carrying out the law, determine what is a fair rate to pay woman workers, has been the most common solution of how this difficult task shall be accomplished. This gives the commission the

opportunity to judge a completed piece of work and means that the rate is the result not only of the best judgment of the wage board or conference but of the review by the commission.

**Method followed in practice.**

In the District of Columbia, Massachusetts, North Dakota, and Oregon no decrees ever have been issued except through the process of organizing wage boards to determine the amount of the rate. In Kansas all decrees issued under the régime of the industrial welfare commission followed the holding of wage boards. In Washington all decrees for adults and the original decrees for minors in each industry have been issued after wage boards were held.<sup>1</sup> In Wisconsin the two important decrees for all industries were issued following meetings of the advisory wage board. The table following shows the number of wage boards held and their relation to the number of decrees issued.

TABLE 21.—Action of wage boards and number of wage decrees, by State

State	Number of boards that—			Number of decrees			
	Recom- mended rates for an industry that had never been covered by a mini- mum-wage rate	Were recon- vened to re- adjust rates that they had previ- ously recom- mended	Recom- mended rates for an industry that had previously been covered by a mini- mum-wage rate	Total	Original	Reissued	Total
California.....	7	1	7	15	11	29	40
District of Columbia.....	14	12	—	6	4	1	5
Kansas.....	15	—	1	6	4	4	8
Massachusetts.....	23	13	6	42	21	13	34
Minnesota.....	4	—	—	4	9	3	12
North Dakota.....	7	—	5	12	7	5	12
Oregon.....	6	—	5	11	5	37	42
Washington.....	67	—	8	15	14	14	28
Wisconsin.....	3	1	—	4	5	12	17

<sup>1</sup> First laundry board reconvened before any decree was issued.  
<sup>2</sup> Second laundry board organized before any decree was issued.  
<sup>3</sup> Second boards in corset and paper-box industries before any decree was issued; three boards in candy before any decree was issued; original boards reconvened in muslin underwear and office-cleaners' occupation before any decree was issued; two boards, one reconvened and one new, in brush industry before a revised decree was issued; one board in men's clothing without a decree being issued.  
<sup>4</sup> Two reissued decrees took the place of four original ones.  
<sup>5</sup> Two cannery boards before decree was issued; war board held no decree entered; boards from 1916 on were held for "all industries" but decree issued for various occupations or industries.  
<sup>6</sup> Two laundry boards organized before any decree was issued; two manufacturing boards organized before decree was reissued.

Wage boards have been held to consider three phases of this problem of setting rates. As the table shows, they have been called to set rates for an industry never before studied; they have been called to adjust their own rates to accord with changes in the cost of living; and they have been called to revise rates set by an earlier wage board or by the commission. Of these three kinds of boards, the board in an industry that had had no previous consideration had, of course, the most difficult and responsible work to perform. This is the sort

<sup>1</sup> Wage boards reported on adults only (see Washington law), but minors were discussed and decrees for minors were issued at the same time as those for adults, immediately following each wage board.

of decree for which the greatest number of wage boards have been called.

Only in California and Minnesota has it been customary to issue decrees without holding a wage board. Even in California wage boards were held before 7 of the 11 original decrees were issued, but the reports of these wage boards were much less formal than those in the States where the laws required the boards to recommend the actual rates. Minnesota has issued no decrees based directly on recommendations of wage boards. Before any original decrees were issued in Minnesota, four wage boards were held, but they were local gatherings. Two were held in Duluth—one for the manufacturing and one for the mercantile industry—and two in the Twin Cities, St. Paul and Minneapolis, one each for the same industries. No state-wide boards were held, and though the recommendations of the local boards were given careful consideration by the commission they were not accepted as a whole. In Kansas the amended law of 1921 provided that the rates should be set directly by the industrial court; consequently the last three decrees were issued in this way. In Arkansas and Texas all the decrees have been issued by the commissions.

#### PROCEDURE WHEN WAGE BOARDS ARE ESTABLISHED

##### Organization of wage boards as provided for in the laws.

When a commission decides to organize a wage board, it finds its procedure carefully outlined in the laws. The table following shows the provisions in the laws under which the commissions must work.

	Special qualifications	Payment
<b>Chairman</b>		
Member of commission serving on board.	Employers and employees selected must be in the occupation, trade, or industry in question.	\$5 per diem and necessary traveling expenses.
Selected by commission	Employers and employees selected must be in the occupation in question.	Same rate as jurors in counties of record, plus necessary traveling and clerical appropriation.
Selected by commission	do.	
	do.	Same rates as jurors in civil cases in the district court; necessary traveling and clerical expenses.
Selected by commission from representatives of public.	Persons selected to represent the employers and the women employees must be in the occupation in question.	Same rate as jurors; necessary traveling and clerical expenses.
do.	do.	Do.
do.	do.	Do.
do.	Persons appointed by commission to be employers and employees in the occupation in question.	Do.
	Employers and employees selected must be in the occupation in question.	Without pay.
Chairman of the commission	do.	Same rates as jurors in district courts; necessary traveling and other expenses.
Designated by bureau	do.	
Designated by commission	do.	
Member of commission	Employers and employees selected must be in the occupation in question.	

TABLE 22.—Organization of wage boards, by State

[From the minimum-wage laws]

State	Commission to act as wage board		Composition of wage board				Method of selection				Special qualifications	Payment	
	Shall	May	Employers	Employees	Public	Women	Employers	Employees	Public	Chairman			
Arkansas	X												
California: 1913 1921		X	Equal numbers.					Left to the industrial-welfare commission.			Member of commission serving on board.	Employers and employees selected must be in the occupation, trade, or industry in question.	\$5 per diem and necessary traveling expenses.
Colorado: 1913 1917	X	X		3	Equal number (3)	Some one to represent commission if desired.	1 member of each group.	Elected by the employers of the State in so far as this is possible; approved by commission.	Elected by the employees of the State in so far as this is possible; approved by commission.	Appointed by commission.	Selected by commission.	Employers and employees selected must be in the occupation in question.	Same rate as jurors in counties of record, plus necessary traveling and clerical appropriation.
District of Columbia			Equal numbers (not more than 3 of each).		Not more than 3. 1 or more members of the board.			Board shall name and appoint.		Selected by commission.	.do.		
Kansas: 1915			3	Equal number (3)	1 or more			Commission shall appoint.			.do.		Same rates as jurors in civil cases in the district court; necessary traveling and clerical expenses.
Massachusetts: 1921	X												
1912			6	Equal number (6)	1 or more but may not exceed one-half of the number of representatives of either of other parties.			Appointed by commission.		Selected by commission from representatives of public.	Persons selected to represent the employers and the women employees must be in the occupation in question.	Same rate as jurors; necessary traveling and clerical expenses.	
1914				Equal numbers.	.do.			Nominated by employers and employees, respectively, within 10 days of notification by commission. Selected from these lists by commission.	Appointed by commission.	.do.	.do.	Do.	
1919 1920				Equal numbers. Equal numbers.	.do. .do.			Vacancies on board filled by commission. Nominations must include twice as many names as there are to be representatives on the wage board. Commission must select one-half the names submitted. May appoint remaining members directly.		.do. .do.	Persons appointed by commission to be employers and employees in the occupation in question.	Do. Do.	
Minnesota		X	3-10	Equal number (3-10)	1 or more but may not exceed the number of representatives of either party. One member a woman.	One-fifth of membership.	Elected by the employers of the State in so far as this is practicable.	Elected by the employees of the State in so far as this is practicable.	Appointed by commission.		Employers and employees selected must be in the occupation in question.	Without pay.	
Nebraska			3	Equal number (3)	The 3 appointed members of the commission.			Appointed by commission.	The three appointed members of the minimum wage commission.	Chairman of the commission.	.do.	Same rates as jurors in district courts; necessary traveling and other expenses.	
North Dakota				Equal numbers (not more than 3 of each).	Not more than 3. 1 or more commissioners.			Named and appointed by the workmen's compensation bureau.		Designated by bureau.	.do.		
Oregon				Equal numbers (not more than 3 of each).	Not more than 3. 1 or more commissioners.			Named and appointed by commission.		Designated by commission.	.do.		
Texas	X												
Washington				Equal numbers.	1 or more but may not exceed the number of representatives of either of the other parties, and member of commission.				Appointed by commission.	Member of commission.	Employers and employees selected must be in the occupation in question.		
Wisconsin, 1913					Commission decides on fair representation				Appointed by commission.				



The laws in Arkansas and Texas do not provide for wage boards. In every other State except California the law provides that the membership shall represent the employers, the employees, and the public. The relation among these groups is specified in all the laws except that of Wisconsin. Many of the laws even specify the number of representatives who are to be appointed. The number of employer and employee representatives varies, though the most usual number mentioned is three of each, but whatever the actual number these two groups always are equal. The Wisconsin law specifies that employers, employees, and the public shall be represented, but leaves the number of each group and their relative size to the commission. Seven States—California, Colorado (1917), District of Columbia, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oregon, and Washington—provide for the participation of the commission in the work of the wage board. In all these States except California the commissioners are to serve as part or all of the public group. In California the member of the commission who serves on a wage board is to serve as the commission's representative, reporting to that body on the work. In Nebraska the three appointed members of the commission are to compose the entire public group on each wage board. In all the other States except California and Nebraska any commissioner serves in addition to a public group appointed by the commission. In Colorado whether or not a commissioner serves on a wage board is optional with the commission. Though these boards are to deal almost wholly with women, only two States, Colorado (1917) and Minnesota, definitely provide that some of the board members must be women. The Colorado law specifies that one member of each of the three groups be a woman and Minnesota that one-fifth of the board's total membership be women. Thus, all the laws emphasize the representation of the two economic groups that will be directly affected by the decree and almost all of them emphasize the presumably impartial group, the public.

#### **Actual membership of the wage boards.**

Consideration of the personnel of the boards appointed to do the work of setting wage rates is discussed here in connection with the foregoing section on the requirements of the laws, though it would be interesting to discuss it in connection with the rates set. There is, however, one point about the membership of these wage boards that is of interest in its relation to the membership of the commissions themselves—that is, the participation of women. In the organization of the commissions women have played such an important part that it is pertinent to see what part they have taken in this fundamental work of setting wage rates. The tables that follow show the proportion of women in each representative group and on the entire board. When it is realized that these boards were engaged in determining how much it costs working women to live, it is amazing that a task whose problems were those of most women should have been given so largely to men. Women form the vast majority of buyers in all walks of life, so that in general they are more familiar with prices and the utility of articles than are men, and as it was

their own needs that were being considered it is hard to see on what basis men were supposed to be better fitted to decide their cost of living.

In all the States the preponderance of men as owners or executives in business has necessitated that the employer group should be composed almost wholly of men. Only four women ever have served as employer representatives on a wage board. In three cases in Massachusetts—the second women's clothing board (1922), the reconvened muslin underwear board (1922), and the millinery board, reconvened and combined (1925)—and in one case in Washington—the mercantile board (1921)—one member of the employer group in each case was a woman.

If there is a logical reason for having so few women as employer members, theoretically it is hard to see why men should ever be appointed to represent the women employees; yet this has sometimes been the case. Three States—Kansas, Massachusetts, and Wisconsin—have organized one or more wage boards with men serving as representatives of the woman workers. The only possible explanation of this seems to be the great difficulty which the commissions have sometimes encountered in getting people to serve as employee representatives. The table following shows the proportion of women serving as employee representatives on wage boards.

TABLE 23.—Proportion of employee representatives on wage boards who were women, by State

State	Total number of wage boards <sup>1</sup>	Number of wage boards on which women formed, of the employee representatives—										100 per cent		
		None	Under 10 per cent	10 and under 20 per cent	20 and under 30 per cent	30 and under 40 per cent	40 and under 50 per cent	50 and under 60 per cent	60 and under 70 per cent	70 and under 80 per cent	80 and under 90 per cent		90 and under 100 per cent	
All States	99			3		1*		2	11			5		77
California	13													13
District of Columbia	5													5
Kansas	6								3					3
Massachusetts	38			3		1		1	8			5		20
Minnesota	1													1
North Dakota	12													12
Oregon	11													11
Washington	12													12
Wisconsin	1							1						1

<sup>1</sup> Includes all wage boards for which a report on the membership could be obtained.

<sup>2</sup> Reconvened laundry board had same membership as first board and does not appear in this table.

<sup>3</sup> Original boards in muslin underwear and office and building cleaners, reconvened before any decree was issued, appear only once in this table. Membership of 2 boards (candy 1914 and corset 1915) not available.

In most of the States the practice has been to appoint employee groups composed entirely of women. Wisconsin is the only State that has always had some men as representatives of the woman workers. Moreover, though Wisconsin appears in the table as having had only one wage board, this same group has been called together three times so that both wage decrees for "all industries" issued in Wisconsin have embodied the results of its recommendations.

The third group, usually called the public but intended to be an impartial group rather than to represent any special viewpoint, also has had a majority of men. The following table shows the proportion of women serving in the public group:

TABLE 24.—Proportion of public representatives on wage boards who were women, by State

State	Total number of wage boards <sup>1</sup>	Number of wage boards on which women formed, of the public representatives—										100 per cent	
		None	Under 10 per cent	10 and under 20 per cent	20 and under 30 per cent	30 and under 40 per cent	40 and under 50 per cent	50 and under 60 per cent	60 and under 70 per cent	70 and under 80 per cent	80 and under 90 per cent		90 and under 100 per cent
All States...	86	17			2	59			5				3
District of Columbia.....	25					4			1				
Kansas.....	6	3											2
Massachusetts.....	28	13				24			1				1
Minnesota.....	1				1								
North Dakota.....	12	1				11							
Oregon.....	11					10			1				
Washington.....	12					10			2				
Wisconsin.....	1				1								

<sup>1</sup> Includes all wage boards for which a report on membership could be obtained.  
<sup>2</sup> Reconvened laundry board had same membership as first board and does not appear in this table.  
<sup>3</sup> Original boards in muslin underwear and office and building cleaners, reconvened before any decree was issued, appear only once in this table. Membership of 2 boards (candy 1914 and corset 1915) not available.

In the District of Columbia, Oregon, and Washington, where the wage boards were organized with three public representatives, one wage board in the District of Columbia and in Oregon and two wage boards in Washington were organized with two women in the public group. In Kansas, on two wage boards, a woman served as the only public representative, and on another board, with three public members, two women served. In Massachusetts one wage board had a woman as its single public representative. In addition to the public members in the foregoing table, a woman represented the California commission on each of the 13 wage boards held in that State. This representative of the commissioners served as the referee between employers and employees and held the balance of power between them, just as the public members did in the other States. Her function was so analogous to that of a public member that she is included in this discussion. Including California, only 21 of the 99 wage boards had a majority of their disinterested members women, and 13 of the 21 were cases where this member represented the commission (California). Seventeen wage boards, 13 of which were in Massachusetts, had no women whatsoever serving on the public group.

With almost no women representing the employers, with men sometimes representing the woman workers, and with the majority of the public representatives men, the following table, showing the percentage of women on the entire wage boards, is hardly necessary except to emphasize that most of the boards have been controlled by the men members.

TABLE 25.—*Proportion of all wage-board members who were women, by State*

State	Total number of wage boards <sup>1</sup>	Number of wage boards on which women formed, of all members—										100 per cent
		None	Under 10 per cent	10 and under 20 per cent	20 and under 30 per cent	30 and under 40 per cent	40 and under 50 per cent	50 and under 60 per cent	60 and under 70 per cent	70 and under 80 per cent	80 and under 90 per cent	
All States	99		4	6	8	58	21	2				
California	13						11	2				
District of Columbia	5					4	1					
Kansas	6			2		2	2					
Massachusetts	38		4	3	6	23	3					
Minnesota	1				1							
North Dakota	12				1	11						
Oregon	11					10	1					
Washington	12					9	3					
Wisconsin	1			1								

<sup>1</sup> Includes all wage boards for which a report on membership could be obtained.

<sup>2</sup> Reconvened laundry board had same membership as first board and does not appear in this table.

<sup>3</sup> Original boards in muslin underwear and office building cleaners, reconvened before any decree was issued, appear only once in this table. Membership of 2 boards (candy 1914 and corset 1915) not available.

Two California wage boards have had as much as two-thirds of their membership women, but each of these boards consisted of five members, three of whom were women, the balance being held by the woman commissioner. The real situation appears when it is noted that of 99 wage boards 23 have had a bare majority of women.

This analysis of the part taken by women in general in setting wage rates for themselves as workers may seem to inject into the minimum-wage question a new and unimportant element of controversy; that is, whether there is any real reason for giving women, as women, a larger share, or, through majority representation of the public group, the deciding voice, in determining the amount on which a working woman can support herself, when the field is already filled with other questions on which there are differences of opinion. It is, however, because of the fact that all the State laws direct that wage rates be set so as to approximate the cost of living, and that rates often have been set below such a sum, that the choice of so many men for wage-board duty can be questioned. It is possible that one cause of these discrepancies between cost-of-living figures and rates may have been the lack of knowledge on the part of the men as to just what it does cost a woman to live. It is hard to see how the statement made a little earlier in this report that women on the whole know all living costs better than do men, and their own needs much better than men can know them, can be refuted. It can only be urged that there are other and more pressing reasons for appointing men. Undoubtedly two factors have contributed largely to the selection of so many men. The first is the feeling that the more prominent were the wage-board members the more weight would their decisions carry with the general public, and that in so new a field it was necessary that persons of standing should make the decisions, particularly the decisions of the public group which in most cases swung the balance toward the employer or the employee group. As communities are organized at present there are many

more such men than women. Second, in many cases there has been a feeling on the part of the employers that men, more than women, would appreciate the importance of general business prosperity and expansion, and would not allow rates to be set that would be greater than a marginal concern could afford to pay, even though the lower rate might in no way approximate the cost of living. It may be recalled that only in Colorado (1913), Massachusetts, and Nebraska did the laws require that the wage boards or the commissions consider the financial condition of the industry in setting wage rates,<sup>2</sup> and the very serious ethical question involved here—of whether or not any industry should expect to go on functioning and paying a return to its owner or owners if it can not pay its workers a living wage—tacitly has been decided in favor of paying a living wage by the very enactment of the laws themselves. It would seem, therefore, that the appointment of people because they held the opinion that the financial condition of the industry should be considered was almost equivalent to the appointment of people who were not strictly impartial; that it was, moreover, not truly in the spirit of the majority of the laws; and that the laws would be best carried out by that group in the community who knew the most about how much it actually costs to live.

#### Methods of selecting wage-board members provided in the laws.

How to select wage-board members who can perform their difficult tasks well and who are acceptable to the many people affected by their decisions has been one of the hardest problems that have confronted the minimum-wage commissions. Most of the laws have given the commissions a free hand in selecting the people who shall serve. In every State the members of the important public group are to be selected and appointed directly by the commission. Only in Colorado (1917), Massachusetts (1914), and Minnesota do the laws provide that the employer and employee members are to be suggested by the groups they are to represent.

The laws of Colorado and Minnesota, however, provide that the commissions need organize wage boards from persons elected by the employers and employees only so far as this is practical. The boards could be completed by the commission itself, so that the efforts of these States to obtain proper wage-board members probably need not have been any more restricted than were those of the States where the commissions were allowed to obtain members in whatever way seemed best. In Massachusetts, though, a situation developed that for a time permitted the commission to exercise only a limited control over the personnel of the wage boards. The original Massachusetts law (1912) gave the commission the power of selecting these representatives, but this section of the law has been changed three times since it was originally enacted. The first amendment, in 1914, provided that the commission was to select the representatives of the employers from nominations made by the employers in the trade or occupation under consideration, and the representatives of the employees in a like manner from nominations made by the em-

<sup>2</sup> The Massachusetts law was the only one of the three that ever functioned, so this arose as a practical question in only the one State.

ployees, unless no nominations were sent to the commission within 10 days after the two groups were notified to make nominations. This really worked out so that these nominations could be equivalent to an election, since either group by nominating only the specified number of representatives set by the commission could force the appointment of all its nominees. In 1920 the law was again amended by providing that the commission need choose for service on the wage board only one-half of the persons nominated by the employers and employees, respectively. In case the employers or employees did not submit twice as many names as the commission had announced there would be wage-board representatives, the commission could choose directly the remaining members necessary to complete the panel. Meanwhile, in 1919 another amendment had given the commission the power to fill any vacancy that might occur on a wage board caused by a representative's dropping out after it was organized. Thus, after having had the power to select wage-board members as it thought best, the commission, through the 1914 amendment of the law, found itself in a position where it had such limited power that other agencies could control the choice of wage-board members. At present, however, while the employers and employees are guaranteed some voice in the selection of wage-board members, the commission is given enough power, through the amendments of 1919 and 1920, to organize a wage board without the cooperation of these groups, as units, if for any reason it is impossible to secure their help. In the other 10 minimum-wage States, the difficulties inherent in carrying out this part of the law have been dealt with by the commissions as they thought best. The laws simply declare the kind of representation required on the wage boards and the commissions must obtain members that meet these specifications.

#### **Methods actually used in selecting wage-board members.**

It has been an extremely difficult task in all the States to get suitable wage-board members. The employee groups are the most difficult to obtain. Often the woman workers themselves are afraid to serve on wage boards for fear they will incur their employers' displeasure, thinking that, if not discharged, they certainly will be discriminated against.

Even when a woman is willing to serve, such practical considerations as lack of time, living at a distance from the locality where the meetings are being held, and sometimes such financial stress that the woman can not afford to serve, may prevent participation in wage-board activities. Some States have tried to provide sufficient pay for wage-board members to remove the difficulty last mentioned. Nevertheless, the majority of the 11 States where wage boards may be held—Minnesota, North Dakota, Oregon, Washington, Wisconsin, and the District of Columbia—do not provide any remuneration for wage-board work. In the next place, it takes exceptional workers to have the personality and knowledge needed to present the employees' case convincingly. Among the hundreds or thousands of workers in an industry or occupation scattered throughout a State the task of finding such workers is difficult indeed.

As far as the employers are concerned, it is often very hard for busy men to find the time necessary for the wage boards, so that

they are loath to undertake the work. There is also the need, particularly as far as the members of the employer and the public groups are concerned, that they know something about general living conditions and costs so that they can give intelligent service. The great difficulty in the way of getting good public members is to find people who know enough about the workers' needs, general economic conditions, and the specific problems of the trade or industry under consideration, to be of value and yet at the same time to be impartial. Whether the methods of securing wage-board members provided in the laws or worked out by the different commissions have been such as to obtain the best possible wage-board members is hard to answer decisively. Among the various States all sorts of schemes have been tried, some at one time and some at another, but the difficulty of getting people, particularly the employees, to serve has forced most commissions to exhaust all possible sources as each board was organized, and in the end, as a member of the Washington Minimum Wage Committee said, "almost to draft the employee members to get them in." This situation makes it impossible to discuss the relative merits of the plans tried. They can only be summarized to show just what they have been.

*Methods used in selecting wage-board members when laws give specific directions.*—Since Colorado (1917), Massachusetts, and Minnesota have specifically stated in their laws how wage-board members are to be secured, the way these directions have worked out will be the first point considered. Colorado has never held a wage board. Minnesota held a series of wage boards in 1913, prior to setting the first decrees in the State, but most of the records of these boards have been destroyed, so the information concerning them is too scant to make a discussion of them profitable. However, it is known that the commission had the usual difficulty in securing employee representatives. The first biennial report of the commission makes the following statement:

The commission was not successful in finding employees who would or could serve on advisory boards in Minneapolis and St. Paul. At the final meeting of the Twin City mercantile advisory board, three employees were still members of the board, and, of these, two failed to attend the meeting. One employee was found willing to serve on the Twin City manufacturing board, but she attended only the first meetings of the board, and although especially urged to attend the final meeting, she refused. The experience in Duluth was better. The eight employees on the board attended a majority of the meetings, and four of the mercantile employees voted on the recommendation on the cost of living.\*

Not only was the organization of the Minnesota wage boards informal, but they served merely in an advisory capacity, while in Massachusetts the wage board's recommendations, if accepted, formed the decree of the commission. Of the States whose laws direct how the wage boards are to be formed Massachusetts is the only one for which the methods of obtaining wage-board members are known in detail.

When the Massachusetts Legislature in 1914 amended the minimum-wage law to require that wage-board members be selected from nominations made by the employers and employees, respectively, it was simply incorporating in the law the procedure already followed

\* Minnesota Minimum Wage Commission. First biennial report, 1913-14, p. 4.

by the commission. In discussing the formation of the brush wage board, the first held in Massachusetts, the commission stated: "It was the policy of the commission to appoint the members of the wage board in such a way that it might be as widely representative as possible. To this end, every manufacturer [of brushes] in the State was asked to make nominations. Nominations were also called for from the workers, and an effort was made to secure representatives from the different groups and nationalities among them."<sup>4</sup> Before the formation of the second wage board (the candy industry) was completed the law was amended to require nominations from the employers and employees, and the State's attorney general ruled that this board was not legal, since it was completed by the commission without nominations from these two groups.<sup>5</sup> Thus practically all the Massachusetts wage boards have been organized from groups nominated by the employers and employees, so a study of how these nominations were obtained for one board will show the usual procedure.

Three ways were used by the commission to obtain nominations. The first step was to advertise in the newspapers the intention to hold a wage board, and to request employers and employees to send nominations. The following form shows the advertisement used:

COMMISSIONER'S NOTICE

(Advertisement)

*Commonwealth of Massachusetts, department of labor and industries—division of minimum wage.*—The minimum-wage commission of the department of labor and industries hereby gives notice that it has voted to form a new wage board for the paper box occupation. This action is taken in accordance with the provisions of section 5 of chapter 151 of the general laws.

This board is to consist of 15 members, 3 representatives of the public to be appointed directly by the commission, 6 representatives of employers, and 6 representatives of employees.

The occupation includes the manufacture of set-up, folding, and corrugated boxes, both those produced by consumers' plants and those manufactured for the trade. It is desired that the nominations submitted for the board should represent the various lines to be considered.

Employers and employees in the occupation are requested to submit to the commission nominations for their representatives on this board. Nominations must be made in writing and submitted to the minimum-wage commission at its office, Room 473, Statehouse, Boston, not later than December 5, 1921.

The law provides that in case less than twice the number of names required for representatives of employers or employees are submitted within the time specified, that the commission may appoint directly employers or employees as the case may be to fill one-half of the positions. In case nominations are not submitted before the date for filing expires, the commission is authorized to appoint directly all of the representatives of employers or employees.

MINIMUM WAGE COMMISSION.

EDWARD FISHER, *Chairman*.

SAMUEL ROSS.

Letters were sent also to every employer in the trade so far as the commission knew of the existence of the establishment. This list of firms usually was a very complete one, since the industry had been investigated by the minimum-wage commission's agents to obtain data on wages and the commission had at its disposal the names of

<sup>4</sup> Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission. First annual report, 1913, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> Attorney general's opinion, June 30, 1916.



supposedly all the firms in the State, as they were regularly sending information to the division of statistics in the department of labor and industries. The following letter used for the minor confectionery wage board shows the type of letter sent to employers.

LETTER TO EMPLOYERS

**GENTLEMEN:** An investigation into wage conditions of women employed in the establishments manufacturing food preparations and minor lines of confectionery in the State has recently been completed by the commission. Since the result of this inquiry indicates, in the opinion of the commission, that a substantial number of women are receiving wages below the cost of living, the commission, as required by law, is proceeding to establish a wage board for the occupation.

It is the intention of the commission to form a board of 15 members, consisting of 6 representatives of employers, 6 representatives of employees, and 3 representatives of the public, one of whom will act as chairman. The board is to cover in its determinations establishments manufacturing food preparations including soda fountain supplies, macaroni, potato chips, peanut butter, maple sirup, prepared flour, gelatine, etc.; and minor lines of confectionery including blanched and prepared nuts, nut brittle, stuffed fruits, popcorn balls, chewing gum, and similar products. It is desired that the nominations shall be representative of the various lines to be included.

You are invited to nominate representatives of employers to this board by submitting names to the division within 10 days after a public notice which will appear on June 10 in the following newspapers: Boston Herald and the Lowell Courier Citizen. The name, address, and business affiliation of nominees should be given, also a brief statement regarding their qualifications for wage-board service.

The commission also asks for nominations from employees for their representatives on this wage board. In accordance with the provisions of chapter 77 of the General Acts of 1919, the commission requests that you post the accompanying notice in a conspicuous position in your establishment where it may readily be seen by all your women employees, and that you maintain it until the final date for submitting nominations, June 21, has passed.

Your cooperation in forming the wage board and in supporting its work is invited.

Very truly yours,

DIVISION OF MINIMUM WAGE,  
*Assistant Commissioner.*

Letters were sent also to a number of women employees in the State, but this group naturally was not covered so completely by letters, due to the much greater number of people involved and also to the fact that their addresses in any number were hard to obtain. To obtain as many such addresses as possible, when an investigation of wages was made every employee in the firms visited was asked to fill out a card giving some personal information, including her address. A letter requesting wage-board nominations was sent to every such woman. A copy of a typical letter follows.

LETTER TO EMPLOYEES

**DEAR MADAM:** You are invited to send to this office the name and address of the person you would like to have represent you on a wage board this commission is forming to determine a minimum wage for women and girls who work in paper-box factories.

Any woman in Massachusetts who is a paper-box worker may send in a nomination for this board. From the names received the commission will choose six to look out for the interests of the employees. There will be also six people to represent the employers, and three to represent the public, one of whom will be chairman.

The workers on this board will have to help decide what is the least on which a self-supporting girl can live decently and keep well; whether the factories can stand a living wage at this time; and then, in view of the situation, what is a suitable minimum wage for the girls in the factories.

As the persons selected to represent the workers will not only represent you and the other girls in your factory but all the women and girls in the State who work in paper-box factories, it is important that you name the best people you know for this place.

Names may be sent to this office up to December 5, 1921. The letters should be addressed, Minimum Wage Commission, Room 473, Statehouse, Boston. In making the nominations, please give your name, address and occupation, and the same information for the person you nominate. A form for this purpose is inclosed. Only the names of those selected to serve on the wage board will be made public. The names of the persons who make the nominations are not published.

The State tries to protect workers who serve on wage boards, by providing that any employer who can be proved to have discharged or in any way discriminated against an employee because that employee has served, or is going to serve, on a wage board shall be punished by a fine of from \$200 to \$1,000.

As the wage board almost always meets in the evening, employees who serve on the board do not have to lose their day's work. They are paid \$4 for every meeting they attend and in addition are allowed their necessary traveling expenses.

Will you please give this notice to your fellow workers? The board is intended to help you. Will you do your part in helping to form this board?

Very truly yours,

ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER.

By means of these letters a large proportion of the women in the occupation were reached, but additional steps were taken in an effort to have the employees participate fully. The commission sent to every employer a notice that wage-board nominations were desired, which was to be posted where the employees would see it. The notice following is a sample of the notices sent out.

#### NOTICE TO WOMEN EMPLOYEES

*Regarding establishment of wage board for the ———*

*Purpose of board.*—The minimum-wage commission is forming a wage board to determine minimum rates in this occupation.

*Duties.*—The wage board will have to consider the cost of living for women workers, and the financial condition of the industry, and then decide what is a suitable minimum wage for women engaged in this work.

*Members.*—This board will consist of an equal number of representatives of employers and of the employees in the industry, and a certain number of persons chosen to represent the public, one of whom will be chairman.

*Selection of members.*—The representatives of employees will be selected from names submitted by the women workers, provided they are sent to the commission within 10 days.

*Qualifications.*—The persons nominated should be well informed about conditions in the industry, and should be such that the entire body of women employees may confidently expect from them the fairest and ablest treatment of their interests.

*Protection.*—The law provides for the protection of representatives of employees in connection with their work on the wage board, and makes it a punishable offense for an employer to discharge or in any way to discriminate against an employee for such work.

*Compensation.*—Members of the wage board are paid \$6 for each day's service. They are also allowed their necessary traveling expenses.

*Information.*—Further information concerning the work of the wage board and the nominations may be secured by addressing the minimum-wage commission or by coming to the office, room 473K, Statehouse, Boston.

*Form for nominations.*—Nominations for the wage board may be made in the following way. The form given below is a suggestion for your convenience. It

is not necessary to use this. All that is required is the name, address, and occupation of the person you wish to nominate, the firm by which she is employed, and the same information for the person making the nomination. This should be sent to the Minimum Wage Commission, Room 473, Statehouse, Boston, not later than \_\_\_\_\_ Additional nomination blanks may be secured at the commission office.

By order of the minimum wage commission.

ETHEL M. JOHNSON,  
Assistant Commissioner, Acting Director.

WAGE BOARD NOMINATION FORM FOR EMPLOYEES

TO THE MINIMUM WAGE COMMISSION,  
Boston, Mass.

I wish to nominate \_\_\_\_\_ of \_\_\_\_\_  
(Name of person nominated) (Address of person nominated)  
 who { is employed as \_\_\_\_\_  
 { has been employed as \_\_\_\_\_  
(Give occupation, present or former, if person is not now employed)  
 by \_\_\_\_\_ to represent the  
(Name and address of employer)  
 employees on the \_\_\_\_\_ wage board, because \_\_\_\_\_  
(State qualifications of nominee)  
 I am a resident of \_\_\_\_\_ My occupation  
(Town or city)  
 is \_\_\_\_\_ I am employed by \_\_\_\_\_  
(Name and address of employer)  
 Date \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
(Signature)

The form of nomination at the bottom of this notice is similar to that sent out in each letter to the individual employers and employees. Moreover, if the number of nominations sent in response to the letters, posters, and advertisements was not sufficient, meetings at the statehouse for the purpose of securing nominations often were held. This step frequently was necessary in securing employee members, for this was the group least inclined to interest itself actively in the formation of the wage board.

In the early days of the Massachusetts commission, those engaged in an industry, either employers or employees, could nominate whom they pleased. In this way a number of members of the early wage boards, and more particularly the employee members, were not connected with the industry under discussion. This may have been of advantage, especially for the employees, in that people could be obtained who were not afraid to say what they thought and who were more articulate than the average woman wage earner. It had the disadvantage, however, of bringing in people who were not thoroughly familiar with the problems under consideration. If this rule was to aid in obtaining a large number of nominations for wage-board members it failed of its purpose. It was practically abandoned after the consolidation, and most of the employer and employee members of the later wage boards were connected with the industry involved.

In spite of the many ways of soliciting nominations and the care with which the plans were carried out, the commission was not altogether successful in getting a sufficient number of nominations from either group, since an amendment to the law passed in 1920 gave the

commission power to complete wage boards for which there were not twice as many nominations as the number of places to be filled. This would mean that the commission's experience had been that fewer than 12 nominations were made by each group. Undoubtedly there was no definite attempt to control wage-board memberships through making so few nominations that the commission could exercise no choice in its appointment of wage-board members, but rather the lack of nominations resulted from inertia. The Massachusetts experience, therefore, has been that it is extremely difficult to secure employee members for the wage boards, and that even in the employer group the response has been less than was needed to carry out the original plans of the commission as enacted in the 1914 law.

*Methods used by the States where the law does not outline the commission's procedure.*—In only five States—California, the District of Columbia, Kansas, Washington, and Wisconsin—are any reports available as to how wage boards were organized by the commissions.<sup>6</sup> The District of Columbia is the only one of these that has followed in detail the plan of nominations by employers and employees set forth in the Massachusetts law. Before its first wage conference was organized, the District of Columbia Board (the commission) issued the following rule:

The employers in the industry under investigation shall be asked to nominate as their representatives six of their number; the employees in that industry shall be asked to nominate as their representatives six of their number; each member of the board shall nominate three representatives of the public. The board will, in so far as is possible, name and appoint the members of the conference from the persons so nominated, and designate the chairman thereof. The board will fill all vacancies on a conference, if possible, from the remaining nominees.<sup>7</sup>

To secure these nominations the District Minimum Wage Board (the commission) used any employers' organizations that existed and only resorted to the Massachusetts plan of getting in touch with the individual employers in trades where there was no organization. When this latter plan was used, the small size of the territory allowed the commission to call the individuals together for a meeting, where nominations were made. To obtain the employee members meetings always were held. Attendance was secured through newspaper notices and posters in the places of employment. In organizing wage boards the fact that the law applied to a territory less than 10 miles square was important and made the District of Columbia situation very different from that faced by the States. Particularly in obtaining employee representatives, the commission was able to have its agents get in touch personally with practically all the women. Also, if a meeting was held, everyone in the occupation or industry that it was proposed to cover by the decree could attend at small cost and with little effort. This resulted in an unusual response on the part of the employees.

In the first two boards, the printing and publishing and the mercantile, representative groups of employees met and nominated the members of the employee group on the wage boards. The employers

<sup>6</sup> No wage boards ever were held in Arkansas, Colorado, Nebraska, and Texas. The bureau has no information on methods of selection in Oregon and North Dakota.

<sup>7</sup> District of Columbia Minimum Wage Board. Second annual report, 1919, p. 2.

in the trade also nominated their own representatives. The commission found impartial and representative citizens willing to serve as the public members. The practical application of the law probably approached more closely the theory of minimum-wage laws than that in any other State. This situation, however, did not hold so true for the next two wage boards—the hotel and restaurant board and the laundry board. The employer and public groups were as representative as in the first two cases, but it became increasingly hard to obtain adequate employee representation. It was not only more difficult to get the women to serve originally, but they dropped out after one or two meetings and new ones had to be found to take their places. This was particularly true of the laundry board. It may be possible to explain this change on the ground that the first two industries employed large numbers of skilled and very able women, a type necessary for the work required. This provided an unusual group which took a much greater interest than could normally be expected among week workers and among whom there was an exceptionally high proportion of women capable of serving efficiently on a wage board. It is also true that in the laundry industry, where the greatest trouble with employee representatives was experienced, the vast majority of the women were negroes and formed probably one of the most inarticulate working groups in the city. It is true further that employers' opposition to the minimum-wage law was much more pronounced in the hotel and restaurant group and the laundry group than in the others. The most opposition to the law was found among the laundry owners. How much this accounts for the difficulty of obtaining employee representatives in the occupations can not even be estimated, but it is too interesting a fact to be overlooked, particularly in the light of the very successful cooperation of all groups in the forming of the first two wage boards.

The only other State that has ever had unorganized employees nominate wage-board members is California. This plan, however, was never used there to anything like the extent to which it was used in Massachusetts and the District of Columbia. The following notice, posted in the establishments, shows how these nominations were secured:

*To the women employees in the mercantile industry:*

After completing extensive investigations in the mercantile industry of California, the Industrial Welfare Commission is now prepared to proceed to its next duty: The fixing of a minimum, or lowest, wage to be paid to women and minors. It is the duty of the commission to call into existence a wages board, or conference of employees and employers.

On Tuesday, March 20, the women employed in this establishment are requested to select their representative to sit on the wages board. This board consists of employers and employees, whose duty it will be to recommend to the Industrial Welfare Commission a minimum wage for women and minors, the proper wage for apprentices, minor and adult learners, and the method for their promotion and advance. This selection of representatives will be as follows:

- (a) No woman can be selected who has not had at least two years' experience in the industry. A woman of experience and good judgment is desired.
- (b) Women who are buyers, heads of departments or office employees are not eligible.
- (c) The election is to be by secret ballot, and all women employees in the establishment are requested to thus show their preference for their representative.

(d) The woman receiving the highest number of votes will be eligible to the conference of employees' representatives, which will be held in the office of the Industrial Welfare Commission on call. From this conference the Industrial Welfare Commission will make its choice of three or five women for the wages board.

The law provides that for the few days the wages board is sitting a fee of \$5 per day and necessary traveling expenses will be paid.

#### INDUSTRIAL WELFARE COMMISSION

Union League Building, northeast corner Second and Hill Streets, Los Angeles, Calif.

525 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif. Sutter 2538.

In California, as in the District of Columbia, a departure was made from the Massachusetts procedure in that nominations for the employer members were secured if possible from the employers' organizations in the industry. California also asked for nominations from any unions existing in the industry under consideration. Any one wage board, therefore, would be composed of members selected by the commission from nominations made by organized employers and employees and by unorganized employees, and members chosen directly by the commission. Kansas, Washington, and Wisconsin all sought at different times to have the nominations for wage-board members made by the organized employers and employees, respectively. In Kansas, to secure members, the rule was made that the employee representatives need not be workers in the trade in question. The commission originally selected these representatives, but for the later wage boards they sought nominations for the employer and employee members from the organizations in these groups and selected only the public members. Washington has perhaps experimented more than have most of the States in trying to find the best way to obtain good wage-board members. Originally "each member of the commission nominated three or more persons they knew personally or by reputation, or with whom they had come into contact during the preliminary work, for each place in each conference."\* To get members for the series of wage boards held in 1914, the commission considered for each conference between 50 and 60 people, whose qualifications they investigated personally. In some of the later wage boards, nominations were secured from employers' and employees' organizations, but ultimately the commission returned to their original plan of "hand picking" the wage-board members. Wisconsin departed somewhat from the plan of having the commission select the public members, when it conferred with the employer and employee representatives, nominated by the various organizations among these groups, before appointing the public representatives. The three main plans—action of individual employees and employers, action by organizations of employers and employees, and direct action—all have been tried by the various commissions. All have met the same difficulty in getting people who are equipped to serve and willing to do so.

#### Methods used by commissions in obtaining new members for a wage board if old ones dropped out.

In most of the States the commissions have assumed that if one member dropped out the commission then could appoint a substitute

\* Washington Industrial Welfare Commission. First biennial report, 1913-14, p. 51.

to take his place. This substitute had the same powers as the original member. In Washington there seems to have been some doubt as to whether the commission could thus fill vacancies. The difficulty was surmounted by the commission's appointing three alternates for each group, with the understanding that they were to become regular members if the original appointees dropped out. In some of the States, if only one member dropped out the board continued its deliberations with the unbalanced membership. This was true, for example, in Minnesota, where, since the board was only advisory, it was not felt that it was vital to maintain the balanced relation among groups. Though there is no record of a decision on this question, it must have been held that if the board was organized with a balanced membership the provisions of the law were executed. In Massachusetts, however, the question of the commission's power to fill vacancies occurring on wage boards proved a very vexatious one. Soon after the corset board was organized in 1915 a member dropped out. When the attorney general was asked what was the proper procedure for filling a vacancy on a duly organized wage board, he replied that "there is nothing in the act giving specific authority to your commission to fill vacancies upon a wage board. \* \* \* I think it is extremely doubtful if your commission has such power. \* \* \* I think it unwise for your commission to attempt to fill vacancies until such time as you may receive further legislative authority." He then went on to point out that if the unbalanced membership resulted in recommendations unfair to the group that had been reduced in membership, the commission always had the power to reject such recommendations.\* The chairman of the corset wage board felt very strongly that any recommendations made by an incomplete board probably would be invalid. In this dilemma the meetings of the corset board were suspended, and several years later a new investigation was made and a new wage board was organized; but in the meantime over six years had passed between the time that the commission made the investigation and determined the need of a minimum wage in the corset industry and the time that the decree became effective. In the face of possible recurrences of this impasse, the commission advocated an amendment to the minimum-wage law giving it the specific power to fill vacancies on wage boards. In 1919 the legislature passed this amendment.

Though in most States this question of vacancies on wage boards has caused no trouble, other than the inconvenience of trying to discover some one else willing to perform the service, the situation that arose in Massachusetts caused a serious delay in the functioning of one wage board and was a constant threat to the others. Moreover, the varying interpretation of the two clauses in the laws is extremely interesting. Only in Massachusetts was there a definite questioning of the commission's powers to fill vacancies, or of the power of a properly organized wage board to function if its membership lost the balance between employers and employees through resignations. The situation has been described at length not alone because of these specific points but to illustrate how hampered a commission may be by not having express powers granted to it. Implied powers may

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\* Attorney general's opinion, Oct. 5, 1915 Typewritten copy.

always be questioned. The detail of all the minimum-wage laws seems extremely burdensome, but there have been so many questions raised as to the laws' interpretation which have balked their effective functioning that only the care with which the commissions' powers are listed has prevented serious curtailment of their activities.

#### SUMMARY

At the risk of overmuch repetition, it seems wise to summarize here the exact place held by the commissions and the wage boards in the determination of rates.

- I. Commissions required to determine rates:
  - Arkansas.
  - Colorado (1913).
  - Kansas (1921).
  - Texas.
- II. Calling of wage boards, to determine rates, optional with the commission:
  - California (1913).
  - Colorado (1917).
  - Minnesota.
- III. Commission required to call wage boards:
  - A. Formal report on amount of wage by wage boards as a basis for the decree—
    - District of Columbia.
    - Kansas (1915).
    - Massachusetts.
    - Nebraska.
    - North Dakota.
    - Oregon.
    - Washington.
  - B. Wage boards recommend rate to commission—
    - California (1921).
    - Wisconsin.
- IV. Report of wage board on amount of wage only to aid commission in determining rates:
  - California.
  - Minnesota.
  - Wisconsin.

#### PROCEDURE PROVIDED FOR WHEN COMMISSIONS ARE TO DETERMINE THE AMOUNT OF THE WAGE

Under the powers of investigation granted the minimum-wage commissions in the laws and discussed in an earlier section of this report, the commissions have ample authority to gather all the facts they feel it is necessary to have in order to decide what the minimum rate should be. Instead of turning this information over to a wage board, they are required in Arkansas, Kansas, and Texas, and originally were required in Colorado, to determine for themselves how much it is necessary to pay a woman for her to be self-supporting. In California and Minnesota they could set the decree with or without the assistance of a wage board. None of the laws specified how the decision as to the amount of the rate was to be reached other than to say that the decision of the majority should be the decision of the commission. By this method the possibility of various time-consuming disagreements on the part of the wage boards is avoided, and the commission, which must assume responsibility for the award, takes all the steps leading up to setting the rate.



**PROCEDURE PROVIDED FOR WHEN WAGE BOARDS ARE TO DETERMINE THE AMOUNT OF THE WAGE**

In most of the States the commission is required to call a wage board to determine the amount of the rate. It is, of course, in these States, where the work of the wage boards is most responsible, that their powers and duties are most carefully outlined in the laws. Though no instructions, or only very general instructions, are given the commissions as to how they shall proceed in determining the amount of a rate, the procedure of the wage boards when doing this same work is rather carefully defined.

**Work laid out for wage boards in the laws.**

The only duty of the wage board is to determine the amounts of various rates that are to appear in the minimum-wage decrees, more particularly the amount which represents the cost of living for an experienced woman worker. It has no responsibility for administration or enforcement, but can concentrate on this one point. In all the States it has been the rule to interpret this cost of living as the cost for a single woman living away from her family and having no aid from any source. In every State except Colorado (1913), Massachusetts, and Nebraska the law gives the wage board power to find this minimum rate without any reference to the ability of the industry to pay the rate set. In Colorado (1913), Massachusetts, and Nebraska, however, the wage boards, after determining the minimum cost of living, were directed to consider the financial condition of the industry before recommending a rate. In all the States the report of the wage board is complicated further by the fact that the laws clearly contemplate the possible establishment of different rates for experienced and inexperienced workers, for adults, and for minors. Whether the wage board is to report simply on the rate which will represent the cost of living for adult experienced women or for all the various age and experience groups in an occupation or industry is indicated in the laws.

**TABLE 26.—Regulations governing the reports of wage boards to the commissions, by State**

State	To report on—						Vote needed for official report
	Estimate of minimum wage rate for women	Time rates for women and minors	Piece rates for women and minors	Rates for learners and apprentices	Rates for minors	Reasons for decisions	
California.....	X						
Colorado (1917).....		X	X	X	X	X	Majority.
District of Columbia.....		X	X	X	X	X	Majority.
Kansas (1915).....		X	X	X	X	X	Majority.
Massachusetts.....		X	X	X	X	X	Two-thirds (1912) majority (1913).
Minnesota.....		X	X	X	X		Majority.
Nebraska.....		X	X	X	X	X	Two-thirds.
North Dakota.....		X	X				Two-thirds.
Oregon.....		X	X	X			
Washington.....	X						
Wisconsin.....	X						

This table shows the different groups of workers which the laws require a wage board to consider and for which it must recommend rates. It is possible for a commission to request a board to set rates in greater detail than is specified in the law. As a usual thing, however, the commissions have preferred settling the details themselves, unless the law specifically required this of the wage boards. In California few wage boards have handed in a formal report. They have offered suggestions on points that were particularly in dispute and sometimes have referred two sets of rates to the commission, when they could not get a majority for one grouping. Their whole attitude has been that they were there to talk things over, so that the record of their meetings, showing their viewpoints, could be a guide to the commission when it determined the rates. In Washington, where the legal requirement as to the type of report is very similar to that in California, the wage boards have given the commissions a formal report on the rate for adult experienced women but the commission has worked out the rates for apprentices and minors. In Wisconsin the advisory wage boards' reports have been closely followed by the commission in its orders, but in this case the various members of the commission have participated fully in the work of the wage board and aided it in forming its determinations. In the District of Columbia, Massachusetts, North Dakota, and Oregon it has been customary for the wage boards to hand in formal reports covering all the points required by the law and sometimes such other questions as the commission might request.

While most of the laws have indicated clearly that different rates should be considered according to the method of payment and the age or the experience of the worker, a majority of them have been particularly careful to express a special attitude toward rates of pay for minor workers. The following table presents a detailed analysis of the phrases used by the laws in discussing the principles that shall guide the wage boards or the commissions in determining wage rates for minors. The real difference in principle between setting rates for adults and setting rates for minors is clearly brought out.

TABLE 27.—Basis for setting wage rates as expressed in laws, by State

State	Same for women and minors			For women		For minors	
	To supply necessary cost of proper living	Reasonable wages and not detrimental to health	Sufficient for living wages	To supply necessary cost of proper living	Suitable for female employee over 18	Suitable for minors	Separate procedure by commission
California.....	X						
Colorado:.....							
1913.....					X	X	
1917.....				X		X	X
District of Columbia.....							
Kansas:.....							
1915.....				X		X	
1921.....		X					
Massachusetts.....					X	X	X
Minnesota.....			X				
Nebraska.....					X	X	X
North Dakota.....				X			X
Oregon.....				X			X
Texas.....	X						
Washington.....	X						X
Wisconsin.....			X				

Five States—California, Kansas (1921), Minnesota, Texas, and Wisconsin—seemingly treat adults and minors on the same basis, expressing the principle that a living wage should be obtained by the rate set for all women or minors. Washington speaks of a rate to supply both groups with the necessary cost of living, but provides for having the commission determine the rate for minors without any wage board. Six other States—Colorado (1917), the District of Columbia, Massachusetts, Nebraska, North Dakota, and Oregon—have a similar provision permitting the commission to set rates for minors directly. The phrase most commonly used in describing the rate to be set for minors is "suitable wage," which is certainly far from synonymous with "living wage." Moreover, in several of the States (see Table 26) the law does not specify that the wage boards shall make any report whatsoever on minors, thus tacitly leaving this determination to the commissions. With respect to learners or apprentices a study of the two foregoing tables (26 and 27) shows how definitely the laws contemplated that they should receive special treatment in either the wage board's report or the commission's decree. These differentiations are worth considerable attention, because they show clearly that the laws never even contemplated a sweeping determination establishing a rate that would cause women either to lose their jobs or to be paid more than they were worth, but that instead they contemplated a series of minimum-wage rates according to the kind of worker affected. In most of the States the wage boards were to play a large part in determining just how great these variations were to be. From the relatively clear proposition with which this discussion began—that they were to determine the cost of living for an adult experienced woman—it is now realized that once this was done they might be called upon to determine what proportion of this sum should be paid a minor worker, and what should be the relation between the amount received and the length of time the worker, whether an adult or minor, had been in the industry or occupation. The final report of a wage board whose recommendations were to form the basis for a decree might be simply a rate for adult experienced women or it might be something like this:

- I. Rate for experienced adult.
- II. Rate for experienced minor.
- III. Rate for inexperienced adult.
  - A. Rate for no experience whatsoever.
  - B. Rates for varying degrees of experience.
- IV. Rate for inexperienced minor.
  - A. Rate for no experience whatsoever.
  - B. Rates for varying degrees of experience.

In those States where the wage board reported only on the rate for adult experienced women, the commission filled in the other items in what it considered was a proper relation to the rate recommended by the board.

#### **Powers granted the wage boards.**

That the boards may have all the facts necessary to reach tenable conclusions, the laws usually have given them definite powers of investigation. Only California, Washington, and Wisconsin have not felt the necessity of giving their boards special powers. This probably is due to the fact pointed out earlier in the report that the

boards in these three States are either advisory or required to make only very general recommendations. In all the other States either the boards have full power to investigate any necessary subject or the law orders the commission to furnish the boards with any information they may need.

### **Commissions' power over work of wage boards.**

Earlier sections of this report have discussed in detail the commissions' powers with respect to calling wage boards and filling vacancies in membership that occur during the boards' deliberations. Besides the power to call and appoint the boards, the commissions are, in most States, given a large measure of control over the boards' activities. In all the States where wage boards may be called, except Colorado and Wisconsin, the commissions determine the mode of procedure. In addition, in six of the laws—those of California, Kansas (1915), Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nebraska, and Washington—the commissions are made the sole judges as to what is valid procedure by the wage board and what are valid recommendations for it to make. Not only is each step taken by the wage board under control of the commission, but the final report of a specific wage board imposes no obligation on the commission. In all the laws where the rate set by the wage board must be the basis of the decree issued by the commission (those of Colorado 1917, District of Columbia, Kansas 1915, Massachusetts, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oregon, and Washington) the commission has the power to accept or reject any of or all the wage-board recommendations. In all these laws except that of Nebraska the commission is given specifically the further power to recommit the subject to the same or a new wage board. The commission therefore not only may guide the wage board in its deliberations but may refuse any number of wage-board decisions. That the commission alone is considered to be responsible for the rate set is clearly shown by the extent of these powers. The next section of this report, on the actual work of the commissions and the wage boards, will show that the commissions either have set the rate themselves or have accepted the responsibility for the final result, and that they not only have guided the wage boards with care but in some cases have refused to accept wage-board reports of which they did not approve.

### **SUMMARY**

Up to this point in the report, the organization of the commission itself has been discussed, both as to the laws' requirements and as to the ways in which the actual commissions have been constituted and have conducted their work of investigation before the setting of a wage rate. This and the next chapter take up the steps necessary to bring about, legally, the establishing of a minimum-wage decree.

This chapter has dealt with the powers given both the commissions and the wage boards in the laws and the actual organization of the specific wage boards, this latter having been done for the commissions' organization in an earlier chapter. The chapter following describes how the minimum-wage decrees were established in practice, whether directly by the commissions or through wage boards, and prepares the ground for a discussion of the provisions of those decrees.

## **CHAPTER VI.—PROCEDURE USED IN DETERMINING PROVISIONS OF DECREES**

### **DECREES SET BY THE COMMISSIONS WITHOUT WAGE-BOARD PROCEDURE**

Seven States—Arkansas, California, Kansas, Minnesota, Texas, Washington, and Wisconsin—have set some of or all their decrees through commission action without the organization of wage boards. The California commission has set 32 of its 40 decrees directly. Minnesota had advisory wage boards only before the six decrees set in 1914. Wisconsin had no wage boards organized solely for the industry under consideration before its orders for pea canning and for cherry, corn, bean, and tomato canning. The table following shows the orders set by the commissions without wage-board recommendations. Washington has been included in the table because it has incorporated its special provisions for apprentices and for minors in orders distinct from those covering experienced adults, and in accordance with its law has established these rates without wage-board procedure.

TABLE 28.—Decrees issued by commissions without wage-board action, by State and year

Year	State and industry						
	Arkansas	California	Kansas	Minnesota	Texas	Washington	Wisconsin
1914						Mercantile occupations (minors). <sup>1</sup> Manufacturing occupations (minors). <sup>1</sup> Laundry and dye works occupations (minors). <sup>1</sup> Telephone and telegraph industry (minors). <sup>1</sup> Telephone and telegraph industry (minors). Office employment (minors). <sup>1</sup> Hotel and restaurant occupations (minors). <sup>1</sup>	
1914-15						Mercantile occupations (apprentices). <sup>2</sup> Manufacturing occupations (apprentices). <sup>2</sup> Laundry and dye works (apprentices). <sup>2</sup> Telephone and telegraph (apprentices). <sup>2</sup> Office employment (apprentices). <sup>2</sup>	
1917		Fruit and vegetable canning. Fish canning.				Mercantile, manufacturing, printing, laundering or dye works, sign painting, machine or repair shop, parcel delivery service, telephone or telegraph, office, hotel and restaurant (minors). All occupations (minors). Mercantile industry (apprentices). <sup>3</sup> Laundry (apprentices). <sup>3</sup> Telephone and telegraph (apprentices). <sup>3</sup>	Pea canning.
1918		Fruit and vegetable canning. Fruit and vegetable packing. General and professional offices. Unskilled and unclassified. Manufacturing.		All industries not covered in 1914.		Office (apprentices). <sup>3</sup> Mercantile industry (apprentices). <sup>4</sup> Manufacturing industry (apprentices). <sup>4</sup> Office occupations (apprentices). <sup>4</sup> Transient milliners (apprentices). <sup>4</sup>	Pea canning.
1919		Fruit and vegetable canning. Mercantile. Fish canning. Laundry and dry cleaning. Fruit and vegetable packing. General and professional offices. Unskilled and unclassified. Manufacturing. Hotels and restaurants.		Any industry.			Pea canning. <sup>5</sup> Any occupation, trade, or industry— Home workers. <sup>5</sup> Any occupation, trade, or industry— Intermittent workers. <sup>5</sup>

1920	Mercantile (Fort Smith).	Fruit and vegetable canning. Mercantile. Fish canning. Laundry and dry cleaning. Fruit and vegetable packing. General and professional offices. Unclassified occupations. Manufacturing. Hotels and restaurants.		Any industry	All industries.	Public housekeeping (minors)	Pea canning. Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning. Tobacco stripping. Beauty parlors.
1921						Public housekeeping (minors). All occupations and industries other than public housekeeping (minors).	Pea canning. <sup>1</sup> Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning. <sup>1</sup>
1922	Mercantile (Fort Smith and Little Rock).	Mercantile	Laundry Manufacturing. Mercantile.			All occupations and industries other than public housekeeping (minors).	Pea canning. Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning. Pea canning. Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning.
1923		Fruit and vegetable canning. Fruit and vegetable packing. Unclassified occupations. Manufacturing. Hotels and restaurants. Nut cracking and sorting.					
1924							Pea canning. Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning.
1925							Pea canning. Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning.
1926							Pea canning. Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning.
1927							Pea canning. Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning.

<sup>1</sup> Issued at the same time as the decree for adults in this occupation. Though the wage board did not report on minors, they were discussed, and it may be said that the decree for minors is, at least in part, the result of wage-board deliberation.  
<sup>2</sup> Exact date uncertain, but probably issued at this time.  
<sup>3</sup> Circular or schedule, but having the force of a decree.  
<sup>4</sup> Circular or schedule, but having the force of a decree. Data uncertain, but probably issued at this time.  
<sup>5</sup> May be considered as following the general wage board held in this year. No specific wage board for this group alone was organized, the rates established by all orders from 1919 on being the rates worked out by the commission.

attend for a specified period of time) and that they represented only one group, either employers or employees. In both cases the purpose of the meetings was the discussion of some subject that was proving perplexing to the commission, and a single meeting usually sufficed, though in a few cases the wage boards have met two or three times on consecutive days. The conference or board then disbanded and met again only if revived by the commission. Moreover, no conference, and only one or two early wage boards, handed in any formal recommendations to the commission. The commission set the rates, aided by the information and advice received through wage boards and conferences. Thus it was not possible for California wage boards or conferences to delay minimum-wage machinery by protracted discussions, nor would a disagreement among the members disrupt the machinery of setting the rate. Since the other States formally organized their wage boards and awaited action by them as the next step toward setting a decree, delay by these boards was a serious matter.

In all States holding wage boards but California it has been possible for the wage boards to postpone indefinitely the setting of a rate by protracting their meetings. The powers given the commissions probably are so drastic that boards could be required to report after a given period of time, but usually the commissions have preferred to keep their hands off when once a board was organized. That wage boards on the whole have conducted their work expeditiously is one indication of the willingness of the groups concerned to carry out the law. Three months may seem a long time for a wage board to remain in session, but it may be excused when the difficulty of getting busy members together from various parts of the State is considered, and when it is realized that considerable time must elapse between sessions while necessary material is being gathered. Three-fourths of the wage boards (74 per cent) have consumed three months or less in their meetings, and one-third of them (32 per cent) have taken only one or two days. Time longer than three months would seem to need some explanation. In the District of Columbia—where an entire budget was given minute attention, where the boards were composed of very busy people, and where there were serious differences of opinion to be smoothed out—only one board took more than two months for its deliberations. In the States where distances are great, undoubtedly some additional time, due to the difficulty of getting members together, was justifiable. The following table shows that the great majority of the boards have gone ahead and finished their business expeditiously, but it also shows that some boards have spent long periods of time struggling to reach an agreement. Since one of the greatest problems in connection with these laws has been the proper functioning of the wage boards, some of the problems that so delayed these boards or that prevented them from reaching and reporting a conclusion will be discussed. These problems have been serious ones and they constitute some of the difficult points in setting rates that have never been authoritatively settled.

Of the boards that have had unduly protracted meetings, only those of Kansas and Massachusetts present extremely long delays.



both Washington and Wisconsin, therefore, this is a method of supplementing wage-board procedure by having the commission deal with special problems, rather than a substitute for wage boards. It is not the same sort of substitution as took place in all the other States.

California is the main exponent of having wage rates set directly by the commission without wage boards. Not only has California issued by far the greatest number of orders by this direct method but it has worked out the most careful and uniform procedure. In every year in which a number of decrees have been issued, except 1918, the commission, through the investigations of its agents, has collected a body of material on living costs for the independent woman and on current rates and earnings before attempting to consider at what sum a wage rate should be set. In all cases before setting a rate a series of conferences has been held by the commission as a whole or by one or more of its members to discuss with employers and employees in the occupations in question not only how much the rate should be but the details of interpretation in regard to minors, apprentices in different occupations within an industry, etc. In most cases the conferences were presided over by the one woman member of the commission, who also was its executive officer. Employers were invited to one session, employees to another. Often a group within an industry that had special problems would be invited to a special conference; for example, the citrus-fruit packers, who had a special conference before one of the general decrees for fruit and vegetable packing was issued. Sometimes these special conferences produced problems that could not be taken care of under the general decrees and special decrees were issued, as the 1923 decree for nut cracking and sorting. In addition to the conferences with industrial groups selected by the commission, at least one public hearing was held before a decree was issued, at which anyone interested could appear and present evidence on any relevant point. Stenographic notes were kept on all important points brought out by the conferences and hearings, and the commission had access to this material as well as the material collected by its agents when it made a final decision on a wage rate.

In Kansas a series of public hearings was held throughout the State before the 1922 decrees were set. The full court of industrial relations presided at these hearings, at which anyone might present testimony on living costs, business conditions, etc. Though the meeting was open to anyone, the court's agents always attempted to seek out people who could give valuable testimony, both employers and workers, and have them attend the hearings. A stenographic transcript of the hearings was kept for the future use of the commission. Besides the widely varied material presented at these hearings, the commission had a study of women's rates and earnings under the old decrees, made by their agents and the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, and a cost-of-living study also made by the commission's agents. It was on the material from these three sources that the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations based its decisions.

In Texas, before the commission set its one wage rate, a state-wide study of wages and cost of living was made by the commission's agents. In addition, public hearings were held in many cities and towns to obtain information and opinions. The procedure of having formal public hearings in order to supplement material gathered by the commission's agents was much like that followed in Kansas.

Practically, the methods used in these three States were similar—commission investigations, supplemented by testimony from those persons so affected by the proposed decree or so interested in the law that they gave their information and opinions. In holding public hearings the great drawback was that it was necessary to wade through a great deal of chaff to get at a little valuable information. California, the only one of these States that had had several years' experience with the commission's setting rates without wage-board action, relied much more on the conferences than on the public hearings for worth-while information. The people who were requested to attend these conferences knew the field they were discussing. They could speak more freely than at a public hearing. Moreover, undoubtedly there were many people who would come and testify at the commission's request who would not take the trouble, or who would not have the courage, to go to a public hearing.

The Kansas attempt to invite certain people to the public hearings sought the same end as did the conferences in other States, but in finding substitutes for wage-board procedure it seems reasonable that more than public hearings are necessary. The great difficulty of getting employees to serve on wage boards has been described in detail. This group was, if anything, even more loath to appear at public hearings. Probably the conference between the commission and employees alone would produce franker statements of difficulties than would any other method. Whatever means of obtaining information was followed by the commissions, the aim of all was to get the reactions and information of all interested groups. Whether this was possible without wage boards is a point still under dispute.

#### WAGE BOARDS—ORGANIZATION AND WORK PERFORMED

The wage boards organized under these laws always have aroused a great deal of interest. Under the auspices of the State, employers, employees, and the public were to decide wage rates for woman workers. The plan has been attacked as unworkable. On the other hand, it has been lauded as a means of bringing together unfamiliar and opposing groups, getting them acquainted, educating them in each other's problems, and thus providing a way to solve rationally problems vital to the Nation.

In considering in detail the work performed by the wage boards it must be kept steadily in mind that such boards have been held in but 9 of the 13 minimum-wage States (California, District of Columbia, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, North Dakota, Oregon, Washington, and Wisconsin), and that 2 of those 9 States, California and Minnesota, required no formal reports from their wage boards on which actual decrees were to be based, but rather had

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them report on various perplexing questions that varied from board to board. It is the work of the boards in the District of Columbia, Kansas (prior to 1921), Massachusetts, North Dakota, Oregon, Washington, and Wisconsin, with California and Minnesota included wherever the material is comparable, that will be studied in as great detail as available records make practicable. Whether it is possible to make any final judgment of the value of wage boards, when they have been so few, is open to question.

The table following shows the wage boards held in the various States:

TABLE 29.—Industries for which wage boards were held, by State and year

State and year	Industry or occupation <sup>1</sup>								
	Manufacturing	Mercantile	Laundry	Telephone	Office	Public house-keeping	Student nurses	Fruit and vegetable packing	All industries
1913 Massachusetts..... Oregon.....	Brush. X	X			X				X
1914 Massachusetts..... Minnesota..... Oregon..... Washington.....	Candy (two boards). XX Canning. X <sup>2</sup>	XX X <sup>2</sup>	X Laundry and dye- ing (two boards). <sup>2</sup>	Telephone and tele- graph. <sup>2</sup>	X <sup>2</sup>	Hotel and restaur- ant. <sup>2</sup>			
1915 Massachusetts.....	Corset..... Paper box.	Retail stores.							
1916 California..... Kansas..... Massachusetts..... Oregon.....	Fruit and vegetable canning. Women's clothing.	X	XX						X
1917 California..... Massachusetts..... Oregon.....	Men's clothing. Men's furnishings. Muslin underwear. <sup>1</sup> Canning.	X	Laundry and dry cleaning.						
1918 Kansas..... Massachusetts..... Oregon..... Washington.....	X Retail millinery. Wholesale millinery.			X		Office and building cleaners. <sup>1</sup>			XX X
1919 District of Columbia. Kansas.....	Printing and pub- lishing. X	X				Hotels and restau- rants.			



TABLE 29.—Industries for which wage boards were held, by State and year—Continued

State and year	Industry or occupation								
	Manufacturing	Mercantile	Laundry	Telephone	Office	Public house-keeping	Student nurses	Fruit and vegetable packing	All Industries
1924 Massachusetts.....	Minor confectionery and food preparations. Bread and bakery products. Wholesale and retail millinery.								
1925 Massachusetts.....	Stationery goods. Candy.								
1926 Massachusetts.....	Jewelry. Toys and games.								

**Instructions given to wage boards by the commissions.**

In every State where the wage boards met independently of the commission, the commission adopted the practice of presenting specific questions for the board's consideration; also, it usually drew up formal statements as to how the board was to conduct its deliberations, or, in the absence of formal instructions, a member of the commission indicated at the initial board meeting the methods that it was desired should be followed. In addition, the commission usually presented to the board a body of data showing the information available on the subject under discussion. If the commission had investigated rates and earnings and cost of living, these figures were given to the board. Other pertinent material collected by authoritative bodies, whether State, Federal, or private, was added in many cases to the commission's own data. The thoroughness with which this preliminary work was done varied greatly from State to State. It varied also from year to year within a State, though in most cases the longer the commission functioned the more carefully it prepared this material for the wage boards.

To add to the difficulty of discussing this important work of the minimum-wage commissions is the fact that the earlier questions, rules, and lists of material are no longer available. The material that still exists has been carefully studied, and it is possible to say that the samples presented from Massachusetts and Washington are typical of the best practice in all the States. If minimum-wage laws continue to function, undoubtedly this is one of the ways in which the commissions can aid in securing more intelligent and fairer recommendations from the wage boards, by making sure that each board has comprehensive and accurate information and proceeds in an orderly and thorough way to consider the important points at issue. Only those who have worked with wage boards can realize how much time can be spent discussing nonessentials, how much inaccurate material must be waded through if the commission does not supply the board with adequate data, and how unrelated to the main issues some of the boards' recommendations have been.

The material reproduced from Massachusetts and Washington was presented to boards that met after the commissions had had some years' experience dealing with wage boards. It represents the sort of instructions and information that time had shown to be necessary. The Massachusetts commission submits a more complete body of material than does any other State. The information pertains, of course, to the special industry or occupation to be discussed by the wage board to which it is given, but the same type of information is given each board. The following outline, showing what this material covers, is given each member of the board:

**OUTLINE OF MATERIAL SUBMITTED BY COMMISSION TO A WAGE BOARD**

Kindly return to the commission at the last wage-board meeting all papers submitted with the exception of those in group "general instructions" and the minutes.

TO THE CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE ——— WAGE BOARD

The commission herewith submits to you the rules of organization and procedure for your board, together with various papers for your consideration in fulfilling your duties according to law.

Respectfully submitted.

MINIMUM-WAGE COMMISSION,  
By ETHEL M. JOHNSON,  
Assistant Commissioner, Acting Director.

PAPERS<sup>1</sup>

*General instructions*

1. List of papers.
2. List of members of board.
3. Rules of organization and procedure.
4. Suggested form for reporting determinations.
5. Handbook of information for wage-board members.
6. Minimum-wage law.

*Material on cost of living*

7. Itemized cost-of-living budgets adopted by other boards.
8. Outline on cost of living for working girls in Massachusetts cities. [Not a complete study comparable, for example, to those made in California, but a series of price lists, principally for room and board.]
9. Estimate of change in cost of principal items in budget.
10. References on wages and cost of living. [Many from other minimum-wage States.]

*Material on wage conditions in industry*

11. Statement and decree concerning the wages of women in the — industry in Massachusetts. [Submitted in the case of reconvened or second boards in an industry.]
12. Tables based on inspection reports. [In an industry that had never had a rate set, tables would be based on an investigation.]
13. Report of wage determinations of other Massachusetts wage boards.
14. Summary of decrees entered by the commission to date.
15. Provisions of recent wage decrees in other States.

In the group called "General instructions" three things are of interest—the rules of organization and procedure, the suggested form for reporting determinations, and the handbook of information for wage-board members. The first two of these are presented here.

RULES OF ORGANIZATION AND PROCEDURE FOR TOYS, GAMES, AND SPORTING GOODS  
WAGE BOARD

1. *Jurisdiction of commission.*—Under the law the commission is authorized to make rules and regulations governing the procedure of the wage boards and to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over all questions arising with reference to the validity of the procedure and of the determinations of the boards.

2. *Name.*—This board shall be known as the toys, games, and sporting goods wage board.

3. *Organization.*—This board shall consist of three representatives of employers in the occupation, three representatives of employees, and one disinterested person to represent the public, who will act as chairman of the board.

4. *Secretary.*—The assistant commissioner of the department of labor and industries or her representative shall be the secretary of this wage board. Any additional clerical assistance necessary shall be provided by the assistant commissioner, subject to the approval of the department. No member or members of the board will be permitted to employ a stenographer or other clerk to attend meetings to take a record of the proceedings thereof.

<sup>1</sup> Comments in brackets supplied by report writer of Women's Bureau.



5. *Scope.*—The scope of the occupation includes the manufacture of toys, games, kindergarten supplies, and sporting goods, such as tennis, golf, foot and base balls, tennis racquets, fishing lines, artificial flies, catching gloves, and mits.

6. *Duties.*—It shall be the duty of this board to consider—

(1) The cost of living and maintenance in health of a *self-supporting woman* employed in the occupation in question in Massachusetts.

(2) The financial condition of the occupation in Massachusetts and the probable effect thereon of any change in the minimum wages paid.

(3) To determine the suitable minimum rate for a female of ordinary ability in this occupation.

(4) In case the board considers age and experience necessary qualifications, to determine suitable minimum rates for learners and apprentices and for minors below the age of 18 years.

(5) When a majority of the members of the wage board shall agree upon minimum-wage determinations, it shall be their duty to report such determinations to the commission, together with the reasons therefor and the facts relating thereto.

7. *Meetings.*—The board shall meet for organization upon a date fixed by the assistant commissioner and shall arrange for regular meetings thereafter, the time and frequency of the meetings to be determined by the members.

8. *Report.*—This board is required to submit its report within two months from the date of the first meeting unless extension of time is authorized by the commission.

9. *Compensation.*—The members of the wage board shall receive the compensation authorized by law; that is, \$6 for each day's service.

10. *Investigations.*—Any investigations or studies which the wage board wishes to undertake, if they involve expense to the Commonwealth, must be authorized by the commission.

11. *Expenses.*—Members who have to remain in town for meals on account of the wage-board work will be allowed for meals the actual amount expended, not exceeding 75 cents each. In the case of those who come from a distance and are obliged to stay overnight at a hotel the actual amount spent shall not exceed \$1 per meal. Hotel bills must be accompanied by vouchers.

Bills with attached vouchers must be in the office of the commission by the 1st of the month.

THE SUGGESTED FORM FOR REPORTING DETERMINATIONS

1. Rate of wages recommended for female employees of ordinary ability, whether time or piece-rate workers.

2. Rate or rates recommended for learners and apprentices and for minors under 18 years of age, provided it is felt necessary to fix a lower rate for these groups instead of a flat rate for all women employed in the occupation.

3. Definition of "experienced" worker in case apprenticeship period is required. (It should be noted that the term "experienced" is used merely to distinguish the employee of ordinary ability from the learner or apprentice.)

4. Definition of unit on which "experience" is to be based, as "season," "month," "year."

5. Definition of "full-time work."

6. Date recommended for determinations to become effective.

It is interesting to see that for all the care with which the commission instructed the wage boards, it did not desire to shut out special action that a board might feel was necessary; for example, the commission evidently realized that the need might arise for independent wage-board investigations, for in paragraph 10 of "Rules of organization and procedure" it takes notice of this possibility and provides how it shall be handled. Many wage boards have felt the necessity of doing some personal investigation of the cost of living when the differences of opinion among the members have been so wide that it was hard to attain a compromise. Another rule of particular interest is No. 8, on the length of time the board may deliberate. This provision is a recent one, added after it became

apparent that the whole purpose of the law could be defeated by a wage board that indefinitely postponed coming to any conclusions.

The material submitted under "material on cost of living" and "material on wage conditions" is, of course, varied somewhat for each board. The only part that usually is the same from board to board is the suggested form for the estimate of a cost-of-living budget, which follows:

FORM FOR ESTIMATE OF COST-OF-LIVING BUDGET<sup>1</sup>

Minimum required to maintain a self-supporting woman in health and decency

Items	Amount (per week)
1. Board and lodging	\$
2. Clothing <sup>2,3</sup>	\$
3. Laundry	\$
4. Doctor, dentist, and oculist <sup>4</sup>	\$
5. Car fares	\$
6. Church	\$
7. Self-improvement, including newspapers and magazines <sup>5</sup>	\$
8. Vacation <sup>6</sup>	\$
9. Recreation	\$
10. Reserve for emergency <sup>7</sup>	\$
11. Mutual association dues <sup>8</sup>	\$
12. Insurance <sup>9</sup>	\$
13. Incidentals <sup>10</sup>	\$
Total	\$

Massachusetts is the only State that has had its wage boards regularly take this formal action on a budget. In most States lump sums have been approved, probably to avoid too much time being spent on the discussion of small items in the budget.

In Washington, also, the commission adopted careful rules and regulations to govern the selection and procedure of the wage boards. The following paragraphs from "Rules and regulations governing the manufacturing conference" [1920] are typical of those in use for any board held at that time. The first part of the rules deals with the methods of selecting wage-board members and has been fully discussed in an earlier section of this report. The part dealing with the procedure of the boards is given here.

RULES AND REGULATIONS GOVERNING THE MANUFACTURING CONFERENCE

Sec. 6. The first day of the conference shall be open for general discussion. When the conference is called to order by the chairman it shall deliberate under parliamentary law and no question shall be discussed that is not ger-

<sup>1</sup> This form represents the items recommended for inclusion in a cost-of-living budget by the representatives of the public on the reconvened wage boards.

<sup>2</sup> For items like clothing, doctor and dentist, and vacation, take estimated expenditure for year and divide by 52.

<sup>3</sup> To estimate clothing budget for year, make list of necessary articles with approximate cost. If any item, as coat or suit, is intended to cover expenditure for two years, one-half of the cost should be entered on present budget.

<sup>4</sup> Self-improvement represents educational work, as fee for night-school courses, correspondence courses, lectures, books, concerts, etc. The recent boards have included newspapers and magazines under this heading.

<sup>5</sup> Reserve for emergency represents sum for meeting emergencies that arise during the year, as accidents, illnesses, losses. One board classed this item as "reserve for deficiency," another, "contingent funds."

<sup>6</sup> Mutual association dues covers membership in employee benefit associations. Some boards representing industries that are partially organized included in their budgets provision for organization dues. More recent boards have substituted membership in mutual benefit associations.

<sup>7</sup> Insurance usually covers industrial insurance; that is, death benefit. In the case of some boards provision has been made for sickness insurance.

<sup>8</sup> Incidentals includes miscellaneous items which are not represented in other sections of budget, such as toilet articles, tooth paste, brushes, combs, shoe blacking, stationery, postage, etc.

mane to the conditions of labor or cost of living of working women. No member of the conference shall be entitled to speak more than twice on any subject, or more than five minutes at a time, except by unanimous consent of the conference.

SEC. 7. The conference in its deliberations shall proceed on the principle established by the commission that a minimum wage or condition of labor of women shall be general throughout the State as to the occupations in the manufacturing industry.

SEC. 8. After proper deliberation and discussion of questions that have been presented to the conference by the commission, the conference shall then, upon request of the commission, proceed to make recommendations upon such questions as the commission may designate.

SEC. 9. The secretary of the commission or office assistant shall be present at each conference and shall record the minutes of the meetings, and shall be ex-officio secretary of said conference.

SEC. 10. The commission may amend, modify, or suspend, by a two-thirds vote, any of the foregoing rules and regulations.

SEC. 11. Roberts' rules of order shall govern.

SEC. 12. The foregoing rules and regulations were adopted by this commission, in regular session, \_\_\_\_\_, to govern the procedure of the manufacturing conference, called by this commission to meet on April 28-29, 1920, in Olympia, Wash.

As in Massachusetts, the commission has felt the need of controlling unrestrained discussion. Paragraph 6 does not seem to be so wise as the Massachusetts scheme of setting a time limit when recommendations must be handed in by the wage board.

The lists of material furnished the wage board and the questions on which the board was to report are not available for the manufacturing board, but the material used by the hotel and restaurant board corresponds to that prepared for the manufacturing industry. Public housekeeping conferees were furnished with the following information by the industrial welfare commission:

Copy of Federal report of cost of living, giving prices in Seattle, Wash., and Portland, Oreg.

A brief review of all minimum wages in other States and Canada.

Copy of report of Washington, D. C., hotel survey.

Copy of industrial welfare commission Orders No. 18 and No. 19 in effect at the time.

Report of public housekeeping survey.

Orders in effect in California, Oregon, and British Columbia.

List of occupations and establishments covered in public housekeeping conference.

Copy of questions to be considered.

Cost-of-living blank to be used in discussions.

For this particular board the commission does not seem to have made a cost-of-living study. In most cases it did some work in this field. With this exception, the kind of material submitted is very similar to that listed for Massachusetts.

The questions submitted to guide the board in making its report show a very interesting divergence from those used in Massachusetts. The Washington wage board was not required to take notice of apprentices or minors. This was because the Washington law gave the commission power to determine these points without wage-board procedure. Among questions to be considered by the conferees were the following:

What is the minimum wage required to supply the necessary cost of living and to maintain, in health, a self-supporting woman employed in any of the occupations of public housekeeping?

Month \_\_\_\_\_ Week \_\_\_\_\_ Day \_\_\_\_\_ Hour \_\_\_\_\_

What wage shall part-time workers receive?

3 hours or less..... 6 to 8 hours.....

When a uniform is required, who shall pay for it? Who shall launder it? If the employee, how much shall she be allowed per week for it?

When board and room are furnished, how much may be deducted from the wage?

Room and board..... Room..... Meals (3).....  
Breakfast..... Lunch..... Dinner.....

From these samples and lists a good idea of the material with which the wage boards started work is obtained. Their main sources of information usually were the studies made by the commissions and discussed in this report under the work done by the commissions. With a knowledge of what women were being paid and, in most cases, of what they should receive in order to live decently, the board was to arrive at a sum of money which was to be the minimum wage. It would seem that the board could have accepted in entirety the commission's cost-of-living studies and adopted the sum, but, though this was the theoretical basis for setting the wage, in most cases it was not possible in practice to carry out the idea that the rate should equal exactly a cost-of-living schedule. As is said repeatedly in this report, no one can prove beyond a shadow of a doubt how much it costs a self-supporting woman to live. On this question some wage boards have argued for months, and others have never been able to agree.

The importance of thorough and inclusive studies by the commission so that the various elements on the board all would accept the facts presented by the commission as authoritative can not be over-emphasized.

#### **Wage-boards' methods of work.**

In general, wage boards have held frequent round-table discussions. To these discussions the employer and employee members have brought their special knowledge of business problems and living difficulties. The two sides usually have presented cost-of-living estimates based on what they have considered to be a working woman's needs. The public members often have made similar budgets. In a few States committees have been appointed from the board membership to study the cost of living. At times witnesses have been brought before the board by one group or another to prove or disprove points that have been advanced. All this gathering and producing of material has been in addition to that supplied by the commission. An effort usually has been made to discuss one item, such as clothing, and to get rid of all differences of opinion before going on to the next item; sometimes it has seemed better to leave a hotly contested point and go back to it later. The decision as to whether it was necessary to take a vote usually has been left in the hands of the individual wage board. There was no legal reason why the board should not record its opinion on every small item, such as whether a woman needed six or eight pairs of stockings a year. Usually, however, a whole budget has come to a vote, or certainly only its major divisions, such as food, clothing, and incidentals, have done so. Though a majority vote on any given point has settled that question, all the boards have made a real effort to have decisions unanimous or subscribed to by the great majority of the members.

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This often has meant almost endless bickering and compromises that have satisfied no one.

These round-table discussions have been the uniform method of wage-board procedure, but it seems superfluous to point out the infinite variety of detail that has been possible. No one board has conducted itself exactly like any other. The general picture of their work is all that can be given. Some of their special problems will be discussed under the reasons that have caused wage boards to delay coming to a conclusion.

**Length of time wage boards have remained in session.**

It has been pointed out earlier in this report that in some States the time during which minimum-wage laws have been in effect has been shortened by the decrees not being issued until years after the law was passed. In many cases the commissions have moved slowly in establishing wage boards, but in others the wage boards have held up the proper working of the law by protracted discussion. Whether or not delay on the part of the boards has been a main cause of regarding the day when rates went into effect can be judged from the following statement, which shows the length of time covered by the meetings of the wage boards.

State	Total	Number of boards whose meetings extended over—			
		1 or 2 days	More than 2 days and including 3 months	More than 3 and including 6 months	More than 6 months
All States.....	96	30	41	16	9
District of Columbia.....	6		5	1	
Kansas.....	6	2		2	2
Massachusetts.....	40		26	8	6
Minnesota.....	4			3	1
North Dakota.....	12	12			
Oregon.....	10	3	7		
Washington.....	15	13	2		
Wisconsin.....	3		1	2	

\* Includes all wage boards for which information was available.

California is omitted from this table because its wage boards were organized on a very different basis from those in the other States, where most boards held a series of meetings over a considerable period of time and carried on a more or less continuous discussion of the problems involved in determining a wage rate. Even those boards which met for only one or two days discussed the whole problem and gave their recommendations to the commission. In California, however, a series of wage boards and wage conferences was held, with no rule that the membership or problems discussed should be continuous. In fact, varied membership usually was sought, so that the opinions of as many people as possible could be ascertained. Conferences differed from wage boards in that their organization was less formal (members usually were invited by the commission to

attend for a specified period of time) and that they represented only one group, either employers or employees. In both cases the purpose of the meetings was the discussion of some subject that was proving perplexing to the commission, and a single meeting usually sufficed, though in a few cases the wage boards have met two or three times on consecutive days. The conference or board then disbanded and met again only if revived by the commission. Moreover, no conference, and only one or two early wage boards, handed in any formal recommendations to the commission. The commission set the rates, aided by the information and advice received through wage boards and conferences. Thus it was not possible for California wage boards or conferences to delay minimum-wage machinery by protracted discussions, nor would a disagreement among the members disrupt the machinery of setting the rate. Since the other States formally organized their wage boards and awaited action by them as the next step toward setting a decree, delay by these boards was a serious matter.

In all States holding wage boards but California it has been possible for the wage boards to postpone indefinitely the setting of a rate by protracting their meetings. The powers given the commissions probably are so drastic that boards could be required to report after a given period of time, but usually the commissions have preferred to keep their hands off when once a board was organized. That wage boards on the whole have conducted their work expeditiously is one indication of the willingness of the groups concerned to carry out the law. Three months may seem a long time for a wage board to remain in session, but it may be excused when the difficulty of getting busy members together from various parts of the State is considered, and when it is realized that considerable time must elapse between sessions while necessary material is being gathered. Three-fourths of the wage boards (74 per cent) have consumed three months or less in their meetings, and one-third of them (32 per cent) have taken only one or two days. Time longer than three months would seem to need some explanation. In the District of Columbia—where an entire budget was given minute attention, where the boards were composed of very busy people, and where there were serious differences of opinion to be smoothed out—only one board took more than two months for its deliberations. In the States where distances are great, undoubtedly some additional time, due to the difficulty of getting members together, was justifiable. The following table shows that the great majority of the boards have gone ahead and finished their business expeditiously, but it also shows that some boards have spent long periods of time struggling to reach an agreement. Since one of the greatest problems in connection with these laws has been the proper functioning of the wage boards, some of the problems that so delayed these boards or that prevented them from reaching and reporting a conclusion will be discussed. These problems have been serious ones and they constitute some of the difficult points in setting rates that have never been authoritatively settled.

Of the boards that have had unduly protracted meetings, only those of Kansas and Massachusetts present extremely long delays

TABLE 30.—Length of time covered by wage-board meetings, by State

State and date of first specific act leading toward a decree	Wage boards which met for—													
	Under 1 month <sup>1</sup>	Over 1 and under 2 months	Over 2 and under 3 months	Over 3 and under 4 months	Over 4 and under 5 months	Over 5 and under 6 months	Over 6 and under 7 months	Over 7 and under 8 months	Over 8 and under 9 months	Over 9 and under 10 months	Over 10 and under 11 months	Over 11 and under 12 months	Over 1 and under 1½ years	Over 1½ and under 2 years
District of Columbia: 1919.....		Printing and publishing. Mercantile. Hotel and restaurant. Laundry (first).....												
1920.....			Laundry (second).											
1922.....						Mercantile (reconvened).								
Kansas: <sup>1</sup> 1916.....						Laundry (first). Manufacturing.							Laundry (second). Mercantile.	
1918.....	Telephone (X).													
1919.....	Manufacturing (X).													
Massachusetts: 1913.....	Candy (second) <sup>2</sup> .....	Candy (third) <sup>3</sup> .....	Corset (second) <sup>4</sup> .....					Brush.....		Corset (first) <sup>4</sup> .....	Candy (first). <sup>5</sup>			
1914.....		Paper box (first) <sup>6</sup> .....	Men's clothing.....	Knit goods.....	Retail stores.....	Women's clothing.....			Laundry.....					
1915.....		Paper box (second). <sup>6</sup>	Retail millinery.....	Men's furnishings.....										
1916.....		Wholesale millinery.....			Office and building cleaners. <sup>7</sup>					Muslin underwear. <sup>8</sup>				
1917.....														
1918.....		Canning and preserving. Men's clothing.....								Minor lines of confec- tionery.				
1919.....														
1920.....		Druggists' compounds. Office and building cleaners.	Women's clothing.....	Stationery goods.....										Men's furnishings.
1921.....		Brush (first). Brush (second). Women's clothing. Men's clothing. Paper box.	Retail stores.											
1922.....	Muslin underwear.....													
1923.....	Laundry. Bread and bakery prod- ucts.		Jewelry.											
1924.....		Toys and games.....		Wholesale and retail millinery.										
1925.....			Canning, preserving, and minor lines of confectionery. Candy.											
Minnesota, 1913 <sup>9</sup> .....						Mercantile (Duluth) <sup>10</sup> ..... Manufacturing (Duluth and Twin Cities). <sup>11</sup>	Mercantile (Twin Cities). <sup>12</sup>							
North Dakota: 1920.....	Public housekeeping (X). Office (X). Manufacturing (X). Laundry (X). Student nurses (X). Mercantile (X). Telephone (X).													
1922.....	Public housekeeping (X). Mercantile (X). Manufacturing (X). Laundry (X). Telephone (X).													
Oregon: 1913 <sup>7</sup> .....	Mercantile. Office (X). All (X). Fruit canneries (X).													
1916.....		All industries.												
1917.....	Canneries.													
1918.....		All industries. All industries (war).												
1919.....	All industries.													
1922.....		Canneries.												
Washington: 1913.....	Mercantile (X). Factory (X). Laundry (first) (X). Laundry (second) (X). Telephone (X). Office (X). Hotel and restaurant (X).													
1918.....	Any occupation (war).													
1919.....	Public housekeeping (X).													
1920.....	Manufacturing (first) (X). Manufacturing (second) (X). Laundry (second) (X). Public housekeeping (X). Telephone and tele- graph. Mercantile (X).													
1921.....														
Wisconsin: 1913 <sup>8</sup> .....			Telephone.....			All (second). <sup>13</sup>								
1921.....						All.								

<sup>1</sup> Boards marked X met for 1 or 2 days only.

<sup>2</sup> Other decrees were set without wage-board procedure.

<sup>3</sup> First board illegally organized; meetings of second board suspended.

<sup>4</sup> Meetings of first board suspended.

<sup>5</sup> Wage board reconvened immediately after reporting to commission to modify report. Constituted only 1 board, as practically no time elapsed before reconvening and few additional meetings were held.

<sup>6</sup> Estimated to have met for this period.

<sup>7</sup> Wage boards for manufacturing, but time consumed not reported.

<sup>8</sup> Wage board for hospitals and sanitariums, but time consumed not reported.

In Kansas the first wage board organized after the law was passed was one for the laundry industry. About six weeks later one was organized in the mercantile industry. The laundry board bickered for between four and five months and then failed to hand in any recommendations on wages. A little more than a month after this board was dissolved the commission organized a second laundry board, which had meetings for more than a year before it agreed on a wage recommendation. In all, slightly over two years were consumed by wage-board meetings. The mercantile board had meetings for a year and four months before it handed in a recommendation as to the amount of the wage rate. Three other wage boards were held, two of which met for only a couple of days and one which had meetings for between four and five months. Apparently the long delays of the first boards seemed particularly undesirable to the commission, and it favored a change in the law whereby the representative boards were entirely abolished, this being "in the interest of efficiency, as the representative boards had proved a clumsy arrangement and had often been able to block all legislation because of disagreement."<sup>1</sup>

According to the State reports, there seems to have been no justification for these great delays; instead, they resulted from the active effort of some members of the wage boards to postpone as long as possible the time when this legislation should go into effect. Since only one other State has experienced a like problem and this State has met it with at least a moderate degree of success, it would seem that the Kansas action in abolishing wage boards was unnecessarily drastic.

In Massachusetts, five boards—candy, laundry, muslin underwear, minor lines of confectionery, and corset, the last named not followed by a decree at this time—met for 7 to 10 months, and one board—men's furnishings—continued its meetings for over a year and a half. One great point of disagreement in these boards was whether the cost of living should be estimated for the woman who was living independently or for one who lived at home. On the basis that the majority of their woman employees lived at home, the employers brought in recommendations for wage rates that were so far below those proposed by the employees or the public that a compromise was difficult. It is evident from the reported proceedings of these various boards that they failed to realize the need for conducting their work expeditiously in order to afford relief to the woman workers. The minor-lines-of-confectionery board actually adjourned for two and one-half months, until cost of living and of manufacture became more stable. The men's furnishings board appointed a committee to investigate the cost of living further, and this committee took four months to hand in a report. Another cause that led to extended dispute was establishing rates for apprentices and minors. Often, when an agreement could be reached on the rate for experienced adults, it was very difficult to obtain a compromise for these supplementary rates. This element of delay was not present in many of the other States, where the only formal report required

<sup>1</sup> Kansas Court of Industrial Relations. Second annual report, 1921, p. 88.



from the wage boards was on experienced adult women. Still another factor delaying reports was that many of the wage boards believed that the commission desired at least one member from each group to sign the majority report. In the report of the men's furnishings board, after months of contention, no employer would sign the recommendation for a rate for experienced adults, though two of them agreed to the rates for apprentices. An additional factor that caused the boards much concern was the provisions of the Massachusetts law that wage boards should take into consideration the financial condition of the industry. How far below the estimated cost of living a wage board might recommend a rate and be justified in such action, and how to judge what an industry could really afford to pay, have led to lengthy differences of opinion.

Nothing could show more clearly than this experience in Massachusetts how impossible it was to have figures presented by the commissions on the cost of living accepted by the various groups on the wage boards. How much leeway a board should be given in determining such facts for itself and in resolving its differences, is a difficult problem. The Massachusetts commission certainly felt that too great freedom had been allowed these boards if it resulted in such long delays. In 1922, shortly after the men's furnishings board handed in a report, the commission called a meeting of all persons who had served as public members of the various boards and asked them to make recommendations as to how certain points that had proved particularly difficult could be adjusted with fairness to all. The recommendations which are here presented apply specifically to reconvened boards, but all the points except No. 4 are equally applicable to original boards. A comparison of this list with the instructions which the commission now gives to the boards shows how closely the commission has adhered to these recommendations. A paragraph corresponding to No. 4 has been incorporated for original wage boards.

These problems, which have delayed the Massachusetts boards, have been stumbling blocks everywhere. How to avoid, on the one hand, too great delay or failure to agree, and, on the other hand, too costly compromises by the weaker group, has been constantly in the mind of every interested commission and wage board. The time consumed by wage boards in meetings, on the whole, has not been excessive. Whether they have compromised on too low rates may be judged by a comparison of cost-of-living studies with the rates recommended. The Massachusetts commission also has emphasized to the later wage boards that if employer members wish to have a rate set below the cost of living because of the financial condition of the industry, the burden of proof must rest on the employer. These efforts on the part of the commission to reduce the time wasted by wage-board delays have resulted in seven of the eight boards organized since 1922 reporting in three months or less, while the other board took less than four months.

MASSACHUSETTS DEPARTMENT OF LABOR AND INDUSTRIES—RECONVENED WAGE BOARD  
RECOMMENDATIONS FROM REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PUBLIC TO THE MINIMUM-  
WAGE COMMISSION

The following recommendations are submitted to the commission as expressing the attitude of the representatives of the public on wage boards.

*Regarding a fair basis for the cost-of-living budget:*

1. That the fact that a girl lives at home is not to be considered in fixing a minimum rate.

*Regarding the financial condition of the industry:*

2. That the minimum should not be reduced below the standard fixed as the cost of living except under serious and unusual conditions established by evidence presented by the employers; and in case any board recommends a minimum rate below the cost of living, that the representatives of the public on the board should be responsible for seeing that a petition is presented for reconvening the board at an early date.

*Regarding the wage board procedure:*

3. That the wage board should follow as closely as may be possible the order of business recommended by the commission in the Rules of Organization and Procedure and the Handbook of Information for Wage Board Members.

*Time for completing work:*

4. That the reconvened wage boards should submit their determinations within two months from the date of their first meeting, if possible.

*Regarding date for decree to become effective:*

5. That not more than three months should intervene between the date of the wage board's determinations and the date the decree should become effective.<sup>1</sup>

*Regarding the cost-of-living budget:*

6. That the following items should be included in the cost-of-living budget, in the order and under the terminology specified—

- |   |                              |
|---|------------------------------|
| 1. Board and lodging.                             | 8. Vacation.                 |
| 2. Clothing.                                      | 9. Recreation.               |
| 3. Laundry.                                       | 10. Reserve for emergency.   |
| 4. Doctor, dentist, and oculist.                  | 11. Mutual association dues. |
| 5. Car fares.                                     | 12. Insurance.               |
| 6. Church.  | 13. Incidentals.             |
| 7. Self-improvement (including newspapers, etc.). |                              |

**Reports by wage boards and action by commissions.**

Though wage boards have followed the practice of handing in written recommendations to the commissions, these reports usually have not been formal nor have they been uniform even within one State. Whether the boards reported on more than a rate for adult experienced women could depend on the wording of the law, the directions of the commission, the inclination of the board itself. Since the actual sums recommended for adult experienced women were the only ones that were always reported on, and since these were adopted in practically all cases by the commissions, the main results of the wage-boards' work will be evident when the rates themselves are studied. In Massachusetts alone were the boards required to report regularly on rates for apprentices and minors. The only wage-board recommendations that are reported as modified by a commission are four in Massachusetts, and in every case the changes deal with recommendations on rates in their relation to age or to experience in which the commission did not approve all the classes of rates. Five States—Kansas, Massachusetts, Oregon, Washington, and the District of Columbia—have rejected the recommendations of certain wage boards. This has occurred four times in Massachusetts, twice in

<sup>1</sup> Recommendation of subcommittee appointed by the full committee.

Washington, and once in the District of Columbia, in Kansas, and in Oregon. In the District of Columbia (laundry wage board, 1920) and in Massachusetts (men's clothing board, 1921, and brush board reconvened, 1921) decrees were rejected because they recommended rates so different from other wage-board determinations of relatively the same date that they appeared unacceptable. In the District of Columbia the rate was below the others; in Massachusetts, above. The Kansas situation is unique, for the board in its report said—

\* \* \* we very much doubt the desirability of a minimum-wage law in Kansas at the present time. In some States it might temporarily alleviate a bad situation. The law of supply and demand will override any legislator's fiat as to wages. It seems reasonable to suppose that a minimum-wage law would cause the discharge and destruction of those who do not earn the minimum wage.

Let us first direct legislation toward making the employee more fit and able and strong individually and nationally, that we may accomplish something for both employer and employee.\*

This is the only case of a wage board which refused to carry out the purpose for which it was created. In Washington the laundry board (1913) reported a rate below the estimated cost of living, which the commission rejected. The decision of the Massachusetts building-cleaners board (1918) was simply referred back to the same group in an effort to get a more nearly unanimous report, and that of the candy board (1925) for a revision of a few details, so this action was not in either case a rejection in the same sense as the final action just described. The reasons for rejection in the cases of the other wage boards—Washington, manufacturing, 1920, and Oregon, canning, 1914—are not reported. Rejection by the commission is most serious in relation to the time element. Either the old board holds another series of meetings or a new board is organized and holds many meetings. The result may not be any more satisfactory than the first report. These considerations undoubtedly have led commissions to accept recommendations that were far from satisfactory to them. They have adopted the principle that if the rate recommended was such as to improve conditions as shown by the rates and earnings studies, even though it did not bring them up to the level set forth in the cost-of-living study, it was better to accept this rate than to have no regulation for a longer period of time, since the second set of recommendations might be no nearer the cost of living than was the first. Nine rejections of wage-board awards, when 92 such boards have met, constitute a very small percentage.

### Summary.

Though the work of the wage boards has the most important weight in determining what the amount of the rate shall be and should be thoroughly understood, it is extremely difficult to discuss in any sort of condensed form. Each wage board was very different from all other wage boards. Under instructions from the commissions they tried to determine the cost of living. Some of the difficulties of this were the following: (1) Should it be for a woman living at home or independently? (2) Should a woman be required to make her own clothes, cook her own food, and keep her own room clean,

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\* Kansas Industrial Welfare Commission. First biennial report, 1915-1917, p. 28.

or should her day's work pay enough for her to be relatively free from tasks outside business hours? (3) What articles of clothing does a working woman need? How long should they last? (4) How much recreation should be allowed? (5) Should a woman earn enough to save a little money against sickness, unemployment, etc.? Besides these more obvious difficulties, there were many, many others. Some boards had trouble with one point, some with another. Over all discussions hung this major difficulty: Should the board seek to establish a rate that almost exactly met the cost of living, or should it set a rate which would be somewhat of an advance on the rates in effect but not so high as was necessary to approximate the cost of living? The question of unanimous reports also was important. The awards were valueless unless they could be enforced. Good feeling among the employers would greatly facilitate enforcement. If the public group joined with the employee group to force a rate that all employer representatives were opposed to, it would cause a great deal of hard feeling. This would react on the commissions when they came to adjust noncompliances. Undoubtedly many concessions have been made to the employer group for this reason. All these perplexing points have made wage-board work extremely difficult. It is really, on the whole, a remarkable record that they have made. The great majority of them have worked expeditiously and have succeeded in reaching conclusions that were acceptable to the commissions. If they have been unable to set rates that would give every woman a proper standard of living, they certainly have improved conditions.

## **CHAPTER VII.—ACTUAL RATES SET FOR FULL-TIME EXPERIENCED WORKERS, COMPARED WITH COST-OF- LIVING FIGURES**

Since the fundamental direction of all minimum-wage laws is that the rates should supply the women workers with the sum necessary for proper living, a comparison of cost-of-living estimates and rates established on the basis of the cost of living is very important. It has been emphasized how frequently wage boards were forced to compromise in order to reach a decision that all or even a majority of the board members would support. In the rates set by the commissions the same forces that necessitated compromise on the part of the wage boards were at work. One of the most important parts of the study of minimum wage is the attempt to discover whether the compromises that were considered necessary to get support for orders were such that they tended to destroy the command of the laws to set rates that represented the necessary cost of proper living. The following table shows the amounts estimated as the cost of living and the rates set.

TABLE 31.—Comparison of minimum-wage rates with budgets adopted

[See note at end

Industry or occupation and year decree was set	Cost of living and rate established by—									
	Arkansas		California		District of Columbia		Kansas		Massachusetts	
	Cost of living	Rate	Cost of living	Rate	Cost of living	Rate	Cost of living	Rate	Cost of living	Rate
1913										
Manufacturing										
Mercantile										
Office										
Any										
1914			\$9.63							
Brush									\$8.71	\$8.37
Mercantile										
Manufacturing										
Laundry										
Telephone and telegraph										
Office										
1915							\$7.30		\$8.89	
Laundry									8.75	8.00
Retail store									8.50	8.50
Hotel and restaurant										
1916			\$11.05						\$10.00	
Fruit and vegetable canning				(9)						
Women's clothing									8.98	8.75
Mercantile										
Manufacturing										
Personal service										
Laundry										
Office										
Public housekeeping										
Telephone and telegraph										
1917			\$13.30						\$12.05	
Mercantile				\$10.00						
Fruit and vegetable canning				(6 9)						
Laundry				10.00						
Fish canning				\$10.00						
Men's clothing									10.00	9.00
Men's furnishings									10.45	9.00
Tee canning										
Canning										

<sup>1</sup> Monthly Labor Review, February, 1928, p. 218.

<sup>2</sup> Only hourly rates established by wage boards, but these are potential weekly rates if the full number of hours allowed by law are worked.

<sup>3</sup> Covers "mercantile, office, waitress, hairdressing" and "manufacturing, mechanical, telephone and telegraph, laundry, dry cleaning, lunch room, restaurant and hotel."



TABLE 31.—Comparison of minimum-wage rates with budgets adopted

[See note at end

Industry or occupation and year decree was set	Cost of living and rate established by—									
	Arkansas		California		District of Columbia		Kansas		Massachusetts	
	Cost of living	Rate	Cost of living	Rate	Cost of living	Rate	Cost of living	Rate	Cost of living	Rate
1918.....			\$16.29		\$16.00		\$12.12		\$14.75	
Mercantile.....								\$8.50		
Fruit and vegetable packing.....			\$10.00							
Laundry.....								8.50 7.00 to 9.00		
Telephone.....										
Muslin underwear.....									9.65	\$9.00
Retail millinery.....									11.64	10.00
Wholesale millinery.....									12.50	11.00
Fruit and vegetable canning.....			(9)							
Manufacturing.....			\$10.00							
Unskilled and unclassified.....			\$9.60							
Personal service.....										
Telephone and telegraph.....										
Office.....			\$10.00							
Public housekeeping.....										
Pea canning.....										
All (not covered in 1914).....										
1919.....			\$18.61		\$18.30		\$13.85		\$16.86	
Printing and publishing.....					16.01	\$15.50				
Mercantile.....			13.57	\$13.50		16.50				
Fruit and vegetable canning.....			13.57	\$13.50						
Manufacturing.....			13.57	\$13.50			11.00			
Building cleaners.....									11.54	\$14.40 \$12.48
Hotel and restaurant.....			13.57	\$13.50						
Canning and preserving.....									11.00	11.00
Pea canning.....										
Candy.....									12.50	12.50
Men's clothing.....									15.00	15.00
Corset.....									13.00	13.00
Fish canning.....			13.57	\$13.50						
Personal service.....										
Laundry.....			13.57	\$13.50						
Telephone and telegraph.....										
Fruit and vegetable packing.....			13.57	\$13.50						
Unskilled and unclassified.....			13.57	\$13.50						
Office.....			13.57	\$13.50						
Public housekeeping.....										
Cannery.....										
Any.....										
1920.....			\$18.72		\$18.40		\$13.93		16.95	
Hotel and restaurant.....			16.11	\$16.00		16.50				
Fruit and vegetable canning.....			16.11	\$16.00						
Laundry.....			16.11	\$16.00						
Fish canning.....			16.11	\$16.00						
Manufacturing.....			16.11	\$16.00			11.00			
Fruit and vegetable packing.....			16.11	\$16.00						
Knit goods.....									15.30	13.75
Unclassified.....			16.11	\$16.00						
Women's clothing.....									15.25	15.25
Agricultural.....			16.11	\$16.00						
Paper box.....									15.50	15.50
Beauty parlor.....										
Building cleaners.....									15.40	15.40

<sup>1</sup> Only hourly rates established by wage boards, but these are potential weekly rates if the full number of hours allowed by law are worked.

<sup>2</sup> These figures are estimates, calculated by applying to the first budget prepared in each State the change in cost of living as shown by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics index numbers. (See right-hand column.)





TABLE 31.—Comparison of minimum-wage rates with budgets adopted

[See note at end

Industry or occupation and year decree was set	Cost of living and rate established by—									
	Arkansas		California		District of Columbia		Kansas		Massachusetts	
	Cost of living	Rate	Cost of living	Rate	Cost of living	Rate	Cost of living	Rate	Cost of living	Rate
Public housekeeping.....										
Any.....										
Personal service.....										
Pea canning.....										
Office.....			\$16.11	*\$16.00						
Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning.....										
Mercantile.....	\$13.25	**\$13.25	16.11	*16.00						
Tobacco stripping.....										
Telephone.....										
1921.....			*16.28		*\$16.00		*\$12.11		*\$14.75	
Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning.....										
Fruit and vegetable canning.....				16.00						
Pea canning.....										
Mercantile.....									13.50	\$12.00
Minor lines of confectionery.....										
Laundry.....						\$15.00				
Telephone and telegraph.....										
Any.....										
Manufacturing.....										
Public housekeeping.....										
1922.....	*11.20		*15.83		*15.56		*11.78		*14.34	
Needle trades.....			14.99	15.00						
Paper box.....									13.50	13.50
Women's clothing.....									13.97	14.00
Muslin underwear.....									13.75	13.75
Men's furnishings.....									15.69	13.75
Retail store.....									14.00	14.00
Laundry.....							16.93	\$11.00	13.50	13.50
Manufacturing.....							16.93	11.00		
Pea canning.....										
Public housekeeping.....										
Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning.....										
Mercantile.....	**11.00		16.08	*16.00		16.50	16.93	10.50		
Telephone.....										
Cannary.....										

\* These figures are estimates, calculated by applying to the first budget prepared in each State the change in cost of living as shown by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics index numbers. (See right-hand column.)

\*\* Only hourly rates established by wage boards, and since an exact maximum of weekly hours in this industry is not set by law it is impossible to calculate potential weekly rates.

\* Rates were set directly by the commission.

\* This rate must be paid for 48 hours' work, and 25 cents an hour must be paid for all work above 48 hours.

\* Fort Smith.

by wage boards or prepared by commissions, by State and year—Continued of table, page 138]

Cost of living and rate established by—												Index figure showing changes in the cost of living (Bureau of Labor Statistics)
Minnesota		North Dakota		Oregon		Texas		Washington		Wisconsin		
Cost of living	Rate	Cost of living	Rate	Cost of living	Rate	Cost of living	Rate	Cost of living	Rate	Cost of living	Rate	
		\$16.25	{ \$16.70 to 17.50 }					\$22.60	\$18.00			200.4
	{ \$10.25 to \$12.00 }						\$12.00					
		16.25	17.50									
		16.25	20.00									
		16.25	17.50									
		16.25	16.50									
								{ \$16.33 to \$18.18 }		{ \$16.08 to \$14.30 }		174.3
									13.20			
									13.20			
									13.20		{ \$12.10 to \$13.75 }	
									13.20	14.50		
		\$13.75										169.5
		18.26	14.00									
		18.26	14.00									
		18.26	{ 14.20 to 14.90 }									
		18.26	14.50									
		18.26	{ 12.00 to 14.00 }									
					( <sup>1</sup> )							

<sup>1</sup> Only hourly rates established by the wage board, but these are potential weekly rates if the full number of hours allowed by law are worked. Information from the Wisconsin commission is to the effect that when the 1921 "all industries" order was issued it was based on the knowledge that the most common weekly hours of work in the State were 50. The commission considered that \$11 to \$12.50, according to the size of the community, equaled the cost of living in 1921, and that any woman who worked more than 50 hours should receive more than the cost-of-living minimum.  
<sup>2</sup> Little Rock and Fort Smith.

TABLE 31.—Comparison of minimum-wage rates with budgets adopted

[See note at end

Industry or occupation and year decree was set	Cost of living and rate established by—									
	Arkansas		California		District of Columbia		Kansas		Massachusetts	
	Cost of living	Rate	Cost of living	Rate	Cost of living	Rate	Cost of living	Rate	Cost of living	Rate
1923.....			\$16.18						\$14.65	
Fish canning.....			16.08	\$16.00						
Fruit and vegetable canning.....			16.08	16.00						
Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning.....										
Laundry.....			16.08	16.00						
Fruit and vegetable packing.....			16.08	(*)						
Brush.....									13.92	\$13.92
Unclassified.....			16.08	\$16.00						
Manufacturing.....			16.08	\$16.00						
Druggists' preparations.....									13.20	13.20
Hotel and restaurant.....			16.08	\$16.00						
Nut cracking.....			16.08	\$16.00						
Pea canning.....										
1924.....									\$14.50	
Canning and preserving.....									13.50	13.00
Pea canning.....										
Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning.....										
1925.....									\$15.05	
Bread and bakery products.....									13.00	13.00
Wholesale and retail millinery.....									13.90	13.00
Stationery goods.....									13.75	13.75
Candy.....									13.00	13.00
Pea canning.....										
Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning.....										
1926.....									\$14.86	
Jewelry.....									14.95	14.40
Toys, games, etc.....									13.50	13.50
1927.....										
Pea canning.....										
Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning.....										

\* These figures are estimates, calculated by applying to the first budget prepared in each State the change in cost of living as shown by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics index numbers. (See right-hand column.)

NOTE.—The rates shown in this table are those which were actually put in force through the procedure specified in the law. The figures marked with reference 6 are rates set directly by the commissions. All other figures in the rate columns are rates determined by wage boards. Two cost-of-living figures are shown; that on the same line with a rate is from the budget prepared specifically as a basis for that rate (in a few cases the budget was announced a short time before the rate, so it appears in the cost-of-living table for a date earlier than the one used here); that which appears opposite the year is in some cases a budget or budgets prepared specifically as a basis for wage rates and in other cases is an estimate, calculated by taking the first budget prepared in each State and increasing or decreasing it according to the changes in the cost of living as shown by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics index numbers. All such estimates are indicated.

#### COMPARISON OF RATES WITH BUDGET FIGURES PREPARED SPECIFICALLY TO AID IN FORMULATING THESE RATES

The first question to be considered is whether or not rates equaled the budgets that were prepared specifically to sustain a given rate. These budgets fall into two subdivisions: Budgets formally accepted



financial condition of the industry. Of every five Massachusetts wage boards approximately two have recommended a rate below their own estimate of the cost of living, and the commission has accepted this rate. Of the 34 rates set, there are 18 where the exact sum of the budget was adopted as the rate, 2 where the decree was greater than the budget, and 14 where it was less. The two where the budget was greater can be disposed of quickly; in one case the difference is only 3 cents; in the other an hourly rate was set for office and building cleaners to compensate for the short work week customary in this occupation. The figure shown in this table is for the full week allowed by law. Therefore there are, practically speaking, no rates which are greater than the budget estimates. As far as the wage boards that set rates below the cost of living are concerned, not only are they numerous but the cuts in many instances are considerable, ranging all the way from 23 cents to \$1.94. The average cut is \$1.07. When it is considered that the budget is supposed to represent the absolute minimum cost of proper living and that the highest budget ever issued was \$15.69 (in 1922) this is a serious reduction. Moreover, when the Massachusetts estimates on the cost of living are compared with those of like date in other States, it is at once evident that they are below rather than above the average. It would appear that the Texas decree and all these Massachusetts decrees set below their own estimated budgets certainly must be considered as among those which fail to establish a rate commensurate with the cost of living. In Texas the commission alone made the determination; in Massachusetts the original low rate was recommended by the wage boards and was approved by the commission.

The second type of budget comprises cost-of-living studies made by the commissions' agents and presented to the wage boards or used by the commissions as an authoritative estimate on which to base a rate; or studies made by the wage boards and recommended to the commission as correct indexes of the cost of living. For States other than Massachusetts this is the most common kind of budget figure appearing in this table. All the California cost-of-living studies belong to this group, as do the 1918-19 District of Columbia figure and those of Arkansas 1920, Kansas 1921-22, Minnesota 1914, North Dakota 1920 and 1922, Oregon 1913 and 1918, Washington 1914 and 1920, and Wisconsin 1914. In California there has never been more than a few cents difference between this estimated cost of living and the rates set at the same date. Arkansas (1920) and Oregon (1918) set rates that corresponded exactly to their budget estimates. Minnesota, by setting rates of \$8, \$8.25, \$8.50, \$8.75, and \$9 for different occupations and for communities of varying population after the wage boards had recommended \$8.75 as the necessary cost of living, roughly equaled the budget.

North Dakota in 1920 set rates above the recommended budget estimate of \$16.25. These rates ranged from \$16.50 to \$20. They represent an effort on the part of wage boards and commissions to recognize the higher standards of living required of such groups as office workers. This is the only case where rates have been greater than the budgets. In the other cases—the District of Columbia,

Oregon (1913), Kansas, North Dakota (1922), and Washington<sup>1</sup>—the rates set were below the estimated budgets. In the District of Columbia the difference of \$0.50 is not a drastic cut. In Oregon (1913) and Washington (1914 and 1915) an average of the budgets presented shows a cost of \$10.31 and \$10.26 respectively. The Washington rates, which run \$8.90, \$9, and \$10, are a real reduction in the four industries with rates set below \$10. The Oregon rates, running \$8.25, \$8.64, \$9.25, and \$9.33, are serious cuts in every industry. If \$10.31 is advanced as the minimum estimate for Oregon, it is certainly not carrying out the law to set rates that are \$1 and \$2 below that estimate.

As has been noted earlier, these Oregon budgets were based on investigations of the Oregon Consumers' League, but the work was done by the person who became the first secretary of the industrial welfare commission and the report was used so extensively by the commission as to justify considering its budgets as at least semi-official. It is only fair to note that the wage boards reported that the rates they set represented the minimum cost of living. However, they do not record any authority or report any first-hand investigation on which this figure is based. The estimates are open to question when compared with the \$10.31 consumers' league figure, which was formulated after an extensive investigation, and the \$10.26 figure in the neighboring State of Washington, also the result of a field study. In the three other States—Kansas (1922), North Dakota (1922), and Washington (1920)—the differences between the cost-of-living figures and the rates are striking. Kansas set rates running from \$6 to \$6.50 less than the estimated cost of living. As a reason for this, it was said that the cost of living was falling, but the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics cost-of-living index fails to show a drop in any way commensurate with this cut. North Dakota cut the budget figures from \$3.76 to \$6.25 when rates were established, and if these rates are compared with the first rates established in North Dakota in 1920, all of which were greater than the estimated cost of living, it would seem to prove that compromise was necessary in order to help enforcement. The Washington rate is \$4.80 less than the average of the budget study. All these budgets are for relatively the same period of time (1920-1922), and in North Dakota and Washington they are somewhat higher than any other budgets that had even partial official sanction. It is apparent that both wage boards and commissions felt that they were too high. Whether or not this was a correct decision will be discussed when increases in the cost of living are analyzed. This whole group of States shows that, as in the first group considered, barely more than half the rates set equaled the sums announced by authoritative sources as the cost of proper living. One State (in the first year of its law) set rates higher than its budget, seven equaled the budget, one set a series of rates whose average roughly equaled the budget, and six set rates below the budget.

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<sup>1</sup> Washington (1914) set rates below the budgets presented by the commission but corresponding exactly to budgets worked out by the wage boards. The commission's figures represented figures submitted in the course of its investigation by a group of employers and two groups of employees. The wage boards made no independent survey, but issued their budget to show that the rate set supplied the necessary cost of living.

For some States budgets were not made after the early years; instead, cost-of-living estimates were used to adjust the totals and items of the existing budgets to the conditions prevailing when it was proposed to set a new rate, or local cost-of-living studies were made to determine the current cost of items in an old budget. This was the case in Arkansas (1922), the District of Columbia (after 1919), Minnesota (after 1914), Oregon (1916 and 1919), Washington (1918 and 1921), and Wisconsin (after 1914). It is impossible in these instances to discuss the relation between any specific budget and a wage rate set as a result. For present purposes the rate must be accepted as being the wage board's or commission's estimate of the cost of living. If this is done, it can be said that the majority of rates set have equaled the announced cost of living. Excepting Massachusetts, no State with a really active law has announced one sum as the cost of living and set a lower rate. In Massachusetts, of course, the requirement that the wage boards consider the financial condition of the industry puts these acts in a somewhat different light. Where the setting of rates below the announced cost of living has occurred in other States the budgets have been only semiofficial; where they were presented by the commissions the wage boards have refused to agree to them, or vice versa. The tendency to cut rates below the announced cost of living is sufficiently widespread to justify looking further and seeing whether or not the budgets in all cases were adequate. It may be that the compromise with the forces that sought to hold down minimum-wage rates was made before the budget was announced.

#### COMPARISON OF BUDGETS TO DETERMINE A STANDARD BUDGET BY WHICH RATES CAN BE JUDGED

As remarked earlier in this report, it was not the province of this study to discuss a budget article by article, to see whether or not it included the real necessities, or to judge whether methods of collecting facts for the budgets were adequate. However, if there is a substantial agreement as to the total weekly cost of living among a considerable percentage of the many budgets available, it would seem as if this sum might be accepted as a fair estimate of the cost of living and other budgets be judged in their relation to this figure. Moreover, in every State it has been interesting to take the earliest budget made and see what that budget would have cost during the war years and the years immediately following the war. This is done because there is some reason to feel that as wage boards and commissions became more familiar with the difficulties of enforcing minimum-wage rates which entailed substantial increases over the average wages in existence, these boards and commissions became more and more inclined to allow budgets to be approved that perhaps did not really provide for the increases in the living costs, or for the same reasons to follow less rigidly theoretical budgets submitted by agents who made field studies; to avoid announcing one figure as the cost of living and a lower figure as the minimum rate, budget estimates which were announced as the basis of the rate were reduced. If this is the case, the early budgets of the commissions, when raised to correspond to the increases in the cost of living, would offer a means of judging not



only whether the commissions and wage boards had maintained the same standards in all budgets but to some extent the adequacy of the later budgets.

There is one bit of internal evidence that seems to corroborate the theory that the earlier budgets were more truly representative of actual living costs; it is their greater agreement from State to State as to the sum necessary for proper self-support. In 1913, 1914, and 1915, before the rapid war-time rise in the cost of living, seven States—California, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Oregon, Washington, and Wisconsin—prepared and made public one or more cost-of-living studies. In all, figures for 16 different budgets of these dates are available. The lowest figure was a \$7.30 estimate in Kansas, but the inclusion of this budget in the table is open to question, since it was the average actual expenditures of a group of woman mercantile and laundry employees who were not under any minimum-wage decree and many of whom were living below the standards advocated by the law. The next lowest budgets were \$8.36 in Minnesota and \$8.45 in Wisconsin, budgets also derived from actual expenditures prior to establishing any wage rate. Of the remaining 12 budgets, four were estimates of from \$8.50 to \$9, four of from \$9.50 to \$10, three of from \$10 to \$10.50, and the highest one was \$10.74. On the other hand, in the years 1919 and 1920, seven States—Arkansas, California, the District of Columbia, Massachusetts, North Dakota, Washington, and Texas—reported budgets, and four other States—Kansas, Oregon, Minnesota, and Wisconsin—established rates based on the cost of living. The estimates of the cost of living range from \$10.25 as expressed by the lowest rate, in Minnesota, to \$22.60 in the Washington budget, a spread of \$12.35, or more than the sum set in Minnesota as the total cost of living. Of course there are reasons for some variations in the minimum cost of living, but this is an amazing difference. Although the other 21 rates are pretty well spread out, no rate comes within \$6 of the high Washington estimate; nevertheless, the estimates without either the high Washington budget or the low Minnesota rate show a spread of \$6.25, with the largest number of estimates falling in a \$3 group from \$13 to \$16.\* Even at that, this group forms less than 50 per cent of the total number of budgets submitted, while in the earlier years practically 80 per cent of the budget showed a range of a little over \$2. The following table is arranged with the theories in mind that if there is substantial enough agreement among a number of States as to the cost of living, some figure can be reached that it is possible to accept as representing a real minimum budget and that may be used as a basis for judging other rates; and that the latter-day cost-of-living budgets in many cases were forced down by the knowledge that to establish a wage at the real cost of living would arouse opposition so that it would be difficult to obtain the necessary cooperation in enforcement. The table shows budgets or rates announced from year to year, compared with what the cost-of-living estimate would have been if the earlier budgets had been raised or lowered to conform to the Bureau of Labor Statistics figures.

\* This includes the higher Wisconsin figure based on the greatest possible number of hours a woman could work legally. Both budgets were below \$13 on the practical basis accepted by the commission.

TABLE 32.—Comparison of first cost-of-living budget, adjusted to conform to changes and

[NOTE.—The year 1913 is taken as the base for the budgets as well as for the Bureau of Labor Statistics index number for that

Year	Arkansas		California		District of Columbia (standard, see p. 146)		Kansas		Massachusetts	
	Budget or rate announced	Estimated	Budget or rate announced	Estimated	Budget or rate announced	Estimated	Budget or rate announced	Estimated	Budget or rate announced	Estimated
1913		\$6.61		\$9.34		\$9.17		\$6.95		\$8.46
1914			\$9.65			9.45			\$8.71	
1915				9.82		9.64	\$7.30		8.75 * 8.50	8.89
1916				11.05		10.85		8.22	8.98	10.00
1917			* 10.00	13.30		15.06		9.90	10.00 10.45	12.05
1918			* 9.60 * 10.00	16.29	\$16.00		* 7.00 * 8.50 * 9.00	12.12	9.65 11.64 12.50	14.75
1919			* 13.57	18.61	16.01	18.28	* 11.00	13.85	11.00 11.54 12.50 13.00 15.00	16.86
1920	* 13.25		16.11	18.72	* 16.50	18.39	* 11.00	13.93	15.25 15.30 15.40 15.50	16.95
1921		11.52	* 16.00	16.28	* 15.00 * 16.50	15.98	16.93	12.11	13.50	14.75
1922	* 11.00	11.20	14.99 16.08	15.83	* 16.50	15.54	16.93	11.78	13.50 13.75 13.97 14.00 15.69	14.34
1923		11.45	16.08	16.18		15.88		12.04	13.20 13.92	14.65
1924		11.40		16.11		15.88		11.99	13.50	14.59
1925		11.76		16.62		16.31		12.36	13.00 13.90 13.75 13.00	15.05
1926		11.61		16.40		16.10		12.20	14.95 13.50	14.86

\* Monthly Labor Review, February, 1928, p. 218.

\* These are rates but are supposed to equal the minimum cost of living.

in the cost of living, and later budgets (rates where no budgets were given), by State year

cost-of-living index. Where the first budget is later than 1913 (as is true of all States but Oregon) it is con-year and all estimated budgets are computed on the theoretical 1913 budget.]

Minnesota		North Dakota		Oregon		Texas		Washington		Wisconsin		Index figure showing changes in the cost of living (Bureau of Labor Statistics) †
Budget or rate announced	Estimated	Budget or rate announced	Estimated	Budget or rate announced	Estimated	Budget or rate announced	Estimated	Budget or rate announced	Estimated	Budget or rate announced	Estimated	
	\$8.47 8.12		\$8.11 10.48				\$7.54 6.76		\$9.37 9.48 9.99 10.43		\$9.22 8.20	100.0
	\$8.72 8.36				\$10.44 10.79			\$9.66 9.76 10.29 10.74		\$9.50 8.45		103.0
	8.90 8.53				10.66 11.01			9.00 9.85 9.96 10.50 10.96		9.69 8.62		105.1
	10.02 9.61			8.25 8.64 9.25 9.23	12.00 12.40			11.08 11.21 11.82 12.34		10.91 9.71		118.3
	12.06 11.56				14.44 14.92			13.34 13.50 14.23 14.85		13.13 11.68		142.4
8.00	14.77 14.16			11.10 11.61	17.68 18.28			13.20 16.34 16.53 17.42 18.19		16.08 14.31		174.4
10.25 11.00	16.88 16.18			13.20 13.85	20.21 20.89			18.67 18.89 19.91 20.79	12.10	18.38 16.35		199.3
10.25 12.00	16.97 16.27	\$16.85		20.32 21.00	\$15.18 15.65			22.60 18.78 19.00 20.02 20.90		18.48 16.44		200.4
	14.76 14.16		14.14		17.67 18.27		13.14 11.78	13.20 14.60 16.33 16.52 17.41 18.18	11.00 12.50	16.08 14.30		174.3
	14.36 13.76	18.26	13.75		17.19 17.76		12.78 11.46	15.68 16.07 16.93 17.68		15.63 13.90		169.5
	14.67 14.06		14.05		17.56 18.15		13.09 11.71	16.23 16.42 17.30 18.06		15.97 14.21		173.2
	14.61 14.01		13.99		17.49 18.08		13.01 11.66	16.16 16.35 17.23 17.99		15.91 14.15		172.5
	15.07 14.45		14.43		18.04 18.64		13.41 12.03	16.67 16.86 17.77 18.55		16.40 14.59		177.9
	14.87 14.26		14.24		17.81 18.40		13.24 11.87	16.45 16.65 17.54 18.32		16.19 14.40		175.6

† These rates, based on a 48-hour week, are supposed to equal the minimum cost of living. All hours worked in excess of 48 must be paid for at the rate of \$0.25 or \$0.215, depending on the size of the community.  
 ‡ According to the Wisconsin Industrial Commission the rate for 60 hours of work was considered equal to the cost of living in 1921.

It is interesting to look at these budgets as calculated on the basis of their value in 1913. The total spread is from \$6.61 to \$10.31 (the average of the Oregon budgets). Seven of the 11 States, however, have figures that range from \$8.11 to \$9.37 (the average of the budgets used by the Washington wage boards in determining the rates). Thus, in addition to the fact that the original budgets for 1913, 1914, and 1915 show a smaller divergence from State to State than do the original budgets worked out in later years, this table shows that practically all first budgets, whatever their date, are more in agreement when they are reduced to similar terms than is a first budget in one State compared with a second budget in another State for the same year. It seems reasonable to say that about \$9 equaled the minimum cost of living for a single independent woman in 1913, based on an average of the decisions of the commissions in the minimum-wage States. Since the budget worked out by the District of Columbia commission in 1918 (\$16)<sup>1</sup> when expressed in the terms of 1913 values was \$9.17 per week, thus being the budget nearest the \$9 average, it may be used as the standard in each year against which, for the present purpose, other budgets may be listed. This standard budget runs as follows:

1913-----	\$9. 17	1920-----	\$18. 38
1914-----	9. 45	1921-----	15. 98
1915-----	9. 64	1922-----	15. 54
1916-----	10. 85	1923-----	15. 88
1917-----	13. 06	1924-----	15. 82
1918-----	16. 00	1925-----	16. 31
1919-----	18. 28	1926-----	16. 10

The table then affords the very basis for comparison that is necessary if an effort is to be made to judge the adequacy of the budgets themselves. It gives an average budget with which the first budgets in five States were in substantial agreement. California, Washington, and Wisconsin all announced budgets in 1914 that closely approximated the standard. Massachusetts and Minnesota announced budgets that were near the standard. In 1919, when the cost of living had practically doubled, all these States announced a budget or set a rate, except Washington, which had set a rate in 1918. The following summary shows how far below the standard some States dropped:

	1918	1919
Standard-----	\$16. 00	\$18. 28
California-----		13. 57
Massachusetts-----		11. 00 to 15. 00
Minnesota-----		10. 25 and 11. 00
Washington-----	13. 20	
Wisconsin-----		<sup>1</sup> 12. 10 (11. 00)

<sup>1</sup> The 1919 Wisconsin figure was based on a 55-hour week; that for 1921 was based on a 50-hour week, since the commission states that it used this basis in determining a rate equal to the cost of living. In 1921 a woman could earn as much as \$13.75 if she worked the full number of hours allowed by law, but so few plants ran these hours that the commission based the rates on the most usual hours of work, 50.

Again in 1921 when the cost of living had dropped from the peak of 1919-20, most of these States announced budgets or set rates. The following summary compares these with the standard:

<sup>2</sup> This budget was announced as of Jan. 15, 1919. The nearest Bureau of Labor Statistics cost-of-living index number is for December, 1918.

	1921
Standard-----	\$15.99.
California-----	\$16.00.
District of Columbia-----	\$15.00 and \$16.50.
Massachusetts-----	\$13.50.
Washington-----	\$13.20 and \$14.50.
Wisconsin-----	\$11.00 to \$12.50 (\$12.10 to \$13.75). <sup>4</sup>

With the exception of the District of Columbia and Massachusetts all these States have raised their estimates, at least slightly, since 1919 and are somewhat nearer the theoretical standard than in that year. It seems from a close study of the whole table, as illustrated by the two summaries, that most wage boards and commissions were unable to raise their estimates fast enough to keep up with the cost of living. Thus again in 1921 they were standing behind budgets that did not meet the requirements they had set up for themselves in 1913-14. Moreover, their estimates of the cost of living were beginning to vary widely from State to State. Among the States that issued first budgets at this later date, two, Arkansas and Texas, fell far below the standard, and North Dakota, though nearer, failed to more than approximate it. It is impossible to take up each State in detail, but a study of the individual States in the table is well worth while. To illustrate how the States generally failed to approximate not only the standard but their own early ideas of what were proper living costs, the following States—California, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, and Wisconsin—will be discussed in some detail.

In 1914 the California commission made a cost-of-living study and published as its conclusion a budget that totaled \$9.63 per week. No new study is reported before the 1917-18 wage decrees. These rates are set at \$9.60 and \$10 per week, though the commission's original budget brought up to date places the cost of living at \$13.30 in 1917 and \$16.29 in 1918. By the time the commission had made out a new budget of \$13.57 (1919) the earlier budget would have come up to \$18.61. When the commission next made a cost-of-living study (1920), its estimate was \$2.61 less than the 1914 budget brought up to date. An analysis of the Minnesota situation shows that the budget used for estimating the cost of living (\$8.72) is an average of those recommended by the three wage boards which met in 1914. On the basis of this adjusted budget the only rates set—in 1918, 1919, and 1920—were far below the cost of living. The 1920 rates, however, did not work out to be quite so far below if it was considered that their provision guaranteeing overtime for all hours over 48 per week affected woman workers in general. In Kansas the rates set in 1922 (see table following) not only were far below the budget presented by the commission's own investigators but were below the cost of living estimated with the \$7.30 budget (1915) as a basis. This sum, it will be recalled, was the average expenditures, before any wage rates were set, of a group of woman mercantile and laundry workers, for whose aid the law was enacted. In Wisconsin (1919 and 1921) and Massachusetts (1919) striking differences occur between their budgets for these years and the budgets estimated from their own early cost-of-living figures. It is evident from comparisons within the States, from State to State, or with the standard rate, that as the cost of living rose it became increasingly difficult to advance estimates of living costs with equal rapidity.

<sup>4</sup> See footnote under preceding table.

It is not unfair to say that after the very early years of minimum-wage laws, when cost-of-living estimates in some cases were not followed by decrees, cost-of-living estimates as well as rates themselves began to be subjects of compromise. Not only when compared with the standard budget, but when compared with their own early budgets, commissions and wage boards tended generally to cut their estimates more and more.

There are two possible explanations of these discrepancies: Either original budgets were submitted that were above the true minimum cost of living or the commissions have not carried out the express direction of the laws that rates established must equal the cost of living.

Judged in the light of the standard budget the first statement is not true. Up to 1920 there was only one case of a budget above the standard and this was the 1913 Oregon Consumers' League study, not an investigation conducted by a State agency. From then on there were a few cases, as shown by the following summary:

Year	Stand- ard	Wash- ington	Kansas	Cal- ifornia	Massa- chusetts	North Dakota
1920.....	\$18.40	\$22.60				
1921.....	16.00		\$16.93	\$16.00		
1922.....	15.56		16.93	16.08	\$15.69	\$18.26
1923.....	15.90			16.08		
1924.....	15.84					
1925.....	16.33					
1926.....	16.12					

Since the excess in estimate in California and Massachusetts is so small, there are really but three States that ever have issued officially sanctioned budgets substantially above the standard. Moreover, there is evidence in several States to show that some of these budgets were introduced to correct a bad situation, for there were cases where the commissions, at least temporarily, had been unable to establish a rate that would supply a woman with the means of independent self-support and were seeking at a later date to remedy this situation. In California, when the cost of living began to fall in 1920, an effort was made to lower the wage rate. During the time that this was under discussion, the fall in prices was checked and a slight rise in living costs took place. If the \$16 rate established at the peak of prices in 1920 was a true expression of the cost of living, a lesser rate should have sufficed in 1921-22, but if the true minimum cost was that based on the 1914 budget, the \$16 rate of 1921-22 becomes a close approximation of what it really cost an independent woman to live. The fact that the commission held the \$16 rate looks as if it really recognized its first budget as the better one, and places the commission in agreement with the standard budget. In Massachusetts, too, there are some indications of realization by the wage boards that they had not maintained the earlier standard. The highest budget ever proposed was in 1922 (\$15.69), though the cost of living had fallen, and this budget was not only equal to the standard but exceeded the first Massachusetts budget as raised to the 1922 cost-of-living level. No other Massachusetts budget equaled the standard, but in 1926 a budget of \$14.95 was proposed, which exceeded slightly the estimate as based on the figure of the first Massachusetts wage board. Wisconsin, though it never approached the standard after its 1914 budget,

raised its rates after the cost of living began to fall. The commission, however, seems to have been more concerned with setting rates to conform to the most usual hours of labor which were less than the legal limit, and so holding the standard established in 1919 on the basis of the legal hours, than with raising weekly rates.

The discussion up to this point has been of budgets. It has been asserted that while most rates equaled some official pronouncement as to living costs, a considerable number fell below these official figures. It has been asserted that in those States where rates equaled budgets the budgets have rarely equaled the cost of living as established by the commissions in 1913-14 and adjusted to the date of the budget, and that the discrepancies between the standard budget and the various State estimates were particularly marked when the cost of living was the highest. To illustrate how the first budgets rarely were followed in setting wage rates, and how the later ones that were followed fell below the standards set originally, the following summary of first budgets and first rates, each reduced to a 1913 basis, is given.

State	Average budget	Average rate	State	Average budget	Average rate
Arkansas.....	\$6.61	\$8.61	North Dakota.....	\$8.11	\$8.82
California.....	9.34	7.02	Oregon.....	10.48	8.87
District of Columbia.....	9.17	8.03	Texas.....	6.78	5.99
Kansas.....	6.95	4.68	Washington.....	9.37	9.03
Massachusetts.....	8.46	8.13	Wisconsin.....	9.22	6.07
Minnesota.....	8.47	8.34			

To avoid the misapprehension that this summary, showing all rates except Arkansas and North Dakota lower than the budgets, contradicts the statement made earlier in the report that the majority of the rates equaled the commissions' or wage-boards' budgets or announced cost of living, it must be emphasized that this is a comparison of the first rate set with the first budget. Sometimes the rate was set immediately after the budget; sometimes a number of years elapsed; sometimes a new budget was worked out and the rate was set to equal it. Whatever happened, the standard was lowered in all but two cases. This summary further emphasizes the point made by comparing early and late budgets, that almost every rate set was a compromise, not an absolute figure equaling a theoretical budget.

#### COMPARISON OF RATES SET AT DIFFERENT DATES

Another question that must be considered in this discussion of the adequacy of minimum-wage rates in relation to the cost of living, is whether all rates maintained relatively the same position as the cost of living changed. After the commissions had set the first rates, when in most cases they agreed to a compromise somewhat below a theoretical cost-of-living figure, did they in their later decrees, as the cost of living rose and fell, at least maintain a wage rate that would have purchasing power equal to that of the original sum? The following table accepts the first wage rate in every State as the commission's cost-of-living figure, though in many cases it was below the proposed budget, and shows what this rate would have been had the commission adjusted it according to the changes in the Bureau of Labor Statistics cost-of-living index figures.

TABLE 33.—Comparison of first rate or group of rates established in each State, dates, by State

Year	Arkansas		California		District of Columbia		Kansas		Massachusetts	
	Rate	Estimated figure	Rate	Estimated figure	Rate	Estimated figure	Rate	Estimated figure	Rate	Estimated figure
1913		\$6.61		\$7.02		\$7.78 8.28		\$4.01 4.87 5.16		\$8.13
1914									\$8.37	
1915									8.00 8.50	8.54
1916									8.75	9.62
1917			\$10.00						9.00	11.58
1918			10.00 9.60	12.24			\$7.00 8.50 9.00		9.00 10.00 11.00	14.18
1919			13.50	13.99	\$15.50 16.50		11.00	7.99 9.71 10.28	11.00 12.48 12.50 13.00 15.00	16.20
1920	\$13.25		16.00	14.07	16.50	15.59 16.59	11.00	8.04 9.76 10.34	13.75 15.25 15.40 15.50	16.29
1921		11.52	16.00	12.24	16.50	13.56 15.00 14.43		8.99 8.40 8.99	12.00	14.17
1922	11.00	11.20	15.00 16.00	11.90	16.50	13.19 14.03	11.00 10.50	6.80 8.25 8.75	13.50 13.75 14.00	13.78
1923		11.45	16.00	12.16		13.47 14.34		6.95 8.43 8.94	13.20 13.92	14.08
1924		11.40		12.11		13.42 14.28		6.92 8.40 8.90	13.00	14.02
1925		11.76		12.49		13.94 14.73		7.13 8.66 9.18	13.00 13.75	14.46
1926		11.76		12.33		13.66 14.54		7.04 8.55 9.06	14.40 13.50	14.28

<sup>1</sup> The 1919 rate in parenthesis is reckoned on a basis of 50 working hours per week; the 1921 figure in parenthesis is reckoned on a basis of 55 working hours per week. Figures not in parenthesis are reckoned on a 56-hour basis for 1919 and on a 50-hour basis for 1921, since these were the hours used by the industrial commission in arriving at a weekly rate equal to the cost of living. This shift in basis was made by the commission because it was felt that, though legally a woman could work 56 hours a week, in practice very few firms offered more than 50 hours of work, so that a fairer basis for the weekly budget was 50 hours.



COST OF LIVING AND THE RATES SET

when adjusted to agree with the changes in the cost of living, and rates set at later and year

Minnesota		North Dakota		Oregon		Texas		Washington		Wisconsin		Index figure showing changes in the cost of living (Bureau of Labor Statistics)
Rate	Estimated figure	Rate	Estimated figure	Rate	Estimated figure	Rate	Estimated figure	Rate	Estimated figure	Rate	Estimated figure	
	\$7.77		\$2.23	\$2.25			\$5.99		\$2.64		\$2.07	
	8.50		2.33	2.64					2.74			100.0
	8.74		2.73	2.25					2.71			
			2.98	2.23								
	\$8.00				\$3.50			\$2.90				
	8.75				2.90			2.90				103.0
	9.00				2.53			10.00				
					2.51							
	8.17				2.67			9.00	2.08			
	8.93				2.08				2.19			105.1
	9.19				2.72				10.21			
					2.70							
	9.19			2.25	2.76				10.22			
	10.06			2.64	10.22				10.34			118.3
	10.34			2.25	10.04				11.49			
				2.23	10.92							
	11.06				11.75				12.30			
	12.10				12.30				12.45			142.4
	12.45				13.17				13.83			
					13.14							
	13.55			11.10	14.39			13.20	15.07			
	14.82			11.61	15.07				15.24			174.4
	15.24				16.13				16.93			
					16.10							
10.25	15.49			13.20	16.44				17.22	\$12.10		
11.00	16.94			13.85	17.22				17.42	(11.00)		199.3
	17.42				18.44				19.35			
					18.40							
10.25	15.57	\$16.50			10.53	\$12.00		18.00	17.31		12.16	
12.00	17.03	16.70			17.31				17.51			200.4
	17.61	17.50			18.54				19.46			
		20.00			18.50							
	13.54		14.34		14.38		10.44	13.20	15.06	11.00 to 12.50 (12.10 to 13.76)	10.58	174.3
	14.82		14.52		15.06			14.50	15.23			
									16.92			
	15.23		15.22		16.12							
			17.40		16.09							
	13.17	14.50	13.95		13.96		10.15		14.64		10.29	169.5
	14.41	14.20	14.12		14.84				14.51			
	14.81	12.00	14.80		15.68				16.46			
			16.92		15.64							
	13.46		14.25		14.29		10.37		14.96		10.61	
	14.72		14.43		14.96				15.14			173.2
	15.14		15.12		16.02				16.82			
			17.29		15.99							
	13.40		14.20		14.23		10.33		14.90		10.47	
	14.66		14.37		14.90				15.08			172.6
	15.06		15.06		15.96				16.75			
			17.22		15.92							
	13.82		14.64		14.88		10.66		15.37		10.80	
	15.12		14.82		15.37				15.56			177.9
	15.56		15.53		16.46				17.27			
			17.75		16.42							
	13.64		14.45		14.49		10.52		15.17		10.66	175.6
	14.93		14.63		15.17				15.35			
	15.95		15.33		16.24				17.05			
			17.52		16.21							

\* This rate must be paid for 48 hours\* work. All hours worked in excess of 48 must be paid for at the rate of \$0.25 or \$0.215, depending on the size of the community.

Two opposite tendencies among the States are shown in this table. California, the District of Columbia, Kansas, and Wisconsin seem definitely to have felt that as their original rates did not equal the theoretical cost of living, rates must be increased faster than the cost-of-living index rose or, in a time of falling prices, rates must be held or raised until they equaled the theoretical budget. Not all these States reached their goal, but all worked toward it. On the basis of both the standard budget and their own first budget California and the District of Columbia reached it. A study of the California figures will illustrate this complicated statement. The increase in the California rate for 1920 over the rate for 1919 was necessary only on the supposition that the 1919 rate did not provide an amount adequate to meet necessary expenses. The reenactment of the 1920 rate in 1923 was justifiable only if even the jump from 1919 to 1920 had provided a rate below the cost of living. It will be recalled that by maintaining the \$16 level in 1923, California became one of the four States that succeeded at any time in setting rates that equaled their original cost-of-living estimates. All the Kansas and Wisconsin rates are far below any cost-of-living estimates, but the commissions did recognize that the early rates were too low, though they have not recognized that the later ones also were too low.

Most of the other States have failed to set rates in the later years equal in purchasing power to those set at first; that is, in Massachusetts, Minnesota, North Dakota, Oregon, and Washington, no matter how much of a compromise the original rates were, most of the later rates are even more drastic cuts below the theoretical cost of living. Moreover, if some few rates do equal the standard set in the first decree, they seem to be the result of chance rather than of a sustained effort to at least get back to the early level. For example, the highest rate ever set in Massachusetts was \$15.50 in 1920, but the rate would have had to be \$16.29 to equal in purchasing power the first rate set by this commission in 1913. In 1922 and 1923 the rates roughly equaled the sum of the first rate adjusted to the cost-of-living changes, but by 1924 and 1925 there was again a considerable gap between the actual rates set and the estimated rate. Of the two rates set in 1926, one exceeded the standard set in the first rate by 12 cents, the other failed to reach it by 75 cents. These rates, of course, represent the ideas of various wage boards, not of the commission, so their differences within a given year have not the same significance as in a State where the commission had more control; but the commission accepted these widely varied and inconsistent estimates. In Oregon the highest rate was \$13.85, for offices in 1919, but the original office rate of \$9.25 in 1913 would have equaled \$18.44 in 1919. The one exception is the \$18 rate in Washington, 1920, for hotels and restaurants, for, on the basis of the original 1914 rate, \$17.51 should have been sufficient to meet the cost of proper living, according to this general method of estimating.

## CHANGING OF RATES WITHIN A SPECIFIC GROUP AS THE COST OF LIVING CHANGED

The last point to be considered is how well the commissions kept rates at the cost-of-living level when once they had set a decree for a given industry or occupation. This is not so much a question of actual rates as of how often decrees were revised and of how long a rate was allowed to remain in effect in spite of changes in the cost of living. A discussion of this point necessitates a summing up of the powers of the various commissions that relate to the reopening of decrees.

It would seem that the duty of the commission to set rates commensurate with the cost of living was meant to apply in fields where rates had already been set and had become insufficient as well as in fields never covered by a decree. In Arkansas, District of Columbia, North Dakota, Oregon, and Wisconsin the laws took no particular notice of this point. In practice the ability of the commissions to change rates if the cost of living changed materially was never questioned. The laws of the eight other States all took some notice of this problem: Five laws—those of Colorado (1917), Kansas, Massachusetts (1912), Nebraska, and Washington—provided that, on petition by the employers and employees, a decree could be reopened; three States originally—California, Minnesota, and Texas—and Massachusetts after an amendment to the law in 1920, provided that decrees could be reopened either as the result of a petition or on the commission's own motion.

The laws which provided for reopening decrees only on petition are open to two interpretations; first, that this provision is in addition to the general powers of the commission to set rates to conform to the cost of living and an added safeguard to employers and employees in case the commission did not take action; second, that by this provision the commission is so limited that it can not reopen a decree on its own motion, no matter how ridiculously out of date the rates may become. As Colorado and Nebraska never entered decrees, this question did not concern them. Kansas and Washington interpreted the law as first described and revised decrees when they thought necessary. Only in Massachusetts was the law interpreted to hamper the commission, and so serious was this limitation that the law was amended in 1920 to give the commission the specific power to revise decrees.

Another isolated case of limiting the revising of decrees is found in Washington, where the law provided that a decree could not be revised within one year after it was set. In practice this proved a slight handicap, but the only commission that can claim to have been seriously hampered is that of Massachusetts. Moreover, this in no way affected the point discussed in this chapter—that most rates when set did not equal the cost of living. It did make the discrepancy more serious, however, since when once a rate was set it was a long time before it was changed.

The following statement shows the number of times that the decrees<sup>and</sup> based on the cost of living (decrees for adults only or for adults and minors) have been revised since they were originally enacted.

State	Total number of decrees included in table	Number of decrees revised—						
		Once	Twice	Three times	Five times	Six times	Eight times	Not at all
Arkansas.....	2	1						
California.....	40							3
District of Columbia.....	15	1	2	6		1		3
Kansas.....	8	2	1					1
Massachusetts.....	34	12	1					7
Minnesota.....	12		3					
North Dakota.....	13	5						3
Oregon.....	40		1	7				
Texas.....	1							1
Washington.....	18	1	4	1				
Wisconsin.....	17	1			1		1	

<sup>1</sup> One mercantile decree reconsidered but no formal revision issued.

<sup>2</sup> Minnesota issued 9 decrees to cover all industries 1914-1918, 2 decrees to cover all industries 1919, 1 for all industries 1921.

<sup>3</sup> Oregon issued 4 separate decrees in 1913-14, 14 in 1916, 10 in 1918, 9 in 1919, to cover the same group of 7 industries.

<sup>4</sup> Washington issued 1 separate decree in 1915 and revised part of a general decree, 1918. No apprentice-rulings are counted in this total.

<sup>5</sup> Washington issued 8 separate decrees in 1914-15, 1 decree in 1918, and 4 in 1921, to cover the same 4 industries.

Though several States show a number of decrees that never were revised, this column is of little real significance. Most of these decrees are of recent date or inactive. Of the decrees appearing in this column California dropped two and North Dakota dropped three; the District of Columbia law was declared unconstitutional; the Texas law was repealed; one California decree and five Massachusetts decrees were established in 1923 or later. The Kansas decree for telephone establishments, however, was kept in force from 1918 to 1925 and two Massachusetts decrees (corset and knit goods) have been in force from 1919 and 1920, respectively, to 1927. Among the decrees that were revised only once are some of the earliest decrees ever set. This meant that in many cases long periods of time elapsed before these decrees were adjusted to meet changes in the cost of living. One Massachusetts decree (brush) was not revised for nine years, five others remained in effect for seven years, two others for five years, and still two more for four years. Two Kansas decrees were in effect for over four years. Decrees that remained in force for three years were very common.

How often the commissions should have revised their decrees is hard to determine. The quick rise in prices, due to the war, made this question of much greater importance during the actual period of operation than it would be during a normal sequence of years. The fact that in practice revision often proved to be a slow process, due both to legal and to practical considerations, had a distinct bearing on the rate established by any specific decree. The compromises made in any one decree take on an appearance of having more far-reaching consequences. California, which issued a moderate number of decrees and revised them at frequent intervals, was perhaps more justified in establishing the first rate at a low level and trying to raise the rates in successive decrees until the cost of

living was reached, than was Massachusetts, where at first the interpretation of the law, and later the great number of different decrees to be adjusted, combined with some slowness of action on the part of the commission, caused a rate once set to stand for a long time. In considering the fact that most of the decrees have been shown to fall below the cost of living, it is important to remember that this was particularly disastrous if they remained in force unchanged during a time of rising prices. The tables have shown that the revised rates often did not keep pace with rising living costs. Hard as this was on the woman worker, conditions were worse when decrees were not revised, or were revised only after long periods of time so that the rates over a period of years fell so far below costs as to be practically inoperative. The table immediately preceding has shown that this occurred in enough cases to have been a real factor in reducing still further the actual number of women to whom minimum-wage rates guaranteed a wage commensurate with the necessary cost of proper living.

#### SUMMARY

This entire discussion of budgets and rates in their relation to the cost of living is to emphasize primarily a situation recognized by all persons closely associated with minimum-wage laws, that is, the necessity found by all commissions of making progress at a slow rate. A picture of minimum-wage legislation that indicates a sweeping change as soon as the laws were passed is not true, for in some cases it was years before any decrees put into active use the powers inherent in the law. Nor, as a usual thing, were all women benefited at once through decrees. In some States most of the women, by degrees, came under some decree; in other States, never more than a fraction. To these modifications of an offhand opinion of the minimum-wage law must be added the further facts that no original rate quite equaled the official cost-of-living figures, that these rates soon became far below the cost of living as prices rose, and that in many States later rates lagged still farther behind this theoretical cost-of-living basis.

Since the basis of the whole minimum-wage idea is that the rates shall equal the cost of living, this is a very serious situation, possible of two interpretations. Either commissions have not carried out the directions of the law or they have felt that the ultimate success of the law depended on putting it in force gradually and educating people to its value and to the women's needs during the early days of its existence. Though there is reason to feel that some commissions did not make the proper sustained effort to carry out the law—particularly when the administration was put in the hands of commissions created for other purposes and busy with such work—there is also reason to feel that in most cases the commissions proceeded slowly when setting rates because it seemed to them the only possible means of getting such a new thing introduced in a favorable way. In fact, many commissions have recognized and stated that their minimum rates established the best practice in the industries or occupations under consideration rather than a sum based solely on the cost of living. This goes back to the feeling on the part of the commissions

that the rates established must command support from employers and public as well as employees. It has been emphasized before that it is impossible to prove that a theoretical sum is the exact amount required to meet the cost of proper living. If employers and public or employers alone think a proposed rate too high, compromise often is the only solution. Unfortunately, if employees have felt a rate was too low they rarely have been well enough organized to force the adoption of their view, and have had to content themselves with the thought that they had bettered somewhat the position of the worst paid of their number.

The fact that in the same year (1920) rates set in nine States ranged from \$10.25 to \$20 would look as if some commissions had fought harder than others to have the rates set high enough to equal the minimum cost of living. Also, it has been pointed out, in a few cases the commissions improved their rates in relation to the cost of living, but, though this did occur, other rates fell farther and farther behind and still others were allowed to remain untouched in spite of the increasing living costs. If the commissions took the stand that early rates could not be enforced if they took such large jumps as would be required for them to equal the cost of living, it would seem to be incumbent on them to advance rates until the purpose of the law was carried out. Probably this could have been more nearly achieved if it had not been for the amazing rise in the cost of living that began within two years of the passage of the first law. It was difficult to advance rates fast enough to maintain their purchasing power, let alone to increase it. Since any decrease in the cost of living lasting over a number of years came only when court decisions had at least partially destroyed the power of the commissions, so that the only State continuing to issue decrees is Massachusetts, where the law is nonmandatory and rates are to take into consideration the financial ability of the business to pay the proposed rate, it is impossible to judge whether or not the commissions would have been able to attain a more exact minimum in a time of falling or stationary prices. In concluding this discussion all that can be said is that, if the cost-of-living studies of those very commissions and wage boards are relatively accurate, only two units—California in all its decrees and the District of Columbia in half of its decrees—had, after several years of experience, confirmed minimum rates that seemed to carry out the precept of the law that rates were to furnish the necessary cost of proper living. Massachusetts in 1922-23 sought to raise some rates, hold others, and lower others so slightly, while the cost of living was falling, as to lessen the discrepancy between the rates and living costs. In these years and for one industry in 1926 they approximated the standard established by their own first rate. They never reached the standard established by their own first budget nor the arbitrary standard used in this report.

## CHAPTER VIII.—PROVISIONS IN THE DECREES FOR WORKERS OTHER THAN EXPERIENCED ADULTS WORKING FULL TIME

All the discussion of the work of the commissions and their agents, the wage boards, up to this time has been based on the work they performed in setting a rate for the experienced full-time worker. In addition the decrees usually took notice of the various groups which were indicated in the laws as requiring special treatment. These were primarily the minors, the apprentices or learners, and the substandard workers. Also to be considered were pieceworkers, part-time workers, workers receiving bonuses and commissions, and other small groups, such as home workers. Many of the laws gave the commissions some definite powers relating to minors or learners, or substandard workers, but they granted no special powers for handling the other groups, though they sometimes indicated that special treatment was necessary. The general powers of the commissions, however, were so broad that they had ample power to incorporate in the decrees rules for enforcing the rates set as applied to all these special groups. It is perhaps important to repeat at this point that the laws have never required that all woman workers must receive a minimum wage based on the cost of living. Though such rates are the only ones that figure in most discussions of the problem, they by no means represent the whole field of regulation undertaken by the commissions. If the commissions thought that the nature of the work covered by any given decree was such that youth or lack of experience would prevent a worker from performing an average day's work, they could set lower rates for such minors and learners.

If the commissions had had enough experience to realize how difficult was the adjusting of the relation between hours of work and minimum-wage rates, or between methods of payment and these rates, they had ample power to make rules reconciling these factors. The provisions of the laws that allow the commissions to make special rulings for workers who are not considered capable of earning a rate which provides independent self-support, or who work under varied schedules of hours or methods of payment, are vital in the scheme of these laws. One of the greatest points urged in favor of this experiment in legislation was its flexibility. It recognized that treating all young or inexperienced workers, or all incapacitated or aged workers, or workers whose hours of work are irregular, on the same basis as the healthy experienced adult woman working full time, would justify many of the criticisms expressed of the new principle; that is, of the principle that a normal woman should receive as a minimum wage for full-time work an amount sufficient to enable her to support herself in a decent manner.

Though this provision for treating different groups of workers in a way to correspond to their earning capacity was so important,

it added greatly to the difficulty of setting acceptable rates. In the first place it was necessary in the case of minors, learners, and substandard workers to decide for a particular decree whether or not any deviation from the cost-of-living minimum was either necessary or desirable. If it was granted that rates for these groups should be lower than the cost-of-living minimum, a whole new series of problems was opened for compromise. The law which said that the experienced minimum rate was to provide the necessary cost of living gave no standard whatsoever to guide a commission in determining the relation between these exceptional groups and the experienced worker. It did not even require the commission to set any separate rates; it simply gave the commission such power in case it so desired. The result was that everyone touching these problems has had a different idea of how they should be handled. Practically every State provided that the commissions, not the wage boards, were to handle these questions, but it is impossible to trace any consistent plan of action even within one State.

#### SUBSTANDARD WORKERS

The group of substandard workers is, of course, much smaller than either of the others and therefore it is much easier to handle. In all the States it has been considered a group composed of individuals who should be given special permits exempting them from the decrees, rather than a group requiring special treatment as a group under the decrees. No uniform plan other than the consideration of each application for a permit has been necessary. In most of the States many requests are made for permits to work certain women as "special license" types, but investigation of each applicant has greatly reduced the numbers who genuinely were crippled or otherwise incapacitated, so the problem has been adequately handled by issuing individual permits setting forth the specific terms under which the woman could be employed.

#### APPRENTICES OR LEARNERS AND MINORS

Minors and apprentices or learners are much too numerous to be handled case by case. They form, at any given time, a substantial percentage of the gainfully-occupied women. In 1920, 11.2 per cent of all gainfully occupied women were under 18 years of age.<sup>1</sup> Information as to the relation that the number of newcomers in a given industry or occupation bears to the total is not possible to secure, but the usual run of woman labor probably would show a high percentage of inexperienced workers. Many are young, and in industry for only a few years, causing a large number of replacements; and women generally have access to the less-skilled jobs only, and change of occupation may be made with little hazard. This means that the treatment accorded these groups affects such a large percentage of all woman workers that it goes a long way toward determining the adequacy of any specific wage decree. It is possible for decrees to set

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<sup>1</sup> U. S. Bureau of the Census. Fourteenth census: 1920, Vol. IV, Population, Occupations, p. 375.



an adequate rate for the experienced worker and to deal with the inexperienced in such a way as to reduce greatly the effectiveness of the decree.

For the purpose of this study minors and apprentices or learners will be discussed at the same time, so far as the material permits. In theory these groups are to receive less than the minimum because they can not qualify as experienced. Sometimes they lack the age to qualify, sometimes the experience, sometimes both; but the reason for their special treatment is the negative one that they do not meet the requirements for experience. However, if there is this common reason for special treatment, there is no uniform principle behind the kind of special treatment to which these groups are subjected. Workers of all ages who are new at their job are one problem; minors are another. Minors nevertheless represent two kinds of workers—the experienced and the inexperienced—and learners represent both minor and adult beginners. Whether the commissions have considered all inexperienced workers together or separated them according to age, they have had to try to devise decrees that would give both newcomers and the very young in industry a fair chance and would not harm the status of the experienced mature worker.

The very terms "learner" and "apprentice" indicate that such a person is still preparing for her greatest usefulness. The commissions were to decide how long it was necessary for such persons to be in training in any industry or in a given industry, and what rates they should be paid during this period. It was not within the province of commissions to see to it that beginners really were given a trade education, but it was hoped that, since apprenticeship was allowed to extend over a considerable period of time, during which rates of pay usually had to be increased when the employees had worked a specified number of weeks or months, the employer would find it to his own advantage to see that these beginners received instruction in the job. Even without touching the enormous question of trade education, the commissions in dealing with learners had to try to avoid many pitfalls. Decrees had to be so constructed that employers would not be tempted to employ a very large number of learners because of the lower rates. Moreover, the commissions had to guard against women being kept during their apprenticeship and discharged just as they qualified for the experienced rate. Too great a gap between the rates for learners or apprentices and those for experienced workers might have caused that. These were general problems that applied to all apprentices or learners. In addition there were special problems because of the different age groups and the different industries covered by the decrees.

#### **Method of treating apprentices or learners in various industries.**

On the whole, commissions have followed the same subdivisions of industry in dealing with learners as were followed for experienced workers, and have issued very few separate decrees. Of 232 decrees, only 18 are for inexperienced workers alone. When separate decrees have been issued, however, a method of grouping indus-

tries different from that in the decrees for experienced workers usually has been followed. The table next presented shows the decrees that have been issued for learners or apprentices only.

TABLE 34.—Decrees covering inexperienced workers only and the corresponding experienced decrees, by State and year

State and year	Decrees covering—					
	Inexperienced workers			Experienced workers		
	Women	Minors	Women and minors	Women	Minors	Women and minors
Minnesota: 1914.....						Mercantile, office, waitress, hairdressing occupations. <sup>1</sup>
1918.....			Any occupation. <sup>2</sup>			Manufacturing, mechanical, telegraph, telephone, laundry, dyeing, dry cleaning, lunch work, restaurant, hotel occupations. <sup>1</sup>
1919.....			Any occupation.			All occupations not covered in 1914. Any occupation.
Oregon: 1913.....				Mercantile. Manufacturing. Any occupation not previously covered. Office.		
1914.....	Any occupation.					
Washington: 1914.....			Mercantile. Manufacturing. Laundry. Telephone and telegraph. Office.	Mercantile. Manufacturing. Laundry. Telephone and telegraph. Office.	Mercantile. Manufacturing. Laundry. Telephone and telegraph. Office.	
1915.....				Office.		
1918.....	Mercantile. Manufacturing. Laundry. Telephone and telegraph. Office.			Any occupation		Telephones and telegraph. <sup>1</sup>
1919.....	Mercantile. Manufacturing. Office. Transient milliners.					

<sup>1</sup> Three decrees for communities of various sizes.

<sup>2</sup> Two decrees for communities of various sizes.

<sup>3</sup> Four decrees for communities of various sizes.

Only three States have issued separate decrees for inexperienced workers, and two of these—Oregon and Minnesota—have abandoned that method after longer or shorter trials. In these States the industrial groups covered by the two kinds of decrees have varied considerably. In Minnesota (1914 and 1918) and in Oregon the apprentice decrees have been more inclusive than those regulating experienced workers. In 1919 Minnesota, though issuing

separate orders, used the same industrial division in the decrees for both experienced and inexperienced. Technically Washington too has ceased to issue separate apprenticeship decrees, but actually the present manufacturing decree contains schedules of rates for learners on a basis of industrial grouping different from that of the experienced rate. In Washington, though the names of the earlier decrees were the same, the decrees covering apprenticeship<sup>2</sup> were broken up so that the rates applied to many small groups working on particular processes or in particular occupations. For example, the first manufacturing apprenticeship schedule showed 11 different rates for various occupations, though the experienced decree showed but one rate for all. The latest decree covers both experienced and inexperienced and reveals a shift to a series of general schedules which the enforcing officer applies to specific cases. This in effect is the same method of considering that apprenticeship rates should be set for individuals or small groups.

In all the other decrees apprenticeship rules are part of the decree that establishes the experienced rate, and they cover, with one exception, the same industry or occupation. Millinery-workroom employes in California and employes in millinery workrooms and dress-making establishments in Kansas come under the general manufacturing and mercantile decrees and have the same experienced rates, but they also have special learners' rates. On the whole, however, there has been little effort to treat individual industries or occupations in setting rates for learners.

Though most of the States have not struggled with the question of adapting apprenticeship rates to each occupation, there was much more reason for a careful subdivision of jobs in dealing with learners than in dealing with experienced workers even, and some States, notably Massachusetts, have felt that small industrial groupings were necessary in any of these problems. After all, the experienced minimum was supposed to represent the cost of living for an independent woman, and it could not do this for all women if it varied greatly from industry to industry. Apprenticeship rates, on the other hand, were supposed simply to be fair to the employer and to provide the employee with as rapid as possible advancement to the experienced rate. An apprentice in a job relatively easy to master might be of considerable use on beginning work, whereas a novice at a technical process might be worth almost nothing. The length of time before a promotion was required also would depend on the job. An illustration of the complex problem is found in the manufacturing industry, where apprenticeship was extremely difficult to handle. A commission could treat all processes and occupations the same or it could split them up, giving special attention to each. The division could be by industries—for example, textiles, clothing, boots and shoes—or it could be by occupations, as chocolate dipping, weaving, punch-press operating, and so forth. Massachusetts has used the method of issuing all decrees for special industries—candy, paper box, etc. Washington has issued its apprenticeship circulars on a mixed basis of industries and occupations—candy except chocolate dipping, tailoring, paper box except berry box, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Called "apprenticeship circulars."

Undoubtedly this attempt at specialization of apprenticeship schedules involved an enormous amount of work if the specialized groups were to be handled adequately, and added greatly to the number of debatable questions since the various interested groups had to uphold their ideas when each small unit was considered. It also complicated enforcement, as it was possible for one plant to have workers on a dozen different schedules. It was, nevertheless, the only defensible method theoretically.

Practically, however, little can be said for such an expensive and complicated series of rulings. If it was evident that adequate apprenticeship rules required that each small subdivision of industry have specialized expert treatment, it was equally evident that no minimum-wage commission was in a position to supply such rules. If the commissions had had unlimited appropriations and had not needed the good will of the employer in order to enforce the law, they could, of course, have made a study of each occupation and set scientific apprenticeship rates whose application they could have supervised with great care. But when there is considered the resulting confusion, the enormous amount of trouble caused employers in trying to follow so many minute directions, and the undoubted hard feeling that would arise from such a vast amount of State control, its value is questionable. Moreover, though it is interesting to speculate how an adequate system of apprenticeship control that would have worked for the good of all classes in industry might have been established through minimum-wage legislation, it could be argued strongly that this was not a proper province for these commissions to invade. The minimum-wage law was created to establish for the average experienced worker a rate of pay based on living cost. Learners were to be dealt with separately only to the extent that the law might not impose undue hardship on the employer nor hamper the woman from entering any new field of work. After all, the experienced rate to be set was a subsistence minimum to which any average worker was entitled, not a rate for skilled workers who naturally commanded more than the minimum.

Due to the practical aspects of the situation the commissions in most of the States did not even attempt any scientific regulation of apprenticeship. Lower rates were granted to apprentices usually and to minors in some cases, without much regard to the kind of work covered by the decree; often, in truth, because employers were so insistent that some concessions be made. The industrial groupings, with the few exceptions in Minnesota, Oregon, and Washington, were selected for the experienced worker and then were applied also to the learner. If it is the province of minimum-wage commissions to regulate apprenticeship in such a way that the woman may qualify as experienced in skilled or semiskilled trades, the theory of the Washington plan was excellent, even though its practical application is questionable. There seems to be no reason for a blanket apprenticeship ruling, as in the two other States, except the consideration of time and trouble saved.

The other reason for paying workers less than the minimum, that they are under age, has not led to any extensive issuing of special industry decrees. Only Oregon, Washington, and the District of

Columbia ever have issued separate decrees for minors. In the District of Columbia the only minor decree ever issued amended the mercantile decree for women and minors. In Washington the first minor decrees (1914 and 1915) followed the exact industrial groupings used for experienced adult decrees and for the apprenticeship circulars. Later decrees in Washington and all the Oregon decrees have thrown all minors together, though the women's decrees are for specific industries. Where there has been a differentiation in industrial grouping the orders for minors have followed, in every instance, the rule followed in most cases for separate apprenticeship orders, and have combined industrial groups rather than subdivided them further. If these decrees have any significance it is that some few commissions have felt that any minor regardless of the type of job was worth to the employer some definite amount, though her value did not equal that of an adult with a similar degree of experience.

#### **Possible methods of treating varied age groups in relation to apprenticeship.**

In considering what must be done with learners or apprentices of different ages, commissions have had to deal with a very large and diverse group of people as well as with diverse industries. Several major problems had to be faced because of this. Should all learners or apprentices receive the same treatment, regardless of age, so that a given industry had two rates—one for experienced and one for learners and apprentices? Should the division, on the other hand, be on the basis of age, with one set of rates for minors, as learners and experienced workers, and another set for the corresponding divisions among the adult women? Should all minors be given a rate based solely on their age, and the question of experience be raised only in regard to adults, or should a combination of the methods be used, as, for example, the same experienced rate regardless of age but learners' or apprentices' rates differing with the age of the employee?

If minors and adults were treated in the same way there might be several bad results. It might cause hard feeling among employers, who could claim that the wording of the laws did not anticipate the payment of a wage supposed to represent independent self-support to children. It might work against a young girl's chance to gain experience in a given line, since even a less capable adult, because of maturity or experience in other kinds of work, might be preferred as an employee. It might force the commission, in its effort to carry the minor along with the adult, to effect a compromise that involved very low inexperienced rates and unduly long apprenticeship or learning periods for the adult woman.

If two sets of rates were worked out according to age, various other sets of problems would present themselves. Should the experienced rate be the same for adults and minors, with varying terms of apprenticeship, such as allowing the minor to work for lower rates and to remain an apprentice for a longer time than the adult? Or should the minors have not only special apprenticeship terms but an experienced rate (for the purpose of this discussion called "pseudo") which is analogous to the true minimum, since it is the highest rate

required for a given age group and can only be obtained after a specified period of service at a lower rate, but in practice is always lower than the true minimum paid adults? Moreover, under these different methods of procedure what would happen to minors on their eighteenth birthday? Would they begin to serve a new term of apprenticeship as if they were entering industry at 18 years of age? If adults and minors had varied terms of apprenticeship would the latter be required, when reaching 18, to continue serving out the terms imposed on them as minors, or would they go at once to the adult rate required for their specific length of service as if they had entered industry at 18? Or would their length of service be calculated on a definite scale, so many weeks or months as a minor learner being equivalent to so many months as an adult learner? The States have tried every one of these methods at one time or another, but few commissions have realized all the possible contingencies and dealt with them clearly and consistently.

It is certain that there are just as many evils in allowing too great a difference in the way adults and minors are treated as in treating them alike. In the first place, if minors' rates, either during a designated period as apprentices or learners or during their entire minority, are much below those required for adult women, it may encourage child labor or, more particularly, it may encourage the employment of girls of 16 to 18 years, who otherwise might remain in school. As a complement this might throw out of work older women. It also could result in a real injustice being done to girls approaching 18 who had entered industry so young that they had two or three years of experience behind them but would have to continue to work for a rate below the minimum. There is the further possibility of its causing laxness in the training given to minors. A relatively short period of apprenticeship and relatively good rates during this time may give the employer just the necessary incentive to train his employees so that they are worth the minimum to him when the time comes that they must be paid this rate. All the difficulties must be kept in mind in analyzing the actual treatment of minors and learners or apprentices in the decrees.

#### **Actual methods of treating learners or apprentices.**

Before considering the decrees, the terms "learners" and "apprentices" should be discussed. The persons so classed are without the experience necessary to enable them to command the minimum rate. They may be too young also, but all of them, after a longer or shorter period of time, will achieve the qualifications that entitle them to receive the minimum. They are of all ages and have all degrees of service behind them. They are called in some cases learners, in others apprentices, in others inexperienced. Only in Wisconsin does there seem to be any difference in meaning among these three terms as they are used by the minimum-wage commissions. Wisconsin has a law carefully defining an apprentice and considering such a person a minor who is indentured to learn a trade. This law provides in detail what conditions must be met by anyone employing such a worker. The minimum-wage law provides (sec. 104.08) that all minor workers in the occupations affected by this apprenticeship

law shall be controlled by its provisions and exempted from the provisions of the minimum-wage law. As a result of this the Wisconsin commission always refers to the inexperienced workers coming under its minimum-wage decrees, whether minors or adults, as "learners." In the other States the training for a skilled trade usually implied in the use of the word apprenticeship does not strictly hold true, since the decrees do not specify that any particular course of training must be given during the time set aside and called the learning period. Probably the most accurate title for this group that has set for it a rate lower than the minimum is "inexperienced." The internal evidence of the decrees themselves shows, however, that the commissions or wage boards often made concessions in rates and length of apprenticeship that could only be justified because they were thinking of this period as providing a woman with training in a skilled trade. For the purpose of this report the three words will be used as having the same meaning, unless specially limited by definition when used.

To turn to the actual decrees, the ways in which these orders have been issued have varied so from State to State and year to year that it is extremely difficult to discuss methods so as to leave a clear picture. In the first place 232 decrees have been issued by the various commissions. They may deal with experienced workers only, or with experienced and inexperienced together, or with inexperienced alone. They may deal with adult women only, with minors only, or with both adults and minors. If they deal with adults and minors, they may either consider them as one unit or treat each specified age group in a different way.

#### DECREES WHERE NO LEARNING PERIOD WAS REQUIRED

Before the commissions worked out just how learners should be treated, they had to decide whether, after all, any learning period was necessary in the particular industry in question. In almost all cases the decision was that some allowances in the matter of rates should be made the employer who hired a beginner. The decrees which took no notice of learners must not be confused with the situation that sometimes occurred when a decree or decrees set rates for experienced workers and totally separate decrees took care of the learners. In the decrees first mentioned a flat rate was set for all workers. The following table shows that 27 decrees and parts of 7 others, of 232 decrees issued, definitely required that the beginner in industry, irrespective of age, must receive the minimum rate. California required no learning period for adult pieceworkers in fruit and vegetable canning, and Washington made this same provision in three decrees for adult women—the hotel and restaurant decree of 1915 and the public-housekeeping decrees of 1920 and 1921.

TABLE 35.—Decrees providing that no learning period should be required, regardless of age of worker, by State and year

Year decree became effective	California	District of Columbia	Massachusetts	North Dakota	Wisconsin
1916.....	Fruit and vegetable canning. <sup>1</sup>				
1917.....	do. <sup>1</sup>				Pea canning.
1918.....	Fish canning.				( <sup>2</sup> )
1919.....	do. <sup>1</sup>		Building cleaners.		
	Hotel and restaurant. ( <sup>3</sup> )				
1920.....	Hotel and restaurant. Agricultural field. ( <sup>3</sup> )	Hotel and restaurant.		Personal service (ticket sellers and ushers).	Pea canning. Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning.
1921.....			Building cleaners.		( <sup>2</sup> ) Pea canning. Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning.
1922.....					Pea canning. Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning.
1923.....	Hotel and restaurant. Nut cracking and sorting. <sup>1</sup>				Pea canning. Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning.
1924.....					Pea canning. Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning.
1925.....					Pea canning. Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning.
1926.....					Pea canning. Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning.
1927.....					Pea canning. Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning.

<sup>1</sup> Pieceworkers only.

<sup>2</sup> Seasonal industries which were included in the "all-industries" decree had no learning period. In 1919, however, the decree did not become effective until Aug. 1, so the pea-canning order for 1919, which required one season's experience, governed that industry.

<sup>3</sup> Preparers on piecework in fruit and vegetable canning have no learning period.

Nineteen of the unqualified decrees and four of the seven decrees that required no learning period for part of the workers included, are in branches of the canning industry, and in most of the cases it was in one State—Wisconsin—that canning workers were not required to serve a learning period. In the case of those seasonal industries for which no special decrees were issued as they were for canning, Wisconsin also required no learning period. California, where almost all the other canning decrees occur, has been more inclined to provide for a short learning period. In the fish-canning industry California started out to require no learning period, but changed in later decrees (1920 and 1923) to requiring a short one. In its main canning industry—fruit and vegetable canning—California has always required a short learning period for day workers. For pieceworkers, who form the bulk of the employees in canneries, the decrees originally required no learning period, but by the time the third canning decree was issued (1918) a different rate in the case of beginners was provided for some groups of pieceworkers and this system was continued in all the later orders. Nevertheless, with a



knowledge of where the large groups of workers are employed, it is apparent that the majority of the workers under any fruit-and-vegetable-canning decree were not allowed to serve an apprenticeship. The other States that have issued special decrees for the canning industry—Massachusetts and Oregon—have considered that some time should be allowed in which the new worker might learn the trade. The two States that have employed large numbers of women in canning—California and Wisconsin—have experimented with learning periods but in most cases have not used them.

In the table the only other industrial group which appears under more than one State is hotel and restaurant. Opinion in the States seems to be about evenly divided as to whether or not this industry needs a learning period. In contrast to the States shown in this table, Oregon and North Dakota have required, respectively, one year and six months of experience in their public-housekeeping orders, and Minnesota and Texas have included this industry in their orders for all occupations and industries where learning periods are required. Of the other decrees listed in the table not enough have been issued to determine the views of the various commissions. Massachusetts is the only State that has orders covering office and other building cleaners and no State but California has an order covering agricultural field occupations. Oregon, as well as North Dakota, has personal-service decrees, but only in the latter is a learning period required of any of the workers. It is true, then, that there is not even a majority opinion among the commissions for requiring these few industries or occupations to pay the minimum rate to workers entering industry.

#### DECREES WHERE APPRENTICESHIP RULES DO NOT CONSIDER AGE

The next decrees to be considered are those which treated adults and minors on the same basis when taking up rates and length of learning period. This group of decrees is not exclusive of the group just discussed, since all the decrees that do not require any period of employment before the experienced rate must be received, with the exception of part of the California fruit-and-vegetable-canning decrees and the Washington hotel-and-restaurant and other public-housekeeping decrees, apply to all ages. The table following shows the decrees where the required learning period has not been based on the age of the worker.

TABLE 36.—Decrees providing for the same conditions for women and minors during the learning period, if any, by State and year

Year	Arkansas	California	District of Columbia	Kansas	Massachusetts	North Dakota	Oregon	Texas	Washington	Wisconsin
1914					Brush				Manufacturing. Laundry. Telephone. Office. Telephone. <sup>1</sup>	
1915					Laundry					
1916		Fruit and vegetable canning.								
1917		do.					Canning			Pea canning.
1918		Fish canning. Laundry. Fruit and vegetable packing.		Mercantile. <sup>1</sup> Laundry. Telephone.	Men's furnish- ings.					Do.
1919		Fish canning. Laundry. Hotel and restau- rant.	Printing and publishing.	Manufacturing.	Building clean- ers.		Canning		Telephone.	Do. (9)
1920		(9) Fish canning. Laundry. Hotel and restau- rant. (9)	Hotel and res- taurant.	do.	Candy. Men's clothing. Knit goods.	Public housekeep- ing. <sup>4</sup> Personal service. <sup>4</sup> Office. <sup>4</sup> Manufacturing. <sup>4</sup> Laundry. <sup>4</sup> Student nurses. <sup>4</sup> Mercantile. <sup>4</sup> Telephone. <sup>4</sup>				Pea canning. Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato can- ning.
1921			Laundry		Building clean- ers.			All		(9) Pea canning. Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato can- ning.
1922	Mercantile. (Fort Smith).	Needle trades		Laundry	Laundry		Canning			Pea canning. Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato can- ning.

1923		Manufacturing Fish canning. Laundry. Fruit and vegetable packing. <sup>1</sup> Hotel and restau- rant. Nut cracking. ( <sup>2</sup> ) ( <sup>3</sup> )			Brush					Pea canning. Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato can- ning.
1924	Mercantile (Fort Smith).									Pea canning. Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato can- ning.
1925	Mercantile (Little Rock).									Pea canning. Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato can- ning.
1926					Candy					Pea canning. Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato can- ning.
1927										Pea canning. Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato can- ning.

<sup>1</sup> This represents four decrees, each giving a different schedule. The commission selects any one decree to apply to a given locality.  
<sup>2</sup> Minor cash girls and bundle girls have a separate apprenticeship schedule.  
<sup>3</sup> The "all-industries" decree treats all seasonal workers on the same basis regardless of age.  
<sup>4</sup> Millinery workers under the manufacturing decree have one set of rates regardless of age.  
<sup>5</sup> Preparers on piecework in fruit and vegetable canning have the same rates regardless of age.  
<sup>6</sup> In general, rates apply regardless of age, but commission may arrange for minor apprentices to work under special conditions.  
<sup>7</sup> Millinery workers under the mercantile decree have one set of rates regardless of age. Piece rates in cutting and pitting fruit under agricultural-field-occupations decrees are set regardless of age.  
<sup>8</sup> Rates for workers in cherries apply to adult women only.  
<sup>9</sup> Elevator operators under the mercantile decree have one set of rates regardless of age.  
<sup>10</sup> Time workers in fruit and vegetable canning have the same rates regardless of age.

In 81 decrees the commissions have established the same requirements for the majority of the women and minors entering the particular industry. The only exceptions, and these are explained in the footnotes to the table, are minor cash girls and bundle wrappers under the mercantile decree in Kansas and all minor learners in North Dakota, where the commission has retained the power to issue individual permits to work under special conditions. Furthermore, Minnesota, in eight additional decrees that apply to experienced workers only, has treated women and minors on the same basis. Naturally these decrees are not included in this table, since they do not control the learning period. This method of establishing a uniform experienced rate in one set of decrees and varied inexperienced rates in another set accomplishes the same end that most of the other States have attained through one set of decrees. These decrees are noted here because the basis for dividing the decrees under discussion is whether or not they have differentiated in their treatment of adult women and minors, but they are omitted from the table because they give only half the picture, and the other and more important half, from the viewpoint of this table, belongs in another group. Some California and Wisconsin decrees have treated women and minors separately in most instances but identically for small groups. This would add parts of nine other decrees to this list. In California they apply to timeworkers in the fruit-and-vegetable-canning order of 1923 and to preparers on piecework in those of 1919 and 1920; to millinery workers under the manufacturing order of August, 1919, and under the mercantile order of 1920; to piece rates in cutting and pitting fruit under the agricultural-field-occupations order of 1920; and to elevator operators under the mercantile order of 1923. In Wisconsin the same rules apply to all seasonal industries coming under the "all-industries" decrees for 1919 and 1921.

Among the 81 decrees are found a wide variety of industries and occupations. Practically every kind of decree ever issued is represented. At some time and in some State the conditions required have been the same for women and minor learners in the manufacturing, the laundry, the mercantile, the hotel-and-restaurant, and other industries. More consistently than in any other one industry, no difference on account of age has been made for laundry workers. Perhaps it was felt that most laundry workers were mature women and the young workers in the industry were so few as not to warrant special rates which required added study to set and increased the complexity of enforcement. Or perhaps the scattered commissions all felt that age had nothing to do with efficiency in this line of work. In no other line of industry, however, is there any uniformity of treatment. Washington treats women and minors alike in its first manufacturing apprentice circular, but later puts minors on a special schedule. California, on the other hand, differentiates in the first three manufacturing orders and treats the classes alike in the fourth and latest order. Massachusetts treats women and minors alike in one men's-furnishings decree and separately in the next. Not only may one State be inconsistent in its treatment of minor learners, but a State that seems to have an established policy may be exactly opposed in this respect to another State. Oregon and Wisconsin have

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felt that only in canning should women and minors be considered on the same basis and in all other industries and occupations covered by their orders the two age groups consistently receive special treatment. On the other hand, North Dakota and Texas in their decrees covering practically all industries have treated the women and minors alike. The basis on which the commissions have determined their method of treating minors, if anything more than opportunism, evidently was not clearly defined in their own minds.

#### DECREES COVERING WOMEN AND MINORS BUT REQUIRING VARIED LEARNING PERIODS, ACCORDING TO AGE

The next group of orders to be considered—orders covering women and minors but varying the apprenticeship provisions for each age group—may include some orders discussed in group 1 (no learning period required) but group 2 (apprenticeship rules do not consider age) and this group are mutually exclusive except for those orders listed in the discussion of group 2 as treating some kinds of workers on one basis and some on another. The following table shows in what industries or occupations the method has been to require treatment varied according to age, section A presenting the decrees which apply to both women and minors and section B the decrees issued separately for the two classes.

TABLE 37.—*Decrees having various apprenticeship provisions according to age, by State and year*

## A. APPLYING TO BOTH WOMEN AND MINORS

Year decree became effective	California	District of Columbia	Kansas	Massachusetts	Minnesota	Wisconsin
1916.....				Retail store.		
1917.....	Mercantile.			Women's clothing.		
1918.....	Fruit and vegetable canning. Office. Unclassified.		Mercantile (bundle and cash girls).	Men's clothing. Muslin underwear. Retail millinery.	Any. <sup>1</sup>	
1919.....	Manufacturing. Fruit and vegetable canning. <sup>2</sup> Mercantile. Fruit and vegetable packing. Office. Unclassified. Manufacturing. <sup>4</sup>	Mercantile. <sup>3</sup>		Wholesale millinery. Canning and preserving.	Any.....	Any— Telephone. Sanitarium attendant. Home worker. Intermittent worker.
1920.....	Fruit and vegetable canning. <sup>2</sup> Mercantile. <sup>4</sup> Fruit and vegetable packing. Office. Unclassified. Manufacturing.			Corset. Women's clothing. Paper box.		Tobacco stripping. Beauty parlors.
1921.....	Fruit and vegetable canning.			Minor lines of confectionery. Paper box.	Any.....	Any.
1922.....			Manufacturing. Mercantile.	Women's clothing. Muslin underwear. Men's furnishings. Retail store.		
1923.....	Fruit and vegetable canning. <sup>2</sup> Mercantile. <sup>4</sup> Unclassified.					
1924.....				Druggists' preparations.		
1925.....				Canning and preserving. Bread and bakery. Millinery.		
1926.....				Stationery.		
1927.....				Jewelry. Toys and games.		

<sup>1</sup> 2 decrees, 1 for cities and 1 for small towns and rural communities.<sup>2</sup> Never went into effect for minors. Provisions superseded by order for minors only.<sup>3</sup> Does not include preparers on piecework.<sup>4</sup> Does not include millinery apprentices.<sup>5</sup> Pieceworkers only.<sup>6</sup> Does not include elevator operators.

B. APPLYING TO EITHER WOMEN OR MINORS

Year decree became effective	California		North Dakota		Oregon		Washington	
	Adults	Minors	Adults	Minors	Adults	Minors	Adults	Minors
1913.....					Manufacturing (Portland). Mercantile (Portland).	Any—Manufacturing or mercantile establishment, millinery, dress-making, or hair-dressing shop, laundry, hotel or restaurant, telephone or telegraph establishment or office.		
1914.....					Office (Portland). Any not previously covered.		Mercantile..... Manufacturing. Laundry. Telephone and telegraph.	Mercantile. Manufacturing. Laundry. Telephone and telegraph. Telephone and telegraph. Office. Hotel and restaurant.
1915.....							Office..... Hotel and restaurant.	
1916.....					Mercantile (Portland). Mercantile (State at large). Manufacturing (Portland). Manufacturing (State at large). Personal service (Portland). Personal service (State at large). Laundry (Portland). Laundry (State at large).	Any.		

TABLE 37.—Decrees having various apprenticeship provisions according to age, by State and year—Continued

B. APPLYING TO EITHER WOMEN OR MINORS—Continued

Year decree became effective	California		North Dakota		Oregon		Washington	
	Adults	Minors	Adults	Minors	Adults	Minors	Adults	Minors
1916—Continued.....					Telephone and telegraph (Portland). Telephone and telegraph (State at large). Office (Portland). Office (State at large). Public housekeeping (Portland). Public housekeeping (State at large).	Any.		
1917.....								All. Do.
1918.....					Mercantile (Portland). Mercantile (State at large). Manufacturing. Personal service. Laundry. Telephone and telegraph (Portland). Telephone and telegraph (State at large). Office (Portland). Office (State at large). Public housekeeping.	Any.	All (experienced). Inexperienced: Mercantile. Manufacturing. Laundry. Telephone and telegraph. Office.	
1919.....					Mercantile (Portland). Mercantile (State at large). Manufacturing. Personal service. Laundry.	Any.		



1920	Agricultural field <sup>1</sup>			Telephone and telegraph (Portland). Telephone and telegraph (State at large). Office. Public housekeeping.		Public housekeeping. do.	Public housekeeping. Do.
1921						Laundry. Telephone and telegraph. Mercantile. Manufacturing.	
1922			Public housekeeping. Manufacturing. Mercantile. Laundry. Telephone.				All except public housekeeping. Public housekeeping.
1923	(5)						All except public housekeeping. Public housekeeping.

<sup>1</sup> Minors are included in the rates set for pitting and cutting fruit.

<sup>2</sup> The fruit and vegetable packing order, 1923, for work on cherries, covers only adults

## METHODS USED WHEN MINORS WERE GIVEN SPECIAL TREATMENT

Table 37 seems to necessitate a recapitulation of the whole subject of how minors are to be treated under decrees if they are separated from adult women. The first question is whether a minor ever should receive the experienced rate. This may not seem part of a discussion of apprenticeship, but in reality the setting of one rate for experienced adults and a lower rate for minors who may have worked for a period of time equivalent to that which yields the adult the experienced rate is the same in effect as extending the period of apprenticeship to the eighteenth birthday. The next step then will be to see how many of the decrees listed in sections A and B of the table provide that minors, though having to fulfill apprenticeship requirements that differ from those laid out for women, may receive the experienced rate prior to reaching 18 years of age.

*Decrees that provide the same experienced rate for all ages, though apprenticeship provisions vary according to age.*—This occurs in only four States—California, Massachusetts, Minnesota, and Washington. Though Massachusetts issued 23 decrees that treated minor apprentices differently from adult apprentices, only two require an experienced rate regardless of age. In Minnesota, on the other hand, it was the invariable practice to establish one rate for all experienced workers, regardless of differences in apprenticeship rules because of age. Washington after 1917 regulated all minors' apprenticeship so that their obtaining the experienced rate depended on their length of service. California has followed this practice in 16 of the 21 decrees having separate provisions for adults and minors in at least one occupation. The table following shows the decrees where one experienced rate obtainable at any age occurs though apprenticeship provisions vary according to age.

TABLE 38.—*Decrees providing the same experienced rates for women and minors though apprenticeship provisions vary according to age, by State and year*

Year decree became effective	California	Massachusetts	Washington	Minnesota
1914.....				Mercantile, etc. <sup>1</sup> Manufacturing, etc. <sup>1</sup> All other. <sup>1</sup>
1918.....	Office..... ( <sup>2</sup> )		All. <sup>3</sup>	
1919.....	Manufacturing. Fruit and vegetable canning. <sup>4</sup> Mercantile. Office. Fruit and vegetable packing. Manufacturing. <sup>5</sup>			Any.
1920.....	Fruit and vegetable canning. <sup>4</sup> Mercantile. Fruit and vegetable packing. Office. Manufacturing. Fruit and vegetable canning. <sup>4</sup>	Paper box.....	Public housekeep- ing.	
1921.....			Public housekeep- ing. <sup>1</sup>	Any.
1922.....			All except public housekeeping. <sup>4</sup>	
1923.....	Unclassified..... Mercantile.		All except public housekeeping. <sup>4</sup>	
1925.....		Bread and bakery products.		

<sup>1</sup> There were 7 decrees for experienced workers, but in 1918 an apprenticeship decree for any industry was issued.

<sup>2</sup> Fruit-and-vegetable-canning order treats preparers on piecework in this way.

<sup>3</sup> Separate decrees for adults and for minors, in each case, but same experienced rate.

<sup>4</sup> Time workers only.

<sup>5</sup> Does not include millinery.

These provisions meant that a woman's experienced rate was based almost wholly on the amount of work she had done. She was required to serve a somewhat longer apprenticeship or to work for a somewhat lower rate of pay if she entered industry under 18 years of age. For example, office workers in California in 1918 had the rates following:

	Beginning rate (per week)	Length of apprenticeship (months)	Experienced rate (per week)
Adults	\$8	12	\$10
Minors	7	18	10

When this method of treating minors was used, allowance was made for their youth and probable lack of experience in any line of work, but the differentiation between adults and minors was not so great as to encourage the employment of an unduly large proportion of minors. In Massachusetts the difference was in rates only, the length of apprenticeship required being the same for all ages. California, Minnesota, and Washington allowed lower rates and longer terms for minors, but in no decree is the difference excessive.

In every decree dealing with minors separately, what happens to the girl who enters industry shortly before her eighteenth birthday must be considered. It is constantly evident that the commissions did not consider, particularly in the early decrees, every eventuality that might arise. This question of the girl who reached 18 while serving her apprenticeship often was overlooked. The group of decrees under discussion, however, worked no great hardship on her if she was required to serve the full time of a minor apprentice. California, nevertheless, added to its later decrees the following provision: "A minor girl who is still a learner upon reaching the age of 18 years shall be paid not less than the rates specified for adult learners." In other words, any girl who entered an industry shortly before her eighteenth birthday was considered an adult learner, and while she might start at minor rates she jumped to adult rates on reaching 18. Fairly enough her position was midway between the true adult and the true minor. Without defining what was to occur as clearly as California has done, most decrees with special apprenticeship rules for minors have been interpreted to mean that, on reaching 18, the girl would go to whatever adult rate her length of service entitled her. Even this would hardly seem necessary if the differences between the conditions laid down for adults and those laid down for minors were not too marked.

Apprenticeship, then, in this group of decrees is controlled by the entering age, but the experienced rate is irrespective of age. At 18 a girl in some cases goes under the adult decree, in others she serves out her minor apprenticeship. In all cases she comes ultimately, in spite of age, to receive the experienced rate. While it is easily understood that a minor might take longer to learn a job, or might not be worth so much when a raw recruit as an adult, it is hard to justify her never receiving the experienced rate. If the commission

was convinced that different treatment for adult and for minor apprentices was necessary, the methods followed in these decrees provide a way for getting all woman workers with an adequate amount of experience on the minimum rate.

*Decrees that never provide for a minor reaching the experienced rate.*—Many decrees do not require that a minor ever be paid the experienced rate. There are several ways in which minors are treated, all with this result.

The table following shows the decrees that provide for the same rate for all minors in a specified age group.

TABLE 39.—Decrees providing for a flat rate for all minors in a specified age group, by State and year

Year decree became effective	California	Massachusetts	Oregon	Washington	Wisconsin
1918.....			Any manufacturing, etc.—16 and 17 years. <sup>1</sup>		
1914.....				Mercantile—under 18 years. Manufacturing—under 18 years. Laundry—under 18 years. Telephone and telegraph—under 18 years. Telephone and telegraph—under 18 years. Office—under 16 years; 16 and 17 years. Hotel and restaurant—under 18 years.	
1915.....					
1916.....		Retail store <sup>1</sup> —under 17 years; 17 years.	Any—16 and 17 years. <sup>1</sup>		
1917.....		Women's clothing—under 18 years. <sup>2</sup>		All—under 16 years. <sup>3</sup> Hotel and restaurant—16 and 17 years.	
1918.....	Unclassified—under 18 years. Fruit and vegetable canning—under 18 years. <sup>4</sup>	Muslin underwear—under 18 years.	Any—14 years; <sup>5</sup> 15 years.		
1919.....	(7)	Canning and preserving—under 18 years.	Any—14 years; <sup>5</sup> 15 years.		Any—14 and 15 years. <sup>6</sup>
1920.....	(7)	Corset—under 17 years. Women's clothing—under 18 years.			
1921.....	(7)	Women's clothing—under 18 years.			
1922.....		Retail store—under 18 years. <sup>7</sup>			
1923.....	(7)	Jewelry—under 20 years.			
1927.....		Toys and games—16 and 17 years. <sup>8</sup>			

<sup>1</sup> Commission may issue special permits to apprentices, allowing them to work for lower rates.

<sup>2</sup> Work done before reaching 18 years of age does not count toward apprenticeship.

<sup>3</sup> Graded rates take care of these groups until they reach their eighteenth birthday. (See next table.)

<sup>4</sup> Adult preparers on piecework in the fruit-and-vegetable-canning decree also have the same rate at all times.

<sup>5</sup> Canners and labelers on piecework in the fruit-and-vegetable-canning decree are treated in this way.

<sup>6</sup> Canners and labelers under 16 years old on piecework are treated in this way in the fruit-and-vegetable-canning decree.

<sup>7</sup> Preparers and cannerymen on piecework and labelers under 16 years old on piecework are treated in this way in the fruit-and-vegetable-canning decree.

<sup>8</sup> Pieceworkers in the fruit-and-vegetable-canning decree are treated in this way.

<sup>9</sup> Minors who enter at these ages are treated in this way. For minors who enter at under 16 years, see next table.

There appear in this table 25 entire decrees, part of one of these brought out separately where rates are different (Washington, hotel and restaurant, 1917), and parts of four other decrees (California, fruit and vegetable canning, 1919, 1920, 1921, and 1923) where only certain occupations are treated in this way, making 30 entries. The main fact about these decrees is, of course, that for none of the workers in the specified age groups can the minimum wage be required, no matter what their experience in relation to the experience required for adult workers. Generally a minor stays on a flat rate until she is 18 and then goes to whatever rate in the adult decree her length of experience entitles her. In most cases a flat time rate has been set, but in the California canning decrees the minor frequently has been allowed to work for piece rates without any of the guaranties provided the adult. In Massachusetts, in the corset decree, 1920, 17 years is used as the dividing line; in jewelry, 1920, 20 years is used. Another slight differentiation is found in Washington, in the office decree, 1915, and in the hotel-and-restaurant part of the "all-industries" decree, 1917; also in Massachusetts, in the retail-store decree, 1916. In these three decrees a flat rate is set for two different age groups, the older minors getting somewhat more but no account being taken of length of service. There remains a small group of four decrees—California, fruit and vegetable canning, 1920 and 1921; Oregon, "any industry," 1918 and 1919; Washington, "all industries," 1919; and Wisconsin, "any industry," 1919—where a flat rate is set for minors under 16 years dependent only on their age, but for minors of 16 years an entirely new basis of promotion, based on a combination of age and experience, is the rule. These minors after becoming 16 years of age will be discussed in the next table, but the younger groups belong here, since for these ages the decrees really are part of this group which require advancement with age only. There is, in addition, a curious situation in the Massachusetts toys-and-games decree (1927). Minors who enter industry at 16 or 17 receive no increase in rates until they become 18. Minors who enter at less than 16 receive an increase after one year's experience (see the next table). Moreover, in this table there are three decrees in which not only is it impossible for a minor under 18 years to obtain the experienced rate, but her time spent at the work does not count as experience. In these three Massachusetts decrees, retail stores, 1916 and 1922, and women's clothing, 1917, a woman must serve her apprenticeship or learning period after her eighteenth birthday. As the next table shows, California for mercantile establishments in 1917 made the same requirement, though a girl got some increases in rates due to length of service before her eighteenth birthday. It is hard to see how this situation ever arose, since it places such tremendous emphasis on age. All these are early decrees except that of Massachusetts in 1922. Moreover, with the exception of this one Massachusetts decree (retail stores) later decrees changed this provision. It seems impossible to defend a decree that forces a girl of 18 years with possibly four years of experience in a given industry to receive the same treatment as a girl beginning her working life at that age.

In all these decrees, but particularly in the last three, the whole emphasis of the rules would seem to be based so firmly on age as to lose sight entirely of the difference in value between an experienced and an inexperienced worker. It would seem also that these decrees might tend to encourage the employment of children, since there would be a possibility, for example, of employing a girl of 16 with two years' experience for less than one could employ a girl of 18 years or more with little or no experience. Then, too, these decrees would permit girls to work for such long periods of time for less than the minimum that the employer might not feel the need of giving them any training for their job, and might even, when the sudden jump to the minimum occurred, seek to drop the 18-year-old girls and take on other young workers. That some commissions and wage boards have felt that a flat minor rate was unwise probably is indicated by the fact that in an almost equal number of decrees where minors never could receive the experienced rate they could, nevertheless, require certain increases in pay based on their length of experience.

The table following gives those decrees under which a minor girl obtained regular increases in pay based on her length of service as well as her age.

TABLE 40.—Decrees providing for varied rates for minors according to time employed but not providing for their being paid the experienced rate, by State and year

Year decree became effective	California	District of Columbia	Kansas	Massachusetts	Oregon	Washington	Wisconsin
1917.....	Mercantile—under 18 years. <sup>1</sup>					All except hotel and restaurant—16 and 17 years. <sup>2</sup>	
1918.....			Mercantile (bundle and cash girls)—under 18 years.	Men's clothing—under 18 years. Retail millinery—18 years; under 18 years.	Any—16 and 17 years. <sup>2</sup>		
1919.....	Unclassified—under 18 years.	Mercantile—under 18 years.		Wholesale millinery—under 18 years.	do. <sup>3</sup>		Any—16 years. <sup>4</sup>
1920.....	Do.			Minor lines of confectionery—under 16 years.			Any—under 17 years.
1921.....				Paper box—under 18 years.			
1922.....			Manufacturing—under 16 years. Mercantile—under 16 years.	Muslin underwear—under 18 years. Men's furnishings—under 16 years.			
1924.....				Druggists' preparations—under 16 years.			
1925.....				Canning, preserving, and minor lines of confectionery—16 and 17 years; under 16 years.			
1926.....				Millinery—under 19 years.			
1926.....				Stationery goods—16 and 17 years; under 16 years.			
1927.....				Toys and games—under 18 years. <sup>1</sup>			

<sup>1</sup> Work done before reaching 18 years of age does not count toward apprenticeship.

<sup>2</sup> Flat rate takes care of workers 14 and 15 years old. (See preceding table.)

<sup>3</sup> Workers entering industry under 16 years of age.



One contrast with the table next preceding is at once apparent—these decrees on the whole are of a later date. Also, where the dates are the same a given State—Massachusetts, for example—has more decrees in the second table than in the first. This would seem to indicate a growing tendency not to base minors' rates solely on their age.

In all these decrees a beginner follows a definite progression of rates, the increases being based on length of service, until the pseudo experienced rate is reached. No further increases of pay are required until the minor reaches the specified adult age (usually 18 years) which puts her under the adult decree. On her birthday she goes to whatever rate in the adult decree is required for one of her length of service. In all the States except Oregon and Washington, the advances given these minors are set forth in the decrees. For example, in Kansas, mercantile, 1922, the rates run: First two months, \$6 per week; next four months, \$8 per week; thereafter to 16th birthday, \$9 per week. In Oregon and Washington, however, an entirely different method of advancement is used, for after every six months of service the minor must receive an increase. The amount of the increase is \$0.50 per week in the early decrees and \$1 in the later ones. The increases are so arranged, however, that the minor does not advance to the adult experienced rate until she becomes 18. Either of these methods does away with the main criticisms of the flat rate, but even under these systems of advancement it seems possible that minors might be required to serve unnecessarily long apprenticeships.

#### SUMMARY

To sum up methods of grouping apprentices or learners before discussing the actual provisions of the apprenticeship schedules: First, there is a small group of decrees where neither adults nor minors are required to serve any apprenticeship whatsoever; second, there is a very small group of decrees where adults only are not required to serve an apprenticeship; and, third, three kinds of decrees specify that all beginners in industry may work for less than the experienced rate.

There are three ways in which these lower rates for beginners are handled: The first way is to set straight apprenticeship schedules for beginners in industry, regardless of age; the second way is to set apprenticeship schedules which vary as to rate and length of learning period according to the age of the beginner but lead to the same experienced rate; and the third way is to set decrees which have separate rates throughout for minors and for adults. The great majority of the decrees issued have been treated in the last two ways.

A general line of policy was adopted by most of the States—sometimes for all industries or occupations, sometimes for specific ones—as to which to follow of the three ways of handling rates established for beginners. California used the first two methods quite consistently; for example, treating laundries according to the first and general and professional offices according to the second, and using

the third method only for the earliest of the mercantile decrees. Massachusetts, on the other hand, has divided its decrees pretty evenly among all three methods, usually handling a reenacted decree in the same way as the original. Oregon has consistently followed the third method of treating beginners' rates for all industries. Washington has experimented with all three methods.

The following table shows how many decrees were issued with a distinction between adult women and minors.

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TABLE 41.—Number of decrees in which minors have been treated differently from adult women, by State and year

State	All years					1913					1914					1915					1916				
	Total	Wom- en only	Women and minors		Mi- nors only	Total	Wom- en only	Women and minors		Mi- nors only	Total	Wom- en only	Women and minors		Mi- nors only	Total	Wom- en only	Women and minors		Mi- nors only					
			Total	Minors sepa- rate				Total	Minors sepa- rate				Total	Minors sepa- rate				Total	Minors sepa- rate		Total	Minors sepa- rate			
All States.....	232	65	140	59	18	3	2			1	22	6	11		5	10	2	6		2	17	14	2	1	1
Arkansas.....	3		3																						
California.....	40	1	39	21																	1		1		
District of Columbia.....	5		4	1	1																				
Kansas.....	8		8	2																					
Massachusetts.....	34		34	23							1		1		1		1				1		1		
Minnesota.....	12		12	4							6		6												
North Dakota.....	13	5	8																						
Oregon.....	44	37	3		4	3	2			1	2	2									15	14			1
Texas.....	1		1																						
Washington <sup>1</sup> .....	45	22	10		13						13	4	4		5	9	2	5		2					
Wisconsin.....	27		27	8																					
All States.....	6		5	2	1	35	16	17	8	2	41	13	26	16	2	34	2	31	11	1	13	4	8	4	1
Arkansas.....																									
California.....	2		2	1		6		6	3		10		10	7		10	1	1	6		1		1	1	
District of Columbia.....											3		3			1		1			1		1		
Kansas.....						3		3	2		1		1			1		1							
Massachusetts.....	1		1	1		4		4	3		3		3	2		6		6	3		2		2	1	
Minnesota.....						3		3	2		2		2	1							1		1	1	
North Dakota.....																8		8							
Oregon.....	1		1			11	10			1	11	9	1		1										
Texas.....																									
Washington <sup>1</sup> .....	1				1	7	6			1	5	4	1		2		1	1		1	5	4			1
Wisconsin.....	1				1	1	1			1	6		6	5		4		4	2		3	3	1		1

<sup>1</sup> In Washington apprentice circulars are issued. They serve the same purpose as apprentice decrees in other States and are treated as decrees in this table.  
<sup>2</sup> In manufacturing (1919) and mercantile (1920), rates for millinery apprentices are the same for all ages.  
<sup>3</sup> In fruit and vegetable canning preparers on piecework receive the same treatment regardless of age.  
<sup>4</sup> Under agricultural field occupations decrees piece rates are the same for women and minors in cutting and pitting fruit. Otherwise the order applies only to adult women.  
<sup>5</sup> Minor cash girls and bundle girls have separate rate schedules.  
<sup>6</sup> Commission may issue permits for minor apprentices to work under special conditions. Otherwise they must be treated the same as adults.  
<sup>7</sup> Seasonal industries under "all industries" decree have same rates for all ages

TABLE 41.—Number of decrees in which minors have been treated differently from adult women, by State and year—Continued

State	1922					1923					1924					1925					1926					1927							
	Total	Women only		Women and minors		Total	Women only		Women and minors		Total	Women only		Women and minors		Total	Women only		Women and minors		Total	Women only		Women and minors		Total	Women only		Women and minors				
		Total	Minors separate	Minors only	Total		Minors separate	Minors only	Total	Minors separate		Minors only	Total	Minors separate	Minors only		Total	Minors separate	Minors only	Total		Minors separate	Minors only	Total	Minors separate		Minors only	Total	Minors separate	Minors only	Total	Minors separate	Minors only
All States.....	23	6	15	7	2	12	12	3	3	3	1	5	5	3	4	4	1	4	4	1	4	4	2	4	4	2	4	2					
Arkansas.....	2		2																														
California.....	1		1			9	9	10	10																								
District of Columbia.....																																	
Kansas.....	3		3	2																													
Massachusetts.....	6		6	5		1	1		1	1	1	3	3	3	2	2	1	3	3	2	3	3	2	3	3	2	3						
Minnesota.....																																	
North Dakota.....	5	5																															
Oregon.....	1		1																														
Texas.....																																	
Washington.....	2	1	2		2																												
Wisconsin.....	2		2		2	2			2			2			2			2			2			2			2						

<sup>1</sup> In Washington apprentice circulars are issued. They serve the same purpose as apprentice decrees in other States and are treated as decrees in this table.  
<sup>2</sup> In fruit and vegetable packing rates for workers in cherries are set only for adults.  
<sup>3</sup> In manufacturing women have higher part-time rates than have minors.  
<sup>4</sup> Elevator operators in mercantile establishments have same rates for all ages.  
<sup>5</sup> In fruit and vegetable canning timeworkers have the same rates for all ages.

Sixty-five decrees have covered adult women only; 18, minors only. Fifty-nine decrees have covered both women and minors but have made different provisions for them, and 90 decrees have covered women and minors on the same basis.

#### Rules as to where apprenticeship shall be served.

When the commissions had decided how they would handle the questions of occupation or industry and of age in relation to apprenticeship, they had barely made a beginning on this part of the decree. In fact, they had not even reached the problems usually thought of in relation to apprenticeship. How long a period of apprenticeship should be required? Should such service be continuous? Should it be with one employer? Should it be in the particular occupation, or would service in the particular industry, or even service in industry in general, be sufficient? Should length of service suffice if no regular instruction is provided?

The last question the commissions have not attempted to handle through definite provisions in the decrees, though they have had it constantly in mind. California, for example, in all its decrees, defines a learner as a "woman or minor whom the industrial welfare commission permits to work for less than the legal minimum wage in consideration of the provision by the employer of reasonable facilities for learning the industry." Reasonable facilities are not defined, and the only spur to the employer, unless the time-driven inspectors make personal inquiries, is that every few months he must increase the learner's pay until the minimum is reached.

The commissions have tried to cover all the other questions. The length of the learning period, of course, is carefully set forth in each decree. The variation from State to State and decree to decree is exceedingly great, as a later table will show. The questions as to continuity and kind of service often are not touched in the decrees, though they had to be settled in enforcing the rates. Many commissions seemed to feel that if they set a year, for example, as the length of the learning period under a given decree, they had done all that was necessary. If the commissions tried to define the kind of service, they usually failed to foresee all possible complications, just as in the case of rules intended to take care of differences due to the age of the worker. To illustrate from a decree covering the manufacturing industry: The length of the learning period is to be one year; a woman may come to work as a weaver in a woolen mill; what experience must she present to show that she is entitled to the experienced rate?

- (1) One year's experience in any manufacturing industry?
- (2) One year's experience in any occupation in a woolen mill?
- (3) One year's experience in weaving in any textile mill?
- (4) One year's experience in weaving in a woolen mill?

If she can not get full credit for a year spent in groups 1, 2, or 3, should she get some credit for this experience? Or (5) no matter what her background, must the woman work a year with this new employer before she is experienced? If instead of having worked a year the woman had changed employer at the end of six months,

how much credit should she get from a new employer under the conditions set forth in each group?

The answer to all this is that really each woman is an individual problem. The commissions could not, however, for the most part, take up each case. They must lay down some general rules to guide the executive enforcing the law. These general rules fall into certain main groups that correspond roughly to the illustrations (1) in any industry, (2) in the particular industry or in the specific branch of a particular industry, (3) in the occupation, (5) in the establishment. Only (4), requiring experience in the particular occupation in the particular industry, never occurs.

The following list gives the decrees that have had any definition of the kind of service required in order that a woman may qualify as experienced:

State and kind of experience	Name of decree and date effective
<i>California:</i>	
"In an occupation"-----	Unskilled and unclassified occupations, 1918, 1923.
"In an establishment"-----	Unskilled and unclassified, 1919, 1920. Fruit and vegetable canning, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1923. Fish canning, 1920, 1923. Nut cracking, 1923.
In a branch of the industry-----	Fruit and vegetable packing, 1918, 1919. Needle trades, 1922. Manufacturing, 1923.
In an industry (industry equals branch).	Fruit and vegetable packing, 1920, 1923.
In the industry-----	Laundry, 1917. Fruit and vegetable canning, 1918. Manufacturing, 1918.
"In the said industry"-----	Fruit and vegetable canning, 1916, 1917. Mercantile, 1923. Laundry, 1923.
"In the ----- industry"-----	Laundry, 1919, 1920. Mercantile, 1920.
"In general and professional offices."	Office, 1920.
"In any manufacturing industry"	Manufacturing, 1920.
No definition-----	Mercantile, 1917, 1919. Office, 1918, 1919. Manufacturing, 1919.
<i>District of Columbia:</i>	
"In the industry"-----	Printing and publishing, 1919. Mercantile, 1919. Laundry, 1921.
<i>Kansas:</i>	
"In laundry work"-----	Laundries, 1918.
"With the same employer or others in the same character of industry."	Manufacturing, 1922.
No definition-----	Mercantile, 1918. Telephone operator, 1918. Manufacturing, 1919, 1920. Laundry, 1922. Mercantile, 1922.

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State and kind of experience	Name of decree and date effective
<b>Massachusetts:</b>	
“In the industry,” or “In the industry.”	Brush, 1914. Women’s clothing, 1917, 1920, 1922. Men’s clothing, 1918. Men’s furnishings, 1918. Candy making, 1920.
“In the occupation,” or “In the occupation.”	Druggists’ preparations, 1924. Retail millinery, 1918. Wholesale millinery, 1919. Canning and preserving, 1919. Men’s clothing, 1920. Corset, 1920. Knit goods, 1920. Paper box, 1920, 1922. Men’s furnishings, 1922. Laundry, 1922. Brush, 1923. Retail store, 1922. Bread and bakery products, 1925. Millinery, 1925. Jewelry, 1927. Toys and games, 1927.
“In the occupation, provided half the time is with the specific employer.”	Muslin underwear, 1918, 1922.
In a particular line.....	Minor lines of confectionery, 1921.
In a given factory.....	Canning, preserving, and minor lines of confectionery, 1925.
In the particular plant.....	Stationery goods, 1926.
In laundries.....	Laundry, 1915.
In retail stores.....	Retail store, 1916.
In a candy factory.....	Candy, 1926.
<b>Minnesota:</b>	
In the particular industry.....	All occupations, 1918, 1919, 1921.
<b>North Dakota:</b>	
“With the same employer or any other employer in the same occupation.”	Public housekeeping, 1922.
No definition.....	Office, 1920. Personal service, 1920. Mercantile, 1920, 1922. Laundry, 1920, 1922. Telephone, 1920, 1922. Manufacturing, 1920, 1922. Public housekeeping, 1920.
<b>Oregon:</b>	
No definition.....	All decrees.
<b>Texas:</b>	
“In any occupation”.....	Telephone, telegraph, office, mercantile establishment, laundry, or factory.
<b>Washington:</b>	
“In operating a telephone exchange.”	Rural telephone exchanges (Orders No. 14 and 15), 1915.
No compensation until able to take charge of switchboard unassisted.	Small telephone exchanges, 1919.
At the particular work.....	Manufacturing, 1922.
No definition.....	All other decrees.
<b>Wisconsin:</b>	
“In the trade or industry, whether for the same employer or for different employer.”	All, 1919, 1921.

The great number of these decrees require that experience be gained by service in a particular industry. That this is the most usual procedure is obscured somewhat by the fact that there is so much confusion in the way the words "occupation" and "industry" are used. In only one case—California, "unskilled and unclassified occupations," 1918 and 1923—is the word occupation used to denote a particular process or trade; in every other case it is synonymous with industry. For example, in the decrees for laundries, the following definitions are found: California and District of Columbia, "in the industry"; Kansas, "in laundry work"; Massachusetts, "in the occupation" 1922, "in laundries" 1915. In every case the requirement is for service in the laundry industry. In Minnesota and Wisconsin, though the decrees are for all industries or occupations the apprenticeship requirement clearly is for service in a particular industry. In this case, however, it is not clear what would be considered an industry, as is the case in decrees covering smaller units. This rule might correspond to the California rule for a "branch" or that of Massachusetts for a "line"; that is, experience might be required in a woolen mill rather than in a textile mill. This same problem of defining industry holds true where a decree covers all manufacturing, as in California. That the California commission realized this problem is shown by its changing requirements in the manufacturing decrees:

- 1918, "in the industry."
- 1919, no definition.
- 1920, "in any manufacturing industry."
- 1923, "in a branch of the industry."

Though this problem apparently met with so little attention, it was a tremendously important one if commissions were to handle apprenticeship. In enforcing the law the executives of the commissions constantly had to decide whether or not a given woman was experienced. In so doing they had little or no guidance from the decrees. Where the apprenticeship period was long, the requirement that all of it be served in a special branch of an industry, with no credit for general industrial experience, worked a real hardship on the worker; the requirement that it be served in one establishment, regardless of past experience, an injustice to the worker. On the other hand, it is hard to see how work in a textile mill could help toward being an experienced chocolate dipper. This last is, of course, an extreme example, but there were thousands of borderline cases, extremely hard to determine, as for example, a shift from one skilled process in a shoe factory to another. General familiarity with the making of shoes should count for something, but for how much was a problem indeed. This whole problem goes back, in reality, to the size of the industrial group governed by an apprenticeship decree. Once more it is apparent that if each industrial decree were divided into as small units as those issued originally by Washington, the only problem would be the relation that experience must bear to service in the establishment. The arguments against this method have been gone over earlier in the report.



**Length of apprenticeship period.**

It is impossible to say from the decrees just where apprenticeship must be served, but every decree gives a period of time that must be worked before the experienced rate must be paid. The discussion preceding, of the kind of service required, shows how little this term means. It was practically useless to say one year's experience was required without a careful definition of where such experience should be served.

The table following gives the length of the experienced period required in each decree. In using those sections of the table relating to minors, it must be remembered that child-labor laws prohibit certain groups of minors from working at all. However, unless the table indicates that only minors of given ages are covered by the provisions of the decrees, the commissions have drawn up their orders without any special reference to child-labor laws.

TABLE 42.—Length of service required before experienced rate must be paid, by State and year

[The experienced rate is the highest rate required for a given age group]

ACTUAL TIME PERIODS SPECIFIED IN DECREES <sup>1</sup>

1913

State	Irregular
Oregon.....	Any—16 and 17 years.* <sup>1</sup>

1914

State	12 weeks	3 months	6 months	8 months	9 months	1 year	None
Massachusetts.....							
Oregon.....							
Washington.....	Manufacturing— bindery, fold- ing and gath- ering.	Mercantile—man- icuring. Manufacturing— pie; berry box; cord repairing. Laundry and dye works—mend- ing.	Mercantile—florists; ice cream. Manufacturing—broom; tent and awning and mattress; candy, ex- cept chocolate dip- ping; bag i. e. clipping, turning, folding, feed- ing, packing; paper box, except berry box. Laundry and dye works.	Manufacturing— bags sewing; cap, pennant, and glove.	Manufacturing— hair; garment. Telephone.	Brush. Any—adults. Mercantile—salesman- ship, millinery and dress- making; manicuring and hairdressing. Manufacturing—engrav- ing and hand emboss- ing; bindery, except folding and gathering; chocolate dipping; brush; tailoring; alteration and furrier occupations; pho- tography. Telegraph.	Mercantile—under 18 years.* <sup>1</sup> Manufacturing—under 18 years.* <sup>1</sup> Laundry and dye works—under 18 years.* <sup>1</sup> Telephone and tele- graph—under 18 years.* <sup>1</sup>

1915

State	3 months	6 months	9 months	1 year	None
Massachusetts.....					
Washington.....	Office—stenography and bookkeeping...	Office—general.....	Telephone <sup>1</sup> .....	Laundry. Laundry.....	Office—under 18 years.* <sup>1</sup> Hotel and restaurant, except waitresses.

1916

State	3 weeks	1 year	None	Irregular
California.....	Fruit and vegetable canning—time workers.		Fruit and vegetable canning—piece workers.	
Massachusetts.....		Retail store—18 years and over. <sup>1</sup>	Retail store—under 18 years.*	
Oregon.....		Mercantile, manufacturing, personal service, laundry, telephone and telegraph, office, public housekeeping—adults.		Any—16 and 17 years. <sup>2</sup>

1917

State	3 weeks	1 year and 6 months	2 years	None	Irregular
California.....	Fruit and vegetable canning—time workers.	Mercantile—20 years and over.	Mercantile—18 and 19 years.	Fruit and vegetable canning—piece workers.	Mercantile—under 18 years.
Massachusetts.....		Women's clothing—18 years and over. <sup>3</sup>		Women's clothing—under 18 years.*	
Oregon.....	Canning.			All—under 16 years.*	
Washington.....				Hotel and restaurant—16 and 17 years.*	All, except hotel and restaurant—16 and 17 years; periodic raises until minimum or 18th birthday is reached.*
Wisconsin.....				Pea canning.	

<sup>1</sup> See note on p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> To be determined by commission.

<sup>3</sup> Minors came under these special orders unless an employer chose to register a minor as an apprentice and his application was approved.

<sup>4</sup> Set in 1914; experienced rate modified in 1915.

<sup>5</sup> Apprenticeship must be served after eighteenth birthday.

TABLE 42.—Length of service required before experienced rate must be paid, by State and year—Continued

1918

State	1 week	3 weeks	3 months	4 months	6 months	7 months	8 months
California.....	Fruit and vegetable canning—piece workers (18 years and over).	Fruit and vegetable canning—timeworkers (18 years and over). Fruit and vegetable packing. Unclassified—18 years and over.					
Kansas.....					Laundry.		
Massachusetts.....			Men's clothing—under 18 years.*				
Minnesota.....					Any—adults.....		Any (State, outside cities)—minors.
Oregon.....							Mercantile—adults.
Washington.....				Mercantile (adults)—ice cream; confectionery; florist; bakery. Manufacturing (adults) all occupations not specifically listed elsewhere. Laundry—adults.	Manufacturing (adults)—chocolate dipping. Office—adults.	Telephone and telegraph—adults.	Mercantile (adults)—salesmanship; millinery; beauty parlor; alteration.

State	9 months	1 year	1 year and 3 months	1 year and 6 months	None	Irregular
California.....		Office—18 years and over..	Laundry and dry cleaning.	Office—under 18 years.	Fish canning. Unclassified—under 18 years.* Fruit and vegetable canning—under 18 years.	
Kansas.....		Mercantile. Telephone.				
Massachusetts.....		Men's clothing—18 years and over. Men's furnishings. Muslin underwear—18 years and over.			Muslin underwear—under 18 years.	Retail millinery—4 seasons of 12 weeks each, including 16 weeks in a fall season or seasons and 16 weeks in a spring season or seasons.
Minnesota.....		Any (all cities)—minors.				
Oregon.....		Manufacturing, personal service, laundry, telephone and telegraph, office, public housekeeping—adults.			Any—14 and 18 years*.....	Any (16 and 17 years)—periodic raises until minimum or eighteenth birthday is reached.
Washington.....	Manufacturing (adults)—garment; tailoring; dress-making; fur; engraving and hand embossing; hair; brush; printing.					All (minors)—periodic raises until minimum or eighteenth birthday is reached.
Wisconsin.....						Pea canning—one season.

\* See note on p. 202.

TABLE 42.—Length of service required before experienced rate must be paid, by State and year—Continued  
1919

State	1 week	2 weeks	3 weeks	4 weeks	8 weeks	3 months	4 months	6 months	7 months
California	Fruit and vegetable canning: Time workers. Piece workers. Cannery and labelers—18 years and over.	Fruit and vegetable packing.	Unclassified.					Manufacturing—18 years and over. Laundry and dry cleaning. Office—18 years and over. Manufacturing—18 years and over.	
District of Columbia									Mercantile—18 years and over.
Kansas								Manufacturing. Any—adults.	
Minnesota									
Oregon			Canning.	Manufacturing (adults)—sorters in paper mills; finishers in brush. Transient milliners.	Manufacturing (adults)—drawers in brush.		Offices (adults)—doctors' and dentists' workers; toll, bill, and addressograph clerks; adding-machine operators; cashiers in motion-picture theaters. Mercantile (adults)—ice cream; confectionery; florist; bakeries; grocery; drug stores; music houses. Manufacturing (adults)—all occupations not specifically listed elsewhere.	Office (adults)—General.	
Washington									
Wisconsin						All—minors of 16 years.*		All—adults and minors over 17 years.	

State	8 months	9 months	1 year	1 year and 6 months	2 years	3 years	None	Irregular
California		Manufacturing—under 18 years. Office—under 18 years. Manufacturing—under 18 years.		Mercantile—20 years and over.	Mercantile—18 and 19 years.	Mercantile—under 18 years.	Fish canning. Hotel and restaurant. Fruit and vegetable canning: Preparers—18 years and over. Piece workers—under 18 years.	Manufacturing. Millinery apprentices—24 weeks, comprising 2 seasons.
District of Columbia			Printing and publishing. Mercantile—under 18 years. (Never in effect.) Canning and preserving—18 years and over.	Mercantile—under 18 years.				
Massachusetts					Wholesale millinery (nonseasonal).		Building cleaners. Canning and preserving—under 18 years.	Wholesale millinery—4 seasons, including 12 weeks in each of 2 spring and 2 fall seasons.
Minnesota		Any—minors.						
Oregon	Mercantile—adults.		Manufacturing, personal service, laundry, telephone and telegraph office, public house-keeping—adults.				Any—14 and 15 years.*	Any (16 and 17 years) — Periodic raises until minimum or eighteenth birthday is reached.
Washington	Mercantile (adults)—salesmanship; millinery; beauty parlor; alteration.							
Wisconsin							All—minors of 14 and 15 years.*	Pea canning—one season.

\* See note on p. 202.

\* 2 decrees in this industry, the second a revision of the first.

TABLE 42.—Length of service required before experienced rate must be paid, by State and year—Continued

1920

State	1 week	2 weeks	3 weeks	4 weeks	2 months	3 months	4 months
California.....	Fruit and vegetable canning: Time workers. Piece workers— Canners and labelers—16 years and over.	Fruit and vegetable packing: All fruit packing not in 4-weeks group and all vegetable packing— Time workers. Piece workers—18 years and over.	Unclassified.	Fish canning. Fruit and vegetable packing: Citrus industry; dried fig and layer raisin packing— Time workers. Piece workers—18 years and over.			
North Dakota.....						Manufacturing— candy and biscuit.	Public housekeeping. Laundry.
Wisconsin.....					Beauty parlor—14, and 15 years.*	Tobacco stripping—10 and 17 years.* Beauty parlor—16 and 17 years.*	
State	6 months	9 months	1 year	1 year and 6 months	3 years	None	Irregular
Arkansas.....	Mercantile (Fort Smith).						
California.....	Laundry and dry cleaning. Office—18 years and over. Manufacturing—18 years and over.	Manufacturing— under 18 years.	Mercantile—18 years and over. Office—under 18 years.	Mercantile—under 18 years.		Hotel and restaurant. Agricultural. Fruit and vegetable canning: Piece workers— Preparers. Canners and labelers—under 16 years. Fruit and vegetable packing: All fruit packing not in 4-weeks group and all vegetable packing— Piece workers—under 18 years.	Mercantile—millinery apprentices: 24 weeks, comprising 2 seasons.
District of Columbia.....						Hotel and restaurant.	
Kansas.....	Manufacturing.						
Massachusetts.....	A.....	Paper box.....	Men's clothing..... Corset—17 years and over.	Women's clothing—18 years and over.		Corset—under 17 years.* Women's clothing—under 18 years.	Candy—67 weeks within a period of 78 weeks. Knit goods—40 weeks.



North Dakota		Office Telephone.	Personal service, except ticket sellers and ushers. Manufacturing—book-binding and job press feeding. Mercantile.		Student nurse.	Personal service—ticket sellers and ushers.	
Washington						Public housekeeping—adults.	Public housekeeping (minors) — periodic raises until minimum or eighteenth birthday is reached.
Wisconsin	Tobacco stripping—adults and minors over 17 years. Beauty parlor—adults and minors over 17 years.					Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning. Pea canning.	

## 1921

State	2 weeks	3 months	6 months	9 months	1 year	None	Irregular
California	Fruit and vegetable canning: Piece workers— Labelers—16 years and over. Time workers.					Fruit and vegetable canning: Piece workers— Preparers and canners. Labelers—under 16 years.	
District of Columbia			Laundry.				
Massachusetts		Minor lines of confectionery — 16 years and over.		Minor lines of confectionery—under 16 years.*		Building cleaners.	
Minnesota			Any—adults.	Any—minors.			
Texas					All.		
Washington						Public housekeeping—adults. Laundry—adults. Telephones and telegraph—adults. Mercantile—adults. Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning. Pea canning.	Public housekeeping (minors)—periodic raises until minimum or eighteenth birthday is reached.
Wisconsin			All—16 years and over.		All—14 and 15 years.*		

\* See note on p. 202.

† Minors under 16 may not be employed in any tobacco warehouse, cigar or other factory where tobacco is manufactured or prepared.—Wisconsin Statutes, 1923, Section 103.05, sub-sec. 3, paragraph C, item 20, p. 1107.

TABLE 42.—Length of service required before experienced rate must be paid, by State and year—Continued

1922.

State	1 week	4 weeks	4 months	5 months	6 months	8 months
Arkansas					Mercantile (Fort Smith, Little Rock). Needle trades. Laundry. Manufacturing, except millinery and dressmaking. Mercantile—under 16 years.	
California						
Kansas						
Massachusetts				Laundry—adults.	Manufacturing (adults)—Schedule C (24 weeks).	Manufacturing (adults)—Schedule B.
North Dakota			Public housekeeping—adults	Laundry—adults.		
Oregon	Canning.					
Washington		Manufacturing (adults)—Schedule E.	Manufacturing (adults)—Schedule D.			
State	9 months	1 year	1 year and 6 months	None	Irregular	
Kansas		Manufacturing: Millinery and dressmaking. Mercantile—16 years and over.				
Massachusetts		Paper box. Muslin underwear. Men's furnishings. Retail store—18 years and over.	Women's clothing—18 years and over.	Women's clothing—under 18 years.* Retail store—under 18 years.*		
North Dakota	Manufacturing—candy and biscuit. Telephone	Manufacturing—bookbinding and job press feeding. Mercantile.				
Washington		Manufacturing (adults)—Schedule A.			All other than public housekeeping (minors) <sup>1</sup> —periodic raises until minimum or eighteenth birthday is reached.	
Wisconsin				Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning. Pea canning.		

1923

State	1 week	2 weeks	3 weeks	4 weeks	3 months
California.....	Fish canning, other than fancy packers.	Fruit and vegetable canning—time workers. Fruit and vegetable packing: Green fruit and vegetable packing other than in cherries—workers 18 years and over.	Unclassified..... Nut cracking and sorting—time workers. Elevator operators. Fish canning—fancy packers.	Fruit and vegetable packing, other than green fruit and vegetable packing and citrus packing.	Laundry and dry cleaning. Fruit and vegetable packing—citrus packing.

State	6 months	1 year	2 years	None	Irregular
California.....	Manufacturing.....	Mercantile, except elevator operators—18 years and over.	Mercantile, except elevator operators—under 18 years.	Hotel and restaurant..... Fruit and vegetable canning—piece-workers. Nut cracking and sorting—piece workers.	Fruit and vegetable packing: Green fruit and vegetable packing—cherries, 1 season (18 years and over).
Massachusetts.....		Brush.			
Wisconsin.....				Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning. Pea canning.	

1924

State	6 months	1 year	None
Massachusetts.....	Druggists' preparations—under 18 years.	Druggists' preparations—18 years and over.	
Wisconsin.....			Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning. Pea canning.

1925

State	6 months	2 years	Irregular
Massachusetts.....	Canning and preserving and minor lines of confectionery.	Wholesale and retail millinery (nonseasonal).....	Wholesale and retail millinery—4 seasons of 16 weeks each, including 2 spring and 2 fall seasons.
Wisconsin.....	Bread and bakery products.		

\* See note on p. 202.

† Two identical decrees in the same year.

TABLE 42.—Length of service required before experienced rate must be paid, by State and year—Continued

1926

State	1 year	None	
Massachusetts	Stationery goods. Candy.		
Wisconsin		Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning, Pea canning.	

1927

State	6 months	1 year	None
Massachusetts	Jewelry—20 years and over	Toys and games 18 years and over. Under 16 years.*	Jewelry—under 20 years.* Toys and games—16 and 17 years.*
Wisconsin			Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning. Pea canning.

\* In all the occupations or industries marked with an asterisk the minors within the indicated age limits never can receive the rate paid adult experienced women, but must receive a specified rate below the experienced rate until they become old enough to be classed as adults. In some cases where the length of experience required of adults and minors is the same, certain groups of minors who never can receive the adult experienced rate, no matter what their experience, do not appear separately. This is the case in the following: California, unclassified occupation (under 18 years), 1919 and 1920. Kansas, manufacturing (under 16 years), 1922. Massachusetts, wholesale millinery (under 18 years), 1919; paper box (under 18 years), 1922; muslin underwear (under 16 years), 1922; men's furnishings (under 16 years), 1922; wholesale and retail millinery (under 19 years), 1925. Wisconsin all (16 and 17 years), 1921.

The outstanding fact in this table is that the decrees seemed never to set the same length of experience twice. The great diversity in the length of experience required shows clearly how small was the scientific basis for setting a learning period and how important was the spirit of compromise. It has been pointed out previously that, particularly in manufacturing, a really scientific learning period could be set only for such small and specialized occupational groups that the administration of such rates became almost impossible. In the table just presented the length of experience for decrees covering all manufacturing or specialized branches of manufacturing runs from four weeks to a year and a half. Both the longest and shortest periods are for specialized branches. Manifestly there has been an effort in all the States to meet the question of the varied requirements in different manufacturing occupations, but there has been no established principle of procedure. There is no uniformity from State to State, either for all manufacturing or for identical branches. For example, the decrees for all manufacturing require in Kansas and California six months of experience and in Oregon one year, but paper box requires in Washington, 1914, six months of experience, in Massachusetts, 1920, nine months, and in Massachusetts, 1922, one year. Candy in North Dakota in 1920 requires a three-months' learning period; candy, except chocolate dipping, in Washington, 1914, requires six months, while chocolate dipping requires one year; in Washington, 1918, chocolate dipping requires six months. In 1922 North Dakota increases the time required for candy to nine months. Massachusetts in 1920 set 67 weeks of actual work out of 78 weeks as the learning period for candy. In canning, in California, Wisconsin, and Oregon, almost all the decrees require no learning period for at least some occupations. Most of those that require a learning period specify from one to four weeks, and two Wisconsin decrees require one season. Massachusetts, on the other hand, required in 1919 a year of experience and in 1925 six months. The greatest number of manufacturing decrees that have required the same length of experience have specified one year. This occurs 21 times out of the 63 in which a learning period is set. Moreover, these 21 cases all affect adult women, while 10 of the total 63 affect minors only. When one year is set as the necessary length of experience in such diverse decrees as "any occupation," Oregon, 1916, 1918, and 1919; millinery and dressmaking, Kansas, 1922; book binding and job-press feeding, North Dakota, 1922; brush occupation, Massachusetts, 1914 and 1922, etc., and when every one of these groups is given a different length of experience in some other State or at some other date, the lack of any uniform basis for these decisions becomes apparent.

The complexity of the manufacturing industry made this by far the most difficult to handle when the length of the learning period was set, but even in less complicated industries, such as laundries and mercantile establishments, wide differences occur. When all ages are considered, the mercantile decrees actually require from no learning period at all up to three years. For adults they require from no learning period at all to a year and a half. One year is again the most common term. Laundry decrees require from no learning

period at all to a year and three months, with six months as the most common learning period. Hotel and restaurant decrees and office decrees show equally many variations.

There are many extenuating circumstances as far as the confusion existing in the length of the learning period is concerned. Undoubtedly it is true that no differences of geographical location could be influential in the matter of how long it took a woman on a particular job to become experienced. Differences in plant management, which undoubtedly had some influence, could not be taken into consideration by the commissions in setting a state-wide rate. Minute subdivision of jobs was equally impractical. Moreover, even if it had been possible to set the length of experience for each operation, there is room for honest difference of opinion as to how long it might take a woman to learn a specific thing such as candy dipping. Due to the differences in human beings, no one can prove his point, any more than anyone can prove what it costs a woman to support herself. These learning periods had to be decided by compromise. Probably greater knowledge of what other commissions and wage boards were doing—an interchange of any knowledge, experience, or even theories—would have been highly desirable.

It is also worth considering whether this whole elaborate concern with apprentices was not based on a false theory. To serve an apprenticeship of any length presupposes that the worker graduates from this service a skilled person able to command pay above the average. Minimum-wage laws were not created to take care of such cases. Their purpose was to provide a living wage for those women doing work in which little or no skill was required, who, though they worked faithfully, could not command much money, simply because they were so easily replaced. It is true that even on the least skilled jobs a woman with some experience is worth more than a person who sees the inside of a workshop for the first time. The minimum-wage laws were right in providing that some concessions should be made to an employer who took on a perfectly green girl. The question arises, though, as to whether the commissions did not go astray when they interpreted minimum-wage apprenticeship to mean such a long learning period that it should produce not a minimum worker, not an experienced worker, but a trained worker. When it is remembered that few clear definitions exist as to where the learning period should be served, and that practical considerations of enforcement made it almost impossible to be sure that every woman got credit for all her experience if she changed from one establishment to another, the argument for a short learning period in every industry is strengthened. Every employer might be allowed a few weeks to see whether or not he wanted to keep a woman; to see whether, when she became adjusted to her surroundings in his particular establishment, she was worth the subsistence minimum. If she had the makings of a skilled worker, if the employer had use for her on a skilled job, this training should come after she obtained the subsistence level, or some scheme should be worked out like the Wisconsin apprenticeship rules for minors where a woman learning a recognized skilled trade should be, as far as minimum wage is concerned, in a special category during her apprenticeship at this trade. In practice, with the modern sub-

division of industry, with the passing of the all-around trained worker, with the knowledge that the great bulk of woman workers are on unskilled or semi-skilled jobs, there would seem to be no real hardship in applying to all women the theory that minimum-wage apprenticeship meant only enough time to enable the employer to judge whether a green girl was worth the minimum to him.

**Rates for women and minors entering industry.**

Since most of the decrees have provided for women and minors working as learners over a considerable period of time, the rates that they must be paid during this time are of real importance. The decrees set a rate for women entering industry and usually provide for periodic increases in this rate, based on length of service, until the experienced rate is reached. The table following compares the entering rate with the experienced rate:

TABLE 43.—Rates at which learners or apprentices enter employment and rate for experienced worker (in italics), by State and year

[Where there is an experienced rate in this table but no corresponding inexperienced rate, no learning period is required and the worker entering industry receives the same rate as the experienced worker]

1913						
State	\$6 and under \$7		\$8 and under \$9		\$9 and under \$10	
Oregon.....	<i>Any—16 and 17 years</i> <sup>1</sup> .....		<i>Manufacturing—18 years and over</i> <sup>2</sup> .....		<i>Mercantile—18 years and over.</i> <sup>3</sup>	
1914						
State	\$1 and under \$2	\$2 and under \$3	\$3 and under \$4	\$4 and under \$5	\$5 and under \$6	\$6 and under \$7
Massachusetts.....					Brush. <sup>1</sup>	
Oregon.....						<i>Any.</i>
Washington.....	<i>Mercantile—manicuring and hair-dressing.</i>	<i>Mercantile—manicuring.</i>	<i>Mercantile—millinery and dress-making. Manufacturing—photography.</i>	<i>Manufacturing—hair.</i>		<i>Mercantile—salesmanship; florist. Manufacturing—engraving and hand embossing; bindery; pie; berry box; brush; tailoring; alteration and furrier; bag sewing; cap, pennant, and glove; broom, tent, and awning; mattress; candy; clipping, turning, folding, feeding, and packing of bags; paper box (except berry box); binding (folding and gathering). Laundry and dye works. Telephone and telegraph.<sup>4</sup> Mercantile—minors. Manufacturing—minors. Laundry—minors. Telephone and telegraph—minors.</i>
State	\$7 and under \$8	\$8 and under \$9	\$9 and under \$10	\$10 and under \$11	Piece rate (no minimum guaranteed)	
Massachusetts.....		<i>Brush.<sup>1</sup></i>				
Minnesota.....		<i>Manufacturing, etc.<sup>2</sup> Mercantile (outside cities of first class).<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>Mercantile, etc. (in cities of first class).<sup>3</sup></i>			
Oregon.....		<i>Any.</i>	<i>Office—18 years and over.<sup>5</sup> Laundry—adults.</i>			
Washington.....	<i>Mercantile—ice cream Manufacturing—cord repairing.</i>	<i>Manufacturing—adults.</i>	<i>Telephone and telegraph—adults.</i>	<i>Mercantile—adults.</i>		<i>Manufacturing (adults)—garment.</i>



1915

State	\$5 and under \$6	\$6 and under \$7	\$7 and under \$8	\$8 and under \$9	\$9 and under \$10	\$10 and under \$11
Massachusetts. Washington.....	Telephone—night operators. <sup>1</sup>	Laundry. Telephone—day operators. <sup>1</sup> Office—under 18 years.	Hotel and restaurant—minors. Office—16 and 17 years. Office—adults: General.	Laundry. Office—adults: Stenography and bookkeeping. Telephone—day operators. <sup>1</sup>	Hotel and restaurant—adults.	Office—adults.

1916

State	\$5 and under \$6	\$6 and under \$7	\$7 and under \$8	\$8 and under \$9	\$9 and under \$10	Specified piece rate or hourly rate (can not be reduced to weekly basis)	Piece rate (no minimum guaranteed)	
California.....						Fruit and vegetable canning—time workers, \$0.13 per hour. Fruit and vegetable canning—time workers, \$0.16 per hour.	Fruit and vegetable canning—piece workers.	
Massachusetts..	Retail store—under 17 years.	Retail store—17 years.....	Retail store—18 years and over.	Retail store—18 years and over.				
Oregon.....		Mercantile—18 years and over. Manufacturing—18 years and over. Personal service—18 years and over. Laundry—18 years and over. Telephone and telegraph—18 years and over. Office—18 years and over. Public housekeeping—18 years and over. Any—16 and 17 years. <sup>1</sup>		Mercantile—18 years and over (State outside Portland). Manufacturing—18 years and over. Personal service—18 years and over. Laundry—18 years and over. Telephone and telegraph—18 years and over. Office—18 years and over (State outside Portland). Public housekeeping—18 years and over.	Mercantile—18 years and over (Portland). Office—18 years and over (Portland).			

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TABLE 43.—Rates at which learners or apprentices enter employment and rate for experienced worker (in italics), by State and year—Contd. 1917

State	\$6 and under \$7	\$7 and under \$8	\$8 and under \$9	\$10 and under \$11	Specified piece rate or hourly rate (can not be reduced to weekly basis)	Piece rate (no minimum guaranteed)
California.....	Mercantile -- under 18 years.		Mercantile..... 18 years and over. <i>Under 18 years.</i>	<i>Mercantile—18 years and over.</i>	Fruit and vegetable canning—time workers: \$0.13 per hour. \$0.16 per hour.	<i>Fruit and vegetable canning — piece workers.</i>
Massachusetts..	<i>Women's clothing—under 18 years.</i>	Women's clothing—18 years and over.	<i>Women's clothing—18 years and over.</i>			
Oregon.....					Canning: \$0.13 per hour. \$0.16 per hour.	
Washington.....	<i>All, except hotel and restaurant—under 16 years.</i>	<i>Hotel and restaurant—under 16 years.</i> All, except hotel and restaurant—16 and 17 years. <sup>a</sup>	<i>Hotel and restaurant—16 and 17 years.</i>			
Wisconsin.....					<i>Pea canning—\$0.16 per hour.</i>	

1918

State	\$3 and under \$4	\$4 and under \$5	\$5 and under \$6	\$6 and under \$7	\$7 and under \$8	\$8 and under \$9
California.....					Office—under 18 years..... Unclassified: 18 years and over. <i>Under 18 years.</i>	Laundry and dry cleaning. Fruit and vegetable packing. Office—18 years and over. <i>Mercantile—all other.</i>
Kansas.....			Mercantile—cash and bundle girls (minors).	Mercantile—all other. Laundry. Telephone. <i>Mercantile—cash and bundle girls (minors).</i>	<i>Telephone—places of less than 5,000 population.</i>	Laundry. <i>Telephone—places of from 5,000 to 20,000 population.</i>
Massachusetts..	Retail millinery.....	<i>Retail millinery—under 18 years.</i>		Muslin underwear..... 18 years and over. <i>Under 18 years.</i>	<i>Men's clothing—under 18 years.</i> <i>Retail millinery—18 years.</i>	
Minnesota.....				Any. <sup>b</sup>		<i>All occupations not covered in 1914.</i>
Oregon.....			<i>Any—14 years.</i>	<i>Any—15 years.</i>	Mercantile—18 years and over. Manufacturing—18 years and over. Personal service—18 years and over. Laundry—18 years and over. Telephone and telegraph—18 years and over. Office—18 years and over. Public housekeeping—18 years and over. Any—16 and 17 years.	

State	\$9 and under \$10	\$10 and under \$11	\$11 and under \$12	\$13 and under \$14	Specified piece rate or hourly rate (can not be reduced to weekly basis)	Piece rate (no minimum guaranteed)
California.....	<i>Unclassified—18 years and over.</i>	<i>Fish canning..... Laundry and dry cleaning. Fruit and vegetable packing. Offices.</i>			<i>Fruit and vegetable canning: Time workers—18 years and over, \$0.16 per hour. Piece workers—18 years and over, \$0.16 per hour. Fruit and vegetable canning: Time workers—18 years and over, \$0.20 per hour. Under 18 years, \$0.16 per hour. Piece workers, 18 years and over— Canners and labelers, \$0.20 per hour.</i>	<i>Fruit and vegetable canning: Piece workers, 18 years and over— Preparers. Piece workers— under 18 years.</i>
Kansas.....	<i>Telephone—places of over 20,000 population.</i>					
Massachusetts.....	<i>Men's clothing—18 years and over. Men's furnishings. Men's underwear—18 years and over.</i>	<i>Retail millinery—19 years and over.</i>				<i>Men's clothing. Men's furnishings.</i>
Oregon.....			<i>Mercantile—18 years and over. Manufacturing—18 years and over. Personal service—18 years and over. Laundry—18 years and over. Telephone and telegraph—18 years and over. Office—18 years and over. Public housekeeping—18 years and over. Any—16 and 17 years.</i>			
Washington.....	<i>Mercantile—adults. Manufacturing—adults (except garment). Laundry—adults. Telephone and telegraph—adults. Office—adults. All—minors.</i>			<i>All</i>		<i>Manufacturing (adults)— garment.</i>
Wisconsin.....					<i>Pea canning: \$0.16 per hour. \$0.18 per hour.</i>	

Footnotes on p. 219.

TABLE 43.—Rates at which learners or apprentices enter employment and rate for experienced worker (in italics), by State and year—Contd. 1919

State	\$6 and under \$7	\$7 and under \$8	\$8 and under \$9	\$9 and under \$10	\$10 and under \$11	\$11 and under \$12	\$12 and under \$13
California		Manufacturing— under 18 years. <sup>10</sup>	Manufacturing—18 years and over. <sup>10</sup> Mercantile—under 18 years. Unclassified—under 18 years.	Mercantile—18 and 19 years. Office—under 18 years.	Mercantile—20 years and over. Laundry and dry cleaning. Office—18 years and over. Unclassified—18 years and over. Manufacturing. <sup>10</sup> Unclassified—under 18 years.		
District of Columbia.	Manufacturing— millinery apprentices. <sup>11</sup>		Printing and publish- ing.	Manufacturing, except millinery—under 18 years. <sup>11</sup>	Manufacturing, except millinery—18 years and over. <sup>11</sup> Mercantile—under 18 years.		Mercantile—18 years and over.
Kansas		Manufacturing				Manufacturing. Wholesale millinery— 18 years and over.	
Massachusetts	Wholesale millinery.		Canning and preserv- ing—18 years and over. Canning and preserv- ing—under 18 years.	Wholesale millinery—under 18 years.		Canning and preserv- ing—18 years and over.	
Minnesota	Any (in places of less than 5,000 population)— minors.	Any (in cities of 5,000 or more popu- lation)—minors. Any (in places of less than 5,000 popu- lation)—18 years and over.	Any (in cities of 5,000 or more population)— 18 years and over.		Any (in places of less than 5,000 popula- tion).	Any (in places of 5,000 or more popu- lation).	
Oregon	Any—14 years.	Any—16 years.	Any—16 and 17 years.	Mercantile—18 years and over. Manufacturing—18 years and over. Personal service—18 years and over. Laundry—18 years and over. Telephone and telegraph— 18 years and over. Office—18 years and over. Public housekeeping—18 years and over.			
Washington				Mercantile—adults. Manufacturing, except garment making.			

State	\$13 and under \$14	\$14 and under \$15	\$15 and under \$16	\$16 and under \$17	Specified piece rate or hourly rate (can not be reduced to weekly basis)	Piece rate (no minimum guaranteed)	Rate not specified.
Wisconsin				Office (adults)—doctors' and dentists' workers; toll, bill, and addressograph clerks; adding-machine operators; cashiers in motion-picture theaters. Transient milliners—adults. All—14 and 15 years. <sup>1</sup> All. <sup>1</sup>			All—16 years. <sup>1</sup> All—17 years and over. <sup>1</sup>
California	Fruit and vegetable canning—time workers. Mercantile. Fish canning. Laundry and dry cleaning. Fruit and vegetable packing. Hotel and restaurant. Office. Unclassified—18 years and over. Manufacturing. <sup>1</sup>				Fruit and vegetable canning: Time workers—under 18 years, \$0.18 per hour; 18 years and over, \$0.21 per hour. Piece workers—Canners and labelers, 18 years and over, \$0.21 per hour. Preparers, \$0.28 per hour. Fruit and vegetable canning: Piece workers, except canners and labelers under 18 years—\$0.88 per hour.	Fruit and vegetable canning: Piece workers—canners and labelers under 18 years.	
District of Columbia.			Printing and publishing.	Mercantile.			
Massachusetts		Building cleaners—day work. <sup>1</sup>		Building cleaners—night work. <sup>1</sup>			
Oregon	Mercantile—18 years and over. Manufacturing—18 years and over. Personal service—18 years and over. Laundry—18 years and over. Telephone and telegraph—18 years and over. Office—18 years and over. Public housekeeping—18 years and over. Any—16 and 17 years.				Canning: \$0.22 per hour. \$0.27½ per hour.		
Washington						Manufacturing, (adults)—garment making.	Telephone.
Wisconsin					Pea canning: \$0.18 per hour. \$0.22 per hour.		

Footnotes on p. 210.

TABLE 43.—Rates at which learners or apprentices enter employment and rate for experienced worker (*in italics*), by State and year—Contd.  
1920

State	\$7 and under \$8	\$8 and under \$9	\$9 and under \$10	\$10 and under \$11	\$11 and under \$12	\$12 and under \$13	\$13 and under \$14
Arkansas					Mercantile (Fort Smith).		<i>Mercantile (Fort Smith).</i>
California		Mercantile—Millinery apprentices.		Mercantile, except millinery—under 18 years. Fruit and vegetable packing—time workers, under 18 years. Office—under 18 years. Unclassified—under 18 years. Manufacturing—under 18 years. Fruit and vegetable canning—time workers, under 18 years.		Mercantile, except millinery—18 years and over. Fish canning. Laundry and dry cleaning. Fruit and vegetable packing—time and piece workers, 18 years and over. Office—18 years and over. Unclassified—18 years and over. Manufacturing—18 years and over. Fruit and vegetable canning—time workers, 18 years and over. <i>Unclassified—under 18 years.</i>	
Kansas	Manufacturing.				<i>Manufacturing.</i>		
Massachusetts	Men's clothing and raincoat.	Candy. Knit goods. <i>Corset—under 17 years.</i>	Paper box—under 16 years.	Corset—17 years and over. <i>Women's clothing—under 18 years.</i>	Paper box—16 years and over.	Women's clothing—18 years and over. <i>Candy.</i>	<i>Corset—17 years and over.</i> <i>Knit goods.</i>
North Dakota <sup>11</sup>						Manufacturing. Laundry. Mercantile. Telephone.	Public housekeeping—chambermaids and kitchen help. Personal service—manicuring, hairdressing, barbering, etc.
Washington						Public housekeeping—minors. <i>Tobacco stripping—17 years and over.<sup>1 12</sup></i> <i>Beauty parlor—17 years and over.<sup>1</sup></i>	
Wisconsin			<i>Beauty parlor—14 and 16 years.<sup>1</sup></i> <i>Tobacco stripping—16 years and over.<sup>1 12</sup></i>		<i>Tobacco stripping—16 years.<sup>1 12</sup></i> <i>Beauty parlor—16 years.<sup>1</sup></i>		

State	\$14 and under \$15	\$15 and under \$16	\$16 and under \$17	\$17 and under \$18	\$18 and under \$19	\$20 and under \$21	Specified piece rate or hourly rate (can not be reduced to weekly basis)	Rate not specified	Piece rate (no minimum guaranteed)
California			<p>Fruit and vegetable canning—time workers.</p> <p>Mercantile.</p> <p>Fish canning.</p> <p>Laundry and dry cleaning.</p> <p>Fruit and vegetable packing:</p> <p>Time workers—all.</p> <p>Piece workers—18 years and over.</p> <p>Office.</p> <p>Unclassified—18 years and over.</p> <p>Manufacturing.</p> <p>Hotel and restaurant.</p> <p>Agricultural, other than cutting and pitting of fruit for drying—18 years and over (time and piece workers).</p> <p>Hotel and restaurant.</p>				<p>Fruit and vegetable canning:</p> <p>Piece workers—</p> <p>Canners and labelers, 16 years and over, \$0.25 per hour.</p> <p>Preparers, \$0.33½ per hour.</p> <p>Fruit and vegetable canning:</p> <p>Piece workers—</p> <p>All except canners and labelers under 16 years, \$0.55½ per hour.</p>		<p>Fruit and vegetable canning:</p> <p>Piece workers—</p> <p>Canners and labelers under 16 years.</p>
District of Columbia.									
Massachusetts		Men's clothing. Women's clothing—18 years and over. Paper box.							
North Dakota	Public housekeeping—waitresses and counter girls. Office.		Public housekeeping—chambermaids and kitchen help. Manufacturing. Laundry. Telephone.	Mercantile. Personal service. Public housekeeping—waitresses and counter girls.		Office.			
Washington					Public housekeeping.				
Wisconsin							Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning—\$0.22 per hour. Pee canning—\$0.22 per hour.	Beauty parlor.	

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TABLE 43.—Rates at which learners or apprentices enter employment and rate for experienced worker (in italics), by State and year—Contd.

1921

State	\$6 and under \$7	\$7 and under \$8	\$8 and under \$9	\$9 and under \$10	\$10 and under \$11	\$11 and under \$12
California.....						
District of Columbia.....						
Massachusetts.....			Minor lines of confectionery—under 16 years.	Laundry. <i>Minor lines of confectionery—under 16 years.</i>	Fruit and vegetable canning—time workers under 18 years.	
Minnesota.....	Any (in places of less than 5,000 population)—minors.	Any (in cities of 5,000 or more population)—minors. Any (in places of less than 5,000 population)—adult women and male minors 18 or over.		Any (in cities of 5,000 or more population)—adult women and male minors 18 or over.	Minor lines of confectionery—16 years and over. <i>Any (in places of less than 5,000 population).</i>	
Texas.....			All. <sup>1</sup>			
Wisconsin.....			All (except pea, cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning). <sup>1</sup>			All—under 17 years. <sup>1</sup>

State	\$12 and under \$13	\$13 and under \$14	\$14 and under \$15	\$15 and under \$16	\$16 and under \$17	Specified piece rate or hourly rate (can not be reduced to weekly basis)	Piece rate (no minimum guaranteed)
California.....	Fruit and vegetable canning—time workers, 18 years and over.						
District of Columbia.....							
Massachusetts.....							
Minnesota.....	<i>Minor lines of confectionery—16 years and over.</i> Any (in places of 5,000 or more population).						
Texas.....	All.						



Washington.....	Public housekeeping—minors.	Laundry and dye works. Telephone and telegraph. Mercantile.	Public housekeeping.			
Wisconsin.....	All (in places of less than 5,000 population)—17 years and over. <sup>1</sup>	All (in cities of 5,000 or more population)—17 years and over. <sup>1</sup>				Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning: In places of 5,000 or more population—\$0.22 to \$0.26 per hour. <sup>1</sup> In places of less than 5,000 population—\$0.22 per hour. Pea canning—\$0.22 per hour.

1922

State	\$6 and under \$7	\$7 and under \$8	\$8 and under \$9	\$9 and under \$10	\$10 and under \$11	\$11 and under \$12
Arkansas.....						
California.....					Mercantile (Fort Smith and Little Rock). Needle trades—time-workers.	Mercantile (Fort Smith and Little Rock).
Kansas.....	Manufacturing—millinery and dressmaking and piece workers. Mercantile—under 18 years.	Laundry. Manufacturing—except millinery and dressmaking and piece workers. Mercantile—18 years and over.		Manufacturing—under 16 years. Mercantile—under 16 years.		Laundry. Manufacturing—16 years and over.
Massachusetts.....		Muslin underwear—under 16 years.	Paper box—under 18 years. Muslin underwear—16 years and over. Men's furnishings—under 16 years.	Men's furnishings—16 years and over. Women's clothing—under 18 years.	Paper box—18 years and over. Retail store—under 18 years.	Women's clothing—18 years and over. Laundry.
North Dakota.....				Manufacturing—adults. Mercantile—adults. Telephone—adults (in places of less than 1,800 population).	Telephone—adults (in places of 1,800 or more population).	Public housekeeping—adults. Laundry—adults.
Washington.....				Manufacturing—adults. All except public housekeeping—minors. All except public housekeeping—minors.		

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TABLE 43.—Rates at which learners or apprentices enter employment and rate for experienced worker (*in italics*), by State and year—Contd. 1922—Continued

State	\$12 and under \$13	\$13 and under \$14	\$14 and under \$15	\$15 and under \$16	Specified piece rate or hourly rate (can not be reduced to weekly basis)	Piece rate (no minimum guaranteed)
California				Needle trades		Needle trades—piece workers.
Massachusetts	Retail store—18 years and over. <i>Paper box—under 18 years.</i> <i>Muslim underwear—under 16 years.</i> <i>Men's furnishings—under 16 years.</i>	<i>Paper box—18 years and over.</i> <i>Muslim underwear—16 years and over.</i> <i>Men's furnishings—16 years and over.</i> <i>Laundry.</i>	<i>Women's clothing—18 years and over.</i> <i>Retail store—18 years and over.</i>			
North Dakota	<i>Telephone—adults (in places of less than 1,800 population).</i>		<i>Manufacturing—adults.</i> <i>Public housekeeping—adults.</i> <i>Mercantile—adults.</i> <i>Laundry—adults.</i> <i>Telephone—adults (in places of 1,800 or more population).</i>			
Oregon					Canning: \$0.22 per hour. \$0.27½ per hour.	
Washington		<i>Manufacturing—adults.</i> <i>All, except public housekeeping—minors.</i>				
Wisconsin					<i>Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning:</i> <i>In cities of 5,000 or more population, \$0.26 per hour.</i> <i>In places of less than 5,000 population, \$0.28 per hour.</i> <i>Pes canning:</i> <i>In cities of 5,000 or more population, \$0.26 per hour.</i> <i>In places of less than 5,000 population, \$0.28 per hour.</i>	

1923

State	\$9 and under \$10	\$10 and under \$11	\$12 and under \$13	\$13 and under \$14	\$14 and under \$15	\$16 and under \$17	Specified piece rate or hourly rate (can not be reduced to weekly basis)	Piece rate (no minimum guaranteed)
California.....	Manufacturing.	Mercantile, except elevator operators—under 18 years. Unclassified—under 18 years.	Mercantile, including all elevator operators—18 years and over. Unclassified—18 years and over.	-----	Laundry and dry cleaning.	Mercantile.... Laundry and dry cleaning. Unclassified. Manufacturing. Hotel and restaurant.	Fruit and vegetable canning: Time workers, \$0.25 per hour. Fruit and vegetable canning: Time workers. Piece workers—18 years and over, \$0.53½ per hour. Fish canning: \$0.23 per hour. \$0.33½ per hour. Fruit and vegetable packing: \$0.25 per hour. \$0.33½ per hour. Nut cracking and sorting: \$0.25 per hour. \$0.53½ per hour.	Fruit and vegetable canning: Piece workers under 18 years.
Massachusetts	Brush.	-----	-----	Brush.	-----	-----	Cherry, corn, bean, and tomato canning: In cities of 5,000 or more population, \$0.25 per hour. In places of less than 5,000 population, \$0.22 per hour. Pea canning: In cities of 5,000 or more population, \$0.25 per hour. In places of less than 5,000 population, \$0.22 per hour.	
Wisconsin	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----		

1924.

State	\$9 and under \$10	\$10 and under \$11	\$11 and under \$12	\$13 and under \$14	Specified piece rate or hourly rate (can not be reduced to weekly basis)
Massachusetts...	Druggists' preparations....	Druggists' preparations—under 18 years.....	-----	Druggists' preparations—18 years and over.....	
Wisconsin.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning: In cities of 5,000 or more population, \$0.25 per hour. In places of less than 5,000 population, \$0.22 per hour. Pea canning: In cities of 5,000 or more population, \$0.25 per hour. In places of less than 5,000 population, \$0.22 per hour.

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TABLE 43.—Rates at which learners or apprentices enter employment and rate for experienced worker (in italics), by State and year—Contd.  
1925

State	\$6 and under \$7	\$8 and under \$9	\$9 and under \$10	\$10 and under \$11	\$11 and under \$12	\$12 and under \$13	\$18 and under \$14	Specified piece rate or hourly rate (can not be reduced to weekly basis)
Massachusetts	Millinery occupation.	Canning and preserving and minor lines of confectionery—under 16 years.	Bread and bakery products—under 16 years. <i>Canning, preserving, and minor lines of confectionery—under 16 years.</i>	Canning, preserving, and minor lines of confectionery—16 and 17 years.	Bread and bakery products—16 years and over. <i>Canning, preserving, and minor lines of confectionery—16 and 17 years.</i>	Canning, preserving, and minor lines of confectionery—18 years and over. <i>Millinery—under 19 years.</i>	<i>Canning, preserving, and minor lines of confectionery—18 years and over.</i> <i>Millinery—19 years and over.</i> <i>Bread and bakery products.</i>	<p><i>Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning:</i>  <i>In cities of 5,000 or more population, \$0.25 per hour.</i>  <i>In places of less than 5,000 population, \$0.22 per hour.</i>  <i>Pea canning:</i>  <i>In cities of 5,000 or more population, \$0.25 per hour.</i>  <i>In places of less than 5,000 population, \$0.22 per hour.</i></p>
Wisconsin								

1926

State	\$9 and under \$10	\$11 and under \$12	\$12 and under \$13	\$13 and under \$14	Specified piece rate or hourly rate (can not be reduced to weekly basis)
Massachusetts	Stationery goods—under 16 years. Candy.	Stationery goods—16 years and over.	<i>Stationery goods—under 18 years.</i>	<i>Stationery goods—18 years and over.</i> Candy.	<p><i>Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning:</i>  <i>In cities of 5,000 or more population, \$0.25 per hour.</i>  <i>In places of less than 5,000 population, \$0.22 per hour.</i></p>
Wisconsin					

1927					
State	\$10 and under \$11	\$12 and under \$13	\$13 and under \$14	\$14 and under \$15	Specified piece rate or hourly rate (can not be reduced to weekly basis)
Massachusetts	Toys and games—under 16 years.	Jewelry Toys and games: 18 years and over. Under 18 years.	Toys and games—18 years and over.	Jewelry	
Wisconsin					<i>Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning:</i> <i>In cities of 5,000 or more population, \$0.25 per hour.</i> <i>In places of less than 5,000 population, \$0.22 per hour.</i> <i>Pea canning:</i> <i>In cities of 5,000 or more population, \$0.25 per hour.</i> <i>In places of less than 5,000 population, \$0.22 per hour.</i>

<sup>1</sup> Rates set in decree reduced to weekly basis.

<sup>2</sup> Commission could set a special rate for a learner or apprentice.

<sup>3</sup> Apprentice rates were not set until 1914.

<sup>4</sup> For farmers' lines the commission may grant special apprenticeship permits with reference to existing conditions.

<sup>5</sup> Apprentice rates were not set until 1918.

<sup>6</sup> Apprentice rates were set later in 1914. See "any."

<sup>7</sup> Experienced 1914 rates modified for rural communities and small towns. Commission may decide which of these rates shall apply in a given community

<sup>8</sup> For experienced rates see rates for adults in 1914.

<sup>9</sup> For some experienced rates see 1914.

<sup>10</sup> Issued early in year and later revised to agree with other rates. (See note 11.)

<sup>11</sup> Revision of rates set earlier in year. (See note 10.)

<sup>12</sup> Bureau may issue special permits to minor apprentices to work for lower rates. Rates also set for student nurses—\$4 per month the first year, \$6 per month the second year, \$8 per month the third year.

<sup>13</sup> Minors under 16 years may not be employed in any tobacco warehouse, cigar or other factory where tobacco is manufactured or prepared. (Wisconsin Statutes, 1923, sec. 103.05, subsection 3, paragraph C, item 20, p. 1107.)

<sup>14</sup> Rate changes Aug. 1.

In an earlier discussion of the rates for experienced women, which the laws specified were to be based on the cost of living, it was pointed out how lacking in uniformity were the rates set by different States in the same year. Since there was no principle expressed in the laws on which to base the entering rate, it followed that there was even greater diversity in any one year than there had been in the case of experienced rates. The real importance of the table just presented is to show this diversity. The rates are so scattered that it is almost impossible to trace any underlying tendencies to explain either changes in the beginning rates or changes in their relation to the experienced rate.

Using the manufacturing decrees as illustrations, the following table shows the adult beginning rates for all cases where manufacturing as a whole or any branch of manufacturing has been the subject of an order.

TABLE 44.—Beginning rates for women in the manufacturing industry and year decree became effective

Rate	1914	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927
\$3 and under \$4...	Washing- ton.			Massa- chusetts.									
\$4 and under \$5...	do.												
\$5 and under \$6...	Massa- chusetts.												
\$6 and under \$7...	Washing- ton.	Oregon.		do.	California. Massa- chusetts.			Kansas.			Massa- chusetts.		
\$7 and under \$8...	do.		Massa- chusetts.	Massa- chusetts (2). Oregon.	Kansas. Massa- chusetts.	Kansas. Massa- chusetts.		do.					
\$8 and under \$9...					California. District of Columbia. Massa- chusetts.	Massa- chusetts (2).		Massa- chusetts.					
\$9 and under \$10...				Washing- ton.	Oregon. Washing- ton.	Wisconsin.		do.	California. Massa- chusetts.	Massa- chusetts.		Massa- chusetts.	
\$10 and under \$11...					California.	Massa- chusetts.	Massa- chusetts.	do.	North Dakota. Washing- ton. California. Massa- chusetts.				
\$11 and under \$12...								do.			Massa- chusetts. do.	Massa- chusetts.	
\$12 and under \$13...						California. Massa- chusetts. North Dakota.							Massa- chusetts (2).

This table shows that in the year 1919, for example, beginning rates ranged from \$6 and under \$7 to \$10 and under \$11. Curiously enough, both the lowest and highest rate were in California. The low rate is for millinery only, the high rate for all other manufacturing. This brings up the point that in many cases the commission has set lower rates for those occupations where the greatest amount of training is necessary for the worker to become proficient. Under the manufacturing decrees this was done for millinery in Kansas, Massachusetts, and California, and for the manufacture of hair goods in Washington. The theory seemed to be that since all the work was so technical, a beginner was worth little or nothing to an employer, and the fear was that new girls would not be hired and trained unless they were allowed to work for an exceedingly low rate. The whole basis apparently was the question of labor value, not the application of the minimum-wage theory of a full day's work being worth enough to enable a woman to support herself. It is further evidence of the confusion existing in the commissioners' minds between sufficient training to enable a woman to earn the experienced minimum rate and sufficient training to enable a woman to become expert in a skilled trade. The diversity can not be wholly explained by such special cases, however, for in 1920, when the rates range from \$7 and under \$8 to \$12 and under \$13, both the lowest rate, in Kansas, and the highest rates, in California and North Dakota, are for all manufacturing.

These rates seem to bear no exact relation to the experienced rates. It would be reasonable for them to show the same upward tendency as the experienced rates from 1914 to 1920, during a time of rising prices, and then be more or less stationary or follow the experienced rates in a slight decline. Instead, although they do rise till the highest beginning rate is found in 1920, the year of highest experienced rate, they immediately begin dropping back again. The experienced rates in Massachusetts and North Dakota show a drop, but those in California and Kansas remain stationary; yet the inexperienced rates in these latter States are lowered from \$2 to \$3 per week.

In the other groups of industries covered by decrees—mercantile establishments, for example—fewer decrees have been issued and not so many States can be compared for any one year, but the tendency still is for inexperienced rates to be scattered. In 1919, for instance, there are four mercantile decrees—in California, the District of Columbia, Oregon, and Washington. The beginning rates run from \$9 and under \$10 to \$12 and under \$13.

If the table is not taken up industry by industry, but instead it is considered that all beginning rates in minimum-wage decrees should run slightly below the experienced rate, and that the experienced rates should all be roughly the same since they must all supply the cost of living, the diversity of this table is amazing. The rates range as follows:



Year	Inexperienced rate	Experienced rate
1913	\$1 and under \$2 to \$7 and under \$8	\$6 and under \$7 to \$9 and under \$10.
1914	\$1 and under \$2 to \$7 and under \$8	\$6 and under \$7 to \$10 and under \$11.
1915	\$6 and under \$7 to \$8 and under \$9	\$5 and under \$6 to \$10 and under \$11.
1916	\$6 and under \$7 to \$7 and under \$8	\$5 and under \$6 to \$9 and under \$10.
1917	\$6 and under \$7 to \$8 and under \$9	\$6 and under \$7 to \$8 and under \$9.
1918	\$3 and under \$4 to \$9 and under \$10	\$4 and under \$5 to \$11 and under \$12.
1919	\$6 and under \$7 to \$12 and under \$13	\$6 and under \$7 to \$16 and under \$17.
1920	\$7 and under \$8 to \$14 and under \$15	\$8 and under \$9 to \$20 and under \$21.
1921	\$6 and under \$7 to \$12 and under \$13	\$9 and under \$10 to \$16 and under \$17.
1922	\$6 and under \$7 to \$12 and under \$13	\$9 and under \$10 to \$15 and under \$16.
1923	\$9 and under \$10 to \$14 and under \$15	\$13 and under \$14 to \$16 and under \$17.
1924	\$9 and under \$10	\$9 and under \$10 to \$13 and under \$14.
1925	\$8 and under \$7 to \$12 and under \$13	\$9 and under \$10 to \$13 and under \$14.
1926	\$8 and under \$9 to \$10 and under \$11	\$12 and under \$13 to \$13 and under \$14.
1927	\$10 and under \$11 to \$11 and under \$12	\$12 and under \$13 to \$14 and under \$15.

The fact that in some cases the experienced rates begin at lower sums than do the inexperienced (1915 and 1916) is due to the special rates that were set for minors. The range in all the other cases is caused by lack of uniformity from State to State within a year and even from decree to decree within a State. In Massachusetts in 1920, for example, the inexperienced rates for adults ran as follows: Men's clothing, \$7 and under \$8; candy and knit goods, \$8 and under \$9; corset, \$10 and under \$11; paper box, \$11 and under \$12; women's clothing, \$12 and under \$13. On the other hand, three of these decrees—men's clothing, women's clothing, and paper box—have experienced rates of \$15 and under \$16. Some States—for instance, California—tried to keep all experienced and all inexperienced rates relatively uniform.

The whole problem of what is a fair beginner's rate is influenced by the length of time a woman or minor must remain at that rate. Once again, it can only be said that no general plan has been followed. (See Appendix C.) Massachusetts goes to the extreme when it requires one and a half years of service at the inexperienced rate and then jumps its workers immediately to the minimum. This occurs in the women's-clothing decrees for 1917, 1920, and 1922. A good many other Massachusetts decrees follow this plan for a one-year's apprenticeship. The decrees having one rate for the entire apprenticeship, particularly if this rate were considerably below the experienced rate, might open to employers the temptation of discharging workers when they had worked long enough to qualify for the minimum, so that these employers need not suddenly pay a considerable increase to workers whom they had grown accustomed to employing at a lower rate. In all the other States no decree provides for more than six months of work without a raise in pay. After three months is the most common time for increases in rates, though a four-month period also is frequently used. Sometimes one decree will combine several time periods. Extreme instances of this are found in two branches of manufacturing as regulated by the Washington apprenticeship circulars. In tailoring pay raises after 1 month, 2 months, and 3 months in a 9 months' total apprenticeship are provided; in garment making changes after 1 month, 3 months, 2 months, and 1 month in a 9 months' apprenticeship are provided. A more common type of irregularity is that found in the mercantile decree of the District of Columbia (1919), where a raise comes after 3 months and again after 4 months of experience.

In the case of the inexperienced rates there have been few attempts to work out a theory as to how frequently a woman worker should

receive increases in pay. As far as the experienced rates were concerned the laws specified that the sum should supply the cost of living. In considering the total length of the learning period, the commissions all tried to go on the principle of allowing a woman to work at a lower rate for such time as would enable her to become a trained worker at her special job. As a usual thing the only theory that controlled beginning rates and frequency of raises was the negative one that if these rates were too far below the experienced rate, and if few or no raises were provided for until the experienced requirements were fulfilled, it might lead to the discharge of workers whose employers were unwilling to meet the sudden increase in the rate for which their minds had received no preparation. Wisconsin in one decree (1921) did increase the amount of the first raise in all industries over that required in the 1919 decree, on the theory that it would give added incentive to the worker to do her best work. It is, however, hard to see what firm basis there is on which these two closely related questions—beginning rates and frequency of raises—could be decided. About all the commissions could do was to watch the rates they had set and try to make intelligent changes if the results of the first rates were not satisfactory. It is true that in practice both questions are enormously important to the workers, since thousands of them work at the lower rates. Is not this lack of any definite plan or aim another illustration of the falsity of the theory that sets such a long learning period that the rate for this period is of vital concern? If learning periods lasted only a few weeks, the whole question of raises within this period could be ignored. The question of the rate still would be important, but not the vital point that it is when dozens of decrees permit women to be paid these lower rates for a year or a year and a half.

#### **Limitation of the number of apprentices.**

Since this whole group is outside the basic theory of a living wage for a full-time job, it is of great importance to determine whether these special rules permit such large numbers of women legally to receive less than a living wage as to affect seriously the purpose of the law. The commissions in most cases have realized that the whole law could be broken down by these exceptions unless one of two things could be done. If the commissions could work out the means for following each individual woman and seeing that she got credit for all previous experience each time she changed her work, these rules would not affect disastrously the enforcement of the cost-of-living minimum rate. The expensive and controversial field opened up by this procedure is enormous. It will be remembered that whether experience must be gained by service in the broad industrial group, in the industrial branch, in the occupation or on the exact process, or in the establishment has never been determined. Nor are there any rules for how much credit shall be given to a woman who has fulfilled some requirements for her apprenticeship. The difficulty of settling each worker's case is such that no commission has been equipped to undertake it. There was, however, a means of bringing this problem within such bounds that a commission might conceivably follow each case. That was to limit the number of apprentices that a firm could employ at any one time. For those workers for whom the firm legally could claim apprenticeship rates, the commis-

sions would undertake the follow-up work necessary to see whether or not the women were truthful in their statements of experience. But of the 12 States that have set any decrees, just half—California, the District of Columbia, Kansas, North Dakota, Washington, and Wisconsin—have limited the number of apprentices.

The following table shows the proportion of apprentices among all workers allowed any one establishment.

TABLE 45.—Proportion of apprentices allowed among the workers in an establishment, by State and year

State and year	17 per cent	20 per cent	25 per cent
1914			
Washington	Salesmanship		Laundry.
1917			
California			Mercantile.
1918			
California			Laundry and office.
Kansas		Mercantile.	
Washington			Any occupation. <sup>1</sup>
1919			
California			Manufacturing (January).
District of Columbia		Printing and publishing.	
Wisconsin			Any occupation.
1920			
North Dakota			Public housekeeping. Personal service. Laundry. Mercantile.
1921			
District of Columbia			Laundry.
Wisconsin			Any occupation.
1922			
Kansas		Mercantile.	
North Dakota			Mercantile. Laundry.
Washington			Manufacturing.
State and year	33¼ per cent	35 per cent	40 per cent
1919			
California	Mercantile. Laundry. Offices. Manufacturing (August).		
1920			
California	Mercantile. Laundry. Office. Manufacturing.		
North Dakota		Telephone	Manufacturing.
1922			
North Dakota			Manufacturing.
1923			
California	Mercantile. Laundry. Manufacturing		

<sup>1</sup>25 per cent minors and apprentices allowed.

Of the 226 decrees, only 34 have included in their provisions a limitation of the number of learners. In the six States that even have considered this problem 121 decrees have been issued, so even these commissions did not always take care of this point. If decrees are to be constructed with elaborate provisions for apprentices, limitation of the number of these workers would seem wise if the law is to be enforced. While from an employer's viewpoint there might be some serious objections, these can be taken care of without invalidating the principle of limitation. The most serious is the question of a new firm or a new process in an old establishment. It may be that, in addition to the impossibility of having any workers with experience under the firm in question, it is not possible to obtain a sufficient number of workers with any experience along the line desired. Another problem is the firm with a rush order, in a rush season, that takes on more new workers than the proportion of learners allowed by law. Any such problem, however, could be met by the decrees providing that the commission could grant exceptions to the rule in cases of proved emergency. This was done in both the North Dakota manufacturing decrees.

If the limitation of numbers provided for this flexibility, the actual percentage allowed need only be such as would take care of routine business. Sixteen decrees in five States have set 25 per cent as the proper proportion. California, which originally set 25 per cent, has allowed 33 $\frac{1}{3}$  per cent in 11 decrees. North Dakota allows as high as 40 per cent apprentices in manufacturing. Just what is a fair limitation is not capable of proof. If the California decrees are not allowed to overbalance the table, it seems accurate to say that in the States where limitation of apprentices has been considered the commissions have been overwhelmingly for 25 per cent as a fair limit.

### Summary.

The whole discussion of the wage-decree treatment of minors and apprentices is a record of confusing diversity. Not only are the States far apart in their treatment of these groups, but decrees within a State provide absolutely different treatment for the same kinds of workers. If apprenticeship or learning period was to be of such length that it formed an important part of a woman's working life under the minimum-wage law, the rules covering this period, if they were to be enforceable—in fact, if they were to be worth enforcing—should have been most carefully thought out and set down in elaborate detail.

The first point to be considered is the confusion on the part of the commissions and wage boards as to how these special groups should be treated. One problem was the actual industrial group for which a rate should be set. If the rules were to be truly scientific, the sweeping way in which one set of rates was set for all apprentices in any industry in a State, or even for all manufacturing, could not be followed. To fail to set specific rules for each small industrial unit was in effect to subscribe to the theory that the apprenticeship provided for in minimum-wage decrees really was what might be called a probation period, to enable a woman to gain enough experience to be worth the minimum wage, and not a period in which to gain sufficient training to become a skilled worker; yet the very

decrees that lumped all workers set long enough periods of apprenticeship and low enough rates to justify the supposition that their purpose was to enable a woman to become really a trained worker. The decisions then with regard to the industrial group a decree should cover, the rates that should be paid that group, and the length of time that must elapse before the group could obtain the cost-of-living minimum were unscientific primarily because the commissions had never clearly defined and announced just what this learning period was to represent. In fact, it represented the best efforts of changing groups of individuals who were relatively uninformed in respect to these technical matters and from whom the employing groups on the commissions and wage boards sought to obtain as great concessions as possible.

Since the theory is confused, naturally the provisions of the decrees are confused. The diverse rates and length of experience in the same industrial group show this. So do the varied industrial groupings. The greatest apparent confusion exists, however, when the decrees have attempted to define where apprenticeship should be served—in the industry, the occupation, the establishment.

Another place in which great confusion exists is the relation of age to experience. Fundamentally this is due to the same lack of a concrete definition of apprenticeship, its aims, and its expected results. In the form of the orders this second problem is more apparent than the first, though it is of less importance. On the surface, one great cause of the confusion in the treatment of learners is the experimental way in which the various States have switched from treating all minors the same, as distinct from adults, to treating all experienced workers the same, regardless of age, and so on. The importance of these conflicting rules and regulations is not alone their effect on the group of workers whose rates they control, but is in what they show of how well or how badly the purposes of the laws have been carried out.

## CHAPTER IX.—REGULATIONS FOR THE APPLICATION OF MINIMUM-WAGE RATES IN PRACTICE

### RELATION OF RATES TO THE NUMBER OF HOURS A WOMAN WORKS

Earlier in this report it has been said that the minimum-wage rate was to supply to the experienced full-time worker the amount necessary for proper living. The specific meaning of the words full time in relation to minimum-wage rates is of tremendous importance, but in many of the decrees it has received either inadequate attention or no attention at all. Every decree that established a minimum wage on a weekly basis should have carried also, to be perfectly clear, a definition of what would be considered a full-time week and what relation to this full-time week various longer or shorter work periods would have. Though the commissions often overlooked this in passing the decrees, they could not escape making some decisions, informal if not formal, on these points, for the problem arose constantly in enforcing the decrees. Before discussing the provisions of the various decrees that deal with the connection between the hours that a worker is employed and the minimum-wage rates, it is important to determine what are the possible solutions of the problem.

To begin with a definition of the various expressions used to designate the time a worker is required to give to the job, there are three main groups—the full-time worker, the part-time worker, and the worker putting in overtime. Full time means employment regularly for a standard day or a standard week; that is, the hours within which the normal day's work or the normal week's work, as agreed upon between employer and employees, is to be performed.<sup>1</sup> With relation to minimum wage the definition of full time must be modified somewhat. It is possible for full-time employment to mean the greatest number of hours legally possible for a woman to work; that is, a standard for the whole State rather than a different standard for each plant. If an employee is hired to work regularly on a shorter schedule than the establishment's standard week, such an employee is a part-time worker. Voluntary absences from work on the part of the employee, or the shutdown or curtailment of work by the employer for short and irregular periods, do not make a worker a part-time worker in the sense in which the word is used in the minimum-wage decrees. Overtime, on the other hand, is time worked before or after standard time, whether such employment is scattered and irregular or regular over a period of days, weeks, or months. The commissions therefore had to define what a full-time week should be, not only to show the relation of hours worked to the minimum rate but to be able to apply any special rates that they

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<sup>1</sup> Harvard University. School of Business Administration. Bureau of Business Research. Bulletin No. 25, "Labor terminology," Cambridge, 1921. Pp. 30, 60, and 80.

might care to make for part-time work and overtime work. In the following discussion all references to rules for full time, part time, and overtime are for workers who meet the foregoing definitions. In a very few cases decrees also have considered how women should be paid when they worked "undertime," due to holidays, stoppage of machinery, etc. This, however, was to deal with an occasional situation, not a regular work period.

#### RELATION TO RATES OF LEGAL LIMITATIONS ON HOURS AND OF THE HOURS THAT A PLANT RUNS REGULARLY

Since there is no absolutely accepted definition of full time, the problems that would arise if the commissions interpreted it to mean the greatest number of hours that it was lawful for a woman to work will be considered first. All these minimum-wage States had either a law passed by the legislature or orders issued by an industrial welfare commission limiting the number of hours per day or per week that a woman was allowed to work. These laws or rulings did not necessarily cover every industry in the State, but in all cases they covered a majority of the women workers and set a standard for all. At first thought it would seem eminently fair to say that the rate was set on the basis of a woman's working these hours. If, however, the minimum wage were to be paid only for the full legal hours, certain difficulties would at once arise. In the first place there would be the question of those plants which never worked as long hours as the law permitted. Why should the woman who worked as long as the employer required fail to earn the minimum? For example, the law might permit a 54-hour week but there might be a considerable number of plants that ran only 48 hours. If the commission had decided that the cost of living was such that a woman must earn \$16.20 a week to be self-supporting, these 48-hour plants would be paying her \$14.40, considerably less than the weekly minimum. Moreover, some State laws set different hours for communities of different sizes or for different industries, so women in one town might have to work 58 hours to obtain the minimum which women on the same work in another community were receiving for 54 hours' work. The following table shows the weekly hour law in each of the States at the time the minimum-wage law was passed and any changes in that law up to the present time:

TABLE 46.—Provisions of laws limiting hours of work, by State and year<sup>1</sup>

State	Daily limit	Weekly limit	Overtime provisions	Occupations or industries specified
1913				
California.....	Hours 8	Hours 48	-----	Manufacturing, mechanical, mercantile, laundry, hotel, public lodging house, apartment house, hospital, place of amusement, or office, or by any express or transportation company, restaurant, telegraph or telephone. Exceptions—harvesting, curing, canning, drying of any variety of perishable fruit or vegetable; graduate nurses in hospitals.
Massachusetts.....	10	54	Seasonal industries may work 58 hours per week if average weekly hours for the year do not exceed 54.	Any factory, workshop, manufacturing, mercantile, mechanical establishment, telegraph office, or telephone exchange, or an express or transportation company. Exceptions—public service or businesses in which shifts may be required in extraordinary emergencies.
Minnesota.....	9	54	30 minutes daily to make up for time lost due to stoppage of machinery. In order to get one short day per week, overtime is permitted if the maximum weekly hours are not exceeded.	Mechanical or manufacturing establishment, and in telephone or telegraph establishment in cities of the first and second classes. Exception—canning or preserving of perishable fruits, grains, or vegetables in establishments operating not more than six weeks in a year.
	10	58	11 hours on Saturdays permitted in mercantile establishments. In order to get one short day per week, overtime is permitted if the maximum weekly hours are not exceeded.	Mercantile establishment, restaurant, lunch room or eating house, or kitchen operated in connection therewith in cities of the first and second classes.
	10	58	30 minutes daily to make up for time lost due to stoppage of machinery. In order to get one short day per week, overtime is permitted if the maximum weekly hours are not exceeded.	Manufacturing or mechanical establishments outside of cities of the first and second classes.
Oregon.....	9 8½ 10	58 54 60 54 60	-----	Mercantile establishments outside of cities of the first and second classes. Manufacturing in Portland. Mercantile establishments in Portland. Any industry.
Washington.....	8	-----	-----	Manufacturing, mechanical, mercantile establishment, laundry, hotel, restaurant, telegraph or telephone office or establishment, or express or transportation company. Exceptions—harvesting, packing, curing, canning, or drying of any variety of perishable fruit, vegetable, or fish.
Wisconsin.....	10	55	-----	Any mechanical or mercantile establishment, laundry, hotel or restaurant. Exceptions—harvesting, packing, curing, canning, or drying perishable fruits and vegetables; canning fish or shellfish.
1915				
Arkansas.....	9	24	Overtime may be permitted by the commission on not to exceed 90 days a year, provided it can be shown that this is necessary to prevent irreparable injury and time and a half is paid for all hours over 9 per day.	Any place of employment or at any employment, i. e., manufacturing, mechanical, or mercantile establishment, laundry, restaurant, confectionery store, or telegraph or telephone office or exchange, or any express or transportation establishment.
Washington.....	(*)	(*)	-----	Any manufacturing, mechanical, or mercantile establishment, laundry, or any express or transportation company. Exceptions—establishments employing three or less women at the same time; establishments employing three or less employees at the same time on the same work; cotton factories; preservation of fruits and perishable farm products or gathering the same. Rural telephones.



1916				
Oregon.....	9	54		Any manufacturing establishment. Exceptions—woolen mills; fruit and vegetable drying, canning, preserving, and packing establishments. Mercantile establishments (State at large), telephone or telegraph establishments; any laundry establishment; any public housekeeping establishment; any personal service establishment. Mercantile establishments in Portland. Office outside city of Portland. Office in Portland.
		8½	50	
			54	
			51	
1917				
California.....	8	48		Telegraph or telephone. Exceptions—harvesting, curing, canning, or drying of any variety of perishable fish, fruit, or vegetable; graduate nurses in hospitals.
Kansas.....	9	54		Mercantile establishment.
Washington.....	8	48		Minors in any mercantile, manufacturing, printing, laundering, or dye works establishment; sign-painting, machine, or repair shop; parcel-delivery service.
1918				
District of Columbia.....	8	48		Manufacturing, mechanical, or mercantile establishment, laundry, hotel and restaurant, telegraph or telephone establishment, office, express or transportation company.
Kansas.....	9	54		Laundries.
	9	54 (6 days)		Public housekeeping occupation.
	8	54 (7 days)		Do.
Massachusetts.....	10	54		Elevator operators in buildings occupied in whole or in part by industries included in hour law, or in any office building.
Oregon.....				Mercantile establishment, manufacturing establishment, personal service occupation, laundry establishment, telephone or telegraph establishment, office occupation, public housekeeping establishment.
Washington.....	8	48		Any minor covered by hour law. (See 1913.)
1919				
Arkansas.....				Exceptions—cotton factories; gathering of fruits or farm products.
Kansas.....	8 (basic)	55		Any factory.
Massachusetts.....	9	48		Any factory, workshop, manufacturing, mercantile, mechanical establishment, telegraph office, or telephone exchange, or any express or transportation company.
North Dakota.....	8½	48		Manufacturing, mechanical, or mercantile establishment, laundry, hotel and restaurant, or telephone or telegraph establishment or office, or in any express or transportation company. Exceptions—rural telephone exchanges or in villages or towns of less than 500 population.
Oregon.....	9	48		Mercantile establishment, manufacturing establishment, personal service occupation, any laundry establishment, any telephone or telegraph establishment, any office, any public housekeeping establishment.

<sup>1</sup> Except in the case of Kansas, the year under which a State first appears is that in which its minimum-wage law was passed. For Kansas the earliest date is that of the first minimum-wage order, which carried also the State's first hour regulation. All later dates indicate that the hour law was amended at that time.

<sup>2</sup> Women and minors must be relieved from work on Sundays. No daily or weekly limit.

<sup>3</sup> Minimum-wage orders allowed only a 6-day week.

TABLE 46.—Provisions of laws limiting hours of work, by State and year—Continued

State	Daily limit	Weekly limit	Overtime provisions	Occupations or industries specified
1919—Continued				
Texas.....	Hours 9	Hours 54	Laundries in cases of extraordinary emergencies, provided consent of employee is secured, may work 2 hours overtime per day, provided weekly maximum is not exceeded and double time is paid for all hours above 9 daily. Woolen and cotton mills one hour daily, 6 hours weekly, if double time is paid for all hours above 9 daily.	Factory, mine, mill, workshop, mechanical or mercantile establishment, laundry, hotel, restaurant or rooming house, theater or moving picture show, barber shop, telegraph, telephone, or other office, express or transportation company, State institution or any other establishment, institution, or enterprise where females are employed. Exceptions—stenographers; pharmacists; telephone and telegraph companies; and mercantile establishments in rural districts and in cities of less than 3,000 population.
1920				
Massachusetts.....	9	48		Any laundry, hotel, manuforing or hairdressing establishment, motion picture theater, or as an elevator operator or as a switchboard operator in a private exchange.
Washington.....	8	* 48		Public housekeeping.
1922				
Kansas.....	9	49½	2½ hours overtime weekly, if time and a half is paid and if daily hours are not exceeded.	Laundry.
Washington.....	8	* 48		Any minor covered by hour law (see 1913) other than those employed in public housekeeping. Adults in manufacturing.
1923				
Minnesota.....	9½	54		Any business or service whatever. Exceptions—domestics in the home; person engaged in the care of the sick or injured; cases of emergency in which the safety, health, morals, or welfare of public may otherwise be affected; night employees whose total hours at their place of employment do not exceed 12 and who have the opportunity for at least 4 hours' sleep; telephone operators in municipalities of less than 1,500 inhabitants.
North Dakota.....	8½	48	10 hours daily, 7 days per week, permitted in emergencies, provided permission is obtained from authorities enforcing hour law and weekly hour limit is not exceeded. Emergency is defined as sickness of more than one female employee, the protection of human life, banquets, conventions, celebrations, sessions of the State Legislature, reporters in any of the district courts of the State.	Mechanical. Exceptions—villages or towns of less than 500 population, small telephone exchanges if workmen's compensation bureau suspends act.
Wisconsin.....	9	50		Any place of employment, i. e., manufacturing, mechanical, or mercantile establishment, laundry, restaurant, confectionery store, or telegraph or telephone office or exchange, or any express or transportation establishment.
	10	55		Any hotel.

\* Minimum-wage orders allowed only a 6-day week.

It is apparent from this table that an identical weekly wage in all these States still would have allowed real differences in the requirements that a woman must comply with to earn enough to meet the necessary cost of living. These differences in the hour laws have affected the woman workers' wages in many ways not usually thought of in considering minimum-wage problems. Whenever a State which based its minimum wage on the legal work week lowered the number of hours that a woman was permitted to work, as Massachusetts did in 1919, it automatically increased the hourly minimum-wage rate and might bring actual pay increases to those women whose employers did not run their plants the full number of hours allowed by law. To take a hypothetical example: If the Massachusetts decree for the clothing industry had set a rate of \$13.50 per week prior to 1919, a woman working in the clothing trades 44 hours per week after the hours were lowered in 1919 would have received \$12.36 on the 48-hour basis as contrasted with \$11 prior to 1919 on a 54-hour basis. On the other hand, when a State like Wisconsin, which set its minimum-wage rate on an hourly basis, reduced its weekly limitation of hours from 55 to 50, it reduced the amount that it was possible for a woman to earn in one week.

For Minnesota in 1914 there existed a most peculiar situation, for while the minimum-wage rates in Minnesota always have been lower for small communities, the hour laws permitted longer hours in these same communities, so that women employed there had to work 58 hours for \$8 when women in the same occupations in a city of 20,000 or more inhabitants worked 54 hours and earned \$8.75.

In States like California, where the weekly limit was as low as 48 hours, there were not many firms whose hours were less than the legal limit. In States like Wisconsin (prior to 1923) and Minnesota, however, a rate set on the legal hours might work out so that a great majority of the women in the State legally could be paid less than the sum necessary to supply them the cost of living. To avoid the bad features of having the legal work week equal the time required to earn the minimum wage, some States have enforced the wage on the basis that whatever hours were worked regularly by an establishment were the hours for which the minimum must be paid. This would mean, however, that two women might be on exactly the same kind of work in two different establishments and the State would sanction their receiving the same minimum rate though one worked 44 hours a week and the other worked 55. There would be complications also if this plan were followed in a plant whose scheduled hours were less than the legal week. In such a case, a woman working under a decree that set both weekly and hourly rates if absent a few hours would have her pay reckoned on the actual number of hours worked, and, since all hourly rates worked out in the decrees are reckoned on the basis of the legal week, she would be penalized by losing pay for just as many hours as the plant ran less than the legal hours. For instance, a woman might work in a plant that ran 44 hours a week though the legal limit was 48. She would receive \$14.40 for 44 hours, but if she were absent one hour she would be paid for each hour worked only  $\frac{1}{4}$  of her weekly rate, or \$12.90 per week. In other words, she would lose five hours' pay instead of one. This would not happen in States where

no hourly rate was set, but where instead the woman received the hourly rate based on the plant's scheduled hours.

There is, however, another real problem involved in the question of what figure is to be accepted as the plant's regular scheduled hours. Should it be an average for all weeks actually worked during the year? A firm might work 48 hours regularly during its busy season and 36 hours regularly during its slack season, these hours holding true for weeks at a time in each case. Can such a firm claim that 48 are its regular scheduled hours and pay the women for only the 36 hours actually worked? Could a commission, on the other hand, bring forth the contention that each week should stand alone, and that whatever hours a firm runs during a week are its standard hours for that week, so that any woman who avails herself of all the employment offered is due the minimum rate? When there is considered the difficulty of deciding what are the standard hours in the cases where business exigencies often cause varied weekly schedules, it becomes apparent why some commissions have adopted the scheme easier to define—that the legal hours represent the standard or full-time week. There are probably fully as many drawbacks to a sweeping decision that regular plant hours shall equal the length of time necessary to earn the weekly minimum-wage rate as there are to having the legal limitation of hours the basis of computation.

#### **Provisions of decrees defining full-time week.**

In the decrees several States have tried to meet this problem. The Wisconsin commission undoubtedly chose the easiest plan to administer when it seemingly waived the whole problem and set only an hourly rate. It would seem that this method was accepting the principle that to earn the cost of living a woman must work the full number of hours allowed by law, for if the hourly rate set in 1919 were multiplied by the legal limit of 55 hours per week it produced only \$12.10 as possible weekly earnings, a sum so low as to be almost at the bottom of rates set or in effect in the flexible States at this time. Only Minnesota rates and those in a few Massachusetts decrees which have since been raised were as small as this. If a woman worked the 44, or 48, or 50 hours that a plant might require, her weekly earnings would be correspondingly reduced. This plan could work out to the great disadvantage of the workers. For instance, a scheduled week of 44 hours is found often enough to deserve consideration. Under the Wisconsin plan a woman working in a 44-hour plant in 1919 would have to be paid only \$9.68 a week, yet so much of her possible working time would be gone that it would be practically impossible for her to find other work to eke out her income. Though such a situation usually has been condemned by those commissions which have given it consideration, the Wisconsin commission considered this result and approved of it. Instead of accepting the legal hours as full-time hours, it considered whatever time the individual woman actually worked for the week in question to be her full-time week. In a statement preliminary to its first decree the commission says:

The recommendation of the advisory wage board that the minimum-wage rate should be upon an hourly basis is supported by testimony that many items in the cost of living of female and minor employees vary directly with the

number of hours they are required to work. Employees who have short hours of labor can, without injury do much work for themselves which female and minor employees who work longer hours must hire others to do for them. This has reference especially to laundry, the repair and upkeep of clothing, and the making of some articles of clothing. Longer hours of labor, moreover, unquestionably mean increased fatigue, and it is now well established that fatigue is an important cause of sickness. Female and minor employees who work longer hours on the average will lose more time from work because of sickness. The shorter-hour workers on the average work more days during the year because their morbidity rate is lower. For these reasons the commission agrees with the advisory wage board that the living wage should be established upon an hourly basis rather than at a definite figure per week which disregards the hours of labor.

Though strictly speaking this pronouncement should not be considered here, since it is not incorporated in a decree, it is too wide a departure from the usual reasoning on cost of living, and therefore too important, to be ignored. There are two great fallacies in the statement quoted. In the first place the wage set is supposed to be the sum which represents the minimum amount required for decent subsistence. Any deduction from it means loss of necessities. If the Wisconsin commission had set a comfort wage, there would be a possibility of the woman or minor making up by her own work what she lost in earnings. However, if a commission sets so low a rate that \$12.10 per week is the highest possible earnings, it is extremely questionable whether a woman is not already doing so much of her own laundering, sewing, and repairing that there is little more she can accomplish in the way of economizing. The commission seems to have overlooked that it was supposed to set a minimum rate only and how low was the actual rate it was establishing. The second mistake was in presupposing that there were no alternatives except an hourly rate or "a definite figure per week which disregards the hours of labor." It is possible, as the following discussion shows, to tie up rates to weekly hours of labor. Some States have done a good deal along this line, and in the light of their attempts it is possible to say that this problem can be met in other ways than by allowing the worker to take the whole brunt of undertime.

The procedure of relating hours of work to rates has been attempted by the States in various ways. California has based all weekly rates on the 48 hours allowed by law, with careful special rates for part-time workers, overtime workers, day workers, and the rest. The fact that the weekly limitation is so low that not many industries work a shorter week and that so many rates have been set for special groups makes this the best example of how it works out to accept the legal week as the standard week. In Kansas and Oregon all the decrees contain provisions limiting the hours that a woman may work, and by inference the legal limit is the period of time on which the minimum rate is based, but with the exception of one general statement in Oregon concerning part-time work, these decrees contain no directions as to how the rates are to be applied. Massachusetts has included in every decree the following ambiguous statement: "These rates are based on full-time work, by which is meant the full number of hours per week required by employers or permitted by the laws of the Commonwealth." Only in the case of "office and building cleaners" has the commission been more explicit. In this decree, where the

majority of the women under discussion worked considerably less than the legal 48 hours, the commission set up a standard of its own, declaring that "full-time employment means 42 hours or more a week." In addition to this one definite statement, there are three decrees—men's furnishings (1918), retail millinery (1919), and wholesale millinery (1919)—in which the wage boards have specified that for the purposes of computing a woman's experience a week's work shall consist of not less than 36 hours. Since the Massachusetts commission has approved these efforts of the wage boards to relate hours worked to rates of pay, it would seem that it must be fully cognizant of the interrelation of hours and rates, but it has not chosen to amplify and clarify the definition of "full time" in the decrees. One other State, Washington, has at least considered the time element in a number of its decrees. Four decrees covering adults only—any occupation (1918), laundry, telephone and telegraph, and mercantile (1921)—provide that the minimum rate is to be paid for a week of 48 hours in the first case and for a week of 6 days in the other three. Three decrees for rural telephones (Nos. 14, 15, and 16) establish a full-time day, from 6 to 9 hours in the first case and 10 hours in the other two. Public housekeeping (adults), 1921, establishes a full-time day of 8 hours. By inference the full-time week in other cases is that established by the hour law and modified by the decrees. (See Table 46, p. 230.)

In Arkansas, the District of Columbia, and Texas the decrees are silent on this problem. Only Minnesota and North Dakota have definitely made general rules in the decrees to cover this problem carefully. In both States, after issuing decrees that did not take this problem into consideration, the commissions in later decrees have covered this particular point with care. They seem to have felt that it was impossible to set a single standard of hours as, for example, Massachusetts did for building cleaners; instead they have set certain limits of hours within which the minimum must be paid. In most cases any woman working on a schedule of from 36 to 48 hours per week is entitled to the full weekly rate. This is the case in "any occupation" in Minnesota and in public housekeeping, mercantile, and laundry in North Dakota. North Dakota also sets a limit of from 40 to 48 hours in manufacturing and of more than 40 hours in telephone. This method is based, of course, on the theory that if an establishment takes 36 hours of a woman's time it should pay for a full week's work because, since it will be extremely difficult to find a short-time job for the remaining hours that she can work legally, this establishment is in effect giving her full-time employment and should be required to pay on this basis. These two States have disregarded both the actual hours an establishment chooses to run and the legal hours it is allowed to run and have set up a definite range of hours that permits of no misunderstanding as to what is a "full-time week." By allowing a variety of scheduled hours within defined limits they have allowed for fluctuation in the firms' working hours and provided for flexibility that would seem to enable the provisions to be administered without undue hardship to either employer or employee.

**Provisions of decrees defining and regulating part-time workers.**

Closely bound up with the question of the full-time week is the question of the definition of the part-time worker. In order to determine who are part-time workers it is necessary to know who are full-time workers. Every State except Minnesota, North Dakota, Massachusetts in the single case of building cleaners, and Washington in 7 of its 31 decrees has indicated that the full-time worker is a woman who is regularly employed the full number of hours allowed by law. Every State except Minnesota and North Dakota has either stated or implied that there was an exact standard that equaled a full-time week.<sup>2</sup> Either the decrees set up a definition of this group or it was inferred that anyone who was employed regularly less than the full-time standard was a part-time worker. If interpreted literally this could lead to a ridiculous situation in which whole plants, working 44 hours in a State with a 48-hour limit, could be said to employ only part-time workers. Wisconsin contemplated this situation and apparently countenanced it. As most part-time rates found in the decrees are set on an hourly basis and are somewhat greater than the regular hourly rate, it is clear that decrees not only should set special part-time rates but should define part-time work with care if they are to be interpreted literally and still achieve a fair and sensible result.

California, Massachusetts, Minnesota, North Dakota, Washington, and Wisconsin have attempted in one or more decrees to define part-time workers. Not all these States have set special rates for such workers. The following list gives the decrees where such rules are found and the hours that are considered as constituting part-time work:

**CALIFORNIA**

Hotel and restaurant, 1919 and 1920	6 hours or less per day. <sup>2</sup>
Unclassified, 1923	Do. <sup>2</sup>
Mercantile, 1917, 1919 <sup>2</sup> , 1920 <sup>2</sup> , and 1923 <sup>2</sup>	Less than 8 hours per day.
Laundry, 1919, 1920 <sup>2</sup> , and 1923 <sup>2</sup>	Do.
Office, 1919 and 1920	Do. <sup>2</sup>
Unclassified, 1919 and 1920	Do. <sup>2</sup>
Manufacturing, 1919, 1920, and 1923	Do. <sup>2</sup>

**MASSACHUSETTS**

Building cleaners, 1921	Any employment less than 42 hours per week. <sup>2</sup>
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**MINNESOTA**

Any occupation, 1921	Any employment less than 36 hours per week.
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**NORTH DAKOTA**

	Group I	Group II
Public housekeeping, 1922	30 to 34 hours. <sup>2</sup>	Under 30 hours.
Manufacturing, 1922	35 to 40 hours. <sup>2</sup>	Under 35 hours.
Mercantile, 1922	30 to 35 hours. <sup>2</sup>	Under 30 hours.
Laundry, 1922	32 to 38 hours. <sup>2</sup>	Under 32 hours.
Telephone, 1922		Under 40 hours.

<sup>2</sup> Washington in Order No. 14 (rural telephones, class B) established a full-time day of from 6 to 9 hours.

<sup>2</sup> Special part-time rate established which is higher than regular full-time hourly or daily rate.

majority of the women under discussion worked considerably less than the legal 48 hours, the commission set up a standard of its own, declaring that "full-time employment means 42 hours or more a week." In addition to this one definite statement, there are three decrees—men's furnishings (1918), retail millinery (1919), and wholesale millinery (1919)—in which the wage boards have specified that for the purposes of computing a woman's experience a week's work shall consist of not less than 36 hours. Since the Massachusetts commission has approved these efforts of the wage boards to relate hours worked to rates of pay, it would seem that it must be fully cognizant of the interrelation of hours and rates, but it has not chosen to amplify and clarify the definition of "full time" in the decrees. One other State, Washington, has at least considered the time element in a number of its decrees. Four decrees covering adults only—any occupation (1918), laundry, telephone and telegraph, and mercantile (1921)—provide that the minimum rate is to be paid for a week of 48 hours in the first case and for a week of 6 days in the other three. Three decrees for rural telephones (Nos. 14, 15, and 16) establish a full-time day, from 6 to 9 hours in the first case and 10 hours in the other two. Public housekeeping (adults), 1921, establishes a full-time day of 8 hours. By inference the full-time week in other cases is that established by the hour law and modified by the decrees. (See Table 46, p. 230.)

In Arkansas, the District of Columbia, and Texas the decrees are silent on this problem. Only Minnesota and North Dakota have definitely made general rules in the decrees to cover this problem carefully. In both States, after issuing decrees that did not take this problem into consideration, the commissions in later decrees have covered this particular point with care. They seem to have felt that it was impossible to set a single standard of hours as, for example, Massachusetts did for building cleaners; instead they have set certain limits of hours within which the minimum must be paid. In most cases any woman working on a schedule of from 36 to 48 hours per week is entitled to the full weekly rate. This is the case in "any occupation" in Minnesota and in public housekeeping, mercantile, and laundry in North Dakota. North Dakota also sets a limit of from 40 to 48 hours in manufacturing and of more than 40 hours in telephone. This method is based, of course, on the theory that if an establishment takes 36 hours of a woman's time it should pay for a full week's work because, since it will be extremely difficult to find a short-time job for the remaining hours that she can work legally, this establishment is in effect giving her full-time employment and should be required to pay on this basis. These two States have disregarded both the actual hours an establishment chooses to run and the legal hours it is allowed to run and have set up a definite range of hours that permits of no misunderstanding as to what is a "full-time week." By allowing a variety of scheduled hours within defined limits they have allowed for fluctuation in the firms' working hours and provided for flexibility that would seem to enable the provisions to be administered without undue hardship to either employer or employee.



**Provisions of decrees defining and regulating part-time workers.**

Closely bound up with the question of the full-time week is the question of the definition of the part-time worker. In order to determine who are part-time workers it is necessary to know who are full-time workers. Every State except Minnesota, North Dakota, Massachusetts in the single case of building cleaners, and Washington in 7 of its 31 decrees has indicated that the full-time worker is a woman who is regularly employed the full number of hours allowed by law. Every State except Minnesota and North Dakota has either stated or implied that there was an exact standard that equaled a full-time week.<sup>2</sup> Either the decrees set up a definition of this group or it was inferred that anyone who was employed regularly less than the full-time standard was a part-time worker. If interpreted literally this could lead to a ridiculous situation in which whole plants, working 44 hours in a State with a 48-hour limit, could be said to employ only part-time workers. Wisconsin contemplated this situation and apparently countenanced it. As most part-time rates found in the decrees are set on an hourly basis and are somewhat greater than the regular hourly rate, it is clear that decrees not only should set special part-time rates but should define part-time work with care if they are to be interpreted literally and still achieve a fair and sensible result.

California, Massachusetts, Minnesota, North Dakota, Washington, and Wisconsin have attempted in one or more decrees to define part-time workers. Not all these States have set special rates for such workers. The following list gives the decrees where such rules are found and the hours that are considered as constituting part-time work:

**CALIFORNIA**

Hotel and restaurant, 1919 and 1920.....	6 hours or less per day. <sup>3</sup>
Unclassified, 1923.....	Do. <sup>3</sup>
Mercantile, 1917, 1919 <sup>2</sup> , 1920 <sup>2</sup> , and 1923 <sup>2</sup> .....	Less than 8 hours per day.
Laundry, 1919, 1920 <sup>2</sup> , and 1923 <sup>2</sup> .....	Do.
Office, 1919 and 1920.....	Do. <sup>3</sup>
Unclassified, 1919 and 1920.....	Do. <sup>3</sup>
Manufacturing, 1919, 1920, and 1923.....	Do. <sup>3</sup>

**MASSACHUSETTS**

Building cleaners, 1921.....	Any employment less than 42 hours per week. <sup>3</sup>
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**MINNESOTA**

Any occupation, 1921.....	Any employment less than 36 hours per week.
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**NORTH DAKOTA**

	Group I	Group II
Public housekeeping, 1922.....	30 to 34 hours. <sup>3</sup>	Under 30 hours.
Manufacturing, 1922.....	35 to 40 hours. <sup>3</sup>	Under 35 hours.
Mercantile, 1922.....	30 to 35 hours. <sup>3</sup>	Under 30 hours.
Laundry, 1922.....	32 to 38 hours. <sup>3</sup>	Under 32 hours.
Telephone, 1922.....	.....	Under 40 hours.

<sup>2</sup> Washington in Order No. 14 (rural telephones, class B) established a full-time day of from 6 to 9 hours.

<sup>3</sup> Special part-time rate established which is higher than regular full-time hourly or daily rate.

## WASHINGTON

Rural telephones, class B, 1915.....	Less than 6 hours per day. <sup>3</sup>
Rural telephones, class C, 1915.....	Less than 10 hours per day. <sup>3</sup>
Rural telephones, class D, 1915.....	Less than 10 hours per day. <sup>3</sup>
Public housekeeping, 1921.....	Less than 8 hours per day, or 1 or 2 days per week. <sup>3</sup>

## WISCONSIN

All: Order effective August 1, 1919.

Telephones:

For day period—

Under 200.....	Hourly minimum for $\frac{11}{16}$ time on duty.
200 to 219.....	Hourly minimum for $\frac{12}{16}$ time on duty.
220 to 239.....	Hourly minimum for $\frac{13}{16}$ time on duty.
240 to 259.....	Hourly minimum for $\frac{14}{16}$ time on duty.
260 to 274.....	Hourly minimum for $\frac{15}{16}$ time on duty.
275 or more.....	Hourly minimum for time on duty.

For night period—

Under 300.....	Hourly minimum for $\frac{1}{2}$ time subject to call.
300 to 499.....	Hourly minimum for $\frac{1}{2}$ time subject to call.
500 to 624.....	Hourly minimum for $\frac{1}{2}$ time subject to call.
625 to 749.....	Hourly minimum for $\frac{1}{2}$ time subject to call.
750 to 874.....	Hourly minimum for $\frac{1}{2}$ time subject to call.
875 to 999.....	Hourly minimum for $\frac{1}{2}$ time subject to call.
1,000 or more.....	Hourly minimum for time subject to call.

As this list shows, only California and North Dakota really have tried in a number of decrees to define part-time work and to meet, by guaranteeing her a somewhat higher hourly rate, the problem of the woman who is not offered enough hours of work to enable her to earn the regular minimum-wage rate. Massachusetts in one decree and Washington in four also have followed this plan. In Wisconsin a complicated schedule is worked out for the telephone industry, based on the relation between the number of telephones on the switchboard and whether the work is day work or night work and whether the operator is on duty or only subject to call.

In addition to these decrees that offer some sort of a definition of part-time work and set rates for the groups so designated, a few decrees set rates for part-time workers without defining what constitutes such work. Oregon provided that part-time workers were to receive the regular hourly rate. Texas provided that all part-time workers, irrespective of experience, were to receive 25 cents per hour, the rate for experienced full-time workers. Washington established rates for part-time workers in three decrees—telephone (1919), all industries (1918), and public housekeeping (1920). In telephone (1919) this is the only rate set. The others are simply the regular experienced full-time hourly rate.

*Actual part-time rates set in North Dakota and California.*—It is only, then, in California and North Dakota that actual rates and definitions exist in any number. North Dakota has dealt with the problem in a more general and simple manner than has California and will be discussed first. The statement following shows the part-time hourly rates required by the North Dakota decrees of 1922.

<sup>3</sup> Special part-time rate established which is higher than regular full-time hourly or daily rate.

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Decree	Proportion of weekly rate <sup>1</sup> to be paid a woman who works regularly during the week—							
	30 to 34 hours	30 to 35 hours	32 to 38 hours	35 to 40 hours	Under 30 hours	Under 32 hours	Under 35 hours	Under 40 hours
Public housekeeping	$\frac{3}{8}$				$\frac{1}{4}$			
Manufacturing				$\frac{1}{4}$			$\frac{1}{8}$	
Mercantile		$\frac{1}{8}$			$\frac{1}{4}$			
Laundry			$\frac{1}{8}$			$\frac{1}{8}$		
Telephone								<sup>2</sup> \$0.29 .22

<sup>1</sup> Rates are expressed as fractions of the full-time weekly rate established for the occupation in question as well as on a straight hourly basis.  
<sup>2</sup> Rates vary according to size of community and length of experience.

With the exception of telephone every decree has ruled not only that full time should cover varied hours of work ranging from 36 and 40 to 48 hours per week, but that certain shorter hours of work should be paid for at an increased part-time rate. This has been done on the theory that any establishment that took so much of a woman's time that she would have difficulty in finding other regular work, but not enough of her time to enable her to earn the full-time minimum rate, should be required to help somewhat toward making up this difference. If a woman worked such short hours that obviously she could do other work or was merely a casual laborer, an establishment was allowed to pay her the regular full-time hourly rate for the number of hours worked. As the statement shows, the actual part-time rate and the hours for which it must be paid varied from industry to industry. The plan, taken together with the careful definition of full-time hours, is comprehensive. It is easy to express, to understand, and to apply. The reasons for dealing with hours in these three groups are ones that command support. The spread of hours within each group is wide enough that most fluctuations in firms' hours can be covered without employees passing from one group to another. Moreover, the method is all inclusive. Every worker fits into some group.

California, too, has covered the whole field at one time or another, and has achieved by different methods much the same results as has North Dakota. Not every decree takes care of all contingencies, but the commission has been alive to the relation of hours and rates and has tried to set particular rates to fit the conditions of employment found in industry. All the decrees that set special part-time rates designate these rates under a special heading for part-time workers except the manufacturing decree for 1919, which includes part-time workers in the general statement that "if an employer does not provide the full 48 hours of employment during any one week he must pay not less than ——— for the hours worked." Two definitions of part-time workers occur. In the hotel-and-restaurant decrees, 1919 and 1920, and in the unclassified decree, 1923, a part-time worker is defined as a "worker on an hourly basis for six hours or less per day"; in the other decrees the basis is less than eight hours. With the exception of the hotel-and-restaurant decrees

in 1919 and 1920, any part-time worker receives the same hourly rate whether she works one or two hours a day or seven. The two hotel-and-restaurant decrees set a somewhat higher hourly rate for women who work three hours or less per day than for those who work four hours or more. This is the opposite of the policy followed in North Dakota, where the higher part-time rates were for those women who most nearly worked the full-time hours. Whereas North Dakota always provided that what might be called casual workers should receive the regular hourly rate, California never made any distinction according to the hours worked except those two in favor of the woman on an extremely short schedule in hotels and restaurants. California also differs in not allowing for any spread of hours in the definitions of full-time work, in basing part-time on daily rather than weekly hours, and in setting for part-timers a definite hourly rate rather than an amount proportionate to the weekly rate.

The following table shows all the hourly part-time rates found in the California decrees.

TABLE 47.—*Full-time and part-time hourly rates for experienced and inexperienced women and minors in California, by decree*

Decree	Adults			Minors		
	Experience status	Full time	Part time	Experience status	Full time	Part time
Manufacturing, January, 1919	Inexperienced.....	\$0. 166	\$0. 21	Inexperienced.....	\$0. 156	\$0. 20
	Experienced.....	. 208	. 25	Experienced.....	. 208	. 25
Mercantile, 1919	18 and 19 years old:					
	Inexperienced.....	. 187	1. 35	Inexperienced.....	. 166	. 25
	Experienced.....	. 281	1. 35	Experienced.....	. 281	. 35
	20 years and over:					
	Inexperienced.....	. 208	1. 35			
	Experienced.....	. 281	1. 35			
Office, 1919	Inexperienced.....	. 208	1. 35	Inexperienced.....	. 187	1. 25
	Experienced.....	. 281	1. 35	Experienced.....	. 281	1. 25
Unskilled, 1919	Inexperienced.....	. 208	1. 35	Inexperienced.....	. 166	1. 25
	Experienced.....	. 281	1. 35	Experienced.....	. 208	1. 25
Manufacturing, August, 1919	Inexperienced.....	. 208	1. 35	Inexperienced.....	. 187	1. 25
	Experienced.....	. 281	1. 35	Experienced.....	. 281	1. 25
Hotel and restaurant, 1919		. 281	1. 35		. 333	1. 40
Mercantile, 1920	Inexperienced.....	. 25	1. 40	Inexperienced.....	. 208	1. 30
	Experienced.....	. 333	1. 40	Experienced.....	. 333	1. 40
Laundry, 1920	Inexperienced.....	. 25	1. 40	Inexperienced.....	. 25	1. 40
	Experienced.....	. 333	1. 40	Experienced.....	. 333	1. 40
Office, 1920	Inexperienced.....	. 25	1. 40	Inexperienced.....	. 208	1. 30
	Experienced.....	. 333	1. 40	Experienced.....	. 333	1. 30
Unclassified, 1920	Inexperienced.....	. 25	1. 40	Inexperienced.....	. 22	1. 30
	Experienced.....	. 333	1. 40	Experienced.....	. 25	1. 30
Manufacturing, 1920	Inexperienced.....	. 25	1. 40	Inexperienced.....	. 208	1. 30
	Experienced.....	. 333	1. 40	Experienced.....	. 333	1. 30
Hotel and restaurant, 1920		. 333	1. 40		. 333	1. 40
Mercantile, 1923	Inexperienced.....	. 25	1. 40	Inexperienced.....	. 208	1. 30
	Experienced.....	. 333	1. 40	Experienced.....	. 333	1. 30
Laundry, 1923	Inexperienced.....	. 291	1. 40	Inexperienced.....	. 291	1. 40
	Experienced.....	. 333	1. 40	Experienced.....	. 333	1. 40
Unclassified, 1923	Inexperienced.....	. 25	1. 40	Inexperienced.....	. 22	1. 30
	Experienced.....	. 333	1. 40	Experienced.....	. 333	1. 30
Manufacturing, 1923	Inexperienced.....	. 187	1. 40	Inexperienced.....	. 187	1. 30
	Experienced.....	. 38	1. 40	Experienced.....	. 38	1. 30
Hotel and restaurant, 1923		. 333	. 38		. 333	1. 38

<sup>1</sup> Only part-time rate set. Experience qualifications not mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> Three hours or less per day.

<sup>3</sup> More than 3 hours per day.

These rates really cover every industry in California where part time on a time-rate basis is a problem. The decrees for canning, packing, nut sorting, etc. which have no part-time rates set are largely for piece-rate industries. On the whole the part-time rates are higher than those for full time, but in seven decrees—office, 1919 and 1920, manufacturing, 1919, 1920, and 1923, mercantile, 1923, and unclassified, 1923—the part-time rate for experienced minors, if there happen to be any, is less than the full-time rate. It is apparent also that some of the part-time rates are so much higher than the full-time rates that a part-time worker with hours only slightly less than the full-time hours could earn more than the minimum if paid at a straight hourly rate. For example, a woman working 7 hours a day or 42 hours a week, at 40 cents an hour, would earn \$16.80 per week. If it was understood, as is probably the case, that the \$16 rate need not be exceeded,<sup>4</sup> these decrees work out to provide a spread of full-time earnings covering the hours from 40 to 48. They accomplish for all adult women the same end that North Dakota accomplished by its more general rules.

California has not stopped, however, with setting hourly rates for part-time workers. In some few decrees it has set day rates as well. The statement following gives the day rates for women and minors in California, by decree:

Decree	Women	Minors	Both women and minors
Mercantile, 1917.....			\$1. 67
Mercantile, 1919:			
Inexperienced.....		\$1. 50	
Experienced.....		2. 25	
Mercantile, 1920:			
Inexperienced.....		2. 00	
Experienced.....		2. 66 $\frac{2}{3}$	
Office, 1920.....			2. 66 $\frac{2}{3}$
Manufacturing, 1920.....		<sup>1</sup> 2. 00	
Mercantile, 1923.....	\$2. 66 $\frac{2}{3}$	2. 00	
Laundry, 1923.....			2. 66 $\frac{2}{3}$

<sup>1</sup> Special day rate for minors working 8 hours on Saturdays or holidays.

With the exception of the two minors' rates in manufacturing, 1920, and mercantile, 1923, these rates are simply one-sixth of the full weekly rate. These two exceptions allow minor day workers to be employed for a somewhat lower sum than the regular worker is paid per day. The decrees give extremely varied definitions of the groups that are to be paid these day rates. They are defined as—

- (1) One who works less than 6 days per week. Mercantile, 1917 and 1919.
- (2) One who is employed on a full day's basis for less than 6 days a week. Mercantile, 1920.
- (3) One who is employed on a full day's basis for 3 weeks or less. Mercantile, 1923.
- (4) One who is employed on a temporary basis for less than 2 weeks. Office, 1920.

<sup>4</sup> Two hotel and restaurant decrees, 1919 and 1920, specify that either the part-time hourly rate or the weekly full-time rate shall be paid.

- (5) One who is employed for 8 hours on Saturdays or holidays. Manufacturing, 1920.
- (6) One who is employed on a full day's basis for less than the standard week. Laundry, 1923.

The lack of an underlying principle in these definitions and the fact that there are so few day rates show that the commission was endeavoring to meet special situations in the industry under consideration. Its concern with the mercantile industry in particular justifies this contention, for here would be employed special workers for Saturday work and work before Christmas. The change in the definition of "special" in these orders to take care of the Christmas extras as well as the Saturday extras is interesting.

In the light of all these highly specialized rates which California thought it necessary to set to take care of part time, and the carefully inclusive rules of North Dakota, the unconcern with this problem on the part of most decrees is rather surprising. The thought of the great majority of commissions and wage boards was to pay anyone who worked less than the full-time week for the actual number of hours worked, with no distinction because the short time was involuntary rather than voluntary.

To complete the picture of the attempt by the various commissions at making rules for all women involuntarily working less than the full-time week, the question of irregular undertime also arises. It has been pointed out that for many cases a spread of full-time hours took care of this. In addition, four States have given some phase of it a measure of special attention. Kansas and Washington have been concerned only with the problem of the woman who reports for work and receives none. In Kansas the 1918 telephone order provided that an operator called for duty on a Sunday or holiday and then excused for all or part of the day must be paid for the full basic day. Washington in a laundry order (1921) provided that a woman who was not notified that she need not report must be given half a day's compensation. In three other Washington orders, for "any occupation" (adult women, 1918, and minors January and August, 1922) it was ruled that in case full-time work was not provided the correct schedule of hours must be posted by at least noon of the day before such undertime was to start. Oregon in one decree (special regulations) provides that where full-time employment is not provided part-time employment must be so arranged that each employee may have an opportunity to secure such additional employment as would make a full week. These are very small special cases, but the third State—California—has set actual rates in 12 decrees for women working undertime.

The following table compares the actual undertime rates with the hourly full-time and part-time rates.

TABLE 48.—Full-time, part-time, and undertime hourly rates for experienced and inexperienced women and minors in California, by decree

Decree	Women				Minors			
	Experience status	Full time	Part time	Under time	Experience status	Full time	Part time	Under time
Manufacturing, January, 1919.	Inexperienced.....	\$0. 166	\$0. 21		Inexperienced.....	\$0. 156	\$0. 20	
	Experienced.....	. 208	. 25		Experienced.....	. 208	. 25	
Mercantile, 1919.	Inexperienced.....	. 187	1. 35		Inexperienced.....	. 166	. 25	
	Experienced.....	. 281	1. 35		Experienced.....	. 281	. 35	
	20 years and over:							
	Inexperienced.....	. 208	1. 35					
Office, 1919	Experienced.....	. 281	1. 35					
	Inexperienced.....	. 208	1. 35		Inexperienced.....	. 187	1. 25	
Unskilled, 1919.	Experienced.....	. 281	1. 35		Experienced.....	. 281	1. 25	\$0. 21
	Inexperienced.....	. 208	1. 35	\$0. 25	Inexperienced.....	. 166	1. 25	. 25
Manufacturing, August, 1919.	Experienced.....	. 281	1. 35	. 32½	Experienced.....	. 208	1. 25	. 23
	Inexperienced.....	. 208	1. 35	. 25	Inexperienced.....	. 187	1. 25	. 23
Hotel and restaurant, 1919.	Experienced.....	. 281	1. 35	. 32½	Experienced.....	. 281	1. 25	. 32½
	Inexperienced.....	. 281	1. 35		Inexperienced.....	. 333	1. 40	
Fish canning, 1919.	Experienced.....	. 281	1. 32½		Experienced.....	. 333	1. 38	
	Inexperienced.....	. 208	. 25	. 32½	Inexperienced.....	. 208	. 25	. 32½
Laundry, 1919.	Experienced.....	. 281	1. 40	. 32½	Experienced.....	. 331	1. 30	. 32½
	Inexperienced.....	. 25	1. 40		Inexperienced.....	. 208	. 30	
Mercantile, 1920.	Experienced.....	. 333	1. 40		Experienced.....	. 333	. 40	
	Inexperienced.....	. 25	1. 40	. 30	Inexperienced.....	. 25	1. 40	. 30
Laundry, 1920.	Experienced.....	. 333	1. 40	. 38	Experienced.....	. 333	1. 40	. 38
	Inexperienced.....	. 25	1. 40		Inexperienced.....	. 208	1. 30	
Office, 1920.	Experienced.....	. 333	1. 40		Experienced.....	. 333	1. 30	
	Inexperienced.....	. 25	1. 40	. 30	Inexperienced.....	. 22	1. 30	. 25
Unclassified, 1920.	Experienced.....	. 333	1. 40	. 38	Experienced.....	. 25	1. 30	. 30
	Inexperienced.....	. 25	1. 40	. 30	Inexperienced.....	. 208	1. 30	. 25
Manufacturing, 1920.	Experienced.....	. 333	1. 40	. 38	Experienced.....	. 333	1. 30	. 38
	Inexperienced.....	. 333	1. 40		Inexperienced.....	. 333	1. 40	
Hotel and restaurant, 1920.	Experienced.....	. 333	1. 38		Experienced.....	. 333	1. 38	
	Inexperienced.....	. 25	. 30	. 30	Inexperienced.....	. 25	. 30	. 30
Fish canning, 1920.	Experienced.....	. 333	. 38		Experienced.....	. 333	. 38	
	Inexperienced.....	. 21	. 22½		Inexperienced.....	. 21	. 22½	
Needle trades, 1922.	Time workers:				Time workers:			
	Experienced.....	. 31¼	. 34		Experienced.....	. 31¼	. 34	
	Piece workers:				Piece workers:			
	Experienced.....	. 18¾	. 20¼		Experienced.....	. 18¾	. 20¼	
Mercantile, 1923.	Experienced.....	. 26	. 28½		Experienced.....	. 26	. 28½	
	Inexperienced.....	. 25	1. 40		Inexperienced.....	. 208	1. 30	
Laundry, 1923.	Experienced.....	. 333	1. 40		Experienced.....	. 333	1. 30	
	Inexperienced.....	. 201	1. 40	. 30	Inexperienced.....	. 201	1. 40	. 30
Unclassified, 1923.	Experienced.....	. 333	1. 40	. 38	Experienced.....	. 333	1. 40	. 38
	Inexperienced.....	. 25	1. 40	. 30	Inexperienced.....	. 22	1. 30	. 24
Manufacturing, 1923.	Experienced.....	. 333	1. 40	. 38	Experienced.....	. 333	1. 30	. 38
	Inexperienced.....	. 18¾	1. 40	. 20¼	Inexperienced.....	. 18¾	1. 30	. 20¼
Hotel and restaurant, 1923.	Experienced.....	. 333	1. 40	. 38	Experienced.....	. 333	1. 30	. 38
	Inexperienced.....	. 333	. 38		Inexperienced.....	. 333	. 38	

1 Only part-time rate set. Experience qualifications not mentioned.  
 2 Three hours or less per day.  
 3 More than three hours per day.

The decrees speak of these rates as provisions for higher hourly rates "where less than a full week's work has been provided." In the earlier orders, in 1919 and 1920, these rates are to be paid when a plant fails to provide its usual weekly schedule of hours, except when such undertime is caused by a legal holiday. In 1922 and 1923 the reason for paying these higher rates is exactly reversed, and establishments are required to pay them for those weeks where they worked undertime due to a legal or religious holiday.

Like the part-time rates, these undertime rates are all slightly higher than the regular hourly rates. However, they bear no uni-

form relation to the part-time rates, though the reason for both is the same—to guarantee to the woman who, through no fault of her own, is not given full-time employment, a rate that will enable her to earn a sum commensurate with the cost of living. In all cases the part-time rate for adult women is higher than the undertime rate. In all cases except the unclassified 1919 decree the part-time rate for minors is lower than the undertime rate. In this one decree the rates are identical for experienced minors. The decrees where these undertime rates occur, manufacturing in its various forms, laundries, and unclassified work, are those occupations where irregular undertime would be most likely to occur. Though these rates are extremely interesting, because the only case where a commission has set special rates for undertime, they are not based on a consistent theory. They represent again the California effort to do by rates what some of the other States, notably Minnesota and North Dakota, have done by defining a full-time week and incorporating a spread of hours in this definition. They show once again that the California commission felt that there should be no differentiation in the treatment of part-time or undertime workers because of their hours approaching or failing to approach the regular full-time hours.

*Summary.*—These various provisions for women who work less than the full-time week cover the entire field when all States and all decrees are considered. How well any one decree handled this situation is another question. To be on the safe side and enable the enforcing officers to meet all contingencies, each decree should define full time, part time and whether all part time is to be on the same basis, undertime, and any groups of special workers found in the industry under discussion. If North Dakota may be considered to believe that undertime should be treated as part time, or as coming within the spread of full-time hours, or as casual work, depending on the number of hours involved, the 1922 North Dakota decrees cover this whole situation. Some few California decrees that set rates for part time, special workers, and undertime really cover the whole field, but they lack the definitions of a full-time week which would insure uniform interpretation of their rules. Until the California decrees make it absolutely clear that a full-time week is the legal hourly limit, or that it is whatever the firm's scheduled hours may be, their rules are difficult to apply.

#### **Provisions covering women working overtime.**

One other group of workers whose hours affect their pay remains to be discussed: The women who earn added compensation by working overtime. In one sense this is not a minimum-wage provision, for rates are supposed to be set so that a woman can earn the cost-of-living minimum in her regular hours. This work beyond the regular hours, usually for increased pay, takes her out of the class of the marginal worker. The main purpose of overtime provisions is to discourage work beyond the usual hours by increasing its cost. These provisions, then, are fully as much hour regulations as they are wage regulations. The justification for discussing them here is that they complete the picture of the vital relation between hours of work and rates of pay. Overtime in this connection is all employment beyond a certain arbitrary number of hours per day or week or days per week set forth by the commissions in their decrees



California, Kansas, Minnesota, Oregon, Washington, and Wisconsin have issued some decrees containing such provisions. It will be remembered that in all these States, except Kansas, laws distinct from the minimum-wage laws forbid the employment of women in certain specified occupations for longer than a fixed number of hours per day or per week, or in some cases on more than a specified number of days per week. Any provisions appearing in the decrees must improve or repeat the standards set forth in the laws, as these commissions have no power to abrogate any provisions of the hour laws. The provisions in the decrees sought either to control hours of work in industries not covered by the laws or to establish shorter hours than those specified in the laws. Their method of securing a limitation on the number of hours worked was the indirect one of requiring increased rates for women working more than a specified number of hours or days. Where this limitation was established in industries not covered by the hour law, the hours specified usually were the same as the hours allowed by the law. In Kansas the commission has had the power to enact all hour regulation, so the provisions linking wages and hours were part of the only scheme of hour regulation authorized by the legislature. The following table shows the decrees that require extra pay for women who work more than a specified number of hours per day or per week or more than a specified number of days per week:

TABLE 49.—Decrees that have required extra pay for women working overtime,<sup>1</sup> by State and year

Year	California	Kansas	Minnesota	Oregon	Wisconsin
1916...	Fruit and vegetable canning.				
1917...	Fruit and vegetable canning.				
1918...	Fruit and vegetable canning. Fish canning.	Tele- phone.			Pea canning.
1919...	Fruit and vegetable packing. Fruit and vegetable canning. Fish canning. Fruit and vegetable packing. Office.		All <sup>2</sup>		Attendants in sanitariums. Pea canning.
1920...	Hotel and restaurant. Fruit and vegetable canning. Fish canning. Fruit and vegetable packing. Office.	Manufac- turing.			Pea canning. Cherry, bean, corn, and to- mato canning.
1921...	Hotel and restaurant. Agricultural. Fruit and vegetable canning.		All		Pea canning. Cherry, bean, corn, and to- mato canning.
1922...				Canning.	Pea canning. Cherry, bean, corn, and to- mato canning.
1923...	Fruit and vegetable canning. Fish canning. Fruit and vegetable packing. Nut cracking and sorting.	Manufac- turing.			Pea canning. Cherry, bean, corn, and to- mato canning.
1924...					Pea canning. Cherry, bean, corn, and to- mato canning.
1925...					Pea canning. Cherry, bean, corn, and to- mato canning.
1926...					Pea canning. Cherry, bean, corn, and to- mato canning.
1927...					Pea canning. Cherry, bean, corn, and to- mato canning.

<sup>1</sup> Longer than a specified number of hours per day or per week or on more than a specified number of days

<sup>2</sup> Two decrees in 1919—one for experienced workers and one for inexperienced.

In the great majority of cases these decrees represent an attempt to regulate branches of the food-preserving industry. Besides the Kansas and Minnesota decrees there are only four—California, hotel and restaurant (two) and office (two)—that regulate any other type of industry. The hotel-and-restaurant, office, and nut-cracking-and-sorting decrees require that time and a quarter be paid for all work on the seventh day of the week, though the hour law does not include offices and permits a woman to work every day in the other two industries provided her daily hours do not exceed 8 nor her weekly hours 48. The one canning decree in Oregon simply restates the terms of the hour laws. All the other decrees invoke the power of the commissions to regulate industries not covered by any hour law. Every one of these decrees requires that a woman working over the specified number of hours or days must be paid at the rate of time and a quarter or time and a half. Four other decrees—Minnesota, all occupations, 1919 (two) and 1921, and Wisconsin, attendants in sanitariums, 1919—provide that the minimum wage is to be paid for a certain fixed number of hours of work and that all work beyond this point is to be paid for at the regular hourly rate. All these punitive rates are set with the idea of limiting hours of work. The Minnesota hour limitation, however, is done with the purpose of defining full-time hours and securing a uniform enforcement of minimum-wage rates. Except that these overtime provisions show additional efforts on the part of the commissions to round out the field covered by minimum-wage rates, so that it includes all special groups, their interest lies in the limitation of the hours rather than in the establishing of rates, for in all these decrees overtime meant rates in excess of the minimum.

### Summary.

The problem of the relation between hours and rates of pay has been discussed in great detail because usually it is so imperfectly understood even by the commissions themselves. That earnings are in most cases closely tied up with the number of hours worked is recognized even by persons unfamiliar with employment conditions. The relation between rates of pay and hours of work in the case of minimum-wage decrees is not so clear. The underlying reason for this relation is that the State through the law has guaranteed its women workers a living wage. One of the first questions to be answered is: How long shall they be required to work to earn the sum that the commission has determined was necessary to supply the cost of living? By common consent the week seems to have been adopted as the basis in the majority of the cost-of-living studies and for most of the minimum-wage rates. Since a woman must live every day in the year, it would seem most equitable to set a yearly sum for the minimum wage, but that has never been attempted. If a woman lost weeks of work through unemployment, this was not considered to be the province of the minimum-wage law. The fact of setting a weekly rate, however, meant that the decrees must show some concern with weekly hours.

The ways in which this problem could be handled were legion, and most of them have been tried. The methods indicated in the decrees have been discussed at length. They comprised variations of

three main plans: (1) Setting an hourly rate only, in which case the workers were not even guaranteed the weekly cost of living; (2) setting a weekly rate only and allowing the enforcing officer to decide whether this rate was to be paid only to these women who worked the full number of hours allowed by law or to all women who worked the full number of hours provided by the firm that hired them; and (3) setting both weekly and hourly rates, the hourly rates representing the proportionate fraction of the weekly rates if the legal hour limitation was considered the full-time week. If the second method was chosen there arose the difficulty of deciding what constituted a firm's full-time hours. If the third, the great question was what to do with the plant whose regular hours were less than the legal limitation.

Within these three plans some States, specifically North Dakota, set general rules, and others, such as California, handled each problem separately. On the whole, the problem rarely was covered adequately. This undoubtedly is due to the fact that it was a problem of enforcement. A decree could be drawn up that looked most complete on the surface but failed to cover any of the relations between hours and rates. Particularly in the early days of the commissions this problem was not realized. In California, Minnesota, and North Dakota it is apparent that with experience the commissions realized this problem and sought to meet it by more careful phrasing of decrees. In Wisconsin they recognized that such a problem existed in their first decree, but failed to see the various methods that could be used to meet it. In some of the other States the problem may have been handled adequately by the enforcing officer so that a habit grew up of leaving it to that officer. This seems to have been true, for instance, in Massachusetts. The trouble with this means of dealing with the problem, however, was that it left room for a great variety of interpretation as personnel changed. It also might cause more hard feeling if a person disagreed with a law-enforcing agent in her interpretation than if the officer simply was requiring compliance with a clearly stated and easily understood provision of the decree. If the principle is accepted that there is a spread of hours that can be called full time, or that part time in certain situations should command a slightly higher rate than full time, or that under-time and part time should be treated differently, only the commission has the power, through its decrees, to order that rates should be raised to meet these different conditions. It is not possible to enforce minimum wage without deciding these questions on working time. The best place for announcing those decisions clearly and carefully is the decree, and this is the only place where different rates to meet these conditions can be set.

#### OTHER GROUPS RECEIVING SPECIAL TREATMENT

In addition to the apprentices, minors, and substandard workers who have received special treatment, and to the detailed rules for applying the rates to different time schedules, various commissions have included in some decrees provisions for other diverse groups, such as male minors, pieceworkers, workers receiving bonuses or com-

missions, and home workers. Though most of the groups have received only occasional notice, the very fact that all of them have received some degree of attention indicates how many different kinds of problems had to be met in applying these laws. Not many decrees might contain definite rules for these groups, but every State had to deal with them, a fact which greatly extended and complicated the field of minimum-wage administration and enforcement. Like the questions of hours of work, though by no means so fundamental, these questions did not become apparent until the enforcing officer began to apply the minimum-wage rates to the infinite variety of industries.

### **Pieceworkers.**

In general all workers, whether paid by time, by piece, or by bonus or commission, were supposed to have rates that would enable them to earn at least the minimum rate if they worked full time. When a decree did not carry special piece rates—and this was true in the vast majority of decrees—the problem of interpreting time rates in terms of piece rates was a complicated one. It arose extensively in manufacturing and canning decrees and sometimes in laundries. Pieceworkers often work very irregularly by choice, but probably just as often they are offered only irregular employment. The problem of whether they should be guaranteed the weekly time rate if they were present in the factory a specified number of hours or should be guaranteed a proportionate hourly rate for the actual number of hours worked, had to be decided by the enforcing agent. Moreover, to determine whether the piece rates of a given factory were such as to yield the minimum to the average worker was another difficult study that had to be dealt with in enforcement. Either the commission or its agents had to decide how large a percentage of the workers must earn the minimum to prove that the piece rates were adequate. They also had to decide whether the workers must earn the time rate in a given week or hour, or every week or hour, or whether a number of weeks or hours could be averaged. Every commission, of course, has had to work out a policy for handling this problem, but, on the whole, pieceworkers have received very incomplete attention in the decrees, so that wide variation in the policy of handling these workers was possible within a State if the personnel of the enforcing agency changed. Most of the States have a few decrees that take special notice of pieceworkers. Only Minnesota and the District of Columbia have never in any decree considered the question of piece rates. Of 127 decrees in the other States, covering all industries, manufacturing, laundries, and canning (the groups where piece rates are a problem), only 51 have even mentioned pieceworkers. Massachusetts, with 32 decrees in these industries, has mentioned pieceworkers only twice. California has been the most interested of any of the States in the problem, and of 26 decrees 22 have provisions for handling this group. In addition, in California, four decrees in industries other than manufacturing, canning, and laundering—three unskilled and unclassified and one for office workers—contain provisions to take care of pieceworkers. The following table shows the decrees that have considered this problem;

TABLE 50.—Decrees containing special reference to pieceworkers, by State and year

Year	California	Kansas	Massachusetts	North Dakota	Oregon	Texas	Washington	Wisconsin	Arkansas <sup>1</sup>
1914			Brush.						
1915									All.
1916	Fruit and vegetable canning.				Manufacturing. Laundry.				
1917	Fruit and vegetable canning.								
1918	Fish canning. Laundry and dry cleaning. Fruit and vegetable canning. Unskilled. Office.				Canning. Manufacturing. Laundry.				
1919	Manufacturing. Fruit and vegetable canning. Fish canning. Fruit and vegetable packing. Unskilled.		Wholesale millinery.		Manufacturing. Laundry. Canning.			All.	
1920	Manufacturing. Fruit and vegetable canning. Fish canning. Laundry and dry cleaning. Fruit and vegetable packing. Unclassified. Manufacturing. Agricultural.			Manufacturing. Laundry.				Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning. Tobacco stripping.	
1921	Fruit and vegetable canning.					All.		All. Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning.	
1922		Manufacturing.		Manufacturing.	Canning.		Manufacturing.	Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning.	
1923	Fruit and vegetable canning. Fish canning. Fruit and vegetable packing. Manufacturing. Nut cracking and sorting.							Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning.	
1924								Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning.	
1925								Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning.	
1926								Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning.	
1927								Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning.	

<sup>1</sup> Provided for in the law, not by decree.

The majority of the provisions of these decrees (25) and the Arkansas law have simply stipulated that piece rates must yield the guaranteed minimum, without specifying hourly or weekly rates. That piece rates must yield the guaranteed minimum time rate was so taken for granted in all minimum-wage work that the specific statement of it in the decrees was of no additional help. Kansas has tried to handle the problem of irregular work by providing that the pieceworker must receive the weekly minimum only if she has availed herself of all work offered and her service has been subject to the demand of the employer at least five days a week. This is the only case where a decree takes notice of the serious problem of the worker who is held in the establishment but is not provided with work. Indirectly, several decrees try to meet the problem of determining a pieceworker's rates in relation to hours of work—a difficult situation created by irregular attendance and irregular runs of work—by setting the actual piece rates. With the exception of tobacco stripping in Wisconsin, all actual piece rates found in the decrees are in the canning or affiliated industries. California has issued eight decrees setting forth the rates in the most usual canning operations; Oregon has issued three and Wisconsin two (cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning). The problem of the method of judging whether a rate is adequate or inadequate also has been touched in some decrees by specifying the proportion of women who must make the rate. This varies greatly from State to State, and in California, where the whole piece-rate problem has had the most attention, the rule has been to reduce the percentage of women required to make the minimum in order to prove the piece rates adequate. The following table shows the per cents required:

TABLE 51.—Decrees specifying the percentage of pieceworkers that must receive the guaranteed rate, by State and year

State and year	50 per cent	66 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent	75 per cent	80 per cent	100 per cent
1916					
Oregon			Manufacturing. Laundry.		
1917					
California				Occupations in fruit and vegetable canning where no piece rate is fixed.	
1918					
Oregon			Manufacturing. Laundry.		
1919					
California		Fruit and vegetable canning—preparation.			
Oregon			Manufacturing. Laundry.		
1920					
California		Fruit and vegetable canning—preparation.			

TABLE 51.—Decrees specifying the percentage of pieceworkers that must receive the guaranteed rate, by State and year—Continued

State and year	50 per cent	66 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent	75 per cent	80 per cent	100 per cent
1921					
California	Fruit and vegetable canning—preparing and canning.				
Wisconsin					All, unless 75 per cent of all experienced women and minors (17 years and over) on piecework receive 3 cents more per hour than the prescribed minimum.
1922					
Washington		Canning	Manufacturing.		
Wisconsin					Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning—unless rates yield 3 cents per hour more than minimum to 75 per cent of all under 50 years.
1923					
California	Fruit and vegetable canning—Adult women. Nut cracking and sorting.	Fish canning.			
Wisconsin					Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning—unless rates yield 3 cents per hour more than minimum to 75 per cent of all under 50 years.
1924					
Wisconsin					Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning—unless rates yield 3 cents per hour more than minimum to 75 per cent of all under 50 years.
1925					
Wisconsin					Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning—unless rates yield 3 cents per hour more than minimum to 75 per cent of all under 50 years.
1926					
Wisconsin					Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning—unless rates yield 3 cents per hour more than minimum to 75 per cent of all under 50 years.
1927					
Wisconsin					Cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning—unless rates yield 3 cents per hour more than minimum to 75 per cent of all under 50 years.

The whole problem of piece rates is so largely a question of enforcement practice that perhaps it should have been discussed under enforcement, but, since some decrees have specifically legislated on this point, at least this part of the problem must be discussed here. It is apparent, however, from the foregoing table and discussion that no decree gave complete and detailed instructions as to how piece rates were to fit into the scheme of time rates. For instance, the setting of actual piece rates could not guarantee the minimum, for they were too rigid and took no notice of varying runs of material. The mere saying in a decree that piece rates must yield the guaranteed minimum does not help in the least to show on what basis the time rates are to be enforced. No commission has stated, in its decrees,<sup>5</sup> rules on the following necessary points: (1) Shall the piece rates be such as to yield the minimum time rate for each hour worked, each day, each week, or each pay-roll period, whatever its length may be? (2) Must the time rate for the selected time period (hour, week, etc.) be earned each time a pay day is reached, or may a number of these units be averaged? (3) Shall every pieceworker be guaranteed the selected time rate? (4) Instead of guaranteeing the time rate to each individual worker, shall it be considered that the piece rates are adequate if the average earnings of the group as a whole equal the time rate for the selected period or series of periods? (5) Shall a certain percentage of the pieceworkers earn the time rates for the selected period as individuals? Only those decrees which give the per cent of women who must earn the time-rate minimum when working on piece rates in order that the piece rate may be considered satisfactory, are touching the real problem—enforcement.

#### Male minors.

At least one decree in every State has included male minors. In most cases the male minors receive exactly the same treatment as the females. Four California fruit and vegetable canning decrees, 1919, 1920, 1921, and 1923, set separate rates for male minor time workers, since these workers are not employed on the same processes as the women. The rates for male minors did not differentiate according to experience. The following statement compares these rates with the rates for women and female minors:

Year	Hourly rates for—		Male minors' rates	
	Women	Female minors	Hourly	Weekly
1919-----	\$0. 21 to \$0. 28	\$0. 18 to \$0. 28	\$0. 25	-----
1920-----	. 25 to . 333	. 22 to . 333	. 30	\$14. 00
1921-----	. 25 to . 333	. 22 to . 333	. 25	12. 00
1923-----	. 25 to . 333	. 25 to . 333	. 25	-----

<sup>5</sup>The California officials consider that the wording of their decrees, "Every person, firm, or corporation making payment of wages upon a piece-rate basis shall guarantee to all women and minor employees not less than the minimum-time rates for the wage groups in which they belong," means that if a woman works by the day she must be paid not less than the daily rate, if she works by the week the weekly rate, and if she works only part of a day her guaranteed hourly rate for the number of hours worked on piece rates. In other words, they feel that their decree says that the time rate is guaranteed a certain proportion of the individual workers, and that she must receive the time rate for each unit of time, not make it on the average. Moreover, though the Wisconsin decrees do not touch this piece-rate problem, the commission has issued a statement that, on the basis of the pay-roll period, each woman's earnings must be such as to give her an average for each hour equal to the minimum hourly rate for the class to which she belongs. The only case in which every woman need not have her rates adjusted to this standard is when 75 per cent of the experienced women earn 3 cents more per hour than the hourly minimum time rate.



Until 1921 the male minor without any experience was paid more than the inexperienced adult woman. By 1923 all three groups had the same entering rate.

#### **Workers receiving bonuses, commissions, etc.**

In enforcing minimum-wage rates, another question of enforcement that arose was how to treat money that was paid the woman as a bonus or commission. If such payments counted toward the woman's earning the minimum-wage rate, her regular rate, whether time or piece, could be somewhat below the minimum required by law, the bonus or commission making up the difference. Should money paid as bonuses or commissions be counted in when computing whether a given woman earned the minimum? These sums might be rewards for high output or for regular attendance, for selling slow-moving commodities, or for any of a number of varied and unrelated acts. How these bonuses or commissions were to be treated depended primarily on the sort of reward that the word represented, yet no minimum-wage decree defines the words "bonus" or "commission." If this special payment was an irregular and very occasional affair, its inclusion as part of the minimum wage would be hard to justify; however, if the commission or bonus was paid regularly and was based on fair conditions, there would be some cause for claiming that any woman who earned the full minimum-wage rate by means of the additional money in her bonus or commission was being treated in conformity with the terms of the law. If a bonus or commission was allowed to count toward the minimum, the commissions had to make rules, similar to those needed for piece rates, as to whether each week was to count as a separate unit or a number of weeks could be averaged, whether the minimum must be met for each hour worked or for each week, and so on. Though these problems were met constantly in applying the commissions' decrees and had to be settled either by commission or by enforcing officers, only a few of the decrees had any rules whatsoever covering the payment of bonuses or commissions. California and Wisconsin have made rules for bonus or commission workers in some of their decrees. The District of Columbia, Massachusetts, Minnesota, North Dakota, and Washington have made informal rules that appear in their annual reports. With the exception of Minnesota, the theory of all these rulings is that the bonus or commission may count toward the woman's earning the minimum-wage rate. Minnesota forbids including a bonus when reckoning to see whether or not a woman's pay meets the minimum-wage standards. In the final analysis, these rules do little more than reiterate the point that, no matter what method is followed in paying a woman, her weekly earnings must equal the minimum-wage rate or the law is not being obeyed.

When it comes actually to determining the way in which bonus or commission payments shall be counted, great confusion exists. In no case does a ruling specify whether each week or hour shall be a unit and whether the earnings including the bonus may be averaged over a period of time. The two States that have set rules in their decrees do little more than affirm that women paid by this method must receive the minimum. In California 21 decrees have contained provisions on this point, some of which have included part of the necessary definitions. The 1917 mercantile order

contains a rule for reckoning bonuses or commissions which reads: "When payment of wages is made upon a commission or bonus system wages shall be computed weekly and the time wage plus the bonus or commission shall be not less than the minimum rate for the wage group in which the worker belongs." A year later two orders—fruit and vegetable packing and unskilled and unclassified—provided that "where payment of wages is made upon a \* \* \* bonus or commission basis, the worker shall be paid not less than the minimum time rate for the number of hours employed." None of the other decrees (all of which are for 1918 or later<sup>6</sup>) specify even to this degree the relation among the time the woman works, the bonus or commission she receives, and the amount she must be paid. In the 1923 orders, even the provision that the bonus or commission workers must receive the minimum is dropped. In the Wisconsin orders, all that is required is that workers paid by the bonus or commission method be paid as much as the minimum rate. There is really no reason why this provision should be included unless it gives careful rules as to how the bonus and commission payments are to be reckoned. If a decree provides that all women must receive the rates of pay there set down, there is probably no need of mentioning special cases except to make rules for applying the rates to those cases. Workers on a bonus or commission basis undoubtedly needed special treatment, but the need of rules for applying the law to these workers was overlooked in drawing up the various decrees.

#### Home workers.

As in the case of workers on piece rates and those on a bonus or commission basis, home workers are a group of which, were the decrees silent, the supposition would be that they were guaranteed the minimum rate. The important reason for giving them special attention in the decrees is to issue rules for the application of the rates to a group whose conditions of employment vary so greatly from those of the ordinary factory operative. Two States, California and Wisconsin, have issued a few rules for home workers. In California every manufacturing order—1919 (Jan. and Aug.), 1920, and 1923—has provided that home workers must be registered with the commission. The first three decrees attempt to establish rates for home workers by specifying how their piece rates must be set. The method by which this rate is to be determined is interesting. It is to be a piece rate which will yield to a specified percentage of the factory workers not less than a specified hourly rate. The rates and percentages are as follows:

Date of decree	Hourly rate	Per cent of women who must earn this rate per hour
1919, January.....	\$0. 21	75
1919, August.....	. 28	66%
1920.....	. 333	66%

<sup>6</sup> Laundry, 1918, 1919, 1920; office, 1918, 1919, 1920; manufacturing, January, 1919, August, 1919, 1920; fruit and vegetable packing, 1919, 1920; unskilled and unclassified, 1919, 1920; hotel and restaurant, 1919, 1920; fish canning, 1919; agriculture, 1920; mercantile, 1920.

The employer is allowed to set the piece rate paid home workers but it must be one to yield these results. In all the decrees the hourly rate is the same as the regular hourly time rate for the experienced adult woman. In 1923 no rate is specified. In addition, beginning with August, 1919, the decrees forbade the employment of factory workers on home work. In 1919 and 1920 this was forbidden for full-time workers only; in 1923 it was forbidden in the case of any worker for the same employer. These few provisions for home workers show a recognition that this was a problem of enforcement as well as of actual rates of pay, for the earlier decrees give exact directions as to how the minimum rates were to be applied to home workers. That this was abandoned in their latest order is peculiar. It may be that this relation between factory workers and the rates paid home workers had become the rule in enforcement, and was no longer considered a necessary part of the decree.

In one special Wisconsin decree (all industries, 1919) the following rule for applying the minimum-wage rates to home workers appeared: "Home workers are to be paid such piece rates which will yield the women and minor employees of the same employer who are of average ability and are employed in the factory the rates prescribed in Order No. 1." Though only California and Wisconsin have given any special attention to home workers in their decrees, both these have recognized that the problem was how the enforcing officer should apply the minimum-wage rate to this group.

#### Summary.

Whether or not decrees should contain special directions as to how the enforcing officer must apply to the workers the provisions of the decrees is perhaps open to argument, as far as these groups are concerned, though there seems to be a preponderance of weight on the side of the necessity for incorporating in the decrees rules showing the relationship between various hours of work and rates of pay. Certainly in the early days of minimum-wage orders it would have been next to impossible to incorporate in the decrees workable rules for enforcement, for often it has needed years of experience to determine how to apply the decrees in a practicable and fair way. Moreover, the enforcing officer, in nearly all cases a woman, has been the person who has met these difficulties and the only person so familiar with the pitfalls that she could conceive rules to fit all contingencies. If, therefore, the commissions have wished to have these and similar points covered in the decrees, they really have had to accept verbatim what the enforcing officer has suggested. Since these rules would simply incorporate the practice of the enforcing officer, they may have seemed unnecessary. Some commissions may actually have felt that it was best not to make such definite rules in the decrees but to allow the enforcing officer to take the responsibility for putting in force the rates determined by the commissions. The decrees' silence on these problems does not mean that they have not been adequately handled; it does mean, however, that the commissions themselves may never have had to make decisions on these points. That would seem to be one bad feature of not incorporating rules on enforcement in the decrees. The commissions needed the knowledge of just what problems their enforcing officers had to meet. The fact that the rule had the force of the

commissions' written word behind it, must have given strength to the agents who were in direct contact with the employers. It also has assured uniform administration from firm to firm and from year to year in spite of changes of personnel. If some flexibility has been lost, weight of authority has been gained. It is perhaps of importance that California, where the enforcing officer has been a voting member of the commission and therefore in the best position to have the commission incorporate in the decrees whatever helps have been necessary for satisfactory enforcement, has dealt in more detail in its decrees with enforcement problems than has any other State.

#### SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ATTENTION PAID IN THE DECREES TO SPECIAL CLASSES OF WORKERS

From the space occupied in this study by the discussion of the provisions of decrees that cover all those workers who do not meet the requirements for the cost-of-living minimum rate, and of those rules that are concerned with the application of all rates, the real importance of these rates and rules may seem to be overemphasized. The decrees themselves, however, devote necessarily much more space to these questions than they do to the simple straightforward minimum rate based on living costs. Outside attention has focused itself on the main point of the law—the experienced rate. As a result, the complexities and difficulties of minimum-wage administration and enforcement usually have been seriously underestimated. If minimum wage in this country is to go on, it must be better understood. People should cease to think that a commission's job is done when it has set a rate of pay for a week's work and turned over the enforcement to a small staff, in many cases untrained. Future decrees should be drawn up in such a way that all classes of workers are taken care of in each decree. If commissions do not wish to fill the decree with the numerous provisions as to how it shall be applied to each kind of worker, a special set of rulings on the relation between the sums of money incorporated in the various decrees on the one hand, and the hours of work, methods of payment, and so forth, on the other hand, should be issued. All decrees, either within one State or from State to State, can not be alike; they need, to be sure, to take account of differences in the kind of work performed. But the present diversity is beyond all reason. Certain fundamental relations are the same whether a decree is issued for mercantile stores or for paper-box factories. Seemingly every possible phase of these problems of the application of decrees has been handled by some decree. If the commissions thus are shown to have a knowledge of the existence of these problems, they should take care of them for each decree.

In the field of rates for inexperienced and minor workers, it would appear that the commissions should ask themselves what they are trying to do. The theories on which these widely varied rates are set are hard to discover. The decrees do not go into enough detail to guarantee a worker sufficient training to become skilled; yet the only possible explanation of some of the rates and rules for minors and apprentices is that they were considered as groups unable to earn a skilled minimum wage. Here again is a case where diversity of treatment may be necessary in some cases. The diversity in the

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existing decrees, however, seems to be the result of accident or compromise.

It is important that decrees should be issued in such a way as to avoid certain possible bad effects, such as the discharge of workers when they qualify for the cost-of-living minimum, the substitution of children for women, and so forth, and it would be interesting to analyze specific decrees as to their possible effects, but the result would be merely an expression of personal opinion. Moreover, the surface tendencies might be completely changed by a change in economic conditions. These decrees for the most part were applied during the chaotic conditions of war and recovery from war. Their general results as shown by their own figures on actual rates and earnings will be discussed later in the report; their specific and immediate effects can not be known. The significant fact about these decrees is that, taken en masse, grouped as much as their diversity will allow, and analyzed, they show such a lack of understanding in most States of the problems involved in setting and applying minimum-wage rates.

## CHAPTER X.—FORMALITIES NECESSARY BEFORE THE RATES AND RULINGS INCORPORATED IN THE DECREES HAVE THE FORCE OF LAW

In the lengthy discussion of actual investigations and actual rates, the fact that all these steps taken were based in most cases on specific clauses in the laws, and in only a relatively few cases on implied powers, may have been lost sight of. The laws, however, did not stop with the provisions that made possible the elaborate form of the decrees; they expressly provided the course of action that was necessary to give these decrees the force of law. In general the idea was that the public should have a chance to express its opinion of the decree before it became part of the law of the State. To make this possible, public hearings and the publication of decrees were required. Usually it was provided also that a certain period of time must elapse between the adoption of the decree and its going into effect.

### PUBLIC HEARINGS

The laws of every State, except Wisconsin, provide that public hearings are to be held before the decree actually goes into effect. Two types of public hearings are indicated in the laws: One prior to the announcing of the wage rate, at which any interested persons may appear and present facts; the other after the amount has been announced, so that protests may be recorded before the decree finally is promulgated. Some States provide that both types of hearings may be held. The following statement shows which State laws provide for these particular kinds of hearings.

Public hearing prior to determining amount of award:	Public hearing prior to establishing rate as law:
Arkansas.	Arkansas.
California (may hold).	California.
Colorado, 1917 (may hold).	Colorado, 1913.
Kansas, 1915 (may hold).	Colorado, 1917.
Kansas, 1921.	District of Columbia.
Minnesota.	Kansas, 1915.
North Dakota (may hold).	Massachusetts.
Oregon (may hold).	Nebraska.
Texas (may hold).	North Dakota.
Washington.	Oregon.
	Texas (may hold).

The laws seem to express quite generally the principle that while a public hearing must be held prior to announcing a rate as law, it is by no means so vital to have such a hearing before the rate is determined. In Kansas (1921), Minnesota, and Washington the law requires that hearings must be held before the rate is determined, but no hearing is required afterwards. Arkansas is the only State that requires a public hearing both before a rate is determined and before it comes in force. The commissions in California, Colorado (1917), Kansas (1915), North Dakota, Oregon, and Texas have power to hold public hearings before rates are announced if they so desire.

but they must—in the case of Texas, may—hold such a hearing before the decree becomes effective. Wisconsin is the only State that can promulgate a decree without ever having a public hearing.<sup>1</sup> The formality of public hearings, of course, has been complied with whenever decrees have been issued. It has not, on the whole, formed a very vital part of minimum-wage work. Kansas and Wisconsin, by holding public hearings before announcing any wage rate, used these hearings as a means of collecting information with a fair degree of success. The type of material thus collected in Kansas has been discussed in an earlier section of this report. As far as the public hearings to take care of complaints are concerned, the public, even the interested employer and employee groups, have taken little interest. In most cases any protests the employers or employees had to make were made by their representatives in the wage boards' meetings or the commissions' meetings. The public rarely has been interested enough to study the question and attend the hearings so informed as to ask questions and make suggestions.

#### PUBLISHING OF NOTICES OF PUBLIC HEARINGS AND OF THE TERMS OF THE WAGE ORDERS

It is evident that in planning the steps to be taken in setting decrees the legislatures were anxious to have the decrees given the widest possible publicity. This served two purposes. It allowed anyone interested to make inquiries or protestations before the decree actually went into effect, and it took away from violators of the law the excuse of ignorance. The first step in the laws' program of publicity was the public hearing, but they went further and provided for various other kinds of publicity—first for the public hearing at which the decree would be discussed, and next for the decree itself. One element in this was that enough time was to be allowed to elapse after the publicity to enable people to make any criticism or comment desired.

In California, Colorado, the District of Columbia, Kansas, Massachusetts, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oregon, and Texas the laws specifically direct the commissions to advertise public hearings. The notice must be published a definite number of days, specified in the law, before the hearing is to be held. This period varies from 10 days in Texas to 30 days in Nebraska. The most common provision is that it must be published once a week for four successive weeks before the hearing (the District of Columbia, Kansas, North Dakota, and Oregon). In seven States—California, Colorado, the District of Columbia, Kansas, North Dakota, Oregon, and Texas—the laws, to make sure that an entire district is notified, also specify definite localities where the advertisement of the public hearings is to be placed. The California law and the Texas law, the latter modeled on that of California, require that a notice of a public hearing be mailed each county clerk. California, Kansas, North Dakota, Oregon, and Texas also specify the information to be included in the notice. The minuteness of these directions shows that the legislatures laid great stress on this step in procedure. Experience has

<sup>1</sup> The regular policy of the Wisconsin Industrial Commission was to hold public hearings before issuing any order.

shown that this supposed safeguard of everyone's interests has been little used, since public hearings usually have drawn scant attendance.

The publicity to be given to the order itself is an extremely important point. California, Colorado (1913), Minnesota, Texas, and Wisconsin have provided for publication of the order in such specified localities that the State is covered. Colorado (1917), the District of Columbia, Kansas, North Dakota, Oregon, and Washington have provided only that a copy of the order should be sent, as far as practicable, to each employer in the occupation in question. California, Colorado (1913), Minnesota, and Texas made this requirement in addition to the one of publication. California and Texas required that part of the publicity be the mailing of a copy of the order to each county recorder. Massachusetts and Nebraska provided for the publication of a summary of the findings and recommendations of the wage boards. Only Arkansas failed to direct the commission to bring the terms of the decrees before large groups of the State's citizens before the decrees became effective.

The period of time that must elapse after the decree is announced and before it becomes effective also is decided in most of the laws. Sixty days must elapse in California, Colorado (1913), the District of Columbia, Kansas, North Dakota, Oregon, Texas, and Washington; 30 days in Colorado (1917), Minnesota, and Wisconsin. Arkansas, Massachusetts, and Nebraska allow the commissions to determine for themselves the period of time that is to elapse between a decree's being announced and its going into effect. Wisconsin allows the commission to determine this time period for special orders, and also provides for a course of procedure if an individual or corporation wishes to apply for an extension of time before the decree is enforced in relation to a specific case.

When these necessary formalities have been complied with and the specified time has elapsed, the rates and the rules for their application have become in every State, except Massachusetts and Nebraska, just as much the law of the State as if they had been enacted by the legislatures. In Massachusetts and Nebraska they could be enforced only by publishing the names of those persons who failed to observe the decrees. The commissions were ready to turn their attention to enforcing the decrees.



## CHAPTER XI.—TIME CONSUMED IN SETTING DECREES

Since the actual passing of a flexible law, as pointed out early in this report, did nothing but declare the legislature's purpose to have established rates of pay for woman workers based on the cost of living, the law began to affect the women only when the commissions issued decrees setting specific rates for designated industrial groups. Unless the commissions performed this work expeditiously the law remained a dead letter. The Colorado commission, for example, nullified the act of the legislature by never passing a decree. In most States, due to delays in establishing rates, the actual time the law has been an active force is considerably less than the time elapsing between its passage and the present time. Even after the ice was broken by establishing one decree, many commissions continued to move very slowly toward including other industrial groups or toward revising established decrees. The foregoing discussion of all the many problems that arise and must be met before a minimum-wage decree can be issued shows such an overwhelming number of disputed questions that there would seem to be ample reason for wage boards and commissions to prolong indefinitely their studies and deliberations, but to allow such delays was to defeat the law.

### TIME ELAPSING BETWEEN COMMISSION'S FIRST SPECIFIC ACT IN A GIVEN INDUSTRY AND DATE DECREE BECAME EFFECTIVE

It is interesting to see just how long it did take to set each minimum-wage rate. Such facts are available for almost all decrees. It is necessary, however, to determine what shall be called the first specific act; the close of the period will, of course, be the date the decree went into effect. For the purpose of the following table it has been decided to consider that the decree was in process of being set from the first reported act of conference or investigation in the field afterwards covered by the decree. This decision may be challenged, because sometimes a conference was not followed up for years, or an investigation was made but no conferences were held nor wage boards organized for a long time, when the whole project would be revived and carried through to a relatively speedy conclusion. It is possible to argue that only the acts immediately preceding a decree should be considered, but to do this is to overlook many important incidents in the development of minimum wage. The longer time has been decided upon because it appears that the act of investigating or holding conferences showed that the commissions felt at that time that it was desirable to set a wage rate and it is important to enumerate the more important causes that forced some commissions to take years before they finally completed their work and put a rate into effect.

The following table shows how much time elapsed between the first specific act of investigation or conference in a given industrial field and the setting of a decree covering the group studied:

TABLE 52.—Time consumed in setting decrees, by State and date of first action

[From time of first specific act of investigation or conference to time decree became effective]

State and date of first action	3 months and under	Over 3 and under 6 months	6 and under 9 months	9 and under 12 months	1 and under 1½ years	1½ and under 2 years	2 and under 2½ years
Arkansas: 1920.....	Mercantile, Fort Smith.						
1922.....	Mercantile, Fort Smith and Little Rock.						
California: 1914.....							Fruit and vegetable canning. <sup>1</sup>
1916.....				Fruit and vegetable canning.			
1917.....	Fish canning.		Fruit and vegetable packing. Offices. Unclassified occupations.				
1918.....		Fruit and vegetable canning.	Fruit and vegetable packing. Offices. Unclassified occupations. Mercantile. Laundry. Fruit and vegetable canning. Manufacturing.	Fish canning.			
1919.....				Unclassified occupations. Agricultural field occupations.	Manufacturing.		

1920.....		Fruit and vegetable canning. Fruit and vegetable packing. Fish canning. Hotels and restaurants. Offices. Mercantile. Laundry.						
1921.....		Fruit and vegetable canning.	Needle trades <sup>1</sup> .....			Mercantile <sup>1</sup> .....		Fish canning. Manufacturing. <sup>1</sup>
1922.....			Fruit and vegetable canning.					
State and date of first action	2½ and under 3 years	3 and under 3½ years	3½ and under 4 years	4 and under 4½ years	4½ and under 5 years	5 and under 5½ years	5½ and under 6 years	6 and under 7 years
California: 1914.....			Laundry <sup>1</sup> Mercantile.		Manufacturing <sup>2</sup> .....	Hotels and restaurants.		Printing and book-binding. <sup>1</sup>
1921.....	Laundry. <sup>1</sup> Fruit and vegetable packing. <sup>1</sup> Unclassified occupations. Hotels and restaurants. Nut cracking and sorting.							
State and date of first action	3 months and under	Over 3 and under 6 months	6 and under 9 months	9 and under 12 months	1 and under 1½ years	1½ and under 2 years	2 and under 2½ years	
District of Columbia: 1919.....			Printing and publishing. <sup>1</sup> Mercantile. <sup>1</sup>	Hotels and restaurants. <sup>1</sup>				
1920.....					Laundry. <sup>1</sup>			

<sup>1</sup> Decree set by wage board.<sup>2</sup> Time consumed estimated.<sup>3</sup> Issued as part of the manufacturing decree, 1919.

TABLE 52.—Time consumed in setting decrees, by State and date of first action—Continued

State and date of first action	3 months and under	Over 3 and under 6 months	6 and under 9 months	9 and under 12 months	1 and under 1½ years	1½ and under 2 years	2 and under 2½ years	
<b>Kansas:</b>								
1918.....		Telephone. <sup>1</sup>						
1919.....			Factory. <sup>1</sup>					
1920.....							Laundry. Manufacturing. Mercantile.	
State and date of first action	2½ and under 3 years	3 and under 3½ years	3½ and under 4 years	4 and under 4½ years	4½ and under 5 years	5 and under 5½ years	5½ and under 6 years	6 and under 7 years
<b>Kansas: 1916.....</b>	Laundry. <sup>1</sup> Mercantile. <sup>1</sup>	Manufacturing. <sup>1</sup>						
State and date of first action	3 months and under	Over 3 and under 6 months	6 and under 9 months	9 and under 12 months	1 and under 1½ years	1½ and under 2 years	2 and under 2½ years	
<b>Massachusetts:</b>								
1913.....					Brush. <sup>1</sup>			
1914.....					Retail stores. <sup>1</sup>	Laundry. <sup>1</sup>		
1915.....						Women's clothing. <sup>1</sup>	Men's clothing. <sup>1</sup>	
1916.....						Retail millinery. <sup>1</sup>	Men's furnishings. <sup>1</sup> Muslin underwear. <sup>1</sup> Wholesale millinery. <sup>1</sup>	
1917.....						Office-building cleaners. <sup>1</sup>		

1918.....									Canning and pre- serving. <sup>1</sup>	
1919.....		Men's clothing <sup>1</sup> .....								Minor confection- ery. <sup>1</sup>
1920.....		Women's clothing <sup>1</sup> ..... Office-building clean- ers. <sup>1</sup>								Men's furnish- ings. <sup>1</sup>
1921.....		Women's clothing <sup>1</sup> .....	Retail stores <sup>1</sup> .....		Brush. <sup>1</sup>					
1922.....		Paper box. <sup>1</sup> Muslin underwear. <sup>1</sup> Laundry. <sup>1</sup>								
1923.....									Bread and bakery products. <sup>1</sup>	
1924.....				Canning, preserving, and minor confection- ery. <sup>1</sup> Millinery. <sup>1</sup>						
1925.....		Candy.								
<b>State and date of first action</b>	<b>2½ and under 3 years</b>	<b>3 and under 3½ years</b>	<b>3½ and under 4 years</b>	<b>4 and under 4½ years</b>	<b>4½ and under 5 years</b>	<b>5 and under 5½ years</b>	<b>5½ and under 6 years</b>	<b>6 and under 7 years</b>		
<b>Massachusetts:</b>										
1913.....										Corset. <sup>1</sup> Candy. <sup>1</sup>
1915.....					Knit goods <sup>1</sup> .....	Paper box. <sup>1</sup>				
1920.....			Druggists' com- pounds. <sup>1</sup>					Stationery goods.		
1928.....		Jewelry.								
1924.....	Toys and games.									

<sup>1</sup> Decree set by wage board.

<sup>1</sup> Decree set by wage board; time consumed estimated.

TABLE 52.—Time consumed in setting decrees, by State and date of first action—Continued

State and date of first action	3 months and under	Over 3 and under 6 months	6 and under 9 months	9 and under 12 months	1 and under 1½ years	1½ and under 2 years	2 and under 2½ years	
Minnesota: 1913.....					Mercantile, office, waitress, hairdressing. <sup>1</sup> Manufacturing, mechanical, telephone, telegraph, dyeing, etc. <sup>1</sup>			
1919.....	Any occupation. <sup>2</sup>							
1920.....		Any occupation. <sup>1</sup>						
State and date of first action	2½ and under 3 years	3 and under 3½ years	3½ and under 4 years	4 and under 4½ years	4½ and under 5 years	5 and under 5½ years	5½ and under 6 years	6 and under 7 years
Minnesota: 1913.....					All occupations—learners and apprentices. <sup>1</sup> All occupations except mercantile, etc. and manufacturing, etc. <sup>1</sup>			
State and date of first action	3 months and under	Over 3 and under 6 months	6 and under 9 months	9 and under 12 months	1 and under 1½ years	1½ and under 2 years	2 and under 2½ years	
North Dakota: 1920.....					Public housekeeping. <sup>1</sup> Office. <sup>1</sup> Manufacturing. <sup>1</sup> Laundry. <sup>1</sup> Student nurses. <sup>1</sup> Mercantile. <sup>1</sup> Telephone. <sup>1</sup>			
1922.....			Public housekeeping. <sup>1</sup> Mercantile. <sup>1</sup> Manufacturing. <sup>1</sup> Laundry. <sup>1</sup> Telephone. <sup>1</sup>					

Oregon: 1918.....		Manufacturing (Portland)—adults. <sup>1</sup> Mercantile (Portland)—adults. <sup>1</sup> Office (Portland)—adults. <sup>1</sup> All—minors. <sup>1</sup>	All, adults. <sup>4</sup>					
1910.....		Mercantile—adults. <sup>2</sup> Manufacturing—adults. <sup>2</sup> Personal service—adults. <sup>2</sup> Laundry—adults. <sup>2</sup> Telephone and telegraph—adults. <sup>2</sup> Office—adults. <sup>2</sup> Public housekeeping—adults. <sup>2</sup> All—minors. <sup>1</sup>						
1918.....		Mercantile—adults. <sup>1</sup> Manufacturing—adults. <sup>1</sup> Personal service—adults. <sup>1</sup> Laundry—adults. <sup>1</sup> Telephone and telegraph—adults. <sup>1</sup> Office—adults. <sup>1</sup> Public housekeeping—adults. <sup>1</sup> All—minors. <sup>1</sup>				Mercantile—adults. <sup>1</sup> Manufacturing—adults. <sup>1</sup> Personal service—adults. <sup>1</sup> Laundry—adults. <sup>1</sup> Telephone and telegraph—adults. <sup>1</sup> Office—adults. <sup>1</sup> Public housekeeping—adults. <sup>1</sup> All—minors. <sup>1</sup> Canning. <sup>1</sup>		
1922.....		Canning. <sup>1</sup>						
State and date of first action	2½ and under 3 years	3 and under 3½ years	3½ and under 4 years	4 and under 4½ years	4½ and under 5 years	5 and under 5½ years	5½ and under 6 years	6 and under 7 years
Oregon: 1918.....				Canning. <sup>1</sup>				

<sup>1</sup> Decree set by wage board.

<sup>2</sup> Time consumed estimated.

<sup>3</sup> Decree set by wage board; time consumed estimated.

<sup>4</sup> 3 decrees, for communities of various sizes, issued simultaneously. Set by wage boards; time consumed estimated.

<sup>5</sup> 2 decrees, for experienced and inexperienced women, issued simultaneously. Time consumed estimated.

<sup>6</sup> 2 decrees, for communities of various sizes, issued simultaneously. Time consumed estimated.

<sup>7</sup> 2 decrees—1 for Portland and 1 for State at large. Set by wage board.

<sup>8</sup> 2 decrees—1 for Portland and 1 for State at large. Set by wage board; time consumed estimated.

TABLE 52.—Time consumed in setting decrees, by State and date of first action—Continued

State and date of first action	8 months and under	Over 8 and under 6 months	6 and under 9 months	9 and under 12 months	1 and under 1½ years	1½ and under 2 years	2 and under 2½ years
Texas: 1919.....						Telephone and telegraph companies, mercantile establishments, laundries, and factories.	
Washington: <sup>10</sup>							
1913.....				Mercantile <sup>11</sup> ..... Manufacturing. <sup>11</sup>	Laundry <sup>11</sup> ..... Telegraph and telephone. <sup>11</sup>	Office <sup>11</sup> .....	Hotel and restaurant. <sup>11</sup>
1918.....			All. <sup>11</sup>				
1919.....		Public housekeeping. <sup>11</sup>					
1920.....						Minors—all except public housekeeping. Manufacturing—adults. <sup>1</sup> Laundry—adults. <sup>1</sup>	
1921.....	Public housekeeping. <sup>11</sup> Telephone and telegraph—adults. <sup>1</sup> Mercantile—adults. <sup>1</sup>						
1922.....	Minors (any occupation other than public housekeeping).						
Wisconsin: <sup>14</sup> 1921.....			All. <sup>1</sup>				



State and date of first action	Over 2¼ and under 3 years	3 and under 3¼ years	3½ and under 4 years	4 and under 4¼ years	4½ and under 5 years	5 and under 5¼ years	5½ and under 6 years	6 and under 7 years
Wisconsin: <sup>14</sup> 1913							All <sup>4</sup>	Telephone. Tobacco stem- ming.

<sup>1</sup> Decree set by wage board.  
<sup>2</sup> Decree set by wage board; time consumed estimated.  
<sup>3</sup> Information for 20 decrees not available. These include 4 telephone and telegraph decrees issued in 1915, 1 decree for minors issued in 1917, 1 telephone decree probably issued in 1919, 5 apprenticeship circulars issued in 1914, 5 issued in 1918, and 4 issued in 1919.  
<sup>4</sup> 2 decrees issued—1 for adults and 1 for minors. Set by wage board; time consumed estimated.  
<sup>5</sup> 3 decrees issued—1 for adults and 2 for minors. Set by wage board; time consumed estimated.  
<sup>6</sup> 2 decrees issued—1 for adults and 1 for minors. Set by wage board.  
<sup>14</sup> Wisconsin has issued 27 decrees in all. For 23 of them—16 canning, 1 beauty parlor, 1 attendants in sanitariums, 1 intermittent workers, and 1 home workers—length of time and course of action are unknown.

Eighty-eight full decrees and the printing and publishing industry in California, which was part of a manufacturing decree, took one or more years to be set. This meant that in 38.9 per cent of all full decrees ever issued more than a year was spent working on these problems. A small part of this time in every case was taken up by formalities required by the laws, such as allowing specified periods of time to elapse between certain acts. These necessary delays, however, could never occupy more than three months. The reasons for continued delay were not to be found in the laws' requirements, but in the practical conditions the commissions had to meet. It has been said before that to get the law to functioning for the first time was difficult. In many States uncertainty as to the courts' attitude toward the law caused the commissions to move very slowly in the early days. The delays due to causes other than legal questions, however, applied not only to the first decree issued in each State but to the original decree for any industrial group set at any time thereafter. Curiously enough there were just 88 original decrees issued, of which 61 (69.3 per cent) took a year or more to be formulated. Of the decrees taking three years or more, all were original decrees.

#### Length of time consumed in setting first decree in each State.

The majority of States consumed a year or more in setting the first decree. The following is a list of the States, with the name of the first decree and the length of time consumed in setting this rate:

State	Name of decree	Time elapsing
Arkansas.....	Mercantile establishments (Fort Smith).....	3 months and under.
California.....	Fruit and vegetable canning.....	2 and under 2½ years.
District of Columbia.....	Printing and publishing.....	6 and under 9 months.
Kansas.....	Mercantile establishments.....	2½ and under 3 years.
Massachusetts.....	Brush.....	1 and under 1½ years.
Minnesota.....	Mercantile, etc.....	Do.
North Dakota.....	Public housekeeping.....	Do.
Oregon.....	All (miners).....	Over 3 and under 6 months.
	Manufacturing (adults in Portland).....	Do.
Texas.....	Telephone, telegraph, etc.....	1½ and under 2 years.
Washington.....	Mercantile (adults).....	9 and under 12 months.
Wisconsin.....	Pea canning.....	Not reported.
	All.....	5½ and under 6 years.

Early in this report the time that elapsed between the date of the law's enactment and the date on which a decree became effective was discussed, and these were the decrees considered. For such discussion it was possible to include a period of inaction between the date on which the law was passed and the date of the first specific act looking toward setting the decree, a delay that might have been due at least in part to the act's not becoming effective for some time after its passage or to slow action in appointing the commission. All the present discussion is based on the time elapsing after the commission made some move toward setting a rate. Arkansas, the District of Columbia, Oregon, and Washington took less than a year. Massachusetts, Minnesota, North Dakota, and Texas took from one to two years. California and Kansas took from two to three years, and Wisconsin, though it had previously set a pea-canning decree in a nominal period of time, took nearly six years for its first formal decree. Roughly, 75 per cent of these first decrees were one year or more in being set.

In the case of reissued or supplementary decrees only 27, or 19.7 per cent, took over a year to set, so the proportion of decrees involving delay decreased steadily, showing a slight drop from the very first decree issued in each State to the original decrees in various industries, and a very large drop to the reissued or supplementary decrees. Some causes for these drops appear from State to State. The most important of these is the fact that, before first decrees could be set, certain questions as to the constitutionality of the laws and as to the interpretation of certain parts of the laws, granted their constitutionality, had to be settled. In other cases delay has been due to local causes.

#### Discussion of causes of delay when decrees were a year or more in being set.

The following statement shows the decrees that took a year or more to formulate. It enables the causes of delay to be discussed for each State.

State	Number of decrees issued	Decrees taking a year or more to set	
		Number	Per cent
Total.....	232	183	137.9
Arkansas.....	3		
California.....	40	14	35.0
District of Columbia.....	5	1	20.0
Kansas.....	5	6	75.0
Massachusetts.....	34	23	67.6
Minnesota.....	12	9	75.0
North Dakota.....	13	7	53.8
Oregon.....	44	12	27.3
Texas.....	1	1	100.0
Washington.....	45	12	26.7
Wisconsin.....	27	3	11.1

<sup>1</sup> The printing and publishing industry as part of a manufacturing decree in California also took more than 1 year to set.

According to the commissions' reports, the question of constitutionality seriously retarded the work of setting the first decrees in California and Wisconsin. This delay was not caused by cases within these two States but by the suit brought against the Oregon Minimum Wage Commission to enjoin it from enforcing the decrees already established on the ground that the States had not the power under the Constitution to pass a law regulating wages and thus destroying freedom of contract between employer and employee. In Oregon itself the enforcement of the law was not interfered with, since every State court that heard the case declared the law constitutional. Nor did the Washington commission, which went ahead and set rates during the time that the Oregon case was in court, feel itself handicapped. It was not until 1916, however, that California felt secure enough to set its first decree. Though the Federal Supreme Court had not yet handed down a decision on the Oregon case, the enforcement of the California decree (fruit and vegetable canning) was not questioned, the decree being based on an agreement between the canners of the State and the commission. Nevertheless, it took from two to four years more for California to cover all the other industries and occupations. Particularly in the case of the first

laundry, mercantile, and manufacturing orders was the progress very slow. Conferences would be held; then, after a considerable period of time, investigations of rates would be made. Two investigations were made in the fruit and vegetable canning and in the laundry industry before a decree was set. There were no unduly prolonged investigations, no drawn-out wage-board sessions, but just weeks and months allowed to slip by after each reported act. In Wisconsin, after an investigation and the organization of a wage board, the whole matter was dropped for years. Even in 1917, when an evenly divided United States Supreme Court affirmed the decision of the Supreme Court of Oregon sustaining the constitutionality of the law of that State, the commission set a rate for only one small group, pea canneries. It was two years more, or nearly six years in all since their first act of investigation, before their first decree set through wage-board procedure, an all-industries decree, was completed.

Later decrees in these States were not subjected to long delays without a special cause. Wisconsin never took more than a short period of time to set its later decrees. California in 1921 held a series of public hearings with the intent of revising all its decrees. This revision was not completed for over a year for mercantile establishments and for over two years in fish canning, manufacturing, laundry and dry cleaning, fruit and vegetable packing, unclassified occupations, and hotels and restaurants. Once again court action was responsible, though this time it was direct. An injunction was obtained against the first order issued as an aftermath of these 1921 public hearings. In studying the situation caused by this injunction it was discovered that the original public hearing had not been held exactly as required by law, so the commission had to start all over again. It was necessary for the commission to begin at the very first step and to reinvestigate as well as to hold a new series of public hearings. When at last all this ground had been gone over again, a long period of time had elapsed.

The following dates for one California decree—the mercantile—show just where the time went.

- November 9, 1921: Conference to consider revising order.
- November 21, 1921: Public hearing.
- March, 1922: Pay-roll call to determine rates and earnings. (Investigation.)
- December 14, 1922: Public hearing.
- December 27, 1922: Wage-board meeting.
- December 29, 1922: Decree announced.
- April 8, 1923: Decree effective.

Minnesota set about forming its earliest decrees in a leisurely fashion, taking about three and one-half months to investigate and about seven months for wage-board meetings, so that it worked on its first decrees for a little more than a year. As soon as these first decrees were issued an injunction was obtained forbidding their enforcement. The result of this case was the opposite of the Oregon action, because the lower court in Minnesota held the law unconstitutional and enforcement of the decrees was impossible until this decision was reversed by the supreme court of the State. Work on other decrees was resumed immediately, and in three months after the court's final action orders were issued completing the work of bringing all women under some decree. The court action, however,

had meant that almost five years elapsed before the commission completed the work it undertook immediately after the passage of the act.

One other commission, that of Massachusetts, found itself delayed in its work by appeals to the courts. An action questioning the constitutionality of the minimum-wage act was started late in 1915 and not finally settled until 1918, when the superior court of the State held the law constitutional. Work on some of the decrees went ahead uninterruptedly, but if any wage-board member cared to raise the question of constitutionality the commission was unable to force the work to go forward. Before the first candy decree and the first paper-box decree were issued finally, wage-board organization was held up for over three years, in each case because the employer members refused to serve until the question of the law's constitutionality was decided. When this point finally was decided so much time had elapsed that the work had to be done again, beginning with a new investigation. In the remaining States, though there has been frequent recourse to court action, it has not taken such form as to delay the formation and issuance of decrees.

Other causes of long delays in setting wage rates were long-drawn-out wage-board procedure and wage-board awards which the commissions could not accept and which had to be recommitted either to the same wage board or to a new wage board for further consideration. These cases have been discussed in detail in the section of this report in which the whole organization and work of the wage boards was under consideration. The statement following shows those decrees among the 88 that took a year or more to set where long-drawn-out wage-board procedure was a contributing cause.

State	Reasons for delay		
	First recommendation unsatisfactory		Long session of wage board
	New board	Recommitted	
District of Columbia: 1920.....		Laundry.	
Kansas: 1918.....		Laundry.....	Laundry, first (4 to 5 months). Laundry, second (1 to 1½ years). Manufacturing (4 to 5 months). Mercantile (1 to 1½ years).
Massachusetts: 1913.....	Candy, first.....		Candy, first (9 to 10 months). Brush (5 to 6 months). Laundry (8 to 9 months). Retail stores (4 to 5 months). Knit goods (3 to 4 months). Women's clothing (5 to 6 months). Men's furnishings (3 to 4 months). Muslin underwear (7 to 8 months).
1914.....	Corset. Candy, second.....		
1915.....	Paper box.....		
1916.....		Muslin underwear. Office-building cleaners.	Office-building cleaners (4 to 5 months).
1917.....			
1919.....			Minor lines of confectionery (7 to 8 months).
1920.....			Men's furnishings (1 to 1½ years).
1921.....	Brush.....	Brush.....	Brush, second (3 to 4 months). Stationery (3 to 4 months).
1925.....			

State	Reasons for delay—Continued		
	First recommendation unsatisfactory		Long session of wage board
	New board	Recommitted	
Minnesota: 1913.....			Mercantile (6 to 7 months). Manufacturing (5 to 6 months).
Washington: 1913..... 1920.....	Laundry. Manufacturing. Laundry.		
Wisconsin: 1913.....		All.....	All (5 to 6 months).

Of all the 88 decrees consuming a year or more, 72 involved wage-board procedure, but only 25 of these wage boards delayed the setting of the decree. Twenty-seven of the wage boards were held in California, North Dakota, and Oregon, three States which, with Texas as a fourth, never were delayed by prolonged wage-board action or inability to accept wage-board recommendations. Twelve other decrees based on wage-board action are found in Washington and the District of Columbia, where the commissions were obliged to refuse wage-board recommendations in four cases but where the wage boards held no unduly prolonged sessions. There remain Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, where at least some part of the delay in setting rates was due to prolonged wage-board deliberations. The table records only 25 cases where any delay in formulating decrees was caused by slow action or disagreement on the part of wage boards.

If legal action of various sorts and slowness or disagreement among wage boards account for a considerable amount of delay in setting rates, these two causes are by no means responsible for all the lost time. A third and very common cause is slowness of action by the commissions. This is such an indefinite thing that it eludes analysis. It has been pointed out in California, for instance, that even after the legal doubts were settled, so that a fruit-and-vegetable-canning decree had been set, action on the remaining original decrees consumed over a year, though the commission had had four years in which to make any necessary investigations. In Massachusetts the time allowed to elapse between the investigation and the calling of a wage board often was very great. In 20 of the 34 Massachusetts decrees discussed in this report, from six months to three and one-half years elapsed between these two acts. In the case of stationery goods five years elapsed between the investigation and the holding of a wage board. In Kansas, Oregon, and Washington similar delays occurred for a few decrees in each State. Moreover, though the laws usually required only a 60-day interval between the issuance of the decree and the date on which it became effective, additional time was lost in all the States by allowing more than this period to elapse.

The reasons for these delays rarely are given. In four Massachusetts decrees—knit goods, muslin underwear, wholesale millinery, and office-building cleaners—the figures shown by the first investigations were not considered sufficient for a variety of reasons, and further investigation was undertaken before a wage board was called. One of these additional investigations was due to a change in the personnel of the commission; another included a somewhat more limited group of workers than the first, in an effort to get the facts about the lowest-paid women in the occupation. The long delays in setting the latest manufacturing and laundry decrees in Washington were due to the resignation of the entire membership of the commission and a reorganization of the whole administrative agency. Undoubtedly, reasons for other delays were distributed among widely varied causes. The causes were purely local also. Some of them may have been unavoidable, but when long periods of inaction occur it looks as if the commissions had failed to recognize how important it was to keep steadily at work on the decrees. Even a few weeks' delay between steps soon counted up, causing considerable postponement of the actual carrying out of the law. The commissions should exert every effort to push through decrees with all reasonable speed, and they could compensate in some degree for the time necessarily spent on investigations and wage-board meetings by making sure that just as soon as one step toward a decree is finished the next step follows immediately.

## CHAPTER XII.—ENFORCEMENT OF DECREES

No attempt has been made to judge whether any one State enforced its decrees well or ill. It may be possible to gain some idea by noticing the size of the appropriation and staff available in relation to the size of the State and the number of women covered by the decrees. The care with which the decrees were drawn up, the powers and penalties in the laws themselves, all show whether or not the executive officer was so equipped that she could hope to enforce the law. The actual pay-roll inspections necessary to say authoritatively whether or not the decrees were being 100 per cent enforced obviously are not within the province of a Federal bureau. In a later section of this report, where the States' own figures on rates and earnings are reproduced, a good idea may be gained of some general results—results that could not have been obtained if the law had been allowed to become a dead letter. The purpose here is to show the powers and penalties in the law and to illustrate methods of enforcement.

### POWERS OF ENFORCEMENT AND PENALTIES FOR VIOLATIONS

Most of the States specify that the commissions administering the laws are to enforce them also, but strangely enough the laws in Arkansas, Colorado, and Washington do not say that general enforcement is a duty of the minimum-wage commission. Originally the California law did not designate the agency that was required to enforce the law, but in 1919 an amendment specified that the industrial welfare commission was to assume this duty. California, Colorado (1917), Texas, Washington, and Wisconsin require the commissions to enforce the law whenever they receive a complaint that it is being violated. In practice all the commissions that have entered wage decrees have assumed that they were responsible for the enforcement of these decrees, and have worked out a plan of enforcement through pay-roll inspection.

To aid the commissions in the routine of enforcement the laws, in addition to general grants, such as the authority "to take all proceedings necessary to enforce the payment of a wage not less than a living wage,"<sup>1</sup> have mentioned specifically certain powers that the commissions might exercise. In all the States except Massachusetts and Nebraska the purpose of these grants of power is the absolute enforcement of all rates. In Massachusetts and Nebraska the purpose is the giving of publicity to the names of all persons who do not obey the decrees.

In the first place the commissions are given power to issue licenses to certain groups of workers who need not be paid the experienced rate. The records of these special cases enable inspectors to know those persons who legally are receiving less than the minimum. The statement following shows the exact groups for which each State may issue special licenses, setting forth a rate, below the experienced minimum, which it is legal to pay the licensee.

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<sup>1</sup> Wisconsin law.



State	Power to issue licenses to—			
	Physically defective	Learners and apprentices	Minors	Any person unable to earn the minimum <sup>1</sup>
California.....	X	X		
Colorado.....				
1913.....	X			
1917.....	X			
District of Columbia.....	X			
Kansas (1916).....	X	X	X	
Massachusetts.....	X			
Minnesota.....	X			
Nebraska.....	X			
North Dakota.....	X	X		
Oregon.....	X			
Texas.....				X
Washington.....	X	X		
Wisconsin.....				X

<sup>1</sup> See text following.

If the phrase found in the Wisconsin law "unable to earn the living wage" is interpreted to mean those special cases where age or infirmity handicaps a worker, all the laws except the one in Texas have provided for special licenses for the substandard worker. Texas has provided for issuing a license for anyone to work for less than the minimum if the case is believed to deserve special treatment. This, then, is the only one of these groups where all the legislatures have either directly or indirectly provided for special licenses. Some few States have thought apprentices might need this sort of treatment, and Kansas has included minors. Since the general powers of the commissions are such that most of them could institute a licensing system if they so desired, these specific grants may seem unimportant. Minnesota, without any definite grant of power, did institute a system of issuing learners' certificates. On the other hand, Massachusetts, where there was no specific mention of apprentice or learner licenses, at one time felt the need of some such specific grant of power. In one of the commission's reports it is stated that, "The experience of the commission in enforcing its determinations \* \* \* has shown the necessity of legislation enabling the commission to issue special licenses to learners or apprentices."<sup>2</sup> This brings out once again that minimum-wage laws are still in the experimental stage. It is extremely difficult to discuss the exact powers of these commissions when the laws themselves have been interpreted so differently from State to State. On the whole, all the commissions and their State legal advisers generally have interpreted the laws to include all the implied powers necessary to carry out the law. Massachusetts alone has considered that the commission had no general power of carrying out the law but had only those specific powers set down in the law. This has resulted in the frequent amendment of the Massachusetts law, as experience showed the commission's need of specific powers.

**Use of special licenses in enforcing the law.**

As is the case in discussing most of the problems of enforcement, material on the actual number of licenses issued often was difficult to obtain. Seven States—California, the District of Columbia, Kansas,

<sup>2</sup> Massachusetts Minimum-Wage Commission. Fifth annual report, 1918, p. 40.

Massachusetts, Minnesota, Washington, and Wisconsin—have issued special licenses to substandard workers. California, Minnesota, Washington, and the District of Columbia have issued special licenses to apprentices. Every commission issued special licenses to substandard workers only after an investigation of each case, setting a special rate in each license. The following table shows the number of special licenses on record in California, the District of Columbia, and Massachusetts, by year and industry. In addition, Kansas reports one special license in manufacturing in 1924, Minnesota reports 6 in all industries from 1921 to 1924, and Washington reports about 50 in all industries from 1914 to 1921. No numbers are available in Wisconsin.

TABLE 53.—Number of permits issued to substandard workers—California, the District of Columbia, and Massachusetts—by industry or occupation and year

## CALIFORNIA

Year	All industries	Mercantile	Laundry	Fruit and vegetable packing	Unclassified	Manufacturing	Hotel and restaurant	Office	Fish packing	Fish canning	Sorting and packing nuts
Total .....	2,400	52	105	41	403	1,069	22	10	6	1	1
New .....	1,311	41	62	23	336	814	18	6	5	1	
Renewals .....	1,089	11	43	13	157	855	4	4	1		1
1918											
Total .....	186	6	24	1	155						
New .....	186	6	24	1	155						
1919											
Total .....	395	10	16	7	117	231	9	1	4		
New .....	346	8	12	7	74	231	9	1	4		
Renewals .....	49	2	4		43						
1920											
Total .....	360	10	16	6	51	270	3	2	2		
New .....	191	9	7	3	10	156	3	2	1		
Renewals .....	169	1	9	3	41	114			1		
1921											
Total .....	444	9	18	7	61	345	2	2			
New .....	222	7	9	3	31	169	2	1			
Renewals .....	222	2	9	4	30	176		1			
1922											
Total .....	430	7	18	3	82	314	3	3			
New .....	189	4	9	2	58	113	1	2			
Renewals .....	241	3	9	1	24	201	2	1			
1923											
Total .....	318	5	7	9	26	264	4	1		1	1
New .....	94	5		6	8	71	3			1	
Renewals .....	224		7	3	18	193	1	1			1
1924											
Total .....	267	5	6	8	1	245	1	1			
New .....	83	2	1	6		74					
Renewals .....	184	3	5	2	1	171	1	1			

TABLE 53.—Number of permits issued to substandard workers—California, the District of Columbia, and Massachusetts—by industry or occupation and year—Continued

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Year	All industries	Mercantile	Printing and publishing	Hotel and restaurant
Total.....	87	65	5	17
1919.....	51	48	3	—
1920.....	23	6	1	16
1921.....	6	5	1	—
1922.....	7	6	—	1

MASSACHUSETTS

Year	All industries	Retail stores	Women's clothing	Men's clothing	Men's furnishings	Muslin underwear	Laundry	Canning and preserving	Candy	Corset	Paper box	Knit goods	Jewelry	Stationery
Total...	122	5	9	18	4	21	9	1	13	8	30	1	2	1
1916.....	3	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1917.....	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1918.....	24	—	1	12	2	9	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1919.....	9	—	—	—	2	2	4	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
1920.....	46	—	4	5	—	—	—	—	—	8	25	1	—	—
1921.....	3	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1922.....	15	1	1	1	—	9	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
1923.....	16	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—
1924.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1925.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	4	—	1	—	—	1
1927.....	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—

In California and the District of Columbia these tables represent every woman whom the commissions have allowed to work for less than the minimum. In Massachusetts, however, the inspectors often allowed women who were special license types to work for a sum a little below the minimum rate without requiring them to obtain licenses. Only cases that were clearly substandard were treated in this way. Any borderline cases, or cases where the inspector and employer could not agree as to pay, were required to obtain a permit from the enforcing officer. This means that in Massachusetts several times as many women were receiving rates granted to substandard workers as are shown by the table. Even granting that perhaps 600 or 700 women are rated as substandard workers in Massachusetts, this is an extremely small proportion of all the women covered by the decrees. In the District of Columbia four years of minimum-wage experience resulted in only 87 special licenses. In California the numbers run larger for two reasons: the much greater number of women included in the decrees and the fact that the licenses in California have to be renewed every six months. The total of new licenses is only 1,311 for seven years. Though this material, when all the States are considered, is so incomplete, it is probably true that the commissions have used this provision in the laws often enough to show that they recognized its importance but have not granted

licenses in such a wholesale way as to exclude large numbers of women from the benefits of the law.

Though the decrees have devoted so much time and attention to the treatment of apprentices, the commissions in most of the States have not worked out any special method of checking up these workers. In California, the District of Columbia, Minnesota, and Washington a system of issuing special licenses, on application from employer or employee, has been developed. This system as developed by California will be described in detail, as illustrating how one State arranged for the enforcement of these clauses in the decrees. At this point it is interesting, however, to try to determine how largely these provisions have been taken advantage of by the employers. Any such discussion narrows down to the records available in California and the District of Columbia. Not only are there no figures available for Minnesota, but the industrial commission states that "the commission decided to discontinue the practice of issuing apprentice certificates, due to the fact that they were issued mechanically in the office without any accurate knowledge being available as to the actual past experience of the employee involved and the further fact that there is no provision of law authorizing or requiring such practice."<sup>3</sup> In Washington the figures are fragmentary, covering scattered periods of time. Moreover, in the last period for which some figures are available the report shows 1,146 apprentices in manufacturing for the year ending in 1923, but lists licenses separately, with none for manufacturing. The report does not explain the discrepancy, but this omission indicates that Washington is no longer licensing all apprentices. The situation probably is explained by a statement that a large telephone company has been permitted by the industrial welfare committee to report each month the number of apprentices and minors in its employ instead of taking out a permit for each individual.<sup>4</sup>

The Washington figures are shown in the following tables, as are the figures from California and the District of Columbia.

California has issued 26,223 licenses in seven years of minimum-wage experience. The numbers issued reached a peak in late 1919 and were less than one-third as great in the last year reported (1923). Although the District of Columbia law was in force over only four years, the number of licenses also had dropped far below the peak year of 1920 when the law was declared unconstitutional in 1923. Later in this report an analysis of these figures in relation to the time that various decrees went into effect shows that a decree in a new field or a substantial raise in rates in an old one probably was to be followed by an increase in the number of apprentice licenses applied for, but that as an industry grew accustomed to working on the wage basis set forth in the decree, smaller numbers of apprentice licenses were requested.

<sup>3</sup> Minnesota Industrial Commission. Second biennial report, 1923-24, pp. 109-110.

<sup>4</sup> Washington. Department of Labor and Industries. Second report, 1922-23, pp. 118 and 117.

**TABLE 54.—Number of apprentices' licenses issued—California, the District of Columbia, and Washington—by industry and year**

**A. CALIFORNIA AND DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA**

Year	All Industries		Laundry		Mercantile		Manufacturing	
	California	District of Columbia	California	District of Columbia	California	District of Columbia	California	District of Columbia
Total.....	26, 223	6, 294	3, 985	81	9, 905	6, 038	12, 333	175
1917.....	4, 037		1, 828		2, 209			
1918.....	1, 303		792		511			
1919 <sup>1</sup> .....	1, 901	985	177			975	1, 724	<sup>2</sup> 10
	6, 876		327		3, 492		3, 057	
1920.....	4, 311	2, 304	373		1, 598	2, 195	2, 340	<sup>2</sup> 109
1921.....	2, 813	1, 621	166	41	903	1, 553	1, 744	<sup>2</sup> 27
1922.....	2, 969	1, 384	143	40	701	1, 315	2, 125	<sup>2</sup> 29
1923.....	2, 013		179		491		1, 343	

**B. WASHINGTON**

Year	All Industries	Box making	Factory	Laundry	Mercantile	Office	Telephone	Telegraph
Total.....	10, 824	48	4, 148	503	2, 650	68	3, 395	12
June 27, 1914, to Dec. 1, 1916.....	7, 997	48	2, 731	503	2, 393	41	2, 281	
Aug. 13, 1919, to Aug. 13, 1920.....	2, 724		1, 417		169	20	1, 106	12
June 30, 1922, to June 30, 1923.....	103				88	7	8	

<sup>1</sup> 1919 was kept as 2 separate time periods, due to change in minimum rates in this year.  
<sup>2</sup> Printing and publishing only.

**Provisions for posting and penalties for noncompliances found in the laws.**

One other important aid to enforcement is in every law: The employer who is affected by any decree must post a copy of the decree in his place of business. The purpose of this, of course, is to familiarize the employees with the decree so that they will know their rights and will report violations to the commission. In addition, the Massachusetts commission may require the employer to post notices of public hearings and the nominations for wage boards.

These requirements are of no value unless the law provides adequate penalties for noncompliance. Every law has carried some sort of penalties, but, as the following table shows, these have varied in kind and in the completeness with which they back up the requirements set forth in the law.

TABLE 55.—Legal remedies provided for noncompliance with various phases of the laws, by State

State	Type of offense	Penalties for major violations					Provisions covering—		
		Fine		Imprisonment		Fine and imprisonment	Remarks	Recovery of wages	Discrimination against employee who gives testimony
		Minimum	Maximum	Minimum	Maximum				
Arkansas.....	Violating any provisions of this act.	\$25	\$100						
California.....	Misdemeanor: Payment of less than minimum wage (1913). Violating any provisions of this act or of any order (1915).	50		30 days		May be both		Civil action by employee may recover full amount plus cost.	Discharge or threatened discharge a misdemeanor.
Colorado (1913).....	Misdemeanor: Paying less than minimum or violating any other provision.		100		3 months	do.	Each offense a misdemeanor.	Civil action by employee may recover full amount plus costs and lawyer's fees allowed by court.	Discharge or threatened discharge a misdemeanor. Fine of \$25 on conviction.
Colorado (1917).....	Misdemeanor: Payment of less than minimum wage.	100		30 days		do.		Civil action by employee may recover full amount plus costs of suit.	Discharge or threatened discharge a misdemeanor. Fines \$300 minimum, \$1,000 maximum, on conviction.
District of Columbia.....	Misdemeanor: Violation of the act.	25	100	10 days	3 months	do.		Civil action by employee may recover full amount plus attorney's fees allowed by court.	Discharge or discrimination a misdemeanor. Fines \$25 minimum, \$100 maximum, on conviction.
Kansas (1915).....	Misdemeanor: Violation of any provision of the act.	25	100				Each such offense a misdemeanor.	Civil action by employee may recover full amount plus costs and lawyer's fees allowed by court.	Discharge or discrimination a misdemeanor. Fines \$25 minimum, \$100 maximum.
Kansas (1921).....	do.	25	100				do.		
Massachusetts.....	Misdemeanor: Refusing to keep register of hours and wages or refusal to allow inspections (1919).	5	50				do.		Discharge or discrimination a misdemeanor; \$25 fine (1912). Fines \$300 minimum, \$1,000 maximum, for each offense, on conviction (1913).

	Refusal to post notices of hearings, nominations for wage boards, or decrees (1919).	5	50				do.		
	Newspaper refusing to publish names of violators (1912). <sup>1</sup>	100					do.		
Minnesota.....	do.	10	50	10 days..	30 days..			Civil action by employee may recover full amount plus costs and attorney's fees allowed by court.	Unlawful to discharge or discriminate.
Nebraska.....	Misdemeanor: Newspaper refusing to publish names of violators	100					Each offense a misdemeanor.		Discharge or discrimination a misdemeanor. Fine of \$25 on conviction.
North Dakota.....	Misdemeanor: Violating any of the provisions specified.	25	100	10 days..	3 months..	May be both		Civil action by employee may recover full amount plus attorney's fees allowed by court.	Discharge or discrimination a misdemeanor. Fines \$25 minimum, \$100 maximum, on conviction.
Oregon.....	do.	25	100	do.	3 months..	do.		do.	Do.
Texas.....	Misdemeanor: Paying less than minimum.	10	100		30 days..	do.		Civil action by employee may recover full amount plus costs and attorney's fees set by court.	Discharge or threat of discharge or discrimination a misdemeanor. Fines \$10 minimum, \$100 maximum, imprisonment for not more than 30 days, or both fine and imprisonment, on conviction.
Washington.....	do.	25	100					Civil action by employee may recover full amount plus costs and attorney's fees allowed by court.	Discharge or discrimination a misdemeanor. Fines \$25 minimum, \$100 maximum, on conviction, for each misdemeanor.
Wisconsin (1913).....	Violating any order or filing or refusing to perform any duty.	10	100				Each day during which less than the minimum is paid a separate offense. Every day of noncompliance a separate offense.		Discharge or threatened discharge or discrimination a misdemeanor. Fine of \$25 for each offense on conviction.

<sup>1</sup> Declared unconstitutional by Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, 1924.

Colorado (1917), Texas, Washington, and California before the law was amended in 1915, provided penalties for two offenses, "payment of less than the minimum wage" and "discrimination against an employee for giving testimony." Seven laws—Arkansas, Colorado (1913), District of Columbia, Kansas, Minnesota, North Dakota, and Oregon—have provided penalties for violating any provisions of the minimum-wage act. California (1915) and Wisconsin have provided penalties for any violation of the act or orders. In the States in the two latter groups most of the laws also have included penalties for discriminating against an employee who gives testimony. The importance attached by the legislatures to discriminations against such employees is interesting and necessary. It was thought that the whole basis of wage-board structure would fall down if employees could be intimidated so that they dare not serve. Also the commissions depended on complaints to aid them in enforcement. As far as the general penalties for noncompliance with the legal provisions are concerned, the laws that provide penalties only for failure to pay the minimum rate fall far short of covering all possible important violations. Massachusetts, for instance, though there is no penalty other than publicity for failure to pay the actual minimum rate, has numerous compulsory features to its law that seemingly are lacking in these laws that make the payment of the minimum wage mandatory. If the Washington law were interpreted literally it would seem to be just the reverse of the Massachusetts situation—a penalty for actual nonpayment of an established rate but no penalties for any of the many cases where refusal to work with the commission would make administration and enforcement almost impossible. Obviously the third form—a penalty for any violation of the law or of the orders—is the clearest, the most inclusive, and therefore, from the commission's viewpoint, the safest.

The actual fines and terms of imprisonment provided in these laws vary considerably. In Colorado (1917) and Massachusetts the fines for discriminating against an employee who testifies run very much higher than any other penalties in the law—\$200 to \$1,000 in each State. Moreover, Massachusetts seemed to feel the need of this very high penalty, for its original law carried only a \$25 fine, which was raised to the larger amounts in an amendment. For other offenses \$100 is the maximum fine in most cases. Imprisonment for violation of this law is possible in seven States—California, Colorado, the District of Columbia, Minnesota, North Dakota, Oregon, and Texas. In all these States except Minnesota such imprisonment may be in addition to the fine.

Finally, most of the States provide that an employee who has not received the minimum rate may sue to obtain the back pay due to her. The laws aim to make this possible for women of no financial means by assessing all the costs of the suit, even to lawyers' fees in some States, against the employer who has violated the law.

This discussion of penalties is presented only in an effort to show the obvious teeth in the minimum-wage law. No study has been made of how far the courts were willing to go in enforcing the laws.



RECORDS OF VIOLATIONS, PENALTIES, AND BACK PAY COLLECTED

In enforcing the laws the commissions have relied much more on gaining compliance through setting rates that would command general support from the employers than on forcing obedience through widespread prosecution of noncompliance. When cases of noncompliance have been found, every effort has been made to adjust these cases informally between the employer and the commission's agents. The result of this has been that the executive office, in all States pressed for time, has made no great effort to keep detailed records of violations and prosecutions, and has been only a little more concerned with keeping records of back pay collected. For the purpose of this study every effort has been made to collect all the material printed in the reports of the commissions and each executive office has been asked to complete the following table from unpublished material in its files, but the result of this search has been fragmentary data indeed. The table shows all available figures on violations, penalties, and back pay collected.

TABLE 56.—Violations, prosecutions, and cases of back pay collected, by State, industry, and year

(From published and unpublished records of the minimum-wage commissions)

CALIFORNIA

Year	Industry	Back pay collected (with or without prosecutions)
1918-1920.....	All industries.....	<sup>1</sup> \$280,000.00
1920-1922.....	do.....	<sup>1</sup> 257,043.86
1922-1924.....	do.....	20,656.86

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Year	Industry	Prosecutions— Number of establishments affected	Back pay collected (with or without prosecutions)		
			Amount	Number of establishments affected	Number of workers affected
1920.....	All industries.....	3	\$2,962.98	50	122
	Mercantile.....		1,539.54	34	66
	Printing and publishing.....		25.66	2	2
	Hotel and restaurant.....		1,397.78	14	54
1921.....	All Industries.....	3	<sup>1</sup> 8,680.74	90	341
	Mercantile.....		4,268.58	68	116
	Printing and publishing.....		65.10	3	7
	Hotel and restaurant.....		<sup>1</sup> 4,258.06	28	218
1922.....	All Industries.....	<sup>1</sup> 16	2,427.21	75	125
	Mercantile.....		1,724.14	50	79
	Printing and publishing.....		146.70	5	6
	Hotel and restaurant.....		556.37	20	40

<sup>1</sup> Part of this sum represents the adjustments paid as a result of the canning audit. The 1918-1920 canning audit was \$200,000; the 1920-1922 canning audit was \$223,299.07.

<sup>2</sup> Excludes \$458.60 collected by two employees in a restaurant in a civil suit.

<sup>3</sup> These cases were filed but never brought to trial owing to the adverse decision on the constitutionality of the law.

TABLE 56.—Violations, prosecutions, and cases of back pay collected, by State, industry, and year—Continued

## KANSAS

Year	Industry	Complaints		Back pay collected (with or without prosecutions)		
		Number of establishments affected	Number of individuals affected	Amount	Number of establishments affected	Number of workers affected
1922	All industries	24	193	\$1,570.67	24	193
	Manufacturing	4	69			
	Laundries	20	124			
1923	All industries	1	3			
1924	do.	1	2	10.00	1	1

## MINNESOTA

Year	Industry	Prosecutions		Back pay collected (with or without prosecutions)		
		Number of establishments affected	Number of workers affected	Amount	Number of establishments affected	Number of workers affected
1919-1921	All industries	2	3	\$18,382.21		663
	Mercantile	1	1			
	Hotel and restaurant	1	2			
1921-1922	All industries			1,850.76	36	66
1922-1924	do.	4	1	30,315.28		1,961
1924	do.			4,702.28	126	298

## NORTH DAKOTA

Year	Industry	Prosecutions	
		Number of establishments affected	Number of workers affected
1922-1924	Public housekeeping	1	6

## OREGON

Year	Industry	Complaints		Back pay collected (with or without prosecutions)	
		Number of establishments affected	Number of individuals affected	Amount	Number of establishments affected
1918-1920	All industries	22		\$1,370.94	17
1920-1922	do.		101		38

\* Case dropped.

\* 6 months only.

TABLE 56.—Violations, prosecutions, and cases of back pay collected, by State, industry, and year—Continued

WASHINGTON

Year	Industry	Prosecutions, number of workers affected	Back pay collected (with or without prosecutions)		
			Amount	Number of establishments affected	Number of workers affected
1914-1916	All Industries	10	\$6,686.79		224
	Laundry		78.96		7
	Hotel and restaurant	3	578.72		32
	Mercantile	3	2,813.64		102
	Manufacturing	3	1,587.38		58
	Office	1	1,414.75		20
	Telephone and telegraph		213.34		5
1916-1918	All Industries		11,046.24	209	463
	Laundry		139.25	8	12
	Hair dressing		719.97	17	26
	Office		1,428.62	21	25
	Mercantile		4,339.53	105	131
	Manufacturing		2,988.00	46	245
	Telephone and telegraph		1,450.87	12	24
1918-1920	All Industries		5,251.84	175	259
	Laundry		71.18	7	11
	Hair dressing		523.43	24	39
	Office		660.91	21	27
	Mercantile		1,541.73	66	76
	Manufacturing		2,298.38	49	92
	Telephone and telegraph		255.71	8	18
1920-1922	All Industries		18,865.92		905
1922-1924	do.		11,501.18	522	
1924	do.		4,179.47		131

WISCONSIN

Year	Industry	Back pay collected (with or without prosecutions)	
		Amount	Number of workers affected
1918-1920	All Industries	\$29,288.62	1,716
	Tobacco stemming	5,564.76	1,442
	Telephone	22,439.23	206
	Miscellaneous	1,284.63	68
1920-1922	All Industries	10,483.14	498
	Miscellaneous	2,397.74	106
	Mercantile	4,892.11	141
	Hotel and restaurant	439.63	19
	Manufacturing*	772.00	43
	Textile and knitting	115.45	28
	Candy	933.29	134
	Shoes	92.86	4
	Printing and binding	476.57	8
	Drug stores	274.62	6
	Laundry	88.87	9
1922-1924	All Industries	14,979.17	763
	Tobacco stemming	3,002.50	1,371
	Miscellaneous	476.15	14
	Mercantile	5,485.43	143
	Hotel and restaurant	1,531.46	22
	Manufacturing*	2,053.77	101
	Textile and knitting	734.53	52
	Candy	209.90	4
	Shoes	618.40	32
	Printing and binding	545.84	9
	Drug stores	237.19	2
	Laundry	81.01	8

\* Other than those branches following.

† Not complete; estimate.

‡ Contains telephone.

Even with the knowledge that in relatively few violations, was there a resort to prosecution in order to gain compliance, this record seems very meager. However, it does show considerable sums of money collected for the women who had been working for less than the minimum. Very evidently it is no guide in trying to judge the quality of minimum-wage enforcement.

#### EXAMPLES OF METHODS OF ENFORCEMENT

If there is no available material on which a dependable estimate of enforcement can be based, the most valuable discussion of this subject would seem to be from the viewpoint of the methods used. The methods of each State are not discussed in detail, for, though there is wide variety in the forms used and in the details of procedure, there are no striking differences in fundamentals. Such differences as occur seem largely traceable either to chance—whereby a similar end is sought, though the exact wording of the forms used to gain this end may vary—or to the fact that lack of funds has prevented some commissions from developing the mechanics of enforcement with the same detail as have other commissions better financed. Since an analysis of the forms and methods of each State would involve reproducing a great mass of material whose differences are not significant, California and Massachusetts have been selected as illustrating the enforcement of the mandatory and nonmandatory types of laws. Among the States with mandatory laws, California has been chosen because it has developed a method of enforcing apprenticeship rules and a method of applying the minimum-wage rates to piece workers in more detail than have the other States, because it has as complete a system of records and forms as has any other State, and because material on all these points is more available and more complete than in any other State.

##### Forms used in enforcing decrees in California.

California uses three methods to discover noncompliances: The commission agents investigate all complaints; they go regularly from place to place throughout the State inspecting pay rolls; they require all employers to submit complete pay-roll data on request from the commission. The first two of these methods have been in general use throughout the minimum-wage States; the third method has been used to some extent in Minnesota and Wisconsin, but nowhere else has it been developed as such an integral part of enforcement as in California.

The complaints form the smallest part of this check and can be quickly discussed. If any woman comes to the commission's office to make a complaint, her information is recorded on a regular printed form, with these headings: Date; order number; against; complainant; and statement. On the other side of the card is room for the report of the inspector who follows up the case and the record of its final disposition. Such records are kept in the office on file by years as a detailed record of complaints. In addition, a record is kept which sums up all complaints received during a given year, with these headings: Name; male or female; age; length of time in establishment; number of hours worked; amount earned; and number of learner's certificate. The record of the complaints handled by an

individual agent is on her monthly reports. The office thus has at any one time a complete record of the complaint and how it was handled, and a summary of the important facts involved in all complaints received during the year.

The second method of checking on compliance is the one usually thought of as most reliable, and it has been used in each State, so far as the size of the executive's staff allowed, as the main method of gaining compliance. The commission's agents visit a factory, go over the pay roll, and note any infractions of the law. In California the field agents usually work according to industry, except in the case of very small towns where one agent may cover all establishments. When the appropriation is adequate, the work is divided into (1) manufacturing, (2) mercantile, (3) laundry, and (4) the canning industry, with an agent in charge of each division. Office workers are covered by the agent for the particular industry where they are employed. The inspectors hand in a report on each establishment visited. The following is the form used.

Investigator.	Minors marked.
Date.	Record of hours kept.
Name of firm.	Pay-roll inspection made.
Address.	Registration for all learners on file.
Superintendent.	Part-time workers registered.
Person interviewed.	Part-time rates paid.
Number of females employed.	Special workers employed.
Number of experienced females.	Legal rate paid special workers.
Number of female learners.	Increased hourly rate for short week.
Limitation of apprentices observed.	Orders posted.
Employees paid in accordance with experience.	Standard week (hours).
Number of males employed.	Permits for elderly and infirm.
Number of male learners.	Does this firm do welfare work.
Names of employees on record.	Deductions made for absences.
Addresses of employees on record.	Pay for holidays.
	Sanitary inspection made.

The main interest of this schedule is the number of points on which a report is made. It reflects the fact that the California decrees specify in detail how all sort of situations encountered in applying the decrees must be met. In such items as "part-time workers registered" the schedule covers a field not touched by the report sheets used in the other States. While it gives a very complete picture as far as the inclusion of all items is concerned, it provides no space for detailed records of violations. The various firms have to keep very excellent records to supply the information demanded.

To supplement this schedule an adjustment notice is used. On this form the agent writes out the exact changes that are necessary if a given firm is to comply with the law and specifies the date by which such adjustments must be completed. One copy is left with the employer, one the agent keeps. On her return to the office the agent confirms, by letter, the adjustments required. The inspection division then follows up the particular firm until compliance is gained.

The final form used in connection with these general inspections is the agent's monthly report, drawn up under these headings: Firm name and address; date; order; reason, whether complaint or routine; type, whether pay roll, sanitary, or reinspection; time required; and calls.

The third check on compliance, the calling for certified pay rolls, has been used systematically in California only. It was not so absolutely reliable as first-hand investigation of pay rolls by the commissions' agents, which Massachusetts in particular used extensively, but it offered a means of conducting a State-wide survey of all workers, whereas the time required for the agents' inspection of all pay rolls would make it impossible to carry on the routine work of the office and make personal inspection of all pay rolls. As soon as California had set decrees for large groups of women in manufacturing, mercantile, and laundry occupations, requests were sent to all employers in these industries to submit two complete pay rolls for all women and minor employees—one for a date prior to the date on which the minimum-wage decree became effective, the other after it went into force. Periodically thereafter similar calls were issued, so that the commission has secured figures on rates and earnings for a period preceding, and a period following, each decree. To secure uniform reports the commission has sent out forms for the pay-roll material. The forms following were those in use in 1924, substantially the same as those used in all pay-roll calls, though in the later forms increased efforts have been made to get all the facts on hours of work so that rates and earnings could be studied in their proper setting.

ENFORCEMENT OF DECREES

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PAY-ROLL REPORT OF WOMEN AND MINORS

(Do not report males over 18 years)

Sheet No. \_\_\_\_\_

Firm name _____ Street address _____ City _____	Industrial Welfare Commission, State of California, Flood Building, 870 Market Street, San Francisco; 931 Pacific Finance Building, Los Angeles.
<i>General mercantile</i>	<i>Office department</i>
Number of experienced females _____ Number of female learners _____	Number of experienced females _____ Number of female learners _____
<i>Millinery workroom</i>	<i>Restaurant and fountain</i>
Number of experienced females _____ Number of apprentices _____	Number of female employees _____ Total number of females employed _____

In "Classification" column, mark adult part-time workers "A Pt."; adult special workers "A Sp."; minor part-time workers "M Pt."; minor special workers "M Sp."; office workers "O"; millinery workroom employees "M"; restaurant and fountain workers "R"; elevator operators "E"; errand boys "Errand."

Employees names (give name in full)	Classification	Rate of pay	Number of days worked	Salary	Commissions and P. M.'s	Total salary
		\$		\$	\$	\$

How many hours per day are women and minors regularly employed in this establishment? Answer \_\_\_\_\_ hours.

How many days per week are women and minors regularly employed in this establishment? Answer \_\_\_\_\_ days.

\_\_\_\_\_, the undersigned, hereby certify the foregoing to be a full, true, and correct pay-roll report of all women and minors employed by this firm for the week ending \_\_\_\_\_

(Firm name) \_\_\_\_\_

By \_\_\_\_\_

*Manager or superintendent.*

MINIMUM-WAGE LAWS IN THE UNITED STATES

PAY-ROLL REPORT OF WOMEN AND MINORS<sup>1</sup>

For week ending \_\_\_\_\_ Sheet No. \_\_\_\_

(Do not list names of males over 18 years)

Firm name \_\_\_\_\_  
Street address \_\_\_\_\_ City \_\_\_\_\_

Industrial Welfare Commission, State of California; 328 Flood Building, 870 Market Street, San Francisco; 931 Pacific Finance Building, Los Angeles.

*Factory*

*Office department*

Number of experienced females \_\_\_\_\_  
Number of female learners \_\_\_\_\_

Number of experienced females \_\_\_\_\_  
Number of female learners \_\_\_\_\_  
Total number of females employed \_\_\_\_\_  
Number of male learners \_\_\_\_\_  
Total number of adult male employees \_\_\_\_\_

Employee's name—Mark male minors "M", female minors "F", office employees "O".	Kind of work	Rate of pay of time workers	Hours worked during week		Earnings for week		Bonus	Total earnings	Remarks
			Time	Piece	Time	Piece			

\_\_\_\_\_, the undersigned, hereby certify the foregoing to be a full, true, and correct pay-roll report of all women and minors employed by this firm for the week ending \_\_\_\_\_.

(Firm name) \_\_\_\_\_

By \_\_\_\_\_

*Manager or superintendent.*

<sup>1</sup> For the manufacturing industry. In 1919, form used carried two sections, one for pay roll before the \$13.50 wage rate and one for pay roll after this decree went into effect. In 1920, 1922, and 1923 a pay roll only for a date following a decree was requested.



The laundry pay-roll form is not reproduced because it so nearly agrees with that of the factory. Only the items "kind of work," "bonus," and "remarks" on the factory form as reproduced here are omitted from the laundry form.

To make perfectly clear what information was required, a letter of explanation accompanied each pay-roll form. The one used for mercantile stores in 1923 is given here. It is typical of all.

INDUSTRIAL WELFARE COMMISSION OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

*To the mercantile industry:*

Inasmuch as the industrial welfare commission has had no general pay-roll report of women and minors employed in the various industries of the State since March, 1922, this department deems it necessary at this time to call for complete pay-roll reports from all industries. For the purpose of compiling statistics, it is necessary to secure this information for the same period for all establishments.

You are requested to fill out the inclosed pay-roll report blank, giving the names, kind of work performed, rate of pay, days worked, and actual earnings of all women and minors in your employ during the week ending May 19, or the half month ending May 15, or the month of May, 1923. Do not give the names of any males over the age of 18.

This report is to be filed with the commission at its office, 328 Flood Building, not later than June 15, 1923. Be sure the report is signed by the manager or superintendent.

You should have in your possession blue certificates issued by this commission for each woman and minor in your employ whose rate of pay is less than \$16 a week. If you have not, applications for certificates should be filled out jointly by you and all such learners and sent in with the pay-roll report—brown application forms for office learners and white applications for general mercantile learners.

If an employee receives any meals, please state how many meals a week and which meals (breakfast, lunch, or dinner).

In the column headed "Commissions or P. Ms." give the exact amount for the period covered by the pay-roll report.

In the case of employees earning over \$130 a month, or \$30 a week, it is not necessary to state the exact salary received. You may enter the statement "over \$130 a month."

The commission will be glad to give any further information you may require as to the proper manner of making this report. We appreciate the work that this request entails, and are very grateful for your continued cooperation.

Yours very truly,

INDUSTRIAL WELFARE COMMISSION, STATE OF CALIFORNIA.  
KATHERINE PHILLIPS EDSON, *Executive Commissioner.*

About three weeks usually was allowed for getting in pay rolls. At the end of this time follow-up letters were sent. The pay rolls as they were received were checked for noncompliances. Any rate which fell below the minimum was checked with the file of permits allowing apprentices or infirm workers to work for lower rates. If the person who was paid this lower rate was not found to have one of these two kinds of permits, the case was listed as a non-compliance and was taken up with the employer for adjustment.

Thus, through investigation of all complaints, through constant visits, even if limited in number, of the agents, and through all-inclusive, if occasional, pay-roll calls, the California commission sought to gain compliance with every rule on its decrees. If it is remembered that some States had occasional inspections that roughly corresponded to pay-roll calls, when they concentrated the field

agents on copying practically all pay rolls in one industry or a substantial number of pay rolls in each industry covered by the decrees, the California methods represent those used in all the States. In the section of this report giving actual figures on rates and earnings as shown by these inspections and pay-roll calls it may be seen how often the individual States made these inclusive inspections and how many women they covered each time.

In the discussion of the general enforcement methods and forms in California, mention was made of the registration of apprentices, but no explanation has been made of how this special phase of enforcement was carried out. From the discussion in a previous section of the multitude of rates set according to the age and experience of the workers, it is evident that any given pay roll sent in to the commission's office or inspected by an agent could show a considerable variety in its rates of pay and yet comply with the law. In order to determine who these special workers were and what rate they legally could receive, several States instituted a system of requiring the registration of apprentices. Thus, seeming violations of a decree might prove to be due to the employer's failure to register apprentices and not to his paying a lower rate than the one to which the woman was entitled. Since California has developed a system for the control of apprenticeship in great detail, the description appearing in the commission's report for 1919-20 and 1921-22 is reproduced.

2. *Control of apprenticeship through registration.*—The commission is of the opinion, after five years' experience, that a system of registration or licensing of learners is the only adequate method of controlling apprenticeship in industries in which the nature of the work necessitates an extended learning period. Underpayment of apprentices might not always be the result of the employer's desire to evade the law; it might easily come through neglect in keeping the dates on which increases are due in some sort of follow-up system which would automatically bring the increases to the employer's attention. While women workers are generally familiar with the amount of the legal minimum wage for experienced workers, they are not so familiar with the minimum rates for apprentices, and, as a rule, they have no particular interest in the legal limitation of the number of apprentices, as they do not understand that this regulation is one which affects their wages directly. Therefore, the commission has established a complete registration or license system in the mercantile, laundry, and manufacturing industries, insuring apprentices of the periodic increases in wage required by the law, crediting them with their previous experience in other establishments and enforcing the legal limitation of the number of apprentices employed in each establishment. All other industries have apprenticeship periods of such short duration that registration is unnecessary. The registration system is designed to protect the apprentice throughout her entire period of apprenticeship whether she has worked in one or more establishments in the same industry.

a. *Certification of learners in the mercantile industry.*—In the mercantile industry an employer is required to register with the industrial welfare commission every woman and minor who is being paid less than the legal minimum wage. The following blank, filled out jointly by the employer and the employee, must be filed three weeks from the date of employment:

INDUSTRIAL WELFARE COMMISSION, STATE OF CALIFORNIA

620 State Building, San Francisco; 931 Pacific Finance Building, Los Angeles

APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION AS A LEARNER IN THE GENERAL MERCANTILE INDUSTRY

This blank is for the registration of full-time workers only, and should be filed at the end of three weeks' employment

To the Industrial Welfare Commission of the State of California:

I, the undersigned, desiring employment as a learner in the general mercantile industry, do hereby make application to your commission for a Learner's Certificate of Registration in the establishment of \_\_\_\_\_

(Name of firm)  
located at \_\_\_\_\_ Street, \_\_\_\_\_ (City) I have been employed in this establishment since \_\_\_\_\_ at \$ \_\_\_\_\_ a week.  
(Month Day Year)

I have had previous experience in the general mercantile industry with the following firms:

Firm name and address: \_\_\_\_\_ Time employed: \_\_\_\_\_  
from \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_  
(State whether office or sales force) (Month Day Year) (Month Day Year)  
from \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_  
(State whether office or sales force) (Month Day Year) (Month Day Year)  
Date of birth \_\_\_\_\_ Present age \_\_\_\_\_  
(Month Day Year) (Years and months)

Signature of applicant \_\_\_\_\_ (Give name in full)  
Date of making application \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_ City.

EMPLOYER'S AGREEMENT

\_\_\_\_\_ hereby subscribe to the foregoing application, recognizing the previous experience above listed, and request that a certificate of registration as a learner in the general mercantile industry be issued by your commission to \_\_\_\_\_, agreeing to provide h\_\_\_\_\_ with reasonable facilities for learning the general mercantile industry. Salary to be paid this employee, \$\_\_\_\_\_

Certificates will not be issued unless the following pay-roll report is furnished in full:

Report of total number of female employees (do not include special workers or part-time employees) on pay roll of \_\_\_\_\_ (Date)  
nearest the date of filing this application).

\_\_\_\_\_  
Superintendent or Manager.

Totals are to be given separately for each of the following divisions	Number of experienced female employees	Number of female learners	Total number of female employees
General mercantile.....	.....	.....	.....
Office.....	.....	.....	.....
Military work-room.....	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	.....	.....	.....

The cooperation of the employer is requested in seeing that this application is filled out in full before it is sent to the office of the industrial welfare commission.

Upon receipt of such application by the commission, the record of the worker is checked against the registration records on file in the commission office so that the worker may be given full credit for her previous experience. If the statement on the application blank shows that an employer is exceeding the legal per cent of apprentices at the time of making application, this violation is at once corrected through the following procedure: The employer is required to raise the wages of a sufficient number of women to the minimum so that 33½ per cent of the women will receive at least the minimum. The women whose rates have been so raised must be paid the difference between the weekly amounts they have received and the minimum wage, retroactively, until all pay rolls on which an excess number of women were paid as learners have been adjusted. After the application of the worker has been checked in this manner, a certificate of registration is issued. The original and duplicate copies are sent to the employer with instructions to give the original copy to the worker so that she will be informed as to the legal minimum rates due her, and the third copy is retained for the commission's files.

## STATE OF CALIFORNIA, INDUSTRIAL WELFARE COMMISSION

[SEAL] 620 State Building, Civic Center, San Francisco No. —

## LEARNER'S CERTIFICATE OF REGISTRATION

This is to certify that \_\_\_\_\_ has been registered as a learner in the mercantile industry, to be employed by \_\_\_\_\_ in the city of \_\_\_\_\_, California. The above learner shall receive a wage of not less than the following:

From \_\_\_\_\_, 19\_\_\_\_, to \_\_\_\_\_, 19\_\_\_\_, \$\_\_\_\_\_ per week.

From \_\_\_\_\_, 19\_\_\_\_, to \_\_\_\_\_, 19\_\_\_\_, \$\_\_\_\_\_ per week.

And thereafter shall be deemed an experienced worker and shall be paid not less than the minimum wage for experienced workers in said industry.

Dated at San Francisco, Calif., this \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_, 19\_\_\_\_

INDUSTRIAL WELFARE COMMISSION,  
By KATHERINE PHILIPS EDSON,  
*Executive Officer.*

Previous experience, \_\_\_\_\_ years \_\_\_\_\_ months.

When an apprentice leaves a firm or completes the period of apprenticeship, or is raised to the minimum before completing the apprenticeship period, the employer is required to return the duplicate of the certificate, making a report of one of these conditions on the reverse side of the certificate. This copy of the certificate then replaces the third copy of the certificate which has been kept in the commission's files, so that the worker's record of experience is constantly up-to-date. The control of apprenticeship is further strengthened by a monthly follow-up system whereby each employer of apprentices is notified once a month of the date and the amount of increase due any learner in that month.

Learners' certificates are also used in the following manner by the agents of the commission during plant inspections: The agent must see that the firm has on file a certificate of registration for every woman and minor who is paid less than the legal minimum wage, and each certificate must be checked against the pay roll to assure the payment of whatever apprentice rate is due.

b. *Registration of learners in the manufacturing industry.*—Because of the fact that the apprentice period is considerably shorter for both adult and minor workers in the manufacturing than in the mercantile industry (six months for adults and nine months for minors in the manufacturing industry as against a year and a half for minors and one year for adults in the mercantile industry) the commission employs a system of registration of apprentices instead of the more elaborate system of certification which is in effect in the mercantile industry. Manufacturing establishments are supplied with pairs of registration forms, which are printed in duplicate. An employer is required to register each woman and minor who is paid less than the legal minimum wage at the end of two weeks' employment. The registration blank is filled out jointly by the employer and employee—the employer sends the original copy to the commission and retains the duplicate copy. As in the case of the mercantile applications, upon the receipt of each registration blank by the commission the record of the worker is checked against the registration records on file, so that the worker may be given full credit for her previous experience,

but no certificate is issued. If the report on the number of employees shows that an employer is exceeding the legal number of apprentices, the violation is at once corrected. When an apprentice leaves a firm or completes the period of apprenticeship or is raised to the minimum before completing the period of apprenticeship, the employer is required to return the duplicate of the registration form, making a report upon it of one of these conditions. This copy of the registration form then replaces the original copy filed with the commission. A monthly follow-up letter advises employers of increases due their apprentices as in the case of the mercantile industry. The form used in registering manufacturing apprentices follows.

(Original <sup>1</sup>-To be filed with industrial welfare commission at end of two weeks' employment)

INDUSTRIAL WELFARE COMMISSION, STATE OF CALIFORNIA

620 State Building, San Francisco; 931 Pacific Finance Building, Los Angeles

REGISTRATION OF LEARNER IN THE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY

Employee's Statement

I, \_\_\_\_\_, have been employed in this establishment since  
 \_\_\_\_\_ (Name of employee)  
 \_\_\_\_\_ at \$ \_\_\_\_\_ a week as a \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_ (Date) \_\_\_\_\_ (State kind of work)  
 Previous experience in the manufacturing industry:  
 (Give names and addresses of former employers and length of previous  
 employment and kind of work done.)

-----  
 -----

\_\_\_\_\_  
 (Signature of employee)

\_\_\_\_\_  
 (Address)

Date of birth if under 18 years, \_\_\_\_\_

Employer's Agreement

I, \_\_\_\_\_, hereby subscribe to the application of  
 \_\_\_\_\_ (Firm name) \_\_\_\_\_ (Address)  
 I recognize the previous experience as listed and agree  
 to provide \_\_\_\_\_ (Name of employee) \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_ with reasonable facilities for learning the manufacturing  
 industry.  
 Date \_\_\_\_\_ Salary to be paid, \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_ (Beginning date of employment) \_\_\_\_\_ (A week)  
 Report of total number of female employees on pay roll of \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_ (Date)  
 (Give date of pay roll nearest the date of filing this application.)

	Number of experienced females	Number of female learners	Total number of female employees
Factory employees.....	.....	.....	.....
Office employees.....	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	.....	.....	.....

\_\_\_\_\_  
 Superintendent or Manager.

<sup>1</sup> In the commission's report the duplicate form also is reproduced. Only the heading, which explains that the duplicate must be retained by the employer and returned to the industrial welfare commission when the employee leaves or is raised to the minimum, and the final direction, to the effect that when the employee has been raised to the minimum or has left, the registration blank must be returned to the industrial welfare commission, vary from the form as reproduced here.

*a. Registration of learners in the laundry and dry cleaning industry.*—The process of registering learners in the laundry and dry cleaning industry is identical with the registration system in effect in the manufacturing industry. The length of the apprentice period is six months for both adults and minors in the laundry industry.\*

The foregoing description gives a very complete picture of how California inspects for the apprenticeship provisions in its decrees. It omits one form which may be of interest; that is, the card for each firm employing any apprentices. By means of this particular record a firm's history in relation to its apprenticeship policy is known. This record has provided for this report the only available figures on changes in number of apprentices during the period of minimum-wage enforcement. Only the manufacturing establishment card is described here. The laundry card is identical; the mercantile varies only by the inclusion of millinery apprentices as a separate class, for which the same information is tabulated. The manufacturing card has these headings: Firm name and address; product; superintendent or manager; date; number of female employees in factory (experienced, learners, and total); number in office (experienced, learners, and total); and learners entered in factory, learners left, and per cent of learners.

#### **Control of the canning industry—Predominantly a piece-rate industry.**

In addition to detailed forms and methods for keeping track of apprentices, the California commission has worked out a special method, called the "canning audit," for dealing with the State's great pieceworker-employing industry. The history of the commission's attempt to set and enforce rates for this unusually complicated industry is so interesting that it is given here as told by the commission in the fourth report:

#### **MINIMUM RATES FOR FRUIT AND VEGETABLE CANNING INDUSTRY, 1916-1922**

##### **1. RATES FOR CANNERS**

Following is a summary of the minimum rates established for canners by the orders of the commission since 1916:

1916: Minimum piece rates were established for the canning of the most important varieties of fruit and vegetables.

1917-18: Adult women were guaranteed 16 cents an hour during the first week of employment and 20 cents an hour thereafter.

1919: Adult women were guaranteed 21 cents an hour during the first week of employment and 23 cents an hour thereafter.

1920: All adult women and female minors between the ages of 16 and 18 were guaranteed 25 cents an hour during the first week of employment and 33½ cents an hour thereafter.

1921 and 1922: The canning order for these two years permitted employers to elect either to pay canners guaranteed time rates (adult women 25 cents an hour during the first two weeks of employment, female minors 22 cents an hour during the first two weeks of employment, adult women and female minors 33½ cents an hour after two weeks of employment), or to pay on a piece-rate basis under a weekly audit system.

It will be seen from the above outline of the minimum rates for canners that the orders have varied in their regulations for minor canners. The commission's 1916 production studies brought out the fact that the production of minors in both canning and cutting processes fell below that of the adult workers. Because of this fact the commission in dealing with the rates for

\* California Industrial Welfare Commission. Fourth report, for the biennial periods 1919-20 and 1921-22, pp. 36-42.

canners in the 1916, 1917, 1918, and 1919 orders took the position that piece rates which had been estimated to yield the minimum wage to adult women would constitute a fair basis of payment for minor workers. The canning orders for these years provided for a guaranteed wage for adult canners only.

In 1919 the working age of minors in canneries was limited to 14 years by the Federal child labor tax law, which imposed a tax of 10 per cent upon the net profits of any cannery employing minors under the age of 14 years. Furthermore, a number of canneries voluntarily imposed a limitation of 16 years in their own plants, feeling that the exclusion of the younger workers definitely added to the efficiency of the plant. The number of minors in the industry was therefore decidedly decreased at that time.

The 1920 conferences with employers brought out the fact that, while the output of girls from 16 to 18 years of age was equal to that of older women, minors under 16 years were irresponsible workers. Many employers stated that they were forced to continue the employment of these children, though undesirable workers, because their families insisted upon it as a condition of their own continuance, and the employers believed that this condition, with the assurance of the guaranteed wage, tended to encourage slacking among the minors. They expressed themselves as being willing to pay a guaranty to girls over 16.

The commission accepted the evidence presented, and the 1920 order provided the same guaranteed rates for minor girls between the ages of 16 and 18 as for adult women.

The 1921 amendment of the canning order permitted employers to elect either to pay canners the guaranteed time rates or to pay on a piece-rate basis under a weekly audit system.

## 2. RATES FOR DAY WORKERS

The accompanying outline shows the provisions of the orders which affect day workers:

### MINIMUM TIME RATES GUARANTEED TO DAY WORKERS, 1916 TO 1922

1916 and 1917: 13 cents an hour to all women and minors during the first three weeks of employment; 16 cents an hour to all women and minors thereafter.

1918: 16 cents an hour to all minors; 16 cents an hour to all adult women during the first three weeks of employment; 20 cents an hour to all adult women after the first three weeks of employment.

1919: 18 cents an hour to female minors during their first week of employment; 21 cents an hour to all adult women during their first week of employment; 28 cents an hour to all adult women and female minors after the first week of employment.

1920: 22 cents an hour to female minors during their first week of employment; 25 cents an hour to all adult women during their first week of employment; 33½ cents an hour to all adult women and female minors after the first week of employment.

1921 and 1922: 22 cents an hour to female minors during their first week of employment; 25 cents an hour to all adult women during their first week of employment; 33½ cents an hour to all adult women and female minors after the first week of employment; 25 cents an hour to all male minors.

## 3. RATES FOR CUTTERS

The first order regulating the payment of "cutters"—that is, women engaged in the preparation, cutting, peeling, coring, or slicing of fruit and vegetables—followed an investigation of the industry by the commission, a wage board held January 13 and 14, 1916, and a public hearing held in San Francisco, February 11, 1916. In the opinion both of the employers' and employees' representatives on the wage board, the highly seasonal character of the work, carrying with it the condition of a lack of trained workers, and the extreme perishability of the product, made a piece-rate method of payment apparently the most desirable method for the canning industry. Accordingly, section 1 of Order No. 1, issued February 14, 1916, provided for the establishment of minimum piece rates for the cutting of five leading products, apricots, pears, cling peaches, free peaches, and tomatoes.

The first revision of this order, in April, 1917, was based upon a consideration of production studies made during 1916, which showed the yielding power of the 1916 rates. As a result, Order No. 3 in the canning industry, issued April 16, 1917, provided for a 10 per cent increase in the rate paid for the cutting of apricots, set a minimum piece rate for asparagus, and further provided that piece rates established by individual canneries for the preparation of products other than those specified should yield to at least 80 per cent of the women and minors employed upon them hourly earnings of 16 cents or more.

The revision of the 1917 canning order, based upon a \$10 a week minimum wage, provided for increased piece rates for the cutting of major products. At this time the commission first considered the possibility of establishing a guaranteed time rate for such work. As a result, the 1918 order included the provision that all piece rates set by individual establishments for the preparation of minor products should yield to all adult women working upon them not less than 16 cents an hour for the first week of employment upon each minor product, and not less than 20 cents an hour thereafter.

Prior to the issuance of the 1919 canning order, the commission met with representatives of the canning industry to consider the amendment of the canning order on the basis of the increased minimum wage of \$13.50, which had been established in all industries following a cost of living investigation. At this time the feasibility of a guaranteed minimum time rate for the preparation of all products was seriously considered. The commission believed that the many factors entering into production, such as the size and degree of ripeness of the fruit, the size of the box served, the quality of work required from the women, and the widely differing degrees of factory management, made the commission's establishment of uniform piece rates for all canneries definitely unfair. Especially was there unfairness to the women when inefficiency in the management of a plant prevented them from being steadily supplied with fruit.

The representatives of the canners, on the other hand, produced evidence to show that the time-rate guaranty on the cutting of minor products established by the commission in its 1918 canning order had had the effect of slowing production to a disastrous degree.

Out of this discussion came the suggestion that the commission establish an audit system.

(a) *Canning audit, 1919.*—The credit for the auditing plan is due the Canners' League of California, in that its members proposed that they put special investigators in their establishments at their own expense, to insure the yielding power of the piece rates required by the commission. The commission could not accept this proposal, but as an alternative proposed regional auditors, chosen by the commission under regulation of State civil service, and directed by and solely responsible to the commission, to make weekly inspections of the pay rolls of the women cutters in all canneries operating on a piece-rate basis. Funds from which these auditors were to be paid were to be collected from the canners, deposited with the State treasurer, and audited by the State board of control, as are all other State funds. This arrangement was accepted by the canners.

The 1919 canning order provided for a choice in the method of payment of women cutters, either the payment of a guaranteed wage of \$13.50 a week (or 28 cents an hour for regular time), or payment on a piece-rate basis. The piece rates paid were to be not less than those fixed by the commission, with the further provision that if, in individual establishments, these piece rates did not yield to at least 66 $\frac{2}{3}$  per cent of the women and minors employed on each product at least 23 cents an hour, the piece rates were to be raised to yield to 66 $\frac{2}{3}$  per cent of the women and female minors employed on each product an hourly earning of not less than 23 cents. The allowance of 33 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of workers whose earnings might fall below the minimum wage was based upon the allowance for learners provided for by the commission in the regulation of other industries. Canners electing to operate on a piece-rate basis entered into an agreement with the two associations of canners to contribute to the expense of the audit.

During the season of 1919, 156 of the 200 canneries of the State elected to operate on a piece-rate basis. Funds for the audit aggregating \$11,875 were collected by the Canners' League of California and the National Canners' Associa-



tion of Southern California, the assessment being prorated among the canners upon the basis of the number of cases in their estimated pack for the season. The cost of the audit for the 1919 season was \$6,798.91, and the unused portion, \$5,076.09, was returned to the Canners' League and National Canners' Association of Southern California League and prorated back to the contributing canners.

(b) *Canning audit, 1920.*—In amending the canning order for the season of 1920, the commission felt that it was not proper to leave the acceptance of the audit system with its implied obligation of sharing in the expense to a purely voluntary agreement, since in the preceding season certain of the smaller plants had taken advantage of operating on a piece-rate basis without contributing funds for the expense of the audit.

The following terms of the 1920 canning order were intended to make it compulsory for a canner to work either upon a guaranteed time-rate system or on a piece-rate basis under the control of the audit system, in which case he was obligated to share in the expense involved.

#### PREPARATION OF FRUIT AND VEGETABLES

No person, firm, or corporation shall employ, or suffer or permit any woman or female minor to be employed in the fruit and vegetable canning industry in the preparation of fruit and vegetables when the employment is on a piece-rate basis, unless the piece-rate wage scale adopted yields to at least 66% per cent of all of the women and female minors employed in such work in the individual establishment, and paid in accord therewith, a wage of not less than 33½ cents an hour, and then only upon compliance with the other terms and conditions hereinafter set forth.

(a) *Preparation of fruit and vegetables.*—The piece-rate wage scale adopted in connection with the preparation of fruit and vegetables shall not be less than the following:

Asparagus.....	per 100 lbs...	\$0.22
Cherries.....	per 100 lbs...	.75
Apricots.....	per 100 lbs...	.50
Cling peaches.....	per 100 lbs...	.38
Free peaches.....	per 100 lbs...	.22
String beans.....	per 100 lbs...	1.50
Hand peeling peaches.....	per 100 lbs...	.50
Pears.....	per 100 lbs...	.62
Plums.....	per 100 lbs...	.18
Thompson seedless grapes.....	per 100 lbs...	1.00
Muscat grapes.....	per 100 lbs...	.75
Tomatoes (finished product).....	per 12 qts...	.05½

and for all other fruit and vegetables such piecework rates as may be adopted by the individual establishment.

In the event that during any given week the piecework rate paid according to the scale adopted in the individual establishment does not yield to at least 66% per cent of all women and female minors operating thereunder the minimum hourly wage of 33½ cents, as above required, then the piecework-rate scale theretofore adopted shall be uniformly raised by such percentage as may be required in order to yield to at least 66% per cent of all women and female minors operating thereunder the said hourly wage of 33½ cents.

#### ELECTION AND AUDIT

Any person, firm, or corporation desiring to adopt for any individual establishment a piece-rate scale of wages under the provisions of the preceding paragraph hereof, or to avail him or itself of the orders of this commission permitting the inclusion within his or its force of operatives engaged in the preparation of fruit and vegetables of one-third of learners shall file with the commission his election so to do on or before June 10, 1920, together with his agreement to pay for such audits as may be reasonably required by the commission in order to obtain accurate verification of the payments made thereunder.

Following is the agreement signed by the canners who participated in the audit system:

INDUSTRIAL WELFARE COMMISSION, STATE OF CALIFORNIA,  
328 Flood Building, San Francisco, \_\_\_\_\_.

*To the Industrial Welfare Commission of the State of California:*

The undersigned, an employer of labor engaged in the canning industry, hereby elects to pay wages to women and female minor workers engaged in the preparation of fruits and vegetables on a piece-rate wage scale in lieu of payment of wages on a time-rate basis, pursuant to the provisions of and upon the terms and conditions contained in section 2 of Commission Order No. 3, amended 1920, at the individual establishment located at \_\_\_\_\_, and does hereby certify and declare that the payment of such wages in accord with the piecework-wage scale adopted will yield to at least 66 $\frac{2}{3}$  per cent of all women and female minors employed in such work, at least 33 $\frac{1}{2}$  cents per hour.

The undersigned further agrees to deposit with the commission, upon request, an amount sufficient to cover the cost of such audits as may be required under the commission order, and understands that the piecework-wage scale adopted in section 2 of Order No. 3, amended 1920, and the orders of this commission permitting the operating force engaged in the preparation of fruits and vegetables of the packer or canner to be composed of one-third of learners, shall be effective only in the event such deposit and audits be made.

(Signed) \_\_\_\_\_

*Employer.*

In conformance with the \$16 minimum wage, which a cost of living study had just established, the 1920 canning order provided for such increases in piece rates over the 1919 piece rates as were shown to be necessary by a study of former production records.

One important change made by the canning order of this season was the exclusion of infirm workers from the audit. Under the provisions of the 1919 canning order, the audit was based upon the earnings of *all* women and female minor cutters. When the audit system was put into actual operation, however, there was found to be a fairly widespread practice of discharging elderly or infirm women whose low earnings lowered the per cent of women earning the minimum wage, thereby necessitating an increase in the minimum piece rates. For the purpose of protecting these substandard workers from dismissal, the commission availed itself of the power given it by its act of establishment, of issuing special permits to elderly or infirm workers. By executive interpretation, these permit workers were excluded from the audit, which was thereafter based upon the work of all women and female minor workers whose output was normal.

This exemption was provided for by section 7 of the 1920 canning order as follows:

"A permit may be issued by the commission to a woman physically disabled by age or otherwise, authorizing the employment of such licensee for a wage less than the legal minimum wage, and the commission shall fix a special minimum wage for such woman.

"Be it further provided that women eligible for permits, working on the preparation of fruit and vegetables, shall be eliminated from the audit."

During the season of 1920, 149 of the 175 canneries of the State entered into the agreement with the commission to operate on a piece-rate basis under the control of the audit system. The smaller number of canneries operating on this basis in 1920, in comparison with the number operating in 1919, was due to the fact that unsettled market conditions made it inadvisable for a number of the smaller canneries to operate at all during the 1920 season.

Funds for the audit, aggregating \$13,619.80, were collected following the method of collection used in 1919.

(c) *Canning audit, 1921 and 1922.*—The control of piece rates through the audit was continued during the seasons of 1921 and 1922. In 1921, 111 canneries, and in 1922, 117 canneries, elected this method of payment.

Although this description gives the main events from which the canning audit developed, it does not give any details about the methods used in this audit. Perhaps the commission felt that the very word "audit" described their procedure sufficiently. This system, however, is unique in minimum-wage administration, so a brief

description of how the audit actually was carried out seems worth while.

*Actual process of auditing as developed by the California commission.*—Since the commission was not hampered by inadequate funds in conducting this audit, as a rule enough auditors could be employed to cover every cannery each week. The State was divided into districts and every effort was made to keep one auditor with the same group of firms for the entire season. The auditor checked the earnings of every woman employed. To expedite this work the commission has required that every pay roll contain specified kinds of information and has suggested the actual forms for the pay roll on which such earnings were to be found. In a form letter dated June 5, 1923, is the following statement:

The pay-roll record of each woman and minor shall show—

(a) The number of hours worked daily in regular time, in overtime, and in double time, and the amounts earned daily in regular time; in overtime, and in double time.

(b) The total number of hours worked during the week in regular time, in overtime, and in double time, and the total amounts earned during the week in regular time, in overtime, and in double time.

Operations of women workers shall be indicated as follows: Canning, "CN," cutting, "CT," and day work "D." Minors shall be marked on the pay roll.

All women must be given working checks indicating the hours worked and the rate of pay, and the checks of pieceworkers must also show the amount of work performed during regular time, overtime, and double time. No two women may work on one check. No two persons may work on one number.

The commission provided auditors with exact instructions as to the procedure to be followed in auditing the pay rolls, and also with carefully worked-out forms, rate tables, and tables of increases to aid in working out the adjustments. Through the audit system pay rolls were adjusted so that at least 50 per cent of the women in the audit made  $33\frac{1}{3}$  cents an hour (\$16 for a 48-hour week) for the number of hours of regular time (first 8 hours in a day) worked. Floaters, minors under 16, and women on permit were excluded from the pay roll as substandard workers before the audit was made. For example: Assume that after permit women, floaters, and minors under 16 were eliminated from a pay roll, there were 100 normal workers left. Of this number 25 made  $33\frac{1}{3}$  cents an hour or better and 75 failed to earn  $33\frac{1}{3}$  cents an hour in the hours of regular time worked during the week. Under the provisions of the order at least 50 per cent, or 50 of the 100 women, were required to receive  $33\frac{1}{3}$  cents or more an hour. To raise the pay roll to conform to the law, the 50 women making the highest earnings were determined by the auditor. The auditor then figured the percentage of increase necessary to bring the average of the lowest of these 50 women up to  $33\frac{1}{3}$  cents an hour. This percentage of adjustment was added to the earnings of all women and female minors whose piece-rate earnings fell below  $33\frac{1}{3}$  cents an hour (minus workers). It was provided, however, that the piece-rate earnings plus the percentage of increase added should not bring the earnings of any of the "minus" women above  $33\frac{1}{3}$  cents an hour. Therefore, the 25 women who earned between  $33\frac{1}{2}$  cents an hour and the average of the woman on whose earnings the percentage of increase was determined did not receive the full percentage of increase, but were paid enough additional to bring their earnings to  $33\frac{1}{3}$  cents an hour. These women added to the 25 women

whose piece-rate earnings were  $33\frac{1}{3}$  cents or more before the pay roll was raised made a total of 50 women who were paid at least  $33\frac{1}{3}$  cents an hour.

A similar audit was made on the earnings of overtime, and a percentage of increase was added when 50 per cent of the women failed to make an average of  $41\frac{2}{3}$  cents an hour, even though no adjustment had been necessary on the regular time earnings. If 50 per cent of the adult women working on overtime failed to earn at least  $41\frac{2}{3}$  cents an hour, and an adjustment had been necessary on the regular time earnings, the same percentage of adjustment that had been added to the regular time earnings was applied to the overtime earnings of all women who failed to earn  $41\frac{2}{3}$  cents an hour, provided that the amount earned in overtime plus the per cent added did not exceed  $41\frac{2}{3}$  cents an hour.

In 1923 the canning order was amended further, and after August 8 of that year any percentage of adjustment found necessary on the regular time earnings was applied to the total earnings in regular time, overtime, and double time of all women on the pay roll.

The instruction form given each auditor is reproduced here, for it shows in detail the steps taken in the work. Only cutters are mentioned in this form, but exactly the same method is used for the canners. Each of these processes has to be treated as a separate unit in calculating increases.

*To audit a cutter's pay roll.*—1. Eliminate all "floaters" without regard to their average hourly earnings. 2. Eliminate minors, and infirm workers whose average hourly earnings for the week in regular time are less than  $33\frac{1}{2}$  cents an hour. 3. Mark pieceworkers making the minimum for the hours worked during the week in regular time with plus (+) and those failing to make the minimum with minus (-). (Use  $33\frac{1}{2}$  cents rate card.) 4. Enter in the column provided on the "total sheet" the number in the various groups appearing on each page of the pay roll. Check the total of each page on the "total sheet" with the total of the corresponding page of the pay roll. The audit total is the sum of the plus (+) cutters and the minus (-) cutters. If the number of plus (+) cutters exceeds or equals the number of minus (-) cutters, no adjustment is required. If the number of minus (-) cutters exceeds the number of plus (+) cutters an adjustment will be necessary.

A "floater" in a department is defined as a woman who works one-third or less of the average number of hours worked in regular time in that department. Floaters who make  $33\frac{1}{2}$  cents an hour or over in regular time must be eliminated as well as those who fail to make the minimum.

*To raise a pay roll.*—1. Enter on "tally sheet" the total number of pieceworkers in audit. 2. Enter the number which is 50 per cent of the audit total. 3. Enter the total number which is required to make up to 50 per cent of audit total. 4. Determine the average hourly earnings of cutters marked minus (-). Use rate table for this and enter in pencil on pay roll. (a) In using the rate table, earnings which fall between two groups should be considered in the nearest group. (b) When the earnings fall exactly midway between two groups the higher and lower groups should be used alternately. (c) In determining the average hourly earnings when time is figured in quarter hours, drop the " $\frac{1}{4}$ " and consider the " $\frac{3}{4}$ " as the next whole number. Illustration:

$41\frac{1}{4}$  hours would be considered 41 hours.

$41\frac{3}{4}$  hours would be considered 42 hours.

5. Page 1 of pay roll: Enter on "tally sheet" in proper column, the number of cutters whose average hourly earnings fall in the various wage groups. Enter total of these in column marked "Totals." Check the total minuses on "total sheet." Repeat for each page of pay roll. 6. Having determined the number required to make up 50 per cent, ascertain the wage group in which this number falls by counting from the highest group in which the earnings fell. This establishes the group to be raised. The percentage of increase required to raise each wage group is computed on page 11 of rate book.

Adjustment on a pay roll of 200 cutters when less than 50 per cent (e. g., 20 per cent) earned 33½ cents or over an hour

TABULATION OF THE AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS OF 160 CUTTERS WHOSE EARNINGS WERE LESS THAN 33½ CENTS AN HOUR

33 cents	32¼ cents	32 cents	31½ cents	31 cents	30¾ cents	30 cents	29½ cents	29 cents	28¼ cents	28 cents	27½ cents
5	20	10	4	6	10	5	20	5	15	30	30

Total in audit..... 200  
 50 per cent of audit total..... 100  
 Number earning 33½ cents and over..... 40  
 Number required to make up to 50 per cent..... 60

This number (60) falls in the 30-cent wage group. The percentage of increase is determined by subtracting 30 from 33½ cents and dividing this difference (3½ cents) by 30 cents; 0.03½ divided by 0.30 is 0.111, or 11.11 per cent.

The percentage of increase must be added to the total weekly earnings in regular time, overtime, and double time for all women and minor pieceworkers, including floaters and women on permit.

The same procedure outlined above shall be used in auditing the canners' pay rolls.

If the total number of hours worked in the cannery for any week is 16 or less, an audit may be made for the short week or any adjustment found necessary on the following week shall be applied to the earnings of all women and minors for the short week.

In addition to suggested pay-roll forms and careful instructions to auditors, the executive office got out complete rate tables (so that the agents could look up percentages of increase rather than work them out), work sheets whose headings were a constant reminder of the way the women were to be grouped in reckoning compliance, adjustment notices to leave with the employer, and forms for reporting on each plant. The tables showing the percentages of increase of course are not reproduced in this report. They are very long and detailed and are not necessary to an understanding of the audit. The adjustment notice used in 1923 and later is given here. It is interesting to notice that the adjustment is given to the employer on the percentage basis, and it is left for him to work out the actual amount that must be paid each worker.

INDUSTRIAL WELFARE COMMISSION, STATE OF CALIFORNIA

ADJUSTMENT NOTICE

Firm name \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_  
 Address \_\_\_\_\_ Manager or superintendent \_\_\_\_\_  
 Adjustments on pay roll of \_\_\_\_\_

Cutters' pay roll	Canners' pay roll
..... Per cent.	..... Per cent.

The above percentages of increase must be added to the total weekly earnings in regular time, overtime, and double time of all women and minor pieceworkers, including floaters and women on permit.

These adjustments are to be paid by \_\_\_\_\_ (Date)

(Signed) \_\_\_\_\_

The auditor's report which follows enables the commission to have an exact record of how the earnings have run in a given plant over the entire period the audit has been in use.

**AUDITOR'S REPORT**

Name of plant..... Date of audit.....  
 Address..... Time for audit..... (Hours)  
 Auditor..... Date of pay roll..... (From) (To)

Pieceworkers				Product.....		Product.....		
Women and female minors	Cutters	Canners		Maximum weight of box.....	Maximum weight per box.....	Average weight of box.....	Average weight per box.....	
Total number.....				Average weight of box by auditor.....	Average weight as posted.....	Rate paid per 100 pounds.....	Rate paid per box.....	
Number of floaters.....				Rate paid per 100 pounds.....	Rate paid per 100 pounds.....	Rate paid per box.....		
Number of permits.....				Product.....	Maximum weight of box.....	Maximum weight per box.....		
Number of female minors.....				Average weight of box.....	Average weight per box.....	Average weight as posted.....		
Number in audit.....				Rate paid per 100 pounds.....	Rate paid per 100 pounds.....	Rate paid per box.....		
Number earning 33¼ cents and over.....				Rate paid per box.....				
Number earning less than 33¼ cents.....				Product.....	Maximum weight of box.....	Maximum weight per box.....		
Adjustment per cent ordered.....				Average weight of box.....	Average weight per box.....	Average weight as posted.....		
Total amount of adjustment.....				Rate paid per 100 pounds.....	Rate paid per 100 pounds.....	Rate paid per box.....		
Total amount of pay roll.....				Rate paid per box.....	Rate paid per box.....			
Date payment of adjustment.....								
Number of women hours.....				Method of payment.....				
Day workers				Minors				
	Department					All departments		
	Cutters	Canners	Miscellaneous	Total		Female	Male	Total
Women and female minors.....					Total minors employed in plant.....			

The minute detail in which this scheme has been developed, in order that it should be really effective, is of tremendous importance to anyone interested in the problems involved in the application of minimum-wage laws to groups other than regular timeworkers. Pieceworkers are found to some extent in a large number of the industries and occupations covered by the decrees. How the decrees shall be applied to them has been decided differently in various localities and at different times in the same locality. The canning audit as developed in California represents a determination to assure the pieceworker the minimum rate in her weekly pay envelope. It shows how thoroughly the decrees can be applied if a commission is given an adequate staff and sufficient appropriation.

#### Forms used in enforcing decrees in Massachusetts.

The plan of enforcement worked out by Massachusetts was of necessity quite different from the plans found in States with mandatory laws, of which California is given as an example. In Massachusetts there were three things the employer must do: He must post a notice of minimum-wage rates; he must keep a proper record of wages; and he must allow the inspector access to his books. Only through education and the force of public opinion could pressure be brought to bear on him to cause him to pay the actual rates set in the decrees. The steps to gain compliance with those nonmandatory rates will be taken up chronologically.

As soon as a decree was entered, but before it became effective, the commission sent a letter to each employer in the occupation in question. Undoubtedly, all firms that had been established more than a few weeks were covered, since only relatively small groups were included in one decree, and the commission had available a supposedly complete list of the employers in the industry, both from its own investigation of the industry in question and from the records of the Massachusetts division of statistics. The letter follows:

GENTLEMEN: Inclosed herewith is a copy of the decree entered by the minimum-wage commission on \_\_\_\_\_, relative to the wages of women and girls employed in the \_\_\_\_\_ occupation in Massachusetts. The decree is based on the recommendations submitted in the report of the wage board for this occupation, which was signed by all<sup>1</sup> of the members.

In accordance with the provisions of the general laws, chapter 151, section 14, you are required to post this notice in a conspicuous place in your establishment where it will readily be seen by all of your women employees, and to maintain it until further notice.

The notice should preferably be posted near the main entrance or in the work-rooms where women are employed. Where the work is carried on in separate buildings, notices should be posted in each building where women come under the provisions of the decree. Additional posters will be supplied on request.

Your attention is called to the fact that these determinations go into effect \_\_\_\_\_.

Under the law the commission is required to publish the facts as it may find them to be as to the acceptance of its recommendations by the employers engaged in the industry to which any of its recommendations relate.

The commission, therefore, desires me to inquire whether or not you intend to accept these recommendations and to follow them in your establishment.

Your cooperation in this matter is invited.

Very truly yours,

*Assistant Commissioner.*

<sup>1</sup> In case of unanimous report.

As soon as a decree became effective the executive office of the commission began to make arrangements for inspection by the commission's agents of the firms covered by the decree. How immediately this inspection could be made was determined by the number of other inspections that the staff was conducting, but only in rare cases did more than a few weeks elapse between the date on which a decree became effective and the date when inspection under it was begun. Inspections usually were carried on in two or more industries at the same time. Reinspections and inspections of complaints in scattered industries also were going on all the time. Industries in which a new decree had just been entered were given precedence in making up the list for inspection; of the others, the industries where the longest time had elapsed since the last inspection usually received first attention. Theoretically each industry was inspected at regular intervals, as, for instance, once a year. In reality, lack of a sufficient number of agents meant that each industry was inspected after a decree was set and as often thereafter as circumstances allowed. A considerable number of new decrees in any one year usually meant practically no inspections under older decrees. The first inspection was, of course, much the most important, for at this time the great majority of non-compliances were found. Moreover, the noncompliances found by the original inspection under a decree often were due to imperfect knowledge of the decree or to an arbitrary stand taken by the employer which he could be persuaded to renounce.

In carrying out an inspection the State was divided geographically among the agents. In her territory an agent visited all firms covered by the decrees selected, saw to it that the employer was observing all the mandatory provisions of the law, and took a transcript of the pay roll for a selected week, including every woman covered by the given decree. The following form used in taking off pay rolls shows the kind of material collected.

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S  
BRANCH LIBRARY  
BOMBAY



THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS DEPARTMENT OF LABOR AND INDUSTRIES

DIVISION OF MINIMUM WAGE

Inspection report

Wage records secured \_\_\_\_\_ File page \_\_\_\_\_  
 For tabulation \_\_\_\_\_ Agent \_\_\_\_\_  
 Weekly schedule of hours \_\_\_\_\_  
 Industry \_\_\_\_\_

Legal name of establishment \_\_\_\_\_ City or town \_\_\_\_\_  
 Address \_\_\_\_\_ Date of inspection \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nature of business \_\_\_\_\_ Notice posted? \_\_\_\_\_  
 Person interviewed \_\_\_\_\_ Notice of acceptance? \_\_\_\_\_

*Wage record for all female employees for week ending* \_\_\_\_\_

No.	Name	Occupation	Age	Experience		Former rate of wages <sup>1</sup>	Present rate of wages	Actual earnings	Hours	Compliance	Notes
				Previous employment	Present employment						

<sup>1</sup> Previous to operation of minimum-wage decree.  
 (For outline of special cases see other side.)

Before leaving the plant the agent took up with the officials all cases of noncompliance. Particularly on first inspections in an industry the agent often could adjust all or almost all the violations. Sometimes the employer had misunderstood the scope of the decree, and did not realize that certain groups were entitled to the minimum; sometimes an employer could be persuaded to shift a woman to another job, where he thought she would be worth the minimum rate; sometimes a woman was a special-license type and the agent could authorize the payment of a rate below the minimum. Sometimes even cases based solely on unwillingness to meet the rates set in the decrees could be adjusted by the agents. Besides adjusting actual noncompliances whenever possible, the agents called attention to those workers who must soon be granted a raise in pay due to a change in age or length of service. In general it was the agent's business to explain the law and help the individual employer to apply it.

The transcript of wages collected by agents is used in the executive office as a basis for the extensive rates and earnings figures tabulated by the commission. The cases of noncompliance are taken from

these sheets by the agents, listed, and submitted to the person in charge of enforcement—the woman assistant commissioner of labor—who then takes up each noncompliance and seeks to adjust it. This report, on which the assistant commissioner bases her activities, covers the following facts:

AGENT'S REPORT ON CASES REQUIRING ADJUSTMENT

Decree.....  
Establishment..... Location.....  
Official interviewed.....

To the Assistant Commissioner,  
Department of Labor and Industries,  
State House, Boston, Mass.

Date.....

Following is outline on cases requiring adjustment in the above named establishment:

Total number of women employed..... Timeworkers.....  
Pieceworkers.....  
Total number of noncompliances..... Timeworkers.....  
Pieceworkers.....

Name Occupation Age Experience Time rate Earnings, P. W.

-----  
-----  
-----

Remarks.-----  
-----  
-----

Special license cases:

Name Age Experience Rate to be paid

-----  
-----

Recommendation-----  
-----

Letters to be sent:

- Refusal to show pay roll.....
- Refusal to allow transcript.....
- Refusal to post notice.....
- Record of working hours to be kept for P. W.....
- Letter for appointment.....
- Letter regarding wage adjustment.....

Reinspect:  
Respectfully submitted.

-----  
Agent.

The assistant commissioner then attempts to adjust these cases through conference and correspondence. The first step usually is to send out the following letter:

## WARNING LETTER

GENTLEMEN: According to the records secured from your office, it appears that you are not complying with the \_\_\_\_\_ occupation decree.

Under the law it is the duty of the commission to inspect for the purpose of determining compliance with minimum-wage decrees and to publish the names of those employers who fail or refuse to comply with these recommendations.

The commission is endeavoring to adjust all cases outstanding under this decree during the present month.

Before taking action as required by law, the commission would like a written statement specifying whether or not you are willing to accept the decree and abide by it. Failure to reply by \_\_\_\_\_ will be interpreted as refusal to accept the decree.

In the meantime, the commissioners invite employers who desire to discuss the question of adjustment to meet with them in their office, room 472, the state house, at any time before \_\_\_\_\_.

Very truly yours,

*Assistant Commissioner.*

When contact with the firm has been established thus, several means may be suggested to the employer whereby he may see his way clear to comply with the law. He may be given an extension of time in which to make adjustments; he may be persuaded to give a woman some special training to increase her efficiency; he may be allowed to try out a given occupation at piece rates; the question of transfer to a different sort of work may be taken up again. Usually an agent is sent back to make a reinspection, in the hope that further knowledge of the situation and further contact with the employer will make possible an adjustment. Every effort of the commission, however, is bent toward keeping a woman at work and persuading the employer to raise her wages and not to discharge her. The following is the agent's reinspection report.

REINSPECTION

AGENT'S REPORT ON CASES REQUIRING ADJUSTMENT

Decree \_\_\_\_\_ Establishment \_\_\_\_\_  
 Location \_\_\_\_\_  
 Official interviewed \_\_\_\_\_

To the Assistant Commissioner,  
 Department of Labor and Industries,  
 State House, Boston.

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Following is outline on cases requiring adjustment at reinspection:

Total women employed at inspection	Time	Piece
Total noncompliances at inspection	Time	Piece
Total women employed at reinspection	Time	Piece
Total noncompliances at reinspection	Time	Piece

Status at reinspection of noncompliances at previous inspection:

Name	Occ.	Age A. M.	Exp. In. Exp.	Rate T. P.	Adjustment made
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

New cases of noncompliance since inspection:

Name	Occ.	Age A. M.	Exp. In. Exp.	Rate T. P.	Adjustment made
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Remarks (Agent should distinguish between old and new cases): \_\_\_\_\_

Recommendation:

Special license \_\_\_\_\_  
 Special license type \_\_\_\_\_  
 Technical noncompliance \_\_\_\_\_  
 Reinspection (date) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conference in office \_\_\_\_\_  
 No action \_\_\_\_\_

Letter to be sent:

Regarding wage adjustment \_\_\_\_\_  
 Keeping record of hours \_\_\_\_\_

Reinspection: (Date) \_\_\_\_\_

Respectfully submitted.

\_\_\_\_\_  
 Agent.

If all these efforts fail to gain compliance, the commission publishes the names of the firms who refuse to pay all their employees of ordinary ability the minimum rates required in the decrees. The following letter is sent to warn employers of this action on the part of the commission:

FINAL LETTER

GENTLEMEN: Under the law it will be necessary for the commission to publish the name of your firm as not complying with the \_\_\_\_\_ decree.

This action will be taken unless adjustment is made of the cases outstanding prior to \_\_\_\_\_, and unless notice of such adjustment is received in the office of the commission before that date.

Failure to notify the commission before the \_\_\_\_\_ instant will be regarded as refusal to comply, and publication will appear on \_\_\_\_\_. This notice will be published in the Boston papers and also in a local paper on the date specified.

Very truly yours,

Assistant Commissioner.

Before 1921 no firm's name was published for noncompliance. The following statement shows how many times the commission has had to resort to this means of gaining enforcement since that year:

Year	Industry	Number of—	
		Firms	Women
1921	Total.....	12	266
	Building cleaners.....	1	106
	Paper box.....	11	160
1922	Total.....	114	1,977
	Laundry.....	22	223
	Muslin underwear.....	1	3
	Paper box.....	1	5
	Retail stores.....	89	1,719
1924	Women's clothing.....	1	27
	Total.....	2	39
	Druggists' compounds.....	1	10
1925	Minor lines of confectionery.....	1	29
	Total.....	15	460
1925	Canning and preserving.....	1	3
	Druggists' compounds.....	1	9
	Men's furnishings.....	1	43
	Building cleaners.....	1	214
	Muslin underwear.....	2	17
	Paper box.....	1	51
	Retail stores.....	7	110
	Women's clothing.....	1	13

In 1925 the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts decided that the section of the minimum-wage law requiring newspapers to print the names of any employers whom the commission wished to advertise for noncompliance was unconstitutional. At the present time only those newspapers which do so voluntarily carry the paid advertisements of the commission, listing the establishments that are not complying with the decrees.

Though this completes the outline of the procedure used to gain compliance, certain forms that have been developed to aid in the inspection work have not been presented. In the first place, all women who are given special licenses are required to fill out the following form:

## APPLICATION BLANK FOR SPECIAL LICENSE

Occupation \_\_\_\_\_ Date granted \_\_\_\_\_

See file No. \_\_\_\_\_

(Applicant should not write above this line)

Date \_\_\_\_\_ 19\_\_

To THE COMMISSION: The undersigned hereby makes application, under the provisions of section 9, chapter 706, acts of 1912, as amended, for a special license authorizing her employment at a wage less than the legal minimum wage established by the commission for a woman of her age and experience in the following industry.

Occupation \_\_\_\_\_

Name of employer \_\_\_\_\_

Address of employer \_\_\_\_\_

Kind of work in which applicant is engaged or wishes to be engaged (state exact employment) \_\_\_\_\_

Length of experience in that employment \_\_\_\_\_

Length of time employed by present firm \_\_\_\_\_

Other employment \_\_\_\_\_

Length of experience in that work \_\_\_\_\_

Dependence on earnings \_\_\_\_\_

Age \_\_\_\_\_

Nature and extent of disability because of which special license is requested

(state specific cause) \_\_\_\_\_

Witness \_\_\_\_\_ Signature of applicant \_\_\_\_\_

(in case applicant signs by mark)

Home address \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Amount per week firm will pay \_\_\_\_\_ \$ \_\_\_\_\_

(full-time work).

Signature of representative of firm \_\_\_\_\_

The license, if issued, is in triplicate, one copy to be kept by the employee, one by the employer, and one to be filed by the commission. The license form gives the legal provision permitting its issuance, the name and address of the licensee, and the rate of wages to be paid to her. It is numbered and dated.

Another set of forms was developed for keeping a record of inspections in the office. The agents handed in daily and weekly reports which are not reproduced, since their main purpose was a record of the work of the agents. In addition, a firm card was kept for

each establishment inspected. The form, which follows, gives a complete history of the relations of the commission with each employer.

MINIMUM WAGE COMMISSION INSPECTION REPORT CARD

Occupation \_\_\_\_\_ Firm \_\_\_\_\_ Year \_\_\_\_\_  
 Inspection \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_  
 Date \_\_\_\_\_ Official interviewed \_\_\_\_\_ Agent \_\_\_\_\_  
 Compliances: \_\_\_\_\_ No. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Per cent \_\_\_\_\_ Adjustments \_\_\_\_\_ Nature \_\_\_\_\_ Cases pending \_\_\_\_\_  
 Noncompliances: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Wages: No. \_\_\_\_\_ Per cent \_\_\_\_\_  
 Records: Refusal to show \_\_\_\_\_ Refusal to permit copying \_\_\_\_\_  
 Do not keep \_\_\_\_\_  
 Notice: Failure to post \_\_\_\_\_ Refusal to post \_\_\_\_\_  
 Information withheld \_\_\_\_\_  
 Follow-up visits \_\_\_\_\_ Correspondence \_\_\_\_\_ Conference at  
 office \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_ Letters sent \_\_\_\_\_  
 Replies \_\_\_\_\_ Representative \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_  
 Disposition of cases: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Adjusted \_\_\_\_\_ Pending \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nature of adjustment \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

(For detailed report of case see other side)

This brief recounting of the enforcement method used in Massachusetts shows that, in the information collected, the commission, in its forms and acts of its agents, sought exactly the same type of information as did the States with mandatory laws. Moreover, the careful method of having the agents copy all pay rolls inspected instead of merely going over them and copying noncompliances was the rule in this one State alone. The division of minimum wage in the department of labor and industries depends almost wholly on these pay-roll records for enforcement. Complaints are investigated by the agents at the discretion of the assistant commissioner, but they have not been very important in enforcement. No forms for recording them or keeping track of them exist. The amount of time spent on enforcement, due not only to that consumed in copying pay rolls but to that which elapsed while negotiation seeking compliance was being carried on, meant that the commission must either have a large force of agents or cover a small number of women. Undoubtedly the time spent, by necessity, on inspection and reinspection, to try to persuade employers to conform to a decree, has been a contributing factor in the failure of the Massachusetts commission to cover more than a small percentage of the woman wage earners of the State.

### CHAPTER XIII.—RELATION OF THE COURTS TO THE MINIMUM-WAGE LAWS

As would be natural in so uncharted and controversial a field, the various State and Federal courts have been called on time and again to interpret the minimum-wage laws. Many of the legislatures in passing the laws provided specifically for appeals from the commissions' decisions as set forth in the decrees. And these laws, of course, like any other law that restricts men's actions in a field not clearly contemplated by the constitutions of States or of the United States, were subject to attacks on the question of constitutionality. As in the case of many other labor laws, opponents of minimum-wage laws have claimed that they violated the "due process of law" clauses of the fifth and fourteenth amendments to the Federal Constitution. Of the many cases that have been heard, some have hinged on the interpretation of specific sections, or even phrases, in the laws, but the great majority of the cases have involved efforts to have the courts declare this kind of wage regulation unconstitutional.

#### PROVISIONS IN THE LAWS PROVIDING FOR COURT REVIEW OF DECREES

The provisions of these laws relating particularly to the protection of employees, such as those sections punishing anyone who interferes with workers who testify before the commission, or providing means for their collecting back wages, and so on, have been discussed earlier in this report.<sup>1</sup> The provisions of the laws providing for appeals to the courts from the commissions' decisions seem to be primarily the laws' attempt to protect the employer. Many of the laws provided means by which any interested party could appeal from extreme rulings.

The commissions not only were given definite rules as to how to proceed if their decrees were to have the force of law, but in many States their decrees were subject to review by the State courts; so any person who felt that a commission had overstepped its powers or had failed in its duties in arriving at a decree, could appeal to the courts to have such decree set aside.

Only in Arkansas and Minnesota was no provision made for appeal to the courts to review the substance of the decrees.

In Massachusetts and Nebraska appeal to the courts was not general but was tied up to the provision in the laws of these States that the wage boards must consider the financial condition of the industry in determining the minimum rate. In addition to this protection offered the employer, he also could file a declaration under oath, with the supreme judicial or superior court in Massachusetts or with the district court in Nebraska, that compliance with the decree would endanger the prosperity of his business. He then was entitled to a stay of execution and to a hearing conducted by the court under the rules of equity procedure, to determine whether his claim of injury

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 281.



was true. If his contentions were sustained, the court could revoke the order. The court's power to revoke an order because of its effect on one firm evidently was considered much too drastic in Massachusetts, for in 1913 the law was amended so that this paragraph was clearer and much less extreme. The amendment specified that the plaintiff had to support the burden of proof that the decree in question prevented him from conducting his business at a reasonable profit. No stay of execution was to issue. Moreover, if the employer proved his case the court could only exempt him from having his name published, without this action bearing in any way on the position of other employers.

North Dakota, Oregon, Washington, and the District of Columbia provide very briefly in their laws that there shall be an appeal on questions of law from the minimum-wage commissions to the courts. The commissions were to have the final decision as to facts.

In California, Colorado, Kansas, Texas, and Wisconsin a much more elaborate system is provided, whereby an individual can appeal from the commissions' decisions as embodied in the decrees. The original Colorado and Kansas laws simply provided for an appeal to the district courts, the order to remain in force until definitely set aside by the court, on the grounds that the order was either unlawful or unreasonable. There was a real difference, however, in what the court was called upon to do. Kansas provided that the determinations of fact made by the commissions were presumed to be correct, so that the burden of proof must rest on the plaintiff, but it in no way limited the evidence that might be introduced. Colorado provided that the evidence submitted to the court must be confined to that submitted to the commission. The field for review thus opened to the Kansas courts was much broader than that before the Colorado courts. The Colorado courts were to judge whether or not the commission had interpreted correctly the facts at hand; the Kansas courts were to review the commission's acts, rehear the case presented to the commission and any additional testimony that might be presented, and decide whether or not the commission had acted correctly in the light of all this testimony. Later, the laws of both Colorado and Kansas were administered by State bodies having many labor laws to administer and great responsibility. The laws creating these bodies provided in minute detail for an even more exact method of procedure in appealing from the commissions' decrees. The provisions of these later laws corresponded very closely to the provisions in the Wisconsin Industrial Commission law—a case of a commission analogous to the bodies just mentioned in Colorado and Kansas—and to the provisions in the laws of California and Texas.

Four of these States with the detailed procedure for appeals—California (by an amendment in 1921), Colorado (1917), Kansas (1921), and Wisconsin—provide that any aggrieved party must appeal to the commission for a rehearing before he may appeal to the courts. California, Colorado, Wisconsin, and Texas provide that the courts, when the appeal reaches them, may send the problem back to the commission for reconsideration. If after all these efforts the aggrieved party still is dissatisfied with the decree in question, the court may consider both points of fact and the law. In California facts are subject to court review only if there is a claim of fraud.

There is no great difference among the States as to the procedure for court review. Although the exact number of days varies from law to law, each law provides that any action must be begun within a specified period of time. They limit also the amount of time that can elapse before an answer must be filed and try in general to make sure that court action can not be so long drawn out as to nullify the decree. With the same idea of keeping court action from interfering unduly with just decrees, these laws provide the terms under which the decree in question, may be suspended pending the prosecution of the appeal. Although the laws vary in detail, instances of specific provisions are that the suspension affects only the complainant in California, the court may not grant an injunction without a hearing in Colorado, and an injunction can be granted only by circuit court or presiding judge of that court in Wisconsin.

Only California and Texas have enacted these elaborate provisions for court review with minimum wage as their main concern. In the three other States they have been the result of an effort to safeguard workmen's-compensation rulings, sanitary standards, and a wide variety of orders amplifying and interpreting the labor law of the State. Almost every minimum-wage State, however, has shown some concern for this method of insuring fair administration of the laws. It is interesting by contrast to see the kind of court action that in fact resulted from these laws.

#### COURT ACTION WITH REFERENCE TO MINIMUM-WAGE LAWS

There is no record of any case where an employer came into court contending that a specific decree was unreasonable and should be modified, or that it had not been entered in accordance with the law and should be reconsidered—with more careful investigation or with more widely advertised hearings. Every attack on a specific decree, though it might question the method of passing on the facts on which the rate was determined, has been based primarily on the thought that any decree would be just as wrong; that the whole law, and therefore any decree, was unconstitutional. Even in Massachusetts, where an employer had only to show that a decree prevented him from conducting his business at a reasonable profit to obtain a modification of the decree as far as he was concerned, no case was ever brought with this in view. When there is considered the number of cases which attacked the existence of the law, the court actions seem to be evidence of the employers' desire to destroy the law rather than efforts to aid in making the law work effectively by using the means provided in itself for securing redress of grievances.

Among the 13 States with flexible laws, Colorado and Nebraska never put their laws into operation. In each of the remaining 11 States at least one case arose where the constitutionality of the law was questioned. In these cases it was claimed that the fourteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution precluded the possibility of the States passing a law regulating wages by its provision that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the

equal protection of the laws." \* With many surface differences, the fundamentals of these minimum-wage cases were the same. The plaintiff claimed that the laws destroyed the freedom of contract between the woman worker and her employer, and thus arbitrarily took away a property right without due process of law. The defense claimed that the laws were a reasonable exercise of the police powers of the State to protect its woman workers from conditions detrimental to their health and welfare.

These cases arose in varied ways, but up to 1923 the outcome was in every case the same. The law was upheld. In 1923 the United States Supreme Court held the District of Columbia law unconstitutional. Since that date only one court (Superior Court of California) has supported the law. The laws of Arkansas, District of Columbia, Kansas, and Wisconsin, among the flexible laws, and Arizona and Porto Rico among the inflexible laws, have been declared unconstitutional, and such doubt has been thrown on the validity of all these laws, except the nonmandatory Massachusetts act, as to cause almost complete cessation of work in some States and to retard work seriously in all. Because these cases have finally resulted in nullifying the will of the legislature, it seems an important part of this study to consider briefly each reported case.

#### Arkansas.

Very shortly after the law of Arkansas went into effect, the validity of the act was attacked in the circuit court of the State, and the case was carried on appeal to the supreme court of the State, which in 1917 upheld the constitutionality of the act. (*State v. Crowe*, 130 Arkansas 272, 197 S. W. 4.) The case was not appealed to the United States Supreme Court, and the question of the law's constitutionality was considered settled. After the decision of the Federal Supreme Court holding the District of Columbia law unconstitutional, another case was brought to test the Arkansas law's constitutionality. This action was brought in the Federal District Court (1924) and was carried to the United States Supreme Court (1927). Both courts declared the law unconstitutional, basing their decisions on the District of Columbia case. (*Donham v. West Nelson Manufacturing Co.*, 273 U. S. 657.)

#### California.

The constitutionality of the California law was never questioned until the adverse decision in the District of Columbia case. A suit then was brought by an employee in the superior court of the State. This court upheld the law's constitutionality (1924). This is the only case where a court has taken this stand since the United States Supreme Court's decision in the District of Columbia case. The California case was appealed to the supreme court of the State, but was dropped by the plaintiff before it was reached for argument. (*Gainer v. A. B. C. Dohrman et al.*)

#### District of Columbia.

After the hotel-and-restaurant order in the District of Columbia went into effect, two suits were brought questioning the constitution-

\* In the District of Columbia the case was based on the fifth amendment, which reads, "No person shall . . . be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law . . ."

ality of the law. One suit was started by an employer, the Children's Hospital, and one by an employee, Willie Lyon. The two cases were argued together. The Supreme Court of the District of Columbia upheld the law (1920). The court of appeals also upheld the law the first time the case was heard (1921), but later, after the return to the bench of a justice who had been ill, replacing a justice of the District of Columbia Supreme Court who had served temporarily, a rehearing was granted and the law was held unconstitutional (1922). On appeal to the United States Supreme Court, the District of Columbia Court of Appeals was sustained and the law was declared unconstitutional (1923). (*Adkins v. Children's Hospital*, 261 U. S. 525.)

### Kansas.

In Kansas there was, for the first time, a case questioning the method by which a decree was enacted as well as the constitutionality of the law. The Hanna Poultry & Egg Co. in 1920 claimed that Order No. 11 (manufacturing) of the Kansas Industrial Welfare Commission was unreasonable in its terms, that the procedural provisions of the law had not been followed, and that, moreover, it was unconstitutional to pass any such order. The court did not pass on the question of the law's validity nor on the reasonableness of the particular order, but it held that the statutory requirements had not been complied with and that the order therefore was void. In 1922 the Topeka Laundry Co. and the Topeka Packing Co. attacked the laundry and manufacturing orders passed in that year, on the ground that the evidence was insufficient to justify the orders under the statute, and that the statute itself was unconstitutional. This time the district court ruled on both points and upheld the order. No appeal was taken from this decision until 1924, when the case was revived by the plaintiffs in the hope that the United States Supreme Court decision in the case of *Adkins v. Children's Hospital* would force the Kansas courts to declare their law unconstitutional. In 1925 the Supreme Court of Kansas held the law unconstitutional, solely on the grounds of the precedent established by the United States Supreme Court decision. (*Topeka Laundry Co. v. Court of Industrial Relations*, 119 Kansas 12.)

### Massachusetts.

The first case involving the Massachusetts law was started by the commission in an effort to force a laundryman to allow his pay roll to be inspected. The defense claimed that the law was unconstitutional, but the supreme judicial court of the State upheld it (1918). (*Holcombe v. Cramer*, 231 Mass. 99, 120 N. E. 354.) The only other Massachusetts case was based on the section of the law requiring newspapers to publish any names of firms not paying minimum-wage rates which the commission might submit. The section also provided a penalty for noncompliance. The Boston Transcript refused to comply with this section. The case was carried to the supreme judicial court, which held this one section of the law unconstitutional. The court, however, reaffirmed its earlier decision holding the law as a whole constitutional, stating that the case of *Adkins v. Children's Hospital* did not govern, due to the nonmandatory features of the Massachusetts law (1924). (*Commonwealth v. Boston Transcript*, 249 Mass. 477.)

### Minnesota.

The law of Minnesota has been before the courts not only on the question of its general constitutionality but as to its interpretation. In 1914, after the commission's first wage orders were issued but before they became effective, two suits were brought to restrain the commission from enforcing the orders. The cases were argued jointly and a temporary injunction was granted. In all the other States the first decisions have been in favor of the law's constitutionality, so that the law has gone on functioning. In Minnesota, however, the whole work of the commission was held up by this adverse decision. The cases were appealed to the supreme court of the State, which finally upheld the law (1917) and refused to grant a rehearing (1918). (*Williams v. Evans*, *Ramer v. Evans*, 139 Minn. 32, 165 N. W. 495, 139 Minn. 45, 166 N. W. 504.) Only then did the law really begin to function. In 1925 another case arose involving the question of the law's constitutionality. (*Stevenson v. St. Clair*.) A minor who had not received the legal minimum sued for back wages. The defense was that the law was unconstitutional. The district court granted the minor back pay and held that *Adkins v. Children's Hospital* did not affect the status of minors under minimum-wage laws. The decision assumed that the law was unconstitutional for adult women. It may well be taken as the third case where State courts have reversed themselves due to the United States Supreme Court decision in *Adkins v. Children's Hospital*.

Besides the question of the law's constitutionality, two court cases arose to question the powers of the commission. The commission in 1919 issued orders in which the minimum rate of pay was based on a week of 48 working hours, with additional hourly rates for all hours worked in excess of this limit. The Miller Telephone Co. questioned the commission's right to establish the rate on the 48-hour basis when the legal working hours set by the legislature were 54 and 58. The commission lost the case in the lower court, but was upheld by the State supreme court (1920). (*Miller Telephone Co. v. Minimum Wage Commission*, 145 Minn. 262.) In 1921, due to the efforts of the commission to enforce its orders, the courts were asked to pass on what was a proper notification to the employer of the enactment of minimum-wage rates. The supreme court of the State held that under the law the commission must prove that the employer received a copy of the order before it could prosecute him for noncompliance. This led to an amendment to the law providing specifically what notification would be considered adequate before prosecution for noncompliance could be started. This case also raised the question of who were "persons of ordinary ability," a phrase used in the laws of Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, and Nebraska, and in the Minnesota orders, to describe the normal experienced worker. It had been assumed that the commission had power to define and to determine who should be deemed workers of ordinary ability, entitled to the minimum-wage rates, but the State supreme court held that these matters were left to the courts.

### North Dakota.

In North Dakota, as in Kansas, an injunction against specific orders (telephone and laundry) was asked on the ground that the

orders were not reasonable and had not been regularly passed and that the law was unconstitutional. The district court granted the injunction (1920) on the ground that the orders were not lawfully made nor issued, but did not pass on the validity of the law. The case was not appealed. (*North Western Telephone Co. v. Workmen's Compensation Bureau*, and *Grand Forks Steam Laundry v. Workmen's Compensation Bureau*.)

#### Oregon.

The first State to pass any decrees was Oregon (1913). Immediately thereafter a case was instituted (*Stettler v. O'Hara*) questioning the constitutionality of the law. The circuit court in 1913 and the State supreme court in 1914 upheld the law. The case then was appealed to the United States Supreme Court, which heard it for the first time in December, 1914, reheard it in 1916, and finally in 1917 handed down a decision by an evenly divided court, four justices sustaining the law, four holding it invalid, and one not participating, since he had previously taken part in the case as an advocate. (*Stettler v. O'Hara*, 243 U. S. 629.) This left the opinion of the Oregon Supreme Court, that the law was constitutional, the final decision in the case. The State supreme courts of Arkansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, and Washington soon after this decision upheld the laws in those States, and no one cared to carry the cases to the United States Supreme Court. California and Wisconsin, where the commissions either had moved very slowly or had suspended action, now felt that their laws were secure and proceeded to carry out the provisions of their acts.

#### Texas.

Although no decrees ever went into effect in Texas, due to the repeal of the law, the constitutionality of the law was sustained by the Texas courts. The provision in the Texas law corresponding to the provisions in all these laws to protect women who testified before the commission, was invoked when an employer discharged a woman who appeared before the commission. The defense claimed the law unconstitutional, but both the county court and the State supreme court upheld the law (1920). (*Poye v. Texas*, 89 Texas Criminal Reporter 182, 230 S. W. 161.)

#### Washington.

The first case testing the constitutionality of the law of Washington arose when a worker sued for back wages and the defense advanced the theory that the law was unconstitutional. Both the county court (1917) and the State supreme court (1918) upheld the law. (*Larsen v. Rice*, 100 Washington 642, 171 Pacific 937.) In 1920 another case questioning the constitutionality of the law reached the State supreme court on an appeal from the lower court which had dismissed the case. The supreme court again upheld the law. (*Spokane Hotel Co. v. Younger*, 113 Washington 359, 194 Pacific 595.) The only other reported Washington case arose when the courts were asked to pass on the powers of the commission in determining the substance of a decree. The Washington law provides that all rates for adult women must be based on recommendations of a duly constituted wage board. In 1918 the wage board for "all industries" recommended a weekly rate of \$13.20. The commission

said that this rate should be paid for an 8-hour day and a 6-day or 48-hour week. This worked out to give to the woman who worked the full legal limit of 56 hours, 8 hours of overtime at 27½ cents per hour. The commission's power to make such a ruling was questioned by a hotel owner who refused to pay more than \$13.20 for a 7-day week. To enforce the decree the commission applied to the superior court, county of Spokane, which ruled that in the absence of specific recommendations on this point by the conference [wage board], the common-law rule that a week was seven days must be accepted as the basis for the rate. (*State of Washington v. Moore*, Mimeographed Opinion No. 6697, July 16, 1919.)

#### Wisconsin.

No case occurred in Wisconsin until after the United States Supreme Court decision in *Adkins v. Children's Hospital*. In 1924, however, the Folding Furniture Co. applied to the Federal District Court for an injunction to restrain the commission from enforcing its orders. The court granted the injunction, holding the law unconstitutional on the basis of *Adkins v. Children's Hospital*. (*Folding Furniture Co. v. Industrial Commission*, 300 Federal 991.)

#### Summary.

After a stormy career, minimum-wage laws seem to be in a very dubious position as far as mandatory enforcement of wage rates is concerned. The higher courts of the States had held these laws to be constitutional, but the Supreme Court of the United States came to a different conclusion. Though the particular case decided by the Federal court, *Adkins v. Children's Hospital*, arose under the District of Columbia statute, the decision is so broad in its scope that it has thrown doubt on all the State laws.

It has had such a far-reaching effect on all minimum-wage laws that the basis for the decision and the reason for disagreeing with it must form a most important part of any attempt to understand the situation of such laws in the United States. The opinions—of Mr. Justice Sutherland for the court and of Mr. Chief Justice Taft and Mr. Justice Holmes dissenting—set forth succinctly the opposing views as to these statutes. Speaking for the court, Mr. Justice Sutherland said the following:

The statute now under consideration is attacked upon the ground that it authorizes an unconstitutional interference with the freedom of contract included within the guaranties of the due process clause of the fifth amendment. That the right to contract about one's affairs is a part of the liberty of the individual protected by this clause, is settled by the decision of this court and is no longer open to question. \* \* \* Within this liberty are contracts of employment of labor. In making such contracts, generally speaking, the parties have an equal right to obtain from each other the best terms they can as the result of private bargaining.

It is simply and exclusively a price-fixing law, confined to adult women (for we are not now considering the provisions relating to minors), who are legally as capable of contracting for themselves as men. It forbids two parties having lawful capacity—under penalties as to the employer—to freely contract with one another in respect of the price for which one shall render service to the other in a purely private employment where both are willing, perhaps anxious, to agree, even though the consequence may be to oblige one to surrender a desirable engagement and the other to dispense with the services of a desirable employee.

The cooperative economies of the family group are not taken into account though they constitute an important consideration in estimating the cost of living, for it is obvious that the individual expense will be less in the case of a member of a family than in the case of one living alone. The relation between earnings and morals is not capable of standardization. It can not be shown that well-paid women safeguard their morals more carefully than those who are poorly paid. Morality rests upon other considerations than wages; and there is, certainly, no such prevalent connection between the two as to justify a broad attempt to adjust the latter with reference to the former. As a means of safeguarding morals the attempted classification, in our opinion, is without reasonable basis. No distinction can be made between women who work for others and those who do not; nor is there ground for distinction between women and men, for, certainly, if women require a minimum wage to preserve their morals men require it to preserve their honesty.

The law is not confined to the great and powerful employers but embraces those whose bargaining power may be as weak as that of the employee. It takes no account of periods of stress and business depression, of crippling losses, which may leave the employer himself without adequate means of livelihood. To the extent that the sum fixed exceeds the fair value of the services rendered, it amounts to a compulsory exaction from the employer for the support of a partially indigent person, for whose condition there rests upon him no peculiar responsibility, and therefore, in effect, arbitrarily shifts to his shoulders a burden which, if it belongs to anybody, belongs to society as a whole.

The feature of this statute which, perhaps, more than any other, puts upon it the stamp of invalidity is that it exacts from the employer an arbitrary payment for a purpose and upon a basis having no causal connection with his business, or the contract or the work the employee engages to do.

It has been said that legislation of the kind now under review is required in the interest of social justice, for whose ends freedom of contract may lawfully be subjected to restraint. The liberty of the individual to do as he pleases, even in innocent matters, is not absolute. It must frequently yield to the common good, and the line beyond which the power of interference may not be pressed is neither definite nor unalterable but may be made to move, within limits not well defined, with changing need and circumstance. Any attempt to fix a rigid boundary would be unwise as well as futile. But, nevertheless, there are limits to the power, and when these have been passed it becomes the plain duty of the courts in the proper exercise of their authority to so declare. To sustain the individual freedom of action contemplated by the Constitution is not to strike down the common good but to exalt it; for surely the good of society as a whole can not be better served than by the preservation against arbitrary restraint of the liberties of its constituent members.

It follows from what has been said that the act in question passes the limit prescribed by the Constitution. \* \* \*

Mr. Chief Justice Taft, dissenting, said the following:

Legislatures in limiting freedom of contract between employee and employer by a minimum wage proceed on the assumption that employees, in the class receiving least pay, are not upon a full level of equality of choice with their employer and by their necessitous circumstances are prone to accept pretty much anything that is offered. They are peculiarly subject to the overreaching of the harsh and greedy employer. The evils of the sweating system and of the long hours and low wages which are characteristic of it are well known. Now, I agree that it is a disputable question in the field of political economy how far a statutory requirement of maximum hours or minimum wages may be a useful remedy for these evils, and whether it may not make the case of the oppressed employee worse than it was before. But it is not the function of this court to hold congressional acts invalid simply because they are passed to carry out economic views which the court believes to be unwise or unsound.

Legislatures which adopt a requirement of maximum hours or minimum wages may be presumed to believe that when sweating employers are prevented from paying unduly low wages by positive law they will continue their business, abating that part of their profits, which were wrung from the necessities of their employees, and will concede the better terms required by the law; and



that while in individual cases hardship may result the restriction will enure to the benefit of the general class of employees in whose interest the law is passed and so to that of the community at large.

The right of the legislature under the fifth and fourteenth amendments to limit the hours of employment on the score of the health of the employee, it seems to me, has been firmly established.

If it be said that long hours of labor have a more direct effect upon the health of the employee than the low wage, there is very respectable authority from close observers disclosed in the record and in the literature on the subject quoted at length in the briefs that they are equally harmful in this regard. Congress took this view and we can not say it was not warranted in so doing.

Without, however, expressing an opinion that a minimum-wage limitation can be enacted for adult men, it is enough to say that the case before us involves only the application of the minimum wage to women. If I am right in thinking that the legislature can find as much support in experience for the view that a sweating wage has as great and as direct a tendency to bring about an injury to the health and morals of workers, as for the view that long hours injure their health, then I respectfully submit that *Muller v. Oregon*, 208 U. S. 412, controls this case. The law which was there sustained forbade the employment of any female in any mechanical establishment or factory or laundry for more than 10 hours.

I am not sure from a reading of the opinion whether the court thinks the authority of *Muller v. Oregon* is shaken by the adoption of the nineteenth amendment. The nineteenth amendment did not change the physical strength or limitations of women upon which the decision in *Muller v. Oregon* rests. The amendment did give women political power and makes more certain that legislative provisions for their protection will be in accord with their interests as they see them. But I don't think we are warranted in varying constitutional construction, based on physical differences between men and women, because of the amendment.

And Mr. Justice Holmes, also dissenting, said this:

To me, notwithstanding the deference due to the prevailing judgment of the court, the power of Congress seems absolutely free from doubt. The end, to remove conditions leading to ill health, immorality, and the deterioration of the race, no one would deny to be within the scope of constitutional legislation. The means are means that have the approval of Congress, of many States, and of those governments from which we have learned our greatest lessons. When so many intelligent persons, who have studied the matter more than any of us can, have thought that the means are effective and are worth the price, it seems to me impossible to deny that the belief reasonably may be held by reasonable men.

It will need more than the nineteenth amendment to convince me that there are no differences between men and women, or that legislation can not take those differences into account.

This statute does not compel anybody to pay anything. It simply forbids employment at rates below those fixed as the minimum requirement of health and right living. It is safe to assume that women will not be employed at even the lowest wages allowed unless they earn them, or unless the employer's business can sustain the burden. In short, the law in its character and operation is like hundreds of so-called police laws that have been upheld.

## CHAPTER XIV.—APPROPRIATIONS AVAILABLE FOR MINIMUM-WAGE ACTIVITIES

In this report it has been said repeatedly that certain omissions, certain failures to reach a high standard of work, must not be laid at the door of the commissions administering minimum-wage laws but at the door of the legislatures that failed to appropriate enough money to carry out this complicated plan of State regulation of rates of pay. It is, of course, true of any plan that it functions better if adequately financed, but this was peculiarly true of minimum-wage laws. After all, these laws did not establish rates of pay, but instead they set up the machinery for determining what rates of pay would be fair, enacting those rates and enforcing them. This made the law very much more expensive to carry out than a law where the legislature laid down certain rules and designated a certain body as the agency to enforce those rules. A great deal of time and effort must be expended in investigations and setting rates, as well as in enforcing rates. That the commissions needed funds that would permit adequate investigation as well as thorough enforcement has seldom been recognized by the legislatures.

### SUMS FOR ADMINISTRATION CARRIED BY THE MINIMUM-WAGE ACTS

Some idea of what the legislatures contemplated the cost of administration and enforcement would be may be obtained by seeing what sums were set aside for these purposes in the original acts. California, North Dakota, Oregon, and Washington provided in their first laws that a fixed sum was to be appropriated annually to meet the expenses involved in carrying out the act. The sums specified were: California, \$15,000; North Dakota, \$6,000; Oregon, \$3,500; Washington, \$5,000. The section of the California law carrying this appropriation requirement was repealed in 1923, and that of North Dakota in 1927, so the legislatures no longer are required to make any appropriation for minimum-wage work. Four other States—Colorado, the District of Columbia, Minnesota, and Texas—included in the original law an appropriation (\$5,000) to become effective at once, so that the work of carrying out the law could be started immediately. In the District of Columbia and Minnesota this sum, appropriated on an annual basis, became the accepted sum which the legislature granted the commission each year. The remaining five States—Arkansas, Kansas, Massachusetts, Nebraska, and Wisconsin—took no notice whatsoever in the original act of how the expense of applying the law was to be met.

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ACTUAL SUMS CARRIED IN APPROPRIATION ACTS FOR THE WORK

In making annual appropriations for administering and enforcing minimum-wage laws the legislatures have designated the sums to be applied exclusively to this work as follows:

TABLE 57.—Amounts appropriated for minimum-wage work, by State and year

[Second line under any State is either an additional appropriation or a deficiency appropriation]

State	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
Arkansas				\$300.00	\$300.00	\$475.00	\$475.00
California		\$15,000.00	\$15,000.00	15,000.00	15,000.00	21,100.00	21,100.00
Colorado	\$750.00	750.00		3,302.875	3,302.875	500.00	500.00
District of Columbia					1,500.00	1,500.00	1,800.00
Kansas				5,000.00	5,000.00	7,500.00	7,500.00
Massachusetts	7,000.00	19,900.00	17,900.00	17,400.00	18,212.13	18,263.00	22,000.00
Minnesota		5,000.00	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,000.00
Oregon			3,500.00	3,500.00	2,000.00	2,000.00	2,750.00
Texas							5,000.00
Washington		5,000.00	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,000.00
Wisconsin	(?)	(?)	(?)	12,400.00	12,400.00	(?)	(?)

State	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926
Arkansas	\$250.00	\$500.00	\$500.00	\$500.00	\$1,000.00	\$1,000.00	
California	42,000.00	42,000.00	65,492.50	65,492.50	28,030.00	28,030.00	\$39,262.50
Colorado	7,250.32	7,250.32	7,627.475	7,627.475			
District of Columbia	1,800.00	1,800.00	1,800.00	2,400.00	2,400.00		
Kansas	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,000.00		
Massachusetts	18,600.00	17,800.00	19,250.00	18,250.00	16,300.00	16,500.00	17,400.00
Minnesota	5,000.00	5,000.00	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)	
North Dakota	6,000.00	6,000.00	5,100.00	5,100.00	4,550.00	4,550.00	3,250.00
Oregon	2,750.00	4,250.00	4,250.00	3,543.50	3,543.50	3,543.50	3,543.50
Washington	5,425.00	5,425.00	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)
Wisconsin	2,000.00	2,000.00	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)

<sup>1</sup> Only appropriation designated by legislature as for minimum wage, but the general funds of the bureau or commission administering the law were to include minimum-wage work.

<sup>2</sup> Fund appropriated for body administering minimum wage along with other labor laws. Exact amount assignable to minimum wage can not be determined.

<sup>3</sup> Only appropriation designated by legislature as for minimum wage, but the general funds of the bureau or commission administering the law were to include minimum-wage work. A consolidation during the fiscal year made void the original appropriation, necessitating a special appropriation on the basis of the new arrangement to complete the fiscal year.

<sup>4</sup> A consolidation during the fiscal year made void the original appropriation, necessitating a special appropriation on the basis of the new arrangement to complete the fiscal year.

Even without taking into consideration any of the factors that controlled the volume of work the commissions must perform—such factors, for example, as whether or not they were called on to do other work than minimum-wage investigation and enforcement, how many women must be covered in the minimum-wage work, and so on—it is important to see just what sums were appropriated by the various legislatures specifically for minimum-wage work. California has had appropriations so much larger than those of any other State that from 1918 on its lowest appropriation (\$21,100 for 1918 and 1919 each) was almost identical with the highest appro-

priation ever granted in any other State (\$22,000 in Massachusetts in 1919). Its highest appropriation, \$65,492.50 in 1922 and in 1923, was three times as great as this highest sum in Massachusetts, and in addition the canners' audit gave the California commission an extra \$7,627.475 for each of these years. A study of Wisconsin's report on expenditures reveals occasional small sums out of the large industrial commission appropriation assigned to minimum wage, but manifestly a large part of the sum charged to the woman's department also must have been spent on minimum-wage enforcement, so that no estimate of the cost of this one law can be made. The appropriations in the remaining States are for the most part \$5,000 or less. Kansas, which alone of these States had an appropriation uniformly over \$5,000, required its commission to decide what the legal working hours and sanitary rules should be and to enforce these decisions in addition to its minimum-wage work.

One of the effects of the consolidation of all labor-law enforcement in the hands of one agency is apparent in this table. When minimum-wage work was assigned to the body enforcing general labor laws, it is impossible to ascertain the cost of the minimum-wage law. For instance, in Wisconsin no comparison can be made at any date, since outside of the small special appropriations in 1916 and 1917, when work on minimum wage was practically at a standstill, it has not been possible to ascertain what part of the industrial commission appropriation went for minimum-wage work. In Kansas, Minnesota, and Washington the same situation exists since the independent minimum-wage commissions were abolished. The facts that are known about the exact sums appropriated therefore are far from complete. Moreover, almost all the appropriations are qualified in some way which reduces somewhat their availability for minimum-wage work.

The first possible qualification is whether any work other than minimum wage had to be taken care of from these appropriations. In six States—Colorado, the District of Columbia, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Texas, and Wisconsin—any sums shown on this table are for minimum-wage work only. In Colorado the law never functioned and in Texas it functioned for only a year and a half. In Wisconsin the sum given in the table was a small special appropriation. Only in Massachusetts, Minnesota, and the District of Columbia does the appropriation represent the exact figures available over a period of time for minimum-wage work. In California, Oregon, and Washington the sums appropriated went to set up and enforce sanitary standards and certain hour limitations in addition to those established by the legislature, as well as to administer and enforce the minimum-wage laws. In all three of these States, however, the minimum-wage work formed such an overwhelmingly predominant part of the activities that these appropriations may be taken as a close approximation of the amount spent on minimum-wage work. In Kansas and North Dakota all labor laws relating to women were enforced through this appropriation. In addition, the Kansas com-

mission supported by this appropriation had to establish as well as to enforce the hour and minimum-wage regulations. It is not possible to say of either Kansas or North Dakota just what part of the appropriation went for any particular work, so the sums for these two States must be classed as considerably overestimated when the cost of minimum wage alone is considered. In Arkansas, enforcement of all laws concerning women and children seems to be primarily the concern of the industrial welfare commission, but until 1924 the only minimum-wage appropriations were for occasional services. The bureau of labor statistics did any regular inspection that was carried on, and its work was supplemented by volunteer service and by the irregular help provided in the appropriations. It is thus peculiarly difficult in this State to know where the appropriations were spent and how largely they were supplemented from the bureau of labor statistics appropriations. There are really only six States—California, District of Columbia, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Oregon, and Washington—whose appropriations can be said to represent almost wholly work on minimum wage. The appropriations in these States range from \$2,000 in Oregon in 1917 and in 1918 to \$65,492.50 in California in 1922 and in 1923. It does not seem possible that even the much less number of women workers in Oregon could justify so great a difference in appropriation.

Since there is such a wide divergence in appropriations, it may be possible that the amount of money available for carrying out the laws influenced the laws' development in certain particulars. In the first place, a rough comparison may be made between the number of women who were covered by minimum-wage decrees and the number of women whom it would seem practicable for the decrees to cover under the terms of the law. The table which follows shows these figures in terms of the United States Census of Occupations, 1920. It must be remembered that all the figures in this table are for the year 1920, and that they are only estimates of the number of women covered by the decrees, since, as explained in detail in an earlier section of this report, the classification of occupations used by the United States census in many cases is very unlike the classification of industries and occupations followed by the minimum-wage decrees. The figures presented in the table, however, would seem to be a fairly valid basis for comparison, since the same difficulties occur from State to State and result in the same kind of omissions or overestimates.

TABLE 58.—Women covered by minimum-wage decrees, by State and year

(Based on figures from the United States Census of Occupations, 1920. See paragraph immediately preceding)

State	Number of women wage earners to whom it is practicable to apply the minimum wage law <sup>1</sup>	Number of women covered by decrees in—					
		1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918
California.....	<sup>2</sup> 157,493				<sup>3</sup> 29,833	<sup>4</sup> 57,077	<sup>5</sup> 162,455
Colorado.....	30,225						
District of Columbia.....	<sup>6</sup> 60,113						
Kansas.....	42,651						13,577
Massachusetts.....	374,040	742	742	4,526	24,321	29,745	<sup>7</sup> 36,712
Minnesota.....	86,081		84,596	84,596	84,596	84,596	86,081
North Dakota.....	9,522						
Oregon.....	29,836	6,663	29,836	29,836	29,150	29,611	29,611
Texas.....	84,378						
Washington.....	52,441		42,345	46,614	46,614	46,614	52,441
Wisconsin.....	101,800						

State	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925
California.....	<sup>8</sup> 180,294	<sup>9</sup> 183,170	<sup>10</sup> 180,294	<sup>11</sup> 180,294	<sup>12</sup> 180,294	<sup>13</sup> 180,294	<sup>14</sup> 180,294
District of Columbia.....	5,961	9,300	10,548	10,548			
Kansas.....	20,159	20,159	20,159	20,159	20,159	20,159	20,159
Massachusetts.....	40,484	61,877	62,120	62,120	62,120	63,606	65,903
Minnesota.....	86,081	86,081	86,081	86,081	86,081	86,081	86,081
North Dakota.....		9,318	9,318	6,048	6,048	6,048	6,048
Oregon.....	29,611	29,611	29,611	29,611	29,611	29,611	29,611
Texas.....			43,784				
Washington.....	52,441	52,441	31,432	31,432	31,432	31,432	31,432
Wisconsin.....	101,800	101,800	101,800	101,800	101,800	101,800	101,800

<sup>1</sup> All gainfully occupied women in the State minus those women who are owners or in supervisory positions, women in industries and occupations excepted in the laws, and women in domestic service and agriculture.

<sup>2</sup> A considerable underestimate, because the census figures were obtained for January, the slack season in the State's large canning industry. It is probable that at least 25,000 more women are employed when the canneries are running full force. The Census of Occupations, for instance, shows 5,005 women in canning and packing, but the Census of Manufactures shows 31,771 women so employed at the peak of the season of the preceding year.

<sup>3</sup> This figure is from the Census of Manufactures, the figure in the Census of Occupations being an underestimate, since it is for January when the canning industry is running with only a fraction of the force that it employs during the canning season.

<sup>4</sup> This figure is a combination of the Census of Manufactures and the Census of Occupations to try to take care of the canning industry.

<sup>5</sup> An overestimate, since it is impossible to separate the women who are clerks in the Government service. These women could not be included in any minimum-wage decree issued by the commission, but since the census does not indicate where clerical workers are employed they are all included in this figure.

<sup>6</sup> An underestimate, since it does not include any figure for muslin underwear nor for retail millinery.

Six States—California, Minnesota, North Dakota, Oregon, Washington, and Wisconsin—have at some time covered by specific decrees almost all the women that were employed in those occupations where it was practicable to apply the law. The District of Columbia has made a much better showing than this table would indicate, since 43,076 of the woman wage earners included in the practical total are office workers, of whom the greatest number are Government employees. Moreover, a representative group of the remainder who work in private offices were investigated by the commission and their rates were found to be so high that minimum-wage action was un-

necessary. This would mean that of a possible 16,960 women who might need the aid of minimum-wage laws, 10,548 were covered by decrees. Of the States whose laws functioned for any length of time, only Kansas and Massachusetts failed to cover the vast majority of their woman wage earners.

From this table alone the comment on whether or not the amount of money available might influence the development of the law would seem to be that only a very small yearly sum was needed to put a minimum-wage law in force. The commissions and wage boards either were unpaid or were paid only for actual time on minimum-wage work. The appropriation could go almost wholly to supporting an executive office to enforce the decrees and to make investigations of conditions to see whether or not it was necessary to set new decrees or to revise old ones. Stated in this way it seems possible that this scheme of setting rates could be carried out at very small expense to the taxpayer. When the problems of investigation and enforcement are remembered, however, it becomes difficult to understand how these smaller appropriations could be stretched to cover so much ground.

If one looks back over this report, the administrative work done by two States—California and Massachusetts—is quoted constantly. For instance, the most approved type of investigation and inspection—that of having the inspectors copy actual pay rolls for rates and earnings figures—has been followed by Massachusetts in every industry, and by no other State. The most inclusive investigations and inspections have been made by California in its pay-roll calls. Both these States have had a cost-of-living study, either by the commissions' agents or by the wage board, before each decree was set. The most careful scheme of getting wage-board members, and providing these boards with the material necessary for them to function properly, is found in Massachusetts. The only detailed plans for dealing with pieceworkers and apprentices are found in California. Is not the fact that these two States have had the most adequate appropriations one main reason why they have done such careful work? When it is realized that Massachusetts has included in its decrees only some 75,000 women out of a possible 375,000, it is clear that the cost per woman is not much lower in Massachusetts than in California, in spite of the much smaller appropriations. There seems to be no doubt that the amount of the appropriation decides how carefully the work may be done and the number of women who may be included in the decrees. With small appropriations either careful work or inclusive decrees must be sacrificed.

## CHAPTER XV.—CHANGES IN THE POSITION OF WOMAN WORKERS DURING THE PERIOD OF MINIMUM-WAGE ACTIVITY

It has been emphasized in this report that material is not available to prove or disprove beyond a doubt that minimum-wage laws have produced certain specified results. Those elements in the community most opposed to the law claim that it has driven industry from the State, thus injuring the general prosperity and decreasing the employment available for women; that it has thrown the less efficient women out of work; that the minimum rate has in fact become the maximum, thus holding down the rates of the more efficient workers; but if they offer any proof at all, it is only isolated examples, not figures based on large groups of women. The proponents of the law usually make more modest claims as to the positive results of the decrees. They contend that the law has raised wages substantially; particularly that it has aided the women in the lowest paid groups, who were most in need of this help. They deny that the minimum has become the maximum or that industry has been driven from the State. They deny that any considerable number of the less efficient workers have been injured by the law and contend that, in those cases where such women lost their jobs, the situation usually could have been adjusted through change of work within the establishment, or through apprenticeship or infirm permits, if the employer had co-operated to the fullest extent in applying the law. Since the claims of bad effects quite generally are more sweeping than the claims for good effects, it is easier to disprove them with the material available than it is to prove the actual accomplishments of the law.

There are two insurmountable obstacles to coming to absolutely dependable conclusions about the results of the laws. The first is the complexity of the field in which these laws functioned. Obviously it is impossible to isolate from all other economic forces the establishments and woman workers directly affected by minimum-wage rates and watch results of the law's operation, as a chemist isolates one element in a test tube and tests the effect upon it of a single agent such as heat. Moreover, it is impossible even to evaluate their influence in relation to other items such as a war-time scarcity of labor accompanying an enormously increased demand for commodities, unionization of a group of workers, shutting off of materials, unusually high taxes, and countless other factors that bear on the condition of an industry. The period of time during which they have been in operation has been a period when business has had to meet not only all the usual pressure from varied economic forces but the unusual conditions always found during war and postwar periods. For example, in 1915 the brush industry in Massachusetts claimed that its general prosperity was greatly harmed by the setting of a minimum-wage rate in 1913, but failed to attribute any of its difficulties to the fact that the Great War shut off all the world's best bristles, which came from Russia. To proponents of the laws it



seemed that any bad effect that the increased rates had on profits was infinitesimal beside the loss of the supply of superior raw material. This is, of course, an obvious case of other and stronger influences working in the same field as that of a minimum-wage decree. It is always true, though, that a dozen small causes, none of them necessarily very evident, affect wages, the amount of employment available, the general prosperity of the industry, in every case where minimum wage regulates rates of pay for woman workers.

This interrelation of economic factors affects the different claims in varying degree. If minimum-wage laws are only one of a dozen factors affecting industry, it is hard to substantiate the claim that they are responsible for any specific industry's being unable to continue operations, even though a few cases of firms failing or moving from a State after being included in a minimum-wage decree can be found. The contention that minimum wage has caused widespread dismissal of workers also is reduced to the citing of examples in which the employer is willing to testify that the minimum-wage rate alone caused a woman's dismissal, since a figure showing a decrease in the number employed in a given industry where there was a minimum-wage decree might result from any number of causes other than minimum wage. On the other hand, this very interrelation makes it harder to prove that there is no danger of the minimum-wage rate becoming the maximum, particularly in a time of stable prices, or that minimum-wage rates have raised actual rates and earnings substantially. This is due to the unusual conditions under which minimum wage has functioned, for during a large part of the period in which the laws have been in operation, and particularly during the years for which the most information is available, war conditions caused a rise in wages throughout the country and gave women an unusual opportunity to obtain better-paid jobs. It is just possible that in a normal period the minimum might have become the maximum for most of the workers; it is also possible that, during the period of feverish war activity, rates and earnings, particularly rates and earnings in those industries directly affected by war demands, would have shown as great an increase without any minimum-wage laws.

The fact that the field in which the laws operated is so complicated makes it of the greatest importance that this report bring together all available figures on woman workers in minimum-wage States, to see in what way the women's position has changed and to try to determine how far the change was due to minimum wage. This raises, however, the second serious obstacle to proving the results of minimum-wage decrees. This is the question of whether the material available on rates, earnings, numbers of employees, numbers of apprentices, growth of business, and so on, is sufficient to substantiate the claims as to results, granted that minimum-wage decrees are considered the dominant factor in the wage situation. For this section of the report every available figure of the minimum-wage commissions, either in their published reports or in their files, and some comparable figures from State and Federal censuses and from the Women's Bureau's reports have been studied. With the exception of some figures collected by the Women's Bureau in Arkansas, this material from the commissions is the only available source for de-

termining actual changes in rates and earnings during the period of minimum-wage activity. As explained in an earlier section of this report (pp. 53 to 75) the State figures were collected by different methods and for varying numbers of women. However, if these figures are examined simply as showing changes in rates and earnings and not in an attempt to prove the impossible, these differences in method and number do not destroy the value of the figures.

Before discussing the actual figures on rates and earnings it seems necessary to explain why the tables showing all the available data have been omitted and only quartiles and medians are presented. If complete tables showing the exact numbers of women in each rate and in each earnings group had been reproduced, the mass of material would have been much greater than was necessary to show general changes. Unusual situations, often of interest but not of lasting significance, have been lost by using these computations which show only what is happening to the group considered as a whole, but a basis of comparison from year to year and from State to State is gained, and these comparable figures are few enough in number to be discussed clearly. After all, the changes in the position of the whole group of workers, with particular emphasis on the lower-paid workers, are the concern of this report.

There is, however, one danger in using these computed figures—quartiles and medians—and that is that they may be treated as exactly comparable with the absolute minimum-wage rates. It must always be kept in mind that the first quartile represents a figure below which are found 25 per cent and above which are found 75 per cent of the women for whom rates or earnings are available; that the median marks the line where 50 per cent of the women are below and 50 per cent are above; and that the third quartile is the reverse of the first, or the line where 75 per cent of the women are below and 25 per cent are above. Particularly these computed figures, standing alone, do not afford a basis on which to judge the adequacy of minimum-wage enforcement. In some cases even the first quartile is so high that it is obvious that practically all the women in the table are receiving the minimum rate; but cases where a first quartile comes at about the minimum rate do not indicate that the law is not being enforced, since lower rates for minors and apprentices easily may account for 25 per cent of the women in the table. The discussion that follows must be understood to be with the purpose of showing how the position of the whole body of woman workers has changed during the years minimum-wage laws have been in force.

#### CHANGES IN RATES AND EARNINGS OF WOMAN WORKERS

The first comparison to be made is to study the changes which occurred chronologically within one State. Medians and the two quartiles have been calculated to see what changes there were in the rates paid the middle and perhaps most typical worker and how the typical workers in the lowest and highest paid groups were affected.

##### Arkansas.

Though the inflexible rates of the Arkansas law went into force in 1915, the flexible rates in mercantile establishments only became effective in Fort Smith in 1920 and in Little Rock in 1922. In

1922, before the first rate set in Little Rock and before a revision of rates in Fort Smith, the Women's Bureau made a study of rates and earnings of woman workers in Arkansas.<sup>1</sup> The Women's Bureau was able also to collect figures for practically the same mercantile establishments in Fort Smith and Little Rock in 1924. No figures on either rates or earnings collected by the Arkansas Industrial Welfare Commission were available for study.

TABLE 50.—Median and quartile rates and earnings in Arkansas, 1922 and 1924, by industry<sup>2</sup>

[Figures in roman were secured by investigation before a decree; those in italic by inspection following a decree]

A. MEDIAN

Date of survey	State at large		State at large outside of Fort Smith		Fort Smith		Little Rock	
	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings
1922								
Laundry	\$10.05	\$9.75						
Manufacturing	10.20	9.65						
Mercantile			\$14.20	\$12.95	<sup>3</sup> \$15.50	<sup>3</sup> \$15.15	\$14.20	\$12.75
1924					13.50	13.85	15.10	14.25

B. QUARTILES (MERCANTILE)

Year	First quartile				Third quartile			
	Fort Smith		Little Rock		Fort Smith		Little Rock	
	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings
1922	<sup>3</sup> \$12.50	<sup>3</sup> \$12.25	\$10.20	\$9.10	<sup>3</sup> \$20.10	<sup>3</sup> \$20.00	\$18.25	\$17.75
1924	12.55	12.25	12.00	10.50	17.65	18.20	18.40	18.15

<sup>1</sup> For numbers of women on which these figures are based see Appendix E, p. 608.

<sup>2</sup> Figures necessarily constitute an inspection, since they were collected after a decree was set, but they were available also as investigation figures in determining the necessity for revising the decree in question.

In 1922 the laundry and manufacturing industries, and the mercantile industry outside of Fort Smith, were required to pay a minimum rate of \$7.50 to experienced workers. This statutory rate, set in 1915, was much lower in 1922 than the rates set by decree in any State under the terms of the flexible laws, and far below the \$13.25 rate which mercantile establishments in Fort Smith were required to pay. Low as this \$7.50 rate was, the Women's Bureau investigation showed 50 women out of 1,589 to be paid a rate of less than \$7<sup>3</sup> and 115 other women to be receiving \$7 but less than \$9. Moreover, in the laundry and manufacturing industries the median rate and the median earnings—that is, the rate or the earnings figure that marks the point where 50 per cent of the women receive sums below and 50 per cent receive sums above—are much lower than the median rate or the median earnings for

<sup>3</sup> U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. Women in Arkansas Industries, 1922.

<sup>4</sup> Not necessarily violations of the law, since an apprentice rate of \$6 was provided, and also since very small business units were exempt.

the mercantile industry, even when Fort Smith with its higher minimum-wage rate is omitted from the mercantile figure. These figures seem to indicate that, low as was the \$7.50 rate, it exercised some influence on rates, and that the higher rate, \$13.25, raised rates very considerably not only in Fort Smith but indirectly throughout the State. Though it may seem extreme to claim that a minimum-wage rate in one city—and that not the metropolis of the State—could influence rates throughout the State, figures collected by the Women's Bureau in 12 of its State studies, including Arkansas, show only one other State, New Jersey, with a median rate in mercantile establishments greater than this in Arkansas. The New Jersey figure is \$14.95. No other State has a median rate in mercantile establishments as high as \$14. Since no other cause or group of causes for this high rate is discoverable, it seems only fair to give the credit to the minimum-wage rate.

If the 1924 figures are considered in relation to those of 1922, it becomes even more evident that the minimum-wage rate in mercantile stores had a very great effect on rates and earnings. Just after the 1922 figures were collected the \$13.25 rate for mercantile establishments in Fort Smith was lowered to \$11, and Little Rock was included in the decree. Both median rate and earnings in Fort Smith dropped, but in Little Rock they rose in the same period of time.

Since rates in mercantile establishments in these two Arkansas cities show such a direct reaction to minimum-wage rates, it is important to see what was their effect on the lowest paid workers, and whether the minimum rate tended to become the maximum. Section B of Table 59 gives the two quartiles for the same workers whose medians have just been discussed. These figures agree with the medians in that they show that earnings in both the lower and the higher paid groups varied directly with changes in the minimum-wage rate. The first quartiles, for Fort Smith in 1922 and for both Fort Smith and Little Rock in 1924, show that 75 per cent of the women were paid rates that exceeded the minimum-wage rate by 5 cents to a dollar or more. Moreover, of the women who received less than the median rate, those most poorly paid were directly benefited by the decree, as is shown by the increase in the quartile rate for Little Rock and the decrease in that rate for Fort Smith.

If the figures for those women who received less than the first quartile rate are studied, they seem to show that the minimum rate affects every woman directly, even those who, because of apprenticeship rules, exemptions, and possible violations, do not receive the minimum rate. For example, in 1922, 2.5 per cent of the women investigated in Fort Smith received a rate of under \$11 per week, 1.9 per cent receiving a rate of \$10 and under \$11, and one woman, or 0.6 per cent, receiving a rate of under \$10. On the other hand, in Little Rock 28.2 per cent of the women were in the under \$11 group, 6.2 per cent receiving over \$10 and under \$11, and 22 per cent receiving less than \$10. Two and a half per cent, when contrasted with 28.2 per cent under \$11, is striking enough, but when the 1924 figures are examined the effect of the wage rate becomes even more apparent. In Fort Smith, where the rate was lowered, the per cent of women who received a rate of under \$11 increased to 6.3. In Little Rock, where the rate was raised, the per cent decreased to 17.6. The regu-

larity with which all these actual rates of pay varied directly with changes in the minimum-wage rate shows the extent to which this decree has aided the lowest paid worker.

Not only does the contention that the minimum wage becomes the maximum fail to fit in with the fact that the median rates are in all cases well above the minimum, but it is disproved by the sums shown by the third quartiles, which give the position of the typical worker receiving more than the median rate. Though this figure varies directly as the minimum rate is raised or lowered, it always remains well above the minimum rate and also well above the median rate. Any industry with a minimum rate of \$13.25 which pays 25 per cent of its workers \$20 or more, or with a minimum rate of \$11 which pays 25 per cent of its workers at least \$17.65 (in Fort Smith) or at least \$18.40 (in Little Rock) can not be said to be reducing all its workers to a dead level, that of the minimum-wage rate. These Arkansas figures appear to show that all workers, the low paid and the high, are directly affected by changes in the minimum-wage rate, so that a raise in these rates benefits all grades of workers.

In this discussion little attention has been paid to median earnings, since they show exactly the same movement as the rates under changed conditions with respect to minimum-wage rates. The greatest significance of these earnings figures is that they almost always are less than the rates, and that often the difference really is considerable. The women live on what they earn, not on their rate, so that a general tendency for earnings to run below rates should be taken care of when the rate is set. A commission or wage board which fails to set minimum rates high enough to meet the true cost of living really is doing the women an even greater injustice than appears on the surface.

#### California.

All the figures for California are from studies made by the industrial welfare commission. The following table gives changes in median and quartile rates and earnings as shown by these investigations:

TABLE 60.—Median and quartile rates and earnings in California, 1914 to 1925, by industry<sup>1</sup>

[Figures in roman were secured by investigation before a decree; those in italic by inspection following a decree.]

#### A. MEDIAN

Year	Manufacturing		Mercantile		Laundry	
	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings
1914	<i>28.35</i>		<i>28.80</i>		<i>28.20</i>	
1916					<i>8.60</i>	<i>28.30</i>
1917			<i>16.65</i>			
			<i>16.80</i>		<i>9.75</i>	<i>9.40</i>
1918					<i>10.60</i>	<i>10.25</i>
					<i>11.85</i>	
1919 <sup>2</sup>	<i>12.35</i>	<i>\$11.35</i>	<i>12.00</i>	<i>\$12.30</i>	<i>12.65</i>	<i>11.95</i>
	<i>13.55</i>	<i>13.50</i>	<i>13.70</i>	<i>13.85</i>	<i>16.10</i>	<i>13.85</i>
1920	<i>17.45</i>	<i>17.10</i>	<i>17.40</i>	<i>17.55</i>	<i>17.70</i>	<i>17.85</i>
1922 <sup>2</sup>	<i>17.45</i>	<i>17.00</i>	<i>18.15</i>	<i>18.35</i>	<i>17.90</i>	<i>17.95</i>
1923	<i>17.90</i>	<i>17.95</i>	<i>18.65</i>	<i>18.80</i>	<i>17.95</i>	<i>17.60</i>
1924	<i>18.19</i>	<i>17.60</i>	<i>18.16</i>	<i>18.35</i>	<i>18.70</i>	<i>17.85</i>
1925	<i>18.20</i>	<i>17.70</i>	<i>18.20</i>	<i>18.50</i>	<i>18.80</i>	<i>17.85</i>

<sup>1</sup> For numbers of women on which these figures are based see Appendix E, p. 608.

<sup>2</sup> Figures necessarily constitute inspections, since they were collected after decrees were set, but they were available also as investigation figures in determining the necessity for revising the decrees in question.

TABLE 60.—Median and quartile rates and earnings in California, 1914 to 1925, by industry—Continued

## B. QUARTILES

Year	First quartile						Third quartile					
	Manufacturing		Mercantile		Laundry		Manufacturing		Mercantile		Laundry	
	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings
1914	\$6.85		\$7.55		\$7.95		\$10.25		\$12.00		\$10.95	
1916					8.05	\$8.80					10.45	\$9.75
1917			8.70						\$12.00			
1918			10.16		8.65	7.75			15.75		11.65	11.00
					10.05	8.75					11.80	11.35
1919 <sup>1</sup>	10.45	\$9.10	10.95	\$10.65	11.10	10.25	11.35	\$14.00	15.80	\$16.65	14.85	14.10
	13.25	11.85	15.50	11.65	15.50	12.75	16.50	16.85	16.40	17.05	17.10	16.65
1920	16.30	14.85	16.50	14.95	16.65	15.55	19.75	20.05	19.80	20.65	19.80	19.40
1922 <sup>1</sup>	16.45	15.85	16.90	16.45	16.85	16.05	20.15	19.85	21.55	22.05	20.00	19.55
1923	16.55	14.95	17.05	16.70	16.85	16.10	20.55	20.50	22.15	22.90	20.05	19.60
1924	16.75	14.85	17.25	16.95	17.20	16.95	21.10	21.05	22.90	23.75	21.15	20.35
1925	16.70	14.80	17.25	17.00	17.25	16.40	21.25	21.60	23.15	24.20	21.35	20.05

## OTHER 1914 RATES

	Median	First quartile	Third quartile
Printing and bookbinding	\$10.10	\$8.25	\$12.00
Paper boxes	7.25	6.40	9.15
Knit goods	8.10	6.75	10.45
Telephone	10.45	9.15	11.75
Telegraph	11.40	9.90	12.00
Clerical:			
Manufacturing	11.55	9.90	\$12.00
Telephone	12.00	10.50	\$12.00
Telegraph	11.75	9.90	\$12.00

<sup>1</sup> Figures necessarily constitute inspections, since they were collected after decrees were set, but they were available also as investigation figures in determining the necessity for revising the decrees in question.

<sup>2</sup> Over \$12.00.

The medians show a consistent and general rise in rates and earnings during the period of minimum-wage activity. In 1914 half of the women studied in laundries were receiving rates of \$9.20 or less per week, half of those in mercantile establishments \$9.80 or less, and half of those in the manufacturing industries \$8.35 or less. Moreover, some special industries had much lower rates, particularly the paper-box industry, where half the women received rates of \$7.25 or less per week. The medians for 1925 present a striking contrast, for the middle point for rates in that year was \$18.80 in laundries, \$19.20 in mercantile establishments, and \$18.20 in the manufacturing industry. Even when this increase is considered in the light of the decrease in the purchasing power of the dollar, the typical woman worker is in a decidedly better financial position to-day than before any minimum-wage rates were set.

It must be noted that though some of this increase may be due to a rising scale of wages to meet acknowledged increases in the cost of living, minimum-wage rates seem to have played a large part in

bringing about this advance. One reason for making this statement is that there are so many medians which show a great increase after a wage rate had been set for the industry. For instance, in rates in the laundry industry the medians show a steady increase from 1916 to 1922 and a continued increase from 1923 to 1925, but in two instances studies made a few months apart show an increase of roughly two and a half dollars in the median. The 1919 figures are \$12.65 and \$15.10; that of 1920 is \$17.70. Between the first two figures the minimum rate was increased from \$10 to \$13.50; between the second 1919 figure and that of 1920 the minimum rate was increased from \$13.50 to \$16. Another even more conclusive proof is the comparison of these medians with those found in 12 State studies made by the Women's Bureau from 1920 to 1925. The median rates for all industries found by these studies range from \$8.65 in Mississippi in 1925 to \$15 in Rhode Island in 1920. The three highest medians are Ohio (1922) \$13.85, New Jersey (1922) \$14.55, and Rhode Island (1920) \$15. None of these States have minimum-wage laws. The contrast between the California medians and these is too striking to need further comment. It does not seem beyond the truth to assert that rates and earnings went up in California much more than in nonminimum-wage States during this period. The sections of this report immediately following will show that they went up more than in the minimum-wage States where decrees established lower rates. Since California has reported no particular boom due to the war or to an unprecedented industrial expansion, nor any unusual shortage of labor, nor any other particular cause that would account for the undoubtedly high rates and earnings which California women have been receiving, it seems to be a fact that minimum-wage decrees have been largely responsible for the present level of wages. Undoubtedly, general industrial expansion has aided the upward movement, since the medians continue to rise from 1920 to 1925, though minimum-wage rates remain the same; but these figures, particularly when it is remembered that they are based on large numbers of women—in fact, from 1919 on they include practically all the women in the State who work in the industries under discussion—form very excellent support for the contention of advocates of the laws that minimum-wage rates are needed to give woman workers living wages even in a period of rising wages, and also for the contention that minimum-wage rates actually do accomplish this end.

The quartiles have been worked to see whether the minimum rate has had any particular effect on the lowest paid groups and whether the minimum rate has had a tendency to become the maximum. Section B of Table 60 shows the changes in the first and third quartiles during the period of minimum-wage activity.

The tabulations that give the rates and earnings of the typical women in the group getting less than the median and in the group getting more than the median show that rates and earnings for the more highly paid group vary directly with increases in minimum-wage rates, and that usually they change to correspond to changes

in the median. The quartiles for the lower paid groups in 1925 fail to vary directly with the median, but their divergence from the median is so slight as to be unimportant. Taking into consideration only the first quartile and the groups for which this is the typical rate, certain very interesting tendencies are discernible. In the first place, the inspection made after each decree went into effect, with the single exception of that following the \$13.50 rate in manufacturing (1919), showed at least three-fourths of the women receiving rates slightly above the cost-of-living minimum. In mercantile establishments and laundries, in 1922 and after, three-fourths of the women earned slightly more than the minimum rate. This would seem to substantiate the statement of the executive officer of the industrial welfare commission that relatively few employers take full advantage of the provisions in the decree which allow an employer to have apprentices to the extent of 33 $\frac{1}{3}$  per cent of his workers. Instead he prefers the experienced worker when she is available, even though he must pay her more. As far as the more highly paid group are concerned, they certainly have not suffered, as far as these quartiles show, from any lowering of their rates or earnings. Instead, the typical higher paid woman has improved her position fully as much as has any other worker.

#### District of Columbia.

The median and quartile figures from the District of Columbia extend over a four-year period, from 1919 to 1922. Hotel and restaurant figures are presented for the first time, with the idea that the changes brought about by minimum wage in the actual money paid for service is interesting, even though it can not be correlated with the compensation received in the form of room and board. No decrees ever were set for building cleaners or for manufacturing. Moreover, the decree for laundries (1921) never was accepted by laundry owners, pending the suit testing the law's constitutionality, so that the laundry figures for 1921 and 1922 are merely for a few women whose employers were willing to report rates and earnings. The minimum rates set were \$15 for laundries, \$15.50 for printing and publishing, and \$16.50 for mercantile establishments and for hotels and restaurants. The following table gives the median and quartile rates and earnings as shown by investigations and inspections conducted by the minimum-wage board of the District:



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TABLE 61.—Median and quartile rates and earnings in the District of Columbia, 1919 to 1922, by industry<sup>1</sup>

[Figures in roman were secured by investigation before a decree; those in italic by inspection following a decree]

A. MEDIAN

Year	Building cleaners		Hotels and restaurants		Laundries		Manufacturing		Mercantile		Printing and publishing	
	Rate	Earnings	Rate <sup>1</sup>	Earnings <sup>1</sup>	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings
1919.....			\$15.40	\$3.45					\$12.90	\$12.35	\$15.00	\$11.95
1920.....	\$9.00	\$9.20	<i>16.40</i>	<i>12.10</i>	\$9.95	\$9.40	\$15.65	\$12.40		<i>16.40</i>	<i>16.00</i>	<i>16.06</i>
1921.....			<i>16.06</i>	<i>12.16</i>		<i>15.40</i>			<i>16.95</i>	<i>16.35</i>	<i>16.00</i>	<i>17.30</i>
1922.....	<i>8.85</i>	<i>8.25</i>	<i>16.45</i>	<i>12.55</i>		<i>15.15</i>	<i>12.10</i>	<i>10.95</i>	<i>16.80</i>	<i>16.40</i>	<i>17.00</i>	<i>16.70</i>

B. FIRST QUARTILE

1919.....			\$12.55	\$7.25					\$10.75	\$10.05	\$12.15	\$9.10
1920.....	\$9.00	\$8.75	<i>13.40</i>	<i>10.55</i>	\$9.00	\$7.80	\$11.90	\$9.15		<i>14.30</i>	<i>14.45</i>	<i>11.40</i>
1921.....			<i>13.70</i>	<i>10.20</i>		<i>14.45</i>			<i>16.35</i>	<i>16.00</i>	<i>16.00</i>	<i>12.80</i>
1922.....	<i>6.85</i>	<i>6.60</i>	<i>14.15</i>	<i>10.40</i>		<i>13.50</i>	<i>9.30</i>	<i>8.45</i>	<i>16.35</i>	<i>15.30</i>	<i>17.00</i>	<i>14.15</i>

C. THIRD QUARTILE

1919.....			\$16.00	\$11.85					\$16.00	\$15.35	\$16.00	\$14.80
1920.....	\$11.30	\$17.60	<i>16.85</i>	<i>13.65</i>	\$12.40	\$11.10	\$16.00	\$16.35		<i>16.95</i>	<i>16.00</i>	<i>16.85</i>
1921.....			<i>17.00</i>	<i>13.76</i>		<i>15.80</i>			<i>17.40</i>	<i>16.70</i>	<i>16.00</i>	<i>16.00</i>
1922.....	<i>10.00</i>	<i>9.85</i>	<i>17.00</i>	<i>14.75</i>		<i>15.80</i>	<i>13.40</i>	<i>13.35</i>	<i>17.00</i>	<i>16.80</i>	<i>17.00</i>	<i>18.00</i>

Other 1922 rates: Office—median, \$24.60; first quartile, \$20.90; third quartile, \$28.

<sup>1</sup> For numbers of women on which these figures are based see Appendix E, p. 610.

<sup>2</sup> Irrespective of any additional pay that may be received in the form of room or board.

<sup>3</sup> Over the amount stated.

<sup>4</sup> Under \$9.

<sup>5</sup> These figures are based on such small numbers of women that it is questionable whether they present a picture of general conditions. For exact number involved see Appendix E, p. 610.

<sup>6</sup> Quartile not typical of earnings as overtime to the extent of 3 hours daily, for which time and a half was paid, was worked by about 70 women employed in one establishment.

The medians confirm the figures from Arkansas and California, and show a rise in the rates and earnings of the typical worker after minimum-wage decrees have become effective.

Moreover, they show two industries with minimum-wage decrees increasing rates from 1920 to 1922, and one with its rates remaining about stationary, while manufacturing and building cleaners, where there were no decrees, show a drop in rates and earnings. This is the first State for which it has been possible to make a comparison between industries having decrees and industries not having decrees. If the figures for the industries without decrees are reliable, minimum-wage orders in the District of Columbia seem to have had a direct and tremendous effect in establishing and maintaining high rates of pay.

The section of the table on quartile rates and earnings loses much of its value because it has been impossible to obtain exact wage groupings. When a minimum-wage rate is set at \$16.50 it is not very illuminating to know only that the typical more highly paid woman received "over \$17." The most interesting facts brought out are the changes in the first quartiles. Once again the figures seem to prove that a minimum-wage rate is effective in raising substantially the wages of the lowest paid group. Before any rate was set half the women in the mercantile industry had rates of pay of \$12.90 or less per week; one quarter of the workers had rates of \$10.75 or less. In 1921, after a minimum rate of \$16.50 had been in effect for about two years, one-half of the women had a rate of at least \$16.95, and three-quarters had a rate of \$16.35 or more. The typical worker had a greatly improved rate, but the typical low-paid worker benefited vastly more.

#### Kansas.

The original minimum-wage rates set in Kansas not only were rather low when they were set (laundries, \$8.50; mercantile establishments, \$8.50; manufacturing, \$11), but were not increased as the cost of living rose, except that the two lowest rates were brought up to the level of the highest. They form a direct contrast to California, where all rates were steadily raised as the cost of living advanced, and to the District of Columbia, where the decrees established rates among the highest ever set in the United States. It is, therefore, very interesting to see whether the median and quartile rates and earnings as shown by inspections in Kansas change in relatively the same way as do those of California. Unfortunately the number of women who were covered by these inspections in Kansas quite generally is small, so that these figures are not so accurate a guide as are those of California. The following table gives the median and quartile of rates and earnings as shown by inspections made by the Kansas Industrial Welfare Commission and Industrial Court, and of earnings from an investigation made by the United States Women's Bureau in 1920:

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TABLE 62—Median and quartile rates and earnings in Kansas, 1916 to 1924, by industry<sup>1</sup>

[Figures in roman were secured by investigation before a decree; those in *italics* by inspection following a decree.]

A. MEDIAN

Year	Laundries		Manufacturing		Mercantile		Public house-keeping		Telephone	
	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings
1916.....		\$6.75		\$6.70		\$6.80				
1918.....	<i>\$9.75</i>	<i>\$8.10</i>			<i>\$10.20</i>	<i>10.05</i>				
1919.....	<i>10.25</i>	<i>10.85</i>	<i>\$11.20</i>	<i>11.50</i>	<i>11.05</i>	<i>11.10</i>	<i>\$8.80</i>		<i>\$9.85</i>	<i>\$9.60</i>
1920.....	<i>10.70</i>	<i>10.75</i>		<i>14.25</i>		<i>10.60</i>				<i>\$8.20</i>
1922.....	<i>12.10</i>	<i>11.80</i>			<i>12.40</i>	<i>12.70</i>	<i>\$10.60</i>		<i>11.25</i>	
1923.....	<i>11.80</i>	<i>11.70</i>	<i>16.60</i>	<i>14.76</i>	<i>13.45</i>	<i>13.00</i>	<i>11.00</i>		<i>12.35</i>	<i>11.60</i>
1924.....	<i>11.95</i>	<i>12.25</i>	<i>13.00</i>	<i>11.60</i>	<i>14.40</i>	<i>15.20</i>	<i>10.20</i>		<i>11.55</i>	<i>15.40</i>

B. FIRST QUARTILE

1916.....		\$5.85		\$5.00		\$5.30				
1918.....	<i>\$8.10</i>	<i>8.65</i>		<i>8.60</i>		<i>8.50</i>				
1919.....	<i>9.30</i>	<i>8.35</i>	<i>\$8.95</i>	<i>8.60</i>	<i>8.85</i>	<i>8.90</i>	<i>\$7.45</i>		<i>8.85</i>	<i>\$8.60</i>
1920.....	<i>9.80</i>	<i>9.30</i>		<i>10.75</i>		<i>8.50</i>				<i>9.65</i>
1922.....	<i>11.30</i>	<i>9.45</i>			<i>9.75</i>	<i>10.00</i>	<i>\$8.65</i>		<i>10.05</i>	<i>8.80</i>
1923.....	<i>11.10</i>	<i>10.75</i>	<i>14.60</i>	<i>12.15</i>	<i>10.60</i>	<i>10.60</i>	<i>9.25</i>		<i>10.90</i>	<i>11.35</i>
1924.....	<i>10.90</i>	<i>11.00</i>	<i>11.80</i>	<i>7.25</i>	<i>11.05</i>	<i>12.25</i>	<i>8.65</i>		<i>9.95</i>	<i>10.90</i>

C. THIRD QUARTILE

1916.....		\$7.90		\$9.65		\$8.80				
1918.....	<i>\$11.60</i>	<i>9.75</i>			<i>12.65</i>	<i>12.65</i>				
1919.....	<i>11.70</i>	<i>11.60</i>	<i>\$15.00</i>	<i>14.00</i>	<i>15.80</i>	<i>14.65</i>	<i>\$10.85</i>		<i>10.95</i>	<i>\$10.90</i>
1920.....	<i>12.85</i>	<i>12.80</i>		<i>17.35</i>		<i>14.10</i>				<i>12.25</i>
1922.....	<i>13.00</i>	<i>12.05</i>			<i>15.85</i>	<i>17.25</i>	<i>12.20</i>		<i>12.60</i>	<i>8.75</i>
1923.....	<i>12.85</i>	<i>10.85</i>	<i>17.60</i>	<i>17.55</i>	<i>17.30</i>	<i>16.90</i>	<i>12.80</i>		<i>13.70</i>	<i>13.60</i>
1924.....	<i>13.25</i>	<i>13.30</i>	<i>16.60</i>	<i>14.66</i>	<i>18.05</i>	<i>16.65</i>	<i>11.85</i>		<i>13.65</i>	<i>14.95</i>

Other 1920 earnings: Restaurants<sup>2</sup>—median, \$10.30; first quartile, \$8.45; third quartile, \$11.85.

<sup>1</sup> For numbers of women on which these figures are based see Appendix E, p. 611.

<sup>2</sup> Irrespective of any additional pay that may be received in the form of room or board.

<sup>3</sup> These figures are based on such small numbers of women that it is questionable whether they present a picture of general conditions. For exact number involved see Appendix E, p. 611.

<sup>4</sup> Investigation made by the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, and used as an inspection by the Kansas Industrial Court to check compliance with the decree.

<sup>5</sup> Figures necessarily constitute inspections, since they were collected after a decree was set, but they were available also as investigation figures in determining the necessity for revising the decree in question. These figures are based on such small numbers of women that it is questionable whether they present a picture of general conditions. For exact number involved see Appendix E, p. 611.

<sup>6</sup> Figures necessarily constitute inspections, since they were collected after a decree was set, but they were available also as investigation figures in determining the necessity for revising the decree in question.

With the California figures in mind, the most noticeable thing about this table is the low medians. Since the two sets of figures run over practically the same time period, and should have been affected by the same nation-wide rise in wages during the war and the boom period after the war, this contrast would seem to prove that the relatively high minimum-wage rate in California was the vital factor in raising rates in that State to their present level. The Kansas median rates are all somewhat above the minimum rate, and

both rates and earnings show a general rise from 1916 to 1924, though there are times when a median will fall considerably below that for the previous year. The amounts by which the rates and earnings increased, however, as well as the actual figures, are less than in California. In Kansas, as in the District of Columbia, there are figures for an industry not covered by a minimum-wage rate, but the picture formed from these facts is the exact opposite of that of the District of Columbia. The figures for public housekeeping follow the same course as those in the industries covered by decree. There are several possible causes for this uniform rise in rates disclosed by the Kansas surveys, but any explanation brought forward to explain the Kansas situation is applicable also to the District of Columbia, where an opposite situation occurred.

It is possible that the inclusion under decrees of the main woman-employing industries—manufacturing, mercantile, laundry, and telephone—has raised the rates of all women in the State. This is supported by the fact that in some States specific concerns have been known to raise rates substantially in the hope of forestalling State interference. This theory, however, which makes minimum-wage rates the preeminent factor in changing rates and earnings, would not explain why a gradual rise in rates took place in all industries between 1919 and 1922, though there were no increases in minimum rates. This suggests that as another cause for the changes it may be argued that all these increases were due to economic conditions other than minimum wage and would have occurred in the manufacturing, mercantile, laundry, and telephone industries without any decrees, just as they occurred in public housekeeping. The decrease in rates in 1924 seems to bear out this theory. So does the fact that the steadiest and greatest increase in both median rates and earnings took place in mercantile establishments, where the minimum rate was set at a lower figure than that for manufacturing or laundries. The second theory runs so counter to the figures for California that still another possibility may present the truest answer as to how much minimum-wage rates actually affect rates and earnings.

It is possible that since most employees feel that the balance between positions must be maintained, a relatively high rate such as those set in California and the District of Columbia, or even a rate which is well above the going rate in the State, such as that in stores in Fort Smith, Ark., is a dominant factor in raising all rates, even those of the better paid workers; but that if a rate is set so far below the cost of living that it affects only the very lowest paid group and does not raise rates in general, it becomes only a minor factor in a time of rising wages and the exact part it plays is not determinable. Certainly the Kansas median figures are only relatively comparable to those for California. The fact that these figures are capable of being interpreted in different ways raises questions as to the relative power of minimum-wage rates to raise rates and earnings in general when considered in the light of the many economic forces which influence wages.

If it is hard to be sure how much effect minimum-wage rates in Kansas have had on the rates and earnings of the typical woman worker, it is even more important than usual to see whether these rates have aided the women who received the lowest rates of pay. Section B of Table 62 shows that, with the exception of the laundry industry in 1918 and 1924 and the manufacturing industry in 1919, at least three-fourths of the women in each industry received a rate of pay somewhat above the minimum. The two laundry rates are only 10 cents below the minimum and the manufacturing rate is based on only 183 women, so these exceptions are not particularly significant. In the light of these quartiles the Kansas law, which in no way limited the number of apprentices, resulted in the great majority of the women being paid the minimum rate or more. The most interesting fact brought out by these first quartile rates and earnings when studied in relation to the third quartiles is that the rise in the median rates in laundries and mercantile establishments, between 1920 and 1922, does seem due to the change in minimum-wage rates which brought up the lowest paid workers. In 1922 minimum rates were raised from \$8.50 to \$11. The positions of the typical worker (the median), the typical low-paid worker, and the typical high-paid worker changed as follows:

Year	First quartile		Median		Third quartile	
	Laundries	Mercantile	Laundries	Mercantile	Laundries	Mercantile
1920.....	\$9.80	\$9.75	\$10.70	\$12.40	\$12.85	\$15.85
1922.....	11.30	12.45	12.10	13.40	13.00	16.40

In other words, the rise in the median was due almost wholly in the laundry industry and very largely in the mercantile industry to the improved position of the lower-paid workers when the minimum rate was raised. One other point confirms the theory of the direct effect of even low minimum-wage rates on the most depressed group of workers. This is the fact that, though the rise in the median rates for public housekeeping is roughly comparable to the increases in the industries with wage decrees, the first quartile for those industries with decrees has increased much more than has that for public housekeeping.

To complete the picture of the changes in rates and earnings the changes in the rates and earnings of the typical more highly paid worker are presented in Section C of Table 62. They show that at least 25 per cent of the women received rates and earnings that were considerably above the minimum, and the minimum rate was far from becoming the maximum rate in practice. The irregular behavior of these quartiles, however—behavior which appears to bear no uniform relation to changes in minimum rates—seems to confirm the theory that a low minimum wage is only one of many factors affecting rates and earnings, and that it is not a dominant factor except perhaps for the lowest-paid group.

If median earnings for 1916, when there were no decrees, are compared with median earnings for 1924 in the light of increases in the cost of living, only women in mercantile establishments appear to be in a substantially better position than was theirs in 1916. This seems to be in spite of, rather than because of, the minimum-wage decrees. Moreover, the range of median rates in laundries, factories, stores, and telephone exchanges in Kansas—from \$10.70 in laundries in 1920 to \$15.60 in manufacturing in 1923—is only a bit higher than the median rates for all industries found in the 12 State studies made by the Women's Bureau in the same period. These Women's Bureau medians range from \$8.65 in Mississippi to \$15 in Rhode Island, but 9 of the 12 States show median rates of from \$11.10 to \$15. The conclusions drawn on the basis of the figures from Arkansas, California, and the District of Columbia do not receive much support from these Kansas figures. The Kansas rates seem to have helped the very lowest paid worker. The rates are so low, however, that in time of rising prices their effect on the whole group or even on a considerable proportion of the group is negligible.

#### Massachusetts.

The agents of the minimum-wage commission in Massachusetts have made at least one investigation before each original decree and at least one inspection after each decree. In a few cases more than one investigation has been made, and in most cases there has been more than one inspection. The first rates and earnings quartiles and medians discussed here are from these studies. In the case of investigations they represent the average of the rates and earnings over a period of time varying from three or four months to a year; in the case of inspections, generally one week's pay roll, unless some unusual situation has made it necessary to take it for several weeks. The figures are copied from the firms' pay rolls by the commission's agents, with careful distinction between rates and earnings. The investigations include at least the majority of the women in the occupation studied; the inspections supposedly include all women.

The second group of quartiles and medians discussed here are called wage figures, because they are a combination of rates and potential earnings figures. These figures are collected each year by the division of statistics in the department of labor, by questionnaire sent to every firm in the State. They show rates for all timeworkers and potential weekly earnings for pieceworkers. Roughly these wage figures correspond to rates, and as such may be compared with minimum rates. Their main value, however, is that they furnish a means of observing both in industries where there were decrees and in industries where there were no decrees the changes in wages that have taken place during the period in which the law has been in operation. It is not possible, however, to compare these wage figures with either the rates or the earnings figures collected by the minimum-wage commission.

*Changes in median rates and earnings as shown by the figures collected by the minimum-wage commission.*—The effect of the Massachusetts minimum rates on all the woman wage earners in a

particular industry is of great interest, due to the fact that the law of this State constitutes the only example of a law that does not require an employer to pay the rates set in the decrees but relies only on the pressure of public opinion. This table presents figures on three main groups that have been covered by decrees—(1) retail stores, (2) personal service (laundries and building cleaners), and (3) manufacturing (that is, 17 separate industries such as the manufacture of paper boxes, of women's clothing, etc.)—and on two groups for which a rate has never been set—(1) a branch of manufacturing (cotton goods) and (2) a personal-service industry (hotels and restaurants).

The following table shows the changes in the median and quartile rates and earnings from the time the first investigation was made in a given industry to 1924.





B. FIRST QUARTILE

Year	Muslin under- wear		Paper box		Brush		Building clean- ers		Candy		Minor lines of confectionery		Canning and preserving		Men's cloth- ing		Women's cloth- ing		Bread and bak- ery products		
	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	
1913																					
1915	\$6.35	\$5.00	\$6.00	\$5.00	\$5.05	\$5.05			\$5.00	\$5.50					\$5.45	\$5.50	\$5.85	\$5.00			
1917					\$5.50	7.35															
1918										6.55				\$7.45	\$5.70	\$9.00					
1919		8.50	8.00	7.85		8.00	8.25	8.80	10.80	9.55	\$10.00	\$7.05	10.05	12.40	8.60	17.00	15.80	16.80	14.05		
1920	12.60	10.80	11.70	10.80				9.45	9.80	10.80	9.55										
1921			10.50	10.85				17.40	9.80	12.25	10.10	10.45	8.10	12.55	9.65						
1922									10.85	11.65	10.15	10.85	9.00								
1923	12.15	10.15	11.80	10.40						12.15	10.60							14.80	12.15	\$12.50	\$10.50
1924					12.90	10.65						12.40	10.85								
1925	13.80	11.40	12.15	11.80	13.35	10.65	17.55	11.00	12.80	10.95			12.95	10.10				16.40	12.85	15.10	12.55

Year	Corset		Cotton goods		Hotel and restaurant		Knit goods		Laundries		Millinery		Retail stores		Men's fur- nishings		Druggists' preparations			
	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings		
1913																				
1914			\$5.30							\$5.75	\$5.00									
1915					\$5.35	\$5.85					\$5.05				\$5.00	\$5.05				
1916																				
1917					8.00	7.05	10.00	8.00					8.70	8.85	8.15	7.65				
1918																				
1919			80.80	7.75			7.80			8.00	9.00				9.55					
1920			12.50							12.70	12.45			12.70	12.35					
1921			15.60	10.70			7.00	7.80	12.50	10.80			14.45	10.95						
1922			15.45	7.90					12.50	10.80			13.60	11.60						
1923			12.25	10.00					12.40	11.10			14.80	10.40						
1924									12.60	10.85	12.25	11.65	14.80	10.40	11.05	10.70	12.55	8.15	12.55	10.05
1925			11.60	9.85									12.50	12.65					12.00	12.00

Footnotes at end of table, p. 351.

TABLE 63.—Median and quartile rates and earnings in Massachusetts, 1913 to 1925, by industry (figures from division of minimum wage)—Con.  
C. THIRD QUARTILE

Year	Muslin under- wear		Paper box		Brush		Building clean- ers		Candy		Minor lines of confectionery		Canning and preserving		Men's clothing		Women's cloth- ing		Bread and baki- ery products	
	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings
1913						\$6.70			\$7.20	\$6.40					\$8.90	\$8.15	\$9.00	\$7.80		
1915	\$8.55	\$7.65	\$7.90	\$7.95	\$8.80	8.65			\$7.95	\$7.35							\$10.00			
1917					\$9.00	\$9.00														
1918										9.90			\$9.35	\$8.25	\$9.00		\$10.00			
1919		\$9.00	12.05	12.75		\$9.00	\$9.00	10.70	10.90	13.60	15.00	\$14.05	\$12.20	11.90		\$18.00	\$18.00	\$18.00	\$18.00	
1920	16.80	17.75	15.65	17.80						16.35	15.70			14.80		14.55	14.35	18.00	18.00	
1921			14.30	15.85				19.25	19.55	18.95	15.80	18.95	15.80	16.00	14.20					
1922									19.20	14.75	16.00	14.95	14.95							
1923	15.00	15.00	15.00	15.00						13.70	16.65						15.00	15.00	15.00	14.05
1924					15.80	15.40				16.35	17.85			15.00	15.00					
1925	16.85	17.85	17.10	18.00	16.55	17.40	19.60	18.50	16.20	18.00				16.05	16.50		26.15	26.50	16.30	16.35

Year	Corset		Cotton goods		Hotel and res- taurant		Knit goods		Laundries		Millinery		Retail stores		Men's furnish- ings		Druggists' prep- arations		
	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	
1913		\$8.40								\$8.25	\$7.45			\$9.00	\$8.60				
1914																			
1915					\$8.70	\$8.65				\$8.05					\$9.00	\$8.25			
1916					\$7.15	\$7.05						\$10.85	\$11.90	9.90	9.80				
1917					12.40	11.65													
1918						\$9.00													
1919		\$13.35	12.90							12.80	\$9.00			18.95					
1920		16.20	15.10				\$15.00	15.00		15.00		\$18.00	\$18.00				\$12.80	\$12.75	
1921		13.00	15.10			12.90	12.70	15.55	17.40	15.00	15.00	\$20.10	\$18.45						
1922		15.00	15.80									\$16.00	\$16.00		\$15.00	\$15.00			
1923		17.55	16.75							15.00	15.00			15.00	15.00				
1924								16.00	15.00	16.60	16.05	\$18.00	\$18.00	15.60	15.05	15.00	15.00	15.00	16.00
1925			18.80	16.70								\$16.00	\$16.00				16.85	18.00	

OTHER FIGURES

	Median		First quartile		Third quartile	
	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings
1920—Stationery.....	\$13.85	\$14.35	\$12.55	\$11.75	*\$15.00	*\$15.00
1923—Jewelry.....	13.50	13.50	11.40	10.90	* 15.00	* 15.00
1924—Toys, games, and sporting goods.....	14.00	13.50	12.25	11.10	15.85	16.15

<sup>1</sup> For numbers of women on which these figures are based see Appendix E, p. 612.

<sup>2</sup> Over the amount stated.

<sup>3</sup> Figures necessarily constitute an inspection, since they were collected after a decree was set, but they were available also as investigation figures in determining the necessity for revising the decree in question.

<sup>4</sup> Potential rates based on a 48-hour schedule.

<sup>5</sup> Neckwear only. Based on 71 women.

<sup>6</sup> Retail.

<sup>7</sup> Wholesale.

<sup>8</sup> Wholesale. Figures necessarily constitute an inspection, since they were collected after a decree was set, but they were available also as investigation figures in determining the necessity for revising the decree in question.

<sup>9</sup> Retail. Figures necessarily constitute an inspection, since they were collected after a decree was set, but they were available also as investigation figures in determining the necessity for revising the decree in question.

<sup>10</sup> Under the amount stated.

In Massachusetts, investigation and inspection figures are available for 17 industries; for 18 if retail and wholesale millinery, which had separate decrees and inspections though the investigation was for both, are counted as two. Investigation figures for three additional industries also have been tabulated. Though these figures do not cover nearly so large a number of women nor so great a proportion of the working women in the State as do the figures for several other States, still they constitute the most detailed figures on changes in rates and earnings during a period of minimum-wage activity that are available anywhere. The very number of industries and inspections makes it difficult to see at a glance whether these figures show any general tendencies.

It is common knowledge that commodity prices and rates and earnings rose during the war period and up to 1920. At the end of 1920 there was a short period of falling prices and wages, and then prices and to some extent wages began to climb upward again. The second upward movement was much less rapid than the first and not so steady. In the States that have been discussed, where there were minimum-wage decrees, rates and earnings for almost all industries continued to rise somewhat after 1920, in spite of the halt in the general upward trend of prices. Nor was there any lowering of rates that had been established previously. If women's rates and earnings were reduced temporarily in late 1920 and shortly thereafter, this does not show in the available studies. The general tendency throughout the years is upward. In Massachusetts for the first time are seen both the rates in the minimum-wage decrees and actual rates and earnings in a few industries lower after 1920. Two minimum rates actually were lowered—paper box from \$15.50 in 1920 to \$13.50 in 1922, and women's clothing from \$15.25 in 1920 to \$14 in 1922. Nor were the rates set after 1920 so high as those established during that year. In spite of this peak in minimum-wage rates and in general economic conditions in 1920, the most common and steady tendency, even in Massachusetts, is for rates and earnings to rise.

It is important to examine these Massachusetts figures with care to see whether rates and earnings varied directly with changes in established minimum rates. Up to 1920 there is a uniform rise in rates and earnings. This rise takes place in industries where no decrees ever were set, such as cotton goods and hotels and restaurants; in industries where a decree was set before prices began to rise and was not advanced until after 1920, such as brush and retail stores; and in those industries where one or more decrees were set during this period. After 1920 and 1921 most industries show a slight recession in rates or earnings or both at some time. This is true of muslin underwear, paper box, candy, women's clothing, corsets, knit goods, wholesale millinery, retail stores, and druggists' preparations. In many cases, however, this recession was temporary. The latest figures available for muslin underwear (1925), paper box (1925), candy (earnings 1925), women's clothing (1925), and knit goods (rates 1924) are the highest ever recorded for these industries. In corsets and retail stores the recession came in 1925 and 1924, respectively. The peak years were 1921 to 1923 in corsets and 1923 in retail

stores. In addition, men's clothing, whose latest inspection was in 1920, may have had a recession in wages since that date which the table does not show. These changes in rates and earnings usually do not follow the movement of the minimum-wage rates. Minimum rates for muslin underwear were actually higher in 1923, when the recession occurred, than at the time of the high 1920 rates and earnings. The minimum rates in retail millinery, corsets, wholesale millinery, candy, and knit goods remained stationary, while either rates or earnings in both these industries show a recession. Paper box, where a lower minimum rate is set, shows only a temporary setback in rates and earnings and has its highest median after the minimum rate has been lowered. Of all these industries, only women's clothing shows a lower minimum rate and lower rates and earnings in 1923; by 1925, with the same lowered minimum, this industry has its peak in rates and earnings. Not only do these industries show an irregular behavior in relation to minimum-wage decrees, but they present also as many high figures for 1921 as for 1920, so that they vary from the general economic trend of prices and wages that was going on at this time. The remaining industries in Massachusetts show a steady rise in medians from the earliest date to the latest. If this group is added to those where the recession was either temporary or almost nil (rates decreased 15 cents from the peak in candy, while earnings were highest in the latest inspection) the majority of all industries investigated and inspected are found to have an upward trend in rates and earnings over this period.

If it is granted that these figures show a period of generally rising minimum rates and prices with a few examples of recession after 1920 and 1921, but that actual rates and earnings independent of changes in minimum rates usually are rising, it may be possible from a consideration of specific industries to determine from the median some idea of the exact influence of decrees in this field in which there is direct evidence that other powerful factors influencing rates and earnings are at work. Two industries in which no decrees ever were set—cotton goods and hotels and restaurants—appear in this table. Both show that rates and earnings were increasing to some extent without the aid of minimum-wage decrees. How does this increase compare with the change in industries where rates were established under the law? In 1915 and 1917 studies were made in three branches of manufacturing. In the case of the brush industry both figures were for inspections following a decree in 1914. The women's-clothing figures represent one period prior to a decree and one period following. As before stated, no decree has been set for cotton goods. The medians following show the changes in each industry:

Year	Industry					
	Brush		Women's clothing		Cotton goods	
	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings
1915.....	\$8.46	\$7.35	\$7.40	\$6.00	\$7.46	\$7.25
1917.....	( <sup>1</sup> )	8.76	9.90	-----	10.55	9.95

<sup>1</sup> Over \$9.

Since the brush industry notably was very poorly paid before the 1914 decree, it seems fair to give the decree credit for the somewhat better rates in 1915. In the following two-year period, however, when the war was causing greatly increased demands for all clothing and textiles, when incidentally it was forcing all wages up because of the increased demand for workers, but when at the same time it was shutting off from the brush factories the supply of Russian bristles, minimum-wage decrees played a minor part in comparison with the stronger economic forces rising out of abnormal war conditions. The greatest increase occurred in the industry not touched by minimum-wage rates but most accelerated by the war—cotton goods.

The other industry, for which there are investigation figures but no decree—hotels and restaurants—can not, of course, be compared directly, since the medians do not represent the full compensation the women received but simply the rates and earnings they received in money. However, the percentage of increase in money can be compared with the percentage of increase in other industries. Arbitrarily, every industry in this table which showed an investigation median and an inspection median five years later has been compared with the hotel-and-restaurant figures and with each other. The following table shows the percentage of increase:

TABLE 64.—Increase in rates and in earnings of industries for which figures five years apart were available—Massachusetts

Hotels and restaurants				Candy—Continued		
	1916	1921	Per cent of increase	1920 (minimum rate, \$12.50)	1925 (minimum rate, \$12.50)	Per cent of increase
Median rate.....	\$5.40	\$9.75	80.6	\$12.35	\$13.00	5.3
Median earnings....	5.85	9.50	53.8	12.35	14.30	15.8
Brush				Canning and preserving		
	1919 (minimum rate, \$3.37)	1924 (minimum rate, \$13.92)	Per cent of increase	1920 (minimum rate, \$11)	1925 (minimum rate, \$13)	Per cent of increase
Median rate.....				\$13.40	\$14.35	7.1
Median earnings....	\$9.35	\$13.10	40.1	12.10	13.19	8.3
Candy				Corsets		
	1918	1923 (minimum rate, \$12.50)	Per cent of increase	1920 (minimum rate, \$13)	1925 (minimum rate, \$13)	Per cent of increase
Median rate.....				\$14.10	\$14.50	2.8
Median earnings....	\$3.30	\$12.55	54.8			

TABLE 6A.—Increase in rates and in earnings of industries for which figures five years apart were available—Massachusetts—Continued

Druggists' preparations				Paper box			
	1920	1925 (mini- mum rate, \$13.20)	Per cent of in- crease		1915	1920 (mini- mum rate, \$16.50)	Per cent of in- crease
Median rate.....	\$12.40	\$14.00	12.9	Median rate.....	\$5.80	\$13.55	133.6
Median earnings...	10.90	15.20	39.4	Median earnings...	6.35	13.70	115.7
Knit goods				Retail stores			
	1915	1920 (mini- mum rate, \$13.75)	Per cent of in- crease		1914	1919 (mini- mum rate, \$8.50)	Per cent of in- crease
Median rate.....		\$14.70		Median rate.....	\$13.55	\$14.25	5.2
Median earnings...	\$8.50	\$15.00	130.8	Median earnings...	13.70	14.45	5.5
	1919	1924 (mini- mum rate, \$13.75)	Per cent of in- crease		1914	1919 (mini- mum rate, \$8.50)	Per cent of in- crease
Median rate.....				Median rate.....	\$7.95	\$11.05	38.9
Median earnings...	\$10.40	\$14.50	39.4	Median earnings...	7.05		
Men's clothing				Wholesale millinery			
	1915 (mini- mum rate, \$9)	1920 (mini- mum rate, \$15)	Per cent of in- crease		1916	1921 (mini- mum rate, \$11)	Per cent of in- crease
Median rate.....	\$7.65	\$18.00	135.3	Median rate.....	\$8.75	\$17.60	101.1
Median earnings...	6.50	18.00	176.9	Median earnings...	8.95	15.00	67.6
Minor confectionery				Women's clothing			
	1919	1924 (mini- mum rate, \$12)	Per cent of in- crease		1915	1920 (mini- mum rate, \$15.25)	Per cent of in- crease
Median rate.....	\$11.45	\$13.65	19.2	Median rate.....	\$7.40	\$18.00	143.2
Median earnings...	10.00	12.85	28.5	Median earnings...	6.10	18.00	200.0
Muslin underwear							
	1915	1920 (mini- mum rate, \$9)	Per cent of in- crease				
Median rate.....	\$7.35	\$14.80	101.4	Median rate.....	\$7.40	\$18.00	143.2
Median earnings...	6.10	14.20	132.8	Median earnings...	6.00	18.00	200.0

\* Over the amount stated; exact median for 1920 not obtainable.

The 14 industries whose investigations or inspections were made at such dates that a five-year interval could be selected show increases in rates ranging from 2.8 per cent in corsets to 143.2 per cent in women's clothing, or increases in earnings from 5.5 per cent in paper boxes, 1920 to 1925, to 200 per cent in women's clothing. The increases in the hotel and restaurant industry run lower than do several of the other industries but not so low as brush, canning and preserving, corsets, druggists' preparations, minor confectionery, retail stores, paper box, candy, and as knit goods during the second period for which figures were obtainable. Moreover, the amount of the minimum-wage rate and the length of time it has been in effect do not seem to bear any direct relation to the percentage of increase. For instance, two investigations were made in paper box before a decree was set, and these showed that rates had already increased 75 per cent in the time elapsing between the two investigations. Muslin underwear, with a very low rate, shows a high percentage of increase. Knit goods in a period during most of which it had no rate in force (1915 to 1920) shows a very great per cent of increase, and during a later and overlapping period (1919 to 1924) it shows a much smaller per cent of increase though a relatively high rate is in force.

If there is no marked relation between minimum rates and amount of increase in actual rates, there is a very definite relation between increases in actual rates and the dates for which figures are available, and between increases and kinds of industry. The extremely large increases take place in knit goods, men's clothing, muslin underwear, paper box, wholesale millinery, and women's clothing. The five-year period for all these industries except wholesale millinery is 1915 to 1920. For wholesale millinery it is 1916 to 1921. It is the period of war inflation. Moreover, with the exception of paper box, all these are industries connected with clothing, where an enormously increased demand at this time sent all prices connected with the industry to amazing heights. Retail stores during this war period showed nothing like the rise in the other industries. Knit goods, when the war period was over, did not continue to show such gains; neither did paper box. All the gains from 1920 to 1925 are extremely small, even in industries such as druggists' preparations, where a first decree was entered. It is impossible to trace in these general fluctuations the influence of minimum-wage rates. Such unusual and such strong forces other than rate decrees were at work that they dominated the situation.

Another way in which to test the effect of decrees is to study the median rates and earnings in a selected year. Nineteen hundred and nineteen is chosen for the first example because the industries studied in that year were divided between those covered by decrees (in italic) and those where the commission was considering the establishment of a decree (in roman).

Muslin underwear: Earnings	___ \$9.35	Canning and preserving: Rate	.. \$11.00
Paper box:		Women's clothing: Rate	.. <i>Over</i> 10.00
Rate	..... 10.15	Corsets:	
Earnings	..... 10.15	Rate	..... 11.50
Brush: Earnings	..... <i>9.35</i>	Earnings	..... 10.25
Building cleaners: Rate	..... <i>Over</i> 9.00	Knit goods: Earnings	..... 10.40
Minor lines of confectionery:		Retail stores: Rate	..... 11.05
Rate	..... 11.45	Laundries	..... <i>Over</i> 9.00
Earnings	..... 10.00		



Unfortunately the material for three of these industries was not in such form that exact medians could be obtained, but in cases where comparisons can be made the industries without decrees show rates and earnings in some cases above those for industries where there are decrees, and in no case is there any striking difference in favor of the industries with decrees. It must be remembered, too, that the industries without decrees are the State's supposedly low-paid industries where the commission was considering the setting of a rate.

The next year, 1920, is selected because there are median rates and earnings for the greatest number of industries in this year. With the exception of druggists' preparations, there are wage decrees in all these industries.

<b>Muslin underwear:</b>		<b>Men's clothing:</b>	
Rate.....	\$14.80	Rate.....	Over \$18.00
Earnings.....	14.20	Earnings.....	Over 18.00
Minimum rate.....	9.00	Minimum rate.....	15.00
<b>Paper box:</b>		<b>Women's clothing:</b>	
Rate.....	13.55	Rate.....	Over 18.00
Earnings.....	13.70	Earnings.....	Over 18.00
Minimum rate.....	15.50	Minimum rate.....	15.25
<b>Building cleaners:</b>		<b>Corsets:</b>	
Rate.....	10.10	Rate.....	14.10
Earnings.....	10.00	Minimum rate.....	13.00
Minimum rate.....	12.54	<b>Knit goods:</b>	
<b>Candy:</b>		Rate.....	14.70
Rate.....	12.35	Earnings.....	Over 15.00
Earnings.....	12.35	Minimum rate.....	13.75
Minimum rate.....	12.50	<b>Retail millinery:</b>	
<b>Canning and preserving:</b>		Rate.....	15.65
Rate.....	13.40	Earnings.....	15.60
Earnings.....	12.10	Minimum rate.....	10.00
Minimum rate.....	11.00	<b>Druggists' preparations:</b>	
		Rate.....	12.40
		Earnings.....	10.90

Among the four industries that show the highest actual rates are two with minimum rates of \$15 and \$15.25—two of the highest rates ever set in Massachusetts—and two with minimum rates of \$9 and \$10. The industry with the highest minimum rate, paper box, \$15.50, is seventh as far as actual rates are concerned. Druggists' preparations, with no decree, has higher actual rates than has candy with a decree. For just about half of these industries—women's clothing, men's clothing, knit goods, corsets, and canning and preserving—actual rates have the same relation to each other as have minimum rates.

Consideration of the median rates and earnings in Massachusetts from the figures available does not show any close relation between changes in the minimum rate and general wage changes in the industry. Massachusetts minimum rates on the whole have been rather low, and when to this is added the fact that they are non-mandatory it seems that their influence on general wages was very limited. If these minimum rates had been functioning in normal times, even their gentle influence undoubtedly would have shown in the general medians, as, for instance, the increase in rates in the brush industry after the first decree. That the extent of the increase

might have been very limited is shown by a comparison of the figures in bread and bakery products, where a rate set after the general wage rise had slowed down caused an increase of only 45 cents in the median rate between 1923 and 1925. Massachusetts, due to its importance as a manufacturing center, felt the war demands to an enormous degree. The influence of minimum wage can not be traced when it is working in the same direction as a general price rise, a shortage in the labor market coupled with an enormously increased commodity market, active unionization, and the introduction of women into many better paid fields formerly closed to them. Some of these influences tending to raise rates and earnings seem still to be at work at the present time and to be causing rates and earnings to rise irrespective of minimum-wage rates. The Massachusetts medians appear to support the theory advanced to explain the Kansas figures, that a minimum which is low when considered in the light of going rates changes the typical woman's earnings very little, though it may be of real help to the poorest paid woman. A high minimum rate, however, may bring up the lowest paid woman so far that adjustments are necessary all along the line, thus raising the typical worker and even the typical highly paid worker.

In section B of Table 63 (p. 349) are shown the quartile rates and earnings of that 50 per cent of the woman wage earners who received less than the median rates and earnings.

In the States with mandatory laws which have been discussed, every industry has had at least 50 per cent of its workers receiving rates of pay that equaled or exceeded the minimum rate. There have been only four cases—California, manufacturing in 1919, and Kansas, laundry in 1918 and in 1924 and manufacturing in 1919—where as many as three-fourths of the workers failed to receive rates at or above the minimum. In Massachusetts, however, there are five instances where 50 per cent of the women failed to receive the minimum rate. This occurs in paper box 1920 and 1921, candy 1920, knit goods 1922, men's furnishings 1922, and retail stores 1924. As for the first quartiles—the rate received by the typical low-paid worker—they fall below the minimum rate in 35 of the 55 studies made after decrees went into effect and that show rates.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, among the other surveys there are five—brush, 1917; minor lines of confectionery, 1924; women's clothing, 1919; corsets, 1921; and retail stores, 1919—which, though they show quartiles above the minimum, are second inspections after the decree in four cases and the third inspection in the case of minor lines of confectionery. Retail stores, in the third and fourth inspections which were made after a new decree which raised rates, and brush, in the fourth and fifth inspections, which also were made after a new decree advanced rates, again show first quartiles below the minimum rate. Corsets in 1925 show once more a quartile below the minimum. In actual fact only six industries—muslin underwear, canning and preserving, men's clothing, wholesale millinery, retail millinery, and bread and bakery products—show that the establishing of a minimum-wage

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<sup>3</sup> Building cleaners omitted because recognized as a part-time industry to a predominant extent.

decreed resulted at once in three-fourths of the workers receiving the rate set by the decree or a higher rate.

Though this failure of the actual rate to reach the minimum rate in so many cases is a most important fact as far as the general effect of minimum-wage rates is concerned, it must be understood that this difference in rates does not necessarily mean that the law is not being followed by the vast majority of the employers. These lower rates in Massachusetts may represent apprentices whose rates run much lower than the cost-of-living minimum and may continue for a considerable period of time, and whose numbers are not limited. Even granting that this explains satisfactorily the smaller percentage of workers whose rates were at or above the minimum, it does not affect the fact that not only do the medians fail to show any striking results of minimum-wage rates but the first quartiles also fail to do so.

To discuss the general tendencies of rate changes as shown by these quartiles would be to repeat the analysis of the medians. With the exception of two rates (candy 1925 and druggists' preparations 1925) and two earnings (candy 1921 and brush 1925) the quartiles vary directly with the medians. Moreover, these first quartiles fail to show a much greater proportionate rise than do the medians. In some of the States previously discussed it was found that there might be considerable difference between a first quartile and a median before the minimum rate was set, but that the rate so aided the lowest-paid workers that the first quartile more nearly approached the median after the rate was set. This, however, is not the rule in Massachusetts. On the whole, these median and quartile figures can not be said to show that minimum-wage rates were the predominant factor in the wage rise that took place among the lower-paid groups in these industries.

One other set of figures, the third quartiles, have been tabulated. Their main value is to show whether the minimum wage has become the maximum, as is so often claimed. Part of the value of these quartiles is destroyed by the fact that exact changes in the rates and earnings of the typical more highly paid woman can not always be determined, since in some cases the rates and earnings have been lumped, as "over \$15" or "over \$18." Section C of Table 63 (p. 350) shows the third quartiles in the industries investigated or inspected by the Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission. Unless some cases of divergence are concealed by the system of throwing together all rates or all earnings above \$15, the third-quartile rates vary directly with the median rates with the exception of the 1925 candy inspection and the first inspection (1921) in minor lines of confectionery. The situation in the latter is very interesting because the typical more highly paid woman in this industry received a substantially lower rate of pay after the decree was set than before. This is noted particularly because it is the only case in any State where a leveling of rates seems to have followed a decree. This result was temporary, however, for in the next inspection (1922) the third quartile was shown to have gained so much more rapidly

than had the median that it had advanced practically as much over the predecree third quartile as the 1922 median had over that of 1919. Whatever causes were operating to bring about the general rise in rates and earnings in Massachusetts were producing an upward movement in the pay of the typical more highly paid woman, so that she maintained just about the same position in advance of the rates and earnings of the typical woman worker as is shown by changes in the median.

*Changes in median wages as shown by the figures collected by the Massachusetts Division of Statistics.*—The figures collected by the minimum-wage board show a general rise in rates in all industries covered by the minimum-wage decrees and in two industries where no decrees ever were set. The following table, giving figures from the division of statistics, shows that this general rise occurred not only in all the manufacturing industries where decrees were set but in the main woman-employing manufacturing industries not covered by decrees. These figures begin during the period when agitation and investigation looking toward a minimum-wage law were going on, and continue, for each year, during the period in which most of the decrees were issued. As the division of statistics no longer publishes these figures, information could not be obtained for years later than 1922.

TABLE 65.—Median wages of women in Massachusetts as shown by figures collected by the division of statistics, 1910 to 1922, by industry \*

Year	Industries covered by minimum-wage decrees														Industries not covered by minimum-wage decrees									
	Boxes, fancy and paper	Brushes	Confectionery	Other food	Canning and preserving	Men's clothing	Women's clothing	Corsets	Knit goods	Millinery	Men's furnishings	Patent medicines, etc. <sup>1</sup>	Stationery goods <sup>2</sup>	Jewelry <sup>3</sup>	Bakery products <sup>3</sup>	Toys and games <sup>3</sup>	Textiles					Boots and shoes	Electrical machinery	All industries
																	Cotton goods	Linen goods	Silk goods	Wool and worsted	Total of 4 classes			
1910.....	\$7.60	\$4.60	\$6.15	\$6.60	.....	\$7.00	\$8.10	\$7.40	\$7.85	\$9.15	\$8.35	\$6.70	\$7.75	\$8.00	\$8.10	\$7.80	\$7.70	\$6.85	\$8.65	\$7.80	\$7.70	\$9.80	\$7.95	\$7.85
1911.....	7.90	4.80	6.55	6.85	.....	7.65	8.15	7.95	7.75	9.30	8.55	7.05	7.90	8.20	8.30	6.95	7.80	7.40	9.30	7.90	7.85	9.60	8.40	8.05
1912.....	7.85	5.25	6.65	6.80	\$6.10	8.05	8.60	8.15	8.10	9.70	8.40	8.85	7.80	8.30	8.20	7.15	8.25	7.65	9.15	8.45	8.30	9.90	8.60	8.40
1913.....	8.15	7.05	6.85	7.30	6.40	8.45	8.65	8.00	8.25	10.20	8.60	7.35	8.15	8.45	7.85	7.95	8.55	7.65	9.85	8.50	8.55	10.25	8.90	8.60
1914.....	8.00	7.90	7.15	7.00	6.60	8.40	8.75	8.75	8.40	10.45	9.15	7.70	8.40	8.75	7.95	8.40	8.65	7.95	9.85	8.55	8.65	10.85	8.75	8.75
1915.....	8.85	8.75	7.15	7.05	6.95	8.65	8.85	8.75	8.95	10.55	9.10	7.05	8.65	8.65	7.65	8.60	8.85	8.00	9.95	8.75	8.80	10.55	8.90	8.90
1916.....	9.25	9.40	7.45	7.55	7.90	9.25	9.45	9.35	10.30	11.45	10.05	8.10	8.85	9.30	8.75	9.25	10.75	8.95	11.20	10.75	10.70	10.95	9.75	10.15
1917.....	9.60	9.45	8.80	8.60	8.55	10.60	10.40	10.90	12.70	12.40	10.75	8.75	9.80	10.20	9.55	9.60	12.90	11.25	13.05	13.80	12.90	11.55	11.00	11.85
1918.....	12.05	10.15	10.80	9.90	10.60	13.15	13.00	14.65	14.85	13.05	13.25	11.45	13.85	12.30	12.05	10.60	16.20	14.90	15.60	15.65	16.10	14.65	13.00	14.80
1919.....	15.25	14.45	13.15	12.90	12.10	16.95	16.90	18.85	17.25	16.25	15.70	11.25	15.85	15.05	14.00	14.55	19.40	19.50	22.25	20.00	19.65	18.40	15.60	17.60
1920.....	16.55	15.60	15.05	12.75	13.75	19.65	17.20	18.35	19.30	18.35	15.75	13.55	17.20	15.80	14.80	15.80	21.60	21.20	21.10	21.15	21.60	19.25	16.10	19.10
1921.....	15.85	15.10	14.25	13.10	13.90	16.60	16.10	14.80	16.75	17.60	15.60	14.45	17.00	15.70	13.85	15.80	17.70	17.20	19.10	18.20	17.95	19.65	16.80	17.25
1922.....	15.65	14.40	14.80	12.75	13.35	16.50	16.40	15.80	17.00	17.20	15.30	13.65	16.45	15.30	13.55	14.55	17.75	17.45	19.85	18.30	17.95	19.20	15.80	17.15

\* For numbers of women on which these figures are based, see Appendix E, p. 614.

<sup>1</sup> Decree issued after 1923.

<sup>2</sup> Minimum-wage decree became effective in this year.

From 1910 to 1920 there occurred a period of steady advance in wages for the typical woman worker. Occasional scattered recessions are shown, but none of them are great and many of them are for as small sums as 5 cents. If the median fell back one year, the next year, in practically all cases, it not only made up any amount lost but forged still further ahead. Some industries show considerably greater increases in this period than do others. The industries where rates have been set, however, often do not show so great an increase as those where there is no decree. For instance, the following:

Year	Men's clothing	Women's clothing	Men's furnishings	Stationery goods	Cotton textiles
1913.....	\$3.45	\$3.65	\$3.60	\$3.15	\$3.55
1920.....	19.65	17.20	15.75	17.20	21.60
1922.....	16.50	16.40	15.20	16.45	17.75

Cotton textiles, which had the greatest rise, never had a rate decree. The stationery decree was not set until 1925. Minimum rates for the three other industries were set in 1917 and 1918. Therefore, one industry without a decree showed a rise that roughly equaled the rate changes in the three industries with decrees, and another without a decree showed considerably more rise than the three where rates were set.

In one particular these medians have a tendency somewhat different from that of the medians computed from the figures collected by the minimum-wage board. As far as the present medians are concerned, 1920 stands out in almost every industry as a peak year, with an immediate drop in wages in 1921. In the minimum-wage figures some industries reached their peak in 1921, and some in the last inspection available running from 1919 to 1924. The figures from both sources agree in showing that women were receiving considerably higher rates at the end of this period than at the beginning.

Taking from this table the two industries covered by minimum-wage rates that had the highest and the lowest medians in 1913, and the two never covered by a decree that occupy similar positions, it is seen that in each case the industries without decrees show a somewhat greater rise.

Year	Industries covered by minimum-wage decrees		Industries having no decrees	
	Canning and preserving	Millinery	Linen textiles	Boots and shoes
1913.....	\$6.40	\$10.20	\$7.65	\$10.25
1922.....	13.25	17.20	17.45	19.20
Per cent of increase.....	107.0	68.6	128.1	87.3

Considered from many different angles, these figures confirm the deductions drawn from the studies made by the minimum-wage commission. The minimum-wage law has operated in Massachusetts in a time of rising rates which have obscured its effect. The causes sending rates upward, such as an unprecedented demand for manufactured goods required for prosecuting the war, and a tremendous increase in living costs which had to be met by raising rates, were so much more powerful and far-reaching than minimum-wage decrees that they largely obscure the effect of the latter. Moreover, the law

was not mandatory, and the rates set usually were compromises which considered the financial ability of the industry. It is often stated that minimum-wage decrees were set only in those industries where increases in rates were not keeping pace with living costs nor with other industries. However, if the table from the division-of-statistics figures which give yearly changes is studied, with its figures foot-noted that indicate the year in which the decrees became effective in each industry, it is hard to see any special acceleration of the general upward tendency. The Massachusetts figures are the most complete available, but they also are the most inconclusive. If figures on rates are made available again, the next few years, which will show the decrees' effect in a more normal period, may permit the correct interpretation of the figures now existing and certain definite achievements of minimum wage which at present are obscured may be visible.

**Minnesota.**

The only Minnesota figures available for purposes of comparison are earnings for the years 1920, 1922, and 1923. For 1914, figures on rates are obtainable, but there are no other rate figures. The table following shows the available median and quartile earnings.

**TABLE 66.—Median and quartile earnings in Minnesota, 1920, 1922, and 1923, by industry<sup>1</sup>**

[Figures in roman were secured by investigation before a decree; those in italic by inspection following a decree]

**A. MEDIAN**

Year	All industries	Laundries	Manufacturing	Mercantile
1920 <sup>2</sup> .....	\$15.30	\$14.00	\$15.40	\$13.60
1922.....	16.40		16.20	16.60
1923.....	15.10	14.40	16.05	14.68

**B. FIRST QUARTILE**

Year	All industries	Laundries	Manufacturing	Mercantile
1920 <sup>2</sup> .....	\$12.85	\$12.50	\$12.90	\$11.90
1922.....	15.20		15.25	15.50
1923.....	12.60	12.70	12.55	12.80

**C. THIRD QUARTILE**

Year	All industries	Laundries	Manufacturing	Mercantile
1920 <sup>2</sup> .....	\$19.45	\$16.10	\$19.20	\$16.90
1922.....	18.05		18.65	19.55
1923.....	19.45	17.75	18.90	18.40

	Median	First quartile	Third quartile
<b>Other 1920 earnings:<sup>2</sup></b>			
Office workers.....	\$16.65	\$13.80	\$20.10
Laundries.....	16.20	14.00	18.70
Manufacturing.....	17.20	14.25	20.45
Mercantile.....	16.85	13.20	19.70
Printing and publishing.....	16.65	13.90	20.45
Printing and publishing.....	15.50	12.70	18.85
<b>Other 1923 earnings:</b>			
Hotel and restaurant.....	12.05	9.45	14.10
Printing and publishing.....	16.90	13.45	20.66

<sup>1</sup> For numbers of women on which these figures are based see Appendix E, p. 615.

<sup>2</sup> Figures necessarily constitute an inspection, since they were collected after a decree was set, but they were gathered as investigation figures when the necessity for revising the decree in question was under consideration.

In Minnesota, as in Kansas, minimum-wage rates were low during the period in which these earnings figures were collected. These rates ranged from \$10.25 to \$11 in 1920 and from \$10.25 to \$12 in 1921, and covered every industry in the State. The tables for other States have shown that earnings figures almost always ran lower than rates, yet for Minnesota earnings every median is well above the highest minimum rate and only one first quartile falls below, and that only to the amount of 10 cents. It is a true summary of the Minnesota figures to say that three-fourths of all the women investigated actually were receiving in their pay envelopes more money than the highest minimum-wage rate required their rate of pay to be. If figures were available for rates undoubtedly they would run even higher in most cases than these earnings.

Unfortunately it is almost impossible to tie up these earnings with the minimum rates and make the claim that their excellence is due to the standards set by the wage decrees. After the slight increase in rates which occurred in 1921, median earnings went down very slightly in one industry and up very considerably in another, but for all industries they remained practically stationary in 1922 and dropped in 1923. The first quartile for all industries went up a little in 1922 but fell below its 1920 level in 1923. The third quartile went down in 1922 and back to its 1920 figure in 1923; in other words, its behavior was exactly the reverse of the first quartile. If the 1922 figures suggest a leveling down of highly paid workers when a rise in minimum-wage rates forced up the earnings of those lower paid, the 1923 figures contradict this hypothesis. It is perhaps too much to expect that variations in earnings should bear a direct relation to changes in minimum-wage rates. They are not only fluctuating at a point well above the minimum rate, as far as most women are concerned, but fluctuations in earnings are so dependent on overtime, undertime, absences for personal reasons, and so forth, that there is no possibility of gauging changes in rates by the available earnings figures.

In spite of the limitations imposed by the nature of these Minnesota figures, any significance that they have tends to confirm the theory advanced in discussing the Kansas figures—that minimum-wage rates, if their influence on rates and earnings in general is to be evident, must be set at the true cost-of-living level. As a usual thing this cost-of-living rate has been shown to be sufficiently above the going rates to cause an appreciable rise in general rates and earnings. This has not been the case in Minnesota.

#### North Dakota.

A few figures on median rates are available in North Dakota, but the number of women included in these studies is so small in almost every industry as to make one hesitate even to consider the medians (see p. 615). It must be remembered that the total number of gainfully employed women in North Dakota is so small that even figures based on a relatively few women might give a representative cross section. The figures, therefore, might be worth careful consideration were it not for the way in which the rate figures have been grouped. Not only are there a relatively small number of women included in these studies, but when the tables were organized the rates were lumped—for instance, "over \$15" and "under \$15"—so that usually it is im-



possible to discuss the medians in exact terms. The tables therefore seem of so little value that they are not reproduced here. They show rates in six industries—hotel and restaurant, laundry, manufacturing, mercantile, office, and telephone—for 1921, 1922, and 1923.

### Oregon.

The only figures available for Oregon are for earnings in 1912 prior to the enactment of the law and for rates in the manufacturing and the laundry industries in 1917 and 1918. The comparable rate figures are for identical establishments. The following statement shows the median and quartile rates.

#### A. MEDIAN

Year	Industry	
	Manu- facturing	Laundry
1917	\$8.95	\$8.65
1918 <sup>1</sup>	10.45	9.80

#### B. FIRST QUARTILE

1917	\$7.00	\$6.15
1918 <sup>1</sup>	8.40	8.20

#### C. THIRD QUARTILE

1917	\$12.20	\$11.20
1918 <sup>1</sup>	13.15	12.70

<sup>1</sup> Figures necessarily constitute an inspection, since they were collected after a decree was set, but they were available also as investigation figures in determining the necessity for revising the decree in question.

The number of women represented in this table is small; 475 in manufacturing in 1917 and 376 in 1918; 159 in laundry in 1917 and 137 in 1918. Minimum rates of from \$8.25 to \$8.64, according to the size of the community, were in force in both industries at both dates. The figures show a rise in rates though the minimum remained the same. In spite of the decree, however, the first quartile in manufacturing was well below both minimum rates in 1917 and only a little above the lowest minimum rate in 1918. Even in the second year, half of the women in both industries were receiving lower rates than the sum to which the minimum rate was raised (\$11.61) later in that year. In spite of the tendency of rates to rise, these Oregon women seemed really to need an increased minimum-wage rate to bring up the lower-paid women. Unfortunately, figures do not exist to show in how far the \$11.61 rate accomplished this purpose. The two groups of rates that are used show, however, that the rise in rates with or without decrees being set, or rates raised, that occurred in the States previously discussed, occurred also in Oregon. Another tendency discernible in Oregon which was the same as in the other States is that the minimum rate did not become the maximum. In fact, the rates of the typical more highly paid worker showed a good increase in the manufacturing industry and increased much more than did the

median in laundries. If these rates in general corroborate statements made earlier in this report that rates were rising without the aid of minimum-wage decrees, and that the minimum wage did not become the maximum, they do not agree with figures in other States when they show also a rise without minimum-wage decrees which did not keep pace with the standards set by the decrees.

### Washington.

The only comparable figures available for the State of Washington are those showing earnings for a few industries in 1913, 1914, and 1920. The table following gives this material:

TABLE 67.—Median and quartile earnings in Washington, 1913 to 1920, by industry<sup>1</sup>

[Figures in roman were secured by investigation before a decree; those in italic by inspection following a decree]

A. MEDIAN				
Year	Laundries	Manufacturing	Mercantile	Telephone
1913.....	\$8.65	\$9.75	\$9.45	\$8.45
1914.....	<i>9.85</i>		<i>10.75</i>	<i>9.65</i>
1920 <sup>2</sup> .....	15.40	14.90		
B. FIRST QUARTILE				
1913.....	\$7.15	\$7.90	\$7.40	\$6.90
1914.....	<i>9.55</i>		<i>10.15</i>	<i>9.10</i>
1920 <sup>2</sup> .....	13.80	13.25		
C. THIRD QUARTILE				
1913.....	(?)	(?)	(?)	\$9.75
1914.....	<i>\$11.70</i>		<i>\$12.70</i>	<i>10.45</i>
1920 <sup>2</sup> .....	17.30	\$17.60		

1919 figures: Public housekeeping—median, \$13.65; first quartile, \$13.20; third quartile, \$15.55.

<sup>1</sup> For numbers of women on which these figures are based see Appendix E, p. 615.

<sup>2</sup> Figures necessarily constitute an inspection, since they were collected after a decree was set, but they were gathered as investigation figures when the necessity for revising the decree in question was under consideration.

<sup>3</sup> Over \$10.

Median and quartile earnings once again are steadily moving upward, with the gain in any one group seeming to be roughly proportionate to the gain in the others. Nineteen hundred and fourteen, after a decree had been set, shows a substantial increase in earnings over 1913. Earnings, which usually run below the actual rates, are running well above the minimum rates required by the decree. In the six years from 1914 to 1920 a great increase in earnings took place, with three-fourths of the women studied in 1920 earning more than the minimum rate of \$13.20. Though no rate figures are obtainable, it seems fair to say that rates between 1914 and 1920 rose considerably faster than did the minimum-wage rate.

### Wisconsin.

In 1921 to 1924 the Wisconsin Industrial Welfare Commission collected a great mass of material on hourly earnings by methods which compared with those described in discussing the California pay-roll

calls. The material obtained was arranged in various special industrial groups and an "all industries" group for the first three years and in an "all industries" group alone for 1924. On the advice of the director of the women's department of the Wisconsin Industrial Commission, the usual weekly schedule was considered to be 50 hours for all four years and this, rather than the legal limit, which was 55 hours in 1921, 1922, and part of 1923, and 50 hours thereafter, was used to determine potential weekly earnings. These figures were based on large numbers of women (32,689 in 1921; 46,998 in 1922; 56,378 in 1923; and 51,407 in 1924) and would have formed a comparable series of the greatest value had not earnings been lumped, above 30 cents an hour and under 20 cents an hour, so that well over half of the medians and practically all of the third quartiles can not be definitely determined. The following table shows the medians and first quartiles:

TABLE 68.—Median and quartile potential earnings in Wisconsin, 1921 to 1923, by industry<sup>1</sup>

[Inspection figures]

A. MEDIAN

Year	Canning and preserving	Hotels and restaurants	Laundries	Mercantile	Tobacco.
1921 <sup>2</sup> .....	\$14.40	.....	\$12.60	\$14.90	( <sup>3</sup> )
1922.....	13.80	\$14.70	( <sup>4</sup> )	14.70	\$13.15
1923.....	13.80	( <sup>4</sup> )	( <sup>4</sup> )	14.85	( <sup>4</sup> )

B. FIRST QUARTILE

Year	All industries	Canning and preserving	Hotels and restaurants	Laundries	Manufacturing	Mercantile	Office	Printing and publishing	Public utility	Telephone	Tobacco
1921 <sup>2</sup> .....	\$12.20	\$12.55	.....	( <sup>4</sup> )	\$13.25	\$12.85	\$14.45	\$14.90	.....	.....	\$13.80
1922.....	13.35	12.90	\$13.60	\$13.90	13.20	13.40	14.10	14.10	\$14.45	\$14.30	10.5
1923.....	13.65	13.00	13.05	13.90	13.65	13.40	10.25	12.75	14.25	13.85	13.60
1924.....	14.10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

Medians of over \$15:

All industries, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924.

Manufacturing, 1921, 1922, 1923.

Office, 1921, 1923.

Printing and publishing, 1921, 1922, 1923.

Public utility, 1922, 1923.

Telephone, 1922, 1923.

<sup>1</sup> For numbers of women on which these figures are based see Appendix E, p. 616.

<sup>2</sup> Figures necessarily constitute an inspection, since they were collected after a decree was set, but they were available also as investigation figures in determining the necessity for revising the decree in question.

<sup>3</sup> Over \$15.

<sup>4</sup> Under \$10.

In 1921 the hourly minimum-wage rate would have yielded \$11 to a woman who worked the 50-hour week which was most common in Wisconsin or \$12.10 to the woman who worked the full legal limit of 55 hours. In 1922, 1923, and 1924, after an increase in rates, these hours would have yielded \$12.50 and \$13.75, respectively, to women working in towns and cities of 5,000 or more population and the same amounts as in 1921 to women in the small communities.

With either minimum rate, every actual median and all the first quartiles except laundries 1921, office 1923, and tobacco 1922, are above what a woman's earnings would have been had she worked at the minimum rate 50 hours per week. Moreover, in 1921 all these potential earnings figures except the laundry quartile are above the amount a woman could have earned at the minimum then in effect if she worked 55 hours per week. In 1922 and 1923, only one median (tobacco, 1922) was below what a woman could earn in a city or town of 5,000 or more population on a 55-hour schedule (the higher of the two rates set in late 1921) while 7 of 19 first quartiles also were above this sum. All the medians and all the quartiles except office (1923) and tobacco (1922) were above the weekly minimum based on 50 working hours, and this was the basis used by the commission in 1921 when determining what weekly rate would meet the cost of living. In other words, actual earnings based on a 50-hour week were yielding to three-fourths of the women in all but one industry (laundries) in 1921 and to half of the women in all but one industry (tobacco) in 1922 and 1923 the sum possible at the minimum rates when a woman worked the 55 hours allowed by law. Moreover, for three-fourths of the women in 11 of 30 possible groups in 1921-1924 the earnings were yielding as much as or more than the minimum for cities and towns of 5,000 or more population on a 55-hour basis. Evidently in 1921 actual earnings were so far ahead of the low minimum rate that it is doubtful whether the rate actually affected more than a small fraction of the State's woman workers. In 1922, 1923, and 1924, after the minimum rate was raised, the number of women who earned only the minimum rate was somewhat increased, but even at that in "all industries" three-fourths of the women were receiving \$13.35, \$13.65, and \$14.10 or above for 50 hours' work when the minimum rate for 55 hours would have yielded either \$12.10 or \$13.75, depending on the size of the community, and the so-called cost-of-living minimum based on 50 working hours would have yielded \$11 to \$12.50. These earnings confirm once again the theory advanced as a result particularly of the study of the California and Kansas figures, that the effect of a relatively low minimum rate on actual rates and earnings is very slight.

Since medians that show changes above the \$15 line are not obtainable in many industries, the table showing first quartiles is the only complete representation of changes that occurred when the minimum rate was raised. Between 1921 and 1922 the first quartile for all industries went up slightly. In the specific industries three showed higher quartiles and three showed lower ones. In one instance, mercantile stores, the first quartile went up but the median went down slightly. It is impossible to judge what was the effect on the third quartile, since only four occur which are less than \$15. It is to be deplored that this material is in such form that it is so inconclusive. It represents a period sufficiently long after the war to give a relatively normal picture of earnings. It covers a very large number of women. Potential earnings form a worthwhile basis of comparison with minimum-wage rates. The medians and third quartiles are so far above the minimum rate, however, that the lumping of all groups above the \$15 line prevents drawing a clear

picture of wage changes. One fact stands out: The minimum rate most certainly has not become the maximum.

#### Summary.

For anyone seeking to discover the real effect of minimum-wage decrees, the foregoing material is very discouraging because it is so dissimilar. For Arkansas, California, and the District of Columbia figures are available that seem to show a direct fluctuation in general rates and earnings with changes in minimum-wage decrees. In California a general rise in rates and earnings irrespective of the minimum-wage decrees clearly is indicated, but this rise seems to be accelerated notably by increases in minimum rates. In Arkansas and the District of Columbia no such general rise is apparent, but the different behavior on the one hand of the industries with low minimum rates and on the other hand of those with high minimum rates, and also of the industries with decrees and of those without decrees, is marked. In the remaining States the close connection between general fluctuations in rates and earnings and changes in minimum rates ceases. Figures for Kansas, Massachusetts, Oregon, and Washington show a period of rising rates and earnings during the time in which decrees are being set in new industries and old minimum rates are being raised. Actual rates and earnings, however, often go up when minimum rates remain stationary, and also go up in industries never covered by decrees. In Kansas, where the great majority of the woman workers were covered by decrees, the rise in rates in an industry outside the decrees might be attributed to the force of the decrees. In Massachusetts, however, the much greater proportion of the woman workers in the State are not included in the decrees, so it would not seem probable that the decrees had raised rates in all industries. Moreover, in Kansas, Massachusetts, and Washington the rise in actual rates and earnings seems much greater than the advances in minimum rates. After 1920 the general rise is halted in some industries, particularly in Massachusetts, but not in all. Nor do recessions in actual rates and earnings show a direct reaction from minimum-rate changes. In Minnesota and Wisconsin medians for earnings and potential earnings, respectively, are fluctuating well above the level set by minimum rates, but in so irregular a fashion that it not only bears no relation to rate changes but shows no general tendency for earnings to either rise or fall.

Out of these confused wage movements a few facts emerge. The three States where minimum rates seem to have affected actual rates and earnings for the whole group of woman workers have in two cases—California and the District of Columbia—the highest rates ever set and enforced over any period of time<sup>4</sup> and in the third case, Arkansas, at least one rate that seemed very much above the general level of rates in the State. Rates in the other States have been generally lower—if not lower in amount, lower in relation to the going rates in the State. In Massachusetts one rate was set as high as \$15.50 in the peak year of 1920, but it was reduced soon after. Three other Massachusetts rates set at about this same time ranged from \$15 to \$15.40. No other State reached even \$15. On the other

<sup>4</sup>1 rate in Washington and 4 rates in North Dakota exceeded them in amount. The Washington rate was lowered after a very short time in effect. The North Dakota decrees setting these rates were restrained by an injunction and never functioned.

hand, studies in these States in industries where there were no decrees and in States with no minimum-wage laws showed that a weekly rate of from \$14 to \$15 was by no means uncommon. In the light of the common knowledge of the upward trend of wages during this period, it seems true that only those minimum rates which caused a considerable advance over going rates brought about a change sufficient to be observed in the behavior of the medians.

In answer to the theory that most minimum-wage decrees have not affected general wages, it is possible, particularly in Massachusetts, to put forward figures showing how many more women received the minimum and above after the decree than had done so before it became effective. That every decree has raised a certain number of women's rates is not to be controverted. How large a proportion of women the decrees have advanced to the minimum and whether or not decrees have been instrumental in raising general rates are questions open to debate. It is possible also that studies made two or three years apart, in this period of rising prices, would have shown just as many women above the figure at which the minimum was set had there been no decree. If it is ever possible to trace direct effects of minimum-wage rates when they are known to be but one of a hundred factors influencing actual rates and earnings, the question of their effect seems to get back to the question of the size of the rates. This report has discussed in detail the relation of the minimum rates to the cost of living and to changes in the cost of living. It has shown that very few minimum rates equaled the cost of living, and that later rates often did not advance enough even to maintain the level set by the first rate. The basis for the minimum rates has been a compromise that probably established, in most cases, a rate which approximated rates already in effect in the average firm. Notably underpaid women were brought up, but adjustments usually did not need to be made all along the line. After all, the purpose of minimum-wage laws is not to raise rates in general but to help the most depressed group. The charge against the actual decrees is that often they have been set so low as to bring up only the most submerged women. Interestingly enough, the few rates that seem high enough to raise the entire depressed group to the cost-of-living level seem to have raised rates in general.

If the main lesson that these rates and earnings figures seem to teach is great caution in attributing any direct result to minimum-wage rates, due to the fact that they have operated in a period of great economic stress, they do show conclusively that attacks on the law claiming bad results are untenable. Certainly minimum-wage decrees have shown no evidence of being drastic enough to drive industry from a State. Moreover, the period has been one of such general increases in rates that there does not seem to be the slightest tendency for the minimum rate to become the maximum. As for the claim of the proponents of the law that decrees have raised rates for the group of women most in need of help, it is true that this period shows a steady rise in the first quartile, which represents the rate of the average low-paid women, and that the level of rates below which no considerable number of women are found rises steadily; the very table headings change, for instance, from "Under \$5" to "Under \$9," or "Under \$10," and so on. If minimum-wage

laws are to continue, the administering agencies must try to have rates set at a figure which really approximates the cost of living and they must try to be sure that the number of women who, as minors, apprentices, and substandard workers, receive less than the minimum is kept at the lowest possible figure. There is no magic in minimum-wage laws to raise all rates. They may have this effect, but they should claim only that they pull to their own level the lowest-paid workers.

CHANGES IN THE NUMBER OF LEARNERS OR APPRENTICES IN CALIFORNIA

California has been the only one of the minimum-wage States that has attempted to keep records over a period of years of the number of apprentices in relation to the total number of women employed. The system of licensing apprentices seems to have originated in the State of Washington and licenses also were issued in the District of Columbia and Minnesota, but there are no records available now, in any of these States, of actual numbers licensed and actual numbers employed. Although this is such an isolated bit of evidence, it seems of real importance as a basis for judging how necessary were the elaborate and usually very lenient apprenticeship rules which were incorporated in almost all decrees. The following table shows the numbers of apprenticeship licenses issued by the California Industrial Welfare Commission from 1917 to 1923.

TABLE 69.—Number of learners' or apprentices' licenses issued in California, 1917 to 1923, by industry

Industry	1917				1918				1919 <sup>1</sup>			
	Number of firms	Number of employees	Apprentices		Number of firms	Number of employees	Apprentices		Number of firms	Number of employees	Apprentices	
			Number	Per cent			Number	Per cent			Number	Per cent
All industries.....	68	7,916	2,209	27.9	129	16,613	1,303	7.8	579	15,239	1,901	12.5
Laundries.....					61	3,579	792	22.1	61	3,368	177	5.3
Mercantile.....	68	7,916	2,209	27.9	68	13,034	611	3.9	518	11,871	1,724	14.5
Manufacturing.....												

Industry	1919 <sup>1</sup>				1920				1921			
	Number of firms	Number of employees	Apprentices		Number of firms	Number of employees	Apprentices		Number of firms	Number of employees	Apprentices	
			Number	Per cent			Number	Per cent			Number	Per cent
All industries.....	639	26,933	4,876	25.5	638	27,788	4,311	15.5	292	20,213	2,813	13.9
Laundries.....	61	3,418	327	9.6	57	3,343	373	11.2	15	1,027	166	16.2
Mercantile.....	68	9,987	3,492	35.0	68	9,600	1,598	16.6	37	9,544	933	9.8
Manufacturing.....	510	13,528	3,057	22.6	513	14,845	2,340	15.8	240	9,642	1,744	18.0

<sup>1</sup> 1919 was kept as two separate time periods owing to change in minimum rates in this year.

<sup>2</sup> Total can not be compared with other all-industries figures, as there are no women in some of the classes reported.

TABLE 69.—*Number of learners' or apprentices' licenses issued in California, 1917 to 1923, by industry—Continued*

Industry	1922				1923			
	Number of firms	Number of employees	Apprentices		Number of firms	Number of employees	Apprentices	
			Number	Per cent			Number	Per cent
All industries.....	650	27,795	2,969	10.7	209	18,530	2,013	10.9
Laundries.....	61	3,713	143	3.9	18	1,613	179	11.1
Mercantile.....	69	10,857	701	6.5	33	8,759	491	5.6
Manufacturing.....	521	13,225	2,125	16.1	158	8,158	1,343	16.5

The first decree in each of the industries in this table limited the number of learners in a given establishment to 25 per cent. Beginning with the second decree in each of these industries, the legal proportion of learners was raised to 33 $\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. The table shows only two cases, both in the mercantile industry (1917 and 1919), where the proportion of learners actually reported was in excess of that allowed by law. In both cases the proportion is only slightly in excess of the legal limit. Moreover, both of these figures represent a period immediately following a new decree so that the industry was still in the process of adjusting itself to the new rates. At every other date the proportion is within the legal limit and in most cases it is far below this limit. Industry as a whole in California has not employed a fraction of the learners allowed by the decrees. While the proportion of learners is apt to be higher after a new decree, a study of the separate industries shows no general and uniform fluctuation. On the whole, the longer the law is in force the less do the employers seem to make use of the decrees' learner provisions, even though rates may be raised. In mercantile establishments, where the learning period is much longer than in the manufacturing or laundry industries, the end of the period shows the smallest percentage of learners employed. There is nothing in these figures to show any displacement of experienced women by learners. In fact, these tables indicate that far more elaborate learners' rules were worked out than were used by the majority of employers. If most employers could get along with such small numbers of learners, the question naturally arises whether the very liberal provisions found in the decrees really were necessary. With its broad discretionary powers, the industrial welfare commission could have allowed exceptions to the learners' rules on special application—from new establishments, for instance—when it could be proved that such an exception was desirable, and as a corollary could have established much stricter rules for the majority.

In addition to these figures on all learners, returns from 140 identical firms were obtainable, showing how their policy of hiring learners had varied from 1917 to 1922.



TABLE 70.—Number of learners' or apprentices' licenses issued in California, 1917 to 1923, to 140 identical firms, by industry

Industry	Number of firms	1917			1918			1919 <sup>1</sup>			1919 <sup>1</sup>		
		Apprentices		Number of employees	Apprentices		Number of employees	Apprentices		Number of employees	Apprentices		
		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent	
All industries.....	140	5,570	1,550	27.8	9,871	737	7.5	5,960	1,192	20.0	13,885	4,420	31.8
Laundries.....	8				982	301	31.3	792	95	12.0	881	221	25.1
Mercantile.....	28	5,570	1,550	27.8	8,909	436	4.9				6,819	2,490	36.5
Manufacturing.....	106							5,168	1,097	21.2	6,185	1,709	27.6

Industry	1920			1921			1922			1923		
	Number of employees	Apprentices		Number of employees	Apprentices		Number of employees	Apprentices		Number of employees	Apprentices	
		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent
All industries.....	14,081	2,757	19.6	14,505	1,919	13.2	14,811	1,833	12.4	15,822	1,643	10.4
Laundries.....	1,106	309	27.9	1,063	149	14.0	973	112	11.5	1,175	148	12.6
Mercantile.....	8,541	1,147	17.5	7,725	714	9.2	7,764	503	6.5	8,329	486	5.8
Manufacturing.....	6,434	1,301	20.2	5,717	1,056	18.5	6,074	1,218	20.1	6,318	1,029	16.3

<sup>1</sup> 1919 was kept as two separate time periods owing to change in minimum rates in this year.  
<sup>2</sup> Total can not be compared with other all-industries figures as there are no women in mercantile establishments reported.

In two cases—laundries, 1918, and mercantile, 1919—the proportion of learners in these firms exceeded the legal limit. After the 1919 decrees, when the \$13.50 rate went into effect, the proportion of learners declined steadily. The actual number of women employed rose from 1919 on, and the actual number of apprentices declined. Every tendency indicated by the more general table on apprentices is more strongly indicated by this for only 140 firms but the same firms throughout.

## CHAPTER XVI.—INFLEXIBLE LAWS

The Women's Bureau has made no first-hand investigation of the administration of the inflexible laws created in Arizona, Porto Rico, South Dakota, and Utah. The nature of these laws is such that inspection for violations is the main duty of the body charged with administering the law, for these bodies are not authorized to study the relation of wages to changes in the cost of living nor to make any decisions as to what groups should receive the minimum wage. It is interesting to note that no agency has been created to handle these laws, and their enforcement and the administration of minor points has been assigned to existing units of the State government already busy with other duties. Moreover, the States with this type of law not only are few in number but, with the exception of Arkansas, whose law is not absolutely inflexible and whose flexible features already have been discussed, the total number of gainfully employed women in each case is extremely small. Arizona, South Dakota, and Utah are among the 11 States in the Union having in 1920 fewer than 30,000 women in all gainful occupations.<sup>1</sup> North Dakota, with a flexible law, has fewer gainfully employed women by more than a thousand than has South Dakota, but Utah and Arizona have by far the smallest numbers of gainfully employed women of all the States that have either type of law. Porto Rico has, it is true, a somewhat large number of women gainfully employed—86,462—but nearly 18,000 of these women are in agriculture, an industry specifically excepted from the law. It should also be noted that the exception of women employed in agriculture affects the Arkansas situation to an even greater degree, for of its 115,810 gainfully employed women 66,310 are engaged in agriculture. Because of these circumstances a careful analysis of the text of the minimum-wage acts and of the powers of the bodies enforcing them, together with such a brief résumé of their practice as could be collected from printed reports and from correspondence, is all that will be attempted in this study. Even the attempt to give these few facts has shown the utter lack of uniformity in the laws and in the practice from State to State. It also has illustrated how few records of any sort exist from which any deductions may be drawn as to the effect of these laws.

### DATES OF ENACTMENT

The earliest of these statutes is the Utah law enacted during the wave of minimum-wage legislation that swept over the country in 1913. It was a new departure, in this or in a foreign country,<sup>2</sup> for

<sup>1</sup> Arizona had 18,386 women gainfully employed; South Dakota, 29,686; Utah, 21,783. The States with fewer women gainfully employed are Montana, 28,278; North Dakota, 28,328; Vermont, 26,899; Delaware, 18,102; Idaho, 17,509; New Mexico, 14,941; Wyoming, 9,402; Nevada, 4,334. U. S. Bureau of the Census. Fourteenth census: 1920. v. 4. Population, Occupations, p. 54, Table 14.

<sup>2</sup> This sort of law was on the statute books in most of the Australian Provinces, but in practice usually governed only apprentices or children. Adult workers were taken care of by the wage-board acts.

a lawmaking body to determine the actual amount of the wage and to provide no administrative body to regulate the wage as conditions changed. The law was a compromise measure, passed after a hard struggle to have enacted the more usual flexible type of law. Though the Arkansas law, passed in 1915, embodied the principle of having the legislature set the wage rate, it also provided for a commission to change this rate as economic conditions changed, so not until 1917 was another law passed—that of Arizona—which made no provision within itself for changing wage rates as necessity demanded. Arizona is unique in that its legislature has attempted to make its law meet changing conditions by repassing the act in 1923 with an increased wage rate. Porto Rico passed an inflexible law in 1919, and the latest law to be enacted, that of South Dakota in 1923, also is of the inflexible type.

#### WAGE RATES ESTABLISHED BY THE LAWS

Since the rates in these States (Arkansas excepted) may be changed only by act of the legislature, and since most of them were established some years ago, it is to be expected that all the rates except those of most recent date would seem very low when considered in the light of present-day cost-of-living figures. The following table shows at a glance how true this is.

TABLE 71.—Weekly wage rates established by State legislatures, by date of enactment

State and type of woman worker	1913	1915	1917	1919	1923
Arizona.....			\$10.00		\$16.00
Arkansas:					
Experienced.....		\$7.50			
Inexperienced.....		6.00			
Porto Rico:					
Workers 18 years and over.....				\$6.00	
Workers under 18 years.....				4.00	
South Dakota:					
Experienced.....					12.00
Utah:					
Adult and experienced.....	\$7.50				
Adult learner.....	5.40				
Under 18 and inexperienced.....	4.50				

These figures show that there has been a realization of the increasing cost of living, for the flat rate set by South Dakota in 1923 is 60 per cent greater than the flat rate set by Arkansas eight years earlier. Moreover, in Arizona, as already stated, there has been an effort to make the law change with changes in the cost of living. In 1923 the legislature reenacted the law of 1917 with the minimum rate raised to \$16 per week, or another increase of 60 per cent. It should also be realized that Arkansas, through its industrial welfare commission, has taken cognizance of the greatly increased living costs since the war and has raised the wage rates for a small proportion of its woman workers by order of the commission. In spite of these evidences of recognition of the real cost of subsistence, the cumbersome machinery of raising minimum rates by act of the legislature has resulted in wage rates ridiculously low compared to present-day costs.

It took six years for Arizona to raise its wage rate, though the cost of living in the United States had risen 22.5 per cent in one year alone—1917–18.<sup>1</sup> Arkansas has never succeeded in raising the wage rate for more than a small fraction of its workers. Utah, in spite of many attempts to amend its law, allowed \$7.50 to remain its official estimate of the cost of living in 1927 as in 1913.

#### INDUSTRIES COVERED BY THE LAWS.

It is characteristic of these laws, except that of Utah, that though all the flexible laws give the administering body power to extend the minimum wage to practically all gainfully employed women in the State, these acts itemize the specific industries and occupation to which the law applies. The lists of industries are quite inclusive and in most cases they do cover those industries in which the employment of women is most common. This method, however, adds another item of rigidity and reduces somewhat the number of women who could possibly be affected by the law. In Arizona the law specifies "store, office, shop, restaurant, dining room, hotel, rooming house, laundry, or manufacturing establishment"; in Arkansas, "any manufacturing, mechanical, or mercantile establishment, laundry, or an express or transportation company," with cotton factories and the gathering of fruits and farm products excepted; in Porto Rico, "in industrial occupations, or commercial or public-service undertakings, with agriculture and agricultural industries specifically excepted and in South Dakota, "any factory, workshop, mechanical or mercantile establishment, laundry, hotel, restaurant, or packing house. The exact number of women employed in the miscellaneous occupations and industries listed in these laws is very difficult to separate from the uniform occupational groupings used by the United States Census, but the following estimates are offered as a guide to the approximate number of women affected by inflexible laws.

State	Included under law	Total gainfully employed
Arizona.....	6,872	18,3
Arkansas.....	8,462	115,8
Porto Rico.....	20,393	86,4
South Dakota.....	6,578	29,6
Utah.....	{ 21,783 10,329 }	21 7

<sup>1</sup> U. S. Bureau of the Census. Fourteenth census: 1920. v. 4, Population, Occupations, Tables 15 and 3.  
<sup>2</sup> See text following.

The actual number of women affected by these laws is small. With the exception of Porto Rico, only Utah shows any considerable number of women covered by the law. The Utah figure, however, is on such a different basis from those of the other inflexible States that a second figure, which might be called the practical number of women to whom the law might apply, has been inserted in the table. The larger figure for Utah represents a liberal interpretation of the law to include all the 21,783 gainfully employed women in Utah, even embracing such groups as domestic servants and agricul

\* Per cent of increase, December, 1917, to December, 1918, using 1913 as base.

tural workers. The words of the act—"It shall be unlawful for any regular employer of female workers \* \* \* to pay any woman"—are as inclusive as any found in the flexible laws. The possible number that the law might cover is given here, just as it was given for the flexible laws. In actual practice, however, it has been the custom in Utah to consider the law as applying only to those groups of wage-earning women who work outside the home, such as women in various manufacturing pursuits, saleswomen in stores, and so on. These groups are estimated to number about 10,329 women.<sup>4</sup>

The scope of the Arkansas law would seem, from a study of the text of the law, to have more elements of similarity to the flexible laws than to the inflexible laws, and because of this the greater part of the text has been analyzed in the section of the report devoted to the flexible laws. It has been administered, however, almost entirely as an inflexible law.

The only wage set by the commission is for women in mercantile stores, first in Fort Smith and later in Little Rock as well. The census of 1920 gives only 294 women employed in trade in Fort Smith and 730 in Little Rock, of the 4,654 women in the State employed in stores of various sorts. It is evident, therefore, that as far as proportion of woman wage earners affected is concerned, the Arkansas act should be treated as an inflexible law. In general, the administering bodies in these States can, of course, reduce the number of women affected by the law or nullify the whole act, as can any enforcing body by spotty enforcement or by utter lack of enforcement; but except in Arkansas they have no power to modify the terms of the act nor to extend them to any groups of woman wage earners other than those fixed by the legislature. The Arkansas situation shows, however, that the greater scope of the flexible laws may remain only a theory, since the administering body does not take the necessary steps to extend its jurisdiction to the full extent permitted by law.

#### CLASSES OF EMPLOYEES COVERED BY THE LAWS

All the inflexible laws include only women in their provisions. As in the flexible laws, however, there are special rates set for minors or for apprentices or learners. These two groups and the sub-standard workers are sometimes excepted from the regular minimum rate.

#### Provisions covering the treatment of experienced women.

The real test of the adequacy of any wage schedule is the rate granted the experienced worker. In the States under discussion this rate is, on the whole, low. The following are all the rates for experienced women that have ever been in effect.

State	Year	Rate	State	Year	Rate
Arizona.....	1917	\$10.00	Porto Rico.....	1919	\$6.00
Do.....	1923	16.00	South Dakota.....	1923	12.00
Arkansas.....	1915	7.50	Utah.....	1913	7.50

<sup>4</sup> For list of occupations used to obtain this figure see Utah, in Appendix D, p. 608.

### Provisions covering the treatment of minors.

Arizona alone makes no direct reference to minor girls, specifying that the law covers "any female." Moreover, though South Dakota specifies that women and girls over 14 are included under the provisions of the law, it treats them on exactly the same basis throughout the act. In Arkansas that section of the law which establishes a flat minimum rate speaks only of "any female worker," and a later section, which gives the industrial welfare commission the power of regulating hotels and restaurants, refers only to "females"; but the section which provides for the wage-adjusting features of the law states specifically that rates may be changed to meet the needs of "a woman or minor female worker." Only two States set lower rates for minor workers—Porto Rico, which set \$4 a week for "women under 18 years," and Utah, which set 75 cents a day for "minors under 18 years."

### Provisions covering the treatment of apprentices.

All the States except Arizona have taken notice of the problem of wage rates for apprentices. The following table gives the main provisions regulating the employment of apprentices and learners:

TABLE 72.—Provisions in inflexible laws regulating the employment of apprentices or learners, by State

State	Special rate established	Length of apprenticeship period	Groups to whom the minimum-wage law does not apply	Provisions for distinguishing apprentices
Arkansas.....	Women and minors, \$1 per day.	6 months in any line of industry or labor.		Employers must give each apprentice a certificate showing the amount of experience she has had. Such time shall be cumulative.
Porto Rico....	No amount set by law.	3 weeks.		
South Dakota	do.....	No definite period set by law.	Apprentices or those learning the business or work in which they are engaged.	Employers must report the name of each apprentice within 10 days to the industrial commissioner and obtain leave to so employ her.
Utah.....	Adult learners and apprentices, \$0.90 per day. Under 18 years and inexperienced, \$0.75 per day.	1 year. (Experience must be in the work they are to perform.)		Regular employers of female workers must give each apprentice a certificate of apprenticeship for the time served.

What this table emphasizes especially is the varied manner in which these State legislatures have sought to meet a situation that must, no matter what the geographical location, have much the same factors. The procedure followed by Arkansas and Utah is very similar to that used by the commissions in the States with flexible laws. They set a definite rate for apprentices, specify how long a period shall be included in any apprenticeship, and provide for certificates showing the length of time a woman has worked as

an apprentice. In determining the rate that must be paid, however, Arkansas has considered all apprentices, regardless of age, but Utah has set rates for adult learners and for minor learners. The general low scale of rates is reflected in the very small amount that may be paid apprentices in these States. In defining the period of apprenticeship and what constitutes experience, the two States differ widely. Arkansas considers six months long enough to give a woman the experience necessary to make her worth the minimum; in Utah a year is required. Arkansas believes that six months' work in any line of industry or labor is sufficient to qualify the woman as experienced, and that this need not be at one time nor in one place, but that all time worked should be added to make the six months. Utah limits very drastically the field in which experience may be gained. The work must be of the same nature as that which the woman is to perform as an experienced worker. In Utah it would seem that years of experience as a worker in one kind of industry would count for nothing if the woman changed to another only slightly different. Moreover, no notice is taken of the problem of whether an apprenticeship must be served continuously or may be the sum total of various short periods in the work.

South Dakota and Porto Rico do not list the rates that must be paid to apprentices. They set up a special position for this group by excepting them from the regular minimum-wage rate. Porto Rico, beyond limiting the period of this exception to three weeks, takes no further notice of the problem. South Dakota does not state for what length of time a woman entering industry is to be considered an apprentice, but, in order to provide some check on the number of apprentices, orders that all employers "desiring to employ any such persons, shall within 10 days after employing said person, make known to the industrial commissioner the names of such persons, and obtain leave so to employ them." In carrying out this section of the law the deputy industrial commissioner's office has developed a permit form that all employers applying for permission to hire apprentices must fill out. This form does not limit the number of apprentices in any one establishment, nor fix the wage they must be paid, nor determine the period of time that shall constitute the learning period, though it requires information on all these points and indicates that the period of apprenticeship is supposed to be one year. It is possible, however, that making the employer list his apprentices and their wages may keep him from hiring such large numbers of them as to dismiss experienced women, or from paying apprentices shamefully low beginning wages. Also the fact that the permit runs for only one year may tend to limit to that length of time the apprenticeship of an individual worker. The commissioner's office reports that the minimum apprenticeship rates in all the permits on file range from \$9 to \$10.50 per week.

FORM OF PERMIT USED BY SOUTH DAKOTA INDUSTRIAL COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE

FORM No. 3

File No. \_\_\_\_\_

Permit Under Section 3 of Chapter 309, Laws of 1923, to Employ Apprentice or Person Learning Business or Work at Less than the Minimum Wage

To \_\_\_\_\_ of \_\_\_\_\_, South Dakota.

You are hereby granted leave to employ in the (\*) \_\_\_\_\_ operated by you at \_\_\_\_\_, in the county of \_\_\_\_\_ South Dakota, the following-named persons as apprentices or persons learning the work or business indicated after each name at less than twelve (12) dollars per week, but not less than the sums specified herein, for a period of one (1) year, unless this permit be sooner modified or canceled.

Name of employee	Address, including street and number	Age	Nature of apprenticeship and particular work or business to be learned	Wage per week
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Done at my office at Pierre, S. Dak., this \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_ 192\_\_

[SEAL.]

\_\_\_\_\_  
*South Dakota Industrial Commissioner.*  
 By \_\_\_\_\_  
*Deputy Commissioner.*

NOTE.—(\*) Fill in kind of factory, workshop, mechanical or mercantile establishment, laundry, hotel, restaurant, or packing house.

It would seem, from a consideration of these provisions in the laws, that the legislatures have realized that here, as in the case of minor girls, they have a special situation to meet; but leaving out all questions of adequate enforcement it is hard to see how the terms of these laws make any real provision for handling the problem of the worker entering industry. The way in which the situation has developed in South Dakota indicates how little the administering agency can require when it is given neither very specific nor inclusive powers to deal with the apprenticeship problem. The South Dakota commissioner can only influence those phases of apprenticeship that tend to break down a minimum wage; that is, he can not control the number of women in any one establishment who can be paid less than the minimum, nor the length of time which they must serve before they are entitled to the pay of experienced workers, nor the initial rate of pay. In the other States the legislatures have entirely ignored the problem of an industry's employing all apprentices and dropping experienced workers. They have considered the length of time that a woman should be considered an apprentice, but the value of a blanket limitation for all types of work is particularly questionable when there is no uniform standard, as is indicated by Porto Rico's setting the period at three weeks and Utah's setting it at one year.



### Provisions covering the treatment of substandard workers.

The other special class of workers usually covered by minimum-wage laws, the substandard, is considered in only one inflexible law. South Dakota provides that the industrial commissioner may issue a special permit to any woman mentally or physically deficient or disabled. When such an exception is allowed the commissioner shall fix the wage to be paid.

### Summary.

The following table gives the main points of these inflexible laws which relate to the numbers included in the law and to the actual rates established:

TABLE 73.—Summary of wage rates established by inflexible laws, by State

State	Date of enactment	Industry or occupation covered	Age and experience of worker	Wage rate
Arizona	1917	Store, office, shop, restaurant, dining room, hotel, rooming house, laundry, or manufacturing establishment.	Any female	\$10 per week
Arkansas	1921	do.	do.	\$16 per week
Arkansas	1915	Any manufacturing, mechanical, or mercantile establishment, laundry, or any express or transportation company.	Woman or minor female worker: Experienced.....	\$1.25 per day. \$1 per day.
Florida	1919	Industrial occupation or commercial or public-service undertakings.	Women, girls inclusive: 18 years of age and over..... Under 18 years of age.....	\$6 per week. \$6 per week
South Dakota	1923	Any factory, workshop, mechanical or mercantile establishment, laundry, hotel, restaurant, or packing house.	Women and girls over 14 years of age: Experienced.	\$11 per week
Utah	1914	Any regular employer of female workers.	Female workers: Adult and experienced..... Adult and inexperienced..... Less than 16 years of age and inexperienced.	\$1.25 per day \$0.40 per day \$0.75 per day

The foregoing discussion and this summary table show that any study restricted to the minimum-wage rate for experienced women presents a limited and much too regular picture of the situation. Large groups of minors and apprentices and at least a small number of substandard workers are not eligible for these rates set by law, any more than they are treated by decrees on the same basis as are experienced women. Moreover, low as the rates for experienced workers may seem, they are always, of course, the highest rates established by the law, and any effort on the part of employers to hire large numbers of apprentices, minors, or substandard workers defeats the whole purpose of the law. Only careful administration of these special provisions can insure that the cost-of-living rate will not become a dead letter due to the very fact that the laws contain an effort to adjust wage rates to varying types of workers.

### ADMINISTRATION AND ENFORCEMENT

There is so little leeway for developing administrative policies in these States where the legislatures have enacted inflexible laws, that the various units of the State government responsible for administration are mainly law-enforcing agencies. In some of the States a

strange division of labor exists, whereby the agency that administers any provisions of the law requiring decisions as to policies—as, for instance, setting the length of the apprenticeship period—takes no part in discovering and correcting violations of the law. Since the legislatures have not required them to enforce the law, it is not surprising that these units have not considered this as part of their administrative duties. Probably they have been loath to assume this additional work when already they were occupied with their many other functions, for administration in all these States has been assigned to units that were organized and staffed for purposes other than minimum-wage administration and enforcement. No State with an absolutely inflexible law has been so concerned about its administration as to create a special unit in the State government whose duty it was to see that the law was made an active force in the community.

#### Agencies concerned with law administration and enforcement.

The following chart sums up the State agencies that are interested in seeing that the will of the legislature is translated into actual wages paid woman workers under the inflexible laws:

State	Administering agency	Enforcing agency	Inspecting force
Arizona.....	None.....	State and county prosecuting officers.	None.
Arkansas.....	Industrial welfare commission.	Bureau of labor and statistics.	Executive secretary of the industrial welfare commission.
Porto Rico.....	None.....	Bureau of labor.....	Factory inspectors under the bureau of labor.
South Dakota.....	Industrial commissioner.....	State and county prosecuting officers.	None.
Utah.....	None.....	Industrial commission and all city, State, and county prosecuting officers.	Woman factory inspector under the industrial commission.

#### Powers and duties given administering and enforcing agencies.

As shown by the foregoing chart, the Arizona Legislature has not even made any particular unit of the State government responsible for administering its minimum-wage law. Moreover, Arizona has no labor department nor other similar organization that might be supposed, at least by inference, to be interested in this law.

In Arkansas the situation is complicated by the dual nature of the law. The administrative body, called the industrial welfare commission, was created by the minimum-wage act to carry out those sections of the law that provide for raising or lowering the rates as the cost of living varies, and it has but one function in connection with the flat rate established by the legislature. This duty of the commission is the regulation of piece rates to conform to the inflexible minimum established by the legislature or to any lower or higher rates that may be decided on by the commission itself. The commission can not exercise this power on its own initiative, but only on complaint can it investigate to see if the piece rates paid in a certain industry are working a hardship on the women employed in that industry. If the commission decides that "said system of piecework is working an injury to the general health of the employees," it must hold a hearing, and then it may abolish piecework

or any other injurious system and establish a daily rate not less than the rate fixed by the legislature. This is the only inflexible law that has recognized the existence of any problem in adjusting piece rates to minimum-wage rates.

In Porto Rico the legislature has not taken cognizance of the fact that there are any problems of administration—as, for instance, the question of apprentices' wages or how to treat pieceworkers—that may require attention. The bureau of labor, which was designated to enforce the law, in practice seems to have assumed some added powers in determining the administrative methods necessary to apply the law to pieceworkers.

The South Dakota law also makes use of an existing unit of the State Government, the industrial commissioner, to administer its minimum wage law. The administrative duties of his office, so far as minimum wage is concerned, are specified in the law and consist of keeping track of apprentices or learners in those industries and occupations where the law applies and granting licenses to substandard workers. The methods that have been developed for registering apprentices have been described in the pages dealing with apprenticeship.

In Utah, as in Porto Rico, an existing agency was designated to enforce the law but was given no special administrative powers. The law actually assigns the responsibility for enforcement to the commissioner of immigration, labor, and statistics. In 1917, however, his duties were all transferred to the newly created industrial commission. This commission has wide powers for regulating conditions of employment. It administers and enforces the various labor laws of the State, so the minimum-wage law is a very small part of its duties. Moreover, the commission has never assumed that any of its wide and general powers, granted in its organic act for settling points concerning the workmen's compensation law, could be used as well in settling problems arising under the minimum-wage law.

These short summaries of the powers and duties of the State agencies most closely connected with minimum-wage enforcement and administration show how little thought any of the State legislatures have given to the problem of making effective the wage rates they have written on their statute books. The question of penalties if court action is taken is dealt with in most of these States by the legislatures, and will be discussed in the next section of this chapter; but the importance of having a special agency with the time and power to fit wage rates to changing conditions, to decide how the details of the law shall be worked out in relation to learners, minors, and substandard workers, and to meet the many administrative problems has not been recognized sufficiently in these acts. Though these inflexible laws require but a fraction of the time that must be spent in administering the flexible laws, they certainly need more time and direct care than have been given them.

#### **Penalties provided in the acts.**

All these legislatures have provided legal penalties for infractions of the law. They have, however, failed to provide means by which violations can be brought before the courts.

In Arizona the law provides that an employer violating any of the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, punishable by "a fine of not less than \$50, nor more than \$300, or by imprisonment \* \* \* for not less than 10 days nor more than 60 days, or by both such fine and imprisonment, for each separate offense." However, discovery and correction of violations are not the province of any State official; prosecutions are started only if some interested party complains. If any woman wishes to do so, she may, of course, take her case to the attorney general or the county prosecuting officer and appear as a prosecuting witness, just as she would in any other violation of the State law which touched her closely enough for her to make such an effort. Such action, however, presupposes a knowledge of the law, independence from financial pressure that makes it necessary for her to hold some job at any wage, and a determination to have her rights—a combination of prerequisites possessed by few women who are day or week workers.

In Arkansas, as already pointed out, the minimum-wage act itself makes no special State agency responsible for the enforcement of the law. It does provide that cases of violation proved in court make an employer liable to a fine of not less than \$25 nor more than \$100, and that each day of noncompliance shall constitute a separate offense. Moreover, due to the wording of the act creating the bureau of labor and statistics, which makes the bureau's chief responsible for enforcing all State labor laws, the chief has assumed responsibility for the enforcement of the minimum-wage law. If violations of the law which come to light through his inspections can not be adjusted out of court, the commissioner of the bureau must take the information to the prosecuting attorney of the district where the violation occurred, and the attorney will file the case. Of course, any woman who realizes that the wage due her under the law is higher than the one she is actually receiving may take similar action. Strictly speaking, therefore, the agency that was created to administer the flexible sections of the law is not responsible for the enforcement of its own special project, and even the agency responsible for the enforcement can not be sure that violations of the law will be subjected to court action. In actual practice, the fact that members of the industrial welfare commission also have been officials and employees of the bureau of labor and statistics has meant that the agency created particularly to look out for minimum wage has had a part in enforcing the law. On the other hand, final enforcement, as in the flexible laws, lies in the hands of the regular State and county prosecuting officials, who often are uninterested or even unsympathetic. In at least one reported case court action was dropped, due to lack of interest on the part of the prosecuting attorney concerned, though the bureau of labor and statistics was anxious to have the case prosecuted.

In Porto Rico the legislature has designated the bureau of labor as the State authority responsible for the enforcement of the minimum-wage act. No special powers, no extra employees, no additional funds were given the bureau to enforce the wage rates established by the law. The Porto Rico law provides that any violation is a misdemeanor, punishable on conviction by a fine not to exceed \$50 nor less than \$5. The bureau of labor had its inspectors keep a lookout for violations when making their regular inspections

for all labor laws. Such violations as came to light, the inspectors tried to adjust on the spot; those that could not be handled in this way they reported for prosecution. To enforce the law the bureau found it necessary to institute numerous court cases.

Though the industrial commissioner of South Dakota is required to administer those sections of the law which provide for apprentices who may receive less than the wage rate set by law and for infirm workers, the enforcement of the law is not specifically assigned to him nor to any other State agency. It is the opinion of his office that violations of the law should be called to the attention of the law-enforcing officers of the various counties of the State by the women affected by the violations. These officers then would take the proper steps to prosecute as misdemeanors such infringements of the law. This results in the same situation as exists in Arizona. The minimum-wage act provides as a penalty, when such prosecutions are successful, that the employer paying less than the minimum is guilty of a misdemeanor and may be fined for each offense not less than \$10 nor more than \$100, or may be imprisoned for not more than 30 days, or may be both fined and imprisoned. Moreover, this alone among the inflexible laws does definitely provide that any woman or girl who has been employed for less than the minimum set by the law may recover back wages and the costs if a civil suit is necessary to collect such wages, though she may have made an agreement to work for a lesser wage.

In Utah the industrial commission has "general charge of the enforcement" of the law, with the assistance of all city, State, and county prosecuting officers, who are charged with prosecuting violations of the law in the same way as other misdemeanors. This is the only law which does not provide a specific fine in case of conviction for violation of the minimum-wage law.

TABLE 74.—Court action provided for by inflexible laws in cases of violation, by State

State	Fine		Imprisonment		Fine and imprisonment	Type of offense	Recovery of wages	Remarks
	Minimum	Maximum	Minimum	Maximum				
Arizona.....	\$50	\$300	10 days..	60 days..	May be both.	Misdemeanor.		Penalty applies to each separate offense. Each day of noncompliance a separate offense.
Arkansas.....	25	100						
Porto Rico.....	5	50				Misdemeanor.		
South Dakota.....	10	100		30 days..	May be both.	do.	Employee may recover in civil suit the full amount as measured by said minimum wage, together with costs, notwithstanding any agreement to work for a lesser wage.	
Utah.....						do.		

Though all these laws, in common with most modern labor legislation, have recognized the need for a definite penalty for violation, they have only partially recognized the need for an adequate and responsible agency engaged in discovering violations and seeing that infringements are corrected or punished.

**Powers granted the administering and enforcing agencies by their organic acts.**

The fact that the legislatures, Arkansas excepted, have failed in the text of the laws to give any real power to the various agencies selected to administer and enforce the minimum-wage rates makes it interesting to see just how these agencies are organized and whether they are given such powers by other acts that they can adequately enforce these rates. There is considerable similarity among the agencies that enforce the various flexible laws, but the fact that the inflexible laws are enforced by units of the State government that existed before the minimum-wage laws were enacted means that wide differences are found in their size, appropriations, powers, and duties.

Arizona, as has been stated, has no agency administering and enforcing its minimum-wage law. Any consideration of the Arkansas situation should include a description of the industrial welfare commission, though this body was created to administer the flexible features of the law rather than to enforce the wage rates set either by the legislature or by its own action. As pointed out in an earlier section of this chapter, however, the actual organization of the industrial welfare commission has been such as to help the enforcement of the wage rate set by the legislature. It is necessary, therefore, to consider its organization here as well as when the flexible laws were discussed. The original law (1915) created a commission to carry out its provisions, which was to consist of the commissioner of labor and statistics and two competent women, one to be appointed by the governor and one by the commissioner of labor and statistics. The terms of office of the two woman members were indeterminate, and it was possible under the wording of the law to appoint different women for each case needing specific action. In actual practice the same women served for a number of years. No compensation was provided for this office. The third member of the commission, the commissioner of labor and statistics, was appointed by the governor for a two-year term that began every odd year, and was a salaried State officer. This administrative body was reorganized by an act of 1921, which increased the membership to five persons—two women, two men, and the commissioner of labor and statistics. One member of each sex is to be appointed by the governor; the other two by the commissioner of labor and statistics. One woman and one man are to be representatives of the employees; the other two are to represent the employers. All the members except the commissioner of labor and statistics are appointed for two-year terms and are to serve without salary. The terms under which the commissioner of labor and statistics holds office are not changed. The powers and duties of this new group—called the industrial welfare commission—are the same as those of the more informal group created by the original act. This is the same general plan of organization as is found among the boards or commissions that administer the flexible laws. It is interesting

to note, however, that Arkansas represents an interlocking system of enforcement and administration between an agency existing before the minimum-wage law was passed, the bureau of labor and statistics, and this new one, the industrial welfare commission—a situation found in no other State.

The bureau of labor and statistics enforces the minimum-wage law, as it does all other labor laws in the State, due to the wording of its organic act, which orders its commissioner to "make investigation concerning the operation of the various laws relating to the safety of the life and limb of employees, and \* \* \* take legal steps looking to the proper enforcement and due observance of such laws."

The personnel of the bureau is very small. The permanent members are three—the commissioner, his deputy, and a stenographer. No extra employees at regular salaries were added when the minimum-wage law was passed in 1915. The two woman members of the minimum-wage and maximum-hour commission, however, have always given considerable time to the minimum-wage work, including watching for violations. The commission has had three executive secretaries. This position has always been held by one of the woman members of the commission, who, as executive officer, has assumed special responsibility for the law. It must be remembered, though, that this was almost wholly volunteer service until 1923. In every biennium since the law became effective the legislature has appropriated a small sum to reimburse these women for expenses incurred in minimum-wage work, but it has never provided a salary. Moreover, two of the three who have served as executive secretary have had no real power, strictly speaking, since they were not employees of the bureau of labor and statistics, the agency with real enforcement powers. The third secretary, whose term of service began in 1923, is an employee of the bureau of labor and statistics, appointed as one of the woman members of the industrial welfare commission and paid a regular salary from the general funds of the bureau and the commission. So the industrial welfare commission at last has a secretary who can give full time to the work of the office and who really has the power to inspect for violations of the labor laws, including the minimum-wage law. Only part of her time, however, is devoted to inspection under the minimum-wage law, since her duties also include inspecting for violations of the women's hour law and the child labor law.

In Porto Rico, administration and enforcement were intrusted to the bureau of labor. This bureau, created originally in 1912, was composed in 1919, when it began enforcing the minimum-wage law, of a chief, an assistant chief, and 7 factory inspectors. In 1921 a reorganization of the bureau increased the number of factory inspectors to 10 and added 5 office employees. All members of the bureau are appointed by the commissioner of agriculture and labor, in whose department the bureau is a unit. The term of office of all employees is indeterminate and no salary is set in the law. In the bureau's organic act the chief of the bureau is given the power "to inspect, supervise, and report on the industries of the island." The bureau of labor and statistics enforces or assists in enforcing all the labor laws of the Territory, including the workmen's compensation law,

the eight hour law for women, and the child labor law, as well as the minimum-wage law. It constitutes another example of a body charged with enforcing the minimum-wage law along with multitudinous other duties. Only in the course of their general inspection work do the bureau's employees watch for violation of the minimum-wage law.

In South Dakota the administration of the minimum-wage law was assigned to the immigration commissioner, who is industrial commissioner *ex officio*. This official is appointed by the State board of immigration<sup>6</sup> for an indeterminate term of office and at such salary as the board may decide; at present \$3,600. He is the executive officer of this board and under its direction is to supervise and devise means to advance the immigration interests of the State. As industrial commissioner he is charged with enforcing the workmen's compensation law and the women's hour law and dealing with employment problems. As industrial commissioner he has a deputy, at a salary of \$2,400 per year, who may exercise all the powers given to the commissioner. The only other employees are a stenographer and clerks brought in for occasional assistance in office work. There are no factory inspectors in the State, so no one does follow-up work on the apprenticeship permits nor inspects to see if experienced women are paid the full minimum wage.

When the Utah law was passed its administration was intrusted to the commissioner of immigration, labor, and statistics, whose department was given an extra woman deputy for this work in the first appropriation bill following the passage of the minimum-wage act. The office then consisted of the commissioner, his two deputies, and a stenographer. The work of the office included the enforcement of various labor laws, not including the mining laws, but special emphasis seems to have been placed on the women's nine hour law and the minimum-wage law. In 1917 this office was abolished and all its powers and duties were transferred to the industrial commission which was created at that time. This commission has wide powers and a good-sized staff, but it administers and enforces all the labor laws of Utah, including the workmen's compensation law, enacted in 1917, so that minimum-wage administration and enforcement is only one of its many duties. The commission itself is composed of three members, appointed by the governor for four-year terms at salaries of \$4,000 per annum. Each of the three commissioners takes charge of one part of the workmen's compensation law; the division assigned to the third commissioner is the department of labor, hearings, claims for compensation, and labor mediation and conciliation. The administration of the minimum-wage law comes under this third department, where in actual practice the one woman factory inspector was assigned to enforcing all the labor laws affecting women, including the minimum-wage law. How wholly dependent on this one woman is the enforcement of the minimum-wage law is evidenced by the biennial report for 1920-1922, which shows that when the office of woman labor inspector was vacant for nearly

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<sup>6</sup> The State board of Immigration is composed of three members—the governor, the secretary of state, and the commissioner of schools and public lands.



two years not one inspection for minimum-wage violations was reported nor was any back pay collected. The situation in Utah, in spite of a special woman labor inspector and the general supervision of a powerful commission, is little different from that in the other States having inflexible laws where the minimum-wage enforcement is buried among a mass of other duties.

TABLE 75.—Composition of bodies administering and enforcing inflexible laws, by State

State	Name and personnel of administering body	Name and personnel of enforcing body	Salaries
Arizona		County prosecuting officers.	
Arkansas	Industrial welfare commission: Commissioner of labor and statistics—2 women, 2 men.	Bureau of labor and statistics: Commissioner, assistant commissioner, 1 clerk, 1 inspector (executive secretary of the industrial welfare commission).	Commissioner, \$2,000 per year
Porto Rico		Bureau of labor: Chief, assistant chief, 6 office employees, 10 inspectors.	
South Dakota	Industrial commissioner: Assistant, assistant industrial commissioner, stenographer, occasional office assistance.	County prosecuting officers.	Commissioner, \$3,600 per year; assistant commissioner, \$2,400 per year.
Utah		Industrial commission and State and county prosecuting officers: Staff of industrial commission—3 industrial commissioners, 14 to 20 employees, 2 factory inspectors (1 woman).	Commissioner, \$4,000 per year; employees, \$200 per month maximum; woman factory inspector, \$110 per month.

#### Actual work done in administering and enforcing the laws.

This discussion is based on the reports issued by the various bureaus and commissions described in the foregoing pages. It makes no claim to being an exhaustive study, but simply presents briefly the work of these bureaus as their officers have reported it.

The actual inspections to enforce the law, as shown by the biennial reports of the Arkansas Bureau of Labor and Statistics, are irregular and few in number. For the first two years the law was in force none are reported, but over 1,000 inspections were made during 1917-18, when 250 violations were found. Most of these were settled without court cases. No record is given of the court action. For 1919-20 there is no record of inspections made and only one court case is mentioned. The report states that this case was dropped owing to the unwillingness of the deputy county prosecutor to press the charges, presumably because he was running for county office at the time. For 1921-22 there is no report of activities. In 1923-24 one court case was instituted, but the adverse ruling in this case—the judge held the minimum-wage law unconstitutional—stopped all further attempts at enforcement through court action until the whole law ceased functioning, due to the adverse supreme court decision.

To gain enforcement for the law of Porto Rico the bureau of labor of the island originated 144 prosecutions in 1919-20, 11 in 1920-21, and 255 in 1921-22. The decrease in 1920-21 was due to uncertainty as to the law's constitutionality. This question was decided in the

affirmative in 1921 and in the negative in 1924. In the great majority of cases convictions and fines were secured.

The office of the industrial commissioner of South Dakota has no knowledge of any court cases brought under provisions of the minimum-wage law during the period that this law has been in effect. The only work the commissioner reports in connection with this law is the issuance of 216 apprenticeship permits—160 in mercantile stores and 56 in industrial occupations. The office has not received any applications for permits for infirm workers.

The record of violations and court cases in Utah during the 12 years the law has been in effect is interesting. It shows that in the early days of the law, when the wage rate set by the legislature was somewhat higher than the lowest wages paid, court action was necessary to enforce the law, but that as living costs and wages climbed and the wage rate remained the same, there came to be almost no trouble in enforcing it. A report of the Utah Bureau of Immigration, Labor, and Statistics states that in 1913-14 more than 700 establishments were visited for checking of the wages paid in the 20 months that the law had been in effect. Several hundred cases of violation were found and adjusted, and over \$8,000 in back pay was collected, but six cases had to be taken into court to obtain the minimum wage for the workers. Five cases were won in the lower court and one was appealed to the State supreme court. The report of the bureau's activities in 1915-16 records that all except two of the violations discovered in this period were adjusted out of court and about \$10,000 in back pay was collected. Both of the court cases were won by the bureau. In the report for 1917-18 of the industrial commission which took over the minimum-wage enforcement, 600 inspections over a period of two years brought to light only 10 violations, all of which were adjusted out of court. The next biennial period saw 765 inspections and only four violations; that of 1920-1922 74 inspections and no violations.<sup>9</sup> In 1922-1924 the 1,358 inspections for all labor laws affecting women found only six firms violating the minimum-wage law. Moreover, a statement from the secretary of the industrial commission reports that there is no record of any back pay collected, since the minimum wage is so low that there are few violations. The figures show, without much comment being necessary, what happens when it is impossible to adjust a minimum-wage rate to changing conditions.

To sum up the situation, it seems that there is no record of any enforcement, through either inspection or court action, in Arizona and South Dakota. Porto Rico and Utah have had inspectors watching for minimum-wage violations and have prosecuted cases that could not be adjusted, but even in Utah the effort is past history, since the wage rate no longer affects actual wages paid by industry. Arkansas has had very irregular inspection and also has made few attempts to enforce the law by recourse to court action. The following table summarizes the activities of these State bureaus as shown by their own reports.

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<sup>9</sup> Due to the death of the woman labor inspector, the minimum-wage inspections covered only a small part of this period.

TABLE 76.—Number of inspections, complaints, and prosecutions in States with inflexible laws, by biennial period, 1913 to 1924

State	1913-14			1915-16			1917-18		
	In-spec-tions	Com-plaints; violations	Pros-ecutions	In-spec-tions	Com-plaints; violations	Pros-ecutions	In-spec-tions	Com-plaints; violations	Prosecutions
Arizona.....		No law.			No law.			Not reported.	
Arkansas.....		No law.			Not reported.		1,000	250	Not reported.
Porto Rico.....		No law.			No law.			No law.	
South Dakota.....		No law.			No law.			No law.	
Utah.....	700	Several hundred.	6	Not reported.		2	600	10	-----

State	1919-20			1921-22			1923-24		
	In-spec-tions	Com-plaints; violations	Pros-ecutions	In-spec-tions	Com-plaints; violations	Pros-ecutions	In-spec-tions	Com-plaints; violations	Prosecutions
Arizona.....		Not reported.			Not reported.			Not reported.	
Arkansas.....		Not reported.			Not reported.			Not reported.	
Porto Rico.....		Not reported.	144	Not reported.		266		Not reported.	
South Dakota.....		No law.			No law.			Not reported.	
Utah.....	765	4	-----	74	-----	-----	1,358	6	Not reported.

INTERPRETATION OF LAWS BY ATTORNEY GENERALS

South Dakota is the only State with an inflexible law that reports having obtained from the State attorney general an opinion to aid in determining how the law should be enforced. The commission requested an opinion as to whether or not an employee working afternoons and Saturdays must be paid the minimum rate. The attorney general ruled that a part-time worker had to be paid only for the actual number of hours worked, at a rate proportionate to the prescribed full-time minimum.

COURT ACTION IN ENFORCING LAWS

There have been two distinct kinds of court cases arising out of the laws, namely, those involving the aid of the court in enforcing the provisions of the law and those questioning the right of the legislature to pass a wage-fixing statute. All the various agencies enforcing the laws seem to have tried to secure compliance without court action, but it has been necessary in practically all the States to have recourse to such action in some cases. It is impossible to give an accurate record of how many court cases have arisen. The only facts obtainable are in the reports of the various enforcing agencies, and these are summarized in Table 76. The second class of cases is those where persons directly affected by the law have claimed that it abridged their constitutional right of freedom of contract and have asked the courts to declare the law unconstitutional. Cases of this sort have arisen in Arizona, Arkansas, Porto Rico, and Utah. The earliest arose in Utah in 1913, shortly after the law went into force, when an employer claimed that the law prevented his con-

tracting freely with his employees. The law was sustained in the lower court. The case then was appealed to the supreme court, where it was dropped before a decision was rendered.<sup>7</sup> The law was enforced while the case was pending.

The next case to arise was in Porto Rico. In 1920 and again in 1921 cases arose questioning the validity of the act. (*People v. Alvarez*; *People v. Porto Rican American Tobacco Co.*) The law was upheld by the supreme court of the island in both instances. In 1924, however, another very similar case was brought into court and the supreme court reversed itself and declared the law unconstitutional. (*People v. Lournaga & Co., successors, limited.*) This reversal was based on the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Adkins v. Children's Hospital* (District of Columbia).

In Arizona the constitutionality of the law was not attacked until 1923. During that year's session of the legislature the rate for adult experienced women was raised from \$10 to \$16 per week, and shortly after this higher rate went into effect a suit was entered in the Federal district court claiming that the law violated the freedom-of-contract clause in the Constitution. The court sustained this contention. The case was appealed to the United States Supreme Court, which, in October, 1925, handed down a memorandum stating that the question of the constitutionality of this type of law had been settled in the case of *Adkins v. Children's Hospital*.

That the law has not been accepted to this day by the business interests affected is evident once again from the fact that the courts have been appealed to in every one of these States except South Dakota, and that in one State and in Porto Rico an earlier favorable decision has not been accepted as final, but new cases have been brought up and a reversal of the verdict favorable to the law has been secured. The far-reaching effect of the *Adkins* case in the United States Supreme Court becomes apparent once more when laws whose constitutionality had been established by decisions of the highest State courts prior to the *Adkins* decision are declared unconstitutional at dates subsequent to that decision.

#### APPROPRIATIONS AND SALARIES AVAILABLE

Closely tied up with the whole question of the administration of the law is the problem of adequate salaries and appropriations. The very size of the staff in the various offices that enforce the rates shows how little money any of these State legislatures have felt was necessary to carry out the whole group of labor laws, including minimum wage. Moreover, in most cases the salaries of these few employees are low. The following tabulations show that in only one State, Arkansas, has any specific appropriation, however small, been made to enforce the minimum-wage law; that in no State has the law carried any appropriation for its own enforcement; and that the increased duties imposed by the law have not resulted in any corresponding increase in the appropriation granted the enforcing agency.

##### Arizona.

No appropriations.

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<sup>7</sup> Letter from the clerk of the Third Judicial District Court, Salt Lake County, Utah, Feb. 14, 1925.

**Arkansas.**

Appropriations for the bureau of labor and statistics of Arkansas have been as follows:

	March, 1913-1915	March, 1915-1917	March, 1917-1919	March, 1919-1921	March, 1921 to June, 1921	June, 1921-22	June, 1922-23	June, 1923-24	June, 1924-25
Total appropriation.....	\$9,400	\$9,000	\$14,900	\$15,900	\$4,940	\$3,950	\$3,950	\$11,800	\$11,800
Commissioner of labor, salary.....	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,800	1,200	2,400	2,400	2,400	2,400
Deputy commissioner, salary.....	2,400	2,400	2,400	3,600	900	2,100	2,100	2,100	2,100
Clerical help, salaries.....			2,400						
Office equipment.....	3,000	12,637.55		5,000	1,950	2,750	2,750	4,800	4,800
Traveling expenses.....		1,500	3,000						
Stenographer, salary.....			1,800	2,000	540	1,200	1,200	1,500	1,500
Telephone and teiegraph.....			350						
Minimum-wage board.....				500	250	500	500	1,000	1,000
Services and expenses of members:									
No. 1.....		300							
No. 2.....		300	600						
No. 3.....			350						
State free employment service.....								1,000	1,000

<sup>1</sup> \$637.55 a deficiency appropriation.  
<sup>2</sup> A deficiency appropriation.

Though these appropriations show a steady increase from 1915, when the law was enacted, to the present time, the increase is small. Only \$5,300 in the 10-year period and but \$1,000 of the \$11,800 appropriated for 1924 and 1925 was definitely for minimum-wage enforcement. This sum, small as it is, represents the only appropriation designated by a legislature that has set a minimum-wage rate by legislative act, as applying to enforcement of the law that it has passed.

**Porto Rico.**

Appropriations for the bureau of labor of Porto Rico are presented here.

	1918	1919	1920, 1921	1922, 1923	1924, 1925
Total appropriation.....	\$18,660	\$17,920	\$25,260	\$33,392.75	\$62,700
Salaries.....	12,560	12,630	18,460	27,052.75	44,700
Chief.....	2,300	2,300	2,415	3,018.75	3,500
Assistant chief.....	1,800	1,800	1,800	2,173.50	2,600
Office assistants.....	3,460	3,530	6,105	7,525.50	12,100
Inspectors.....	15,000	15,000	8,050	14,375.00	26,500
Operating expenses.....	6,300	5,300	6,800	11,300.00	18,000

<sup>1</sup> \$ at \$1,000.   <sup>2</sup> 7 at \$1,150.   <sup>3</sup> 10 at \$1,437.50.   <sup>4</sup> 2 at \$2,000 and 15 at \$1,500.

It is interesting to note that 1919, when the minimum-wage law was passed, is the only year in this period that does not show an increase in the number of factory inspectors and in their salaries. There has been a real increase in the factory-inspection force and in salaries during the period in which the law has been on the statute books, but it seems to be due to increased duties caused by workmen's compensation laws, women's hour laws, and sanitation laws, or in other general factory-inspection duties, rather than in minimum-wage-law enforcement.

**South Dakota.**

In South Dakota the appropriations for the industrial commissioner's office have been as follows:

	1921-22	1922-23	1923-24	1924-25
Total appropriation.....	\$5,660	\$5,860	\$5,250	\$5,250
Deputy industrial commissioner, salary.....	2,520	2,520	2,400	2,400
Stenographer, salary.....			1,200	1,200
Additional salaries, office, traveling expenses, etc.....	3,140	3,340	1,650	1,650

South Dakota shows an actual decrease in appropriation since its minimum-wage law was enacted.

**Utah.**

Utah has made appropriations for the commissioner of immigration, labor, and statistics and for the industrial commission as follows:

**FOR THE COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION, LABOR, AND STATISTICS**

	January, 1913-1915	January, 1915, to March, 1917	March, 1917, to July, 1917
Total appropriation.....	\$10,750	\$14,625	\$1,925
Commissioner, salary.....	3,600	4,050	600
Deputy commissioner, salary.....	2,150	3,150	450
Woman deputy commissioner, salary.....		1,800	250
Clerical, traveling, and contingent expenses.....	5,000	5,625	625

**FOR THE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION**

	1917-1918	1919-1921	1921-1923	1923-1925
Total appropriation.....	\$90,000	\$99,600	\$95,600	\$85,390
Lump sum.....	50,000	96,600	95,600	85,390
Inspection department.....		29,400	27,400	
Deficiencies.....	40,000	3,000		

These figures are so completely changed by the transfer of the minimum-wage law to the industrial commission, which administers the workmen's compensation law and has a large appropriation for that purpose, that their inclusion may be questioned as not showing anything about money available for minimum-wage enforcement. They are given largely as a contrast, and also because of the difference between the proportion of the appropriations that went not to minimum-wage enforcement alone but to enforcing all the labor laws for women in 1915 and in 1923. In 1915-1917 the salary of the woman inspector, which was \$75 a month, was 12.3 per cent of the total appropriation for labor-law enforcement. In 1921-1923 there still was one inspector enforcing these laws, at a salary of \$110 per month, 9.6 per cent of the \$27,400 appropriated for inspection work but only 2.8 per cent of the total appropriation granted the industrial commission for the biennium. Certainly any growth in the number

of women employed was not provided for, nor did the increased interest in bettering working conditions, which led to greatly increased appropriations for inspection and for administration of the workmen's compensation law, lead to the appropriation of any more money for the enforcement or administration of the minimum-wage law.

#### SUMMARY OF THE INFLEXIBLE LAWS

Even on the basis of the facts presented in this report, without any field study, it is apparent that inflexible laws can be at the best of only passing value. Their fundamental weakness is, of course, that they can not adapt their wage rates to changes in the cost of living—the factor which is supposed to determine the amount of the rate established. Enacted during a period of rapidly rising prices, the rates soon were lower than the general level of women's wages and far below the estimated cost of living. In all probability the rates would have been equally ineffectual in a time of falling prices, since it is possible to conceive of a situation in which they would be so greatly in excess of the cost of living as to cause a repeal of the law or its being disregarded by the tacit consent of all parties. It is hard to see how they could have influenced to any appreciable degree the wages paid over a period of time.

Moreover, there are certain other features inherent in the laws themselves which would have reduced greatly their effectiveness, even in a period of relatively stable prices. In the first place, the administration of these laws has been entrusted to agencies interested in other things. In not one of these States are the inspectors who watch for violations of the minimum-wage law responsible for that work only. At the best these inspectors are supposed to enforce all the labor laws applying especially to women; at the worst the law is entrusted to a bureau that has not a single inspecting official on its staff. One State provides for no enforcement whatsoever. Closely related to this problem of overburdened State agencies having to take on this additional task is the fact that not one of these laws has carried an appropriation specifically to aid these agencies in doing this extra work. Whatever potentialities the laws may have had were either lost or greatly reduced through their failure to include provisions that insured an effort to enforce them.

In the second place, the laws fail to recognize the need for some agency with power to make rules and regulations to carry out fairly and effectively the rates set in the laws. They generally do not recognize and guard against the laws' evasion by the hiring of apprentices and the discharging of experienced workers; nor do they make any provision for meeting problems relating to the hiring of minors, so that grown women are not discriminated against; nor do they recognize that there are many other administrative problems relating, for instance, to adjusting piece-rate earnings to minimum-wage rates, or to regulating conditions in new industries with fairness to employers and employees. All these later points have greatly hampered the agencies in the States having flexible laws which have devoted all their time to minimum-wage enforcement. When the difficulty of these problems is considered in connection with the actual composition of the enforcing agencies in the States having inflexible laws the weakness of the law is doubly unfortunate.

Though it is impossible to show any instances where these laws have had anything resembling state-wide effectiveness, it would not be fair to say that they have had no effect. In the first place, it is probable that they represented, at the time of their enactment, a wage standard higher than the average for the State. They were the expression of the conviction of a considerable body of citizens that the payment of too low wages to women workers was a bad policy for the State as a whole and that a full day's work should earn enough money for decent self-support. To have a State go on record as endorsing this principle was worth while. Moreover, in many cases the general talk and publicity accompanying the passage of the law undoubtedly caused the better type of employer either to conform to or to approximate the State standard without any reminder from the enforcing officers. In Arkansas, Utah, and Porto Rico the enforcement officers certainly brought some other employers into line. Undoubtedly, therefore, it is true that the wages of a good many of the lowest paid workers were raised somewhat through the enactment of this law. It is possible also that the good results of using better paid workers may have been such that some employers determined to maintain permanently a higher level of wages and continued to give such raises as were necessary, from time to time, to keep up with increases in the cost of living.



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## APPENDIXES

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- A.—Text of original laws, with amendments and other changes.
- B.—Summary of the provisions of decrees.
- C.—Provisions covering learners or apprentices.
- D.—Census classifications of gainfully occupied women.
- E.—Numbers on which are based median and quartile rates and earnings.

## APPENDIX A

### TEXT OF ORIGINAL LAWS, WITH AMENDMENTS AND OTHER CHANGES THERETO, IN ALL STATES WHERE MINIMUM-WAGE LEGISLATION HAS BEEN ENACTED

[These laws were charted originally in parallel columns, showing each year's changes, but the expense of printing in that form was found to be prohibitive. The charts so prepared contain the exact text of the session laws of the various States and are available in the office of the Women's Bureau for the use of persons who find this appendix inadequate and who are unable to secure copies of the session laws.

In the appendix the text of the laws has been punctuated in accordance with the Rules for Punctuation laid down by the Government Printing Office for Government publications, and therefore the text as printed does not follow in all cases the official State editions.]

#### ARIZONA, 1917

*Original minimum-wage law—Session Laws of Arizona, 1917, ch. 38, pp. 51-52. Amendment—Session Laws of Arizona, 1923, ch. 3, pp. 6-7.*

SECTION 1. No person, persons, firm, or corporation transacting business within the State of Arizona shall employ any female in any store, office, shop, restaurant, dining room, hotel, rooming house, laundry, or manufacturing establishment at a weekly wage of less than \$10 [1923, \$16] per week; a lesser amount being hereby declared inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living to any such female to maintain her health, and to provide her with the common necessities of life.

SEC. 2. Any person, persons, firm, or corporation violating any of the provisions of this act shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$50 nor more than \$300, or by imprisonment in the county jail for not less than 10 days nor more than 60 days, or by both such fine and imprisonment, for each separate offense.

#### ARKANSAS, 1915

*Original minimum-wage law—Session Laws of Arkansas, 1915, Act No. 191, pp. 781-788. Amendments—Session Laws of Arkansas, 1919, Act No. 275, pp. 203-204; 1921, Act No. 140, pp. 214-216.*

SECTION 1. \* \* \* in any manufacturing, mechanical or mercantile establishment, laundry, or by any express or transportation company in this State \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*  
SEC. 7. It shall be unlawful for any employer of labor mentioned in section 1 of this act to pay any female worker in any establishment or occupation less than the wage specified in this section, except as hereinafter provided: All female workers who have had six months' practicable [practical] experience in any line of industry or labor shall be paid not less than \$1.25 per day. The minimum wage for inexperienced female workers who have not had six months' experience in any line of industry or labor shall be paid [?] not less than \$1 per day: *Provided*, That any inexperienced female workers or apprentices shall be given a certificate by their employers showing the amount of experience they have had, and all time served as inexperienced workers, or apprentices, shall be cumulative. All female workers working less than nine hours per day shall receive the same wages per hour as those working nine hours per day.

SEC. 8. [1921, *That*] Whenever it can be shown beyond question of doubt that it would work irreparable injury to any industry engaged in handling products, such as canning factories and candy factories, to comply with the provisions of *this* [1921, *the*] act, regarding hours, a commission consisting of the commissioner of labor and statistics and two competent women to be appointed, one by the governor, and the other by the State commissioner of labor and statistics [1921, to be known as the "industrial welfare commission," hereinafter provided for, consisting of the commissioner of labor and statistics as *ex officio* chairman and two men and two women], may, by majority vote, after hearing duly held in which all interested parties may have been duly heard [1921, an opportunity

to be heard], permit such industry to operate more than nine hours per day: *Provided*, That women employed [1921, *so employed*] are paid at the rate of time and one-half for hours [1921, *each hour*] worked in excess of nine hours in any one day: *Provided, however* [1921, *Provided further*], That said period in which overtime may be worked shall not exceed 90 days in any one year. [1921 adds this: *Provided further*, That said industrial welfare commission shall consist of one woman and one man representative of employers, and one woman and one man representative of employees. One woman and one man member of the commission shall be appointed by the governor and one woman and one man member of the commission shall be appointed by the commissioner of labor and statistics. All members to serve without salary and shall hold office for terms of two years each or until their successors are appointed and qualify.]

Sec. 9. All females employed in any industry in this State, who are paid upon a piecework basis, bonus system, or any other manner than by the day, shall be paid not less than the rate per day herein specified for female employees who are working on the day-rate system, and a commission, consisting of the commissioner of labor and statistics and two competent women, one to be appointed by the governor, and one by the commissioner of labor and statistics, [1921, *the industrial welfare commission*] shall investigate, upon complaint, any line of industry wherein females are employed and if in their judgment said system of piecework is working an injury to the general health of the employees, they may, after hearing, duly held, issue an order compelling said firm to abolish piecework, or any other injurious system, and establish a daily rate of wages for all female employees, said rate not to be less than the rate specified in section 7 of this act.

Sec. 10. *Provided, however*, That if said commission should find, after an investigation, that a lower minimum rate of wages is adequate to supply a woman, or minor female worker engaged in any occupation, trade, or industry, the necessary cost of proper living, and to maintain the health and welfare of such woman, or minor female workers, [it] may, after a public hearing duly held, at which time all interested employers and employees are given a reasonable opportunity to present their arguments, issue an order establishing a minimum-wage rate that in their judgment is reasonable, and said rate so established shall be the legal minimum wage in the industry or occupation effected [affected], and should said commission find, after said investigation, that the minimum wage specified in section 7 in this act is insufficient to adequately supply a woman or minor female worker engaged in any occupation, trade, or industry the necessary cost of proper living and to maintain the health and welfare of such woman or other female worker, [it] may, after public hearing duly held, at which time all interested parties are given a reasonable opportunity to present their argument, issue an order establishing a higher minimum wage for female workers that in the judgment of the commission is reasonable, and said minimum-wage rate so established by said commission shall be the legal minimum wage in the industry or occupation affected.

Sec. 11. Said commission, after a public hearing duly held, at which all interested persons are given an opportunity to present arguments, may establish regulations governing the employment of females in *hotels, restaurants, and telephone establishments* [1919, *hotels and restaurants*]: *Provided*, Said rules and regulations shall not permit female workers to be employed in excess of nine hours in any one day, nor at a lower rate of wages than will supply said female employees the cost of proper living and safeguard their health and welfare. The rate of wages established by the commission shall not be greater than the rate of wages specified in section 7.

Sec. 12. Any person or persons, company, or corporation who violates the provisions of this act, or does not comply with the provisions of this act, shall, upon conviction in any court of competent jurisdiction, be punished by a fine of not less than \$25 nor more than \$100, and each day of noncompliance shall constitute a separate offense.

Sec. 13. Should any section, or sections, of this act be held invalid by the courts [1919, *court*], it shall not thereby be understood as affecting and shall not affect the other provisions of this act: *Provided*, That no part of this bill shall apply to any firm, corporation, or establishment of any character where three or less females are employed and working at the same time: [This proviso omitted in 1919.] *Provided*, The provisions of this act shall not apply to the cotton factories, or in the preservation of fruits and perishable farm products,

or gathering the same in Arkansas [1919, *Provided, This act shall not apply to cotton factories or to the gathering of fruits or farm products in Arkansas*]: *Provided, This act shall not apply to establishments working three or less employees in the same building at the same time doing the same class of work.* [This proviso omitted in 1919.]

## CALIFORNIA, 1913

*Original minimum-wage law—Statutes and amendments to the Code, 1913, ch. 324, pp. 632–637.*

*Amendments—Statutes and amendments to the Code, 1915, ch. 571, pp. 950–951; 1919, ch. 204, pp. 302–304; 1921, ch. 279, pp. 378–382; 1923, ch. 291, p. 618; 1927, ch. 243, pp. 438–440.*

SECTION 1. There is hereby established a commission to be known as the industrial welfare commission, hereinafter called the commission. Said commission shall be composed of five persons, at least one of whom shall be a woman, and all of whom shall be appointed by the governor as follows: two for the term of one year, one for the term of two years, one for the term of three years, and one for the term of four years: *Provided, however,* That at the expiration of their respective terms their successors shall be appointed to serve a full term of four years. Any vacancies shall be similarly filled for the unexpired portion of the term in which the vacancy shall occur. Three members of the commission shall constitute a quorum. A vacancy on the commission shall not impair the right of the remaining members to perform all the duties and exercise all the powers and authority of the commission.

[In 1921 the industrial welfare commission became the division of industrial welfare in the department of labor and industrial relations, created in that year to eliminate duplication of activities and improve the service. See *Statutes and Amendments to the Code, 1921, ch. 604, pp. 1031–1033.*]

SEC. 2. The members of said commission shall draw no salaries but all of said members shall be allowed \$10 per diem while engaged in the performance of their official duties. The commission may employ a secretary, and such expert clerical and other assistants as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this act, and shall fix the compensation of such employees, and may, also, to carry out such purposes, incur reasonable and necessary office and other expenses, including the necessary traveling expenses of the members of the commission, of its secretary, of its experts, and of its clerks and other assistants and employees. All employees of the commission shall hold office at the pleasure of the commission.

SEC. 3. (a) It shall be the *duty* [1927, *continuing duty*] of the commission to ascertain the wages paid, the hours and conditions of labor and employment in the various occupations, trades, and industries in which women and minors are employed in the State of California, and to make investigations into the comfort, health, safety, and welfare of such women and minors.

(b) It shall be the duty of every person, firm, or corporation employing labor in this State:

1. To furnish to the commission, at its request, any and all reports or information which the commission may require to carry out [1927, any of] the purposes of this act, such reports and information to be verified by the oath of the person, or a member of the firm, or the president, secretary, or manager of the corporation furnishing the same, if and when so requested by the commission or any member thereof.

2. To allow any member of the commission, or [1927 omits or] its secretary, or any of its duly authorized experts or employees, free access to the place of business or employment of such person, firm, or corporation, for the purpose of *making* [1927, *securing any information which the commission is authorized by this act to ascertain, or to make*] any investigation, authorized by this act, or to make inspection of, or excerpts from all [1927, *the*] books, reports, contracts, pay rolls, documents, or papers of such person, firm, or corporation relating to the employment of labor and payment therefor [1927, *women and minors, the conditions under which their labor is performed, or the payment of such labor*] by such person, firm, or corporation.

3. To keep a register of the names, ages, and residence addresses of [1927, *record of the ages of all minors employed, and the names, residence addresses, hours of work daily and wages paid to*] all women and minors employed.

(c) For the purposes of this act a minor is defined to be a person of either sex under the age of 18 years.

[1919 adds this: SEC. 3½. *Any member of the commission, or deputies duly authorized by it in writing, shall have the power and authority to issue subpoenas to compel the attendance of witnesses or parties and the production of books, papers, pay rolls, or records, and to administer oaths and to examine witnesses under oaths and to take the verification or proof of instruments of writing, and to take depositions and affidavits for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act, or any of its orders, rules, or regulations: Provided, That no witness shall be compelled to attend on said commission outside of the county in which said witness resides or at a distance greater than 50 miles from his place of residence.*

*Obedience to subpoenas issued by the commission or its duly authorized representatives shall be enforced in the superior courts of the county or city and county in which the subpoenas were issued.]*

Sec. 4. The commission may specify times to hold public hearings, at which times employers, employees, or other interested persons may appear and give testimony as to the matter under consideration. The commission or any member thereof shall have power to subpoena witnesses and to administer oaths. All witnesses subpoenaed by the commission shall be paid the fees and mileage fixed by law in civil cases. In case of failure on the part of any person to comply with any order of the commission or any member thereof, or any subpoena, or upon the refusal of any witness to testify to any matter regarding which he may lawfully be interrogated before any wage board or the commission, it shall be the duty of the superior court or the judge thereof on the application of a member of the commission, to compel obedience in the same manner, by contempt proceedings or otherwise, that such obedience would be compelled in a proceeding pending before said court. The commission shall have power to make and enforce reasonable and proper rules of practice and procedure and shall not be bound by the technical rules of evidence.

Sec. 5. If, after investigation, the commission is of the opinion that, in any occupation, trade, or industry, the wages paid to women and [1921, or] minors are inadequate to supply the cost of proper living, or the hours or conditions of labor are prejudicial to the health, morals, or welfare of the workers, the commission *may* [1921, *shall*] call a conference, hereinafter called "wage board," composed of an equal number of representatives of employers and employees in the occupation, trade, or industry in question, and a representative of the commission to be designated by it, who shall act as the chairman of the wage board. The members of such wage board shall be allowed \$5 per diem and necessary traveling expenses while engaged in such conferences. The commission shall make rules and regulations governing the number and selection of the members and the mode of procedure of such wage board, and shall exercise exclusive jurisdiction over all questions arising as to the validity of the procedure and of the recommendations of such wage board. The proceedings and deliberations of such wage board shall be [1921, *be made*] a matter of record for the use of the commission, and shall be admissible as evidence in any proceedings before the commission. On request of the commission, it shall be the duty of such wage board to report to the commission its findings, including therein:

1. An estimate of the minimum wage adequate to supply to women and minors engaged in the occupation, trade, or industry in question, the necessary cost of proper living and to maintain the health and welfare of such women and minors.

2. The number of hours of work per day in the occupation, trade, or industry in question, consistent with the health and welfare of such women and minors.

3. The standard conditions of labor in the occupation, trade, or industry in question, demanded by the health and welfare of such women and minors.

Sec. 6 (a) The commission shall have further power after a public hearing had upon its own motion or upon petition, to fix:

1. A minimum wage to be paid to women and minors engaged in any occupation, trade, or industry in this State, which shall not be less than a wage adequate to supply to such women and minors the necessary cost of proper living and to maintain the health and welfare of such women and minors.

2. The maximum hours of work consistent with the health and welfare of women and minors engaged in any occupation, trade, or industry in *this* [1919, *the*; 1921, *this*] State; *Provided*, That the hours so fixed shall not be more than the maximum now or hereafter fixed by law.

3. The standard conditions of labor demanded by the health and welfare of the women and minors engaged in any occupation, trade, or industry in this State.

(b) Upon the fixing of a [1919, *the*] time and place for the holding of a hearing for the purpose of considering and acting upon any matters referred to [1919, *to it*] in subsection (a) hereof, the commission shall give public notice by advertisement in at least one newspaper published in each of the cities of *Los Angeles and Sacramento* [1919, *Los Angeles, Oakland, and Sacramento*; 1921, *Los Angeles, Oakland, Sacramento, San Jose, Fresno*] and in the city and county of San Francisco [1919 adds this: *and shall give due notice in at least one newspaper published in each of the cities of Fresno*, [1921 adds here *San Jose,*] *Eureka, San Diego, Long Beach, Alameda, Berkeley, and Stockton*], and by mailing a copy of said notice to the county recorder [1921, *clerk*] of each county in the State [1919 adds this: *to be posted at the courthouse of each county, or city and county, and* [1921, *and also*] to each association of employers or employees of 15 or more members [1921, *each association of employers or employees and to any employer*] within the State of California which shall file with the commission [1921, *filing with the commission*] a written request for such notice] of such hearing and purpose [1921, *the purpose*] thereof, which notice shall state the time and place fixed for such hearing, which shall not be earlier than 14 days from the date of publication and mailing of such notices.

(c) After such public hearing, the commission may, in its discretion, make a mandatory order to be effective in 60 days from the making [1921, *publication*] of such order, specifying the minimum wage for women or minors in the occupation [1927 adds *trade or industry*] in question [1919, *and*] the maximum hours: *Provided*, That the hours specified shall not be more than the maximum for women or minors in California, and the standard conditions of labor for said women or minors: *Provided, however, That no such order shall become effective until after April 1, 1914.* [This proviso omitted in 1921.] Such order shall be published in at least one newspaper in each of the cities of *Los Angeles and Sacramento* [1921, *Los Angeles, Sacramento, Oakland, San Jose, Fresno*] and in the city and county of San Francisco, and a copy thereof be mailed to the county recorder [1921, *clerk*] of each county in the State, and such copy [1921, *copies*] shall be recorded without charge, and to the labor commissioner who [1919, *shall be filed without charge. The industrial welfare commission*; 1921, \* \* \*. *The commission*] shall send by mail, so far as practicable, to each employer in the occupation in question a copy of the order and each employer shall be required to post a copy of such order in the building in which women or minors affected by the order are employed. [1921 adds here: *and it shall be the duty of the commission to send a copy of such order to each employer registering his name with the commission and requesting such order be* [1927, *to be*] *mailed, but*] Failure to mail notice to the employer shall not relieve the employer from the duty to comply with such order. Finding by the commission that there has been such publication and mailing to county recorders shall be conclusive as to service [1921 substitutes: *failure to mail such order or notice thereof to any employer affected thereby shall not relieve such employer from the duty to comply with such order, and finding by the commission that there has been the publication and mailing to county clerks as herein provided shall be conclusive as to service*].

Sec. 7. Whenever wages, or hours, or conditions of labor have been so made mandatory in any occupation, trade, or industry, the commission may at any time in its discretion, upon its own motion or upon petition of either employers or employees, after a public hearing held upon the notice prescribed for an original hearing, rescind, alter, or amend any prior order. Any order rescinding a prior order shall have the same effect as herein provided for in an original order.

Sec. 8. For any occupation in which a minimum wage has been established, the commission may issue to a woman physically defective by age or otherwise, a special license authorizing the employment of such licensee, for a period of six months, for a wage less than such legal minimum wage; and the commission shall fix a special minimum wage for such person. Any such license may be renewed for like periods of six months.

[1915 amends section 8 by designating the present section as (a) and adding thereto the following:

(b) *For any occupation in which a minimum wage has been established, the commission may issue to an apprentice or learner a special license authorizing*

*the employment of such apprentice or learner, for such time and under such conditions as the commission may determine at a wage less than such legal minimum wage; and the commission shall fix a special wage for such apprentice or learner.*

*(c) The commission may fix the maximum number of women, and minors under eighteen years of age, to be employed under the licenses provided for in subdivisions (a) and (b) of this section in any occupation, trade, industry, or establishment in which a minimum wage has been established.]*

Sec. 9. Upon the request of the commission, the labor commissioner shall cause such statistics and other data and information to be gathered and investigations made, as the commission may require. The cost thereof shall be paid out of the appropriations made for the expenses of the commission.

Sec. 10. Any employer who discharges or threatens to discharge, or in any other manner discriminates against any employee because such employee has testified or is about to testify, or because such employer believes that said employee may testify in any investigation or proceedings relative to the enforcement of this act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor.

Sec. 11. The minimum wage for women and minors fixed by said commission as in this act provided, shall be the minimum wage to be paid to [1915, paid] such employees, and the payment to such employees of a less wage than the minimum so fixed shall be unlawful, and every employer or other person who, either individually or as an officer, agent, or employee of a corporation or other person, pays or causes to be paid to any such employee a wage less than such minimum, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$50, or by imprisonment for not less than 30 days, or by both of such fine and imprisonment. [1915 adds this: *and every employer or other person who, either individually or as an officer, agent, or employee of a corporation, or other persons, violates or refuses or neglects to comply with the provisions of this act, or any orders or rulings of this commission, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof be punished by a fine of not less than \$50, or by imprisonment for not less than thirty days, or by both such fine and imprisonment.*]

[1927 adds this section:

Sec. 11(a). The maximum hours of work and the standard conditions of labor fixed by the commission as herein provided shall be the maximum hours of work and the standard conditions of labor for such women and minors, and the employment of any woman or minor for longer hours than those fixed by such order or under conditions of labor prohibited by such order shall be unlawful, and every employer or other person who, either individually or as an officer, agent, or employee of a corporation or other person, requires or causes to be required any such employee to work for longer hours than those fixed by said order or under conditions of labor prohibited by said order, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof he shall be punished by a fine of not less than fifty dollars or by imprisonment for not less than thirty days, or by both such fine and imprisonment; and every employer or other person who, individually or as an officer, agent, or employee of a corporation or other persons, violates or refuses or neglects to comply with the provisions of this section or any order or rulings of this commission, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than fifty dollars or by imprisonment of not less than thirty days or by both such fine and imprisonment.]

[1915 adds also this section:

Sec. 11(b). *It shall be the duty of the industrial welfare commission to enforce the provisions of this act and compliance with its orders, rules, and regulations. Full power and authority is hereby vested in the commission to take such action as may be deemed essential for such purposes.]*

Sec. 12. In every prosecution for the violation [1915, for violation] of any provision of this act, the minimum wage established [1915, the minimum wage, the maximum hours of work and the standard conditions of labor fixed] by the commission as herein provided shall be prima facie presumed to be reasonable and lawful, and to be the living wage required herein to be paid to women and minors [1915, the living wage, the maximum hours of work, and standard conditions of labor required herein]. The findings of fact made by the commission acting within its powers shall, in the absence of fraud, be conclusive; [1921 adds here: (b) provided, that any person aggrieved directly or indirectly by any final rule or regulation of the commission made or entered under any pro-

vision contained in this act may apply to the commission for a rehearing in respect to any matters determined or covered therein or thereby and specified in the application for rehearing within twenty days after the publication thereof as herein provided. Such application for rehearing shall be verified and shall state fully the grounds upon which the application for rehearing is based. The commission, upon considering any such application or applications for rehearing, may either grant the same by order and notice thereof given by mail to the party or parties applying for such rehearing, fix a time for such rehearing, and reconsider its order, rule, or regulation, or it may redetermine the matter upon the record before it and give such notice of its redetermination in the same manner as is herein provided for service of an original order, rule, or regulation; or the commission may deny such rehearing upon the record before it, giving notice of such decision by mail to the applicant or applicants therefor. Such rehearing shall be deemed to be denied unless acted upon by the commission within thirty days after being filed. No rehearing shall be granted except on the grounds that the final order, rule, or regulation was obtained as follows, that is to say—

That the commission acted without or in excess of its powers.

That the order, rule, or regulation was procured by fraud] and the determination [1921, the final determination] made by the commission shall be subject to review only [1921 adds: after application for rehearing as herein provided and the final disposition thereof by the commission and then only] in a [1921, the] manner and upon the grounds following:

Within twenty days [1921, twenty (20) days] from the date of the determination [1921, service of any final order, rule, or regulation], any party aggrieved thereby may commence in the superior court in and for the city and county of San Francisco, or in and for the counties of Los Angeles or Sacramento [1921, or Los Angeles or of Sacramento, or of Santa Clara, or of Alameda, or of Fresno], an action against the commission for review of such determination [1915, such determinations; 1921, its determination]. In such action a complaint, which shall state the grounds upon which a review is sought, shall be served with the summons. Service upon the secretary of the commission, or any member of the commission, shall be deemed a complete service. The commission shall serve its answer within twenty days [1921, twenty (20) days] after the service of the complaint. [1921, and] With its answer the commission shall make a return to the court of all documents and papers on file in the matter, and of all testimony and evidence which may have been taken before it [1921 adds or by it], and of its findings and the determination [1921, decision]. The action may thereupon be brought on for hearing before the court upon such record by either party on ten days' [1921, ten (10) days'] notice of [1921, to] the other. Upon such hearing the court may confirm or set aside such determination [1921, the decision of the commission]; but the same shall be set aside only upon the following grounds [1921 adds, that is to say]:

(1) That the commission acted without or in excess of its powers.

(2) That the determination was procured by fraud.

Upon the setting aside of any determination [1921, decision of the commission] the court may commit the controversy and remand the record in the case to the commission for further proceedings. The commission, or any party aggrieved by a decree entered upon the review of a determination [1921, herein provided for], may appeal therefrom within the time and in the manner provided for an appeal from the orders [1921, final orders] of the said superior court [1921, courts].

[1921 adds this: (c) The filing of an application for a rehearing shall have the effect of suspending the order, rule, or regulation affected only with respect to the party or parties applying therefor and for a period not to exceed ten (10) days unless otherwise ordered by the commission, which shall have the power to grant a further stay upon such terms and conditions as it may direct.]

Sec. 13. Any employee receiving less than the legal minimum wage applicable to such employee shall be entitled to recover in a civil action the unpaid balance of the full amount of such minimum wage, together with costs of suit, notwithstanding any agreement to work for such lesser wage.

Sec. 14. Any person may register with the commission a complaint that the wages paid to an employee for whom a living rate has been established, are less than that rate, and the commission shall investigate the matter and take all proceedings necessary to enforce the payment of a wage not less than the living wage.



Sec. 15. The commission shall biennially make a report to the governor and the State legislature of its investigations and proceedings.

Sec. 16. There is hereby appropriated annually out of the moneys of the State treasury, not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$15,000, to be used by the commission in carrying out the provisions of this act, and the controller is hereby directed from time to time to draw his warrants on the general fund in favor of the commission for the amounts expended under its direction, and the treasurer is hereby authorized and directed to pay the same. [Section repealed in 1923.]

Sec. 17. The commission shall not act as a board of arbitration during a strike or lockout.

Sec. 18 (a). Whenever this act, or any part or section thereof, is interpreted by a court, it shall be liberally construed by such court.

(b) If any section, subsection, or subdivision of this act is for any reason held to be unconstitutional, such decision shall not affect the validity of the remaining portions of this act. The legislature hereby declares that it would have passed this act, and each section, subsection, subdivision, sentence, clause, and phrase thereof, irrespective of the fact that any one or more sections, subsections, subdivisions, sentences, clauses, or phrases is declared unconstitutional.

Sec. 19. The provisions of this act shall apply to and include women and minors employed in any occupation, trade, or industry, and whose compensation for labor is measured by time, piece, or otherwise.

## COLORADO, 1913

*Original minimum-wage law—Session Laws of Colorado, 1913, ch. 110, pp. 407-411.*

*Reenacted minimum-wage law—Session Laws of Colorado, 1917, ch. 98, pp. 380-390.*

SECTION 1. There is hereby created a State wage board to be composed of three members; at least one of whom shall be a representative of labor, at least one of whom shall be a woman, and one of whom shall be an employer of labor. The members of said board shall be appointed by the governor, immediately upon the taking effect of this act, and the term of existence of said board shall be for two years.

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of the wage board to inquire into the wages paid to female employees above the age of 18 years and minor employees under 18 years of age in any mercantile, manufacturing, laundry, hotel, restaurant, telephone, or telegraph business in this State, if the board or any member of it may have reason to believe the wages paid any such employees are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living, maintain them in health, and supply the necessary comforts of life. The wage board shall also inquire into the cost of living in the locality or localities in which the business is carried on and shall take into consideration the financial condition of the business and the probable effect thereon of any increase in the minimum wage paid in different localities, which inquiry and investigation shall be held in the locality affected. After such investigation it shall be the duty of the wage board to fix the minimum wage, whether by time rate or piece rate, suitable for the female employees over 18 years of age in such business or in any or all of the branches thereof and also a suitable minimum wage for minors under 18 years of age employed in the said business. When two or more members of the wage board shall agree upon a minimum-wage determination, the board shall give public notice, by advertisement published once in a newspaper of general circulation in the county or counties in which any such business so affected is located, declaring such minimum-wage determination or determinations and giving notice of a public hearing thereon to be heard in the town or city nearest the place wherein the inadequate wage is found to exist; said hearing to be held not earlier than 30 days from the date of such publication. A copy of such notice shall also be mailed to the person, association, or corporation engaged in the business affected. After such public hearing or after the expiration of the 30 days, provided no public hearing is demanded, the wage board shall issue an obligatory order to be effective in 60 days from the date of said order specifying the minimum wages for women or minors or both in the occupation affected or any branch thereof, and after such order is effective it shall be

unlawful for any employer in said occupation to employ a female over 18 years of age or a minor under 18 years of age for less than the rate of wages specified for such female or minor.

The order shall be published once in a newspaper of general circulation in the county or counties in which any such business affected is located and a copy of the order shall be sent by mail to the person, association, or corporation engaged in said business; and each such employer shall be required to post a copy of said order in a conspicuous place in each building in which women or minors affected by the order are employed.

Sec. 3. The board shall, for the purposes of this act, have the power of [to] subpoena witnesses and compel their attendance, to administer oaths, and examine witnesses under oath, and to compel the production of papers, books, accounts, documents, and records. If any person shall fail to attend as a witness when subpoenaed by the board or shall refuse to testify when ordered so to do, the board may apply to any district court or county court to compel obedience on the part of such person and such district or county court shall thereupon compel obedience by proceedings for contempt as in case of disobedience of any order of said court.

Sec. 4. Each witness who shall appear before the board by order of the board shall receive for his attendance the fees and mileage now provided for witnesses in civil cases in the district courts of the State.

Sec. 5. A full and complete record shall be kept of all testimony taken by, and of all proceedings had before the board.

Sec. 6. Any employer, employee, or other person directly affected by any order of the board fixing and determining a minimum wage in any occupation or industry, shall have the right of appeal from such order to the district court of the State on the ground that such order is unlawful or unreasonable. The evidence considered upon such appeal shall be confined to the evidence presented to the board in the case from the decision in which the appeal is taken, and the order of the board shall remain in full force and effect until such order is reversed or set aside by the district court. In all proceedings in the district court the district attorney shall appear for the board. In all proceedings in the supreme court the attorney general shall appear for the board.

Sec. 7. Any person or partnership or corporation employing any female person above the age of 18 years at less than the minimum wage fixed for such persons by this board, and any person, partnership, or corporation employing any person of either sex under the age of 18 years at less than the minimum wage fixed for such persons by this board, or violating any other provision of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not more than \$100 for each offense, or by imprisonment in the county jail for not more than three months or by both fine and imprisonment.

Sec. 8. Any employer who discharges or in any other manner discriminates against any employee because such employee has testified, or is about to testify, or because such employer believes that said employee may testify, in any investigation or proceeding relative to the enforcement of this act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of \$25 for each such misdemeanor.

Sec. 9. Justices of the peace shall have, according to law, jurisdiction within their respective counties of all offenses arising under the provisions of this act.

Sec. 10. If any employee shall receive less than the minimum wage fixed by this board for employees in the occupation in which said person is employed, he or she shall be entitled to recover in a civil action, the full amount which would have been due said employee if the minimum wage fixed by the board had been paid, together with costs and attorney fees to be fixed by the court, notwithstanding any agreement to work for such lower wage. In such action, however, the employer shall be credited with any wages which have been paid said employee.

Sec. 11. For any occupation in which a minimum time rate only has been established, the wage board may issue to any female over the age of 18, physically defective, a special license authorizing the employment of such licensee for a wage less than the legal minimum wage, provided it is not less than the special minimum wage fixed for said person.

Sec. 12. The wage board shall, by and with the consent of the governor, appoint a secretary who may or may not be a member of the board and who shall give his entire time to duties of the office, whose salary shall be \$1,200 per annum, payable monthly. The members of said wage board and the secretary thereof shall be paid all necessary traveling and incidental expenses actually incurred in the performance of their official duties, not to exceed \$1,300 per annum. The board of capitol managers shall provide a suitable room for the use of said wage board and its secretary. There is hereby appropriated for the payment of the aforesaid salary and expenses, out of any moneys in the State treasury not otherwise appropriated for other ordinary expenses of the departments of the State, the sum of \$5,000; and the auditor of state is hereby authorized and directed to draw his warrants on said fund upon certified vouchers of the chairman of said board attested by its secretary.

Sec. 13. The board shall, within 30 days after the convening of the 20th general assembly, make a report to the governor and to the general assembly of its investigations and proceedings during the period of its existence, up to and including November 30, 1914.

Sec. 14. All acts or parts of acts in conflict with any of the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

## REENACTED LAW, 1917

SECTION 1. The welfare of the State of Colorado demands that women and minors be protected from conditions of labor which have a pernicious effect on their health and morals, and it is therefore hereby declared, in the exercise of the police and sovereign power of the State of Colorado, that inadequate wages and unsanitary conditions of labor exert such pernicious effect.

Sec. 2. The industrial commission of Colorado is hereby made and constituted a minimum-wage commission for this State, and the word "commission" as hereinafter used refers to and means said industrial commission of Colorado, and the word "commissioner" as hereinafter used refers to and means a member of said commission. The act and decision of a majority of said commission, or any deputy when duly authorized by the commission, shall be deemed the act or decision of said commission, and no vacancy shall impair the right of the remaining commissioners to exercise all the powers of said commission.

Sec. 3. The commission may appoint a secretary, who shall devote his entire time to the duties of the office, and shall receive a salary of \$1,800 per annum, payable monthly. The commission may employ and fix the compensation of such deputies, expert, clerical, and other assistants as may be necessary to carry out the purpose of this act, and may include among its expenses the traveling expenses of the members of the commission and its employees. All employees shall hold office at the pleasure of the commission. The commission may incur other expenses not exceeding the annual appropriations therefor, and shall be provided with a suitable office in the State capitol.

Sec. 4. It shall be unlawful to employ women in any occupation within the State of Colorado for wages which are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living and to maintain in health the women so employed; and it shall be unlawful to employ minors in any occupation within the State of Colorado for unreasonably low wages; and it shall be unlawful to employ women or minors in any occupation within this State under conditions of labor detrimental to their health and morals.

Sec. 5. It shall be the duty of the commission to inquire into the wages paid to women employees above the age of 18 years, and minor employees under 18 years of age; also into the conditions of labor surrounding said employees, in any occupation in this State, if the commission has reason to believe that said conditions of labor are detrimental to the health or morals of said employees, or that the wages paid to a substantial number of employees are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living and to maintain such employees in health. The word "minor" as used in this act, refers to and means any person of either sex under the age of 18 years, and the word "women" (woman) as used in this act refers to and means a female person of or over the age of 18 years. At the request of not less than 25 persons engaged in any occupation in which women or minors are employed, the commission shall forthwith make such investigation as is herein provided; the commission may, at any time, make such investigation upon its own initiative.

Sec. 6. The commission is hereby authorized and empowered to ascertain and determine, and shall ascertain and determine, the minimum wages sufficient for living wages for women and minors of ordinary ability, including minimum wages sufficient for living wages, whether paid according to time rate or piece rate; also the minimum wages sufficient for living wages for learners and apprentices; also standards of conditions of labor and hours of employment not detrimental to health or morals for women and for minors, and what are unreasonably long hours for women and minors, and what are unreasonably low wages for minors, in any occupation in this State.

Sec. 7. The commission shall, for the purposes of this act, have full power and authority to investigate and ascertain the conditions of labor surrounding said women and minors, also the wages of women and minors in the different occupations in which they are employed, whether paid by time rate or piece rate, in the State of Colorado. The word "occupation" as used in this act shall be so construed as to include any and every vocation, trade, pursuit, and industry. The commission shall have full power and authority as a commission, or through any authorized representative or any commissioner, to inspect and examine and make excerpts from any and all books, reports, contracts, pay rolls, documents, papers, and other records of any employer of women or minors, that in any way appertain to or have bearing upon the question of wages of any such women workers or minor workers in any of said occupations, and to require from any such employer full and true statements of the wages paid to all women and minors by any employer. Every employer of women and minors, shall keep a register of the names, ages, dates of employment, and residence addresses of all women and minors employed, and it shall be the duty of every such employer, whether a person, firm, or corporation, to furnish to the commission, at its request, any and all reports or information which the commission may require to carry out the purposes of this act, such reports and information to be verified by the oath of the person or a member of the firm, or the president, secretary, or manager of the corporation furnishing the same, if and when so requested by the commission or any member thereof; also to allow the commission, any authorized representative, or any commissioner, free access to the place of business of such employer for the purpose of making any investigation authorized by this act.

Sec. 8. The commission may hold public hearings at such times and places as it deems proper for the purpose of investigating any of the matters it is authorized to investigate by this act, at which hearings employers, employees, or other interested persons may appear and give testimony as to the matter under consideration. The commission, or any member thereof, shall have power to subpoena and compel the attendance of any witnesses and to administer oaths; also, by subpoena, to compel the production of any books, papers, or other evidence at any public hearing of the commission or at any session of any wage board called and held, as hereinafter provided. All witnesses subpoenaed by said commission shall be paid the same mileage and per diem as are allowed by law to witnesses in civil cases before the district court of the State of Colorado.

If any person shall fail to attend as a witness, or to bring with him any books, papers, or other evidence, when subpoenaed by the commission, or shall refuse to testify when ordered so to do, the commission may apply to any district court or county court in this State to compel obedience on the part of such person, and such district court or county court shall thereupon compel obedience by proceedings for contempt, as in cases of disobedience of any order of said court in a proceeding pending before said court. The commission shall have power to make and enforce reasonable and proper rules and procedure and shall not be bound by the technical rules of evidence. Said commission may hold meetings for the transaction of any of its business at such times and places as it may prescribe.

Sec. 9. If, after investigation, the commission is of the opinion that the conditions of employment surrounding said employees are detrimental to the health or morals, or that a substantial number of women workers in any occupation are receiving wages, whether by time rate or piece rate, inadequate to supply the necessary costs of living and to maintain such workers in health, the commission shall proceed to establish minimum-wage rates, either directly or by the indirect method hereinafter described. If it selects the direct method, the commission shall establish the minimum-wage rates. If it adopts the indirect method, the commission shall establish a wage board, consisting of not more than three representatives of employers in the occupation in question, and of an equal number of persons to represent the female employees in said occupation.

and of an equal number of disinterested persons to represent the public, and some one representing the commission, if it so desires. The commission shall name and appoint all members of such wage board and designate the chairman thereof: *Provided, however*, That the selection of members representing employers and employees, shall be, so far as practicable, through election by employers and employees, respectively, subject to approval and selection by the commission, as aforesaid. At least one representative of the employers, at least one representative of the employees, and at least one representative of the public shall be a woman. The members of the wage board shall be compensated at the same rate and fees for service as jurors in counties of the second class, and they shall be allowed their necessary traveling and clerical expenses incurred in the actual performance of their duties, these payments to be made from the appropriations for the expenses of the commission. The proceedings and deliberations of such wage board shall be made a matter of record, for the use of the commission, and shall be admissible [admissible] as evidence in any proceedings before the commission. Each wage board shall have the same power as the commission to subpoena witnesses, administer oaths and compel the production of books, papers, and other evidence. Witnesses subpoenaed by a wage board shall be allowed the same compensation as when subpoenaed by the commission.

Sec. 10. The commission may transmit to each wage board all pertinent information in its possession relative to the wages paid or material to the subject of inquiry in the occupation in question. Each wage board shall endeavor to determine, if requested so to do by the commission, the standard conditions of employment; also the minimum wage, whether by time rate or piece rate, adequate to maintain in health and to supply with the necessary cost of living, a female employee of ordinary ability in the occupation in question, or in any branches thereof; also suitable minimum wages (graded, so far as practicable, on a rising scale toward the minimum allowed experienced workers) for learners and apprentices; also suitable minimum wages for minors below the age of 18 years. When a majority of the members of a wage board shall agree upon standard conditions of employment or minimum-wage board determinations, they shall report such determinations to the commission, together with the reasons therefor and the facts relating thereto. A majority of the members of any such wage board shall constitute a quorum.

Sec. 11. Upon receipt of a report from a wage board, the commission shall review the same and may approve or disapprove any or all the determinations, or may recommit the subject to the same or a new wage board. If the commission approves any or all of the determinations of the wage board, said commission shall publish notice not less than once a week for two successive weeks in a newspaper of general circulation published in the county or counties in which any business directly affected thereby is located, that it will, on a date and at a place named in said notice, hold a public meeting, at which all persons in favor of or opposed to said recommendations will be given a hearing; and after said publication of said notice and said meeting, said commission may, in its discretion, make and render such an order as may be proper or necessary to adopt such recommendations and carry the same into effect and require all employees in the occupation directly affected thereby to preserve and comply with such recommendations and said order. Said orders [sic] shall become effective in 30 days after it is made and rendered and shall be in full force and effect on and after the thirtieth day following its making and rendition. After said order becomes effective, and while it is effective, it shall be unlawful for any employer to violate or disregard any of the terms or provisions of said order, or to employ any woman worker in any occupation covered by said order at lower wages or under other conditions than are authorized or permitted by said order.

Said commission shall, as far as is practicable, mail a copy of any such order to every employer affected thereby; and every employer affected by any such order shall keep a copy thereof posted in a conspicuous place in each room in his establishment in which women workers work. No such order of said commission shall authorize or permit the employment of any woman or minor for more hours per day or per week than the maximum now fixed by law: *Provided, however*, That in case of emergencies which may arise in the conduct of any industry or occupation, overtime may be permitted under conditions and rules, and for increased minimum wages, which the commission, after investigation, shall determine and prescribe by order, and which shall apply equally to all employers in such industry or occupation.

Sec. 12. Whenever a minimum wage rate or a new standard of conditions of employment established in any occupation has been established in any occupation, the commission may, if it seems proper or necessary so to do, upon petition of either employers or employees, reconvene the wage board or establish a new wage board, and any recommendation made by such board shall be dealt with in the same manner as the original recommendation of a wage board: *Provided, however,* That, pending any new determination, any minimum wage rate and any new standard of conditions of employment theretofore established shall be and continue in force and effect.

Sec. 13. For any occupation in which a time rate only has been established, the commission may issue to any woman physically defective or crippled by age or otherwise, or less efficient than women workers of ordinary ability, a special license authorizing the employment of the licensee at such wage less than said legal minimum wage as shall be provided by said commission and stated in said license: *Provided,* That the number of such persons so specially licensed shall not exceed one-tenth of the whole number of workers in any establishment.

Sec. 14. The commission may at any time inquire into the wages paid to minors and the conditions of their employment in any occupation, and may, after public hearings, determine minimum wages and working conditions suitable for such minors. When the commission has made such a determination, it may proceed in the same manner as if the determination had been recommended to the commission by a wage board.

Sec. 15. Any employer who discharges or threatens to discharge or in any way discriminates against an employee because such employee serves upon a wage board, or is active in its formation, or has testified or is about to testify, or because the employer believes that said employee may testify in any investigation or proceeding relative to enforcement of this act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$200 nor more than \$1,000 for each such misdemeanor. The commission shall, from time to time, investigate and report to the proper prosecuting officials whether employers in each occupation investigated are obeying its decrees, and members and employees of the commission may cause information to be filed with, and prosecution to be instituted by, the proper prosecuting officials for any violation of any of the provisions of this act.

Sec. 16. The minimum wages for women and minors fixed by the commission, as in this act provided, shall be the minimum wages to be paid to such employees, and the payment to such employees of a less wage than the minimum so fixed shall be unlawful and every employer or other person who, individually or as an officer, agent, or employee of a corporation, or other person, pays or causes to be paid to any such employee a wage less than such minimum shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$100, or by imprisonment for not less than 30 days, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

Sec. 17. In every prosecution for the violation of any provision of this act, the minimum wage established by the commission, as herein provided, shall be prima facie presumed to be reasonable and lawful and to be the wage required herein to be paid to women and minors. The findings of fact made by the commission acting within its powers shall, in the absence of fraud, be conclusive, and the determination made by the commission shall be subject to review only in the manner hereinbefore prescribed.

Sec. 18. An employee receiving less than the legal minimum wage applicable to such employee shall be entitled to recover in a civil action the unpaid balance of the full amount of such minimum wage, together with costs of suit, notwithstanding any agreement to work for such lesser wage.

Sec. 19. Any person may register with the commission, complaint that the wages paid to an employee for whom a rate has been established are less than that rate, and the commission shall investigate the matter and take all proceedings necessary to enforce the payment of a wage not less than accords with such rate.

Sec. 20. The commission shall, on or before the 1st day of January of the year 1919, and biennially thereafter, make a succinct report to the governor and the general assembly of its works and any proceedings under this act during the preceding two years.

Sec. 21. There is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the State treasury not otherwise appropriated the sum of \$3,000 to carry into effect the provisions of this act and to pay the expenses and expenditures authorized by or incurred under this act for the years 1917 and 1918. The expenditures authorized shall

be payable at the end of each month, upon certificate made by the commission to the auditor of state, who shall draw his warrant upon the State treasurer; and the auditor of state is hereby authorized and directed to draw said warrants, as aforesaid, upon receipt of certified vouchers of the chairman of said commission, attested by the secretary.

Sec. 22. Whenever this act or any part thereof is interpreted by any court it shall be liberally construed by such court.

Sec. 23. If any part, section, subsection, sentence, clause, or phrase of this act is for any reason declared unconstitutional, such decision shall not affect the validity of the remaining portions of this act. The general assembly hereby declares that it would have passed this act, and each part, section, subsection, sentence, clause, and phrase, irrespective of the fact that any one or more other parts, sections, subsections, clauses, phrases, word, or words [might] be declared unconstitutional.

Sec. 24. Chapter 110 of the Session Laws of 1913, entitled "Minimum wage for women and minors" and all acts and parts in conflict with any of the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

#### LAW CREATING THE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION, 1915

SECTION 5. There is hereby created a board which shall be known as the "Industrial Commission of Colorado" \* \* \* the governor shall appoint [three] members of the commission, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate for terms of six years each. \* \* \* Not more than two of the commissioners shall be members of the same political party. Not more than one of the appointees to such commission shall be a person who, on account of his previous vocation, employment or affiliations, can be classed as a representative of employers, and not more than one of said appointees shall be a person who, on account of his previous vocation, employment, or affiliation, can be classed as a representative of employees. \* \* \*

In case of a vacancy the remaining two members of the commission shall exercise all the powers and authority of the commission until such vacancy is filled. Each member of the commission shall receive an annual salary of \$4,000, and actual expenses necessarily incurred in the performance of his duties. \* \* \* The commissioners shall devote their entire time to the duties of their office. \* \* \*

*Session Laws of Colorado: 1915, ch. 180, pp. 564-565.*

#### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, 1918

*Original minimum-wage law—U. S. Statutes at Large, 65th Congress, 1917-1919, vol. 40, pt. 1, Public Laws, ch. 174, pp. 960-964.*

SECTION 1. Where used in this act, the term "board" means the minimum-wage board created by section 2; the term "commissioners" means the Commissioners of the District of Columbia; the term "woman" includes only a woman of 18 years of age or over; the term "minor" means a person of either sex under the age of 18 years; the term "occupation" includes a business, industry, trade, or branch thereof, but shall not include domestic service.

Sec. 2. There is hereby created a board to be known as the "minimum-wage board," to be composed of three members to be appointed by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia. As far as practicable, the members shall be so chosen that one will be representative of employees, one representative of employers, and one representing the public.

The commissioners shall make their first appointments hereunder within 30 days after this act takes effect, and shall designate one of the three members first appointed to hold office until January 1, 1919; and one to hold office until January 1, 1920; and one to hold office until January 1, 1921. On or before the 1st day of January of each year, beginning with the year 1919, the commissioners shall appoint a member to succeed the member whose term expires on such 1st day of January, and such new appointee shall hold office for the term of three years from such 1st day of January. Each member shall hold office until his successor is appointed and has qualified; and any vacancy that may occur in the membership of the board shall be filled by appointment by the commissioners for the unexpired portion of the term.

A majority of the members shall constitute a quorum to transact business, and the act or decision of such a majority shall be deemed the act or decision of the board; and no vacancy shall impair the right of the remaining members to exercise all the powers of the board.

Sec. 3. The first members appointed shall, within 20 days after their appointment, meet and organize the board by electing one of their number as chairman and by choosing a secretary, who shall not be a member of the board; and on or before the 10th day of January of each year thereafter the board shall elect a chairman and choose a secretary for the ensuing year. The chairman and the secretary shall each hold office until his successor is elected or chosen; but the board may at any time remove the secretary. The secretary shall perform such duties as may be prescribed and receive such salary, not in excess of \$2 500 per annum, as may be fixed by the board. None of the members shall receive any salary as such. The board shall have power to employ agents and such other assistants as may be necessary for the proper performance of its duties: *Provided*, That until further authorization by Congress, the sum which it may expend, including the salary of the secretary, shall not exceed the sum of \$5,000.

Sec. 4. At any public hearing held by the board any person interested in the matter being investigated may appear and testify. Any member of the board shall have power to administer oaths, and the board may require by subpoena the attendance and testimony of witnesses, the production of all books, registers, and other evidence relative to any matters under investigation, at any such public hearing or at any session of any conference held as hereinafter provided. In case of disobedience to a subpoena the board may invoke the aid of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia in requiring the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of documentary evidence. In case of contumacy or refusal to obey a subpoena the court may issue an order requiring appearance before the board, the production of documentary evidence, and the giving of evidence touching the matter in question, and any failure to obey such order of the court may be punished by such court as a contempt thereof.

Sec. 5. The board is hereby authorized and empowered to make rules and regulations for the carrying into effect of this act, including rules and regulations for the selection of members of the conferences hereinafter provided for and the mode of procedure thereof.

Sec. 6. The board shall, on or before the 1st day of January of the year 1919, and of each year thereafter, make a report to the commissioners of its work and the proceedings under this act.

Sec. 7. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of the revenues of the District of Columbia, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the sum of \$5,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to carry into effect the provisions of this act.

Sec. 8. The board shall have full power and authority: (1) To investigate and ascertain the wages of women and minors in the different occupations in which they are employed in the District of Columbia; (2) to examine, through any member or authorized representative, any book, pay roll, or other record of any employer of women or minors that in any way appertains to or has a bearing upon the question of wages of any such women or minors; and (3) to require from such employer full and true statements of the wages paid to all women and minors in his employment.

Every employer shall keep a register of the names of the women and minors employed by him in any occupation in the District of Columbia, of the hours worked by each, and of all payments made to each, whether paid by the time or by the piece, and shall, on request, permit any member or authorized representative of the board to examine such register.

To assist the board in carrying out this act the commissioners shall at all times give it any information or statistics in their possession under the act of Congress approved February 24, 1914, entitled "An act to regulate hours of employment and safeguard the health of females employed in the District of Columbia."

Sec. 9. The board is hereby authorized and empowered to ascertain and declare, in the manner hereinafter provided, the following things: (a) Standards of minimum wages for women in any occupation within the District of Columbia, and what wages are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living to any such women workers to maintain them in good health and to protect their morals; and (b) standards of minimum wages for minors in any occupation within the District of Columbia and what wages are unreasonably low for any such minor workers.



Sec. 10. If, after investigation, the board is of opinion that any substantial number of women workers in any occupation are receiving wages inadequate to supply them with the necessary cost of living and maintain them in health and protect their morals, it may call and convene a conference for the purpose and with the powers of considering and inquiring into and reporting on the subject investigated by the board and submitted by it to such conference. The conference shall be composed of not more than three representatives of the employers in such occupation, of an equal number of representatives of the employees in such occupation, of not more than three disinterested persons representing the public, and one or more members of the board. The board shall name and appoint all the members of the conference and designate the chairman thereof. Two-thirds of the members of the conference shall constitute a quorum, and the decision or recommendation or report of the conference on any subject submitted shall require a vote of not less than a majority of all its members.

The board shall present to the conference all the information and evidence in its possession or control relating to the subject of the inquiry by the conference, and shall cause to be brought before the conference any witnesses whose testimony the board deems material.

Sec. 11. After completing its consideration of any inquiry into the subject submitted to it by the board, the conference shall make and transmit to the board a report containing its findings and recommendations on such subject, including recommendations as to standards of minimum wages for women workers in the occupation under inquiry and as to what wages are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living to women workers in such occupation and to maintain them in health and to protect their morals.

In its recommendations on a question of wages the conference (1) shall, where it appears that any substantial number of women workers in the occupation under inquiry are being paid by piece rates as distinguished from time rate, recommend minimum piece rates as well as minimum time rate and recommend such minimum piece rates as will, in its judgment, be adequate to supply the necessary cost of living to women workers in such occupation of average ordinary ability and to maintain them in health and protect their morals; and (2) shall, when it appears proper or necessary, recommend suitable minimum wages for learners and apprentices in such occupation and the maximum length of time any woman worker may be kept at such wages as a learner or apprentice, which wages shall be less than the regular minimum wages recommended for the regular women workers in such occupation.

Sec. 12. Upon receipt of any report from any conference, the board shall consider and review the recommendations, and may approve or disapprove any or all of such recommendations, and may resubmit to the same conference, or a new conference, any subject covered by any recommendations so disapproved.

If the board approves any recommendations contained in any report from any conference, it shall publish a notice, once a week, for four successive weeks in a newspaper of general circulation printed in the District of Columbia, that it will, on a date and at a place named in the notice, hold a public hearing at which all persons in favor of or opposed to such recommendations will be heard.

After such hearing the board may, in its discretion, make and render such an order as may be proper or necessary to adopt such recommendations and carry them into effect, requiring all employers in the occupation affected thereby to observe and comply with such order. Such order shall become effective 60 days after it is made. After such order becomes effective, and while it is effective, it shall be unlawful for any employer to violate or disregard any of its terms or provisions, or to employ any woman worker in any occupation covered by such order at lower wages than are authorized or permitted therein.

The board shall, as far as is practicable, mail a copy of such order to every employer affected thereby; and every employer affected by any such order shall keep a copy thereof posted in a conspicuous place in each room in his establishment in which women workers are employed.

Sec. 13. For any occupation in which only a minimum time-rate wage has been established, the board may issue to a woman whose earning capacity has been impaired by age or otherwise, a special license authorizing her employment at such wage less than such minimum time-rate wage as shall be fixed by the board and stated in the license.

Sec. 14. The board may at any time inquire into wages of minors employed in any occupation in the District of Columbia, and determine suitable wages for them. When the board has made such determination it may make such an

order as may be proper or necessary to carry such determination into effect. Such order shall become effective 60 days after it is made; and after such order becomes effective and while it is effective it shall be unlawful for any employer in such occupation to employ a minor at less wages than are specified or required in or by such order.

Sec. 15. Any conference may make a separate inquiry into and report on any branch of any occupation, and the board may make a separate order affecting any branch of any occupation.

Sec. 16. The board shall from time to time investigate and ascertain whether or not employers in the District of Columbia are observing and complying with its orders, and shall report to the corporation counsel of the District of Columbia all violations of this act.

Sec. 17. All questions of fact arising under the foregoing provisions of this act shall, except as otherwise herein provided, be determined by the board, and there shall be no appeal from the decision of the board on any such question of fact; but there shall be a right of appeal from the board to the supreme court of the District of Columbia from any ruling or holding on a question of law included or embodied in any decision or order of the board; and, on the same question of law, from such court to the court of appeals of the District of Columbia. In all such appeals the corporation counsel shall appear for and represent the board.

Sec. 18. Whoever violates this act, whether an employer or his agent, or the director, officer, or agent of any corporation, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor; and, upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$25 nor more than \$100, or by imprisonment not less than 10 days nor more than three months, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

Sec. 19. Any employer and his agent, or the director, officer, or agent of any corporation, who discharges or in any other manner discriminates against any employee because such employee has served or is about to serve on any conference, or has testified or is about to testify, or because such employer believes that said employee may serve on any conference or may testify in any investigation or proceedings under or relative to this act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor; and, upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$25 nor more than \$100.

Sec. 20. Any act which, if done or omitted to be done by any agent or officer or director acting for such employer, would constitute a violation of this act, shall also be held to be a violation by the employer and subject such employer to the liability provided for by this act.

Sec. 21. Prosecutions for violations of this act shall be on information filed in the police court of the District of Columbia by the corporation counsel.

Sec. 22. If any woman worker is paid by her employer less than the minimum wage to which she is entitled under or by virtue of an order of the board, she may recover in a civil action the full amount of such minimum wage, less any amount actually paid to her by the employer, together with such reasonable attorney's fees as may be allowed by the court; and any agreement for her to work for less than such minimum wage shall be no defense to such action.

Sec. 23. This act shall be known as the "District of Columbia minimum-wage law." The purposes of the act are to protect the women and minors of the District from conditions detrimental to their health and morals, resulting from wages which are inadequate to maintain decent standards of living; and the act in each of its provisions and in its entirety shall be interpreted to effectuate these purposes.

## KANSAS, 1915

*Original minimum-wage law—Session Laws of Kansas, 1915, ch. 275, pp. 352-358. Amendment—Session Laws of 1921, ch. 263, pp. 417-419.*

SECTION 1. The State of Kansas exercising herewith its police and sovereign power declares that inadequate wages, long continued hours, and unsanitary conditions of labor, exercise a pernicious effect on the health and welfare of women, learners and apprentices, and minors.

Sec. 2. It shall be unlawful to employ women, learners and apprentices, and minors in any industry or occupation within the State of Kansas under conditions of labor detrimental to their health or welfare and it shall be unlawful to employ women, learners and apprentices, and minors in any industry within the State of Kansas at wages which are not adequate for their maintenance and for more hours in any one day than is consonant with their health and welfare, except as hereinafter provided.

Sec. 3. There is hereby created a commission to be known as the industrial welfare commission for the State of Kansas to establish such standards of wages, hours, and conditions of labor for women, learners and apprentices, and minors employed within this State as shall be held hereunder to be reasonable and not detrimental to health and welfare. This commission shall consist of the commissioner of labor and two others appointed by the governor, no two of whom shall be from any one congressional district. At least one member of this commission shall be a woman. The first appointment shall be made within 60 days after the passage of this act. One member shall be appointed to serve until January 1, 1917, a second to serve until January 1, 1918. Thereafter each member shall be appointed for a term of four years and until his successor is appointed and qualifies. The governor shall have the power of removal for cause. Any vacancy that may occur shall be filled in like manner for the unexpired portion of the term. The commission shall have power to elect its own chairman, a secretary, and such other employees as it may require. Two members of the commission shall constitute a quorum at all regular meetings: *Provided*, That no person shall be appointed on such commission, who is related by blood or marriage to the commissioner of labor, or to any State officer, or to any member of any other State board or commission. And no person shall be appointed to any place or position on said commission or be employed by such commission in any way, who is related by blood or marriage to any member thereof, or to any of its chief officers or heads of departments.

[Amended in 1921 as follows: SECTION 1. *The jurisdiction conferred by law upon the industrial welfare commission of the State of Kansas is hereby conferred upon the court of industrial relations, and said industrial welfare commission, and all boards organized thereunder are hereby abolished: Provided, That all orders and rules heretofore made by the industrial welfare commission and now in force shall continue in force until the same may be changed or repealed by the court of industrial relations.*

SEC. 2. *All laws relating to the powers, authority, jurisdiction, and duties of the industrial welfare commission of this State are hereby adopted except as amended and repealed in this act; and all the duties imposed upon the industrial welfare commission or any board thereof shall, from and after the taking effect of this act, devolve upon the court of industrial relations.*

SEC. 3. *The court of industrial relations may establish such standard of wages, hours, and conditions of labor for women, learners and apprentices, and minors employed within this State as shall be held hereunder to be reasonable and not detrimental to health and welfare: Provided, however, The court may establish different minimum hours and standards for each class in an occupation of different localities in the State, when, in the judgment of the court, the different conditions obtaining justify such action.*

SEC. 4. Each member of the commission shall be paid all traveling and other necessary expenses incurred in the performance of his or her official duties, but shall serve without salary. The commission may incur other necessary expenses not exceeding the appropriation therefor and shall be provided with an office in the Statehouse. [Section repealed in 1921.]

SEC. 5. The commission may at its discretion investigate wages, hours, and sanitary and other conditions affecting women, learners and apprentices and minors in any industry or occupation in the State. Upon the request of not less than 25 persons engaged in any occupation in which women, learners and apprentices, and minors are employed, it shall become the duty of the commission to make such investigation as is herein provided. To this end said commission shall have full power and authority to call for statements and to examine, either through its members or other authorized representatives, all pay rolls or other wage records of all persons, firms, or corporations employing women, learners and apprentices, and minors as to any matter that would have a bearing upon the question of wages, hours, or labor conditions of such employees. [Section repealed in 1921.]

SEC. 6. Every employer of women, or of learners and apprentices, or of minors shall keep a register of all such persons employed by him in such form as the commission shall prescribe; and every such employer shall on request permit the commission, or any of its members, or agents to inspect such register.

[Amended in 1921 as follows: SEC. 4. *Every employer of women, or of learners and apprentices, or of minors shall keep a register of all such persons employed by him; and every such employer shall on request permit the court or any of its members or agents to inspect such register.*]

SEC. 7. The commission may hold public hearings at such times and places as it deems fit and proper for the purpose of investigating any matters it is authorized to investigate by this act. At any such public hearings, any employee, or employer, or other interested person may appear and give testimony as to wages, hours, sanitation and other pertinent conditions of the occupation or industry under investigation. The commission or any member thereof shall have power to subpoena witnesses, to administer oaths, to compel the production of all wage records, papers, and other evidence, and to make findings and report such findings to the commission; but no order shall be made by less than a majority of the commission. Witnesses subpoenaed by the commission may be allowed such compensation for travel and attendance as the commission may deem reasonable, to an amount not exceeding the usual mileage and per diem allowed by statute to witnesses in civil cases in the district court. [Section repealed in 1921.]

SEC. 8. If after investigation the commission is of the opinion that in any occupation the wages, hours, and conditions, sanitary and otherwise, are prejudicial to the health or welfare of any substantial number of the classes of employees named in this act and are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living, and to maintain the worker in health, it shall establish a wage, hour, or sanitary board as the conditions developed may demand, which shall hereinafter be described as the "board," consisting of not less than three representatives of employers in the occupation in question, of an equal number of persons to represent the employees in the occupation in question, and of one or more disinterested persons appointed by the commission to represent the public, and shall make rules and regulations governing the selection of members and the modes of procedure of the board, and shall exercise exclusive jurisdiction over all questions arising with reference to the validity of the procedure and of the determinations of the board. The members of the board shall be compensated at the same rate as jurors in civil cases in the district court, and they shall be allowed the necessary traveling and clerical expenses incurred in the performance of their duties.

[Amended in 1921 as follows: Sec. 5. *If after investigation the court of industrial relations is of the opinion that in any occupation the wages, hours, and conditions, sanitary and otherwise, are prejudicial to the health or welfare of any substantial number of the classes of employees named in this act and are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living and to maintain the worker in health it shall publish a notice, not less than once a week for four successive weeks in the official State paper, that it will, on a date and at a place named in said notice, hold a public meeting at which all persons will be given a hearing; and, after said publication of said notice and said meeting, the court of industrial relations may, in its discretion, make and render such an order as may be proper or necessary, and require all employers in the occupation affected thereby to observe and comply with such determinations and said order. Said order shall become effective in 60 days after it is made and rendered, and shall be in full force and effect on and after the sixtieth day following its making and rendition. The court of industrial relations shall, in so far as it is practicable, mail a copy of any such order to every employer affected thereby; and every employer affected by any such order shall keep a copy thereof posted in a conspicuous place in each room of his establishment. Whenever wages, hours, or conditions of labor have been made mandatory in any occupation, upon petition of either employers or employees, the court of industrial relations may, at its discretion, reopen the question.*]

SEC. 9. The commission may transmit to each board all pertinent information in its possession relative to the wages, hours, and sanitary conditions of the occupation in question. Each board shall endeavor to determine the minimum wage, whether by time rate or piece rate, required in the case of a woman worker of ordinary ability in the occupation in question to supply the necessary cost of living and the number of hours and other sanitary conditions necessary to maintain her health, and suitable minimum wages, hours, and sanitary conditions for learners and apprentices, and minors. *Provided, however,* That such board may recommend different minima hours and standards for each class in an occupation of different localities in the State, when in the judgment of said board, the different conditions obtaining justify such action. When a majority of the members of a board shall agree upon minimum wage, standard of hours, or sanitary determinations, they shall report such determinations to the commission, together with the reasons therefor and the facts relating thereto. [Section repealed in 1921.]

SEC. 10. Upon receipt of the report of the determinations of a board, the commission shall consider and review the same; and it may approve any or all of such determinations or disapprove any or all of them; and it may resubmit to the same board, or a new board, any subject covered by any determination so disapproved. If the commission approves any determination contained in a report from a board, it shall publish a notice, not less than once a week for four successive weeks in the official State paper, that it will on a date and at a place named in said notice, hold a public meeting at which all persons in favor of or opposed to said recommendations will be given a hearing; and, after said publication of said notice and said meeting, the commission may, in its discretion, make and render such an order as may be proper or necessary to adopt such determinations and carry the same into effect, and require all employers in the occupation affected thereby to observe and comply with such determinations and said order. Said order shall become effective in 60 days after it is made and rendered and shall be in full force and effect on and after the sixtieth day following its making and rendition. The commission shall, in so far as it is practicable, mail a copy of any such order to every employer affected thereby; and every employer affected by any such order shall keep a copy thereof posted in a conspicuous place in each room in his establishment. [Section repealed in 1921.]

SEC. 11. Whenever wages, hours, or conditions of labor have been made mandatory in any occupation, upon petition of either employers or employees, the commission may at its discretion reopen the question and reconvene the former board or call a new one, and any determinations made by such board shall be dealt with in the same manner as were the original determinations. [Section repealed in 1921.]

SEC. 12. For any occupation in which only a minimum time wage has been established, the commission may issue to an employee physically defective or crippled, or of less than ordinary ability, or learners, apprentices, and minors a special license authorizing the employment of such person at a wage and for a number of hours less than that fixed by said commission to be stated in said license. [Section repealed in 1921.]

SEC. 13. The word "occupation" as used in this act shall be so construed as to include any and every vocation and pursuit and trade and industry. The words "learners" and "apprentices" shall include only such learners and apprentices as are minors or are women. Any board may make a separate inquiry into and report on any branch of any occupation; and the commission may make a separate order affecting any branch of any occupation. A "minor" shall mean a person, male or female, under 18 years of age. A "women" [woman] shall mean any female 18 years of age and over. Any board may include in its determinations definitions of "learners" and "apprentices" and the commission shall have power to make such rules and regulations and to issue such orders relating to the same as it deems necessary to make effective the object of this act. [Section repealed in 1921.]

SEC. 14. Any employer or employee or other person who shall be interested therein, who shall be dissatisfied with any order, ruling or holding of the commission may, within 30 days from the making thereof, commence an action in the district court of Shawnee County or in the district court in the county in which the person so complaining shall reside or have his principal place of business against the industrial welfare commission, as defendant, to vacate and set aside such order, ruling, or holding on the ground that the same is unauthorized by law, confiscatory or unreasonable, and in any such action all determinations of questions of fact which shall have been made by the commission under the foregoing provisions of this act shall be presumed to be correct and the burden of proof shall be upon the plaintiff to show the incorrectness of such determinations. In all such actions, the attorney general shall appear for and represent such commission. All such actions shall have preference in any court and on motion shall be advanced over any civil cause of a different nature pending in such court and such actions shall be tried and determined as other civil actions. Appeal from any decision of the district court may be taken from the district court to the supreme court in the same manner as provided by law in other civil actions and shall have precedence in the supreme court over civil cases of a different nature. During the pendency of any such action the orders, rulings, and holdings complained of shall, unless temporarily stayed or enjoined by the court, remain in full force and effect until final judgment. Service of summons on any member of the board shall be sufficient service on the board. [Section repealed in 1921.]

Sec. 15. A violation of any provision of this act shall constitute a misdemeanor, and anyone convicted thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$25 nor more than \$100 for each such misdemeanor.

Sec. 16. Any employer who discharges or in any other manner discriminates against any employee because such employee has signed or agreed to sign any request to the commission to investigate wages, hours, or sanitary or other labor conditions, or has testified or is about to testify, or because such employer believes that said employee may testify in any investigation or proceedings or sign any request relative to the enforcement of this act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$25 nor more than \$100 for each such misdemeanor. [Section repealed in 1921.]

Sec. 17. Any employer who employs any woman or minor, learner or apprentice in any occupation at less than the minimum wage or for a greater number of hours in a day or week fixed or under sanitary or other conditions forbidden by order or license issued by the commission, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$25 nor more than \$100 for each such misdemeanor. Any woman or minor or learner or apprentice who shall receive less than the minimum wage or shall be compelled to work for a greater number of hours than that fixed by order or license issued by the commission shall be entitled to recover in a civil action the full amount of the legal minimum wage, and compensation at the same rate for the number of hours of overtime work as herein provided for, together with costs and attorney's fees to be fixed by the court, notwithstanding any agreement to work for such lesser wage or greater number of hours. In such action, however, the employer shall be credited with any wages which have been paid upon account.

Sec. 18. The commission shall from time to time investigate and ascertain whether or not employers or employees in the State of Kansas are observing and complying with its orders and take such steps as may be necessary to have prosecuted such employers and employees as are not observing and complying with its orders. [Section repealed in 1921.]

Sec. 19. The commissioner of labor and the several inspectors of the bureau of labor shall, at any and all times, give to the commission any information or statistics in their respective offices that may assist said commission in carrying out this act and render such assistance to said commission as may not be inconsistent with the performance of their respective official duties.

Sec. 20. The commission shall biennially make a report to the governor and legislature of its investigations and proceedings, and such reports shall be printed and distributed as in the case of other executive documents.

Sec. 21. This act is to be construed as supplemental to existing laws regulating the employment of women, learners and apprentices and minors.

[The act of 1921 adds these:

Sec. 6. *The court of industrial relations may employ such inspectors and clerical force as may be necessary in carrying on the provisions of this act.*

Sec. 7. *The orders of the industrial court under the provisions of this act may be reviewed in the same manner as is now provided for the review of its decisions by chapter 29 of the Session Laws of 1920.]*

#### LAW CREATING THE COURT OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, 1920

SECTION 1. There is hereby created a tribunal to be known as the court of industrial relations, which shall be composed of three judges who shall be appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate. \* \* \* each judge shall be appointed and shall hold his office for a term of three years \* \* \*. The salary of each of said judges shall be \$5,000 per year, payable monthly. \* \* \*

*Session Laws of Kansas: 1920, ch. 29, pp. 36-37.*

#### LAW CREATING THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION, 1925

SECTION 1. There is hereby created a commission to be known as the public service commission, which shall be composed of five members who shall be appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. \* \* \* each \* member shall be appointed and shall hold his office for a term of four years \* \* \*. The salary of each of the members of said public service commission shall be \$4,500 per year, payable monthly.

Sec. 2. All of the jurisdiction, authority, powers, and duties now conferred and imposed by law upon the public utilities commission of the State of Kansas, the tax commission of the State of Kansas, and the court of industrial relations of the State of Kansas, are hereby conferred upon the public service commission created by this act. \* \* \*

Sec. 3. The public utilities commission of the State of Kansas and the tax commission of the State of Kansas and the court of industrial relations of the State of Kansas are hereby abolished.

*Session Laws of Kansas: 1925, ch. 258, pp. 335-336.*

## MASSACHUSETTS, 1912

*Original minimum-wage law—Acts and Resolves, 1912, ch. 706, pp. 780-784.*

*Amendments—Acts and Resolves, 1913, ch. 330, p. 271, and ch. 673, pp. 618-621; 1914, ch. 368, pp. 335-339. General Acts, 1915, ch. 65, pp. 54-55; 1916, ch. 303, p. 332; 1919, ch. 72, pp. 46-47; and ch. 76, pp. 50-51, and ch. 77, p. 51. Acts and Resolves, 1920, ch. 48, pp. 50-51, and ch. 387, p. 391.*

SECTION 1. There is hereby established a commission to be known as the minimum-wage commission. It shall consist of three persons, *one of whom may be a woman [1916, one of whom shall be an employer of female labor and one of whom may be a woman and a representative of labor]*, to be appointed by the governor, with the advice and consent of the council. One of the commissioners shall be designated by the governor as chairman. The first appointments shall be made within 90 days after the passage of this act, one for a term ending October 1, 1913, one for a term ending October 1, 1914, and one for a term ending October 1, 1915, and beginning with the year 1913, one member shall be appointed annually for the term of three years from the first day of October and until his successor is qualified. Any vacancy that may occur shall be filled in like manner for the unexpired part of the term.

Sec. 2. Each commissioner shall be paid \$10 for each day's service, in addition to the traveling and other expenses incurred in the performance of his official duties. The commission may appoint a secretary who shall be the executive officer of the board and to whose appointment the rules of the civil service commission shall not apply. It shall determine his salary, subject to the approval of the governor and council. The commission may incur other necessary expenses not exceeding the annual appropriation therefor, and shall be provided with an office in the statehouse, or in some other suitable building in the city of Boston.

Sec. 3. It shall be the duty of the commission to inquire into the wages paid to the female employees in any occupation in the Commonwealth, if the commission has reason to believe that the wages paid to a substantial number of such employees are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living and to maintain the worker in health.

Sec. 4. If after such investigation the commission is of the opinion that in the occupation in question the wages paid to a substantial number of female employees are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living and to maintain the worker in health, the commission shall establish a wage board consisting of *not less than six representatives of employers in the occupation in question and of an equal number [1914, an equal number of representatives of employers in the occupation in question, and]* of persons to represent the female employees in said occupation, and of one or more disinterested persons appointed by the commission to represent the public, but the representatives of the public shall not exceed one-half of the number of representatives of either of the other parties. [1914 adds this: *The commission shall give notice to employers and employees in said occupation by publication or otherwise of its determination to establish a wage board [1920 inserts, and of the number of representatives of employers and of employees to be chosen therefor,] and shall request that said employers and employees, respectively, nominate representatives for said board [1920, nominate such representatives] by furnishing names to the commission. The representatives of employers and employees shall be selected by the commission from names furnished by the employers and by the employees, respectively, provided that these names [1920, provided that the same] are furnished within 10 days after the request of the commission [1920 adds this: and provided, further, that at least twice as many names respectively are furnished*

as required. If less than this number of names are furnished for representatives, either of employers or of employees, at least one-half the names so furnished shall be selected, and the remaining places necessary may be filled by the commission by appointments made directly from employers, including officers of corporations, associations, and partnerships, or from employees in the occupation, as the case may be.) The commission shall designate the chairman from among [1914, as chairman one of] the representatives of the public, and shall make rules and regulations governing the selection of members and [1914, the] modes of procedure of the boards, and shall exercise exclusive jurisdiction over all questions arising with reference to the validity of the procedure and of the determinations of the boards. The members of wage boards shall be compensated at the same rate as jurors; [1914, and] they shall be allowed the necessary traveling and clerical expenses incurred in the performance of the [1914, their] duties, these payments to be made from the appropriation for the expenses of the commission. [1919 adds this: The commission shall have power to fill a vacancy or vacancies arising in a duly constituted wage board by appointing a sufficient number of suitable persons to complete the representation of the employers, employees, or public, as the case may be.]

Sec. 5. The commission may transmit to each wage board all pertinent information in its possession relative to the wages paid in the occupation in question. Each wage board shall take into consideration the needs of the employees, the financial condition of the occupation and the probable effect thereon of any increase in the minimum wages paid, and shall endeavor to determine the minimum wage, whether by time rate or piece rate, suitable for a female employee of ordinary ability in the occupation in question, or for any or all of the branches thereof, and also suitable minimum wages for learners and apprentices and for minors below the age of 18 years. When two-thirds [1913, a majority] of the members of a wage board shall agree upon minimum-wage determinations, they shall report such determinations to the commission, together with the reasons therefor and the facts relating thereto, and also the names, so far as they can be ascertained by the board, of employers who pay less than the minimum wage so determined. [1913 omits last 25 words, closing with "thereto."]

Sec. 6. Upon receipt of a report from a wage board, the commission shall review the same, and may approve any or all of the determinations recommended, or may disapprove any or all of them, or may recommit the subject to same or to a new wage board. If the commission approves any or all of the determinations of the wage board, it shall, after not less than 14 days' notice to employers paying a wage less than the minimum wage approved, give a public hearing to such employers, and if, after such public hearing, the commission finally approves the determination, it shall enter a decree of its findings and note thereon the names of employers, so far as they may be known to the commission, who fail or refuse to accept such minimum wage and to agree to abide by it. The commission shall, within 14 days thereafter, publish the names of all such employers in at least four newspapers in each county in the Commonwealth together with the material part of its findings, and a statement of the minimum wages paid by every such employer. [1913: The commission shall thereafter publish in at least one newspaper in each county of the Commonwealth [1914, publish at such times and in such manner as it may deem advisable,] a summary of its findings and of its recommendations. It shall also at such times and in such manner as it shall deem advisable publish the facts, as it may find them to be, as to the acceptance of its recommendations by the employers engaged in the industry to which any of its recommendations relate, and may publish the names of employers whom it finds to be following or refusing to follow such recommendations.] Any employer upon filing a declaration under oath in the supreme judicial or superior court to the effect that compliance with such decree would endanger the prosperity of the business to which the same is made applicable, shall be entitled to a stay of execution of such decree and a review thereof with reference to the question involved in such declaration. Such review shall be made by the court under the rules of equity procedure, and if it shall be found by the court that compliance with such is likely to endanger the prosperity of the business to which the same is applicable, then an order shall issue from said court revoking the same. [1913: An employer who files a declaration under oath in the supreme judicial court or the superior court to the effect that compliance with the recommendation of the commission would render it impossible for him to com-



duct his business at a reasonable profit shall be entitled to a review of said recommendation by the court under the rules of equity procedure. The burden of proving the averments of said declaration shall be upon the complainant. If, after such review, the court shall find the averments of the declaration to be sustained, it may issue an order restraining the commission from publishing the name of the complainant as one who refuses to comply with the recommendations of the commission. But such review, or any order issued by the court thereupon, shall not be an adjudication affecting the commission as to any employer other than the complainant, and shall in no way affect the right of the commission to publish the names of those employers who do comply with its recommendations.] The type in which [1913, the] employers' names shall be printed shall not be smaller than that in which the news matter of the paper is printed. The publication shall be attested by the signature of at least a majority of the commission.

SEC. 7. In case a wage board shall make a recommendation of a wage determination in which a majority but less than two-thirds of the members concur, the commission, in its discretion, may report such recommendation and the pertinent facts relating thereto to the general court. [Section repealed in 1914.]

SEC. 8. Whenever a minimum-wage rate has been established in any occupation, the commission may, upon petition of either employers or employees, [1920 inserts this: or if in its opinion such action is necessary to meet changes in the cost of living, may without such petition,] reconvene the wage board or establish a new wage board, and any recommendation made by such board shall be dealt with in the same manner as the original recommendation of a wage board.

SEC. 9. For any occupation in which a minimum time rate only has been established, the commission may issue to any woman physically defective a special license authorizing the employment of the licensee for a wage less than the legal minimum wage: *Provided*, That it is not less than the special minimum wage fixed for that person.

SEC. 10. The commission may at any time inquire into the wages paid to minors in any occupation in which the majority of employees are minors, and may, after giving public hearings, determine minimum wages suitable for such minors. When the commission has made such a determination, it may proceed in the same manner as if the determination had been recommended to the commission by a wage board.

SEC. 11. Every employer of women and minors shall keep a register of the names and addresses [1913, names, addresses, and occupations] of all women and minors employed by him, [1914 adds this: together with a record of the amount paid each week to each woman and minor; and 1919 adds, and if the commission shall so require, shall also keep for a specified period, not exceeding six months, a record of the hours worked by such employees,] and shall on request permit the commission or any of its members or agents to inspect the register. The commission shall also have power to subpoena witnesses, administer oaths, and take testimony, and to examine such parts of the books and records of employers as relate to the wages paid to women and minors. [1913 adds this: and shall, on request of the commission or of the director of the bureau of statistics, permit the commission or any of its members or agents, or the director of the bureau of statistics or any duly accredited agent of said bureau to inspect the said register and to examine such parts of the books and records of employers as relate to the wages paid to women and minors. 1919 inserts here, and the hours worked by such employees. Any employer failing to keep a register or records as herein provided, or refusing to permit their inspection or examination, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$5 nor more than \$50 for each offense. 1913 resumes, The commission shall also have power to subpoena witnesses, administer oaths, and take testimony]. Such witnesses shall be summoned in the same manner and be paid from the treasury of the Commonwealth the same fees as witnesses before the superior court.

[Sec. 11½ (added in 1915). The minimum wage commission may require employers to post in conspicuous positions in their places of employment such notices as the said commission may issue for the information of employees. In 1919 this was added (sec. 11A.): The commission may require employers in any occupation to post notices of its hearings or of nominations for wage boards, or of decrees that apply to their employees, in such reasonable way and for such length of time as it may direct. Whoever refuses or fails to post such notices or decrees, when so required, shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$5 nor more than \$50 for each offense. The commission and the State

board of labor and industries shall have power to enforce the provisions of this section.]

Sec. 12. Upon request of the commission, the director of the bureau of statistics shall cause such statistics and other data to be gathered as the commission may require, and the cost thereof shall be paid out of the appropriation made for the expenses of the commission.

Sec. 13. Any employer who discharges or in any other manner discriminates against any employee because such employee has testified, or is about to testify [1914 adds this: *or has served or is about to serve upon a wage board, or is or has been active in the formation thereof, or has given or is about to give information concerning the conditions of such employee's employment*], or because the employer believes that the employee may testify [1914 add this: *or may serve upon a wage board, or may give information concerning the conditions of the employee's employment*], in any investigation or proceeding relative to the enforcement of this act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of \$25 [1913, *not less than \$200 and not more than \$1,000*] for each offense.

Sec. 14. The commission shall from time to time determine whether employers in each occupation investigated are obeying its decrees, and shall publish in the manner provided in section 6 the name of any employer whom it finds to be violating any such decree.

Sec. 15. Any newspaper refusing or neglecting to publish the findings, decrees, or notices of the commission at its regular rates for the space taken shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not less than \$100 for each offense. [This section declared unconstitutional in 1924.]

Sec. 16. No member of the commission and no newspaper publisher, proprietor, editor, or employee thereof, shall be liable to an action for damages for publishing the name of any employer in accordance with the provisions of this act, unless such publication contains some willful misrepresentation.

Sec. 17. The commission shall annually, on or before the first Wednesday in January, make a report to the general court of its investigations and proceedings during the preceding year.

#### LAW CONSOLIDATING THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, 1919

SECTION 69. \* \* \* the minimum wage commission, existing under authority of chapter 706 of the acts of 1912 and acts in amendment thereof and in addition thereto; \* \* \* [is] hereby abolished. All the rights, powers, duties, and obligations of the said boards, commissions, and offices, or of any member or official thereof, \* \* \* are hereby transferred to and shall hereafter be exercised and performed by the department of labor and industries, established by this act, which shall be the lawful successor of said boards, commissions, and offices, \* \* \* with respect to the said rights, powers, duties, and obligations. \* \* \*

Sec. 70. The department of labor and industries shall be under the supervision and control of a commissioner, to be known as the commissioner of labor and industries, an assistant commissioner who *may* [1921, *shall*] be a woman, and three associate commissioners, one of whom shall be a representative of labor and one of whom shall be a representative of employers of labor, all of whom shall be appointed by the governor, with the advice and consent of the council. \* \* \* The commissioner shall receive such annual salary not exceeding \$7,500, and the assistant commissioner and associate commissioners such annual salary, not exceeding \$4,000 each, as the governor and council may determine.

Sec. 71. The commissioner shall be the executive and administrative head of the department. \* \* \* The commissioner may designate *an associate commissioner* [1921, *the assistant commissioner or an associate commissioner*] to discharge the duties of the commissioner during his absence or disability.

Sec. 72. The associate commissioners shall constitute a board to be known as the board of conciliation and arbitration, which shall have the authority and exercise the functions heretofore vested in the board of conciliation and arbitration and in the minimum wage commission, except as to matters of an administrative nature, \* \* \* shall have authority to summon witnesses, to administer oaths, to take testimony, and to require the production of books and documents. \* \* \*

SEC. 73. In all matters relating specifically to women and minors, the assistant commissioner shall have and exercise such duties and authority as may be prescribed by the commissioner with the approval of the associate commissioners.

*General Acts: 1919, ch. 350, pp. 412-414. Acts and Resolves: 1921, ch. 306, p. 264.*

### MINNESOTA, 1913

*Original minimum-wage law—Session Laws of Minnesota, 1913, ch. 547, pp. 789-792.*

*Amendment—Session Laws of Minnesota, 1923, ch. 153, pp. 173-174.*

SECTION 1. There is hereby established a commission to be known as the minimum-wage commission. It shall consist of three persons, one of whom shall be the commissioner of labor who shall be the chairman of the commission, the governor shall appoint two others, one of whom shall be an employer of women, and the third shall be a woman, who shall act as secretary of the commission. The first appointments shall be made within 60 days after the passage of this act for a term ending January 1, 1915. Beginning with the year 1915 the appointments shall be for two years from the 1st day of January and until their successors qualify. Any vacancy that may occur shall be filled in like manner for the unexpired portion of the term.

SEC. 2. The commission may at its discretion investigate the wages paid to women and minors in any occupation in the State. At the request of not less than 100 persons engaged in any occupation in which women and minors are employed, the commission shall forthwith make such investigation as herein provided.

SEC. 3. Every employer of women and minors shall keep a register of the names and addresses of and wages paid to all women and minors employed by him together with number of hours that they are employed per day or per week; and every such employer shall on request permit the commission or any of its members or agents to inspect such register.

SEC. 4. The commission shall specify times to hold public hearings at which employers, employees, or other interested persons may appear and give testimony as to wages, profits, and other pertinent conditions of the occupation or industry. The commission or any member thereof shall have power to subpoena witnesses, to administer oaths, and to compel the production of books, papers, and other evidence. Witnesses subpoenaed by the commission may be allowed such compensation for travel and attendance as the commission may deem reasonable, to an amount not exceeding the usual mileage and per diem allowed by our courts in civil cases.

SEC. 5. If after investigation of any occupation the commission is of opinion that the wages paid to one-sixth or more of the women or minors employed therein are less than living wages, the commission shall forthwith proceed to establish legal minimum rates of wages for said occupation, as hereinafter described and provided.

SEC. 6. The commission [1923, *Industrial commission of Minnesota*] shall determine the minimum wages sufficient for living wages for women and minors of ordinary ability, and also the minimum wages sufficient for living wages for learners and apprentices. The commission shall then issue an order, to be effective 30 days thereafter, making the wages thus determined the minimum wages in said occupation throughout the State, or within any area of the State if differences in the cost of living warrant this restriction. A copy of said order shall be mailed, so far as practicable, to each employer affected; and each such employer shall be required to post such a reasonable number of copies as the commission may determine in each building or other work place in which affected workers are employed. The original order shall be filed with the commissioner of labor. [In 1923 the last two sentences are replaced by the following: *Such order shall be published in one issue of a daily newspaper of general circulation published in each city of the first class, at least 20 days before the same takes effect [effect], and proof of such publication as required in the publication of legal notices, together with the original order shall be filed with the commission. A copy of such order and of the proofs of publication, duly certified by the secretary of said commission, shall be prima facie evidence of the existence of such order and the contents thereof, and of the facts of publication as contained in such certified copies, and the certificate of the secretary of said commission shall be prima facie evidence of the filing and of other acts required by law in relation to said order.*

*The commission shall mail to each employer affected by said order, whose name and address is known to the commission, a copy or copies of said order with such general or particular directions for posting the same as the commission may determine and such employer shall post such order or orders and keep the same posted in his factory or place where women or minors are employed, as required by said commission: Provided, however, That failure to mail such orders to any employer affected thereby shall not relieve such employer from the duty to comply with such order in relation to the payment of a wage not less than the minimum prescribed in such order.]*

SEC. 7. The commission may at its discretion establish in any occupation an advisory board which shall serve without pay, consisting of not less than three nor more than 10 persons representing employers, and an equal number of persons representing the workers in said occupation and of one or more disinterested persons appointed by the commission to represent the public; but the number of representatives of the public shall not exceed the number of representatives of either of the other parties. At least one-fifth of the membership of any advisory board shall be composed of women, and at least one of the representatives of the public shall be a woman. The commission shall make rules and regulations governing the selection of members and the modes of procedure of the advisory boards, and shall exercise exclusive jurisdiction over all questions arising with reference to the validity of the procedure and determination of said boards: *Provided*, That the selection of members representing employers and employees shall be, so far as practicable, through election by employers and employees, respectively.

SEC. 8. Each advisory board shall have the same power as the commission to subpoena witnesses, administer oaths, and compel the production of books, papers, and other evidence. Witnesses subpoenaed by an advisory board shall be allowed the same compensation as when subpoenaed by the commission. Each advisory board shall recommend to the commission an estimate of the minimum wages, whether by time rate or by price [piece] rate, sufficient for living wages for women and minors of ordinary ability and an estimate of the minimum wages sufficient for living wages for learners and apprentices. A majority of the entire membership of an advisory board shall be necessary and sufficient to recommend wage estimates to the commission.

SEC. 9. Upon receipt of such estimates of wages from an advisory board, the commission shall review the same, and if it approves them shall make them the minimum wages in said occupation, as provided in section 6. Such wages shall be regarded as determined by the commission itself and the order of the commission putting them into effect shall have the same force and authority as though the wages were determined without the assistance of an advisory board.

SEC. 10. All rates of wages ordered by the commission shall remain in force until new rates are determined and established by the commission. At the request of approximately one-fourth of the employers or employees in an occupation, the commission must reconsider the rates already established therein and may, if it sees fit, order new rates of minimum wages for said occupation. The commission may likewise reconsider old rates and order new minimum rates on its own initiative.

SEC. 11. For any occupation in which a minimum time rate of wages only has been ordered, the commission may issue to a woman physically defective a special license authorizing her employment at a wage less than the general minimum ordered in said occupation; and the commission may fix a special wage for such person: *Provided*, That the number of such persons shall not exceed one-tenth of the whole number of workers in any establishment.

SEC. 12. Every employer in any occupation is hereby prohibited from employing any worker at less than the living wage or minimum wage as defined in this act and determined in an order of the commission; and it shall be unlawful for any employer to employ any worker at less than said living or minimum wage.

SEC. 13. It shall likewise be unlawful for any employer to discharge or in any manner discriminate against any employee because such employee has testified, or is about to testify, or because such employer believes that said employee is about to testify, in any investigation or proceeding relative to the enforcement of this act.

SEC. 14. Any worker who receives less than the minimum wage ordered by the commission shall be entitled to recover in civil action the full amount due as measured by said order of the commission, together with costs and attorney's fees to be fixed by the court notwithstanding any agreement to work for a lesser wage.

SEC. 15. The commission shall enforce the provisions of this act, and determine all questions arising thereunder, except as otherwise herein provided.

SEC. 16. The commission shall biennially make a report of its work to the governor and the State legislature, and such reports shall be printed and distributed as in the case of other executive documents.

SEC. 17. The members of the commission shall be reimbursed for traveling and other necessary expenses incurred in the performance of their duties on the commission. The woman member shall receive a salary of \$1,800 annually for her work as secretary. All claims of the commission for expenses necessarily incurred in the administration of this act, but not exceeding the annual appropriation hereinafter provided, shall be presented to the State auditor for payment by warrant upon the State treasurer.

SEC. 18. There is appropriated out of any money in the State treasury not otherwise appropriated for the fiscal year ending July 31, 1914, the sum of \$5,000 and for the fiscal year ending July 31, 1915, the sum of \$5,000.

SEC. 19. Any employer violating any of the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished for each offense by a fine of not less than \$10 nor more than \$50, or by imprisonment for not less than 10 or more than 60 days.

SEC. 20. Throughout this act the following words and phrases as used herein shall be considered to have the following meanings, respectively, unless the context clearly indicates a different meaning in the connection used:

(1) The terms "living wage" or "living wages" shall mean wages sufficient to maintain the worker in health and supply him with the necessary comforts and conditions of reasonable life; and where the words "minimum wage" or "minimum wages" are used in this act, the same shall be deemed to have the same meaning as "living wage" or "living wages."

(2) The terms "rate" or "rates" shall mean rate or rates of wages.

(3) The term "commission" shall mean the minimum-wage commission.

(4) The term "woman" shall mean a person of the female sex 18 years of age or over.

(5) The term "minor" shall mean a male person under the age of 21 years or a female person under the age of 18 years.

(6) The terms "learner" and "apprentice" may mean either a woman or a minor.

(7) The terms "worker" or "employee" may mean a woman, a minor, a learner, or an apprentice, who is employed for wages.

(8) The term "occupation" shall mean any business, industry, trade, or branch of a trade in which woman or minors are employed.

#### LAW ABOLISHING MINIMUM-WAGE COMMISSION, 1921

SECTION 1. On and after the 1st day of June, 1921, the powers and duties then by law vested in and imposed upon the minimum-wage commission shall be exercised and performed by the industrial commission of Minnesota and its subordinates as a part of the functions of the division of women and children in the department of labor and industries.

SEC. 2. On the 1st day of June, 1921, persons then serving as secretary and employees of the minimum-wage commission shall be transferred by the industrial commission to the division of women and children in the department of labor and industries and assigned to such positions as the industrial commission shall designate.

SEC. 3. On and after the 1st day of June, 1921, the minimum-wage commission, as heretofore constituted, shall have no further legal existence, except that it shall within 10 days after such date submit to the governor a report covering the period extending to such date from the date of the last report of such minimum-wage commission.

SEC. 4. All acts and parts of acts so far as inconsistent with the provisions of this act and not otherwise are hereby repealed.

*Session Laws of Minnesota: 1921, ch. 84, pp. 131-132.*

#### LAW CREATING INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION, 1921

SECTION 2. There is hereby created a commission to be known as the "industrial commission of Minnesota" \* \* \*. The commission shall be composed of three commissioners who shall be appointed by the governor by and with the

advice and consent of the senate \* \* \* for a term of six years. Not more than two commissioners shall belong to the same political party. Inasmuch as the duties to be performed by such commission vitally concern the employers, employees, as well as the whole people of the State, it is hereby declared to be the purpose of this act that persons be appointed as commissioners who shall fairly represent the interests of all concerned in its administration. \* \* \*

SEC. 3. Each commissioner shall receive an annual salary of \$4,500 \* \* \*. Each commissioner shall devote his entire time to the duties of his office. \* \* \*

*Session Laws of Minnesota: 1921, ch. 81, p. 86.*

## NEBRASKA, 1913

*Original minimum-wage law—Session Laws of Nebraska, 1913, ch. 211, pp. 638-642.*

SECTION 1. There is hereby established a commission to be known as the Nebraska minimum-wage commission. The governor is hereby made a member of said commission. Within 30 days from the passage and approval of this article he shall appoint the following additional members: Deputy commissioner of labor; a member of the political science department of the University of Nebraska; one other member who shall be a citizen of the State. At least one member of said commission shall be a woman. Each of the above appointments shall be for a period of two years and may be renewed thereafter. Any vacancy occurring in the commission shall be filled by the governor. Within 10 days after such appointment the commission shall meet and organize by the election of a chairman and secretary.

[Deputy commissioner of labor: Bureau of labor census created and governor of State made commissioner, with power to appoint deputy at salary of \$1,500 a year, who shall have, when acting for or instead of commissioner, equal power and authority subject to approval of commissioner.—*Session Laws of Nebraska, 1887, ch. 47, pp. 470-474.*]

SEC. 2. Each commissioner shall be paid all traveling and other expenses incurred in the performance of his or her official duties. The commission may incur other necessary expenses not exceeding the biennial appropriation therefor and shall be provided with an office in the statehouse or at the State university.

SEC. 3. It shall be the duty of the commission to inquire into the wages paid to the female employees in any occupation in the Commonwealth, if the commission has reason to believe that the wages paid to a substantial number of such employees are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living and to maintain the worker in health.

SEC. 4. If, after such investigation, the commission is of the opinion that in the occupation in question the wages paid to a substantial number of female employees are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living and to maintain the worker in health, the commission shall establish a wage board consisting of not less than three representatives of employers in the occupation in question and of an equal number of persons to represent the female employee in said occupation, and in addition thereto the three appointed members of the commission to represent the public. The chairman of the commission shall be chairman of the wage board and shall make rules and regulations governing the procedure of the board and exercise jurisdiction over all questions arising with reference to the validity of the procedure and the determinations of the board. The secretary of the commission shall be secretary of the wage board and keep such record of hearings and arguments as the wage board shall direct. The members of wage boards shall be compensated at the same rate as jurors in district court; they shall be allowed necessary traveling and other expenses incurred in the performance of their duties, these payments to be made from the appropriation for the expenses of the commission.

SEC. 5. The commission may transmit to each wage board all pertinent information in its possession relative to the wages paid in the occupation in question. Each wage board shall take into consideration the needs of the employees, the financial condition of the occupation and the probable effect thereon of any increase in the minimum wages paid, and shall endeavor to determine the minimum wage, whether by time rate or piece rate, suitable for a female em-

ployee of ordinary ability in the occupation in question, or for any or all of the branches thereof, and also suitable minimum wages for learners and apprentices and for minors below the age of 18 years. When two-thirds of the members of a wage board shall agree upon minimum-wage determinations, they shall report such determinations to the commission, together with the reasons therefor and the facts relating thereto, and also the names, so far as they can be ascertained by the board, of employers who pay less than the minimum wage so determined.

Sec. 6. Upon receipt of a report from a wage board, the commission shall review the same and report its review to the governor. If the commission approves any or all of the determinations of the wage board, it shall, after not less than 30 days' notice to employers paying a wage less than the minimum wage approved, give a public hearing to such employers, and if, after such public hearing, the commission finally approves the determination, it shall enter a decree of its findings and note thereon the names of employers, so far as they may be known to the commission, who fail or refuse to accept such minimum wage and to agree to abide by it. The commission shall, within 30 days thereafter, publish the names of all such employers in at least one newspaper in each county in the Commonwealth, together with the material part of its findings, and a statement of the minimum wages paid by every such employer. Any employer, upon filing a declaration under oath in the district court to the effect that compliance with such decree would endanger the prosperity of the business to which the same is made applicable, shall be entitled to a stay of execution of such decree, and a review thereof with reference to the question involved in such declaration. Such review shall be made by the court under the rules of equity procedure, and if it shall be found by the court that compliance with such decree is likely to endanger the prosperity of the business to which the same is applicable, then an order shall issue from said court revoking the same. The type in which the employers' names shall be printed shall not be smaller than that in which the news matter of the paper is printed. The publication shall be attested by the signature of at least a majority of the commission.

Sec. 7. In case a wage board shall make a recommendation of a wage determination in which a majority but less than two-thirds of the members concur, the commission, in its discretion, may report such recommendations and the pertinent facts relating thereto to the legislature.

Sec. 8. Whenever a minimum-wage rate has been established in any occupation, the commission may, upon petition of either employers or employees, reconvene the wage board or establish a new wage board, and any recommendation made by such board shall be dealt with in the same manner as the original recommendation of a wage board.

Sec. 9. For any occupation in which a minimum time rate only has been established, the commission may issue to any woman physically defective a special license authorizing the employment of the licensee for a wage less than the legal minimum wage: *Provided*, That it is not less than the special minimum wage fixed for that person.

Sec. 10. The commission may at any time inquire into the wages paid to minors in any occupation in which the majority of employees are minors, and may, after giving public hearings, determine minimum wages suitable for such minors. When the commission has made such a determination, it may proceed in the same manner as if the determination had been recommended to the commission by a wage board.

Sec. 11. Every employer of women and minors shall keep a register of the names and addresses of all women and minors employed by him, and shall on request permit the commission or any of its members or agents to inspect the register. The commission shall also have power to subpoena witnesses, administer oaths, and take testimony, and to examine such parts of the books and records of employers as relate to the wages paid to women and minors. Such witnesses shall be summoned in the same manner and be paid from the treasury of the Commonwealth the same fees as witnesses before the district court.

Sec. 12. The commission may cause such statistics and other data to be gathered as it may deem desirable, and the cost thereof shall be paid out of the appropriation made for the expenses of the commission.

Sec. 13. Any employer who discharges or in any other manner discriminates against any employee because such employee has testified, or is about to testify, or because the employer believes that the employee may testify, in any investigation or proceeding relative to the enforcement of this article, shall be deemed

advice and consent of the senate \* \* \* for a term of six years. Not more than two commissioners shall belong to the same political party. Inasmuch as the duties to be performed by such commission vitally concern the employers, employees, as well as the whole people of the State, it is hereby declared to be the purpose of this act that persons be appointed as commissioners who shall fairly represent the interests of all concerned in its administration. \* \* \*

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Sec. 3. It shall be the duty of the commission to inquire into the wages paid to the female employees in any occupation in the Commonwealth, if the commission has reason to believe that the wages paid to a substantial number of such employees are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living and to maintain the worker in health.

Sec. 4. If, after such investigation, the commission is of the opinion that in the occupation in question the wages paid to a substantial number of female employees are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living and to maintain the worker in health, the commission shall establish a wage board consisting of not less than three representatives of employers in the occupation in question and of an equal number of persons to represent the female employee in said occupation, and in addition thereto the three appointed members of the commission to represent the public. The chairman of the commission shall be chairman of the wage board and shall make rules and regulations governing the procedure of the board and exercise jurisdiction over all questions arising with reference to the validity of the procedure and the determinations of the board. The secretary of the commission shall be secretary of the wage board and keep such record of hearings and arguments as the wage board shall direct. The members of wage boards shall be compensated at the same rate as jurors in district court; they shall be allowed necessary traveling and other expenses incurred in the performance of their duties, these payments to be made from the appropriation for the expenses of the commission.

Sec. 5. The commission may transmit to each wage board all pertinent information in its possession relative to the wages paid in the occupation in question. Each wage board shall take into consideration the needs of the employees, the financial condition of the occupation and the probable effect thereon of any increase in the minimum wages paid, and shall endeavor to determine the minimum wage, whether by time rate or piece rate, suitable for a female em-



ployee of ordinary ability in the occupation in question, or for any or all of the branches thereof, and also suitable minimum wages for learners and apprentices and for minors below the age of 18 years. When two-thirds of the members of a wage board shall agree upon minimum-wage determinations, they shall report such determinations to the commission, together with the reasons therefor and the facts relating thereto, and also the names, so far as they can be ascertained by the board, of employers who pay less than the minimum wage so determined.

Sec. 6. Upon receipt of a report from a wage board, the commission shall review the same and report its review to the governor. If the commission approves any or all of the determinations of the wage board, it shall, after not less than 30 days' notice to employers paying a wage less than the minimum wage approved, give a public hearing to such employers, and if, after such public hearing, the commission finally approves the determination, it shall enter a decree of its findings and note thereon the names of employers, so far as they may be known to the commission, who fail or refuse to accept such minimum wage and to agree to abide by it. The commission shall, within 30 days thereafter, publish the names of all such employers in at least one newspaper in each county in the Commonwealth, together with the material part of its findings, and a statement of the minimum wages paid by every such employer. Any employer, upon filing a declaration under oath in the district court to the effect that compliance with such decree would endanger the prosperity of the business to which the same is made applicable, shall be entitled to a stay of execution of such decree, and a review thereof with reference to the question involved in such declaration. Such review shall be made by the court under the rules of equity procedure, and if it shall be found by the court that compliance with such decree is likely to endanger the prosperity of the business to which the same is applicable, then an order shall issue from said court revoking the same. The type in which the employers' names shall be printed shall not be smaller than that in which the news matter of the paper is printed. The publication shall be attested by the signature of at least a majority of the commission.

Sec. 7. In case a wage board shall make a recommendation of a wage determination in which a majority but less than two-thirds of the members concur, the commission, in its discretion, may report such recommendations and the pertinent facts relating thereto to the legislature.

Sec. 8. Whenever a minimum-wage rate has been established in any occupation, the commission may, upon petition of either employers or employees, reconvene the wage board or establish a new wage board, and any recommendation made by such board shall be dealt with in the same manner as the original recommendation of a wage board.

Sec. 9. For any occupation in which a minimum time rate only has been established, the commission may issue to any woman physically defective a special license authorizing the employment of the licensee for a wage less than the legal minimum wage: *Provided*, That it is not less than the special minimum wage fixed for that person.

Sec. 10. The commission may at any time inquire into the wages paid to minors in any occupation in which the majority of employees are minors, and may, after giving public hearings, determine minimum wages suitable for such minors. When the commission has made such a determination, it may proceed in the same manner as if the determination had been recommended to the commission by a wage board.

Sec. 11. Every employer of women and minors shall keep a register of the names and addresses of all women and minors employed by him, and shall on request permit the commission or any of its members or agents to inspect the register. The commission shall also have power to subpoena witnesses, administer oaths, and take testimony, and to examine such parts of the books and records of employers as relate to the wages paid to women and minors. Such witnesses shall be summoned in the same manner and be paid from the treasury of the Commonwealth the same fees as witnesses before the district court.

Sec. 12. The commission may cause such statistics and other data to be gathered as it may deem desirable, and the cost thereof shall be paid out of the appropriation made for the expenses of the commission.

Sec. 13. Any employer who discharges or in any other manner discriminates against any employee because such employee has testified, or is about to testify, or because the employer believes that the employee may testify, in any investigation or proceeding relative to the enforcement of this article, shall be deemed

guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of \$25 for each offense.

SEC. 14. The commission shall from time to time determine whether employers in each occupation investigated are obeying its decrees, and shall publish in the manner provided in section 6 of this chapter the name of any employer whom it finds to be violating any such decree.

SEC. 15. Any newspaper publisher, or publishers, refusing or neglecting to publish the findings, decrees, or notice of the commission at its regular rates for the space taken, shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not less than \$100 for each offense.

SEC. 16. No member of the commission and no newspaper publisher, proprietor, editor, or employee thereof, shall be liable to an action for damages for publishing the name of any employer in accordance with the provisions of this article, unless such publication contains some willful misrepresentation.

SEC. 17. The commission shall make a report to the governor on or before the 1st day of November, 1914, and biennially thereafter, covering the results secured and data gathered in its work. It may also make such additional report, in the form of bulletins from time to time as in its judgment shall best serve the public interest.

[Entire law repealed in 1919 through omission of ch. 211 from the Civil Administrative Code.]

## NORTH DAKOTA, 1919

*Original minimum-wage law—Session Laws of North Dakota, 1919, ch. 174, pp. 317-322.*

SECTION 1. When used in this act the term "bureau" means the workmen's compensation bureau.

The term "commissioner" means a member of the workmen's compensation bureau.

The term "minor" means a person of either sex under age of 18 years.

The term "women" includes only women 18 years of age or over.

The term "occupation" includes a business, industry, trade, or branch thereof, but shall not include agricultural or domestic service.

SEC. 2. The said bureau is hereby authorized and empowered to ascertain and declare, in the manner hereinafter provided, the following things:

(a) Standards of hours of employment for women or minors and what are unreasonably long hours for women or for minors in any occupation within the State of North Dakota;

(b) Standards of conditions of labor for women or for minors in any occupation within the State and what surroundings or conditions, sanitary or otherwise, are detrimental to the health or morals of women or of minors in any such occupation;

(c) Standards of minimum wages for women in any occupation in the State and what wages are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living to any such women workers and to maintain them in good health;

(d) Standard of minimum wages for minors in any occupation within the State of North Dakota and what wages are unreasonably low for any such minor workers;

(e) To prepare, adopt, and promulgate rules and regulations for the carrying into effect of the foregoing provisions of this act, including rules and regulations for the selection of members and the mode of procedure of conferences;

(f) To employ any and all necessary help and assistance for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act and to fix their compensation and bonds, providing that the total amount of such compensation shall not exceed the amount appropriated therefor by the legislative assembly;

(g) To investigate and ascertain the wages and the hours of labor and the conditions of labor of women and minors in different occupations in which they are employed in the State of North Dakota;

(h) Either through any authorized representative or any commissioner, to inspect and examine any and all books and pay rolls and other records of any employer of women or minors that in any way appertain to or have a bearing upon the questions of labor or hours of labor or conditions of labor of any such women workers or minor workers in any of such occupations;

(4) To require from any such employer full and true statements of the wages paid to and the hours of labor and conditions of labor, of all women and minors in such employment.

Sec. 3. It shall be unlawful to employ women or minors in any occupation within the State for unreasonably long hours; and it shall be unlawful to employ women or minors in any occupation within the State under such surroundings or conditions, sanitary or otherwise, as may be detrimental to their health or morals; and it shall be unlawful to employ women in any occupation within the State for wages which are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living and to maintain them in health; and it shall be unlawful to employ minors in any occupation within the State for unreasonably low wages.

Sec. 4. Every employer of women or minors shall keep a register of the names of all women and all minors employed by him, and shall, on request, permit any commissioner or any authorized representative of said bureau to inspect and examine such register.

Sec. 5. Said bureau may hold meetings for the transaction of any of its business at such times and places as it may prescribe; and said bureau may hold public hearings at such times and places as it deems fit and proper for the purpose of investigating any of the matters it is authorized to investigate by this act. At any such public hearing any person interested in the matter being investigated may appear and testify. Said bureau or any commissioner shall have power to subpoena and compel the attendance of any witness at any such public hearing or at any session of any conference called and held as hereinafter provided; and any commissioner shall have power to administer an oath to any witness who testifies at any such public hearing or at any such session of any conference. All witnesses subpoenaed by said bureau shall be paid the same mileage and per diem as are allowed by law to witnesses in civil cases before the district court.

Sec. 6. If, after investigation, said bureau is of the opinion that any substantial number of women workers in any occupation are working for unreasonably long hours, or are working under surroundings or conditions detrimental to their health or morals, or are receiving inadequate wages to supply them with the necessary cost of living and maintain them in health, said bureau may call and convene a conference for the purpose and with the powers of considering and inquiring into and reporting on the subject investigated by said bureau and submitted by it to such conference. Such conference shall be composed of not more than three representatives of the employers in said occupation, and of an equal number of the representatives of the employees in said occupation, and of not more than three disinterested persons representing the public and of one or more commissioners. Said bureau shall name and appoint all members of such conference and designate the chairman thereof. Said bureau shall present to such conference all information and evidence in the possession or under the control of said bureau which relates to the subject of the inquiry of such conference; and said bureau shall cause to be brought before such conference any witness whose testimony said bureau deems material to the subject of the inquiry of such conference. After completing its consideration of any inquiry into the subject submitted to it by said bureau, such conference shall make and transmit to said bureau a report containing the findings and recommendations of such conference on said subject. Accordingly as the subject submitted to it may require, such conference shall, in its report, make recommendations on any or all of the following questions concerning the particular occupation under inquiry, to wit:

(a) Standards of hours of employment for women workers and what are unreasonably long hours of employment, for women workers;

(b) Standards of conditions of labor for women workers and what surroundings or conditions, sanitary or otherwise, are detrimental to the health or morals of women workers;

(c) Standards of minimum wages for women workers and what wages are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living to women workers and maintain them in health.

In its recommendations on a question of wages such conference shall, where it appears that any substantial number of women workers in the occupation under inquiry are being paid by piece rates as distinguished from time rate, recommend minimum piece rates as well as minimum time rates and recommend such minimum piece rates as will, in its judgment, be adequate to supply the necessary cost of living to women workers of average ordinary ability and maintain them in health. Two-thirds of the members of any such conference shall constitute a

quorum; and the decision or recommendation or report of such two-thirds on any subject submitted shall be deemed the decision or recommendation or report of such conference.

Sec. 7. Upon receipt of any report from any conference said bureau shall consider and review the recommendation contained in said report; and said bureau may approve any or all of said recommendations or disapprove any or all of said recommendations; and said bureau may resubmit to the same conference or a new conference any subject covered by any recommendations so disapproved. If said bureau approves any recommendations contained in any report from any conference, said bureau shall publish notice, not less than once a week for four successive weeks in not less than two newspapers of general circulation published in the State, that it will on a date and at a place named in said notice hold a public meeting at which all persons in favor of or opposed to said recommendations will be given a hearing; and, after said publication of said notice and said meeting, said bureau may, in its discretion, make and render such an order as may be proper or necessary to adopt such recommendations and carry the same into effect and require all employers in the occupation affected thereby to observe and comply with such recommendations and said order. Said order shall become effective in 60 days after it is made and rendered and shall be in full force and effect on and after the sixtieth day following its making and rendition. After said order becomes effective and while it is effective, it shall be unlawful for any employer to violate or disregard any of the terms or provisions of said order or to employ any woman worker in any occupation covered by said order for longer hours or under different surroundings or conditions or at a lower wage than are authorized or permitted by said order. Said bureau shall, as far as it is practicable mail a copy of such order to every employer affected thereby; and every employer affected by any such order shall keep a copy thereof posted in a conspicuous place in each room in his establishment in which women workers work. No such order of said bureau shall authorize or permit the employment of any women for more hours per day or per week than the maximum now fixed by law.

Sec. 8. Said bureau may at any time inquire into wages or hours or conditions of labor of minors employed in any occupation in this State and determine suitable wages and hours and conditions of labor for such minors. When said bureau has made such determination, it may issue an obligatory order in the manner hereinbefore provided; and after such order is effective, it shall be unlawful for any employer in said occupation to employ a minor at less wages or for more hours or under different conditions of labor than are specified or required in or by said order; but no such order of said bureau shall authorize or permit the employment of any minor for more hours per day or per week than the maximum now fixed by law or at any times or under any conditions now prohibited by law.

Sec. 9. Said bureau shall, from time to time, investigate and ascertain whether or not employers in the State are observing and complying with its orders and take such steps as may be necessary to have prosecuted such employers as are not observing or complying with its orders.

Sec. 10. All questions of fact arising under the foregoing provisions of this act shall, except as otherwise herein provided, be determined by said bureau, and there shall be no appeal from the decision of said bureau on any such question of fact; but there shall be a right of appeal from said bureau to the district court of Burleigh County, from any ruling or holding on a question of law included in or embodied in any decision or order of said bureau, and, on the same question of law, from said district court to the supreme court of the State. In all such appeals the attorney general shall appear for and represent said bureau.

Sec. 11. For any occupation in which the minimum wage has been established the bureau may issue to a female physically defective by age or otherwise or to an apprentice or learner in such occupations as usually require learners or apprentices, a special license authorizing the employment of any such licensee at a wage less than the minimum wage to be fixed by the bureau, such license to be issued under such rules and regulations as the bureau may establish therefor.

Sec. 12. Nothing in this act shall authorize or empower the bureau to increase the hours of labor for women or in any manner impair or affect the provisions of an act entitled "For an act regulating and fixing the hours of labor for females and providing penalties for the violation thereof," adopted at the sixteenth legislative session of this State.

SEC. 13. Any person who violates any of the foregoing provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$25 nor more than \$100 or by imprisonment in the county jail for not less than 10 days nor more than 3 months or by both such fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 14. Any employer who discharges or in any other manner discriminates against any employee because such employee has testified, or is about to testify, or because such employer believes that said employee may testify, in any investigation or proceedings under or relative to this act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$25 nor more than \$100.

SEC. 15. If any woman worker shall be paid by her employer less than the minimum wage to which she is entitled under or by virtue of an order of said bureau, she may recover in a civil action the full amount of her said minimum wage less any amount actually paid to her by said employer, together with such attorney's fees as may be allowed by the court; and any agreement for her to work for less than such minimum wage shall be no defense to such action.

SEC. 16. Said bureau shall, on or before the first day of November of the year 1920 and of each second year thereafter, make a succinct report to the governor and legislature of its work and the proceedings under this act during the preceding two years.

SEC. 17. There is hereby appropriated out of the moneys in the State treasury, not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$6,000 per annum, or so much thereof as may be necessary per annum, to carry into effect the provisions of this act and to pay the expenses and expenditures authorized by or incurred under this act.

SEC. 18. Chapter 181 of the session laws of North Dakota for the year 1917 and all acts and parts of acts in conflict herewith, are hereby repealed.

#### LAW CREATING WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION BUREAU, 1919

SECTION 4. A workmen's compensation bureau is hereby created in the department of agriculture and labor, consisting of the commissioner of agriculture and labor [1919 special session adds: *and the commissioner of insurance; 1921, the State insurance commissioner*] and *two* [1919 special session, *three*] workmen's compensation commissioners, to be appointed by the governor, *who* [1921, *and the three commissioners so appointed*] shall devote their entire time to the duties of the bureau. \* \* \* the commissioner \* \* \* shall be appointed for a *period* [1919 special session, *term*] of five years. [1919 special session adds: *That one of the appointees on said bureau shall be a representative of the employers [provision omitted in 1921], and one of the appointees on [1921, of the] said bureau shall be a representative of labor, and that one of the appointees on [1921, of the] said bureau shall be a representative of the public.*] The commissioner of agriculture and labor shall be ex-officio head [1921 inserts: *and chairman*] of the bureau [1919 special session adds: *and the commissioner [1921, commissioners] of insurance shall be ex-officio member [1921, members] of the bureau*]. The other members of the bureau shall receive a salary of \$2,500 a year.

*Session Laws of North Dakota: 1919 ch. 162, p. 263; and Special Session, ch. 73, pp. 120-121; Session Laws, 1921, ch. 145, p. 238.*

### OREGON, 1913

*Original minimum-wage law—Session Laws of Oregon, 1913, ch. 62, pp. 92-99. Amendment—Session Laws of Oregon, 1915, ch. 35, pp. 48-49.*

SEC. 1. It shall be unlawful to employ women or minors in any occupation within the State of Oregon for unreasonably long hours; and it shall be unlawful to employ women or minors in any occupation within the State of Oregon under such surroundings or conditions—sanitary or otherwise—as may be detrimental to their health or morals; and it shall be unlawful to employ women in any occupation within the State of Oregon for wages which are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living and to maintain them in health; and it shall be unlawful to employ minors in any occupation within the State of Oregon for unreasonably low wages.

Sec. 2. There is hereby created a commission composed of three commissioners, which shall be known as the "industrial welfare commission;" and the word "commission" as hereinafter used, refers to and means said industrial welfare commission; and the word "commissioner" as hereinafter used refers to and means a member of said industrial welfare commission. Said commissioners shall be appointed by the governor. The governor shall have his first appointments hereunder within 30 days after this bill becomes a law; and of the three commissioners first appointed, one shall hold office until January 1, 1914, and another shall hold office until January 1, 1915, and the third shall hold office until January 1, 1916; and the governor shall designate the terms of each three first appointees. On or before the 1st day of January of each year, beginning with the year 1914, the governor shall appoint a commissioner to succeed the commissioner whose term expires on said 1st day of January; and such new appointee shall hold office for the term of three years from said 1st day of January. Each commissioner shall hold office until his successor is appointed and has qualified; and any vacancy that may occur in the membership of said commission shall be filled by appointment by the governor for the unexpired portion of the term in which such vacancy occurs. A majority of said commissioners shall constitute a quorum to transact business, and the act or decision of such a majority shall be deemed the act or decision of said commission; and no vacancy shall impair the right of the remaining commissioners to exercise all the powers of said commission. The governor shall, so far as practicable, so select and appoint said commissioners—both the original appointments and all subsequent appointments—that at all times one of said commissioners shall represent the interests of the employing class and one of said commissioners shall represent the interests of the employed class and the third of said commissioners shall be one who will be fair and impartial between employers and employees and work for the best interests of the public as a whole.

Sec. 3. The first commissioners appointed under this act shall, within 20 days after their appointment, meet and organize said commission by electing one of their number as chairman thereof and by choosing a secretary of said commission; and by or before the 10th day of January of each year, beginning with the year 1914, said commissioners shall elect a chairman and choose a secretary for the ensuing year. Each such chairman and each such secretary shall hold his or her position until his or her successor is elected or chosen; but said commission may at any time remove any secretary chosen hereunder. Said secretary shall not be a commissioner; and said secretary shall perform such duties as may be prescribed and receive such salary as may be fixed by said commission. None of said commissioners shall receive any salary as such. All authorized and necessary expenses of said commission and all authorized and necessary expenditures incurred by said commission shall be audited and paid as other State expenses and expenditures are audited and paid.

Sec. 4. Said commission is hereby authorized and empowered to ascertain and declare, in the manner hereinafter provided, the following things:

(a) Standards of hours of employment for women or for minors and what are unreasonably long hours for women or for minors in any occupation within the State of Oregon; (b) standards of conditions of labor for women or for minors in any occupation within the State of Oregon and what surroundings or conditions—sanitary or otherwise—are detrimental to the health or morals of women or of minors in any such occupation; (c) standards of minimum wages for women in any occupation within the State of Oregon and what wages are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living to any such women workers and to maintain them in good health; and (d) standards of minimum wages for minors in any occupation within the State of Oregon and what wages are unreasonably low for any such minor workers.

Sec. 5. Said commission shall have full power and authority to investigate and ascertain the wages and the hours of labor and the conditions of labor of women and minors in the different occupations in which they are employed in the State of Oregon; and said commission shall have full power and authority, either through any authorized representative or any commissioner, to inspect and examine any and all books and pay rolls and other records of any employer of women or minors that in any way appertain to or have a bearing upon the questions of wages or hours of labor or conditions of labor of any such women workers or minor workers in any of said occupations and to require from any such employer full and true statements of the wages paid to and the hours of labor of and the conditions of labor of all women and minors in his employment.

SEC. 6. Every employer of women or minors shall keep a register of the names of all women and all minors employed by him, and shall, on request, permit any commissioner or any authorized representative of said commission to inspect and examine such register. The word "minor," as used in this act, refers to and means any person of either sex under the age of 18 years; and the word "women," as used in this act, refers to and means a female person [female persons] of or over the age of 18 years.

SEC. 7. Said commission may hold meetings for the transaction of any of its business at such times and places as it may prescribe; and said commission may hold public hearings at such times and places as it deems fit and proper for the purpose of investigating any of the matters it is authorized to investigate by this act. At any such public hearing any person interested in the matter being investigated may appear and testify. Said commission shall have power to subpoena and compel the attendance of any witness at any such public hearing or at any session of any conference called and held as hereinafter provided; and any commissioner shall have power to administer an oath to any witness who testifies at any such public hearing or at any such session of any conference. All witnesses subpoenaed by said commission shall be paid the same mileage and per diem as are allowed by law to witnesses in civil cases before the circuit court of Multnomah County.

SEC. 8. If, after investigation, said commission is of opinion that any substantial number of women workers in any occupation are working for unreasonably long hours or are working under surroundings or conditions detrimental to their health or morals, or are receiving wages inadequate to supply them with the necessary cost of living and maintain them in health, said commission may call and convene a conference for the purpose and with the powers of considering and inquiring into and reporting on the subject investigated by said commission and submitted to it by such conference. Such conference shall be composed of not more than three representatives of the employers in said occupation and of an equal number of the representatives of the employees in said occupation and of not more than three disinterested persons representing the public and of one or more commissioners. Said commission shall name and appoint all the members of such conference and designate the chairman thereof. Said commission shall present to such conference all information and evidence in the possession or under the control of said commission which relates to the subject of the inquiry by such conference; and said commission shall cause to be brought before such conference any witnesses whose testimony said commission deems material to the subject of the inquiry by such conference. After completing its consideration of and inquiry into the subject submitted to it by said commission, such conference shall make and transmit to said commission a report containing the findings and recommendations of such conference on said subject. Accordingly as the subject submitted to it may require, such conference shall, in its report, make recommendations on any or all of the following questions concerning the particular occupation under inquiry, to wit:

(a) Standards of hours of employment for women workers and what are unreasonably long hours of employment for women workers; (b) standards of conditions of labor for women workers and what surroundings or conditions—sanitary or otherwise—are detrimental to the health or morals of women workers; (c) standards of minimum wages for women workers and what wages are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living to women workers and maintain them in health. In its recommendations on a question of wages such conference shall, where it appears that any substantial number of women workers in the occupation under inquiry are being paid by piece rates as distinguished from time rates recommend minimum piece rates as well as minimum time rate and recommend such minimum piece rates as will, in its judgment, be adequate to supply the necessary cost of living to women workers of average ordinary ability and maintain them in health; and in its recommendations on a question of wages such conference shall, when it appears proper or necessary, recommend suitable minimum wages for learners and apprentices and the maximum length of time any woman worker may be kept at such wages as a learner or apprentice, which said wages shall be less than the regular minimum wages recommended for the regular women workers in the occupation under inquiry. Two-thirds of the members of any such conference shall constitute a quorum; and the decision or recommendation or report of such a two-thirds on any subject submitted shall be deemed the decision or recommendations or report of such conference.

Sec. 9. Upon receipt of any report from any conference said commission shall consider and review the recommendations contained in said report; and said commission may approve any or all of said recommendations or disapprove any or all of said recommendations; and said commission may resubmit to the same conference or a new conference any subject covered by any recommendations so disapproved. If said commission approves any recommendations contained in any report from any conference, said commission shall publish notice, not less than once a week for four successive weeks in not less than two newspapers of general circulation published in Multnomah County that it will on a date and at a place named in said notice hold a public meeting at which all persons in favor of or opposed to said recommendations will be given a hearing; and, after said publication of said notice and said meeting, said commission may, in its discretion, make and render such an order as may be proper or necessary to adopt such recommendations and carry the same into effect and require all employers in the occupation affected thereby to observe and comply with such recommendations and said order. Said order shall become effective in 60 days after it is made and rendered and shall be in full force and effect on and after the sixtieth day following its making and rendition. After said order becomes effective and while it is effective, it shall be unlawful for any employer to violate or disregard any of the terms or provisions of said order or to employ any woman worker in any occupation covered by said order for longer hours or under different surroundings or conditions or at lower wages than are authorized or permitted by said order. Said commission shall, as far as is practicable, mail a copy of any such order to every employer affected thereby; and every employer affected by any such order shall keep a copy thereof posted in a conspicuous place in each room in his establishment in which women workers work. No such order of said commission shall authorize or permit the employment of any woman for more hours per day or per week than the maximum now fixed by law. [1915 adds this: *Provided, however, That in case of emergencies which may arise in the conduct of any industry or occupation overtime may be permitted under conditions and rules which the commission, after investigation, shall determine and prescribe by order and which shall apply equally to all employers in such industry or occupation.*]

Sec. 10. For any occupation in which only a minimum time rate wage has been established, said commission may issue to a woman physically defective or crippled by age or otherwise a special license authorizing her employment at such wage less than said minimum time rate wage as shall be fixed by said commission and stated in said license.

Sec. 11. Said commission may at any time inquire into wages or hours or conditions of labor of minors employed in any occupation in this State and determine suitable wages and hours and conditions of labor for such minors. When said commission has made such determination, it may issue an obligatory order in the manner provided for in section 9 of this act; and, after such order is effective, it shall be unlawful for any employer in said occupation to employ a minor at less wages or for more hours or under different conditions of labor than are specified or required in or by said order; but no such order of said commission shall authorize or permit the employment of any minor for more hours per day or per week than the maximum now fixed by law or at any times or under any conditions now prohibited by law.

Sec. 12. The word "occupation" as used in this act shall be so construed as to include any and every vocation and pursuit and trade and industry. Any conference may make a separate inquiry into and report on any branch of any occupation; and said commission may make a separate order affecting any branch of any occupation. Any conference may make different recommendations and said commission may make different orders for the same occupation in different localities in the State when in the judgment of such conference or said commission, different conditions in different localities justify such different recommendations or different orders.

Sec. 13. Said commission shall, from time to time, investigate and ascertain whether or not employers in the State of Oregon are observing and complying with its orders and take such steps as may be necessary to have prosecuted such employers as are not observing or complying with its orders.

Sec. 14. The "commissioner of labor statistics and inspector of factories and workshops" and the several officers of the "board of inspection of child labor" shall, at any and all times, give to said commission any information or statistics in their respective offices that would assist said commission in carrying out this act and render such assistance to said commission as may not be inconsistent with the performance of their respective official duties.



Sec. 15. Said commission is hereby authorized and empowered to prepare and adopt and promulgate rules and regulations for the carrying into effect of the foregoing provisions of this act, including rules and regulations for the selection of members and the mode of procedure of conferences.

Sec. 16. All questions of fact arising under the foregoing provisions of this act shall, except as otherwise herein provided, be determined by said commission, and there shall be no appeal from the decision of said commission on any such question of fact; but there shall be a right of appeal from said commission to the circuit court of the State of Oregon for Multnomah County from any ruling or holding on a question of law included in or embodied in any decision or order of said commission, and, on the same question of law, from said circuit court to the supreme court of the State of Oregon. In all such appeals the attorney general shall appear for and represent said commission.

Sec. 17. Any person who violates any of the foregoing provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$25 nor more than \$100 or by imprisonment in the county jail for not less than 10 days nor more than 3 months or by both such fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the court.

Sec. 18. Any employer who discharges or in any other manner discriminates against any employee because such employee has testified, or is about to testify, or because such employer believes that said employee may testify, in any investigation or proceedings under or relative to this act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$25 nor more than \$100.

Sec. 19. If any woman worker shall be paid by her employer less than the minimum wage to which she is entitled under or by virtue of an order of said commission, she may recover in a civil action the full amount of her said minimum wage, less any amount actually paid to her by said employer, together with such attorneys' fees as may be allowed by the court; and any agreement for her to work for less than such minimum wage shall be no defense to such action.

Sec. 20. Said commission shall, on or before the 1st day of January of the year 1915, and of each second year thereafter, make a succinct report to the governor and legislature of its work and the proceedings under this act during the preceding two years.

Sec. 21. There is hereby appropriated out of the general fund of the State of Oregon the sum of \$3,500 per annum, or so much thereof as may be necessary per annum, to carry into effect the provisions of this act and to pay the expenses and expenditures authorized by or incurred under this act.

## PORTO RICO, 1919

*Original minimum-wage law—Session Laws of Porto Rico, 1919, No. 45, p. 200.*

SECTION 1. It shall be unlawful for any employer of women, girls inclusive, in industrial occupations, or commercial or public service undertakings in Porto Rico, to pay them wages lower than those specified in this section, to wit:

Women under 18 years of age at the rate of \$4 a week and over said age at the rate of \$6 a week. The first three weeks of apprenticeship shall be exempt from the provisions of this section. The provisions of this act shall not be applicable to agriculture and agricultural industries.

Sec. 2. Any employer paying any woman, girls included, wages lower than those specified in section 1 shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction shall be punished by a fine not to exceed \$50 nor less than \$5.

Sec. 3. The bureau of labor shall be intrusted with the enforcement of this act.

### LAW CREATING THE BUREAU OF LABOR, 1912

SECTION 1. There shall be established, in the office of the director of labor, charities, and correction, a bureau of labor, which shall be under the charge of the chief of the bureau of labor, who shall be appointed, upon approval of the governor, by and continue in the service at the pleasure of the said director of labor, charities, and correction.

[1921 substitutes: SECTION 1. *There is hereby established in the department of agriculture and labor a bureau of labor under the direction of the chief of the bureau of labor, who shall be appointed by the commissioner of agriculture and labor, and who, upon his induction into office, shall be included in the classified civil service.*]

SEC. 2. There shall also be in the bureau of labor an assistant chief who shall be named by the director of labor, charities, and correction with the approval of the governor [1921, appointed by the commissioner of agriculture and labor]. He shall receive a salary of \$2,000 a year [1921, omitted], and perform such services as may be required by the chief of the bureau of labor, and shall act as chief of the bureau of labor during his absence [1921, who shall render such services as the chief of the bureau may require and shall act as chief of said bureau in the absence of the chief]. The assistant chief of the bureau of labor shall be a man who has made a study of labor conditions, and is otherwise qualified to perform the duties of this office [1921, omitted].

SEC. 3. The chief of the bureau of labor shall receive a salary of \$2,500 per annum, payable monthly, and his necessary traveling expenses and per diem while away from his headquarters on official business, \* \* \*

*Session Laws of Porto Rico: 1912, No. 84, pp. 172-173; 1921, No. 65, p. 516.*

### SOUTH DAKOTA, 1923

*Original minimum-wage law—Session Laws of South Dakota, 1923, ch. 309, p. 329.*

SECTION 1. No woman or girl over the age of 14 years shall be employed or permitted to work in any factory, workshop, mechanical or mercantile establishment, laundry, hotel, restaurant, or packing house, at less than a living wage of \$12 per week, or a proportionate amount for periods of employment of less than a week.

SEC. 2. Any woman or girl over the age of 14 who receives less than the minimum wage herein provided in the occupations specified in the preceding section, shall be entitled to recover in a civil action the full amount as measured by the said minimum wage, together with costs, notwithstanding any agreement to work for a lesser wage.

SEC. 3. The provisions of this act prohibiting the payment of less than a minimum wage, shall not apply to apprentices or to those learning the business or work in which they are engaged; providing, any employer desiring to employ any such persons shall within 10 days after employing said person make known to the industrial commissioner the names of such persons and obtain leave so to employ them.

SEC. 4. For any occupation for which a minimum wage is herein provided, the industrial commissioner of this State may issue to a woman mentally or physically deficient or disabled a special permit, authorizing her employment at a wage less than the general minimum herein provided, and the industrial commissioner shall fix the special wage for such person.

SEC. 5. Any employer who employs a woman or girl over the age of 14 at less than the minimum wage as provided in this act, in any of the occupations herein mentioned, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished, for each offense, by a fine of not less than \$10 nor more than \$100, or by imprisonment for not more than 30 days, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

#### LAW CREATING THE OFFICE OF COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION, 1911

SECTION 1. A board to be known as the South Dakota State board of immigration is hereby created and established.

SEC. 2. The board shall be composed of three members, the governor, secretary of state, and the commissioner of school and public lands, and they shall act without any compensation whatsoever. The governor shall, ex officio, be chairman of the board.

SEC. 3. The said board of immigration shall appoint a qualified elector of this State to be the general executive of said board, and such agent shall be officially known and styled commissioner of immigration. The said commissioner shall hold office during the pleasure of said board and shall receive such compensation as said board shall determine.

*Session Laws of South Dakota: 1911, ch. 100, pp. 123-124.*

#### LAW CREATING THE OFFICE OF INDUSTRIAL COMMISSIONER, 1917

SECTION 29. There is hereby created the office of South Dakota industrial commissioner, and the commissioner of immigration and his successor in office shall act as such commissioner until otherwise provided by law.

[1921 adds: *The commissioner, by and with the consent of the governor, may appoint a deputy and employ such other assistants and clerical help as may be required and fix the compensation for each: Provided, That the salary of the deputy shall be \$2,400 per annum. Such deputy shall possess and exercise all the powers conferred by this article upon the industrial commissioner, and, except as to appointment and salary, the phrase "industrial commissioner" wherever it occurs in this article shall be construed to include such deputy.*] *Session Laws of South Dakota: 1916-1917, ch. 576, p. 845; 1921, ch. 422, p. 556.*

## TEXAS, 1919

*Original minimum-wage law—General Laws of Texas, 1919, regular session, ch. 160, pp. 305-309.*

*Request for delay in setting wage rates—General Laws of Texas, 1920, 3d (called) session, senate concurrent resolution No. 5, pp. 141-142.*

*Repeal—General Laws of Texas, 1921, regular session, ch. 118, p. 225.*

**SECTION 1.** There is hereby established a commission to be known as the industrial welfare commission, hereinafter called the commission. Said commission shall be composed of three persons, as follows: The head of the bureau of labor statistics, who shall be chairman of the commission, the representative of employers of labor on the industrial accident board, and the State superintendent of public instruction. Two members of the commission shall constitute a quorum, the concurrence of two members shall be necessary to determine any question that may arise for decision, and a vacancy on the commission shall not impair the right of the remaining members to perform all the duties and exercise all the powers and authority of the commission.

[Commissioner of labor statistics: Appointed by governor for two-year term.—*General Laws of Texas, 1909, ch. 24, p. 59.* Salary, \$3,000 per annum.—*General Laws of Texas, 1919, ch. 106, p. 164.*

Employer member of industrial accident board: Board composed of three members appointed by the governor for six-year terms—(1) an employer of labor in some industry or business covered by this act, (2) some one working as a wage earner at the time of his appointment to this board, and (3) a practicing attorney; chairman to be paid \$3,000 and members \$2,500 per annum.—*General Laws of Texas, 1913, ch. 179, p. 432, and 1917, ch. 103, p. 282.*

State superintendent of public instruction: Elected by popular vote at each general election for State and county officers for two-year term; to be paid \$2,500 a year.—*General Laws of Texas, 1905, ch. 124, p. 270.*]

**SEC. 2.** The commission may employ a secretary and two investigators to carry out the purpose of this act, and shall fix the compensation of such employees, not to exceed the sum of \$1,800 per annum for each one, and all necessary traveling expenses, within the appropriation made therefor.

**SEC. 3. (a)** It shall be the duty of the commission to ascertain the wages paid, the hours and conditions of labor and employment in the various occupations, trades, and industries in which women and minors are employed in the State of Texas, and to make investigations into the comfort, health, safety, and welfare of such women and minors.

**(b)** It shall be the duty of every person, firm, and corporation employing labor in this State—

1. To furnish to the commission, at its request, any and all reports or information which the commission may require pertaining to the working conditions and wages paid women and minors to carry out the purpose of this act; such reports and information to be verified by the oath of the person, or a member of the firm, or the president, secretary, or manager of the corporation furnishing same, if and when requested by the commission or any member thereof.

2. To allow any member of the commission, or its secretary or any of its duly authorized employees, free access to the place of business or employment of such person, firm, or corporation, for the purpose of making an investigation authorized by this act, relating to the working conditions and wages of women and minors.

3. To keep a register of the names, ages, and residence addresses of all women and minors employed.

**(c)** For the purpose of this act a minor is defined to be a person of either sex under the age of 15 years.

SEC. 4. The commission may specify times to hold public hearings, at which time employers, employees, or other interested persons may appear and give testimony as to the matter under consideration. The commission or any member thereof, or the secretary or any investigator employed by said commission, shall have power to subpoena witnesses and to administer oaths. All witnesses subpoenaed by the commission shall be paid the fee and mileage fixed by law in civil cases. In case of failure on the part of any person to comply with any order of the commission or any member thereof, or any subpoena, or upon the refusal of any witnesses to testify to any matter regarding which he may lawfully be interrogated before any wage board or the commission, it shall be the duty of any district court or the judge thereof, to whom application is made, on the application of a member of the commission, to compel obedience in the same manner, by contempt proceedings or otherwise, that such obedience would be compelled in a proceeding pending before said court. The commission shall have power to make and enforce reasonable and proper rules of practice and procedure and shall not be bound by technical rules of evidence.

SEC. 5. (a) The commission shall have further power, after a public hearing before any member of the commission, or before any investigator employed by said commission, and upon its own motion or upon petition, to fix:

1. A minimum wage to be paid to women and minors in any occupation, trade, or industry in this State, which shall not be less than a wage adequate to supply such women and minors the necessary cost of proper living, and to maintain the health and welfare of such women and minors.

2. The standard conditions of labor demanded by the health and welfare of the women and minors engaged in any occupation, trade, or industry in this State.

(b) Upon the fixing of a time and place for the holding of a hearing for the purpose of considering and acting upon any matters referred to in subsection (a) hereof, the commission shall give public notice by advertisement in at least one newspaper published in the county where the hearing is to be held, and by mailing a copy of said notice to the county clerk of such county where the hearing is to be held, and to the individual, firm, or corporation to be investigated, which notice shall state the time and place of such hearing to be held, which shall not be earlier than 10 days from the date of publishing and mailing such notice.

(c) After such public hearing the commission may, in its discretion, make a mandatory order to be effective in 60 days from the making of such order, specifying the minimum wage for women and minors in the occupation in question and the standard conditions of labor for said women and minors: *Provided, however,* That no such order shall become effective until November 1, 1919.

Such order shall be published in at least one newspaper in the cities of Dallas, Houston, San Antonio, Fort Worth, El Paso, and Austin; and a copy thereof mailed to the county clerk of each county in the State, and such copy shall be recorded without charge, and copies shall be mailed to each employer in the occupation in question, and each employer in the occupation in question shall be required to post a copy of such order in a conspicuous place in the building in which the women or minors affected by the order are employed. Failure of the employer to receive such notice shall not relieve the employer from the duty to comply with such order. Finding by the commission that there has been such publication and mailing to the county clerk shall be conclusive to the service.

SEC. 6. Whenever wages or conditions of labor have been so made mandatory in any occupation, trade, or industry, the commission may at any time in its discretion, upon its own motion or upon petition of either employers or employees, after a public hearing held upon the notice prescribed for an original hearing, rescind, alter, or amend any prior order. Any order rescinding a prior order shall have the same effects as herein provided for in an original order.

SEC. 7. For any occupant in which a minimum wage has been established the commission may issue to any person subject to this act a special license authorizing the employment of such person for a period of six months for a wage less than such legal minimum wage; and the commission shall fix a special minimum wage for such person: *Provided,* That at no time shall the special licenses exceed 10 per cent of the total number of employees in said industry. Any such license may be renewed for a like period of six months.

SEC. 8. Upon the request of the commission, the labor commissioner shall cause such statistics and other data and information to be gathered and in-

vestigation made, as the commission may require pertaining to the wages and working conditions of women and minors.

Sec. 9. Any employer who discharges, or threatens to discharge, or in any other manner discriminates against any employee because such employee has testified or is about to testify, or because such employer believes that said employee may testify in any investigation or proceedings relative to the enforcement of this act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall upon conviction be punished by a fine of not less than \$10 nor more than \$100, or by imprisonment in the county jail of not more than 30 days, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

Sec. 10. The minimum wage for women and minors fixed by said commission as in this act provided, shall be the minimum wage paid to such employees, and the payment to such employees of a less wage than the minimum wage so fixed shall be unlawful, and every employer or other person who, either individually or as an officer, agent, or employee of a corporation or other person, pays or causes to be paid to any such employee a wage less than such minimum shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$10 nor more than \$100, or by imprisonment of not more than 30 days in the county jail, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

Sec. 11. In every prosecution for the violation of any provision of this act the minimum wage established by the commission as herein provided shall be prima facie presumed to be reasonable and lawful, and to be the living wage required herein to be paid women and minors. The finding of facts made by the commission acting within its powers shall, in the absence of fraud, be conclusive; and the determinations made by the commission, shall be subject to review only in a manner and upon the grounds following; within 30 days from the date of determination, any party aggrieved thereby may commence action in the district court in and for the county in which the aggrieved party resides, or in the district court of Travis County, against the commission for review of such determination. In such action a complaint which shall state the grounds upon which a review is sought shall be served with the summons. Service upon the secretary of the commission or upon any member of the commission, shall be deemed a complete service. The commission shall file its answer within 20 days after the service of the complaint. With its answer, the commission shall make a return to the court of all documents and papers on file in the matter, and of all testimony and evidence which may have been taken before it and of its findings and determination in the matter. The action may thereupon be brought on for hearing before the court upon such record by either party on 10 days' notice to the other. Upon such hearing the court may confirm or set aside such determination, but the same shall be set aside only upon the following grounds:

1. That the commission acted without or in excess of its powers, or on insufficient grounds.

2. That the determination was procured by fraud.

Upon the setting aside of any determination the court may recommit the controversy and remand the record in the case to the commission for further proceedings. The commission or any party aggrieved, by a decree entered upon the review of a determination, may appeal therefrom within the time and in the manner provided for an appeal from the orders of the said district court.

Sec. 12. Any employee receiving less than the minimum wage applicable to such employee shall be entitled to recover in a civil action the unpaid balance of the full amount of such minimum wage, together with costs of suit, and an additional amount for attorneys' fees, notwithstanding any agreement to work for such lesser wage.

Sec. 13. Any person or persons for whom the commission may have established a living wage may register a complaint with the commission that the wages paid to him or them are less than that rate, and the commission shall thereupon investigate the matter and take all proceedings necessary to enforce the payment of such established wage.

Sec. 14. The commission shall biennially make a report to the governor and the State legislature of its investigations and proceedings.

Sec. 15. There is hereby appropriated out of the moneys of the State treasury, not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$5,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to be used by the commission in carrying out the provisions of this act to August 31, 1919, and the comptroller is hereby directed from time

time to draw warrants upon presentation of properly itemized, verified, and approved vouchers on the general fund in favor of the commission for the amounts expended under its direction, and the treasury is hereby authorized and directed to pay the same.

Sec. 16. The commission shall not act as a board of arbitration during a strike or lockout.

Sec. 17. (a) Whenever this act or any part or section thereof, is interpreted by a court, it shall be liberally construed by such court.

(b) If any section, or subsection, or subdivision of this act is for any reason held to be unconstitutional, such decision shall not affect the validity of the remaining portions of this act. The legislature hereby declares that it would have passed this act, and each section, subsection, subdivision, sentence, clause and phrase thereof, irrespective of the fact that any one or more sections, subsections, subdivisions, sentences, or clauses, or phrases is declared unconstitutional.

Sec. 18. The provisions of this act shall apply to and include women and minors employed in any occupation, trade, or industry and whose compensation for labor is measured by time, piece, or otherwise, except those engaged as domestic servants, nurses, student nurses, farm or ranch labor, and students in schools and colleges while actually attending such schools and colleges during their session or in vacation and who are working their way through such school or college, either in whole or in part.

[In 1920 an act was passed delaying the enforcement of the law and in 1921 the law was repealed.]

## UTAH, 1913

*Original minimum-wage law—Session Laws of Utah, 1913, ch. 63, pp. 94-95.*

SECTION 1. It shall be unlawful for any regular employer of female workers in the State of Utah to pay any woman (female) less than the wage in this section specified, to wit:

For minors, under the age of 18 years, not less than 75 cents per day; for adult learners and apprentices not less than 90 cents per day; provided, that the learning period or apprenticeship shall not extend for more than one year; for adults who are experienced in the work they are employed to perform, not less than \$1.25 per day.

Sec. 2. All regular employers of female workers shall give a certificate of apprenticeship for time served to all apprentices.

Sec. 3. Any regular employer of female workers who shall pay to any woman (female) less than the wage specified in section 1 of this act shall be guilty of a misdemeanor.

Sec. 4. The commissioner of immigration, labor, and statistics shall have general charge of the enforcement of this act, but violations of the same shall be prosecuted by all the city, State, and county prosecuting officers in the same manner as in other cases of misdemeanor.

LAW CREATING OFFICE OF COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION, LABOR, AND STATISTICS,  
1911

SECTION 1. A State bureau of immigration, labor, and statistics is hereby created and established and said bureau shall be under the control of a commissioner.

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of the governor, by and with the consent of the senate, to appoint a competent person, a commissioner of immigration, labor, and statistics, who shall have charge of said bureau, and who shall hold office for the term of two years, \* \* \*. He shall receive a salary of \$1,800 [1915, \$2,400] per year [1913, per annum] and all necessary traveling expenses not exceeding \$500 [1915, \$600] per annum while traveling in the discharge of his official duties. The commissioner shall have power to appoint a deputy commissioner or chief clerk who shall receive a salary of \$1,200 per annum \* \* \* [1913, two deputy commissioners, one of whom shall be a woman and they shall receive a salary each of eight hundred [1915, one thousand] dollars per annum; the commissioner shall appoint one of said deputies as the chief clerk of said bureau; who shall receive an additional salary of six hundred [1915, eight hundred] dollars per annum;] \* \* \*

*Session Laws of Utah: 1911, ch. 113, p. 185; 1913, ch. 76, p. 120; 1915, ch. 63, p. 70.*

## LAW CREATING THE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION, 1917

SECTION 1. There is hereby created the industrial commission of Utah to be composed of three members, who shall be appointed by the governor, \* \* \* each member shall be appointed with the advice and consent of the senate, for the term of four years. Not more than two of the members of said commission shall belong to the same political party.

SEC. 4. Each of said commissioners shall receive an annual salary of \$4,000, \* \* \*

*Session Laws of Utah: 1917, ch. 100, pp. 306, 307.*

## WASHINGTON, 1913

*Original minimum-wage law—Session Laws of Washington, 1913, ch. 174, pp. 602-608.*

*Amendments—Session Laws of Washington, 1915, ch. 68, pp. 243-244; 1917, ch. 29, pp. 98-99.*

SECTION 1. The welfare of the State of Washington demands that women and minors be protected from conditions of labor which have a pernicious effect on their health and morals. The State of Washington, therefore, exercising herein its police and sovereign power declares that inadequate wages and unsanitary conditions of labor exert such pernicious effect.

SEC. 2. It shall be unlawful to employ women or minors in any industry or occupation within the State of Washington under conditions of labor detrimental to their health or morals; and it shall be unlawful to employ women workers in any industry within the State of Washington at wages which are not adequate for their maintenance.

SEC. 3. There is hereby created a commission to be known as the "industrial welfare commission" for the State of Washington, to establish such standards of wages and conditions of labor for women and minors employed within the State of Washington as shall be held hereunder to be reasonable and not detrimental to health and morals, and which shall be sufficient for the decent maintenance of women.

SEC. 4. Said commission shall be composed of five persons, four of whom shall be appointed by the governor, as follows: The first appointments shall be made within 30 days after this act takes effect; one for the term ending January 1, 1914; one for the term ending January 1, 1915; one for the term ending January 1, 1916; and one for the term ending January 1, 1917: *Provided, however,* That at the expiration of their respective terms, their successors shall be appointed by the governor to serve a full term of four years. No person shall be eligible to appointment as a commissioner hereunder who is, or shall have been at any time within five years prior to the date of such appointment, a member of any manufacturers' or employers' association or of any labor union. The governor shall have the power of removal for cause. Any vacancies shall be filled by the governor for the unexpired portion of the term in which the vacancy shall occur. The commissioner of labor of the State of Washington shall be ex officio member of the commission. Three members of the commission shall constitute a quorum at all regular meetings and public hearings.

SEC. 5. The members of said commission shall draw no salaries. The commission may employ a secretary, whose salary shall be paid out of the moneys hereinafter appropriated. All claims for expenses incurred by the commission shall, after approval by the commission, be passed to the State auditor for audit and payment.

SEC. 6. It shall be the duty of the commission to ascertain the wages and conditions of labor of women and minors in the various occupations, trades, and industries in which said women and minors are employed in the State of Washington. To this end, said commission shall have full power and authority to call for statements and to examine, either through its members or other authorized representatives, all books, pay rolls or other records of all persons, firms, and corporations employing females or minors as to any matters that would have a bearing upon the question of wages of labor or conditions of labor of said employees.

SEC. 7. Every employer of women and minors shall keep a record of the names of all women and minors employed by him, and shall on request permit the commission or any of its members or authorized representatives to inspect such record.

SEC. 8. For the purposes of this act a minor is defined to be a person of either sex under the age of 18 years.

SEC. 9. The commission shall specify times to hold public hearings, at which times employers, employees, or other interested persons may appear and give testimony as to the matter under consideration. The commission shall have power to subpoena witnesses and to administer oaths. All witnesses subpoenaed by the commission shall be paid the same mileage and per diem allowed by law for witnesses before the superior court in civil cases.

SEC. 10. If, after investigation, the commission shall find that in any occupation, trade, or industry, the wages paid to female employees are inadequate to supply them the necessary cost of living and to maintain the workers in health, or that the conditions of labor are prejudicial to the health or morals of the workers, the commission is empowered to call a conference composed of an equal number of representatives of employers and employees in the occupation or industry in question, together with one or more disinterested persons representing the public; but the representatives of the public shall not exceed the number of representatives of either of the other parties; and a member of the commission shall be a member of such conference and chairman thereof. The commission shall make rules and regulations governing the selection of representatives and the mode of procedure of said conference, and shall exercise exclusive jurisdiction over all questions arising as to the validity of the procedure and of the recommendations of said conference. On request of the commission, it shall be the duty of the conference to recommend to the commission an estimate of the minimum wage adequate in the occupation or industry in question to supply the necessary cost of living, and maintain the worker in health, and to recommend standards of conditions or [of] labor demanded for the health and morals of the employees. The findings and recommendations of the conference shall be made a matter of record for the use of the commission.

SEC. 11. Upon the receipt of such recommendations from a conference, the commission shall review the same and may approve any or all of such recommendations, or it may disapprove any or all of them, and recommit the subject or the recommendations disapproved of, to the same or a new conference. After such approval of the recommendations of a conference, the commission shall issue an obligatory order to be effective in 60 days from the date of said order, or, if the commission shall find that unusual conditions necessitate a longer period, then it shall fix a later date, specifying the minimum wage for women in the occupation affected, and the standard conditions of labor for said women; and, after such order is effective, it shall be unlawful for any employer in said occupation to employ women over 18 years of age for less than the rate of wages or under conditions of labor prohibited for women in the said occupation. The commission shall send by mail, so far as practicable, to each employer in the occupation in question a copy of the order, and each employer shall be required to post a copy of said order in each room in which women affected by the order are employed. When such commission shall specify a minimum wage hereunder the same shall not be changed for one year from the date when such minimum wage is so fixed.

SEC. 12. Whenever wages or standard conditions of labor have been made mandatory in any occupation, upon petition of either employers or employees the commission may at its discretion reopen the question and reconvene the former conference or call a new one, and any recommendations made by such conference shall be dealt with in the same manner as the original recommendations of a conference.

SEC. 13. For any occupation in which a minimum rate has been established, the commission through its secretary may issue to a woman physically defective or crippled by age or otherwise, or to an apprentice in such class of employment or occupation as usually requires to be learned by apprentices, a special license authorizing the employment of such licensee for a wage less than the legal minimum wage; and the commission shall fix the minimum wage for said person, such special license to be issued only in such cases as the commission may decide the same is applied for in good faith, and that such license for apprentices shall be in force for such length of time as the said commission shall decide and determine is proper.

SEC. 14. The commission may at any time inquire into wages and conditions of labor of minors employed in any occupation in the State, and may determine wages and conditions of labor suitable for such minors. When the commission has made such determination in the cases of minors it may proceed to



issue an obligatory order in the matter provided for in section 11 of this act, and after such order is effective it shall be unlawful for any employer in said occupation to employ a minor for less wages than is specified for minors in said occupation, or under conditions of labor prohibited by the commission for said minors in its order.

SEC. 15. Upon the request of the commission the commissioner of labor of the State of Washington shall furnish to the commission such statistics as the commission may require.

SEC. 16. Any employer who discharges, or in any other manner discriminates against, any employee because such employee has testified or is about to testify, or because such employer believes that said employee may testify in any investigation or proceedings relative to the enforcement of this act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and, upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by a fine of from \$25 to \$100 for each such misdemeanor.

SEC. 17. Any person employing a woman or minor for whom a minimum wage or standard conditions of labor have been specified, at less than said minimum wage, or under conditions of labor prohibited by the order of the commission, or violating any other of the provisions of this act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not less than \$25 nor more than \$100.

SEC. 17½. Any worker or the parent or guardian of any minor to whom this act applies may complain to the commission that the wages paid to the workers are less than the minimum rate and the commission shall investigate the same and proceed under this act in behalf of the worker.

SEC. 18. If any employee shall receive less than the legal minimum wage, except as hereinbefore provided in section 13, said employee shall be entitled to recover in a civil action the full amount of the legal minimum wage as herein provided for, together with costs and attorney's fees to be fixed by the court, notwithstanding any agreement to work for such lesser wage. In such action, however, the employer shall be credited with any wages which have been paid upon account.

SEC. 19. All questions of fact arising under this act shall be determined by the commission and there shall be no appeal from its decision upon said question of fact. Either employer or employee shall have the right of appeal to the superior court on questions of law.

SEC. 20. The commission shall biennially make a report to the governor and State legislature of its investigations and proceedings.

SEC. 21. There is hereby appropriated annually, out of any moneys of the State treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$5,000, or as much thereof as may be necessary, to meet the expenses of the commission.

[In 1915 the following was added, slightly amended in 1917:

SECTION 1. *The industrial welfare commission is hereby authorized, in such manner as it shall deem advisable, and upon notice and hearing to parties directly affected thereby, to ascertain and establish such standards of wages, hours of work and conditions of labor of women and minors employed in the telephone industry [1917, in telephone and telegraph industries] in rural communities and in cities of less than 3,000 population, as shall be found to be reasonable [1917, be found reasonable] and not detrimental to the health and morals of such women and minors and which shall be sufficient for the decent maintenance of such women and minors, and notwithstanding any statute heretofore passed or regulation of such commission heretofore made relative thereto: Provided, That nothing in this act contained shall be construed to amend or repeal any law or any regulation relating to wages, hours of labor or conditions of labor of women or minors excepting as in this act authorized.]*

LAW REORGANIZING DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, 1921

SECTION 2. There shall be, and are hereby, created \* \* \* the department of labor and industries, \* \* \*

SEC. 3. There shall be a chief executive officer \* \* \* to be known as \* \* \* the director of labor and industries, \* \* \* who shall be appointed by the governor with the consent of the senate, and hold office at the pleasure of the governor \* \* \*

SEC. 74. The department of labor and industries shall be organized into and consist of three divisions, to be known, respectively, as (1) the division

of industrial insurance, (2) the division of safety, (3) the division of industrial relations. The director of labor and industries shall receive a salary of not to exceed \$7,500 per annum \* \* \*

SEC. 81. \* \* \*. The director of labor and industries shall have the power, and it shall be his duty, through and by means of the division of industrial relations:

(5) To, with the assistance of the supervisor of women in industry, supervise the administration and enforcement of all laws respecting the employment and relating to the health, sanitary conditions, surroundings, hours of labor, and wages of women and minors.

SEC. 82. The director of labor and industries, the supervisor of industrial insurance, the supervisor of industrial relations, the industrial statistician, and the supervisor of women in industry shall constitute a committee, of which the director shall be chairman, and the supervisor of women in industry shall be executive secretary, which shall have the power, and it shall be its duty:

(1) To exercise all the powers and perform all the duties now vested in, and required to be performed by, the industrial welfare commission.

SEC. 135. From and after the 31st day of March, 1921, the following \* \* \* shall be, and are hereby, abolished, viz: \* \* \* the industrial welfare commission \* \* \*

*Session Laws of Washington: 1921, ch. 7, pp. 12-13, 40-42, 44-46, 63, and 69.*

## WISCONSIN, 1913

*Original minimum-wage law—Session Laws of Wisconsin, 1913, ch. 712, pp. 991-994.*

*Amendments—Session Laws of Wisconsin, 1923, ch. 469, p. 698; Session Laws of Wisconsin, 1925, ch. 176, secs. 104.125, 104.02, 104.03, 104.05, 104.06, 104.07.*

SECTION 172<sup>9a</sup>-1 (104.01<sup>1</sup>). The following terms as used in sections 172<sup>9a</sup>-1 to 172<sup>9a</sup>-12 inclusive (104.01 to 104.12), shall be construed as follows:

1. The term "employer" shall mean and include every person, firm, or corporation, agent, manager, representative, contractor, subcontractor, or principal, or other person having control or direction of any person employed at any labor or responsible directly or indirectly for the wages of another.

2. The term "employee" shall mean and include every person who is in receipt of or is entitled to any compensation for labor performed for any employer.

3. The term "wage" and the term "wages" shall each mean any compensation for labor measured by time, piece, or otherwise.

4. The term "welfare" shall mean and include reasonable comfort, reasonable physical well-being, decency, and moral well-being.

5. The term "living wage" shall mean compensation for labor paid, whether by time, piecework, or otherwise, sufficient to enable the employee receiving it to maintain himself or herself under conditions consistent with his or her welfare.

SEC. 172<sup>9a</sup>-2 (104.02). Every wage paid or agreed to be paid by any employer to any female or minor employee [1925, minor employee] except as otherwise provided in section 172<sup>9a</sup>-7 (104.07), shall be not less than a living wage.

SEC. 172<sup>9a</sup>-3 (104.03). Any employer paying, offering to pay, or agreeing to pay to any female or minor employee [1925, minor employee] a wage lower or less in value than a living wage shall be deemed guilty of a violation of sections 172<sup>9a</sup>-1 to 172<sup>9a</sup>-12 (104.01 to 104.12), inclusive, of the statutes.

SEC. 172<sup>9a</sup>-4 (104.04). It shall be the duty of the industrial commission and it shall have power, jurisdiction and authority to investigate, ascertain, determine and fix such reasonable classifications, and to issue general or special orders, determining the living wage, and to carry out the purposes of sections 172<sup>9a</sup>-1 to 172<sup>9a</sup>-12 (104.01 to 104.12), inclusive, of the statutes. Such inves-

<sup>1</sup> All numbers in parentheses, running from 104.01 to 104.12, or from 101.01 to 101.29, represent the numbers of these sections in the 1923 Wisconsin statutes.

tigations, classifications and orders, and any action, proceeding, or suit to set aside, vacate or amend any such order of said commission, or to enjoin the enforcement thereof, shall be made pursuant to the proceeding in sections 2394-41 to 2394-70 (101.01 to 101.28), inclusive, of the statutes, which are hereby made a part hereof [see pp. 447 to 450], so far as not inconsistent with the provisions of sections \* \* \* [1729s-1 to 1729s-12 (104.01 to 104.12), inclusive] of the statutes; and every order of the said commission shall have the same force and effect as the orders issued pursuant to said sections 2394-41 to 2394-70 (101.01 to 101.29), inclusive, of the statutes, and the penalties therein shall apply to and be imposed for any violation of sections \* \* \* [1729s-1 to 1729s-12 (104.01 to 104.12), inclusive] of the statutes.

SEC. 1729s-5 (104.05). After July 1, 1913, *the industrial commission may, upon its own initiative, and after July 1, 1911, the industrial commission shall* [1925, *the industrial commission shall*], within 20 days after the filing of a verified complaint of any person setting forth that the wages paid to any *female or minor employee* [1925, *minor employee*] in any occupation are not sufficient to enable such employee to maintain *himself or herself* [1925, *himself*] under conditions consistent with *his or her* [1925, *his*] welfare, investigate and determine whether there is reasonable cause to believe that the wage paid to any *female or minor employee* [1925, *minor employee*] is not a living wage.

SEC. 1729s-6 (104.06). If, upon investigation, the commission finds that there is reasonable cause to believe that the wages paid to any *female or minor employee* [1925, *minor employee*] are not a living wage, it shall appoint an advisory wage board, selected so as fairly to represent employers, employees, and the public, to assist in its investigations and determinations. The living wage so determined upon shall be the living wage for all *female or minor employees* [1925, *minor employees*], within the same class as established by the classification of the commission.

SEC. 1729s-7 (104.07). The industrial commission shall make rules and regulations whereby any *female or minor* [1925, *minor*] unable to earn the living wage theretofore determined upon, shall be granted a license to work for a wage which shall be commensurate with *his or her* [1925, *his*] ability. Each license so granted shall establish a wage for the licensee, and no licensee shall be employed at a wage less than the rate so established.

SEC. 1729s-8 (104.08). 1. All minors working in an occupation for which a living wage has been established for minors, and who shall have no trade, shall, if employed in an occupation which is a trade industry, be indentured under the provisions of sections 2377 to 2386, inclusive, of the statutes.

2. A "trade" or a "trade industry" within the meaning of this act shall be a trade or an industry involving physical labor and characterized by mechanical skill and training such as render a period of instruction reasonably necessary. The industrial commission shall investigate, determine, and declare what occupations and industries are included within the phrase a "trade" or a "trade industry."

3. All minors working in an occupation for which a living wage has been established for minors but is not a trade industry, who have no trade, shall be subject to the same provisions as minors between the ages of 14 and 16 as provided in section 1728c-1 of the statutes. [Section repealed in 1923.]

4. The industrial commission may make exceptions to the operation of subsections 1 and 2 of this section where conditions make their application unreasonable.

SEC. 1729s-9 (104.09). Every employer employing three or more females or minors shall register with the industrial commission, on blanks to be supplied by the commission. In filling out the blank he shall state separately the number of females and the number of minors employed by him, their age, sex, wages, and the nature of the work at which they are employed, and shall give such other information relative to the work performed and the wages received as the industrial commission requires. Each employer shall also keep a record of the names and addresses of all women and minors employed by him, the hours of employment, and wages of each, and such other records as the industrial commission requires.

SEC. 1729s-10 (104.10). Any employer who discharges or threatens to discharge, or in any way discriminates, or threatens to discriminate, against any employee because the employee has testified or is about to testify, or because the employer believes that the employee may testify, in any investigation or proceeding relative to the enforcement of this act, is guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of \$25 for each offense.

SEC. 1729s-11 (104.11). Each day during which any employer shall employ a person for whom a living wage has been fixed at a wage less than the living wage fixed shall constitute a separate and distinct violation of sections 1729s-1 to 1729s-12 (104.01 to 104.12), inclusive, of the statutes.

SEC. 1729s-12 (104.12). Any person may register with the industrial commission a complaint that the wages paid to an employee for whom a living wage has been established are less than that rate, and the industrial commission shall investigate the matter and take all proceedings necessary to enforce the payment of a wage not less than the living wage.

[In 1925 the following was added:

SEC. 104.125. 1. *No wage paid or agreed to be paid by any employer to any adult female employee shall be oppressive. Any wage lower than a reasonable and adequate compensation for the services rendered shall be deemed oppressive and is hereby prohibited.*

2. *The industrial commission shall make rules and regulations whereby any adult female unable to earn the wage determined by the commission shall be granted a license to work for a wage which shall be commensurate with her ability. The commission shall also grant to an employer a license to employ adult females at less than the wage so determined if said employer shall satisfactorily establish that he is unable to pay such wage, but the inefficiency of the employer shall not be a ground for granting such license. Each license so granted shall establish a wage for the licensee or licensees, and no licensee shall be employed at and no employer shall pay a wage less than the wage so determined.*

3. *The industrial commission shall have the power and it shall be its duty to investigate, ascertain and make findings as to the wages which are oppressive and unjust within the meaning of this section, and to issue orders based upon such findings. The payment of any wage in violation of any such order of the commission shall be deemed a violation of this section unless it is clearly established that such order was unreasonable.*

4. *In discharge of its duties under this section the industrial commission shall have all the powers conferred upon it in sections 104.01 to 104.12, which sections are made a part of this section in so far as not inconsistent herewith.]*

#### INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION LAW, 1911

(Original and 1913 amendments\*)

[Section 1021b-1 (101.01) defines the terms.]

SEC. 1021b-2 (101.02) (as amended by ch. 772, acts of 1913). There is hereby created a board which shall be known as the "industrial commission of Wisconsin" \* \* \*. The governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall appoint a member who shall serve two years, another who shall serve four years, and another who shall serve six years. Thereafter each member shall be appointed and confirmed for terms of six years each. \* \* \* In case of a vacancy the remaining two members of the board shall exercise all the powers and authority of the board until such vacancy is filled. \* \* \*

[Sections 3 to 9 not pertinent.]

SEC. 1021b-10 (101.03) (as amended by ch. 588, acts of 1913). 1. Every employer and every owner shall furnish to the commission all information required by it to carry into effect the provisions of section 1021b-1 to 1021b-30 (101.01 to 101.29), inclusive, and shall make specific answers to all questions submitted by the commission relative thereto.

2. Any employer receiving from the commission any blanks calling for information required by it to carry into effect the provisions of sections 1021b-1 to 1021b-30 (101.01 to 101.29), inclusive, with directions to fill the same, shall cause the same to be properly filled out so as to answer fully and correctly each question therein propounded, and in case he is unable to answer any

\* In the quotations from the law creating the industrial commission which are given in this summary, a few liberties have been taken with the section numbers in order to avoid repetition of long series of numbers to indicate cases where the legislature has renumbered sections. By ch. 664, sec. 105, Session Laws of 1911, the numbers which appeared in the original act were changed so that 1021b-1 became 2394-41, 1021b-2 became 2394-42, and so on. The sections of the 1913 amendment appear in the session laws under the new numbers; they are given here under the old ones. Moreover, this same 1911 amendment substituted actual section numbers for the phrases "this act," "herein," etc., in the original law. These substitutions have been incorporated in the quoted sections for the sake of clearness. The main content of the law, however, will be found in the Session Laws of 1911, under the section numbers used in this quotation.

question he shall give a good and sufficient reason for such failure; and said answer shall be verified under oath by the employer, or by the president, secretary, or other managing officer of the corporation, if the employer is a corporation, and returned to the commission at its office within the period fixed by the commission.

3. Any commissioner or deputy of the commission may enter any place of employment or public building for the purpose of collecting facts and statistics, examining the provisions made for the health, safety, and welfare of the employees, frequenters, the public, or tenants therein and bringing to the attention of every employer or owner any law or any order of the commission, and any failure on the part of such employer or owner to comply therewith. No employer or owner shall refuse to admit any commissioner or deputy of the commission to his place of employment or public building.

[Sections 11 to 14 not pertinent.]

Sec. 1021b-15 (101.13). All orders of the industrial commission in conformity with law shall be in force and shall be prima facie lawful; and all such orders shall be valid and in force and prima facie reasonable and lawful until they are found otherwise in an action brought for that purpose, pursuant to the provisions of section 1021b-29 (101.27) of the statutes, or until altered or revoked by the commission.

Sec. 1021b-16 (101.14) (as amended by ch. 588, acts of 1913). 1. All general orders shall take effect within 30 days after their publication in the official State papers. Special orders shall take effect as therein directed.

2. The commission shall, upon application of any employer or owner, grant such time as may be reasonably necessary for compliance with any order.

3. Any person may petition the commission for an extension of time, which the commission shall grant if it finds such an extension of time necessary.

Sec. 1021b-17 (101.15). 1. Any employer or other person interested, either because of ownership in or occupation of any property affected by any such order, or otherwise, may petition for a hearing on the reasonableness of any order of the commission in the manner provided in sections 1021b-1 to 1021b-30 (101.01 to 101.29), inclusive.

2. Such petition for hearing shall be by verified petition filed with the commission, setting out specifically and in full detail the order upon which a hearing is desired and every reason why such order is unreasonable, and every issue to be considered by the commission on the hearing. The petitioner shall be deemed to have finally waived all objections to any irregularities and illegalities in the order upon which a hearing is sought other than those set forth in the petition. All hearings of the commission shall be open to the public.

3. Upon receipt of such petition, if the issues raised in such petition have theretofore been adequately considered, the commission shall determine the same by confirming without hearing its previous determination, or if such hearing is necessary to determine the issues raised, the commission shall order a hearing thereon and consider and determine the matter or matters in question at such times as shall be prescribed. Notice of the time and place of such hearing shall be given to the petitioner and to such other persons as the commission may find directly interested in such decision.

4. Upon such investigation, if it shall be found that the order complained of is unjust or unreasonable, the commission shall substitute therefor such other order as shall be just and reasonable.

5. Whenever at the time of final determination upon such hearing it shall be found that further time is reasonably necessary for compliance with the order of the commission, the commission shall grant such time as may be reasonably necessary for such compliance.

[Section 18 not pertinent.]

Sec. 1021b-19 (101.17). 1. No action, proceeding, or suit to set aside, vacate, or amend any order of the commission or to enjoin the enforcement thereof shall be brought unless the plaintiff shall have applied to the commission for a hearing thereon at the time and as provided in section 1021b-17 (101.15) of the statutes, and in the petition thereof shall have raised every issue raised in such action.

2. Every order of the commission shall, in every prosecution for violation thereof, be conclusively presumed to be just, reasonable, and lawful, unless prior to the institution of prosecution for such violation an action shall have been brought to vacate and set aside such order, as provided in section 1021b-28 (101.28) of the statutes.

Sec. 1021b-20 (101.18). Every day during which any person, persons, corporation, or other officer, agent, or employee thereof, shall fail to observe and comply with any order of the commission or to perform any duty enjoined by sections 1021b-1 to 1021b-30 (101.01 to 101.29), inclusive, shall constitute a separate and distinct violation of such order, or of said sections, as the case may be.

Sec. 1021b-21 (101.19). Each of the commissioners for the purposes mentioned in sections 1021b-1 to 1021b-30 (101.01 to 101.29), inclusive, shall have power to administer oaths, certify to official acts, issue subpoenas, compel the attendance of witnesses, and the production of papers, books, accounts, documents, and testimony. In case of failure of any person to comply with any order of the commission or any subpoena lawfully issued, or on the refusal of any witness to testify to any matter regarding which he may be lawfully interrogated, it shall be the duty of the circuit court of any county, or the judge thereof, on application of a commissioner, to compel obedience by attachment proceedings for contempt, as in the case of disobedience of the requirements of a subpoena issued from such court, or a refusal to testify therein.

Sec. 1021b-22 (101.20) (as amended by ch. 772, acts of 1913). Each witness who shall appear before the commission by its order shall receive for his attendance the fees and mileage now provided for witnesses in civil cases in courts of record, which shall be audited and paid by the State in the same manner as other expenses are audited and paid, upon the presentation of properly verified vouchers approved by the chairman of the commission, and charged to the proper appropriation for the industrial commission. But no witness subpoenaed at the instance of parties other than the commission shall be entitled to compensation from the State for attendance or travel unless the commission shall certify that his testimony was material to the matter investigated.

Sec. 1021b-23 (101.21) (as amended by ch. 772, acts of 1913). The commission or any party may in any investigation cause the depositions of witnesses residing within or without the State to be taken in the manner prescribed by law for like depositions in civil actions in circuit courts. The expense incurred by the State in the taking of such depositions shall be charged against the proper appropriations for the industrial commission.

Sec. 1021b-24 (101.22). A full and complete record shall be kept of all proceedings had before the commission on any investigation and all testimony shall be taken down by the stenographer appointed by the commission.

Sec. 1021b-25 (101.23) (as amended by ch. 588, acts of 1913). 1. For the purpose of making any investigation with regard to any employment or place of employment or public building, the commission shall have power to appoint, by an order in writing, any member of the commission, any deputy who is a citizen of the State, or any other competent person as an agent whose duties shall be prescribed in such order.

2. In the discharge of his duties such agent shall have every power whatsoever of an inquisitorial nature granted in this act to the commission, and the same powers as a court commissioner with regard to the taking of depositions; and all powers granted by law to a court commissioner relative to depositions are hereby granted to such agent.

3. The commission may conduct any number of such investigations contemporaneously through different agents, and may delegate to such agent the taking of all testimony bearing upon any investigation or hearing. The decision of the commission shall be based upon its examination of all testimony and records. The recommendations made by such agents shall be advisory only and shall not preclude the taking of further testimony if the commission so order nor further investigation.

Sec. 1021b-26 (101.24). 1. The commission shall have authority to direct any deputy who is a citizen to act as special prosecutor in any action, proceeding, investigation, hearing, or trial relating to the matters within its jurisdiction.

2. Upon the request of the commission, the attorney general or district attorney of the county in which any investigation, hearing, or trial had under the provisions of sections 1021b-1 to 1021b-30 (101.01 to 101.29), inclusive, is pending, shall aid therein and prosecute, under the supervision of the commission, all necessary actions or proceedings for the enforcement of said sections and all other laws of this State relating to the protection of life, health, safety, and welfare, and for the punishment of all violations thereof.

Sec. 1021b-27 (101.25). A substantial compliance with the requirements of sections 1021b-1 to 1021b-30 (101.01 to 101.29), inclusive, shall be sufficient to

give effect to the orders of the commission, and they shall not be declared inoperative, illegal, or void for any omission of a technical nature in respect thereto.

Sec. 1021b-28 (101.26) (as amended by ch. 588, acts of 1913). 1. Any employer, owner, or other person in interest being dissatisfied with any order of the commission may commence an action in the circuit court for Dane County against the commission as defendant to vacate and set aside any such order on the ground that the order is unlawful, or that any such order is unreasonable, in which action the complaint shall be served with the summons.

2. The answer to the commission to the complaint shall be served and filed within 10 days after service of the complaint, whereupon said action shall be at issue and stand ready for trial upon 10 days' notice to either party.

3. All such actions shall have precedence over any civil cause of a different nature pending in such court and the circuit court shall always be deemed open for the trial thereof, and the same shall be tried and determined as other civil actions.

4. No injunction shall issue suspending or staying any order of the commission, except upon application to the circuit court or the presiding judge thereof, notice to the commission and hearing.

Sec. 1021b-29 (101.27). 1. If upon trial of such action it shall appear that all issues arising in such action have not theretofore been presented to the commission in the petition filed as provided in section 1021b-17 (101.15), or that the commission has not theretofore had an ample opportunity to hear and determine any of the issues raised in such action, or has for any reason not in fact heard and determined the issues raised, the court shall, before proceeding to render judgment, unless the parties to such action stipulate to the contrary, transmit to the commission a full statement of such issue or issues not adequately considered, and shall stay further proceedings in such action for 15 days from the date of such transmission, and may thereafter grant such further stays as may be necessary.

2. Upon the receipt of such statement, the commission shall consider the issues not theretofore considered, and may alter, modify, amend, or rescind its order complained of in said action, and shall report its action thereon to said court within 10 days from the receipt of the statement from the court for further hearing and consideration.

3. The court shall thereupon order such amendment or other proceeding as may be necessary to raise the issues as changed by such modification of the order as may have been made by the commission upon the hearing, if any such modification has in fact been made, and shall proceed with such action.

Sec. 1021b-30 (101.28) (as amended by ch. 588, acts of 1913). If any employer, employee, owner, or other person shall violate any provisions of sections 1021b-1 to 1021b-15 (101.01 to 101.13), inclusive, of the statutes, or shall do any act prohibited in sections 1021b-1 to 1021b-30 (101.01 to 101.29), inclusive, or shall fail or refuse to perform any duty lawfully enjoined, within the time prescribed by the commission, for which no penalty has been specifically provided, or shall fail, neglect, or refuse to obey any lawful order given or made by the commission, or any judgment or decree made by any court in connection with the provisions of sections 1021b-1 to 1021b-30 (101.01 to 101.29), inclusive, for each such violation, failure, or refusal, such employer, employee, owner, or other person shall forfeit and pay into the State treasury a sum not less than \$10 nor more than \$100 for each such offense. It shall be the duty of all officers of the State, the counties, and municipalities; upon request of the industrial commission, to enforce in their respective departments all lawful orders of the industrial commission, in so far as the same may be applicable and consistent with the general duties of such officers.

*Session Laws of Wisconsin: 1911, ch. 485, pp. 585, 588-593; Session Laws of Wisconsin: 1913, ch. 588, pp. 680-682, and ch. 772, pp. 1278-1279.*

**APPENDIX B.—SUMMARY OF THE PROVISIONS OF ALL DECREES, BY STATE AND BY YEAR OF ISSUANCE**

**ARKANSAS**

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
<b>1920</b>							
Mercantile industry Fort Smith. Order No. 2. Issued Aug. 4, 1920; effective Sept. 1, 1920.	Women or minors. Experienced..... Inexperienced....	\$13.25 per wk. \$11 per wk.				6 months in any line of industry or labor.	
<b>1922</b>							
Mercantile industry Fort Smith. Order No. 8. Issued Nov. 1, 1922; effective Dec. 1, 1922.	Women or minors. Experienced..... Inexperienced....	\$11 per wk. \$10 per wk.				6 months in any line of industry or labor.	
Mercantile industry Little Rock. Order No. 4. Issued Nov. 1, 1922; effective Dec. 1, 1922.	Women or minors. Experienced..... Inexperienced....	\$11 per wk. \$10 per wk.				6 months in any line of industry or labor.	

**CALIFORNIA**

<b>1916</b>							
Fruit and vegetable canning industry. Order No. 1. Issued Feb. 14,	Women or minors. Experienced..... Inexperienced....	\$0.16 per hr. \$0.13 per hr.		Cutting:		8 weeks in the in- dustry for time workers.	



<p>1916; effective Apr. 14, 1916.</p>				<p>Apricots..... 22¼ cts. per 100 lbs. or 9 cts. per 40 lbs. Pears..... 37½ cts. per 100 lbs. or 15 cts. per 40 lbs. Cling peaches... 22¼ cts. per 100 lbs. or 9 cts. per 40 lbs. Free peaches.... 12¼ cts. per 100 lbs. or 5 cts. per 40 lbs. Tomatoes..... 3 cts. per 12 qts..... Canning: All varieties of fruit. No. 2½ cans, 1½ cts. per doz. cans; No. 10 cans, 3¾ cts. per doz. cans. Tomatoes..... No. 2½ cans, 1 ct. per doz. cans; No. 10 cans, 2¾ cts. per doz. cans.</p>		<p>No learning period for pieceworkers.</p>
<p>1917 Fruit and vegetable canning industry. Order No. 3. Is- sued Apr. 16, 1917; effective June 16, 1917.</p>	<p>Women or minors. Experienced.... \$0.16 per hr. Inexperienced... \$0.13 per hr.</p>			<p>Cutting: Apricots..... 25 cts. per 100 lbs. or 10 cts. per 40 lbs. Pears..... 37½ cts. per 100 lbs. or 15 cts. per 40 lbs. Cling peaches... 22¼ cts. per 100 lbs. or 9 cts. per 100 lbs. Free peaches.... 12¼ cts. per 100 lbs. or 5 cts. per 40 lbs. Sorting: Aspara- gus. 13 cts. per 100 lbs. or 6 cts. per 40 lbs. Cutting: Toma- toes. 3 cts. per 12 qts..... Canning: All varieties of fruit. No. 2½ cans, 1½ cts. per doz. cans; No. 10 cans 3¾ cts. per doz. cans. Tomatoes..... No. 2½ cans, 1 ct. per doz. cans; No. 10 cans, 2¾ cts. per doz. cans. To yield guaranteed experienced rate to 80 per cent of workers where no piece rate is fixed.</p>		<p>3 weeks in the in- dustry for time workers.  No learning period for pieceworkers.</p>

† Rates set after wage board.

*Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued*  
**CALIFORNIA—Continued**

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
<b>1917—Continued</b> <b>Mercantile industry.<sup>1</sup></b> Order No. 5. Issued July 6, 1917; effective Sept. 4, 1917.	20 years and over: Experienced..... Inexperienced... 7-12 months... 13-18 months...	\$10 per wk. \$8 per wk. \$8.50 per wk. \$9 per wk.	Part-time workers to be paid minimum rate for 8-hour day. Adult specials, \$1.67 per day; minor specials, \$1.25 per day.			1½ years in the industry for those entering industry at 20 years or over.	Learners to be registered. Adult and minor learners not to exceed 25 per cent of the total number of women and minors employed.
	18 and 19 years: Experienced..... Inexperienced... 7-12 months... 13-18 months... 19-24 months... Under 18 years: Inexperienced... 7-12 months... 13-18 months... 19-24 months... 25-30 months and thereafter, or to 18th birthday.	\$10 per wk. \$8 per wk. \$8.50 per wk. \$9 per wk. \$9.50 per wk. \$6 per wk. \$6.50 per wk. \$7 per wk. \$7.50 per wk. \$8 per wk.				2 years in the industry after 18th birthday.	
<b>Fish-canning industry.</b> Order No. 6. Issued Nov. 10, 1917; effective Jan. 9, 1918.	Women or minors.	\$10 per wk. (See notes.)	\$0.25 per hr.			None.	Full-time rate based on week of 48 hours.
<b>Laundry and dry-cleaning industry.<sup>2</sup></b> Order No. 7. Issued Nov. 14, 1917; effective Jan. 13, 1918.	Women or minors: Experienced..... Inexperienced... 7 to 12 months... 13 to 15 months...	\$10 per wk. \$8 per wk. \$9 per wk. \$9.50 per wk.				15 months in the industry.	Learners to be registered. Female learners not to exceed 25 per cent total number females employed.

1918								
Fruit and vegetable packing industry. Order No. 8. Issued Mar. 9, 1918; effective May 8, 1918.	Women or minors					8 weeks in the particular branch of the industry.	Includes citrus fruits, deciduous fruits and grapes, vegetables, dried fruit, including layer raisins, seeded raisins, olives, pickles.	
	Experienced.....	\$10 per wk.						
	Inexperienced....	\$8 per wk.						
Fruit and vegetable canning industry. Order No. 3 (amended). Issued Apr. 3, 1918; effective June 2, 1918.	18 years and over					3 weeks in the industry for adult time-workers.	1 week for adult pieceworkers. No learning period for minor pieceworkers.	
	Experienced.....	\$0.20 per hr.						
	Inexperienced....	\$0.16 per hr.						
	Under 18 years....	\$0.16 per hr.						
				Preparation of—	.100 lbs.	.40 lbs.	.45 lbs.	.50 lbs.
				Apricots.....	\$0.35	\$0.14	\$0.15 <sup>1</sup>	\$0.17 <sup>1</sup>
				Pears.....	.50	.20	.22 <sup>1</sup>	.25
				Cling peaches...	.27 <sup>1</sup>	.11	.12 <sup>1</sup>	.13 <sup>1</sup>
				Free peaches....	.17 <sup>1</sup>	.07	.07 <sup>1</sup>	.08 <sup>1</sup>
				Plums.....	.12 <sup>1</sup>	.05	.05 <sup>1</sup>	.06 <sup>1</sup>
				Asparagus.....	.17 <sup>1</sup>	.07	.07 <sup>1</sup>	.08 <sup>1</sup>
				Tomatoes.....	.04 <sup>1</sup> per 12 quarts.			
				In preparation, to yield inexperienced hourly rate to adult women for first week.				
				In canning and labeling and preparation of all varieties for which no piece rate has been set, piece rates to yield to adult women inexperienced hourly rate for first week, experienced hourly rate thereafter.				
General and professional offices. Order No. 9. Issued May 3, 1918; effective July 2, 1918.	18 years and over					12 months in the occupation for those entering at 18 years or over.	Female learners not to exceed 25 per cent total number women employed.	
	Experienced.....	\$10 per wk.						
	Inexperienced....	\$8 per wk.						
	7 to 12 months.	\$9 per wk.						
	Under 18 years					18 months in the occupation for those entering under 18 years.		
	Experienced.....	\$10 per wk.						
	Inexperienced....	\$7 per wk.						
	7 to 12 months.	\$8 per wk.						
	13 to 18 months	\$9 per wk.						
Unskilled and unclassified occupations. Order No. 10. Issued May 3, 1918; effective July 2, 1918.	18 years and over					3 weeks in the particular occupation.		
	Experienced.....	\$0.20 per hr.						
	Inexperienced....	\$9.60 per wk.						
	Under 18 years....	\$0.16 per hr.						
		\$7.50 per wk.						
		\$0.16 per hr.						
		\$7.50 per wk.						

<sup>1</sup> Rates set after wage board.

Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued

CALIFORNIA—Continued

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes		
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount				
<b>1918—Continued</b>									
Manufacturing industry (excluding printing, book-binding, lithographing, and engraving trades). Order No. 11, Issued Nov. 2, 1918; effective Jan. 2, 1919.	18 years and over...					6 months in the industry for those entering at 18 years or over.	Hourly rates specified to be paid when the employer fails to provide a full week's work. Learners not to exceed 25 per cent total number of workers employed. If output of minor equals average output of adult women, minor must get experienced rate.		
	Experienced.....	\$10 per wk. \$0.25 per hr.	\$0.25 per hr.						
	Inexperienced...	\$8 per wk. \$0.21 per hr.		\$0.21 per hr.					
	4 to 6 months...	\$9 per wk. \$0.23 per hr.	\$0.23 per hr.						
	Under 18 years...								9 months in the industry for those entering at under 18 years.
	Experienced.....	\$10 per wk. \$0.25 per hr.	\$0.25 per hr.						
Inexperienced...	\$7.50 per wk. \$0.20 per hr.	\$0.20 per hr.							
4 to 6 months...	\$8 per wk. \$0.21 per hr.		\$0.21 per hr.						
7 to 9 months...	\$9 per wk. \$0.23 per hr.	\$0.23 per hr.							
	(See notes.)		(See notes.)						
<b>1919</b>									
Mercantile industry. Order No. 5 (amended). Issued Apr. 22, 1919; effective June 21, 1919.	20 years and over...					1½ years in the industry for those entering at 20 years and over.	Learners to be registered. Female learners not to exceed 33 per cent total number females employed, excluding part-time workers. Part-time workers to be registered. Part-time workers not to exceed 5 per cent total number females employed.		
	Experienced.....	\$13.50 per wk.	All adults and experienced minors, \$0.35 per hr.; inexperienced minors, \$0.25 per hr. Special workers: All adults and experienced minors, \$2.25 per day; inexperienced minors, \$1.50 per day.						
Inexperienced...	\$10 per wk.								
7 to 12 months...	\$11 per wk.								
18 to 18 months...	\$12 per wk.								

Fruit and vegetable  
canning industry.  
Order No. 3  
(amended),  
Issued May  
12, 1918; effective  
July 11,  
1919.

<p>18 and 19 years. Experienced.... \$18.50 per wk. Inexperienced... \$0 per wk. 7 to 12 months. \$10 per wk. 13 to 18 months \$11 per wk. 19 to 24 months \$12 per wk. Under 18 years... Experienced.... \$18.50 per wk. Inexperienced— 7 to 12 months. \$8.50 per wk. 13 to 15 months, or to 18th birthday. \$9 per wk. 19 to 24 months \$10 per wk. 25 to 30 months \$11 per wk. 31 to 36 months \$12 per wk.</p>					<p>2 years in the industry for those entering at 15 or 16 years.  3 years in the industry for those entering at 14, 16, or 16 years.  2 years in the industry after 18th birthday for those entering industry at 17 years.</p>
<p>18 years and over (females): Experienced.... \$0.28 per hr. (\$18.50 per wk.) Inexperienced... \$0.21 per hr. Under 18 years (females): Experienced.... \$0.28 per hr. (\$18.50 per wk.) Inexperienced... \$0.18 per hr. Under 21 years (males). \$0.35 per hr.</p>					<p>1 week in the establishment for time workers.</p>
			<p>Preparation of— Asparagus..... Cherries..... Apricots..... Cling peaches... Free peaches... Peaches..... Pears..... Plums..... Muscat grapes... Tomatoes.....</p>	<p>\$0.22 per 100 lbs. \$0.65 per 100 lbs. \$0.47 per 100 lbs. \$0.31 per 100 lbs. \$0.20 per 100 lbs. \$0.50 per 100 lbs. \$0.55 per 100 lbs. \$0.16 per 100 lbs. \$0.65 per 100 lbs. \$0.04 per 12 qts.  in preparation of all fruits and vegetables, to yield guaranteed hourly experienced rate to 60 per cent workers. In canning and labeling, to yield guaranteed hourly inexperienced rate to adult women for one week and thereafter to yield this group the experienced hourly rate.</p>	<p>1 week for adult canners and labelers on piecework. No learning period for adult preparers on piecework. No learning period for minor pieceworkers.</p>

*Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued*  
**CALIFORNIA—Continued**

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
1919—Continued Fish canning industry. Order No. 6 (amended). Issued June 21, 1919; effective Aug. 20, 1919.	Women or minors.	(\$0.28 per hr. \$13.50 per wk. \$0.32½ per hr.)				None.	
Laundry and dry cleaning industry. Order No. 7 (amended). Issued June 21, 1919; effective Aug. 20, 1919.	Women or minors.					6 months in the industry.	Learners to be registered. Female learners not to exceed 33¼ per cent total number females employed. Part-time workers to be registered. Female part-time workers not to exceed 5 per cent of total number of female workers.
	Experienced.....	\$13.50 per wk. \$0.32½ per hr.	\$2.25 per day.				
	Inexperienced... 4 to 6 months..	\$10 per wk. \$0.25 per hr. \$12 per wk. \$0.30 per hr.		\$0.35 per hr.			
Fruit and vegetable packing industry. Order No. 8 (amended). Issued June 21, 1919; effective Aug. 20, 1919.	18 years and over.					2 weeks in the particular branch of the industry.  Do.	
	Experienced.....	\$0.28 per hr. \$13.50 per wk.					
	Inexperienced... Under 18 years..	\$0.21 per hr.					
	Experienced..... Inexperienced... 4 to 6 months..	\$0.28 per hr. \$13.50 per wk. \$0.18 per hr.					
General and professional offices. Order No. 9 (amended). Issued June 21, 1919; effective Aug. 20, 1919.	18 years and over.					6 months in the industry for those entering at 18 years or over.	Female learners not to exceed 33¼ per cent of total number of females employed.
	Experienced.....	\$13.50 per wk.	For less than 6 hours' work: Adults, \$2.25 per day, \$0.35 per hr.; minors, \$2 per day, \$0.25 per hr.				
	Inexperienced... 4 to 6 months..	\$10 per wk. \$12 per wk.					
	Under 18 years..						
	Experienced.....	\$13.50 per wk.					
Inexperienced... 4 to 6 months.. 7 to 9 months..	\$9 per wk. \$10 per wk. \$12 per wk.						

Unskilled and unclassified occupations. Order No. 10 (amended). Issued June 21, 1919; effective Aug. 20, 1919.	18 years and over.....				8 weeks in the establishment.	Do.	
	Experienced.....	\$0.28 per hr. \$13.50 per wk. \$0.32½ per hr.† \$0.25 per hr.‡ \$10 per wk.	Adults, \$0.35 per hr.; minors, \$0.25 per hr.				
	Inexperienced.....						
	Under 18 years.....						
	Experienced.....	\$0.21 per hr. \$10 per wk. \$0.25 per hr.‡ \$0.21 per hr.‡ \$8 per wk.					
	Inexperienced.....						
Manufacturing industry (excluding printing, book-binding, lithographing, and engraving trades). Order No. 11 (amended). Issued June 27, 1919; effective Aug. 28, 1919. (See notes.)	18 years and over.....				6 months in the industry for those entering at 18 years and over.	Employees in the trades excluded were brought under the provisions of this order in February, 1920. Female learners not to exceed 33¼ per cent of total number of females employed, excluding part-time workers. Female part-time workers to be registered. Female part-time workers not to exceed 5 per cent of total number of females employed. Home workers to be registered. Piece rate paid homeworkers to yield not less than \$0.28 per hour to at least 66½ per cent women factory workers. Weeks worked in millinery need not be consecutive.	
	Experienced.....	\$13.50 per wk. \$0.32½ per hr.† \$0.25 per hr.‡ \$10 per wk. \$0.30 per hr.‡ \$12 per wk.	Adults, \$0.35 per hr.; minors, \$0.25 per hr.				
	Inexperienced.....						
	4 to 6 months.....				9 months in the industry for those entering at under 18 years.		
	Under 18 years.....						
	Experienced.....	\$0.32½ per hr.† \$13.50 per wk. \$0.23 per hr.‡ \$9 per wk. \$0.26 per hr.‡ \$10.50 per wk. \$0.30 per hr.‡ \$12 per wk.					
	Inexperienced.....						
	4 to 6 months.....				2 seasons comprising 24 weeks in the industry. (See notes.)		
	7 to 9 months.....						
	7 to 9 months.....						
	Women or minors in millinery.						
	Experienced.....	\$13.50 per wk.					
	Inexperienced:						
First season—							
1 to 4 weeks.....	\$8 per wk.						
5 to 8 weeks.....	\$7 per wk.						
9 to 12 weeks.....	\$8 per wk.						
Second season—							
13 to 16 weeks.....	\$10 per wk.						
17 to 20 weeks.....	\$11 per wk.						
21 to 24 weeks.....	\$12 per wk.						
(See notes.)							

† These hourly rates shall be paid for the actual number of hours worked when the employer fails to provide a full week's work, except where a legal holiday occurs.

Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued  
 CALIFORNIA—Continued

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
<b>1919—Continued</b> Hotels and restaurants. Order No. 12. Issued July 16, 1919; effective Sept. 17, 1919.	Women or minors.	\$13.50 per wk. \$0.2754 per hr. (See notes.)	For 8 or less hrs. per day, \$0.36 per hr.				For all workers employed more than 8 hours per day: Deductions allowed— For lodging, \$3 per room. For meals, breakfast \$0.25, lunch \$0.25, dinner \$0.30. Where uniforms or aprons are required, \$0.50 per week to be allowed for laundry.
<b>1920</b> Fruit and vegetable canning industry. Order No. 3 (amended 1920). Issued Apr. 27, 1920, effective June 28, 1920.	18 years and over (Usuals).					1 week in the establishment for time workers.	
	Experienced...	\$0.3354 per hr. \$1.6 per wk.					
	Inexperienced...	\$0.25 per hr. \$1.2 per wk.					
	Under 18 years (Usuals).					Do.	
Experienced...	\$0.3354 per hr. \$1.6 per wk.						
Inexperienced	\$0.22 per hr. \$1.1 per wk.						
Under 21 years (Usuals).							
				Preparation of—			1 week for canners and labelers 16 years and over on piecework. No learning period for piecework on piecework. No learning period for canners and labelers
				Asparagus.....	\$0.22 per 100 lbs.		
				Chickens.....	\$0.75 per 100 lbs.		
				Apples.....	\$0.50 per 100 lbs.		
				Cling peaches.....	\$0.38 per 100 lbs.		
				Fresh tomatoes.....	\$1.22 per 100 lbs.		
				String beans.....	\$1.00 per 100 lbs.		
				French.....	\$0.50 per 100 lbs.		
				Peas.....	\$0.02 per 100 lbs.		



			Plums.....	\$0.18 per 100 lbs.		
			Thompson seed- less grapes.	\$1.00 per 100 lbs.		under 16 years on piecework.
			Muscat grapes..	\$0.75 per 100 lbs.		
			Tomatoes (fin- ished product).	\$0.05 $\frac{1}{2}$ per 15 qts.		
						in preparation of all fruits and vegetables, piece rates to yield guaranteed experi- enced hourly rate to 60 $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent of work- ers. In canning and labeling, piece rates to yield guaranteed inex- perienced hourly rate to women and to min- ors between 16 and 18 years for 1 week, and thereafter to yield this group experienced hourly rate.
Fish canning indus- try. Order No. 6 (amended 1920). Issued May 26, 1920; effective July 24, 1920.	Women or minors.					4 weeks or 160 hours in an establish- ment.
	Experienced....	\$0.33 $\frac{1}{4}$ per hr. \$16 per wk.				
	Inexperienced...	\$0.35 per hr. \$19 per wk.				
	Second week..	\$0.30 per hr. \$15 per wk.				
	Third week...	\$0.32 per hr. \$16 per wk.				
	Fourth week..	\$0.34 per hr. \$17 per wk.				
Fruit and vegetable packing industry. Order No. 8 (amended 1920). Issued May 26, 1920; effective July 24, 1920.	18 years and over.					
	Experienced....	\$0.33 $\frac{1}{4}$ per hr. \$16 per wk.			To yield guaranteed time rates to adult women.	4 weeks in the partic- ular branch in citrus, dried figs, and layer raisin packing; 2 weeks in the particular branch in other fruit and vege- table packing. Do.
	Inexperienced...	\$0.25 per hr. \$12 per wk.				
	Under 18 years.					
Experienced....	\$0.33 $\frac{1}{4}$ per hr. \$16 per wk.					
Inexperienced...	\$0.22 per hr. \$10.56 per wk.					

<sup>1</sup> These hourly rates shall be paid for the actual number of hours worked when the employer fails to provide a full week's work, except where a legal holiday occurs.

Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued

CALIFORNIA—Continued

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes	
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount			
1920—Continued Agricultural occupations. Order No. 14. Issued May 25, 1920; effective July 24, 1920.	Women on work other than cutting and pitting of fruit for drying.	\$0.33¼ per hr. \$16 per wk.		Women and minors: Pitting and cutting for drying— Free peaches... Pears..... Apricots.....	To yield guaranteed time rates to adult women, except for pitting and cutting of fruit for drying. \$0.18 per 100 lbs. \$0.20 per 100 lbs. \$0.35 per 100 lbs.			
Mercantile industry. Order No. 5 (amended 1920). Issued June 1, 1920; effective July 31, 1920.	18 years and over— Experienced.... Inexperienced.... 7 to 12 months.	\$16 per wk. \$12 per wk. \$14 per wk.	Adults and experienced minors, \$0.40 per hour; inexperienced minors, \$0.30 per hour; special adults, \$2.00 per day; special minors, \$2 per day.			1 year in the industry.	Learners to be registered. Learners not to exceed 33¼ per cent of the total number females employed full time (exclusive of office force, millinery workroom force, and restaurant force). Part-time workers to be registered. Female part-time workers not to exceed 10 per cent of the total number females employed.	
	Under 18 years— Experienced.... Inexperienced.... 7 to 12 months. 13 to 18 months.	\$16 per wk. \$10 per wk. \$12 per wk. \$14 per wk.				1½ years in the industry provided that on reaching 18 years a girl must be paid the adult learners' rate.	2 seasons comprising 24 weeks in industry. (See notes.)	Weeks worked in millinery need not be consecutive. Apprentices to be registered. Apprentices in millinery workroom not to exceed 33¼ per cent total number females employed therein. Apprentice transferring to selling force to be granted
	Women or minors in millinery workrooms. Experienced.... Inexperienced: First season— 1 to 4 weeks. 5 to 8 weeks. 9 to 12 weeks.	\$16 per wk. \$8 per wk. \$9 per wk. \$10 per wk.						

	Second season— 13 to 16 weeks \$12 per wk. 17 to 20 weeks \$13 per wk. 21 to 24 weeks \$14 per wk. (See notes.)					one-third of her workroom experience to be applied on her selling experience.	
Laundry and dry cleaning industry. Order No. 7 (amended 1920). Issued June 1, 1920; effective July 31, 1920.	Women or minors.		Employed less than 8 hours per day, \$0.40 per hr.		6 months in the industry.	Learners to be registered. Learners not to exceed 33½ per cent total number females employed (exclusive of office workers).	
	Experienced.....	\$0.38 per hr. \$16 per wk.					
	Inexperienced.....	\$0.30 per hr. <sup>1</sup> \$12 per wk.					
	4 to 6 months..	\$0.35 per hr. <sup>1</sup> \$14 per wk.					
General and professional offices. Order No. 9 (amended 1920). Issued June 1, 1920; effective July 31, 1920.	18 years and over.		Employed less than 8 hrs. per day: Adults, \$0.40 per hr.; minors, \$0.30 per hr.; temporary workers, \$2.66½ per day, for not more than 2 weeks.		6 months in the industry for those entering at 18 years and over.	Learners not to exceed 33½ per cent total number employees.	
	Experienced.....	\$16 per wk.					
	Inexperienced.....	\$12 per wk.					
	4 to 6 months.	\$14 per wk.					
	Under 18 years.				1 year in the industry for those entering at under 18 years, provided that at reaching 18 years a girl must be paid the adult learner's rate.		
Experienced.....	\$16 per wk.						
Inexperienced...	\$10 per wk.						
4 to 6 months..	\$11 per wk.						
	7 to 9 months..	\$12 per wk.					
	10 to 12 months	\$14 per wk.					
Unclassified occupations. Order No. 10 (amended 1920). Issued June 1, 1920; effective July 31, 1920.	18 years and over.		Employed less than 8 hrs. per day: Adults, \$0.40 per hr.; minors, \$0.30 per hr.		8 weeks in an establishment.	Do.	
	Experienced.....	\$0.33½ per hr. \$16 per wk.					
	Inexperienced...	\$0.38 per hr. <sup>1</sup> \$0.25 per hr. \$12 per wk. \$0.30 per hr. <sup>1</sup>					
		Under 18 years.					
	Experienced.....	\$0.25 per hr. \$12 per wk. \$0.30 per hr. <sup>1</sup> \$0.22 per hr. \$10.56 per wk. \$0.25 per hr. <sup>1</sup>					
	Inexperienced...						

<sup>1</sup> These hourly rates shall be paid for the actual number of hours worked when the employer fails to provide a full week's work, except where a legal holiday occurs.

Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued

CALIFORNIA—Continued

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
1920—Continued							
Hotels and restaurants. Order No. 12 (amended 1920). Issued June 1, 1920; effective July 31, 1920.	Women or minors..	\$16 per wk. \$0.38 per hr.	Employed 3 hours or less, \$0.40 per hr.			None.....	For all workers employed more than 3 hours per day: Deductions allowed— For lodging, \$3 per week. For board, breakfast \$0.25, lunch \$0.30, dinner \$0.45. Where uniform or apron is required, \$0.75 per week to be allowed for laundry.
Manufacturing industry (including printing, book-binding, lithographing, and engraving trades). Order No. 11 (amended 1920). Issued July 27, 1920; effective Sept. 24, 1920.	18 years and over..				Actual piece-rate earnings to workers leaving voluntarily within first 2 weeks of employment. (See notes.)	6 months in any manufacturing industry for those entering at 18 years and over.	All adult and minor learners during the first 2 weeks of employment shall be paid not less than their piece-rate earnings; provided, however, that learners who remain in an establishment for 30 days shall, at the end of that period, be paid the difference between their piece-rate earnings for the first week and the minimum time rate for the same period; and that learners who remain in an establishment for 60 days shall, at the end of that period, be paid the difference between their piece-rate earnings for the second week and the minimum time rate for the same period. All adult and minor learners discharged within 2 weeks shall be paid the guaranteed rate for time worked.
	Experienced.....	\$16 per wk. \$0.38 per hr. <sup>3</sup>	Adults, \$0.40 per hr.; minors, \$0.30 per hr.; minors, 3 hours on Saturday and holidays, \$2 per day.				
	Inexperienced....	\$12 per wk. \$0.30 per hr. <sup>3</sup>					
	4 to 6 months..	\$14 per wk. \$0.35 per hr. <sup>3</sup>					
Under 18 years..						9 months in any manufacturing industry for those entering at under 18 years, provided that on reaching 18 years a girl must be paid the rate for an adult learner.	
Experienced.....	\$16 per wk. \$0.38 per hr. <sup>3</sup>						
Inexperienced....	\$10 per wk. \$0.25 per hr. <sup>3</sup>						
4 to 6 months..	\$12 per wk. \$0.30 per hr. <sup>3</sup>						
7 to 9 months..	\$14 per wk. \$0.35 per hr. <sup>3</sup>						

						<p>Learners to be registered. Learners, exclusive of part-time workers, not to exceed 33¼ per cent of total number female factory workers, provided that, in highly seasonal industries, the commission may grant permit for an increase in number of learners on proof that a sufficient number of experienced workers are not available.</p> <p>Home workers to be registered. Piece rate paid to female home workers to yield \$0.33¼ per hour to not less than 66¼ per cent female factory workers.</p>
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the hourly rates shall be paid for the actual number of hours worked when the employer fails to provide a full week's work, except when a legal holiday occurs.

Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued  
 CALIFORNIA—Continued

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
<b>1921</b> Fruit and vegetable canning industry, Order No. 3 (amended 1921). Issued Apr. 22, 1921; effective June 24, 1921.	18 years and over (females).					2 weeks in the establishment for time-workers.	
	Experienced.....	\$0.33¼ per hr. \$16 per wk.					
	Inexperienced....	\$0.25 per hr. \$12 per wk.					
	Under 18 years (females).					Do.	
	Experienced.....	\$0.33¼ per hr. \$16 per wk.					
	Inexperienced....	\$0.22 per hr. \$10.56 per wk.					
Under 21 years (males).					2 weeks for labelers 16 years and over on piecework. No learning period for preparers and canners on piecework. No learning period for labelers under 16 years on piecework.		
	\$0.25 per hr. \$12 per wk.			Preparation of— Cherries..... \$0.75 per 100 lbs. Apricots..... \$0.48 per 100 lbs. Free peaches... \$0.18 per 100 lbs. Cling peaches... \$0.30 per 100 lbs. Pears..... \$0.55 per 100 lbs. Tomatoes (finished.) \$0.05 per 12 qts. For preparing and canning of all fruits and vegetables, piece rates to yield guaranteed experienced hourly rate to 50 per cent of adult women in the individual establishment; to yield guaranteed inexperienced hourly rate to all labelers 16 years and over for 2 weeks and thereafter to yield this group the experienced hourly rate.			

<b>1923</b> <b>Needle-trades in-</b> <b>dustry.<sup>1</sup></b> <b>Order No. 15.<sup>2</sup></b> <b>Issued Apr.</b> <b>11, 1922; ef-</b> <b>fective June</b> <b>10, 1922.</b>	<b>Women and mi-</b> <b>nor.</b>  <b>Experienced.....</b>  <b>Inexperienced.....</b>  <b>14 to 26 weeks.</b>			<b>First 2 weeks: Actual</b> <b>piece-rate earnings.</b> <b>Provided rate would</b> <b>yield guaranteed</b> <b>hourly minimum to</b> <b>experienced workers</b> <b>on same process. 3 to</b> <b>8 weeks: \$0.18<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> per</b> <b>hr., \$9 per wk., \$0.22<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub></b> <b>per hr.<sup>1</sup> 9-17 weeks:</b> <b>\$0.22 per hr., \$10.50 per</b> <b>wk., \$0.24 per hr.<sup>1</sup></b> <b>18-26 weeks: \$0.26 per</b> <b>hr., \$12.50 per wk.,</b> <b>\$0.28<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> per hr.<sup>1</sup> Actual</b> <b>piece-rate earnings to</b> <b>workers leaving volun-</b> <b>tarily during or at</b> <b>end of first week of</b> <b>employment.</b>	<b>26 weeks in a branch.</b> <b>Woman transfer-</b> <b>ring to similar</b> <b>branch in own or</b> <b>another factory to</b> <b>be credited with</b> <b>at least one-half</b> <b>her previous expe-</b> <b>rience not to ex-</b> <b>ceed 13 weeks.</b> <b>Woman transfer-</b> <b>ring to widely dis-</b> <b>similar branch to</b> <b>be credited with</b> <b>one-third her pre-</b> <b>vious experience</b> <b>not to exceed 9</b> <b>weeks.</b>	<b>Female learners not to exceed</b> <b>33<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> per cent total number</b> <b>female workers (exclusive</b> <b>of office workers).</b>
<b>Mercantile Indus-</b> <b>try.</b> <b>Order No. 5a.</b> <b>Issued Dec.</b> <b>29, 1922; ef-</b> <b>fective Apr.</b> <b>8, 1923.</b>	<b>18 years and over.....</b> <b>Experienced.....</b> <b>Inexperienced.....</b> <b>7 to 12 months. \$14 per wk.</b>  <b>Under 18 years.....</b> <b>Experienced.....</b> <b>Inexperienced.....</b> <b>7 to 12 months. \$11 per wk.</b> <b>13 to 18 months. \$12 per wk.</b> <b>19 to 24 months. \$14 per wk.</b> <b>(See notes.)</b>  <b>Elevator opera-</b> <b>tors.</b> <b>Experienced.....</b> <b>Inexperienced.....</b>	<b>Adults, \$0.40 per hr.;</b> <b>minors, \$0.30 per</b> <b>hr. Special work-</b> <b>ers—Adults,</b> <b>\$2.60<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> per day;</b> <b>minors, \$2 per day.</b>			<b>1 year in the indus-</b> <b>try.</b>  <b>2 years in the indus-</b> <b>try provided that</b> <b>on reaching 18</b> <b>years a girl is to be</b> <b>paid the rate for</b> <b>an adult learner,</b> <b>and that for a</b> <b>woman beginning</b> <b>apprenticeship</b> <b>prior to date de-</b> <b>gree becomes ef-</b> <b>fective, learning pe-</b> <b>riod shall be 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub></b> <b>years in mercan-</b> <b>tile industry.</b> <b>3 weeks in employ-</b> <b>ment.</b>	<b>Same rate as full time is to be</b> <b>paid when less than a full</b> <b>week's work is furnished.</b> <b>Learners to be registered.</b> <b>Female learners not to ex-</b> <b>ceed 33<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> per cent total</b> <b>number female employees</b> <b>(exclusive of special and</b> <b>part-time workers, office</b> <b>force, millinery workroom</b> <b>force, elevator operators,</b> <b>and food-catering depart-</b> <b>ment workers).</b>

<sup>1</sup> Rates set after wage board.

<sup>2</sup> These hourly rates shall be paid for the actual number of hours worked when the employer fails to provide a full week's work, except where a legal holiday occurs.

<sup>3</sup> This order, though formally issued, never went into effect, due to an injunction.

Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued

CALIFORNIA—Continued

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
<b>1923</b>							
<b>Fish-canning industry.<sup>1</sup></b> Order No. 6a. Issued Jan. 19, 1923; effective May 9, 1923.	Women or minors. Experienced..... Inexperienced....	\$0.33¼ per hr. \$0.28 per hr.			To yield guaranteed experienced rate to 66¾ per cent of workers.	3 weeks in an establishment for fancy packers; 1 week in an establishment for all others.	
<b>Manufacturing industry.</b> Order No. 11a. Issued Jan. 30, 1923; effective May 8, 1923.	Women or minors. Experienced..... Inexperienced....  5 to 8 weeks.... 9 to 14 weeks.... 15 to 26 weeks....	\$16 per wk. \$0.38 per hr. <sup>4</sup> \$0.18¼ per hr. \$9 per wk. \$0.20¼ per hr. <sup>4</sup> \$0.21 per hr. \$10 per wk. \$0.22¼ per hr. <sup>4</sup> \$0.25 per hr. \$12 per wk. \$0.27¼ per hr. <sup>4</sup> \$0.29¼ per hr. \$14 per wk. \$0.31 per hr. <sup>4</sup>	Adults, \$0.40 per hr.; minors, \$0.30 per hr.		Actual piece-rate earnings for first 2 weeks, provided rate would yield \$0.33¼ per hr. to experienced workers on same process and in same factory.	26 weeks in a branch.	Woman or minor transferring from 1 branch in the needle trades to another, either in same or different factory, to be credited with not less than one-half her previous experience in the former branch not to exceed 13 weeks, unless her employer elects to credit her with more. If transfer is to a widely dissimilar branch she shall be credited with not less than one-third previous experience, not to exceed 9 weeks unless employer elects to credit her with more. Learners to be registered. Learners not to exceed 33¼ per cent total number employees.
<b>Laundry and dry cleaning industry.<sup>1</sup></b> Order No. 7a. Issued May 3, 1923; effective July 23, 1923.	Women or minors. Experienced..... Inexperienced....	\$16 per wk. \$0.38 per hr. <sup>4</sup> \$14 per wk. \$0.30 per hr. <sup>4</sup>	\$0.40 per hr. Special workers, \$2.67 per day.			3 months in the industry.	Learners to be registered. Female learners not to exceed 33¼ per cent total number female employees.



Fruit and vegetable packing industry. Order No. 8a. Issued May 3, 1923; effective Aug. 8, 1923.	Women or minors:					
	Dried fruit packing					4 weeks in the industry.
	Experienced... Inexperienced... Citrus packing	\$0.33¼ per hr. \$0.26 per hr.				3 months in the industry.
	Experienced... Inexperienced... Green fruit and vegetable packing	\$0.33¼ per hr. \$0.26 per hr.				2 weeks in the industry except for adult women in cherry-packing season.
Fruit and vegetable canning industry. Order No. 8a. Issued May 11, 1923; effective Aug. 8, 1923.	Women or minors (females)					2 weeks in the establishment for time-workers.
	Experienced... Inexperienced... Minors (males) (See notes.)	\$0.33¼ per hr. \$0.26 per hr. \$0.26 per hr.				No learning period for piece workers.
			Preparation of— Asparagus..... Cherries..... Apricots..... Tomatoes (finished product). Pears..... Plums..... Cling peaches..... Free peaches..... On preparing and in canning, piece rates to yield guaranteed experienced rate to 60 per cent of adult women.	\$0.22 per 100 lbs. \$0.75 per 100 lbs. \$0.52 per 100 lbs. \$0.08¼ per 12 qts. \$0.60 per 100 lbs. \$0.16 per 100 lbs. \$0.34 per 100 lbs. \$0.20 per 100 lbs.		Rates for male minors apply where neither women nor female minors are engaged.
Unclassified occupations. Order No. 10a. Issued June 8, 1923; effective Sept. 14, 1923.	18 years and over					3 weeks in an occupation.
	Experienced... Inexperienced...	(\$16 per wk. \$0.38 per hr. <sup>4</sup> \$12 per wk. \$0.30 per hr. <sup>4</sup>	Adults, \$0.40 per hr; minors, \$0.30 per hr.			Do.
	Under 18 years					
	Experienced... Inexperienced...	(\$16 per wk. \$0.38 per hr. <sup>4</sup> \$10.56 per wk. \$0.24 per hr. <sup>4</sup>				Where minors only are employed in occupation, experienced rate is \$12 per week, \$0.27¼ per hr.

<sup>1</sup> Rates set after wage board.<sup>4</sup> These hourly rates shall be paid for the actual number of hours worked when the employer fails to provide a full week's work because of a legal or religious holiday.

Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued

CALIFORNIA—Continued

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
<b>1923—Continued</b>							
Hotels and restaurants. Order No. 12a. Issued June 8, 1923; effective Sept. 14, 1923.	Women or minors.	\$16 per wk. \$0.38 per hr.				None.....	Deductions allowed: For lodging, \$3 per week. For board, breakfast \$0.25, lunch \$0.30, dinner \$0.45. Where aprons or uniforms are required, \$0.75 per week to be allowed for laundry.
Nut cracking and sorting industry. Order No. 15a. Issued June 8, 1923; effective Sept. 14, 1923.	Women or minors. Experienced..... Inexperienced....	\$0.33¼ per hr. \$0.25 per hr.			To yield guaranteed experienced rate to 50 per cent of the workers.	8 weeks in an establishment.	Permits to be provided for home work.

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<b>1919</b>							
Printing, publishing, and allied industries. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 2. Issued June 13, 1919; effective Aug. 13, 1919.	Women or minors. Experienced..... Inexperienced.... 4 to 6 months... 7 to 9 months... 10 to 12 months	\$15.50 per wk. \$8 per wk. \$9 per wk. \$11 per wk. \$12 per wk.				1 year in the industry.	Learners to be registered and certificated. Female learners not to exceed 20 per cent of total number experienced females employed. 1 learner's certificate to be valid where fewer than 4 experienced females employed.
Mercantile industries. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 3. Issued Aug. 29, 1919; effective Oct. 28, 1919.	Women..... Experienced..... Inexperienced.... 4 to 7 months... Minors..... Experienced..... Inexperienced....	\$10.50 per wk. \$12.50 per wk. \$14.50 per wk. \$16.50 per wk. \$10 per wk.				7 months in the industry.    1 year in the industry.	Learners to be registered and certificated.

	6 to 8 months... 9 to 12 months...	\$12.50 per wk. \$14.50 per wk.					
Mercantile industry. <sup>1</sup> Supplement to Order No. 3. Issued Oct. 14, 1919; effective Dec. 13, 1919.	Minors (inexperienced). 5 to 8 months... 9 to 12 months... 13 to 18 months... Thereafter to 18th birthday.	\$10 per wk... \$11.50 per wk. \$13 per wk. \$14.50 per wk. \$16 per wk.				Indeterminate.	
<b>1920</b>							
Hotel, restaurant, and allied industries. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 4. Issued Mar. 26, 1920; effective May 26, 1920.	Women or minors.	\$0.34½ per hr.. \$16.50 per wk. \$71.50 per mo.					Deductions allowed: For lodging, \$2 per week. For board, 30 cents per meal.
Hotel, restaurant, and allied industries. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 4 (amended). Issued May 4, 1920; effective July 4, 1920.	Women or minors.	\$0.34½ per hr.. \$16.50 per wk. \$71.50 per mo.					Deductions allowed: For lodging, \$2 per week. For board, 30 cents per meal. Classification of establishments to which order applies is changed.
<b>1921</b>							
Laundry and dry-cleaning industry. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 5. Issued Jan. 13, 1921; effective Mar. 19, 1921.	Women or minors. Experienced... Inexperienced... 3 to 4 months... 5 to 6 months...	\$15 per wk. \$9 per wk. \$11 per wk. \$13 per wk.				6 months in the industry.	Learners to be registered and certificated. Learners not to exceed 25 per cent of total number females employed.
<b>1922</b>							
Mercantile.							Provisions of order No. 3 reaffirmed.

<sup>1</sup> Rates set after wage board.

Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued

KANSAS

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
<b>1918</b>							
<b>Mercantile establishments<sup>1</sup></b> Order No. 6. Issued Jan. 16, 1918; effective Mar. 13, 1918.	Women or minors (except minor cash girls and bundle wrappers). Experienced..... Inexperienced..... 7 to 12 months.	\$8.50 per wk. \$8 per wk. \$7 per wk.				12 months	Minors and apprentices not to exceed 20 per cent of the total number of employees.
	Minor cash girls and bundle wrappers. Inexperienced... 7 to 12 months. Thereafter to 18th birthday.	\$5 per wk. \$5.50 per wk. \$6 per wk.				Indeterminate.	
<b>Laundries<sup>1</sup></b> Order No. 7. Issued Mar. 14, 1918; effective May 14, 1918.	Women or minors. Experienced..... Inexperienced...	\$8.50 per wk. \$6.50 per wk.				6 months in laundry work.	
<b>Telephone operators.<sup>1</sup></b> Order No. 9. Issued July 8, 1918; effective Sept. 5, 1918.	Women or minors. In cities or communities of less than 1,000 population— Experienced... Inexperienced... 7 to 12 months. In cities or communities of 1,000 and less than 5,000 population—	\$7 per wk. \$6 per wk. \$6.50 per wk.				1 year	If operator called and reports for duty on Sunday or holiday, then is excused for all or part of day, to be paid for a basic day.

	Experienced... \$7.60 per wk. Inexperienced... \$6 per wk. 7 to 12 months. \$7 per wk. In cities or communities of 5,000 and less than 20,000 population - Experienced... \$8 per wk. Inexperienced... \$6 per wk. 7 to 12 months. \$7 per wk. In cities of 20,000 or more population - Experienced... \$9 per wk. Inexperienced... \$6.50 per wk. 2 to 6 months. \$7 per wk. 7 to 12 months. \$8 per wk.					
<b>1919</b> Manufacturing establishments. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 10. Issued Feb. 21, 1919; effective Apr. 23, 1919.	Women or minors. Experienced... \$11 per wk. Inexperienced... \$7 per wk. 4 to 6 months. \$9 per wk.					6 months.
<b>1920</b> Manufacturing establishments. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 11. Issued Mar. 22, 1920; effective May 21, 1920.	Women or minors. Experienced... \$11 per wk. Inexperienced... \$7 per wk. 4 to 6 months. \$9 per wk.					6 months.

<sup>1</sup> Rates set after wage board.

Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued

KANSAS—Continued

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
<b>1922</b> <b>Laundry—</b> Order No. 12. Issued May 19, 1922; effective July 18, 1922.	Women or minors. Experienced..... Inexperienced..... 4 to 6 months.	\$11 per wk. \$7.50 per wk. \$9 per wk.				6 months.....	Any laundry which does not furnish a full week's work, to pay all women, minors, and apprentices not less than the full minimum wage set for group to which worker belongs; provided such employee avails herself of the full working time offered, and provided the worker's service is subject to the demand by employers at least 5 days per week.
	Women or minors, 16 years and over. Experienced.....  Inexperienced: In millinery workrooms and dress-making establishments— 1 to 3 months	\$11 per wk.	Wage to be not less than the weekly minimum wage established for each class of workers, provided that the employee has availed herself of all work offered and the employee's service is subject to the demand of the employer at least 5 days a week.				1 year with the same employer or others in the same character of industry.

	4 to 6 months 7 to 9 months 10 to 18 months. All others— 1 to 3 months 4 to 6 months	\$7.50 per wk. \$9 per wk. (Not stated in order). \$7.50 per wk. \$9 per wk.				6 months with the same employer of others in the same character of industry. Indeterminate.
	Under 16 years... in millinery workrooms and dress-making establishments— 1 to 3 months. 4 to 6 months. Thereafter to 10th birthday. All others— 1 to 3 months. Thereafter to 10th birthday.	\$6.50 per wk. \$7.00 per wk. \$9 per wk. \$7.50 per wk. \$9 per wk.				
Mercantile..... Order No. 14. Issued May 19, 1922; effective July 19, 1922.	18 years and over. Experienced.... Inexperienced... 7 to 12 months. 10 and 17 years.... Experienced.... Inexperienced... 8 to 6 months. 7 to 12 months. Under 16 years.... Inexperienced... 3 to 6 months. Thereafter to 10th birthday.	\$10.50 per wk. \$7.50 per wk. \$8 per wk. \$9 per wk. \$10.50 per wk. \$8 per wk. \$8 per wk. \$9 per wk. \$6 per wk. \$8 per wk. \$9 per wk.				1 year.....  Do.  Indeterminate.
						Minors and apprentices not to exceed 20 per cent of the total number of employees.

Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued

MASSACHUSETTS

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
<b>1914</b>							
Brush industry. <sup>1</sup> Issued June 29, 1914; effective Aug. 15, 1914.	Experienced..... Inexperienced.....	\$0.15½ per hr. \$0.1008 per hr. (See notes.)	-----	To yield guaranteed experienced rate.....		1 year in the industry.	Estimate. Learners' rate, according to decree, to be 65 per cent of standard rate.
<b>1915</b>							
Laundries. <sup>1</sup> Issued July 1, 1915; effective Sept. 1, 1915.	Experienced..... Inexperienced..... 4 to 6 months.... 7 to 9 months.... 10 to 12 months..	\$8 per wk. \$6 per wk. \$6.50 per wk. \$7 per wk. \$7.50 per wk.	-----			1 year in laundries.	A female employee to be deemed to have worked a year if absences during 12 months, whether consecutive or nonconsecutive, have not been of "unreasonable duration."
Retail stores. <sup>1</sup> Issued Sept. 15, 1915; effective Jan. 1, 1916.	18 years and over.. Experienced..... Inexperienced.... Under 18 years: 17 years..... All others.....	----- \$8.50 per wk. \$7 per wk. ----- \$6 per wk. \$5 per wk.	-----			1 year in retail stores after reaching 18 years.	A female employee to be deemed to have worked a year if absences during 12 months, whether consecutive or nonconsecutive, have not been of "unreasonable duration."
<b>1916</b>							
Women's clothing factories <sup>1</sup> (cloak, suit, skirt, dress and waist shops). Issued Sept. 28, 1916; effective Feb. 1, 1917.	18 years and over.. Experienced..... Inexperienced.... Under 18 years....	----- \$8.75 per wk. \$7 per wk. \$6 per wk.	-----			1½ years in the industry after reaching 18 years.	A female employee to be deemed to have worked 1½ years if absences have not been of "unreasonable duration."



<p align="center"><b>1917</b></p> <p>Men's clothing and raincoat factories.<sup>1</sup> Issued Aug. 31, 1917; effective Jan. 1, 1918.</p>	<p>18 years and over..... Experienced..... Inexperienced:<sup>2</sup> 4 to 12 months... Under 18 years:<sup>1</sup> After 3 months...</p>	<p>\$9 per wk. \$7 per wk. \$7 per wk.</p>				<p>1 year in the industry and 18 years old.</p>	<p>A female employee to be deemed to have worked 1 year if absences have not been of "unreasonable duration."</p>
<p>Men's and boys' shirts, overalls, and other workmen's garments, men's neckwear and other furnishings, and men's, women's and children's garters and suspenders.<sup>1</sup> Issued Oct. 28, 1917; effective Feb. 1, 1918.</p>	<p>Experienced..... Inexperienced: 7 to 26 weeks.... 27 to 52 weeks....</p>	<p>\$9 per wk. \$7 per wk. \$8 per wk.</p>				<p>52 weeks in the industry.</p>	<p>A week's work to consist of not less than 36 hours.</p>
<p align="center"><b>1918</b></p> <p>Muslin underwear, petticoat, apron, kimono, women's neck wear, and children's clothing factories.<sup>1</sup> Issued July 1, 1918; effective Aug. 1, 1918.</p>	<p>18 years and over..... Experienced..... Inexperienced.... 14 to 26 weeks... 27 to 52 weeks... Under 18 years.....</p>	<p>\$9 per wk. \$6 per wk. \$7 per wk. \$8 per wk. \$6 per wk.</p>				<p>52 weeks in the occupation. (See notes.)</p>	<p>26 of the 52 weeks to be with present employer. A week's work to consist of not less than 36 hours.</p>
<p>Retail millinery workrooms.<sup>1</sup> Issued July 1, 1918; effective Aug. 1, 1918.</p>	<p>19 years and over..... Experienced..... Inexperienced.... Second season... Third season... Fourth season... Thereafter, if 4 seasons did not include the required spring and fall seasons. (See notes.)</p>	<p>\$10 per wk. \$3 per wk. \$4.50 per wk. \$6 per wk. \$7.50 per wk. Do.</p>				<p>4 seasons in the occupation and 19 years old. (See notes.)</p>	<p>The 4 seasons to include 16 weeks in a fall season or seasons and 16 weeks in a spring season or seasons. 12 weeks constitute a season, but if a worker has worked at least 8 weeks but less than 12 weeks in any season, the difference between the time she has worked and 12 weeks may be made up in any following season.</p>

<sup>1</sup> Rates set after wage board.<sup>2</sup> Employer allowed to set own rates for first 3 months.

Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued

MASSACHUSETTS—Continued

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
<b>1918—Continued</b>							
Retail millinery workrooms. Issued July 1, 1918; effective Aug. 1, 1918.	Under 10 years: 18 years— Inexperienced Second season Third season Fourth season Thereafter.. Under 18 years.. After first season.	\$3 per wk. \$4.50 per wk. \$6 per wk. \$7.50 per wk. Do. \$3 per wk. \$4.50 per wk.					An apprentice entering the trade at 18 years or younger not to be entitled to the minimum wage for experienced workers unless she shall have worked at least 12 weeks in the next preceding season. A week's work to consist of not less than 86 hours.
Wholesale millinery occupation. Issued Nov. 30, 1918; effective Jan. 1, 1919.	18 years and over... Experienced..... Any age: Inexperienced... Second season... Third season... Fourth season... Thereafter, if 4 or more seasons did not include 2 spring and 2 fall seasons. (See notes.)	\$11 per wk. \$6 per wk. \$7 per wk. \$8 per wk. \$9 per wk. Do.				Seasonal workers—4 seasons in the occupation and 18 years old. Nonsessional workers—2 years in the occupation and 18 years old. (See notes.)	The 4 seasons to include 2 spring and 2 fall seasons of at least 12 weeks each. 21 weeks' work in a period of 26 weeks to be equivalent to a season. A year's work to consist of not less than 42 weeks; a week's work to consist of not less than 86 hours.
<b>1919</b>							
Office and other building cleaners. Issued Jan. 27, 1919; effective Apr. 1, 1919.	Employed— Between 7 p. m. and 8 a. m. Between 8 a. m. and 7 p. m.	\$0.30 per hr. 0.28 per hr.					

Candy making occupation. <sup>1</sup> Issued July 19, 1919; effective Jan. 1, 1920.	Experienced.....	\$12.50 per wk.				67 weeks in the industry within a period of 75 weeks.	
	Inexperienced.....	\$8 per wk.					
Canning and preserving occupation. <sup>1</sup> Issued July 21, 1919; effective Sept. 1, 1919.	18 years and over.....					1 year in the occupation and 18 years old.	A year's work to consist of not less than 40 weeks.
	Experienced.....	\$11 per wk.					
	Inexperienced.....	\$8.50 per wk.					
	Under 18 years.....	\$8.50 per wk.					
Men's clothing and raincoat occupation. <sup>1</sup> Issued Dec. 27, 1919; effective Feb. 1, 1920.	Experienced.....	\$15 per wk.				1 year in the occupation.	
	Inexperienced.....	\$7 per wk.					
	4 to 12 months....	\$10 per wk.					
Corset occupation. <sup>1</sup> Issued Dec. 27, 1919; effective Mar. 1, 1920.	17 years and over.....					1 year in the occupation and 17 years old.	A year's work to consist of not less than 50 weeks.
	Experienced.....	\$13 per wk.					
	Inexperienced.....	\$10 per wk.					
	Under 17 years....	\$8 per wk.					
1920							
Knit goods occupation. <sup>1</sup> Issued Mar. 13, 1920; effective July 1, 1920.	Experienced.....	\$13.75 per wk.				40 weeks in the occupation.	
	Inexperienced.....	\$8.50 per wk.					
Women's clothing occupation <sup>1</sup> (revised). Issued May 6, 1920; effective July 1, 1920.	18 years and over.....					1¼ years in the industry and 18 years old.	A year's work to consist of not less than 35 weeks.
	Experienced.....	\$15.25 per wk.					
	Inexperienced.....	\$12 per wk.					
	Under 18 years....	\$10 per wk.					
Paper box occupation. <sup>1</sup> Issued May 20, 1920; effective July 1, 1920.	16 years and over.....					9 months in the occupation.	Do.
	Experienced.....	\$15.50 per wk.					
	Inexperienced....	\$11 per wk.					
	Under 16 years.....						
Office and other building cleaners, occupation <sup>1</sup> (revised). Issued Dec. 20, 1920; effective Feb. 1, 1921.	Experienced.....	\$15.50 per wk.					Full-time week's employment to consist of at least 42 hours' work.
	Inexperienced....	\$9 per wk.					
	Women or minors.	\$15.40 per wk.	\$0.37 per hr.				

<sup>1</sup> Rates set after wage board.

Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued

MASSACHUSETTS—Continued

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes	
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount			
<b>1921</b>								
Minor lines of confectionery and food preparations occupation. <sup>1</sup> Issued Oct. 4, 1921; effective Nov. 1, 1921.	16 years and over.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	3 months in a particular line and 16 years old. 9 months in a particular line.		
	Experienced.....	\$12 per wk.						
	Inexperienced....	\$10 per wk.						
	Under 16 years.....	-----	-----	-----	-----			
	1 to 9 months.....	\$8 per wk.						
	Thereafter to 16th birthday.	\$9 per wk.						
<b>1922</b>								
Paper box occupation <sup>1</sup> (revised). Issued Apr. 27, 1922; effective May 15, 1922.	18 years and over.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	12 months in the occupation and 18 years old.		
	Experienced.....	\$13.50 per wk.						
	Inexperienced....	\$10 per wk.						
	Under 18 years:	-----	-----	-----	-----			
	Inexperienced....	\$8.50 per wk.						
	After 12 months and to 18th birthday.	\$12 per wk.						
Women's clothing occupation <sup>1</sup> (second revision). Issued Apr. 27, 1922; effective May 15, 1922.	18 years and over.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	1½ years in the industry and 18 years old.	A year's work to consist of not less than 35 weeks.	
	Experienced.....	\$14 per wk.						
	Inexperienced....	\$11 per wk.						
	Under 18 years.....	\$9 per wk.						
Muslin underwear occupation <sup>1</sup> (revised). Issued Apr. 27, 1922; effective June 1, 1922.	16 years and over.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	52 weeks in the occupation and 16 years old. (See notes.)	26 of the 52 weeks to be with present employer.	
	Experienced.....	\$13.75 per wk.						
	Inexperienced....	\$8 per wk.						
		14 to 26 weeks.....	\$10 per wk.					
		27 to 52 weeks.....	\$12 per wk.					
	Under 16 years:	-----	-----	-----	-----			
		Inexperienced....	\$7.50 per wk.					
		27 to 52 weeks.....	\$10 per wk.					
	Thereafter to 16th birthday.	\$12 per wk.						

<p>Men's furnishings occupation<sup>1</sup> (revised). Issued Apr. 27, 1922; effective June 1, 1922.</p>	<p>16 years and over...                      Experienced... \$13.75 per wk.                      Inexperienced... \$9 per wk.                      14 to 26 weeks... \$10 per wk.                      27 to 52 weeks... \$12 per wk.                      Under 16 years:                      Inexperienced... \$8 per wk.                      27 to 52 weeks... \$10 per wk.                      Thereafter to 16th birthday... \$12 per wk.</p>					<p>52 weeks in the occupation and 16 years old.</p>
<p>Retail stores occupation<sup>1</sup> (revised). Issued Apr. 27, 1922; effective June 1, 1922.</p>	<p>18 years and over...                      Experienced... \$14 per wk.                      Inexperienced... \$12 per wk.                      Under 18 years... \$10 per wk.</p>					<p>1 year in the occupation after reaching 18 years.</p>
<p>Laundry occupation<sup>1</sup> (revised). Issued May 16, 1922; effective July 1, 1922.</p>	<p>Experienced... \$18.60 per wk.                      Inexperienced... \$11 per wk.                      4 to 6 months... \$12.80 per wk.</p>					<p>6 months in the occupation.</p>
<p>1923</p>						
<p>Brush occupation<sup>1</sup> (revised). Issued Jan. 26 1923; effective Mar. 1, 1923.</p>	<p>Experienced... \$19.93 per wk.                      Inexperienced... \$9.00 per wk.                      7 to 12 months... \$12 per wk.</p>					<p>1 year in the occupation.</p>
<p>Druggists' preparations<sup>1</sup>. Issued Sept. 27, 1923; effective Jan. 2, 1924.</p>	<p>18 years and over...                      Experienced... \$13.20 per wk.                      Inexperienced... \$9.00 per wk.                      7 to 12 months... \$10.60 per wk.                      Under 18 years:                      Inexperienced... \$9.00 per wk.                      After 7 months and to 18th birthday... \$10.60 per wk.</p>					<p>1 year in the industry and 18 years old.</p>

<sup>1</sup> Rates set after wage board.

## Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued

## MASSACHUSETTS—Continued

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
<b>1924</b>							
Canning and pre- serving, minor confectionery. <sup>1</sup> Issued Nov. 3, 1924; effective Apr. 1, 1925.	18 years and over...					6 months in a given factory.  Do.  Do.	
	Experienced.....	\$13 per wk.					
	Inexperienced....	\$12 per wk.					
	16 and 17 years.						
	1 to 6 months... Thereafter to 18th birthday.	\$10 per wk. \$11 per wk.					
Under 16 years.							
1 to 6 mos..... Thereafter to 16th birthday.	\$8 per wk. \$9 per wk.						
<b>1925</b>							
Bread and other bakery products. <sup>1</sup> Issued Feb. 17, 1925; effective May 1, 1925.	16 years and over...					6 months in the occu- pation.  Do.	
	Experienced.....	\$13 per wk.					
	Inexperienced....	\$11 per wk.					
	Under 16 years.						
Experienced.....	\$13 per wk.						
Inexperienced....	\$9 per wk.						
Millinery occupa- tion. <sup>1</sup> Issued Mar. 24, 1925; ef- fective July 1, 1925.	19 years and over...					Seasonal workers— 4 seasons in the occupation and 19 years old. Nonseasonal work- ers—2 years in the occupation and 19 years old.	The 4 seasons to include 2 spring and 2 fall seasons of at least 16 weeks each.  21 weeks' work in a period of 28 weeks to be equivalent to a season. A week's work to consist of not less than 40 hours.
	Experienced.....	\$13 per wk.					
	Inexperienced....	\$8 per wk.					
	Second season...	\$7.50 per wk.					
	Third season...	\$9 per wk.					
	Fourth season...	\$10.50 per wk.					
	Thereafter, if 4 or more sea- sons did not include 2 spring and 2 fall seasons. (See notes.)	\$10.50 per wk.					
	Under 19 years.						
	Inexperienced....	\$6 per wk.					
	Second season...	\$7.50 per wk.					
	Third season...	\$9 per wk.					
Fourth season...	\$10.50 per wk.						

	Thereafter, if 4 or more seasons did not include 2 spring and 2 fall seasons. (See notes.)	\$10.50 per wk.				
	Thereafter, to 19th birthday, if 4 or more seasons did include 2 spring and 2 fall seasons. (See notes.)	\$12 per wk.				
Stationery goods and envelopes occupation. <sup>1</sup> Issued Oct. 27, 1926; effective Jan. 1, 1926.	18 years and over.....	\$13.75 per wk.				1 year in the particular plant and 18 years old.
	Experienced.....	\$11 per wk.				
	16 and 17 years: First 12 months.....	\$11 per wk.				
	Thereafter to 18th birthday.....	\$12 per wk.				
	Under 16 years: First 12 months.....	\$9 per wk.				
	Thereafter to 18th birthday.....	\$12 per wk.				
1926 Candy occupation <sup>1</sup> (revised). Issued Jan. 26, 1926; effective Mar. 1, 1926.	Experienced.....	\$13 per wk.				1 year in a candy factory.
	Inexperienced.....	\$9 per wk.				
Jewelry and related lines occupation. <sup>1</sup> Issued Sept. 9, 1926; effective Jan. 1, 1927.	20 years and over.....					6 months in the occupation and 20 years old.
	Experienced.....	\$14.40 per wk.				
	Inexperienced.....	\$12 per wk.				
	Under 20 years.....	\$12 per wk.				
1927 Toys, games and sporting goods occupation. <sup>1</sup> Issued Jan. 3, 1927; effective Mar. 1, 1927.	18 years and over.....					1 year in the occupation and 18 years old.
	Experienced.....	\$13.50 per wk.				
	Inexperienced.....	\$12 per wk.				
	16 and 17 years: Under 16 years:.....	\$12 per wk.				
	First 12 months.....	\$10.50 per wk.				
Thereafter to 16th birthday.....	\$12 per wk.					

<sup>1</sup> Rates set after wage board.

Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued  
MINNESOTA

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MINIMUM-WAGE LAWS IN THE UNITED STATES

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
<b>1914</b>							
Mercantile, <sup>1</sup> office, waitress, hair-dressing occupations. In cities of first class—Order No. 1. Issued Oct. 23, 1914; effective Nov. 22, 1914. In cities of second, third, and fourth classes—Order No. 2. In rest of State—Order No. 3.	Women or minors <sup>1</sup>					No ruling.	Cities of first class have a population of 50,000 and over; of the second class, 20,000 to 50,000; of the third class, 10,000 to 20,000; and of the fourth class, less than 10,000. Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth are in the first class. Winona in 1920 had a population of between 19,000 and 20,000. It was grouped by the State in 1923 as second class.
	Experienced.....	\$9 per wk.					
	Experienced.....	\$8.50 per wk.					
	Experienced.....	\$8 per wk.					
Manufacturing, <sup>1</sup> mechanical, telephone, telegraph, laundry, dyeing, dry cleaning, lunch room, restaurant, hotel occupations. In cities of first class—Order No. 4. Issued Oct. 23, 1914; effective Nov. 22, 1914. In cities of second, third, and fourth classes—Order No. 5. In rest of State—Order No. 6.	Women or minors <sup>1</sup>					No ruling.	
	Experienced.....	\$8.75 per wk.					
	Experienced.....	\$8.25 per wk.					
	Experienced.....	\$8 per wk.					



1918						
Any occupation.... In cities of first, second, third, and fourth classes—Order No. 7. Issued June 26, 1918; effective July 26, 1918.	Women, inexperi- enced.	\$5 per wk. ....				6 months in the par- ticular industry.
	4 to 6 months...	\$7.50 per wk. ....				
	Minors, inexperi- enced.	\$6 per week.....				1 year in the par- ticular industry.
	5 to 8 months... 9 to 12 months...	\$7 per wk. .... \$8 per wk. ....				
Any occupation.... In rest of State— Order No. 8. Issued June 26, 1918; ef- fective July 26, 1918.	Women, inexperi- enced.	\$6 per wk. ....				6 months in the par- ticular industry.
	4 to 6 months...	\$7 per wk. ....				
	Minors, inexperi- enced. 5 to 8 months...	\$6 per wk. .... \$7 per wk. ....				8 months in the par- ticular industry.
All other occupa- tions. Order No. 9. Is- sued Aug. 7, 1918; effective Sept. 6, 1918. (See notes.)	Women or minors, experienced. <sup>1</sup>	\$8 per wk. ....				No ruling.....  Includes such occupations as are not covered by 1914 orders.
1919						
Any occupation.... Order No. 10. Issued July 5, 1919; ef- fective Aug. 5, 1919.	Women or minors, experienced. <sup>1</sup>					No ruling.....  Deductions allowed: For room and board, \$7 per week. For board, \$0.22½ per meal. Deductions allowed: For room and board, \$6.25 per week. For board, \$0.21 per meal.
	In cities of 5,000 or more popu- lation.	\$11 per wk. ....	\$0.23 per hr. over 48 hrs.			
	In cities of less than 5,000 population.	\$10.25 per wk. ....	\$0.21½ per hr. over 48 hrs.			

<sup>1</sup> Rates set after wage boards for mercantile and manufacturing.

<sup>2</sup> The same rates for women and minors held only in the case of experienced workers; for the inexperienced workers, as will be seen, rates differ for women and minors.

Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued

MINNESOTA—Continued

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
<b>1919—Continued</b>							
Any occupation— Order No. 11. Issued July 5, 1919; effective Aug. 5, 1919.	In cities of 5,000 or more population—						Learners and apprentices to be certificated.
	Women, inexperienced.					6 months in the particular industry.	
	4 to 6 months.	\$8.64 per wk.	\$0.18 per hr. over 48 hrs.				
		\$10 per wk.	\$0.21 per hr. over 48 hrs.			9 months in the particular industry.	
	Minors, inexperienced.	\$7.20 per wk.	\$0.15 per hr. over 48 hrs.				
	4 to 6 months.	\$8.64 per wk.	\$0.18 per hr. over 48 hrs.				
	7 to 9 months.	\$10 per wk.	\$0.21 per hr. over 48 hrs.				
	In cities of less than 5,000 population—					6 months in the particular industry.	
	Women, inexperienced.	\$7.68 per wk.	\$0.16 per hr. over 48 hrs.				
	4 to 6 months.	\$9.12 per wk.	\$0.19 per hr. over 48 hrs.			9 months in the particular industry.	
	Minors, inexperienced.	\$6.48 per wk.	\$0.13½ per hr. over 48 hrs.				
	4 to 6 months.	\$7.68 per wk.	\$0.16 per hr. over 48 hrs.				
7 to 9 months.	\$9.12 per wk.	\$0.19 per hr. over 48 hrs.					
<b>1920</b>							
Any occupation— Order No. 12. Issued Dec. 1, 1920; effective Jan. 1, 1921.	Women.					6 months in the particular industry.	Learners and apprentices to be certificated. Full rate to be paid for a week of not less than 36 nor more than 48 hours. Deductions allowed: For room and board, \$7 per wk.
	Experienced— In cities of 5,000 or more population.	\$12 per wk.	\$0.25 per hr. over 48 hrs.				

In cities of less than 5,000 population.	\$10.25 per wk...	\$0.21 $\frac{1}{4}$ per hr. over 48 hrs.				For board, \$0.22 $\frac{1}{4}$ per meal. Deductions allowed: For room and board, \$9.25 per wk. For board, \$0.21 per meal.
Inexperienced— In cities of 5,000 or more population.	\$9.12 per wk...	\$0.19 per hr. over 48 hrs.				
4 to 6 months	\$10.56 per wk...	\$0.22 per hr. over 48 hrs.				
In cities of less than 5,000 population.	\$7.68 per wk...	\$0.16 per hr. over 48 hrs.				
4 to 6 months	\$9.12 per wk...	\$0.19 per hr. over 48 hrs.				
Minors.....					9 months in the particular industry.	
Experienced— In cities of 5,000 or more population.	\$12 per wk....	\$0.25 per hr. over 48 hrs.				Deductions allowed: For room and board, \$7 per wk. For board, \$0.22 $\frac{1}{4}$ per meal.
In cities of less than 5,000 population.	\$10.25 per wk...	\$0.21 $\frac{1}{4}$ per hr. over 48 hrs.				Deductions allowed: For room and board, \$6.25 per wk. For board, \$0.21 per meal.
Inexperienced— In cities of 5,000 or more population.	\$7.68 per wk...	\$0.16 per hr. over 48 hrs.				
4 to 6 months	\$9.12 per wk...	\$0.19 per hr. over 48 hrs.				
7 to 9 months	\$10.56 per wk...	\$0.22 per hr. over 48 hrs.				
In cities of less than 5,000 population.	\$6.48 per wk...	\$0.13 $\frac{1}{4}$ per hr. over 48 hrs.				
4 to 6 months	\$7.68 per wk...	\$0.16 per hr. over 48 hrs.				
7 to 9 months	\$9.12 per wk...	\$0.19 per hr. over 48 hrs.				

SUMMARY OF THE PROVISIONS OF ALL DECREES

Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued  
NORTH DAKOTA

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
<b>1920</b> Public housekeeping occupation. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 5. Issued June 15, 1920; effective Aug. 16, 1920.	Women or minors. Waitresses or counter girls— Experienced... \$17.50 per wk. Inexperienced... \$14 per wk. 3 to 4 months... \$16 per wk.					4 months.	Learners and apprentices not to exceed 25 per cent. When less than 21 meals are furnished, \$0.40 to be allowed the employee for each meal not furnished. Waitresses or counter girls: When lodging and board are furnished, not less than \$3 per week to be paid. When board only is furnished, not less than \$10.50 per week to be paid. When lodging only is furnished, not less than \$15 per week to be paid. Chambermaids and kitchen help: When lodging and board are furnished, not less than \$7.20 per week to be paid. When board only is furnished, not less than \$9.70 per week to be paid. When lodging only is furnished, not less than \$14.20 per week to be paid.
	Chambermaids and kitchen help— Experienced... \$16.70 per wk. Inexperienced... \$13.20 per wk. 3 to 4 months... \$15.20 per wk.						
Personal service occupation. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 6. Issued June 15, 1920; effective Aug. 16, 1920.	Women or minors: Experienced... \$17.50 per wk. Inexperienced— Ushers and ticket sellers... \$17.50 per wk.					1 year.	
	Manicuring, hairdressing, and barbering. 4 to 6 months... \$14 per wk. 7 to 9 months... \$15 per wk. 10 to 12 months... \$16 per wk.						

Office occupation <sup>1</sup> Order No. 7. Issued June 15, 1920; effective Aug. 16, 1920.	Women or minors.					9 months.	Learners to be certified.
	Experienced.....	\$20 per wk.					
	Inexperienced....	\$14 per wk.					
	4 to 6 months....	\$16 per wk.					
Manufacturing occupation <sup>1</sup> Order No. 8. Issued June 15, 1920; effective Aug. 16, 1920.	Women or minors.						Length of apprenticeship and apprenticeship wage in manufacturing establishments not designated to be left to the discretion of the bureau in conference with the employer and the employee in such occupation. Learners and apprentices not to exceed 40 per cent except by special permit of the bureau.
	Experienced.....	\$16.50 per wk.				8 months.	
	Inexperienced— Candy and discuit factories.	\$12 per wk.					
	7 weeks to 3 months.	\$15 per wk.					
	Bookbinding and job- press feed- ing.	\$12 per wk.				1 year.	
	4 to 6 months.	\$13 per wk.					
	7 to 8 months.	\$14 per wk.					
10 to 12 months. (See notes.)	\$15 per wk.						
Laundry occupation <sup>1</sup> Order No. 9. Issued June 15, 1920; effective Aug. 16, 1920.	Women or minors.					4 months.	Where laundry privileges are given \$0.50 may be deducted. Learners to be certified. Learners and apprentices not to exceed 25 per cent.
	Experienced.....	\$16.50 per wk.					
	Inexperienced....	\$12 per wk. \$14 per wk. (See notes.)					
Student nurses <sup>1</sup> Order No. 10. Issued June 15, 1920; effective Aug. 16, 1920.	Women.						All student nurses to be furnished full maintenance, uniforms, equipment for work, and necessary laundry work (approximately 21 pieces). Where maintenance is not furnished, board and room to be computed at the rate of \$10.25 per week.
	Inexperienced....	\$4 per mo.					
	2d year.....	\$6 per mo.					
	3d year.....	\$5 per mo.					

<sup>1</sup> Rates set after wage board. According to the 1920 minimum-wage decree Order No. 4 (minors), no experienced minor in any occupation shall be paid a wage lower than the minimum wage for experienced workers in such occupation. No minor who is apprentice shall be paid a wage lower than the apprenticeship wage for adults or minors in such occupations, unless special permit shall be issued by the bureau. According to the 1920 minimum-wage decree Order No. 3 (General Regulations), all learners shall be registered with the bureau not later than 1 week from the date their employment begins.

Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued

NORTH DAKOTA—Continued

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes	
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount			
<b>1920—Continued</b>								
Mercantile occupation. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 11. Issued June 15, 1920; effective Aug. 16, 1920.	Women or minors. Experienced..... Inexperienced.... 4 to 6 months... 7 to 9 months... 10 to 12 months..	\$17.50 per wk.				1 year.....	Learners to be certified. Learners and apprentices not to exceed 25 per cent.	
		\$12 per wk.						
		\$13 per wk.						
		\$14 per wk.						
Telephones occupations. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 12. Issued June 15, 1920; effective Aug. 16, 1920.	Women or minors. Experienced..... Inexperienced.... 4 to 6 months... 7 to 9 months...	\$16.50 per wk.				9 months.....	Learners and apprentices not to exceed 35 per cent in exchanges with 4 or more employees.	
		\$12 per wk.						
		\$14 per wk.						
		\$15 per wk.						
<b>1922</b>								
Public housekeeping occupation. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 1. Issued Feb. 3, 1922; effective Apr. 4, 1922.	Women..... Waitresses or counter girls— Experienced..... Inexperienced.... 3 to 4 months... Chambermaids and kitchen help— Experienced..... Inexperienced.... 3 to 4 months...	\$14.90 per wk.	30 to 35 hours regular employment to be paid for at the hourly rate of one thirty-sixth of the weekly minimum wage established per hour. Under 30 hours to be paid at the hourly rate of not less than one forty-eighth of the weekly minimum wage rate established per hour.			4 months with the same employer or any other employer in the same occupation.	36 to 48 hours to constitute full week's work. Learners and apprentices not to exceed 25 per cent. When less than 21 meals are furnished, \$0.35 to be allowed the employee for each meal not furnished. Waitresses or counter girls: When lodging and board are furnished, not less than \$6.50 per week (\$29.47 per month) to be paid. When board only is furnished, not less than \$3.90 per week (\$38.56 per month) to be paid. When lodging only is furnished, not less than \$12.75 per week (\$55.25 per month) to be paid.	
		\$11.90 per wk.						
		\$13.60 per wk.						
		\$14.20 per wk.						

Manufacturing occupation. Order No. 2. Issued Feb. 3, 1922; effective Apr. 4, 1922.	Women Experienced.....	\$14 per wk.	35 to 40 hours regular employment to be paid for at the rate of not less than one-fortieth of the weekly minimum wage established per hour. 34 hours or under per week to be paid for at the rate of not less than one forty-eighth of the weekly minimum wage established per hour.				Chambermaids and kitchen help. When lodging and board are furnished, not less than \$5.95 per week (\$25.48 per month) to be paid. When board only is furnished, not less than \$8.25 per week (\$35.75 per month) to be paid. When lodging only is furnished, not less than \$12.05 per week (\$52.22 per month) to be paid.
	Inexperienced— Biscuit and candy. 4 to 6 months. \$9 per wk. 7 to 9 months. \$10.50 per wk. Bookbinding and job press feeding. 4 to 6 months. \$9 per wk. 7 to 9 months. \$10.50 per wk. 10 to 12 months. \$12 per wk. \$13 per wk. (See notes.)	9 months.  1 year.					Length of apprenticeship and apprenticeship wage in manufacturing establishments not designated to be left to the discretion of the bureau in conference with the employer and employee in such occupation. 40 to 48 hours to constitute full week's work and an employee is entitled to full week's wage for same. Apprentices not to exceed 40 per cent except by special permit of the bureau.

<sup>1</sup> Rates set after wage board. According to the 1920 minimum-wage decree Order No. 4 (minors), no experienced minor in any occupation shall be paid a wage lower than the minimum wage for experienced workers in such occupation. No minor who is apprentice shall be paid a wage lower than the apprenticeship wage for adults or minors in such occupations, unless special permit shall be issued by the bureau. According to the 1920 minimum-wage decree Order No. 3 (General Regulations), all learners shall be registered with the bureau not later than 1 week from the date their employment begins.

<sup>2</sup> Rates set after wage board.

Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued

NORTH DAKOTA—Continued

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
<b>1922—Continued</b>							
Mercantile occupation. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 3. Issued Feb. 3, 1922; effective Apr. 4, 1922.	Women..... Experienced..... Inexperienced.... 4 to 6 months... 7 to 9 months... 10 to 12 months	\$14.50 per wk. \$9.60 per wk. \$10.40 per wk. \$11.20 per wk. \$12 per wk.	30 to 35 hours regular employment to be paid for at the rate of not less than one thirty-sixth of the weekly minimum wage established per hour. Under 30 hours per week employment to be paid for at the rate of not less than one forty-eighth of the weekly minimum wage established per hour.			1 year.....	36 to 48 hours to constitute a full week's work and an employee is entitled to full week's wage for same. Learners and apprentices not to exceed 25 per cent.
Laundry occupation. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 4. Issued Feb. 3, 1922; effective Apr. 4, 1922.	Women..... Experienced..... Inexperienced.... 4 to 5 months...	\$14 per wk. (See notes.) \$11 per wk. \$12.50 per wk.	32 to 38 hours regular employment to be paid for at the rate of not less than one thirty-eighth of weekly minimum wage established per hour.			5 months.....	Where laundry privileges are given, 50 cents may be deducted. 38 to 48 hours to constitute full week's work and an employee is entitled to full week's wage for same. Learners and apprentices not to exceed 25 per cent.
Telephone occupation. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 5. Issued Feb. 3, 1922; effective Apr. 4, 1922. In cities of 1,800 popula-	Women.....  Experienced..... Inexperienced....	  \$14 per wk..... \$10 per wk.....	  \$0.29 per hr. \$0.25 per hr.			9 months.....	For cities of under 1,800 population, in each case the higher hourly rate is to be paid, where the 8½-hour law applies (decree says "8-hour law," but State has no such law) and the lower rate is to be paid in other places.



tion and ever. In cities of under 1,800 population.	2 to 5 months...	\$11.80 per wk...	\$0.26 per hr.			More than 40 hours work to constitute a full week's work where the 8 1/4-hour law applies. Learners not to exceed 35 per cent total number employees in ex- changes with 6 or more employees.	
	6 to 9 months...	\$12.80 per wk...	\$0.28 per hr.				
	Experienced....	\$12 per wk....	\$0.25 per hr.				
	Inexperienced....	\$9 per wk....	\$0.22 per hr.	\$0.20 per hr.			
				\$0.17 per hr.			
				\$0.23 per hr.			
2 to 5 months...	\$10 per wk....	\$0.18 per hr.					
6 to 9 months...	\$11 per wk....	\$0.24 per hr.	\$0.19 per hr.				

(See notes.)

<sup>1</sup> Rates set after wage board. OREGON

1913 Any manufacturing or mercantile es- tablishment, mil- linery, dressmak- ing or hairdres- ing shop, laundry, hotel or restau- rant, telephone or telegraph estab- lishment or office. Order No. 1. Issued Aug. 6, 1913; effective Oct. 4, 1913.	Girls (16 and 17 years).	\$1 per day....				Indeterminate. (See note.)	Except as otherwise arranged by the commission in the cases of apprentices and learners.
	Manufacturing oc- cupation. <sup>1</sup>	Women, experi- enced.	\$8.64 per wk....			No ruling.	
	Mercantile occupa- tion. <sup>1</sup>	Women, experi- enced.	\$9.25 per wk....			No ruling.	

<sup>1</sup> Rates set after wage board.

Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued  
OREGON—Continued

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MINIMUM-WAGE LAWS IN THE UNITED STATES

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
1913—Continued							
Office occupation 1. Order No. 4 (Portland). Issued Dec. 3, 1913; effective Feb. 2, 1914.	Women, experienced.	\$40 per mo.				No ruling.	
Any	Women					1 year.	Includes all "industries in Portland not already regulated and all industries in the State at large which have women in their employ."
Order No. 5. Issued Dec. 10, 1913; effective Feb. 7, 1914. (See notes.)	Experienced..... Inexperienced....	\$8.25 per wk. \$8 per wk.					
1916							
Mercantile occupation. Order No. 7 (Portland). Issued July 3, 1916; effective Sept. 1, 1916.	Women					1 year.	
	Experienced..... Inexperienced... 5 to 8 months... 9 to 12 months..	\$9.25 per wk. \$6 per wk. \$7 per wk. \$8 per wk.					
Mercantile occupation. Order No. 8 (State at large). Issued July 3, 1916; effective Sept. 1, 1916.	Women					1 year.	
	Experienced..... Inexperienced... 5 to 8 months... 9 to 12 months..	\$8.25 per wk. \$8 per wk. \$7 per wk. \$8 per wk.					

<p>Manufacturing occupation.<sup>1</sup> Order No. 9 (Portland). Issued July 3, 1916; effective Sept. 1, 1916.</p>	<p>Women..... Experienced... \$8.64 per wk. Inexperienced... \$6 per wk. 5 to 8 months... \$7 per wk. 9 to 12 months... \$8 per wk.</p>			<p>To yield experienced rate to 75 per cent pieceworkers. Actual piece-rate earnings for first three weeks. Thereafter to yield guaranteed time rates.</p>	<p>1 year.</p>	
<p>Manufacturing occupation. Order No. 10 (State at large). Issued July 3, 1916; effective Sept. 1, 1916.</p>	<p>Women..... Experienced... \$8.25 per wk. Inexperienced... \$6 per wk. 5 to 8 months... \$7 per wk. 9 to 12 months... \$8 per wk.</p>			<p>To yield experienced rate to 75 per cent pieceworkers. Actual piece-rate earnings for first three weeks. Thereafter to yield guaranteed time rates.</p>	<p>1 year.</p>	
<p>Personal service occupation.<sup>1</sup> Order No. 11 (Portland). Issued July 3, 1916; effective Sept. 1, 1916.</p>	<p>Women..... Experienced... \$8.64 per wk. Inexperienced... \$6 per wk. 5 to 8 months... \$7 per wk. 9 to 12 months... \$8 per wk.</p>				<p>1 year.</p>	
<p>Personal service occupation.<sup>1</sup> Order No. 12 (State at large). Issued July 3, 1916; effective Sept. 1, 1916.</p>	<p>Women..... Experienced... \$8.25 per wk. Inexperienced... \$6 per wk. 5 to 8 months... \$7 per wk. 9 to 12 months... \$8 per wk.</p>				<p>1 year.</p>	
<p>Laundry occupation.<sup>1</sup> Order No. 13 (Portland). Issued July 3, 1916; effective Sept. 1, 1916.</p>	<p>Women..... Experienced... \$8.64 per wk. Inexperienced... \$6 per wk. 5 to 8 months... \$7 per wk. 9 to 12 months... \$8 per wk.</p>			<p>To yield experienced rate to 75 per cent pieceworkers. Actual piece-rate earnings for first three weeks. Thereafter to yield guaranteed time rates.</p>	<p>1 year.</p>	

<sup>1</sup> Rates set after wage board.

Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued

OREGON—Continued

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
<b>1916—Continued</b>							
Laundry occupa- tion. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 14 (State at large). Issued July 3, 1916; effec- tive Sept. 1, 1916.	Women..... Experienced.... Inexperienced... 5 to 8 months... 9 to 12 months...	\$8.25 per wk. \$6 per wk. \$7 per wk. \$8 per wk.			To yield experienced rate to 75 per cent pieceworkers. Actual piece-rate earn- ings for first three weeks. Thereafter to yield guaranteed time rates.	1 year.	
Telephone and tele- graph occupa- tion. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 15 (Portland). Issued July 3, 1916; effective Sept. 1, 1916.	Women..... Experienced.... Inexperienced... 5 to 8 months... 9 to 12 months... Telephone— 4 to 6 months... 7 to 9 months... 10 to 12 months...	\$9.64 per wk. \$6 per wk. \$7 per wk. \$8 per wk. \$6.60 per wk. \$7.20 per wk. \$7.80 per wk.				1 year.	
Telephone and tele- graph occupa- tion. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 16 (State at large). Is- sued July 3, 1916; effective Sept. 1, 1916.	Women..... Experienced.... Inexperienced... 5 to 8 months... 9 to 12 months... Telephone— 4 to 6 months... 7 to 9 months... 10 to 12 months...	\$8.25 per wk. \$6 per wk. \$7 per wk. \$8 per wk. \$6.60 per wk. \$7.20 per wk. \$7.80 per wk.				1 year.	Any rural telephone estab- lishment of limited service which does not demand the uninterrupted attention of an operator may obtain, upon application and show- ing before the commission, a special license for the em- ployment of operators for wages different from those required by the order. Such wages must be satis- factory to the employer as well as the employer and be approved by the com- mission.

Office occupation. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 17 (Portland). Issued July 3, 1916; effective Sept. 1, 1916.	Women.....					1 year.	
	Experienced.....	\$40 per mo.					
	Inexperienced.....	\$8 per wk.					
	5 to 8 months.....	\$7 per wk.					
Office occupation. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 18 (State at large). Is- sued July 3, 1916; effective Sept. 1, 1916.	Women.....					1 year.	
	Experienced.....	\$8.25 per wk.					
	Inexperienced.....	\$6 per wk.					
	5 to 8 months.....	\$7 per wk.					
Public housekeep- ing occupation. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 19 (Portland). Issued July 3, 1916; effective Sept. 1, 1916.	Women.....					1 year.	Deductions allowed: For lodging, \$1.40 per week. For board, \$2.80 per week. Fraction of board or lodging to be computed on above basis.
	Experienced.....	\$8.64 per wk.					
	Inexperienced.....	\$6 per wk.					
	5 to 8 months.....	\$7 per wk.					
Public housekeep- ing occupation. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 20 (State at large). Is- sued July 3, 1916; effective Sept. 1, 1916.	Women.....					1 year.	Deductions allowed: For lodging, \$1.40 per week. For board, \$2.80 per week. Fraction of board or lodging to be computed on above basis.
	Experienced.....	\$8.25 per wk.					
	Inexperienced.....	\$8 per wk.					
	5 to 8 months.....	\$7 per wk.					
Any occupation (minors). <sup>1</sup> Order No. 21 (Portland and State at large). Is- sued July 3, 1916; effective Sept. 1, 1916.	Minors (16 and 17 years).	\$6 per wk. (See note.)				Indeterminate. (See note.)	Except as otherwise arranged by the commission in the case of apprentices.

<sup>1</sup> Rates set after wage board.

Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued

OREGON—Continued

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes				
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount						
1917 Fruit and vegetable packing, drying, preserving, or canning industry. Order No. 24. Issued May 1, 1917; effective June 30, 1917.	Women or minors. Experienced.... Inexperienced....					3 weeks.					
								\$0.16 per hr.			
								\$0.13 per hr.			
								Cutting—			
								Apricots.....	\$0.22½ per 100 lbs. (or \$0.09 per 40 lbs.).		
								Pears.....	\$0.37½ per 100 lbs. (or \$0.16 per 40 lbs.).		
								Cling peaches...	\$0.22½ per 100 lbs. (or \$0.09 per 40 lbs.).		
								Free peaches...	\$0.12½ per 100 lbs. (or \$0.05 per 40 lbs.).		
								Tomatoes.....	\$0.03 per 12 qts.		
								Peeling apples....	\$0.02½ per 40-lb. box.		
								Quartering apples.	\$0.09 per 40-lb. box.		
								Hulling strawberries.	\$0.01 per lb.		
								Stemming cherries	\$0.00¼ per lb.		
								Sorting and stemming cherries.	\$0.00¼ per lb.		
								Stringing beans...	\$0.00¼ per lb.		
Canning—											
Apricots, pears, and peaches.	No. 2½ cans, \$0.01¼ per doz. cans; No. 10 cans, \$0.03¼ per doz. cans.										
Apples.....	No. 10 cans, \$0.01¼ per doz. cans.										
Strawberries, loganberries, blackberries, raspberries, and cherries.	No. 2 cans, \$0.01 per doz. cans; No. 2½ cans, \$0.01¼ per doz. cans.										
Tomatoes.....	No. 2½ cans, \$0.01 per doz. cans; No. 10 cans, \$0.02¼ per doz. cans.										
Facing prunes....	25-lb. box (double faced), \$0.03 per box.										

<p><b>1918</b>  <b>Mercantile occupation.<sup>1</sup></b>  <b>Order No. 25</b>  <b>(Portland).</b>  <b>Issued Apr.</b>  <b>12, 1918; effective June</b>  <b>12, 1918.</b></p>	<p>Women.....          Experienced..... \$11.10 per wk.          Inexperienced... \$7.20 per wk.              2 to 4 months... \$8.40 per wk.              5 to 8 months... \$9.60 per wk.</p>					<p>8 months for those entering employment at 18 years or over.</p>
<p><b>Mercantile occupation.<sup>1</sup></b>  <b>Order No. 26</b>  <b>(State at large). Issued Apr. 12,</b>  <b>1918, effective June 12,</b>  <b>1918.</b></p>	<p>Women.....          Experienced..... \$11.10 per wk.          Inexperienced... \$7.20 per wk.              2 to 4 months... \$8.40 per wk.              5 to 8 months... \$9.60 per wk.</p>					<p>8 months for those entering employment at 18 years or over.</p>
<p><b>Manufacturing occupation.<sup>1</sup></b>  <b>Order No. 27.</b>  <b>Issued Apr. 12, 1918; effective June</b>  <b>12, 1918.</b></p>	<p>Women.....          Experienced..... \$11.61 per wk.          Inexperienced... \$7.20 per wk.              5 to 8 months... \$8.40 per wk.              9 to 12 months... \$9.60 per wk.</p>				<p>To yield experienced rate to 75 per cent pieceworkers.          Actual piece-rate earnings for first 3 weeks. Thereafter to yield guaranteed time rates.</p>	<p>1 year for those entering employment at 18 years or over.</p>
<p><b>Personal service occupation.<sup>1</sup></b>  <b>Order No. 28.</b>  <b>Issued Apr. 12, 1918; effective June</b>  <b>12, 1918.</b></p>	<p>Women.....          Experienced..... \$11.61 per wk.          Inexperienced... \$7.20 per wk.              5 to 8 months... \$8.40 per wk.              9 to 12 months... \$9.60 per wk.</p>					<p>1 year for those entering employment at 18 years or over.</p>
<p><b>Laundry occupation.<sup>1</sup></b>  <b>Order No. 29.</b>  <b>Issued Apr. 12, 1918; effective June</b>  <b>12, 1918.</b></p>	<p>Women.....          Experienced..... \$11.61 per wk.          Inexperienced... \$7.20 per wk.              5 to 8 months... \$8.40 per wk.              9 to 12 months... \$9.60 per wk.</p>				<p>To yield experienced rate to 75 per cent pieceworkers.          Actual piece-rate earnings for first 3 weeks. Thereafter to yield guaranteed time rates.</p>	<p>1 year for those entering employment at 18 years or over.</p>
<p><b>Telephone and telegraph occupation.<sup>1</sup></b>  <b>Order No. 30</b>  <b>(Portland).</b>  <b>Issued Apr. 12, 1918; effective June</b>  <b>12, 1918.</b></p>	<p>Women.....          Experienced..... \$11.61 per wk.          Inexperienced... \$7.20 per wk.              Telegraph—              5 to 8 months... \$8.40 per wk.              9 to 12 months... \$9.60 per wk.              Telephone—              4 to 6 months... \$7.92 per wk.              7 to 9 months... \$8.64 per wk.              10 to 12 months... \$9.36 per wk.</p>					<p>1 year for those entering employment at 18 years or over.</p>

<sup>1</sup>Rates set after wage board.







Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued

OREGON—Continued

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
<b>1918—Continued</b>							
Telephone and telegraph occupation. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 31 (State at large). Issued Apr. 12, 1918; effective June 12, 1918.	Women..... Experienced..... Inexperienced... Telegraph— 3 to 8 months 9 to 12 months Telephone— 4 to 6 months 7 to 9 months 10 to 12 months.	\$11.61 per wk. \$7.20 per wk. \$8.40 per wk. \$9.60 per wk. \$7.92 per wk. \$8.64 per wk. \$9.36 per wk.				1 year for those entering employment at 18 years or over.	Any rural telephone establishment of limited service, which does not demand the uninterrupted attention of an operator, may obtain, upon application and showing before the commission a special license for the employment of operators for wages * * * different from those required by the order. Such wages * * * must be satisfactory to the employee as well as to the employer and be approved by the commission.
Office occupation. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 32 (Portland). Issued Apr. 12, 1918; effective June 12, 1918.	Women..... Experienced..... Inexperienced... 5 to 8 months... 9 to 12 months.	\$48 per mo. \$7.20 per wk. \$8.40 per wk. \$9.60 per wk.				1 year for those entering employment at 18 years or over.	
Office occupation. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 33 (State at large). Issued Apr. 12, 1918; effective June 12, 1918.	Women..... Experienced..... Inexperienced... 5 to 8 months... 9 to 12 months.	\$48 per mo. \$7.20 per wk. \$8.40 per wk. \$9.60 per wk.				1 year for those entering employment at 18 years or over.	

Public housekeeping occupation. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 84. Issued Apr. 19, 1918; effective June 12, 1918.	Women.....					1 year for those entering employment at 18 years or over.	Deductions allowed: For lodging, \$1.60 per week. For board, \$3.20 per week. Fraction of board or lodging to be computed on above basis.
	Experienced.....	\$11.61 per wk.					
Any occupation (minors). Order No. 85. Issued Apr. 19, 1918; effective June 12, 1918.	Inexperienced... 5 to 8 months..	\$7.20 per wk.				None. Do. Indeterminate. (See notes.)	Any minor between the ages of 16 and 18 years, except as otherwise arranged by the commission in the case of apprentices, must be given an increase of 50 cents per week after every 6 months of employment until she reaches her 18th birthday, when she must receive the minimum wage for adult women. Their working time shall be divided into periods of three months each. Each period or major fraction thereof shall be considered the equivalent of 1 month in the corresponding period of the apprenticeship of the adult workers. Commission may arrange other rates for apprentices.
	9 to 12 months..	\$9.40 per wk.					
	Minors.....						
	14 years.....	\$5 per wk.					
	18 years.....	\$6 per wk.					
	16 and 17 years..	\$7.20 per wk. (See notes.)					
<b>1919</b>							
Mercantile occupation. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 87 (Portland). Issued Aug. 12, 1919; effective Oct. 14, 1919.	Women.....					8 months for those entering employment at 18 years or over.	
	Experienced.....	\$13.20 per wk.					
Mercantile occupation. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 88 (State at large). Issued Aug. 12, 1919; effective Oct. 14, 1919.	Inexperienced... 2 to 4 months..	\$9 per wk.				8 months for those entering employment at 18 years or over.	
	5 to 8 months..	\$12 per wk.					
	Women.....						
	Experienced.....	\$18.20 per wk.					
	Inexperienced... 2 to 4 months..	\$9 per wk.					
	5 to 8 months..	\$10.80 per wk. \$12 per wk.					

<sup>1</sup> Rates set after wage board.

Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued

OREGON—Continued

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MINIMUM-WAGE LAWS IN THE UNITED STATES

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
<b>1919—Continued</b>							
Manufacturing occupation. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 39. Issued Aug. 12, 1919; effective Oct. 14, 1919.	Women..... Experienced..... Inexperienced..... 5 to 8 months... 9 to 12 months..	\$13.20 per wk. \$9 per wk. \$10.50 per wk. \$12 per wk.			To yield experienced rate to 75 per cent pieceworkers. Actual piece-rate earnings for first 3 weeks. Thereafter to yield guaranteed time rates.	1 year for those entering employment at 18 years or over.	
Personal service occupation. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 40. Issued Aug. 12, 1919; effective Oct. 14, 1919.	Women..... Experienced..... Inexperienced..... 5 to 8 months... 9 to 12 months..	\$13.20 per wk. \$9 per wk. \$10.50 per wk. \$12 per wk.				1 year for those entering employment at 18 years or over.	
Laundry occupation. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 41. Issued Aug. 12, 1919; effective Oct. 14, 1919.	Women..... Experienced..... Inexperienced..... 5 to 8 months... 9 to 12 months..	\$13.20 per wk. \$9 per wk. \$10.50 per wk. \$12 per wk.			To yield experienced rate to 75 per cent pieceworkers. Actual piece-rate earnings for first 3 weeks. Thereafter to yield guaranteed time rates.	1 year for those entering employment at 18 years or over.	
Telephone and telegraph. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 42 (Portland). Issued Aug. 12, 1919; effective Oct. 14, 1919.	Women..... Experienced..... Inexperienced... Telegraph— 6 to 8 months... 9 to 12 months.. Telephone— 4 to 6 months... 7 to 9 months... 10 to 12 months.	\$13.20 per wk. \$9 per wk. \$10.50 per wk. \$12 per wk. \$10 per wk. \$11 per wk. \$12 per wk.				1 year for those entering employment at 18 years or over.	

<b>Telephone and telegraph occupation.</b> Order No. 42 (State at large). Issued Aug. 12, 1919; effective Oct. 14, 1919.	Women Experienced..... \$13.20 per wk. Inexperienced... \$9 per wk.				1 year for those entering employment at 18 years or over.	Any rural telephone establishment of limited service, which does not demand the uninterrupted attention of an operator, may obtain upon application and showing before the commission a special license for the employment of operators for wages * * * different from those required by the order. * * * Such wages * * * must be satisfactory to the employee as well as to the employer and be approved by the commission.
	Telegraph— 5 to 8 months \$10.50 per wk. 9 to 12 months \$12 per wk. Telephone— 4 to 6 months \$10 per wk. 7 to 8 months \$11 per wk. 10 to 12 months \$12 per wk.					
<b>Office occupation 1.</b> Order No. 44. Issued Aug. 12, 1919; effective Oct. 14, 1919.	Women Experienced.... \$60 per mo. Inexperienced... \$9 per wk. 5 to 8 months... \$10.50 per wk. 9 to 12 months... \$12 per wk.				1 year for those entering employment at 18 years or over.	
<b>Public housekeeping occupation 1.</b> Order No. 45. Issued Aug. 12, 1919; effective Oct. 14, 1919.	Women Experienced.... \$13.20 per wk. Inexperienced... \$9 per wk. 5 to 8 months... \$10.50 per wk. 9 to 12 months... \$12 per wk.				1 year for those entering employment at 18 years or over.	Deductions allowed: For lodging, \$2 per week. For board, \$4.50 per week. Fraction of board or lodging is to be computed on above basis.

<sup>1</sup>Rates set after wage board.

Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued

OREGON—Continued

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
<b>1919—Continued</b>							
Any occupation (minors). Order No. 46. Issued Aug. 12, 1919; effective Oct. 14, 1919.	Minors.....						Any minor between the ages of 16 and 18 years, except as otherwise arranged by the commission in the case of apprentices, must be given an increase of \$1 per week after every 6 months of employment until she reaches her 18th birthday, when she must receive the minimum wage for adult women. Their working time shall be divided into periods of 3 months each. Each period or major fraction thereof shall be considered the equivalent of 1 month in the corresponding period of the apprenticeship of the adult workers. Commission may arrange other rates for apprentices.
	14 years.....	\$3 per wk.....				None.	
	15 years.....	\$7.20 per wk.....				Indeterminate. (See notes.)	
	16 and 17 years...	\$8.50 per wk..... (See notes.)					
Fruit and vegetable packing, drying, preserving, or canning industry. Order No. 47. Issued Aug. 12, 1919; effective Oct. 14, 1919.	Women or minors.....					3 weeks.	
	Experienced.....	\$0.27½ per hr.		Cutting—			
	Inexperienced....	\$0.22 per hr.		Apricots.....	\$0.28¼ per 100 lbs. (or \$0.16¼ per 40 lbs.).		
				Pears.....	\$0.67¼ per 100 lbs. (or \$0.25¼ per 40 lbs.).		
				Cling peaches...	\$0.38¼ per 100 lbs. (or \$0.15¼ per 40 lbs.).		
				Free peaches....	\$0.21 per 100 lbs. (or \$0.08¼ per 40 lbs.).		
				Tomatoes.....	\$0.05¼ per 12 qts.		
			Peeling apples....	\$0.04¼ per 40-lb. box.			

Quartering apples.	\$0.15 $\frac{1}{2}$ per 40-lb. box.
Hulling strawberries.	\$0.01 $\frac{1}{2}$ per lb.
Stemming cherries.	\$0.00 $\frac{3}{4}$ per lb.
Sorting and stemming cherries.	\$0.00 $\frac{3}{4}$ per lb.
Sorting and stemming string beans.	\$0.01 $\frac{3}{4}$ per lb.
Canning—	
Apricots, pears, and peaches.	No. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ cans, \$0.02 $\frac{3}{4}$ per doz. cans; No. 10 cans, \$0.06 $\frac{1}{2}$ per doz. cans.
Apples.....	No. 10 cans, \$0.03 per doz. cans.
Strawberries, loganberries, blackberries, raspberries, and cherries.	No. 2 cans, \$0.01 $\frac{1}{2}$ per doz. cans; No. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ cans, \$0.02 $\frac{3}{4}$ per doz. cans.
Tomatoes.....	No. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ cans, \$0.01 $\frac{1}{2}$ per doz. cans; No. 10 cans, \$0.04 per doz. cans.
Packing prunes.....	25-lb. box (double-faced), \$0.05 $\frac{1}{2}$ per box.

Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued

OREGON—Continued

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
1922 Fruit and vegetable packing, drying, preserving, or canning industry. Order No. 47 (amended). Issued Mar. 31, 1922; effective May 31, 1922.	Women or minors.					1 week in the specified group.	Time and a half for overtime beyond 10 hours.
	Experienced.....	\$0.27½ per hr.					
	Inexperienced....	\$0.22 per hr.					
				Cutting—			
				Apricots.....	\$0.38¼ per 100 lbs. (or \$0.15¼ per 40 lbs.).		
				Pears.....	\$0.87¼ per 100 lbs. (or \$0.25½ per 40 lbs.).		
				Cling peaches...	\$0.38¼ per 100 lbs. (or \$0.15¼ per 40 lbs.).		
				Free peaches....	\$0.21 per 100 lbs. (or \$0.08½ per 40 lbs.).		
				Tomatoes.....	\$0.05¼ per 12 qts.		
				Quartering apples.	\$0.15¼ per 40-lb. box.		
				Hulling strawberries.	\$0.01¼ per lb.		
				Stemming cherries	\$0.00¼ per lb.		
				Sorting and stemming—			
				Cherries.....	\$0.00¼ per lb.		
				String beans....	\$0.01¼ per lb.		
				Canning—			
				Apricots, pears, peaches.	No. 2¼ cans, \$0.02¼ per doz. cans; No. 10 cans, \$0.06¼ per doz. cans.		
				Apples.....	No. 10 cans, \$0.03 per doz. cans.		
				Strawberries, loganberries, blackberries, raspberries, cherries.	No. 2 cans, \$0.01¼ per doz. cans; No. 2½ cans, \$0.02¼ per doz. cans.		
				Tomatoes.....	No. 2¼ cans, \$0.01¼ per doz. cans; No. 10 cans, \$0.04 per doz. cans.		



Facing prunes.....	25-lb. box (double faced) \$0.05 <sup>1</sup> per box. To yield guaranteed experienced rate to 50 per cent of all workers, exclusive of slow time workers.
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**TEXAS**

<b>1920</b> All (telephone or telegraph office, mercantile establishment, laundry, factory). Order No. 1. Issued Nov. 20, 1920; effective Feb. 7, 1921.	Women or minors.....					1 year in any occupation.	Part-time workers to be registered. Deduction allowed, \$0.20 per meal.
	Experienced.....	\$12 per wk. \$0.25 per hr.					
	Inexperienced.... 7 to 12 months.	\$0.15 per hr. \$0.20 per hr.					

**WASHINGTON**

<b>1914</b> Mercantile occupation. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 1. Issued Apr. 28, 1914; effective June 27, 1914.	Women, experienced.	\$10 per wk.					
	Minors—all.....	\$6 per wk.					
Mercantile occupation. Order No. 2. Issued Apr. 28, 1914; effective June 27, 1914.							

<sup>1</sup> Rates set after wage board.





Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued

WASHINGTON—Continued

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
1914—Continued Mercantile occupations. Apprenticeship circular. <sup>1</sup> Dates not reported.	Inexperienced.....						Salesmanship apprenticeship licenses not to exceed 17 per cent of total number of employees; 50 per cent apprentices to receive \$7.50 per week. One license may be issued to establishments employing less than 6 employees.
	Sales.....	\$6 per wk.				1 year.	
	7 to 12 months.....	\$7.50 per wk.				Do.	
	Millinery and dressmaking.....	\$3 per wk.					
	5 to 8 months.....	\$5 per wk.					
	9 to 12 months.....	\$7.50 per wk.					
	Florist.....	\$9 per wk.				6 months.	
	4 to 6 months.....	\$7.50 per wk.				Do.	
	Ice cream and confectionery.....	do.....					
	Manicuring.....	\$2 per wk.				3 months.	
Second month.....	\$4 per wk.						
Third month.....	\$6 per wk.						
Manicuring and hairdressing.....	\$1.50 per wk.				1 year.		
4 to 6 months.....	\$4 per wk.						
7 to 9 months.....	\$6 per wk.						
10 to 12 months.....	\$8 per wk.						
Manufacturing occupation. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 3. Issued June 2, 1914; effective Aug. 1, 1914.	Women, experienced.	\$8.90 per wk.					
Manufacturing occupation. Order No. 4. Issued June 2, 1914; effective Aug. 1, 1914.	Minors—all.....	\$6 per wk.					

Manufacturing occupations. Apprenticeship circular. <sup>1</sup> Dates not reported.	Inexperienced: Engraving and hand embossing, binderies, chocolate dipping, brush making, tailoring, alteration, and furrier occupations.	\$6 per wk.				1 year.
	7 to 12 months	\$7.50 per wk.				Do.
	Photography.....	\$3 per wk.				Do.
	5 to 8 months...	\$5 per wk.				Do.
	9 to 12 months...	\$7.50 per wk.				9 months.
	Hair manufacturing	\$4 per wk.				Do.
	4 to 6 months...	\$6 per wk.				Do.
	7 to 9 months...	\$8 per wk.			Piece rate for first month	Do.
	Garment factories.					Do.
	2 to 7 months...	\$6 per wk.				Do.
	8 to 9 months...	\$7.50 per wk.				8 months.
	Bag sewing.....	\$6 per wk.				Do.
	8 to 8 months...	\$7.50 per wk.				Do.
	Cap, pennant, and glove making.	\$6 per wk.				Do.
	3 to 5 months...	\$7 per wk.				6 months.
6 to 8 months...	\$8 per wk.				Do.	
Broom, tent, awning, and mattress making.	\$6 per wk.				Do.	
4 to 6 months...	\$7.50 per wk.				Do.	
Candy making (except chocolate dipping); clipping, turning, folding, feeding, and packing bags; paper-box factories (except berry-box making).	\$6 per wk.				Do.	
3 to 4 months...	\$7 per wk.				Do.	
5 to 6 months...	\$8 per wk.				Do.	

<sup>1</sup>Rates set after wage board.

<sup>2</sup>Applies only to individual workers who receive special permits from the commission, allowing them to serve an apprenticeship. All other workers come under orders 1 to 17.

Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued

WASHINGTON—Continued

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
1914—Continued							
Manufacturing occupations—Con. Apprenticeship circular. Dates not reported—Con.	Inexperienced—Continued.						
	Pie making; berry-box making.	\$6 per wk.				3 months.	
	Second month.	\$7 per wk.					
	Third month.	\$8 per wk.				Do.	
	Cord repairing.	\$7.50 per wk.				12 weeks.	
Folding and gathering in binderies.	\$6 per wk.						
7 to 12 weeks.	\$7.50 per wk.						
Laundry and dye works. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 5. Issued June 25, 1914; effective Aug. 24, 1914.	Women, experienced.	\$9 per wk.					
Laundry and dye works. Order No. 6. Issued June 25, 1914; effective Aug. 24, 1914.	Minors—all.	\$6 per wk.					No minor to be employed as a shaker.
Laundry and dye works. Apprenticeship circular. <sup>2</sup> Dates not reported.	Inexperienced:						
	Mending.	\$6 per wk.				3 months.	Apprentices not to exceed 25 per cent. Limit of 2 months on mangle machine. Apprentices on mangle machine not to exceed 50 per cent. Not over 50 per cent of workers on these machines may be apprentices.
	Second month.	\$7 per wk.					
	Third month.	\$8 per wk.					
	All other (see notes).	\$6 per wk.				6 months.	
4 to 6 months.	\$7.50 per wk.						

Telephone and telegraph occupation. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 7. Issued July 9, 1914; effective Sept. 7, 1914.	Women, experienced.	\$9 per wk.				
Telephone and telegraph industry. Order No. 8. Issued July 9, 1914; effective Sept. 7, 1914.	Minors—all.....	\$6 per wk.				
Telephone and telegraph industry. Order No. 9. Issued Aug. 7, 1914; effective Oct. 7, 1914.	Minors—all.....	\$6 per wk.....				Messengers in third-class cities and towns who are not continuously employed and who are paid by piece rates for their services to be exempt from operation of this order.
Telephone and telegraph. Apprenticeship circular. <sup>2</sup> Dates not reported.	Inexperienced..... Telegraph..... 7 to 12 months..... Telephone— Class A (Seattle, Tacoma, Spokane). 4 to 5 months..... 6 to 7 months..... 8 to 9 months..... Telephone— Class B (other cities and towns). 5 to 9 months..... Telephone— Class C (farmers' lines).	\$6.50 per wk..... \$7.75 per wk..... \$6 per wk..... \$6.60 per wk..... \$7.20 per wk..... \$7.80 per wk..... \$6 per wk..... \$7.50 per wk. (See notes.)			1 year. 9 months. Do.	The commission may grant special apprenticeship permits with reference to existing conditions.
Office employment. Order No. 10. Issued Dec. 21, 1914; effective Feb. 20, 1915.	Women, experienced.	\$10 per wk.				

<sup>1</sup> Rates set after wage board.<sup>2</sup> Applies only to individual workers who receive special permits from the commission, allowing them to serve an apprenticeship. All other workers come under orders 1 to 17.

*Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued*  
**WASHINGTON—Continued**

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MINIMUM-WAGE LAWS IN THE UNITED STATES

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
<b>1914—Continued</b>							
Office employment. Order No. 11. Issued Dec. 21, 1914; effective Feb. 20, 1915.	Minors: 16 and 17 years... Under 16 years...	\$7.50 per wk. \$6 per wk.					
Office employment. Apprenticeship circular. <sup>2</sup> Dates not reported.	Inexperienced: General..... Stenography and bookkeeping only.	\$7.50 per wk. \$8 per wk.				6 months. 3 months.	
<b>1915</b>							
Hotel and restaurant occupations. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 12. Issued June 18, 1915; effective Aug. 17, 1915.	Women, except waitresses.	\$9 per wk.					Deductions allowed: For board and lodging, \$5 per week. For board, \$3.50 per week. For lodging, \$2 per week.
Hotel and restaurant occupations. Order No. 13. Issued June 18, 1915; effective Aug. 17, 1915.	Minors, except waitresses.	\$7.50 per wk.					Deductions allowed: For board and lodging, \$5 per week. For board, \$3.50 per week. For lodging, \$2 per week.
Telephone industry. Order No. 14 (Class B). <sup>3</sup> Issued June 18, 1915; date effective not reported.	Women or minors, experienced: Day operators... Night operators. (See notes.)	\$35 per mo. \$25 per mo.	16 cts. per. hr. for less than 6 hrs. service.				Apprenticeship rates set in 1914 apply (see Classes B and C, 1914). Minors to be paid a lesser rate through the issue of a special permit by the Industrial Welfare Commission.



<b>Telephone industry.</b> Order No. 15 (Class O). <sup>1</sup> Issued June 18, 1918; date effective not reported.	Women or minors, experienced: Day operators... Night operators... (See notes.)	\$35 per mo. .... \$25 per mo.	\$0.18 per hr. for less than 10 hrs. serv- ice.				Apprentices may have special license to work at less than prescribed wage. Charge for rent, fuel, light, water, board, or room to be subject to the approval of the commission.  Apprenticeship rates set in 1914 apply (see Classes B and C, 1914).  If only emergency service be rendered during the night, any female or minor may be employed at a lesser wage, upon application to the commission for a special permit stipulating conditions of hours and wages. Charge for rent, fuel, light, water, board, or room to be subject to the approval of the commission.
<b>Telephone industry.</b> Order No. 16 (Class D). <sup>1</sup> Issued June 18, 1918; date effective not reported.	Women or minors, experienced: Day operators... Night operators... (See notes.)	\$30 per mo. .... \$22.50 per mo.	\$0.13 per hr. for less than 10 hrs. serv- ice.				Apprenticeship rates set in 1914 apply (see Classes B and C, 1914).  If only emergency service be rendered during the night, any female or minor may be employed at a lesser wage, upon application to the commission for a special permit stipulating conditions of hours and wages. Charge for rent, fuel, light, water, board, or room to be subject to the approval of the commission.
<b>Telephone industry.</b> Order No. 17 (Class E). <sup>1</sup> Issued June 18, 1918; date effective not reported.	Compensation for all females or minors em- ployed may be determined by the contracting parties, subject to the approval of the commis- sion. (See notes.)						Apprenticeship rates set in 1914 apply (see Classes B and C, 1914).

<sup>1</sup> Rates set after wage board.

<sup>2</sup> Applies only to individual workers who receive special permits from the commission, allowing them to serve an apprenticeship. All other workers come under orders 1 to 17.

<sup>3</sup> Cities and towns of less than 3,000 population.

Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued

WASHINGTON—Continued

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
<b>1917</b>							
Mercantile, manufacturing, printing, laundering, or dye works, sign painting, machine or repair shop, or parcel delivery service, telephone or telegraph, office, hotel, and restaurant. Issued Sept. 14, 1917; effective Nov. 14, 1917.	Minors.....						Telephone and telegraph messengers in rural communities and cities of less than 3,000 population who are not continuously employed and who are paid by piece rates for their services to be exempt from the operation of this order. Deductions allowed: For board and lodging, \$3 per week. For board, \$3.50 per week. For lodging, \$2 per week.
	Office— 16 and 17 years Under 16 years	\$7.50 per wk. <sup>1</sup> \$6 per wk.				Indeterminate to 18th birthday.	
	Hotel and restaurant— 16 and 17 years Under 16 years All others— 16 and 17 years Under 16 years	\$5 per wk. \$7 per wk. \$7 per wk. <sup>1</sup> \$6 per wk.				Indeterminate to 18th birthday.	
<b>1918</b>							
Any occupations, trades, and industries. Order No. 18. Issued Sept. 10, 1918; effective Nov. 10, 1918.	Women, experienced.	\$13.20 per wk.					Apprentices to be licensed.
All occupations..... Order No. 19. Issued Sept. 19, 1918; effective Nov. 20, 1918.	Minors.....	\$6 per wk. <sup>1</sup>				Indeterminate to 18th birthday.	Messengers in rural communities and cities of less than 3,000 population who are not continuously employed and who are paid by piece rates for their services to be exempt from the operation of this order. Deductions allowed: For lodging, \$2 per week.

<b>Mercantile Industry</b> Apprenticeship circular. Issued Sept. 20, 1918; effective Nov. 10, 1918.	Inexperienced (adults).					For board, \$4.50 per week for 21 meals or a proportionate amount for a fraction thereof.
	Salesmanship, millinery, beauty parlors, and alteration departments.	\$9 per wk.				Combined number of minors and apprentices not to exceed 25 per cent.
	2 to 3 months...	\$10 per wk.				
	4 to 5 months...	\$11 per wk.			8 months.	
	6 to 8 months...	\$12 per wk.				
	Ice cream, confectionery, florist, and bakery.	\$9 per wk.			4 months.	
Second month	\$10 per wk.					
Third month	\$11 per wk.					
Fourth month	\$12 per wk.					
<b>Manufacturing industry.</b> Apprenticeship circular. Issued Sept. 20, 1918; effective Nov. 10, 1918.	Inexperienced (adults).					Combined number of minors and apprentices not to exceed 25 per cent.
	Garment making—				First month on piece rate	
	2 to 4 months...	\$9 per wk.				
	5 to 6 months...	\$10 per wk.			9 months.	
	7 to 8 months...	\$11 per wk.				
	Ninth month.	\$12 per wk.			Do.	
	Tailoring, dress-making, fur making, engraving and hand embossing, hair manufacturing, brush making.	\$9 per wk.				
	2 to 3 months...	\$10 per wk.				
	4 to 6 months...	\$11 per wk.				
	7 to 9 months...	\$12 per wk.			Do.	
Printing.	\$9 per wk.					
4 to 5 months...	\$10 per wk.					
6 to 7 months...	\$11 per wk.					
8 to 9 months...	\$12 per wk.					

<sup>1</sup> Rates set after wage board.

<sup>2</sup> Any minor entering the industry between the ages of 16 and 18, who is not a registered apprentice, must be given an increase of \$0.50 per week after every 6 months of service until she reaches the experienced adult rate, or until she becomes 18 years of age, when she must be given the experienced adult rate.

<sup>3</sup> Any minor entering the industry under the age of 18 years, who is not a registered apprentice, must be given an increase of \$1 a week after every 6 months of service until she reaches the experienced adult rate, or until she becomes 18 years of age when she must be given the experienced adult rate.

Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued

WASHINGTON—Continued

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
1918—Continued Manufacturing industry—Contd. Apprenticeship circular. Issued Sept. 20, 1918; effective Nov. 10, 1918—Contd.	Inexperienced (adults)—Con. Chocolate dipping. Second month. 3 to 4 months... 5 to 6 months... Candy and biscuit making, paper-box making, broom making, cap and glove making, cord repairing, tent and awning making, mattress making, bag making, bookbinding, and other like occupations. Second month... Third month... Fourth month...	\$9 per wk.				6 months.	
		\$10 per wk. \$11 per wk. \$12 per wk. \$9 per wk.				4 months.	
Laundry..... Apprenticeship circular. Issued Sept. 20, 1918; effective Nov. 10, 1918.	Inexperienced (adults). Second month... Third month... Fourth month...	\$9 per wk.				4 months.	Combined number of minors and apprentices not to exceed 25 per cent.
		\$10 per wk. \$11 per wk. \$12 per wk.					

Telephone and telegraph industry. Apprenticeship circular. Issued Sept. 20, 1918; effective Nov. 10, 1918.	Inexperienced (adults). 2 to 3 months... 4 to 5 months... 6 to 7 months...	\$9 per wk. \$10 per wk. \$11 per wk. \$12 per wk.				7 months.	
Office. Apprenticeship circular. Issued Sept. 20, 1918; effective Nov. 10, 1918.	Inexperienced (adults). Second month... 3 to 4 months... 5 to 6 months...	\$9 per wk. \$10 per wk. \$11 per wk. \$12 per wk.				6 months.	
1919 Mercantile industry. Apprenticeship circular. Dates not reported.	Inexperienced (adults): Salesmanship, millinery, beauty parlor occupations, and alteration departments. 2 to 3 months... 4 to 5 months... 6 to 8 months... Ice cream, confectionery, florist occupations, bakeries, grocery stores, drug stores, and music houses. Second month... Third month... Fourth month...	\$9 per wk. \$10 per wk. \$11 per wk. \$12 per wk. \$9 per wk. \$10 per wk. \$11 per wk. \$12 per wk.				8 months.         4 months.	

Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued

WASHINGTON—Continued

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
1919—Continued							
Manufacturing industry. Apprenticeship circular. Dates not reported.	Inexperienced (adults):						
	Garmentmaking:				First month on piece rate.	9 months.	
	2 to 4 months...	\$9 per wk.					
	5 to 6 months...	\$10 per wk.					
	7 to 8 months...	\$11 per wk.					
	Ninth month.	\$12 per wk.					
Tailoring, dress-making, fur-making, engraving and hand embossing, hair manufacturing, and retouching in photograph galleries.	\$9 per wk.				Do.		
2 to 3 months...	\$10 per wk.						
4 to 6 months...	\$11 per wk.						
7 to 9 months...	\$12 per wk.						
Candy and biscuit making,	\$9 per wk.				4 months.		
paper-box making,							
broom making,							
cap and glove making,							
cord repairing, tent and awning making,							
pennant and flag making, mattress making, bag making,							

bookbinding, button making, neckwear making, general work in photograph galleries, work in knitting mills, hemstitching, shoemaking, work in paper mills other than sorting and other like occupations.					
Second month...	\$10 per wk.				
Third month...	\$11 per wk.				
Fourth month...	\$12 per wk.				
Sorting in paper mills.	\$9 per wk.				Do.
Second week...	\$10 per wk.				
Third week...	\$11 per wk.				
Fourth week...	\$12 per wk.				
Brush making (hand drawing).	\$9 per wk.				8 weeks.
3 to 4 weeks...	\$10 per wk.				
5 to 6 weeks...	\$11 per wk.				
7 to 8 weeks...	\$12 per wk.				
Brush making (brush finishing).	\$9 per wk.				4 weeks.
Second week...	\$10 per wk.				
Third week...	\$11 per wk.				
Fourth week...	\$12 per wk.				

Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued

WASHINGTON—Continued

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MINIMUM-WAGE LAWS IN THE UNITED STATES

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
1919—Continued Office occupations— Apprenticeship circular. Dates not re- ported.	Inexperienced (adults):						
	General office work.	\$9 per wk.				6 months.	
	Second month. 3 to 4 months.	\$10 per wk. \$11 per wk.					
	5 to 6 months.	\$12 per wk.				4 months.	
Transient milliners. Apprenticeship circular.	Doctors' and dentists' workers, toll- bill clerks, addresso- graph clerks, adding-ma- chine oper- ators, and cashiering in motion-pic- ture houses.	\$9 per wk.					
	Second month.	\$10 per wk.					
	Third month.	\$11 per wk.					
	Fourth month.	\$12 per wk.					
Telephone industry. Order No. 20. <sup>1</sup> Dates not re- ported.	Inexperienced (adults).	\$9 per wk.				4 weeks.	
	Compensation for women or minors may be determined by the contracting parties, subject to the approval of the commis- sion. Learners may be per- mitted to serve without com- pensation.		Substitute operators, \$0.16 per hour.				If only emergency service is rendered during the night, any female or minor may be employed at a lesser wage upon application to the commission for special permit, stipulating condi- tions, hours, and wages. Charge for rent, fuel, light, water, board, or room to be subject to approval of the commission.



1920 Public housekeeping industry. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 21. Issued Apr. 3, 1920; effective June 2, 1920.	Women.....	\$18 per wk.....				Deductions allowed: For board, \$1 per day. For breakfast, \$0.25; for lunch, \$0.35; for dinner, \$0.40. For lodging, \$2 per week. Where a uniform is required it is to be provided and laundered by employer.
	Minors.....	\$12 per wk. <sup>4</sup> .....			Indeterminate to 18th birthday.	Deductions allowed: For board, \$1 per day. For breakfast, \$0.25; for lunch, \$0.35; for dinner, \$0.40. For lodging, \$2 per week. Where a uniform is required it is to be provided and laundered by employer.
1921 Public housekeeping industry. Order No. 23. Issued Aug. 5, 1921; effective Oct. 4, 1921.	All adults.....	\$14.50 per wk.....	\$2.50 per day; \$0.35 per hour for less than 8 hours in any one day.			Deductions allowed: For board, \$0.95 per day. For breakfast, \$0.20; for lunch, \$0.30; for dinner, \$0.45. For lodging, \$2 per week. Where a uniform is required, it must be provided and laundered by employer.
	Public housekeeping occupations. Order No. 24. Issued Aug. 5, 1921; effective Oct. 4, 1921.	Minors—all.....	\$12 per wk. <sup>4</sup> .....			Indeterminate to 18th birthday.

<sup>1</sup> Rates set after wage board.<sup>2</sup> Cities and towns of less than 3,000 population.<sup>4</sup> Any minor entering the industry under the age of 18 years, who is not a registered apprentice, must be given an increase of \$1 per week after every 4 months of service until she reaches the experienced adult rate, or until she becomes 18 years of age, when she must be given the experienced adult rate.

Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued

WASHINGTON—Continued

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
1921—Continued Laundry and dye works industry. Order No. 25. Issued Oct. 14, 1921; effective Dec. 14, 1921.	Women.....	\$13.20 per wk. (See notes.)	When any regular employee reports for work she is to be given a half-day's compensation whether work is provided for her or not, unless she has been notified of not being wanted that day or unless she was absent the day before on her own accord.				To be paid on six-days-a-week basis.
Telephone and telegraph industry. Order No. 27. Issued Oct. 14, 1921; effective Dec. 14, 1921.	Women.....	\$13.20 per wk. (See notes.)					To be paid on 6-days-a-week basis. This order applies also to all "public occupations" other than "laundries, mercantile, manufacturing, and public housekeeping."
Mercantile industry. Order No. 28. Issued Oct. 31, 1921; effective Dec. 31, 1921.	Women.....	\$13.20 per wk. (See notes.)					To be paid on 6-days-a-week basis.
All occupations and industries other than public housekeeping. Order No. 26. Issued Nov. 8, 1921; effective Jan. 8, 1922.	Minors.....	\$9 per wk. <sup>1</sup>				Indeterminate to 18th birthday.	Telephone or telegraph messengers in rural communities and cities of less than 8,000 population who are not continuously employed and who are paid by piece rate for their services to be exempt from the operation of this order.

Manufacturing occupations. Order No. 29, Issued Nov. 22, 1921; effective Jan. 22, 1922.	Adults.....					An experienced adult may be employed at \$12 per week for a period of not more than 3 months in an establishment other than the one in which she served her apprenticeship. Apprentices not to exceed 25 per cent of all employees unless, on petition showing emergency situation in the establishment, the supervisor of women in industry grants permission for a larger percentage.
	Experienced.....	\$13.20 per wk. (\$12 per wk. (See notes.)				
	Inexperienced....	\$9 per wk.				
	Apprenticeship to be fixed according to following:					
	Schedule A.....				1 year.	
	4 to 6 months..	\$10 per wk.				
	7 to 9 months..	\$11 per wk.				
	10 to 12 months	\$12 per wk.				
	Schedule B.....				8 months.	
	3 to 4 months..	\$10 per wk.				
	5 to 6 months..	\$11 per wk.				
	7 to 8 months..	\$12 per wk.				
	Schedule C.....				24 weeks.	
	7 to 12 weeks..	\$10 per wk.				
13 to 18 weeks..	\$11 per wk.					
19 to 24 weeks..	\$12 per wk.					
Schedule D.....				4 months.		
Second month..	\$10 per wk.					
Third month..	\$11 per wk.					
Fourth month..	\$12 per wk.					
Schedule E.....				4 weeks.		
Second week..	\$10 per wk.					
Third week...	\$11 per wk.					
Fourth week..	\$12 per wk.					

\* Any minor entering the industry under the age of 18 years, who is not a registered apprentice, must be given an increase of \$1 a week after every 6 months of service until she reaches the experienced adult rate, or until she becomes 18 years of age, when she must be given the experienced adult rate.

## Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued

## WASHINGTON—Continued

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
<b>1923</b> All occupations and industries other than public house-keeping. Order No. 21. Issued Aug. 28, 1922; effective Oct. 27, 1922.	Minors.....	\$0 per wk. <sup>1</sup>				Indeterminate to 18th birthday.	Telephone or telegraph messengers in rural communities and cities of less than 3,000 population who are not continuously employed and who are paid by piece rate for their services to be exempt from the operation of this order. Permission to employ minors and to employ minors at less than \$13.20 per week must be secured from the supervisor of women in industry, and such minors will be charged against apprenticeship allowable.

<sup>1</sup> Any minor entering the industry under the age of 18 years, who is not a registered apprentice, must be given an increase of \$1 per week after every 6 months of service until she reaches the experienced adult rate, or until she becomes 18 years of age, when she must be given the experienced adult rate.

## WISCONSIN

<b>1917</b> Peanut canning. Issued June 15, 1917; effective season of 1917.	Women.....	\$0.15 per hr. \$1.25 per day or shift.					
<b>1918</b> Peanut canning. Date issued not reported; effective season of 1918.	Women or minors. Experienced..... Inexperienced....	\$0.15 per hr..... \$0.15 per hr.....	\$0.25 per hr. in excess of 10 hrs. \$0.22 per hr. in excess of 10 hrs.			1 season.	

1910						
Pea canning. Rate issued not reported; effective season of 1910.	Women or minors.					1 season.
	Experienced....	\$0.22 per hr.	\$0.20 per hr. in excess of 10 hrs.			
	Inexperienced...	\$0.18 per hr.	\$0.22 per hr. in excess of 10 hrs.			
Any occupation, trade, or industry. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 1. Issued June 27, 1910; effective Aug. 1, 1910.	Over 17 years.					6 months' employment in the trade or industry, whether for the same employer or different employers, and over 17 years. (See notes.) Indeterminate. (See notes.)
	Experienced....	\$0.22 per hr.				
	Inexperienced... 4 to 6 months.	\$0.18 per hr.				
	16 years.					
	Inexperienced (1-3 months). Thereafter to 17th birthday.	\$0.18 per hr.				
	14 and 15 years....	\$0.18 per hr.				
Telephone exchanges. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 2. Issued Jan. 20, 1910; effective Aug. 1, 1910.	Over 17 years.					6 months' employment in the trade or industry, whether for the same employer or different employers, and 17 years old. Indeterminate.
	Experienced....	\$0.22 per hr.				
	Inexperienced... 4 to 6 months.	\$0.18 per hr.				
	16 years.					
	Inexperienced (1-3 months). Thereafter to 17th birthday.	\$0.20 per hr.				
	14 and 15 years....	\$0.18 per hr.				

In seasonal industries operating only a few months a year, all adults and minors regardless of experience to be paid \$0.22 per hour. Employees receiving less than minimum not to exceed 25 per cent of normal working force, excluding "indentured apprentices."  
Deductions allowed:  
For board, \$4.50 per week.  
For lodging, \$2 per week.

For day period: Under 200 telephones, hourly minimum for 1/4 time on duty; 200-219 telephones, for 1/2 time on duty; 220-239 telephones, for 3/4 time on duty; 240-259 telephones, for 1 time on duty; 260-274 telephones, for 1 1/4 time on duty; 275 telephones or more, for time on duty.  
For night period: Under 200 telephones, hourly minimum for 1/4 time subject to call; 200-400 telephones, for 1/2 time subject to call; 400-624 telephones, for 3/4 time subject to call; 625-749 telephones, for 1 time subject to call; 750-874 telephones, for 1 1/4 time subject to call; 875-1000 telephones, for 1 1/2 time subject to call; 1,000 telephones or more, for time subject to call.  
In exchanges in private residences the wage paid is to be at the rate of 20 cents per month per phone.

<sup>1</sup>Rates set after wage board.

Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued

WISCONSIN—Continued

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
1919—Continued Attendants in sanitariums. <sup>1</sup> Order No. 3. Date not reported.	Over 17 years.....					6 months' employment in the trade or industry, whether for the same employer or different employers, and 17 years old. Indeterminate.	Employment for more than 55 hours per week as a minimum, to be paid for 55 hours per week.
	Experienced.....	\$0.22 per hr.					
	Inexperienced....	\$0.18 per hr.					
	4 to 6 months..	\$0.20 per hr.					
	16 years.....						
	Inexperienced (1 to 3 months). Thereafter to 17th birthday. 14 and 15 years....	\$0.18 per hr. \$0.20 per hr. \$0.18 per hr.					
Home workers..... Order No. 4. Date not reported.	Over 17 years.....					6 months' employment in the trade or industry, whether for the same employer or different employers, and 17 years old. Indeterminate.	To be paid the piece rate that enables the factory's employees of average ability to earn the guaranteed minimum.
	Experienced.....	\$0.22 per hr.					
	Inexperienced....	\$0.18 per hr.					
	4 to 6 months..	\$0.20 per hr.					
	16 years.....						
	Inexperienced (1 to 3 months). Thereafter to 17th birthday. 14 and 15 years....	\$0.18 per hr. \$0.20 per hr. \$0.18 per hr.					
Intermittent workers. Order No. 5. Date not reported.	Over 17 years.....					6 months' employment in the trade or industry, whether for the same employer or different employers, and 17 years old. (See notes.)	600 hours of work to be considered equal to 3 months' learning period; 1,200 hours to 6 months.
	Experienced.....	\$0.22 per hr.					
	Inexperienced....	\$0.18 per hr.					
	4 to 6 months..	\$0.20 per hr.					

	16 years..... Inexperienced (1 to 3 months). Thereafter to 17th birthday. 14 and 15 years....	\$0.18 per hr. \$0.20 per hr. \$0.18 per hr.				Indeterminate.
<b>1920</b>						
Pea canning. Date issued not reported; effective season of 1920.	Women or minors.	\$0.22 per hr....	\$0.38 per hr. in excess of 10 hrs.			
Cherry, corn, bean, and tomato canning. Date issued not reported; effective season of 1920.	Women or minors.	\$0.22 per hr....		Shipping— Round beans... \$0.02 per lb. Flat beans..... \$0.01¼ per lb.		
Tobacco stripping.. Order No. 6. Issued Mar. 20, 1920; Date effective not reported.	Over 17 years..... Experienced..... Inexperienced... 4 to 6 months.	\$0.22 per hr. \$0.18 per hr. \$0.20 per hr.			\$0.03¼ per lb. for all women and minors.	6 months' employment in the trade or industry, whether for the same employer or different employers, and over 17 years. Indeterminate.
	16 years..... Inexperienced (1-3 months). Thereafter to 17th birthday. 14 and 15 years....	\$0.18 per hr. \$0.20 per hr. \$0.18 per hr.				Indeterminate.
Beauty parlors.. Order No. 7. Issued May 4, 1920. Date effective not reported.	Over 17 years..... Experienced..... Inexperienced: Third month... 4 to 6 months.	\$0.22 per hr. \$0.18 per hr. \$0.20 per hr.				6 months' employment in the trade or industry, whether for the same employer or different employers, and over 17 years. Indeterminate.
	16 years..... Inexperienced: 1 Third month... Thereafter to 17th birthday. 14 and 15 years: 1 After 2 months..	\$0.18 per hr. \$0.20 per hr. \$0.18 per hr.				Indeterminate.

1 Rates set after wage board.

Employers allowed to set own rates for first two months.

*Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued*  
**WISCONSIN—Continued**

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
<b>1921</b>  Any occupation, trade, or industry. Order No. 1 (revision, 1921). Issued June 28, 1921; effective Aug. 1, 1921.	Over 17 years.....				To yield guaranteed experienced rate to all pieceworkers unless 75 per cent of all experienced women and minors over 17 years on piecework receive \$0.03 more per hour than the guaranteed minimum.	6 months' employment in the trade or industry, whether for the same employer or different employers, and over 17 years. (See notes.)	In seasonal industries all women and minors, regardless of experience, to be paid not less than \$0.25 per hour in cities with population of 5,000 and over, and not less than \$0.23 per hour elsewhere. Cities with a population of 5,000 or more include communities and isolated establishments which are within the industrial area of such cities although outside their territorial limits. Minors producing the same output as employees in a higher wage classification to be paid not less than the amount due that class. Apprentices not to exceed 25 per cent of total number of women and minors normally employed. Deductions allowed: Cities of 5,000 or more population— For board, \$5.25 per week. For lodging, \$2.50 per week. Elsewhere— For board, \$4.50 per week. For lodging, \$2 per week.
	Experienced—						
	Cities of 5,000 or more population.....	\$0.25 per hr.					
	Cities of less than 5,000 population.....	\$0.22 per hr.					
	Inexperienced... 4 to 6 months.....	\$0.16 per hr. \$0.20 per hr.					
	16 years.....	\$0.16 per hr.					
Inexperienced (1-6 months). Thereafter to 17th birthday.....	\$0.16 per hr. \$0.20 per hr.						
14 and 15 years:							
Experienced.....	\$0.20 per hr.						
Inexperienced....	\$0.16 per hr.						



Pea canning. Date issued not reported; effective season of 1921.	Women or minors.	\$0.22 per hr.	\$0.33 per hr. in excess of 10 hrs.			
Cherry, corn, bean, and tomato canning. Date issued not reported; effective season of 1921.	Women or minors. In cities of 5,000 or more population—			Shipping— Round beans... Flat beans.....	\$0.02 per lb. \$0.01½ per lb.	
	To Aug. 1..... Aug. 1 and after In cities of less than 5,000 population.	\$0.22 per hr. \$0.25 per hr. \$0.22 per hr.				
<b>1922</b>						
Pea canning. Date issued not reported; effective season of 1922.	Women or minors. In cities of 5,000 or more population.	\$0.25 per hr.	\$0.33 per hr. in excess of 10 hrs.			
	In cities of less than 5,000 population.	\$0.22 per hr.				
Cherry, corn, bean, and tomato canning. Date issued not reported; effective season of 1922.	Women or minors. In cities of 5,000 or more population.	\$0.25 per hr.			To yield guaranteed experienced rate to all pieceworkers unless 75 per cent of all female employees under 50 years receive \$0.03 more per hr. than the guaranteed minimum.	
	In cities of less than 5,000 population.	\$0.22 per hr.				
<b>1923</b>						
Pea canning. Date issued not reported; effective season of 1923.	Women or minors. In cities of 5,000 or more population.	\$0.25 per hr.	\$0.33 per hr. in excess of 10 hrs.			
	In cities of less than 5,000 population.	\$0.22 per hr.				
Cherry, corn, bean, and tomato canning. Date issued not reported; effective season of 1923.	Women or minors. In cities of 5,000 or more population.	\$0.25 per hr.			To yield guaranteed experienced rate to all pieceworkers unless 75 per cent of all female employees under 50 years receive \$0.03 more per hr. than the guaranteed minimum.	
	In cities of less than 5,000 population.	\$0.22 per hr.				

Summary of the provisions of all decrees, by State and by year of issuance—Continued

WISCONSIN—Continued

Name of decree, year of issuance, and order number	Class of employees	Time rate		Piece rate		Duration of learning period	Notes
		Full time	Part time	Occupation	Amount		
1924 Pea canning. Date issued not reported; effective season of 1924.	Women or minors. In cities of 5,000 or more population.	\$0.25 per hr.	\$0.33 per hr. in excess of 9 hrs.				
	In cities of less than 5,000 population.	\$0.22 per hr.					
Cherry, corn, bean, and tomato canning. Date issued not reported; effective season of 1924.	Women or minors. In cities of 5,000 or more population.	\$0.25 per hr.	\$0.33 per hr. in excess of 9 hrs.		To yield guaranteed experienced rate to all pieceworkers unless 75 per cent of all female employees under 50 years receive \$0.03 more per hr. than the guaranteed minimum.		
	In cities of less than 5,000 population.	\$0.22 per hr.					
1925 Pea canning. Date issued not reported; effective season of 1925.	Women or minors. In cities of 5,000 or more population.	\$0.25 per hr.	\$0.33 per hr. in excess of 9 hrs.				
	In cities of less than 5,000 population.	\$0.22 per hr.					
Cherry, corn, bean, and tomato canning. Date issued not reported; effective season of 1925.	Women or minors. In cities of 5,000 or more population.	\$0.25 per hr.	\$0.33 per hr. in excess of 9 hrs.		To yield guaranteed experienced rate to all pieceworkers unless 75 per cent of all female employees under 50 years receive \$0.03 more per hr. than the guaranteed minimum.		
	In cities of less than 5,000 population.	\$0.22 per hr.					

<p align="center"><b>1926</b></p> <p>Pea canning. Date issued not reported; effective season of 1926.</p>	<p>Women or minors In cities of 5,000 or more population. In cities of less than 5,000 population.</p>	<p>----- \$0.25 per hr. \$0.22 per hr.</p>	<p>\$0.33 per hr. in excess of 9 hrs.</p>				
<p>Cherry, corn, bean, and tomato canning. Date issued not reported; effective season of 1926.</p>	<p>Women or minors In cities of 5,000 or more population. In cities of less than 5,000 population.</p>	<p>----- \$0.25 per hr. \$0.22 per hr.</p>	<p>\$0.33 per hr. in excess of 9 hrs.</p>		<p>To yield guaranteed experienced rate to all pieceworkers unless 75 per cent of all female employees under 50 years receive \$0.03 more per hr. than the guaranteed minimum.</p>		
<p align="center"><b>1927</b></p> <p>Pea canning. Date issued not reported; effective season of 1927.</p>	<p>Women or minors In cities of 5,000 or more population. In cities of less than 5,000 population.</p>	<p>----- \$0.25 per hr. \$0.22 per hr.</p>	<p>\$0.33 per hr. in excess of 9 hrs.</p>				
<p>Cherry, corn, bean, and tomato canning. Date issued not reported; effective season of 1927.</p>	<p>Women or minors In cities of 5,000 or more population. In cities of less than 5,000 population.</p>	<p>----- \$0.25 per hr. \$0.22 per hr.</p>	<p>\$0.33 per hr. in excess of 9 hrs.</p>		<p>To yield guaranteed experienced rate to all pieceworkers unless 75 per cent of all female employees under 50 years receive \$0.03 more per hr. than the guaranteed minimum.</p>		

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**APPENDIX C.—PROVISIONS IN DECREES COVERING LEARNERS OR APPRENTICES**

**ARKANSAS**

Industry and year decree became effective	Rate to be paid for—							Duration of learning period	Experienced rate
	First month	Second month	Third month	Fourth month	Fifth month	Sixth month	Learning period after 1 year		
<b>1920</b>									
Mercantile industry: Fort Smith.....	<i>Per week</i> \$11.00	<i>Per week</i> \$11.00	<i>Per week</i> \$11.00	<i>Per week</i> \$11.00	<i>Per week</i> \$11.00	<i>Per week</i> \$11.00		6 mos. in any line of industry or labor.....	<i>Per week</i> \$13.25
<b>1922</b>									
Mercantile industry: Fort Smith..... Little Rock.....	10.00 10.00	10.00 10.00	10.00 10.00	10.00 10.00	10.00 10.00	10.00 10.00		6 mos. in any line of industry or labor..... do.....	11.00 11.00



Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued

CALIFORNIA—Continued

Industry and year decre became effective	Rate to be paid for—Continued												Duration of learning period	Experienced rate <sup>1</sup>		
	Seventh month		Eighth month		Ninth month		Tenth month		Eleventh month		Twelfth month			Learning period after 1 year	Per hour	Per week
	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week				
<b>1916</b>																
<b>Fruit and vegetable canning:</b>																
Timeworkers.....													3 wks. in the industry.....	\$0.16		
Pieceworkers.....														Piece rate.		
<b>1917</b>																
<b>Fruit and vegetable canning:</b>																
Timeworkers.....													3 wks. in the industry.....	.16		
Pieceworkers.....														Piece rate.		
<b>Mercantile:</b>																
20 years and over.....		\$8.50		\$8.50		\$8.50		\$8.50		\$8.50		\$8.50	13-18 mos., \$9.....	1½ yrs. in the industry for those entering at 20 yrs. or over.	\$10.00	
18 and 19 years.....		8.50		8.50		8.50		8.50		8.50		8.50	13-18 mos., \$9; 19-24 mos., \$9.50.	2 yrs. in the industry after 18th birthday.	10.00	
Under 18 years.....		6.50		6.50		6.50		6.50		6.50		6.50	13-18 mos., \$7; 19-24 mos., \$7.50.	24 mos. in the industry or on 18th birthday.	8.00	
<b>1918</b>																
<b>Fish canning.....</b>															10.00	
<b>Laundry and dry cleaning.....</b>		9.00		9.00		9.00		9.00		9.00		9.00	13-15 mos., \$9.50.....	15 mos. in the industry.....		10.00

For footnote see p. 554.



Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued

CALIFORNIA—Continued

60769°-28-35

Industry and year decrees became effective	Rate to be paid for—Continued												Duration of learning period	Experienced rate <sup>1</sup>		
	Seventh month		Eighth month		Ninth month		Tenth month		Eleventh month		Twelfth month			Learning period after 1 year	Per hour	Per week
	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week				
<b>1918—Continued</b>																
Fruit and vegetable packing.														3 wks. in the particular branch of the industry.		\$10.00
Fruit and vegetable canning:																
18 years and over—																
Timeworkers.....														3 wks. in the industry.....	\$0.20	
Pieceworkers—																
Preparers.....														1 wk. on the product.....	Piece rate.	
Canners, labelers, and other preparers.														1 wk. on the product.....	.20	
Under 18 years—																
Timeworkers.....																
Pieceworkers.....																1.16
																Piece rate.
General and professional offices:																
18 years and over.....		\$9.00		\$9.00		\$9.00		\$9.00		\$9.00		\$9.00		12 mos. in the occupation for those entering at 18 yrs. or over.		10.00
Under 18 years.....		8.00		8.00		8.00		8.00		8.00		8.00	13-18 mos., \$9.	18 mos. in the occupation for those entering under 18 yrs.		10.00
Unskilled and unclassified:																
18 years and over.....														3 wks. in the particular occupation.	.20	9.60
Under 18 years.....																1.16
																17.50

For footnotes see p. 554.

DECREES COVERING LEARNERS OR APPRENTICES

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Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued

CALIFORNIA—Continued

Industry and year decree became effective	Rate to be paid for—Continued												Duration of learning period	Experienced rate		
	Seventh month		Eighth month		Ninth month		Tenth month		Eleventh month		Twelfth month			Learning period after 1 year	Per hour	Per week
	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week				
<b>1919</b>																
<b>Manufacturing:</b>																
18 years and over.....													6 mos. in the industry for those entering at 18 yrs. or over.	\$0.25	\$10.00	
Under 18 years.....	\$0.23	\$9.00	\$0.23	\$9.00	\$0.23	\$9.00							9 mos. in the industry for those entering at under 18 yrs.	1.25	10.00	
<b>Mercantile:</b>																
20 years and over.....		11.00		11.00		11.00		\$11.00		\$11.00		\$11.00	13-18 mos., \$12.	1½ yrs. in the industry for those entering at 20 yrs. and over.		13.50
18 and 19 years.....		10.00		10.00		10.00		10.00		10.00		10.00	13-18 mos., \$11; 19-24 mos., \$12.	2 yrs. in the industry for those entering at 18 or 19 yrs.		13.50
Under 18 years.....		8.50		8.50		8.50		8.50		8.50		8.50	13-18 mos. or on 18th birthday, \$9; 19-24 mos., \$10; 25-30 mos., \$11; 31-36 mos., \$12.	3 yrs. in the industry for those entering at 14, 15, or 16 yrs.; 2 yrs. in the industry after 18th birthday for those entering industry at 17 yrs.		13.50
<b>Fruit and vegetable canning:</b>																
18 years and over (female)—																
Timeworkers.....													1 wk. in the establishment..	.28	13.50	
Pieceworkers.....																
Preparers.....																
Canners and la- belters.....													1 wk. in the establishment..	.28		

For footnotes see p. 554.

DECREES COVERING LEARNERS OR APPRENTICES

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*Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued*  
**CALIFORNIA—Continued**

Industry and year decree became effective	Rate to be paid for—																			
	First week		Second week		Third week		Fourth week		First month		Second month		Third month		Fourth month		Fifth month		Sixth month	
	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week
<b>1919—Continued</b>																				
<b>Fruit and vegetable canning—Continued.</b>																				
Under 18 years (female)—																				
Timeworkers.....	\$0.18																			
Pieceworkers.....																				
Preparers.....																				
Canners and labelers.....																				
Under 21 years (male).....																				
<b>Fish canning.....</b>																				
<b>Laundry and dry cleaning.....</b>									\$0.25	\$10.00	\$0.25	\$10.00	\$0.25	\$10.00	\$0.80	\$12.00	\$0.80	\$12.00	\$0.80	\$12.00
<b>Fruit and vegetable packing:</b>																				
18 years and over.....	.21		\$0.21																	
Under 18 years.....	.18		.18																	
<b>General and professional offices:</b>																				
18 years and over.....									10.00		10.00		10.00		12.00		12.00		12.00	
Under 18 years.....									9.00		9.00		9.00		10.00		10.00		10.00	

*Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued*  
**CALIFORNIA—Continued**

Industry and year decree became effective	Rate to be paid for—Continued												Duration of learning period	Experienced rate		
	Seventh month		Eighth month		Ninth month		Tenth month		Eleventh month		Twelfth month			Learning period after 1 year	Per hour	Per week
	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week				
<b>* 1919—Continued</b>																
<b>Fruit and vegetable canning—Contd.</b>																
Under 18 years (fe- male)—																
Time workers.....													1 wk. in the establishment..	\$0.28	\$13.50	
Piece workers—																
Preparers.....														.28		
Canners and la- belers.														.25		
Under 21 years (male).																
<b>Fish canning.....</b>														.28	13.50	
														\$1.82½		
<b>Laundry and dry cleaning.</b>																
													6 mos. in the industry.....	\$1.82½	13.50	
<b>Fruit and vegetable packing:</b>																
18 years and over....													2 wks. in the particular branch of the industry.	.28	13.50	
Under 18 years.....													do.	.28	13.50	
<b>General and profes- sional offices:</b>																
18 years and over....													6 mos. in the industry for those entering at 18 yrs. and over.		13.50	
Under 18 years.....	\$12.00		\$12.00		\$12.00								9 mos. in the industry for those entering at under 18 yrs.		13.50	

For footnotes see p. 554.

DECREES COVERING LEARNERS OR APPRENTICES

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*Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued*  
**CALIFORNIA—Continued**

Industry and year decrees became effective	Rate to be paid for—Continued												Learning period after 1 year	Duration of learning period	Experienced rate				
	Seventh month		Eighth month		Ninth month		Tenth month		Eleventh month		Twelfth month				Per hour	Per week			
	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week							
<b>1919—Continued</b>																			
Unskilled and unclassified: 18 years and over.....																8 wks. in the establishment.....	\$0.28 \$.32½	\$13.50	
Under 18 years.....																do.....	1.21 1.25	10.00	
<b>Manufacturing:</b>																			
Millinery.....																2 seasons, comprising 24 wks., in the industry.		13.50	
All others— 18 years and over.....																6 mos. in the industry for those entering at 18 yrs. and over.	\$.32½	13.50	
Under 18 years.....	\$0.30	\$12.00	\$0.30	\$12.00	\$0.30	\$12.00										9 mos. in the industry for those entering at under 18 yrs.	\$.32½	13.50	
<b>Hotels and restaurants.</b>																			
																	.32½ 10.85	13.50	
<b>1920</b>																			
<b>Fruit and vegetable canning:</b>																			
18 years and over (female)— Timeworkers.....																1 wk. in the establishment.....	.33½	16.00	
Piceworkers— Preparers.....																		.33½	
Canners and labelers.....																1 wk. in the establishment.....	.33½		

For footnotes, see p. 554.

DECREES COVERING LEARNERS OR APPRENTICES



*Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued*  
CALIFORNIA—Continued

Industry and year decree became effective	Rate to be paid for—Continued												Duration of learning period	Experienced rate		
	Seventh month		Eighth month		Ninth month		Tenth month		Eleventh month		Twelfth month			Learning period after 1 year	Per hour	Per week
	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week				
<b>1920—Continued</b>																
Fruit and vegetable canning—Contd.																
Under 18 years (fe- male)—																
Timeworkers.....													1 wk. in the establishment..	\$0.33 $\frac{1}{2}$	\$16.00	
Pieceworkers—														.33 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	
Preparers.....																
Canners and labelers—																
10 and 17 years													1 wk. in the establishment..	.33 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	
Under 16 years														Piece rate. <sup>1</sup>	.....	
Under 16 years														.80	14.00	
Under 21 years (male).																
Fish canning.....													4 wks. or 160 hrs. in an es- tablishment.	.33 $\frac{1}{2}$	16.00	
														1.38	.....	
Fruit and vegetabl packing:																
Citrus, dried figs, and layer rais- ins—																
18 years and over—																
Timeworkers.....													4 wks. in the particular branch.	.33 $\frac{1}{2}$	16.00	
Pieceworkers.....													do.....	.33 $\frac{1}{2}$	16.00	
Under 18 years—																
Timeworkers.....													do.....	.33 $\frac{1}{2}$	16.00	
Pieceworkers.....														Piece rate. <sup>1</sup>	Piece rate. <sup>1</sup>	

For footnotes, see p. 554.

DECREE COVERING LEARNERS OR APPRENTICES

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Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued  
CALIFORNIA—Continued

Industry and year decree became effective	Rate to be paid for—																			
	First week		Second week		Third week		Fourth week		First month		Second month		Third month		Fourth month		Fifth month		Sixth month	
	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week
<b>1930—Continued</b>																				
Laundry and dry cleaning.....									\$0.30	\$12.00	\$0.30	\$12.00	\$0.30	\$12.00	\$0.35	\$14.00	\$0.35	\$14.00	\$0.35	\$14.00
General and professional offices:																				
18 years and over.....									12.00		12.00		12.00		14.00		14.00		14.00	
Under 18 years.....									10.00		10.00		10.00		11.00		11.00		11.00	
Unclassified:																				
18 years and over.....	\$0.25	\$12.00	\$0.25	\$12.00	\$0.25	\$12.00														
Under 18 years.....	1.30 .22 1.25	10.56	1.30 .22 1.25	10.56	1.30 .21 1.25	10.56														
Hotel and restaurant.....																				
Manufacturing:																				
18 years and over.....									1.30	12.00	1.30	12.00	1.30	12.00	1.35	14.00	1.35	14.00	1.35	14.00
Under 18 years.....									1.25	10.00	1.25	10.00	1.25	10.00	1.30	12.00	1.30	12.00	1.30	12.00

*Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued*  
**CALIFORNIA—Continued**

Industry and year decree became effective	Rate to be paid for—Continued												Learning period after 1 year	Duration of learning period	Experienced rate		
	Seventh month		Eighth month		Ninth month		Tenth month		Eleventh month		Twelfth month				Per hour	Per week	
	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week					
<b>1920—Continued</b>																	
Laundry and dry cleaning.....															6 mos. in the industry.....	\$0.38	\$16.00
General and profes- sional offices: 18 years and over.....															6 mos. in the industry for those entering at 18 yrs. and over.....		16.00
Under 18 years.....		\$12.00		\$12.00		\$12.00		\$14.00		\$14.00		\$14.00			1 yr. in the industry for those entering at under 18 yrs., provided that at reaching 18 yrs. a girl must be paid the adult learner's rate.		16.00
Unclassified: 18 years and over.....															8 wks. in an establishment..	.88 4.88	16.00
Under 18 years.....															do.....	1.25 14.80	12.00
Hotel and restaurant.....																.88 16.40	16.00
Manufacturing: 18 years and over.....															6 mos. in any manufactur- ing industry for those en- tering at 18 yrs. and over.	4.88	16.00
Under 18 years.....	\$0.35	14.00	\$0.35	14.00	\$0.35	14.00									9 mos. in any manufactur- ing industry for those en- tering at under 18 yrs., pro- vided that on reaching 18 yrs. a girl must be paid the adult learner's rate.	4.88	16.00

For footnotes see p. 554.

DECREES COVERING LEARNERS OR APPRENTICES

*Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued*  
**CALIFORNIA—Continued**

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MINIMUM-WAGE LAWS IN THE UNITED STATES

Industry and year decree became effective	Rate to be paid for—																			
	First week		Second week		Third week		Fourth week		First month		Second month		Third month		Fourth month		Fifth month		Sixth month	
	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week
<b>1921</b>																				
Fruit and vegetable canning: 18 years and over (female)																				
Timeworkers.....	\$0.25	\$12.00	\$0.25	\$12.00																
Pieceworkers—																				
Preparers and canners.....																				
Labelers.....	.25		.25																	
Under 18 years (female)—																				
Timeworkers.....	.22	10.56	.22	10.56																
Pieceworkers—																				
Preparers and canners.....																				
Labelers.....																				
16 and 17 years.....	.25		.25																	
Under 16 years.....																				
Under 21 years (male).....																				
<b>1922</b>																				
Needle trades:																				
Timeworkers.....	.21 11, 22½	10.00	.21 11, 22½	10.00	\$0.21 11, 22½	\$10.00	\$0.21 11, 22½	\$10.00	\$0.21 11, 22½	\$10.00	\$0.21 11, 22½	\$10.00	\$0.21 11, 22½	\$10.00	\$0.26 11, 28½	\$12.50	\$0.26 11, 28½	\$12.50	\$0.26 11, 28½	\$12.50
Pieceworkers.....	Piece rate.		Piece rate.		.18½ 11, 20½	9.00	.18½ 11, 20½	9.00	Piece rate 11 to 11, 20½	Piece rate 11 to 9.00	.18½ 11, 20½	9.00	.22 11, 24	10.50	.22 11, 24	10.50	.26 11, 28½	12.50	.26 11, 28½	12.50

*Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued*  
**CALIFORNIA—Continued**

Industry and year decrees became effective	Rate to be paid for—Continued												Duration of learning period	Experienced rate <sup>1</sup>		
	Seventh month		Eighth month		Ninth month		Tenth month		Eleventh month		Twelfth month			Learning period after 1 year	Per hour	Per week
	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week				
<b>1921</b>																
Fruit and vegetable canning:																
18 years and over (female)—																
Timeworkers.....													2 wks. in the establishment..	\$0.33½	\$16.00	
Pieceworkers— Preparers and canners.....													2 wks. in the establishment..	.33½	-----	
Labelers.....													do.....	.33½	16.00	
Under 18 years (fe- male)—																
Timeworkers.....																
Pieceworkers— Preparers and canners.....													2 wks. in the establishment..	Piece rate. <sup>1</sup> .33½	-----	
Labelers— 16 and 17 years														Piece rate. <sup>1</sup> .25	12.00	
Under 21 years (male).....																
<b>1923</b>																
Needle trades:																
Timeworkers.....													26 wks. in a branch.....	.31½ 11.34	15.00	
Pieceworkers.....													do.....	.31½ 11.34	15.00	

For footnotes see p. 554.

DECREES COVERING LEARNERS OR APPRENTICES



Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued  
CALIFORNIA—Continued

00763-25-36

Industry and year decre became effective	Rate to be paid for—Continued												Duration of learning period	Experienced rate		
	Seventh month		Eighth month		Ninth month		Tenth month		Eleventh month		Twelfth month			Learning period after 1 year	Per hour	Per week
	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week				
<b>1933</b>																
<b>Merchandise:</b>																
Elevator operators.....													8 wks. in employment.....		\$16.00	
All others -																
18 years and over.....	\$14.00		\$14.00		\$14.00		\$14.00		\$14.00		\$14.00		1 yr. in the industry.....		16.00	
Under 18 years.....	11.00		11.00		11.00		11.00		11.00		11.00		2 yrs. in the industry, provided that on reaching 18 yrs. a girl must be paid the adult learner's rate.		18.00	
<b>Fish canning:</b>																
Tunny packers.....													8 wks. in an establishment..	\$0.85		
All others.....													1 wk. in an establishment...	.85		
<b>Manufacturing.....</b>													30 wks. in a branch.....	11.00	16.00	
<b>Laundry and dry cleaning.....</b>													8 mos. in the industry.....	11.00	15.00	
<b>Fruit and vegetable packing:</b>																
Dried fruit packing.....													4 wks. in the industry.....	.85		
Citrus packing.....													8 mos. in the industry.....	.80		
Green fruit and vegetable packing -																
18 years and over -																
Cherries.....													1 season in the industry.....	.85		
All others.....													2 wks. in the industry.....	.85		
Under 18 years.....														.85		

For footnotes see p. 504.

DECREES COVERING LEARNERS OR APPRENTICES





*Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued*  
**CALIFORNIA—Continued**

Industry and year decrees become effective	Rate to be paid for—Continued												Duration of learning period	Experienced rate <sup>1</sup>		
	Seventh month		Eighth month		Ninth month		Tenth month		Eleventh month		Twelfth month			Learning period after 1 year	Per hour	Per week
	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week				
<b>1923—Continued</b>																
<b>Fruit and vegetable canning:</b>																
18 years and over (females)—																
Timeworkers.....													3 wks. in the establishment.	\$0.83 <sup>1</sup>	.....	
Pieceworkers.....														.83 <sup>1</sup>	.....	
Under 18 years (fe- males)—																
Timeworkers.....													3 wks. in the establishment..	.83 <sup>1</sup>	.....	
Pieceworkers.....														Piece Rate. <sup>1</sup> .25	\$12.00	
Under 21 years (males).																
<b>Unclassified:</b>																
18 years and over..													3 wks. in the occupation...	11.88	16.00	
Under 18 years....													do.....	11.88	16.00	
<b>Hotel and restaurant..</b>														.88	16.00	
<b>Nut cracking and sorting:</b>																
Timeworkers.....													3 wks. in the establishment..	.83 <sup>1</sup>	.....	
Pieceworkers.....														.83 <sup>1</sup>	.....	

For footnotes, see p. 554.

DECREES COVERING LEARNERS OR APPRENTICES

FOOTNOTES FOR TABLE OF CALIFORNIA

- <sup>1</sup> This column contains not only the true experienced rate but the highest rate required for all persons who can not meet the age requirements necessary for the experienced rate. All figures with this reference mark are such pseudo-experienced rates.
- <sup>2</sup> Preparers in apricots, pears, peaches, plums, asparagus, and tomatoes.
- <sup>3</sup> To be paid for the actual number of hours worked when the employer fails to provide a full week's work.
- <sup>4</sup> After 4 weeks rate changes.
- <sup>5</sup> After 8 weeks rate changes.
- <sup>6</sup> After 12 weeks rate changes.
- <sup>7</sup> After 16 weeks rate changes.
- <sup>8</sup> After 20 weeks rate changes.
- <sup>9</sup> After 24 weeks rate changes.
- <sup>10</sup> For 3 hours' work per day or less.
- <sup>11</sup> To be paid for the actual number of hours worked when the employer fails to provide a full week's work on account of legal or religious holidays.
- <sup>12</sup> After 2 weeks rate changes.
- <sup>13</sup> After 7 weeks rate changes.
- <sup>14</sup> After 14 weeks rate changes.
- <sup>15</sup> Learning period, one season at \$0.25 per hour.

Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Industry and year decrees became effective	Rate per week to be paid for—												Duration of learning period	Experienced rate <sup>1</sup>	
	1st month	2d month	3rd month	4th month	5th month	6th month	7th month	8th month	9th month	10th month	11th month	12th month			Learning period after 1 year
<b>1919</b>															
Printing and publishing and allied industries.	\$8.00	\$8.00	\$8.00	\$9.00	\$9.00	\$9.00	\$11.00	\$11.0	\$11.00	\$12.00	\$12.00	\$12.00	-----	1 yr. in the industry.	Per week \$15.50
Mercantile industries: 18 years and over.....	12.50	12.50	12.50	14.50	14.50	14.50	14.50	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	7 mos. in the industry.	16.50
Under 18 years.....	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00	12.50	12.50	12.50	14.50	14.50	14.50	14.50	-----	1 yr. in the industry.	16.50
Supplement to mercantile: Under 18 years.....	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00	11.50	11.50	11.50	11.50	13.00	13.00	13.00	13.00	13-18 mos., \$14.50.	1½ yrs. in the industry.	16.00
<b>1920</b>															
Hotel, restaurant, and allied industries.	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	\$0.34½ per hour; \$16.50 per week; \$71.50 per month.
Hotel, restaurant, and allied industries—Amended.	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	\$0.34½ per hour; \$16.50 per week; \$71.50 per month.
<b>1921</b>															
Laundry and dry-cleaning industry.	9.00	9.00	11.00	11.00	13.00	13.00	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	6 mos. in the industry.	\$15.00
<b>1922</b>															
Mercantile.....	Provisions of Mercantile Industries Order of 1919 reaffirmed.														

<sup>1</sup> This column contains not only the true experienced rate but the highest rate for all persons who can not meet the age requirements necessary for the experienced rate. All figures with this reference mark are such pseudo-experienced rates.

Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued

KANSAS

Industry and year decree became effective	Rate per week to be paid for—													Duration of learning period	Experienced rate <sup>1</sup>
	1st month	2d month	3rd month	4th month	5th month	6th month	7th month	8th month	9th month	10th month	11th month	12th month	Learning period after 1 year		
<b>1918</b>															
Mercantile establishments:															
Minor cash girls and bundle wrappers.....	\$5.00	\$5.00	\$5.00	\$5.00	\$5.00	\$5.00	\$5.50	\$5.50	\$5.50	\$5.50	\$5.50	\$5.50	-----	12 mos.....	Per week \$8.00
All others.....	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	-----	do.....	8.50
Laundries.....	6.50	6.50	6.50	6.50	6.50	6.50	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	6 mos. in laundry work.....	8.50
Telephone operators:															
Less than 1,000 population.....	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.50	6.50	6.50	6.50	6.50	6.50	-----	1 yr.....	7.00
1,000 to 5,000 population.....	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	-----	do.....	7.50
5,000 to 20,000 population.....	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	-----	do.....	8.00
20,000 population and over.....	6.50	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	-----	do.....	9.00
<b>1919</b>															
Manufacturing establishments.....	7.00	7.00	7.00	9.00	9.00	9.00	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	6 mos.....	11.00
<b>1920</b>															
Manufacturing establishments.....	7.00	7.00	7.00	9.00	9.00	9.00	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	6 mos.....	11.00
<b>1922</b>															
Laundry.....	7.50	7.50	7.50	9.00	9.00	9.00	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	6 mos.....	11.00
Manufacturing establishments:															
Millinery workrooms and dress-making establishments—16 years and over.....	6.50	6.50	6.50	7.50	7.50	7.50	9.00	9.00	9.00	(?)	(?)	(?)	-----	1 yr. with the same employer or others in the same character of industry and 16 yrs. old.....	11.00
Under 16 years.....	6.50	6.50	6.50	7.50	7.50	7.50	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	6 mos.....	19.00





*Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued*  
**MASSACHUSETTS—Continued**

Industry and year decree became effective	Rate to be paid for—Continued								Learning period after 1 year	Duration of learning period	Experienced rate <sup>1</sup>		
	Ninth month		Tenth month		Eleventh month		Twelfth month				Per hour	Per week	
	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week					
<b>Brush industry</b> ..... <b>1914</b> .....	\$0.10		\$0.10		\$0.10		\$0.10			1 yr. in the industry.....	\$4.18½		
<b>Laundries</b> ..... <b>1918</b> .....		\$7.00		\$7.00		\$7.00		\$7.00		1 yr. in laundries.....		\$8.00	
<b>Retail stores:</b> ..... <b>1910</b> .....										1 yr. in retail stores after reaching 18 yrs.			
18 years and over.....		7.00		7.00		7.00		7.00					8.00
Under 18 years— 17 years.....													16.00
All others.....												16.00	
<b>Women's clothing factories:</b> ..... <b>1917</b> .....										1½ yrs. in the industry after reaching 18 yrs.			
18 years and over.....		7.00		7.00		7.00		7.00	18 to 18 mos., \$7...				8.75
Under 18 years.....													16.00
<b>Men's clothing and raincoat factories:</b> ..... <b>1918</b> .....										1 yr. in the industry..... 8 mos.			
18 years and over.....		7.00		7.00		7.00		7.00					9.00
Under 18 years.....													17.00
<b>Men's and boy's shirts, etc.</b> .....										82 wks. in the industry.....		9.00	
<b>Muslin underwear:</b> .....										82 wks. in the occupation and 18 years old.			
18 years and over.....		8.00		8.00		8.00		8.00					9.00
Under 18 years.....												16.00	

See footnote on p. 809.

DECREES COVERING LEARNERS OR APPRENTICES

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Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued

MASSACHUSETTS—Continued

Industry and year decree became effective	Rate to be paid for—															
	First month		Second month		Third month		Fourth month		Fifth month		Sixth month		Seventh month		Eighth month	
	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week
<b>1918—Continued</b>																
Retail millinery:																
18 years and over.....																
18 years.....																
Under 18 years.....																
<b>1919</b>																
Wholesale millinery occupation:																
Seasonal workers—																
18 years and over.....																
Under 18 years.....																
Nonseasonal workers—																
18 years and over.....		\$6.00		\$6.00		\$6.00		\$6.00		\$6.00-7.00		\$7.00		\$7.00		\$7.00
Under 18 years.....		6.00		6.00		6.00		6.00		6.00-7.00		7.00		7.00		7.00
Office and other building cleaners:																
From 7 p. m. to 8 a. m.....																
From 8 a. m. to 7 p. m.....																
Canning and preserving occupation:																
18 years and over.....		8.50		8.50		8.50		8.50		8.50		8.50		8.50		8.50
Under 18 years.....																

See table for seasonal workers (p. 570)  
See table for seasonal workers (p. 570)  
See table for seasonal workers (p. 570)

See table for seasonal workers (p. 570)  
See table for seasonal workers (p. 570)

Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued

MASSACHUSETTS—Continued

Industry and year decree became effective	Rate to be paid for—Continued								Duration of learning period	Experienced rate <sup>1</sup>		
	Ninth month		Tenth month		Eleventh month		Twelfth month			Learning period after 1 year	Per hour	Per week
	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week				
<b>1918—Continued</b>												
Retail millinery: 19 years and over.....	See table for seasonal workers (p. 570)								4 seasons, to include 16 weeks in a fall season or seasons, and 16 weeks in a spring season or seasons, in the occupation. <sup>2</sup>		\$10.00	
18 years.....	See table for seasonal workers (p. 570)								3 seasons.....		17.50	
Under 18 years.....	See table for seasonal workers (p. 570)								1 season.....		14.50	
<b>1919</b>												
Wholesale millinery occupation: Seasonal workers— 18 years and over.....	See table for seasonal workers (p. 570)								4 seasons, including 2 spring and 2 fall seasons, in the occupation.		11.00	
Under 18 years.....	See table for seasonal workers (p. 570)								3 seasons.....		19.00	
Nonsensational workers— 18 years and over.....	\$7.00		\$7.00- 8.00		\$8.00		\$8.00	52 to 63 wks., \$8; 63 wks to 2 yrs., \$9.	2 yrs. in the occupation.....		11.00	
Under 18 years.....	7.00		\$7.00- 8.00		8.00		8.00	52 to 63 wks., \$8....	63 wks. within a period of 78 wks.		10.00	
Office and other building cleaners: From 7 p. m. to 3 a. m.....										\$0.80		
From 3 a. m. to 7 p. m.....										.20		
Canning and preserving occupation: 18 years and over.....		8.50		8.50		8.50		8.50	1 yr. in the occupation.....		11.00	
Under 18 years.....											18.50	

See footnote on p. 569.

Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued

MASSACHUSETTS—Continued

Industry and year decree became effective	Rate to be paid for—															
	First month		Second month		Third month		Fourth month		Fifth month		Sixth month		Seventh month		Eighth month	
	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week
<b>1920</b>																
Candy making occupation.....		\$3.00		\$3.00		\$3.00		\$3.00		\$3.00		\$3.00		\$3.00		\$3.00
Men's clothing and raincoat occupation.....		7.00		7.00		7.00		10.00		10.00		10.00		10.00		10.00
Corset occupation: 17 years and over.....		10.00		10.00		10.00		10.00		10.00		10.00		10.00		10.00
Under 17 years.....																
Knit goods occupation.....		8.50		8.50		8.50		8.50		8.50		8.50		8.50		8.50
Women's clothing occupation: 18 years and over.....		12.00		12.00		12.00		12.00		12.00		12.00		12.00		12.00
Under 18 years.....																
Paper box occupation: 16 years and over.....		11.00		11.00		11.00		11.00		11.00		11.00		11.00		11.00
Under 16 years.....		9.00		9.00		9.00		9.00		9.00		9.00		9.00		9.00
<b>1921</b>																
Office and building cleaners occupations.....																
Minor lines of confectionery and food preparations occupation: 16 years and over.....		10.00		10.00		10.00										
Under 16 years.....		8.00		8.00		8.00		8.00		8.00		8.00		8.00		8.00

Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued

MASSACHUSETTS—Continued

Industry and year decree became effective	Rate to be paid for—Continued								Learning period after 1 year	Duration of learning period	Experienced rate <sup>1</sup>	
	Ninth month		Tenth month		Eleventh month		Twelfth month				Per hour	Per week
	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week				
<b>1920</b>												
Candy making occupation.....		\$4.00		\$6.00		\$6.00		\$8.00	82 to 87 wks., \$8....	67 wks. within a period of 78 wks.....		\$12.50
Men's clothing and raincoat occupation.....		10.00		10.00		10.00		10.00		1 yr. in the occupation.....		15.00
Corset occupation: 17 years and over.....		10.00		10.00		10.00		10.00		1 yr. in the occupation.....		18.00
Under 17 years.....												8.00
Knit goods occupation.....		8.50		\$ 8.00- 13.75						40 wks. in the occupation.....		13.75
Women's clothing occupation: 18 years and over.....		12.00		12.00		12.00		12.00	13-18 mos., \$12....	1½ yrs. in the industry.....		15.25
Under 18 years.....												10.00
Paper box occupation: 16 years and over.....		11.00								0 mos. in the industry.....		15.00
Under 16 years.....		9.00										
<b>1921</b>												
Office and building cleaners occupations.....												15.40
Minor lines of confectionery and food preparations occupation: 16 years and over.....										3 mos. in a particular line.....		12.00
Under 16 years.....		8.00								0 mos. in a particular line.....		9.00

See footnote on p. 569.

DECREES COVERING LEARNERS OR APPRENTICES

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Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued

MASSACHUSETTS—Continued

Industry and year decree became effective	Rate to be paid for—															
	First month		Second month		Third month		Fourth month		Fifth month		Sixth month		Seventh month		Eighth month	
	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week
<b>1922</b>																
Paper box occupation:																
18 years and over.....		\$10.00		\$10.00		\$10.00		\$10.00		\$10.00		\$10.00		\$10.00		\$10.00
Under 18 years.....		8.50		8.50		8.50		8.50		8.50		8.50		8.50		8.50
Women's clothing occupation (2d revision):																
18 years and over.....		11.00		11.00		11.00		11.00		11.00		11.00		11.00		11.00
Under 18 years.....																
Muslin underwear occupation (revised):																
16 years and over.....		8.00		8.00		8.00		10.00		10.00		10.00		12.00		12.00
Under 16 years.....		7.50		7.50		7.50		7.50		7.50		7.50		10.00		10.00
Men's furnishings occupation (revised):																
16 years and over.....		9.00		9.00		9.00		10.00		10.00		10.00		12.00		12.00
Under 16 years.....		8.00		8.00		8.00		8.00		8.00		8.00		10.00		10.00
Retail store occupation (revised):																
18 years and over.....		12.00		12.00		12.00		12.00		12.00		12.00		12.00		12.00
Under 18 years.....																
Laundry.....		11.00		11.00		11.00		12.50		12.50						
<b>1923</b>																
Brush occupation (revised).....		9.50		9.50		9.50		9.50		9.50		9.50		12.00		12.00

Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued

MASSACHUSETTS—Continued

Industry and year decree became effective	Rate to be paid for—Continued								Duration of learning period	Experienced rate <sup>1</sup>		
	Ninth month		Tenth month		Eleventh month		Twelfth month			Learning period after 1 year	Per hour	Per week
	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week				
<b>1922</b>												
Paper box occupation:												
18 years and over.....		\$10.00		\$10.00		\$10.00		\$10.00	12 mos. in the occupation.....		\$13.50	
Under 18 years.....		8.50		8.50		8.50		8.50	do.....		12.00	
Women's clothing occupation (2d revision):												
18 years and over.....		11.00		11.00		11.00		11.00	13-18 mos., \$11....	1½ yrs. in the industry.....	14.00	
Under 18 years.....											9.00	
Muslin underwear occupation (revised):												
16 years and over.....		12.00		12.00		12.00		12.00	52 wks. in the occupation, including 26 wks. in present employer's shop.		13.75	
Under 16 years.....		10.00		10.00		10.00		10.00			12.00	
Men's furnishings occupation (revised):												
16 years and over.....		12.00		12.00		12.00		12.00	52 wks. in the occupation.....		13.75	
Under 16 years.....		10.00		10.00		10.00		10.00	do.....		12.00	
Retail store occupation (revised):												
18 years and over.....		12.00		12.00		12.00		12.00	1 yr. in the occupation after reaching 18 yrs.		14.00	
Under 18 years.....											10.00	
Laundry.....									5 mos. in the occupation.....		13.50	
<b>1923</b>												
Brush occupation (revised).....		12.00		12.00		12.00		12.00	1 yr. in the occupation.....		13.50	

See footnotes on p. 569.

DECREES COVERING LEARNERS OR APPRENTICES

Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued

MASSACHUSETTS—Continued

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MINIMUM-WAGE LAWS IN THE UNITED STATES

Industry and year decree became effective	Rate to be paid for—															
	First month		Second month		Third month		Fourth month		Fifth month		Sixth month		Seventh month		Eighth month	
	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week
<b>1924</b>																
Druggists' preparations:																
18 years and over.....		\$9.60		\$9.60		\$9.60		\$9.60		\$9.60		\$9.60		\$10.60		\$10.60
Under 18 years.....		9.60		9.60		9.60		9.60		9.60		9.60				
<b>1925</b>																
Canning and preserving, minor confectionery:																
18 years and over.....		12.00		12.00		12.00		12.00		12.00		12.00		12.00		
16 and 17 years.....		10.00		10.00		10.00		10.00		10.00		10.00		10.00		
Under 16 years.....		8.00		8.00		8.00		8.00		8.00		8.00		8.00		
Bread and other bakery products:																
16 years and over.....		11.00		11.00		11.00		11.00		11.00		11.00		11.00		
Under 16 years.....		9.00		9.00		9.00		9.00		9.00		9.00		9.00		
Millinery occupation:																
Seasonal workers—																
19 years and over.....																
Under 19 years.....																
Nonsessional workers—																
19 years and over.....		6.00		6.00		6.00		6.00		6.00-7.50		7.50		7.50		7.50
Under 19 years.....		6.00		6.00		6.00		6.00		6.00-7.50		7.50		7.50		7.50

See table for seasonal workers (p. 570)  
See table for seasonal workers (p. 570)

Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued

MASSACHUSETTS—Continued

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Industry and year decree became effective	Rate to be paid for—Continued								Duration of learning period	Experienced rate <sup>1</sup>		
	Ninth month		Tenth month		Eleventh month		Twelfth month			Learning period after 1 year	Per hour	Per week
	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week				
<b>1924</b>												
Druggists' preparations:												
18 years and over.....		\$10.60		\$10.60		\$10.60		\$10.60		1 yr. in the industry.....	\$13.20	
Under 18 years.....										6 mos. in the industry.....	10.60	
<b>1925</b>												
Canning and preserving, minor confectionery:												
18 years and over.....										6 mos. in a given factory.....	13.00	
16 and 17 years.....										do.....	11.00	
Under 16 years.....										do.....	9.00	
Bread and other bakery products:												
16 years and over.....										6 mos. in the occupation.....	13.00	
Under 16 years.....										do.....	12.00	
Millinery occupation:												
Seasonal workers—												
19 years and over.....			See table for seasonal workers (p. 570).							4 seasons, including 2 spring and 2 fall seasons, in the industry.	13.00	
Under 19 years.....			See table for seasonal workers (p. 570).							do.....	12.00	
Nonseasonal workers—												
19 years and over.....		7.50		7.50		\$ 7.50 to 9.00		9.00	52 to 63 wks., \$9.	2 yrs. in the occupation.....	13.00	
Under 19 years.....		7.50		7.50		\$ 7.50 to 9.00		9.00	After 63 wks., \$10.50.	do.....	12.00	

See footnotes on p. 569.

DECREES COVERING LEARNERS OR APPRENTICES





Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued  
 MASSACHUSETTS—Continued

Industry and year decree became effective	Rate to be paid for—Continued									Duration of learning period	Experienced rate <sup>1</sup>	
	Ninth month		Tenth month		Eleventh month		Twelfth month		Learning period after 1 year		Per hour	Per week
	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week	Per hour	Per week				
<b>1926</b>												
Stationery goods and envelopes occupation:												
18 years and over.....		\$11.00		\$11.00		\$11.00		\$11.00		1 yr. in the particular plant.....		13.75
16 and 17 years.....		11.00		11.00		11.00		11.00		do.....		12.00
Under 16 years.....		9.00		9.00		9.00		9.00		do.....		12.00
Candy occupation.....		9.00		9.00		9.00		9.00		1 yr. in a candy factory.....		18.00
<b>1927</b>												
Jewelry and related lines occupation:												
21 years and over.....										6 mos. in the occupation.....		14.40
Under 20 years.....												12.00
Toys, games, and sporting goods occupation:												
18 years and over.....		12.00		12.00		12.00		12.00		1 yr. in the occupation.....		13.50
16 and 17 years.....												12.00
Under 16 years.....		10.50		10.50		10.50		10.50		1 yr. in the occupation.....		12.00

<sup>1</sup> This column contains not only the true experienced rate but the highest rate required for all persons who can not meet the age requirements necessary for the experienced rate. All figures with this reference mark are such pseudo-experienced rates.

<sup>2</sup> Not specified.

<sup>3</sup> An apprentice entering the trade at 16 years or younger shall not be entitled to the minimum wage for experienced workers unless she shall have worked at least 12 weeks in the season next preceding.

<sup>4</sup> After 21 weeks rate changes.

<sup>5</sup> After 42 weeks rate changes.

<sup>6</sup> After 60 weeks rate changes.

DECREES COVERING LEARNERS OR APPRENTICES

## Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued

## SEASONAL WORKERS' WEEKLY RATES—MASSACHUSETTS

Industry and year decree became effective	First season				Second season				Third season				Fourth season				Having four or more seasons' experience				Experienced rate
	1st 4 weeks	2d 4 weeks	3d 4 weeks	4th 4 weeks	1st 4 weeks	2d 4 weeks	3d 4 weeks	4th 4 weeks	1st 4 weeks	2d 4 weeks	3d 4 weeks	4th 4 weeks	1st 4 weeks	2d 4 weeks	3d 4 weeks	4th 4 weeks	1st 4 weeks	2d 4 weeks	3d 4 weeks	4th 4 weeks	
<b>1918</b>																					
Retail millinery:																					
19 years and over.....	\$3.00	\$3.00	\$3.00	-----	\$4.50	\$4.50	\$4.50	-----	\$6.00	\$6.00	\$6.00	-----	\$7.50	\$7.50	\$7.50	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	\$10.00
18 years.....	3.00	3.00	3.00	-----	4.50	4.50	4.50	-----	6.00	6.00	6.00	-----	7.50	7.50	7.50	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	17.50
Under 18 years.....	3.00	3.00	3.00	-----	4.50	4.50	4.50	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	14.50
<b>1919</b>																					
Wholesale millinery:																					
18 years and over.....	6.00	6.00	6.00	-----	7.00	7.00	7.00	-----	8.00	8.00	8.00	-----	9.00	9.00	9.00	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	11.00
Under 18 years.....	6.00	6.00	6.00	-----	7.00	7.00	7.00	-----	8.00	8.00	8.00	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	19.00
<b>1925</b>																					
Millinery occupation.....	6.00	6.00	6.00	\$6.00	7.50	7.50	7.50	\$7.50	9.00	9.00	9.00	\$9.00	10.50	10.50	10.50	\$10.50	†\$10.50	†\$10.50	†\$10.50	†\$10.50	† 10.50
19 years and over.....	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	7.50	7.50	7.50	7.50	9.00	9.00	9.00	9.00	10.50	10.50	10.50	10.50	10.50	10.50	10.50	10.50	13.00
Under 19 years.....	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	7.50	7.50	7.50	7.50	9.00	9.00	9.00	9.00	10.50	10.50	10.50	10.50	† 12.00	† 12.00	† 12.00	† 12.00	†12.00

<sup>1</sup> This column contains not only the true experienced rate but the highest rate required for all persons who can not meet the age requirements necessary for the experienced rate. All figures with this reference mark are such pseudo-experienced rates.

<sup>2</sup> To provide for those workers, irrespective of age, who have not the proper qualifications for receiving the experienced rate since their 4 seasons of experience do not include 2 spring and 2 fall seasons.

<sup>3</sup> To provide for those workers having at least 4 seasons' experience, including 2 spring and 2 fall seasons, who can not receive the experienced rate because they are under 19 years of age.

Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued

MINNESOTA

572

MINIMUM-WAGE LAWS IN THE UNITED STATES

Industry and year decree became effective	Rate per week to be paid for—												Duration of learning period	Experienced rate	
	First month	Second month	Third month	Fourth month	Fifth month	Sixth month	Seventh month	Eighth month	Ninth month	Tenth month	Eleventh month	Twelfth month			Learning period after 1 year
<b>1914</b>															<i>Per week</i>
Mercantile, office, waitresses, and hairdressing occupations.							See 1918								
In cities of first class															\$9.00
In cities of second, third, and fourth classes.															\$8.50
In rest of State															\$8.00
Manufacturing, mechanical, telephones, telegraph, laundry, dyeing, and dry cleaning, lunch room, restaurant and hotel occupations.							See 1918								
In cities of first class															\$8.75
In cities of second, third, and fourth classes.															\$8.25
In rest of State															\$8.00
<b>1918</b>															
Any occupations—all cities:															
Adults	\$6.00	\$6.00	\$6.00	\$7.50	\$7.50	\$7.50								6 mos. in the particular industry.	See 1914
Minors	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	7.00	7.00	\$7.00	\$7.00	\$8.00	\$8.00	\$8.00	\$8.00		1 yr. in the particular industry.	See 1914
Any occupations—rest of State:															
Adults	6.00	6.00	6.00	7.00	7.00	7.00								6 mos. in the particular industry.	See 1914
Minors	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00						8 mos. in the particular industry.	See 1914
All occupations other than those specified in 1914.															\$8.00





NORTH DAKOTA—Continued

Industry and year decree became effective	Rate to be paid for—Continued								Learning period after 1 year	Duration of learning period	Experienced rate	
	Ninth month		Tenth month		Eleventh month		Twelfth month				Per week	Per month
	Per week	Per month	Per week	Per month	Per week	Per month	Per week	Per month				
<b>1920</b>												
Public housekeeping occupation:												
Waitresses or counter girls.....										4 months.....	\$17.50	
Chambermaids and kitchen help.....										do.....	16.70	
Personal service occupation:												
Ticket sellers and ushers.....											17.50	
Manicuring, hairdressing, and bar- bering.....	\$15.00		\$16.00		\$16.00		\$16.00			1 year.....	17.50	
Office occupation.....	18.00									9 months.....	20.00	
Manufacturing occupation:												
Candy and biscuit factories.....										3 months.....	16.50	
Bookbinding and job pressbinding.....	14.00		15.00		15.00		15.00			1 year.....	16.50	
Laundry occupation.....										4 months.....	* 16.50	
Student nurses.....		\$4.00		\$4.00		\$4.00		\$4.00	Second yr., \$8 per mo.; third yr., \$8 per mo.	3 years.....	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )
Mercantile occupation.....	14.00		15.00		15.00		15.00			1 year.....	17.50	
Telephone occupations.....	15.00									9 months.....	16.50	
<b>1922<sup>1</sup></b>												
Public housekeeping occupation:												
Waitresses or counter girls.....										4 mos. with the same employer or any other employer in the same industry.....	14.90	\$62.90
Chambermaids and kitchen help.....										do.....	14.20	61.53

<sup>1</sup> After 6 weeks rate changes.

<sup>2</sup> All 1922 decrees apply to adults only.

<sup>3</sup> \$0.50 reduction where laundry privileges are allowed.

<sup>4</sup> Not specified.

DECREES COVERING LEARNERS OR APPRENTICES

Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued

NORTH DAKOTA—Continued

576

MINIMUM-WAGE LAWS IN THE UNITED STATES

Industry and year decree became effective	Rate to be paid for—															
	First month		Second month		Third month		Fourth month		Fifth month		Sixth month		Seventh month		Eighth month	
	Per week	Per month	Per week	Per month	Per week	Per month	Per week	Per month	Per week	Per month	Per week	Per month	Per week	Per month	Per week	Per month
<b>1922—Continued</b>																
<b>Manufacturing:</b>																
Biscuit and candy.....	\$9.00		\$9.00		\$9.00		\$10.50		\$10.50		\$10.50		\$12.00		\$12.00	
Bookbinding and job pressfeeding.....	9.00		9.00		9.00		10.50		10.50		10.50		12.00		12.00	
<b>Mercantile occupation.....</b>	9.60		9.60		9.60		10.40		10.40		10.40		11.20		11.20	
<b>Laundry occupation.....</b>	11.00		11.00		11.00		12.50		12.50							
<b>Telephone occupation:</b>																
1,800 population and over.....	10.00		11.50		11.50		11.50		11.50		12.50		12.50		12.50	
Under 1,800 population.....	9.00		10.00		10.00		10.00		10.00		11.00		11.00		11.00	



*Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued*  
**NORTH DAKOTA—Continued**

Industry and year decree became effective	Rate to be paid for—Continued								Duration of learning period	Experienced rate		
	Ninth month		Tenth month		Eleventh month		Twelfth month			Learning period after 1 year	Per week	Per month
	Per week	Per month	Per week	Per month	Per week	Per month	Per week	Per month				
<b>1922—Continued</b>												
<b>Manufacturing:</b>												
Biscuit and candy.....	\$12.00									9 months.....	\$14.00	\$60.67
Bookbinding and job pressfeeding.....	12.00		\$13.00		\$13.00		\$13.00			1 year.....	14.00	60.67
<b>Mercantile occupation.....</b>	11.20		12.00		12.00		12.00			1 year.....	14.20	62.83
<b>Laundry occupation.....</b>										5 months.....	* 14.00	60.67
<b>Telephone occupation:</b>												
1,800 population and over.....	12.50									9 months.....	14.00	60.67
Under 1,800 population.....	11.00									do.....	12.00	62.00

\* \$0.50 reduction where laundry privileges are allowed.

DECREES COVERING LEARNERS OR APPRENTICES

Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued

OREGON

578

MINIMUM-WAGE LAWS IN THE UNITED STATES

Industry and year decree became effective	Rate to be paid for—												Duration of learning period <sup>1</sup>	Experienced rate <sup>2</sup>			
	First month		Second month	Third month	Fourth month	Fifth month	Sixth month	Seventh month	Eighth month	Ninth month	Tenth month	Eleventh month		Twelfth month	Per hour	Per day	Per week
<b>1913</b>	<i>Per hour</i>	<i>Per week</i>	<i>Per week</i>	<i>Per week</i>	<i>Per week</i>	<i>Per week</i>	<i>Per week</i>	<i>Per week</i>	<i>Per week</i>	<i>Per week</i>	<i>Per week</i>	<i>Per week</i>	<i>Per week</i>				
Any manufacturing or mercantile establishment, millinery, dressmaking, or hairdressing shop, laundry, hotel or restaurant, telephone or telegraph establishment, or office—girls, 16 and 17 years.														Indeterminate.	\$1.00		
Manufacturing occupation—adults.							No ruling										\$8.64
Mercantile occupation—adults.							No ruling										9.25
<b>1914</b>																	
Office occupation—adults.							No ruling										\$40.00
Any occupation—adults.		\$6.00	\$6.00	\$6.00	\$6.00	\$6.00	\$6.00	\$6.00	\$6.00	\$6.00	\$6.00	\$6.00	\$6.00	1 yr. (in the occupation, with or without change of employer).			8.25
<b>1916</b>																	
Mercantile occupation—adults.	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	1 yr. (in the occupation, with or without change of employer).			9.25
Mercantile occupation—adults.	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	do.			8.25
Manufacturing occupation—adults.	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	do.			8.64
Manufacturing occupation—adults.	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	do.			8.25

Personal service occupation ←adults.	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	do	8.64
Personal service occupation ←adults.	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	do	8.25
Laundry occupation ←adults.	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	do	8.64
Laundry occupation ←adults.	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	do	8.25
Telephone and telegraph occupation ←adults:														
Telephone	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.60	6.60	6.60	7.20	7.20	7.20	7.80	7.80	7.80	do	8.64
Telegraph	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	do	8.64
Telephone and telegraph occupation ←adults:														
Telephone	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.60	6.60	6.60	7.20	7.20	7.20	7.80	7.80	7.80	do	8.25
Telegraph	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	do	8.25
Office occupation ←adults.	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	do	\$40.00
Office occupation ←adults.	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	do	8.25
Public housekeeping occupation ←adults.	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	do	8.64
Public housekeeping occupation ←adults.	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	do	8.25
Any occupation—minors, 16 and 17 years.													Indeterminate	26.00
<b>1917</b>														
Fruit and vegetable packing, drying, preserving, or canning industry.	\$0.13 .16												3 wks. (in the occupation, with or without change of employer).	\$0.16
<b>1918</b>														
Mercantile occupation ←adults.	7.20	8.40	8.40	8.40	9.60	9.60	9.60	9.60					8 mos. (in the occupation, with or without change of employer).	11.10
Mercantile occupation ←adults.	7.20	8.40	8.40	8.40	9.60	9.60	9.60	9.60					do	11.10
Manufacturing occupation—adults.	7.20	7.20	7.20	7.20	8.40	8.40	8.40	8.40	9.60	9.60	9.60	9.60	1 yr. (in the occupation, with or without change of employer).	11.61
Personal service occupation—adults.	7.20	7.20	7.20	7.20	8.40	8.40	8.40	8.40	9.60	9.60	9.60	9.60	do	11.61
Laundry occupation—adults.	7.20	7.20	7.20	7.20	8.40	8.40	8.40	8.40	9.60	9.60	9.60	9.60	do	11.61

See footnotes on p. 581.





Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued

OREGON—Continued

Industry and year decree became effective	Rate to be paid for—												Duration of learning period <sup>1</sup>	Experienced rate <sup>2</sup>					
	First month		Second month	Third month	Fourth month	Fifth month	Sixth month	Seventh month	Eighth month	Ninth month	Tenth month	Eleventh month		Twelfth month	Per hour	Per day	Per week	Per month	
<b>1918—Continued</b>																			
Telephone and telegraph occupation—adults:																			
Telephone.....	Per hour	Per week	Per week	Per week	Per week	Per week	Per week	Per week	Per week	Per week	Per week	Per week	Per week	Per week	Per week	Per week	Per week	Per week	Per month
		\$7.20	\$7.20	\$7.20	\$7.92	\$7.92	\$8.64	\$8.64	\$8.64	\$9.36	\$9.36	\$9.36	\$9.36					\$11.61	
Telegraph.....		7.20	7.20	7.20	8.40	8.40	8.40	8.40	9.60	9.60	9.60	9.60	9.60					11.61	
Telephone and telegraph occupation—adults:																			
Telephone.....		7.20	7.20	7.20	7.92	7.92	8.64	8.64	8.64	9.36	9.36	9.36	9.36					11.61	
Telegraph.....		7.20	7.20	7.20	7.20	8.40	8.40	8.40	8.40	9.60	9.60	9.60	9.60					11.61	
Office occupation—adults.....		7.20	7.20	7.20	7.20	8.40	8.40	8.40	8.40	9.60	9.60	9.60	9.60					48.00	
Office occupation—adults.....		7.20	7.20	7.20	7.20	8.40	8.40	8.40	8.40	9.60	9.60	9.60	9.60					48.00	
Public housekeeping occupation—adults.....		7.20	7.20	7.20	7.20	8.40	8.40	8.40	8.40	9.60	9.60	9.60	9.60					11.61	
Any occupation:																			
Minors 14 years.....																			\$ 5.00
Minors 15 years.....																			\$ 6.00
Minors 16 and 17 years—Mercantile.....		7.20	7.20	7.20	7.20	7.20	7.70	7.70	7.70	7.70	7.70	7.70	7.70					11.10	
All other.....		7.20	7.20	7.20	7.20	7.20	7.70	7.70	7.70	7.70	7.70	7.70	7.70					11.61	
<b>1919</b>																			
Mercantile occupation—adults.....		9.00	10.50	10.50	10.50	12.00	12.00	12.00	12.00										13.20
Mercantile occupation—adults.....		9.00	10.50	10.50	10.50	12.00	12.00	12.00	12.00										13.20
Manufacturing occupation—adults.....		9.00	9.00	9.00	9.00	10.50	10.50	10.50	10.50	12.00	12.00	12.00	12.00						13.20

Personal service occupation—adults.	9.00	9.00	9.00	9.00	10.50	10.50	10.50	10.50	12.00	12.00	12.00	12.00	do.	13.20
Laundry occupation—adults.	9.00	9.00	9.00	9.00	10.50	10.50	10.50	10.50	12.00	12.00	12.00	12.00	do.	13.20
Telephone and telegraph occupation—adults:														
Telephone	9.00	9.00	9.00	10.00	10.00	10.00	11.00	11.00	11.00	12.00	12.00	12.00	do.	13.20
Telegraph	9.00	9.00	9.00	9.00	10.50	10.50	10.50	10.50	12.00	12.00	12.00	12.00	do.	13.20
Telephone and telegraph occupation—adults:														
Telephone	9.00	9.00	9.00	10.00	10.00	10.00	11.00	11.00	11.00	12.00	12.00	12.00	do.	13.20
Telegraph	9.00	9.00	9.00	9.00	10.50	10.50	10.50	10.50	12.00	12.00	12.00	12.00	do.	13.20
Office occupations—adults.	9.00	9.00	9.00	9.00	10.50	10.50	10.50	10.50	12.00	12.00	12.00	12.00	do.	13.20
Public housekeeping occupation—adults.	9.00	9.00	9.00	9.00	10.50	10.50	10.50	10.50	12.00	12.00	12.00	12.00	do.	13.20
Any occupation:														
Minors 14 years.													None.	\$ 6.00
Minors 16 years.													None.	\$ 7.20
Minors 16 and 17 years.	8.50	8.50	8.50	8.50	8.50	8.50	9.50	9.50	9.50	9.50	9.50	9.50	Indeterminate to 18th birthday. <sup>1</sup>	13.20
Canneries	\$0.22- .27½												3 wks. (in the occupation, with or without change of employer).	\$0.27½
1922														
Canneries	\$ .22- .27½												1 wk. (in the occupation, with or without change of employer).	.27½

<sup>1</sup> Definition of learning period in parentheses taken from Oregon Industrial Welfare Commission, Second biennial report, 1915-1916, p. 4.  
<sup>2</sup> This column contains not only the true experienced rate but the highest rate required for all persons who can not meet the age requirements necessary for the experienced rate. All figures with this reference mark are such pseudo-experienced rates.  
<sup>3</sup> Commission may arrange other rates for apprentices.  
<sup>4</sup> Covers Portland only.  
<sup>5</sup> Covers State at large.  
<sup>6</sup> After 3 weeks rate changes.  
<sup>7</sup> Rate to be increased by \$0.50 per week after every 6 months of employment until 18 years, when minimum experienced rate is to be paid. Commission may arrange other rates for apprentices. Each 3 months of work or major fraction thereof to be equivalent to one month in the apprenticeship of adult workers.  
<sup>8</sup> Rate to be increased by \$1 per week after every 6 months of employment until 18 years, when minimum experienced rate is to be paid. Commission may arrange other rates for apprentices. Each 3 months of work or major fraction thereof to be equivalent to one month in the apprenticeship of adult workers.  
<sup>9</sup> After 1 week rate changes.

Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued

TEXAS

Industry and year decree became effective	Rate per hour to be paid for—												Duration of learning period	Experienced rate	
	First month	Second month	Third month	Fourth month	Fifth month	Sixth month	Seventh month	Eighth month	Ninth month	Tenth month	Eleventh month	Twelfth month			
<b>1921</b>														1 yr. in any occupation.	Per week \$12.00
All—telephone or telegraph office, mercantile establishment, laundry, factory.	\$0.15	\$0.15	\$0.15	\$0.15	\$0.15	\$0.15	\$0.20	\$0.20	\$0.20	\$0.20	\$0.20	\$0.20			

WASHINGTON

Industry and year decree became effective	Rate per week to be paid for—													Duration of learning period	Experienced rate <sup>1</sup>
	1st month	2nd month	3rd month	4th month	5th month	6th month	7th month	8th month	9th month	10th month	11th month	12th month	Learning period after 1 year		
<b>1914</b>															Per week \$10.00
Mercantile occupation—18 years and over.															
Sales.....	\$6.00	\$6.00	\$6.00	\$6.00	\$6.00	\$6.00	\$7.50	\$7.50	\$7.50	\$7.50	\$7.50	\$7.50		1 year.	
Millinery and dressmaking.....	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	7.50	7.50	7.50	7.50		1 year.	
Florist.....	6.00	6.00	6.00	7.50	7.50	7.50								6 months.	
Ice cream and confectionery.....	7.50	7.50	7.50	7.50	7.50	7.50								6 months.	
Manicuring.....	2.00	4.00	6.00											3 months.	
Manicuring and hairdressing.....	1.50	1.50	1.50	4.00	4.00	4.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	8.00	8.00	8.00		1 year.	
Mercantile occupations—under 18 years.															16.00
Manufacturing occupations—18 years and over.															8.00
Engraving and hand embossing; binderies; chocolate dipping; brush making; tailoring, alteration, and furrier occupations.	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	7.50	7.50	7.50	7.50	7.50	7.50		1 year.	
Photography.....	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	7.50	7.50	7.50	7.50		1 year.	
Hair manufacturing.....	4.00	4.00	4.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	8.00	8.00	8.00					9 months.	





Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued

WASHINGTON—Continued

584

MINIMUM-WAGE LAWS IN THE UNITED STATES

Industry and year decree became effective	Rate per week to be paid for—													Duration of learning period	Experienced rate <sup>1</sup>
	1st month	2nd month	3rd month	4th month	5th month	6th month	7th month	8th month	9th month	10th month	11th month	12th month	Learning period after 1 year		
<b>1915—Continued</b>															
Telephone industry—rural communities and cities of less than 3,000 population: <sup>2</sup>															
Class B <sup>3</sup> —															Per month
Day operator.....															\$35.00
Night operator.....															25.00
Class C <sup>3</sup> —															35.00
Day operator.....															25.00
Night operator.....															
Class D <sup>3</sup> —															30.00
Day operator.....															22.50
Night operator.....															
Class E <sup>3</sup> .....															( <sup>4</sup> )
<b>1917</b>															
Mercantile, manufacturing, printing, laundering, or dye works, sign painting, machine or repair shop, or parcel delivery service, telephone or telegraph, office, hotel and restaurant—under 18 years:															
Office—															Per week
16 and 17 years.....	\$7.50	\$7.50	\$7.50	\$7.50	\$7.50	\$7.50	\$8.00	\$8.00	\$8.00	\$8.00	\$8.00	\$8.00	13 to 18 mos., \$8.50, etc. <sup>5</sup>	Indeterminate to 18th birthday. <sup>5</sup>	\$10.00
Under 16 years.....														6.00	
Hotel and restaurant—															18.00
Under 16 years.....														17.00	
All others—															
16 and 17 years.....	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.50	7.50	7.50	7.50	7.50	7.50	13 to 18 mos., \$8, etc. <sup>5</sup>	Indeterminate to 18th birthday. <sup>5</sup>	6.00
Under 16 years.....															

1915															
Any occupations, trades, and industries—18 years and over.....															12. 20
Mercantile industry—															
Salesmanship; millinery, beauty parlor, occupations, and alteration departments.	9. 00	10. 00	10. 00	11. 00	11. 00	12. 00	12. 00	12. 00							8 months.
Ice cream, confectionery, florist, and bakery.	9. 00	10. 00	11. 00	12. 00											4 months.
Manufacturing industry—															
Garment making.....	Piece rate	9. 00	9. 00	9. 00	10. 00	10. 00	11. 00	11. 00	12. 00						9 months.
Tailoring, dressmaking, fur making, engraving and hand embossing, hair manufacturing, brush making.	9. 00	10. 00	10. 00	11. 00	11. 00	11. 00	12. 00	12. 00	12. 00						9 months.
Printing.....	9. 00	9. 00	9. 00	10. 00	10. 00	11. 00	11. 00	12. 00	12. 00						9 months.
Chocolate dipping.....	9. 00	10. 00	11. 00	11. 00	12. 00	12. 00									6 months.
Candy and biscuit making, paper-box making, broom making, cap and glove making, cord repairing, tent and awning making, mattress making, bag making, book binding, and other like occupations.	9. 00	10. 00	11. 00	12. 00											4 months.
Laundry—18 years and over.....	9. 00	10. 00	11. 00	12. 00											4 months.
Telephone and telegraph—18 years and over.	9. 00	10. 00	10. 00	11. 00	11. 00	12. 00	12. 00								7 months.
Office—18 years and over.....	9. 00	10. 00	11. 00	11. 00	12. 00	12. 00									6 months.
All occupations—under 18 years.....	9. 00	10. 00	9. 00	9. 00	9. 00	9. 00	10. 00	10. 00	10. 00	10. 00	10. 00	10. 00	13 to 18 mos., \$11, etc. <sup>11</sup>	Indeterminate to 18th birthday. <sup>11</sup>	13. 20
1919															
Mercantile industry (18 years and over):															
Salesmanship; millinery, beauty parlor occupations, and alteration departments.	9. 00	10. 00	10. 00	11. 00	11. 00	12. 00	12. 00	12. 00							8 months.
Ice cream, confectionery, florist occupations; bakeries, grocery stores, drug stores, and music houses.	9. 00	10. 00	11. 00	12. 00											4 months.
Manufacturing industry (18 years and over):															
Garment making.....	Piece rate	9. 00	9. 00	9. 00	10. 00	10. 00	11. 00	11. 00	12. 00						9 months.
Tailoring, dressmaking, fur making, engraving and hand embossing, hair manufacturing, and retouching in photograph galleries.	9. 00	10. 00	10. 00	11. 00	11. 00	11. 00	12. 00	12. 00	12. 00						9 months.

See footnotes on p. 587.

Provisions in decrees covering learners or apprentices—Continued

WASHINGTON—Continued

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MINIMUM-WAGE LAWS IN THE UNITED STATES

Industry and year decree became effective	Rate per week to be paid for—													Duration of learning period	Experienced rate <sup>1</sup>	
	1st month	2nd month	3rd month	4th month	5th month	6th month	7th month	8th month	9th month	10th month	11th month	12th month	Learning period after 1 year			
<b>1919—Continued</b>																
<b>Manufacturing industry (18 years and over)—Continued</b>															4 months.	Per week
Candy and biscuit making, paper-box making, broom making, cap and glove making, cord repairing, tent and awning making, pennant and flag making, mattress making, bag making, book binding, button making, neckwear making, general work in photograph galleries, work in knitting mills, hemstitching, shoe making, work in paper mills other than sorters, and other like occupations.	\$9.00	\$10.00	\$11.00	\$12.00												
Sorting in paper mills.....	\$9.00-13.20															
Brush making (covering, hand drawing).	\$9.00-11.00	\$11.00-13.20														
Brush making (brush finishing).....	\$9.00-13.20															
<b>Office (18 years and over):</b>															6 months.	4 months.
General office work.....	9.00	10.00	11.00	11.00	\$12.00	\$12.00										
Doctors' and dentists' workers, toll bill clerks, addressograph clerks, adding machine operators and cashiers in motion picture houses.	9.00	10.00	11.00	12.00												
Transient milliners (18 years and over).....	9.00														4 weeks.	
Telephone industry.....																(1)
<b>1920</b>																
Public housekeeping—18 years and over.....																\$18.00
Public housekeeping—under 18 years....	12.00	12.00	12.00	12.00	13.00	13.00	\$13.00	\$13.00	\$14.00	\$14.00	\$14.00	\$14.00	12 to 16 mos., \$15, etc. <sup>10</sup>	Indeterminate to 18th birthday. <sup>10</sup>	18.00	

1921															
Public housekeeping—18 years and over.														14.50	
Public housekeeping—under 18 years...	12.00	12.00	12.00	12.00	13.00	13.00	13.00	13.00	14.00	14.00	14.00	14.00		Indeterminate to 18th birthday. <sup>13</sup>	14.50
Laundry and dye-works occupation—18 years and over.														13.20	
Telephone and telegraph industry—18 years and over.														13.20	
Mercantile industry—18 years and over.														13.20	
1922															
All occupations other than public housekeeping—under 18 years.	9.00	9.00	9.00	9.00	9.00	9.00	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00	13 to 18 mos., \$11, etc. <sup>11</sup>	Indeterminate to 18th birthday. <sup>11</sup>	13.20
Manufacturing—18 years and over.....														13.20	
Schedule A.....	9.00	9.00	9.00	10.00	10.00	10.00	11.00	11.00	11.00	12.00	12.00	12.00		1 year.	
Schedule B.....	9.00	9.00	10.00	10.00	11.00	11.00	12.00	12.00						8 months.	
Schedule C.....	9.00	9.00	10.00	11.00	11.00	12.00	12.00							24 weeks.	
Schedule D.....	9.00	10.00	11.00	12.00										4 months.	
Schedule E.....	12 9.00 13.20													4 weeks.	
All occupations other than public housekeeping—under 18 years.	9.00	9.00	9.00	9.00	9.00	9.00	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00	13 to 18 mos., \$11, etc. <sup>11</sup>	Indeterminate to 18th birthday. <sup>11</sup>	13.20

<sup>1</sup> This column contains not only the true experienced rate but the highest rate required for all persons who can not meet the age requirements necessary for the experienced rate. All figures with this reference mark are such pseudo-experienced rates.

<sup>2</sup> After 6 weeks rate changes.

<sup>3</sup> After 12 weeks rate changes.

<sup>4</sup> Seattle, Tacoma, and Spokane.

<sup>5</sup> Other cities and towns.

<sup>6</sup> For farmers' lines the commission may grant special apprenticeship permits with reference to existing conditions.

<sup>7</sup> Apprenticeship rates set in 1914 apply (see Class B and Class C, 1914).

<sup>8</sup> Compensation to be agreed upon by contracting parties and approved by the industrial welfare commission.

<sup>9</sup> Any minor entering the industry between the ages of 16 and 18 who is not a registered apprentice must be given an increase of \$0.50 per week after every 6 months of service until she reaches the experienced adult rate, or until she becomes 18 years of age when she must be given the experienced adult rate.

<sup>10</sup> See experienced rates in 1914 orders (mercantile, manufacturing, laundry, telephone and telegraph).

<sup>11</sup> Any minor entering the industry under the age of 18 years who is not a registered apprentice must be given an increase of \$1.00 per week after every 6 months of service until she reaches the experienced adult rate, or until she becomes 18 years of age when she must be given the experienced adult rate.

<sup>12</sup> First week \$9 per week, second week \$10 per week, third week \$11 per week, fourth week \$12 per week, thereafter \$13.20 per week.

<sup>13</sup> First 2 weeks \$9 per week, 3-4 weeks \$10 per week, 5-6 weeks \$11 per week.

<sup>14</sup> After 8 weeks rate changes.

<sup>15</sup> Any minor entering the industry under the age of 18 years who is not a registered apprentice must be given an increase of \$1 per week after every 4 months of service until she reaches the experienced adult rate, or until she becomes 18 years of age when she must be given the experienced adult rate.

<sup>16</sup> After 18 weeks rate changes.

<sup>17</sup> After 24 weeks rate changes.



Intermittent workers.....											
Over 17 years.....	.18	.18	.18	.20	.20	.20			6 months employment in the trade or industry, whether for the same employer or different employers, and 17 years old.	.25	
16 years.....	.18	.18	.18						8 months.....	1.20	
14 and 15 years.....										1.18	
<b>1930</b>											
Pea canning.....										.22	
Cherry, corn, bean, and tomato canning.....										.22	
Tobacco stripping:											
Over 17 years.....	.18	.18	.18	.20	.20	.20			6 months employment in the trade or industry, whether for the same employer or different employers, and 17 years old.	.22	
16 years.....	.18	.18	.18						8 months.....	1.20	
14 and 15 years.....									2 months.....	1.18	
Beauty parlors:											
Over 17 years.....	(9)	(9)	.18	.20	.20	.20			6 months employment in the trade or industry, whether for the same employer or different employers, and 17 years old.	.22	
16 years.....	(9)	(9)	.18						8 months.....	1.20	
14 and 15 years.....	(9)	(9)							2 months.....	1.18	
<b>1931</b>											
Any occupation, trade, or industry:											
Seasonal workers.....										.25	
All others—											
Over 17 years—											
Cities of 5,000 or more population....	.16	.16	.16	.20	.20	.20			6 months employment in the trade or industry, whether for the same employer or different employers, and 17 years old.	.25	
Cities of less than 5,000 population....	.16	.16	.16	.20	.20	.20			do.....	.22	
16 years.....	.16	.16	.16	.16	.16	.16			6 months.....	1.20	
14 and 15 years.....	.16	.16	.16	.16	.16	.16	7 to 12 mos. \$0.16		1 year.....	1.20	
Pea canning.....										.22	
Cherry, corn, bean, and tomato canning: 1											
Cities of 5,000 or more population.....										.25	
Cities of less than 5,000 population.....										.22	

<sup>1</sup> This column contains not only the true experienced rate but the highest rate required for all persons who can not meet the age requirements necessary for the experienced rate. All figures with this reference mark are such pseudo-experienced rates.

<sup>2</sup> \$1.25 per day or shift.

<sup>3</sup> A season lasts, generally, from 4 to 6 weeks.

<sup>4</sup> Not specified.

<sup>5</sup> \$0.22 per hour for all women and minors prior to Aug. 1.





1926									
<b>Pea canning:</b>									
Cities of 5,000 or more population.....									.25
Cities of less than 5,000 population.....									.22
<b>Cherry, corn, bean, and tomato canning:</b>									
Cities of 5,000 or more population.....									.25
Cities of less than 5,000 population.....									.22
<hr/>									
1927									
<b>Pea canning:</b>									
Cities of 5,000 or more population.....									.25
Cities of less than 5,000 population.....									.22
<b>Cherry, corn, bean, and tomato canning:</b>									
Cities of 5,000 or more population.....									.25
Cities of less than 5,000 population.....									.22

## APPENDIX D

### CENSUS CLASSIFICATIONS USED AS BASIS FOR ALL FIGURES ON NUMBERS OF GAINFULLY-OCCUPIED WOMEN

The following lists of census classifications are of three kinds: (1) Group names listed by the United States Census of Occupations, (2) group names listed by the United States Census of Manufactures, and (3) group names listed by the Massachusetts Division of Statistics. The vast majority of all figures were obtained from the Census of Occupations, but figures for canning in California have been obtained from the Census of Manufactures also, and all Massachusetts figures for the number of women covered by the specific decrees or investigations, except laundries, retail stores, building cleaners, and hotels and restaurants, have been obtained from the Massachusetts Division of Statistics. These departures from the main source have been made in an attempt to get the most representative figures. The figures are presented in three divisions, as follows:

A. Number of women gainfully employed who for the purposes of this study have been considered as covered by minimum-wage orders in the various States.

B. Number of women gainfully employed who for the purposes of this study have been considered as coming within the scope of the minimum-wage laws.

C. Number of women gainfully employed in Utah who for the purposes of this study have been considered as coming within the practical scope of the minimum-wage law.

#### A. NUMBER OF WOMEN GAINFULLY EMPLOYED WHO FOR THE PURPOSES OF THIS STUDY HAVE BEEN CONSIDERED AS COVERED BY MINIMUM-WAGE ORDERS IN THE VARIOUS STATES

[Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920. Vol. IV, Population, pp. 56-127, 204, 206, and 286, and Vol. IX, Manufactures, pp. 112 and 118; Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industries, Division of Statistics, Annual Report on the Statistics of Manufactures, 1920.]

##### ARKANSAS

MERCANTILE decree for Fort Smith and Little Rock includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

###### Trade:

- Clerks in stores.
- Decorators, drapers, and window dressers.
- Deliverymen.
- Floorwalkers, foremen, and overseers.
- Inspectors, gaugers, and samplers.
- Laborers in coal and lumber yards, warehouses, etc.
- Laborers, porters, and helpers in stores.
- Salesmen and saleswomen.
- Other pursuits (semiskilled).

###### Clerical occupations:

- Messenger, bundle, and office boys and girls—
- Bundle and cash boys and girls.

##### CALIFORNIA

MANUFACTURING decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Manufacturing and mechanical industries<sup>1</sup> except—

- Builders and building contractors.
- Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).
- Laborers (n. o. s.):

- Food industries—

- Fish curing and packing.
- Fruit and vegetable canning, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Millinery and millinery workers were included in the first manufacturing decree; after that date they were included in the mercantile decree.

**MANUFACTURING** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—Continued.

Manufacturing and mechanical industries except—Continued.

Managers and superintendents (manufacturing).

Manufacturers and officials.

Semiskilled operatives (n. o. s.):

Food industries—

Fish curing and packing.

Fruit and vegetable canning, etc.

Shoemakers and cobblers (not in factory).

**FRUIT AND VEGETABLE CANNING** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Manufacturing and mechanical industries:

Laborers (n. o. s.)—

Food industries:

Fruit and vegetable canning, etc.

Semiskilled operatives (n. o. s.)—

Food industries:

Fruit and vegetable canning, etc.

or

All women found in the Census of Manufactures under—

Canning and preserving, fruits and vegetables:

Pickles, preserves, and sauces.

**FRUIT AND VEGETABLE PACKING** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Trade:

Other pursuits (semiskilled)—

Fruit graders and packers.

**MERCANTILE** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Trade:

Decorators, drapers, and window dressers.

Deliverymen.

Floorwalkers, foremen, and overseers.

Inspectors, gaugers, and samplers.

Laborers in coal and lumber yards, warehouses, etc.

Laborers, porters, and helpers in stores.

Salesmen and saleswomen.

Other pursuits (semiskilled)—

Meat cutters.

Packers, wholesale and retail trade.

Other occupations.

Manufacturing and mechanical industries:

Milliners and millinery dealers.<sup>1</sup>

Clerical occupations:

Messenger, bundle, and office boys and girls—

Bundle and cash boys and girls.

**LAUNDRY AND DRY CLEANING** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Domestic and personal service:

Laundry operatives.

Other pursuits—

Cleaners and renovators (clothing, etc.).

**GENERAL AND PROFESSIONAL OFFICES** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Trade:

Clerks in stores.

Professional service:

Attendants and helpers (professional service)—

Dentists' assistants and apprentices.

Physicians' and surgeons' attendants.

Clerical occupations except—

Messenger, bundle, and office boys and girls:

Bundle and cash boys and girls.

<sup>1</sup> Millinery and millinery workers were included in the first manufacturing decree; after that date they were included in the mercantile decree.

**UNSKILLED AND UNCLASSIFIED OCCUPATIONS** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

**Transportation:**

Water transportation (selected occupations)—

Boatmen, canal men, and lock keepers.

Longshoremen and stevedores.

Sailors and deck hands.

Road and street transportation (selected occupations)—

Laborers (garage, road, and street).

Railroad transportation (selected occupations)—

Boiler washers and engine hostlers.

Laborers.

Express, post, telegraph, and telephone (selected occupations)—<sup>2</sup>

Telegraph messengers.

Other transportation pursuits—

Laborers (n. o. s.).

**Professional service:**

Attendants and helpers (professional service)—

Theater ushers.

**Domestic and personal service:**

Barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists.

Charwomen and cleaners.

Elevator tenders.

Janitors and sectons.

Porters (except in stores).

**HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

**Domestic and personal service:**

Housekeepers and stewards.

Servants—

Bell boys, chore boys, etc.

Chambermaids.

Waiters.

**AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

**Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry:**

Dairy farm, farm, and stock farm laborers—

Farm laborers (working out).

Garden, greenhouse, orchard, and nursery laborers—

Garden laborers.

Orchard and nursery laborers.

**NUT CRACKING AND SORTING** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

**Manufacturing and mechanical industries:**

Laborers (n. o. s.)<sup>2</sup>—

Food industries:<sup>2</sup>

Candy factories.<sup>2</sup>

Other food factories.<sup>2</sup>

Semiskilled operatives (n. o. s.)<sup>2</sup>—

Food industries:<sup>2</sup>

Candy factories.<sup>2</sup>

Other food factories.<sup>2</sup>

**FISH CANNING** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

**Manufacturing and mechanical industries:**

Laborers (n. o. s.)—

Food industries:

Fish curing and packing.

Semiskilled operatives (n. o. s.)—

Food industries:

Fish curing and packing.

**or** All women found in the Census of Manufactures under—

Canning and preserving, fish.

<sup>2</sup> These are the census classifications in which are included the women covered by the decree. The exact groups covered by the decree can not be separated from those included in general manufacturing.

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

**PRINTING, PUBLISHING, AND ALLIED INDUSTRIES** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Manufacturing and mechanical industries:

Apprentices, other—

Printers' and bookbinders' apprentices.

Compositors, linotypers, and typesetters.

Electrotypers, stereotypers, and lithographers.

Engravers.

Laborers (n. o. s.)—

Printing and publishing.

Pressmen and plate printers (printing).

Semiskilled operatives (n. o. s.)—

Printing and publishing.

**MERCANTILE** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Trade:

Clerks in stores.

Decorators, drapers, and window dressers.

Deliverymen.

Floorwalkers, foremen, and overseers.

Inspectors, gaugers, and samplers.

Laborers in coal and lumber yards, warehouses, etc.

Laborers, porters, and helpers in stores.

Salesmen and saleswomen.

Other pursuits (semiskilled).

Clerical occupations:

Messenger, bundle, and office boys and girls—

Bundle and cash boys and girls.

**LAUNDRY AND DRY CLEANING** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Domestic and personal service:

Laundry operatives.

Other pursuits—

Cleaners and renovators (clothing, etc.).

**HOTEL, RESTAURANT, AND ALLIED INDUSTRIES** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Domestic and personal service:

Housekeepers and stewards.

Servants—

Bell boys, chore boys, etc.

Chambermaids.

Waiters.

## KANSAS

**MERCANTILE** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Trade:

Clerks in stores.

Decorators, drapers, and window dressers.

Deliverymen.

Floorwalkers, foremen, and overseers.

Inspectors, gaugers, and samplers.

Laborers in coal and lumber yards, warehouses, etc.

Laborers, porters, and helpers in stores.

Salesmen and saleswomen.

Other pursuits (semiskilled).

Clerical occupations:

Messenger, bundle, and office boys and girls—

Bundle and cash boys and girls.

**LAUNDRY** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Domestic and personal service:

Laundry operatives.

Other pursuits—

Cleaners and renovators (clothing, etc.).

**TELEPHONE OPERATORS** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Transportation:

Express, post, telegraph, and telephone (selected occupations)—  
Telephone operators.

**MANUFACTURING** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Manufacturing and mechanical industries except—  
Builders and building contractors.  
Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).  
Managers and superintendents (manufacturing).  
Manufacturers and officials.  
Shoemakers and cobblers (not in factory).

**MASSACHUSETTS\***

**BRUSH** decree includes all women in the Division of Statistics report found under—

Brushes.

**WOMEN'S CLOTHING** decree includes all women in the Division of Statistics report found under—

Clothing, women's.

**MEN'S CLOTHING AND RAINCOAT** decree includes all women in the Division of Statistics report found under—

Clothing, men's.

**MEN'S FURNISHINGS** decree includes all women in the Division of Statistics report found under—

Furnishing goods, men's.  
Shirts.

Suspenders, garters.

**WHOLESALE MILLINERY** decree includes all women in the Division of Statistics report found under—

Hats, fur and felt.  
Hats, straw.

Millinery and lace goods.

**CANNING AND PRESERVING** decree includes all women in the Division of Statistics report found under—

Canning and preserving.

**CORSET** decree includes all women in the Division of Statistics report found under—

Corsets.

**PAPER BOX** decree includes all women in the Division of Statistics report found under—

Boxes, paper and other, not elsewhere specified.

**MINOR LINES OF CONFECTIONERY AND FOOD PREPARATIONS** decree includes all women in the Division of Statistics report found under—

Flavoring extracts.

Food preparations.

**CANDY** decree includes all women in the Division of Statistics report found under—

Confectionery.

**KNIT GOODS** decree includes all women in the Division of Statistics report found under—

Knit goods.

**DRUGGISTS' PREPARATIONS** decree includes all women in the Division of Statistics report found under—

Patent medicines and compounds and druggists' preparations.

**BREAD AND BAKERY PRODUCTS** decree includes all women in the Division of Statistics report found under—

Bread and other bakery products.

**CANNING AND PRESERVING, MINOR LINES OF CONFECTIONERY** decree includes all women in the Division of Statistics report found under—

Canning and preserving.

Flavoring extracts.

Food preparations.

\* There are decrees covering the retail millinery and muslin underwear industries, but lists for these industries are lacking here, since they can not be separated from the census totals.

**STATIONERY GOODS AND ENVELOPES** decree includes all women in the Division of Statistics report found under—

Stationery goods and envelopes not elsewhere specified.

**JEWELRY AND RELATED LINES** decree includes all women in the Division of Statistics report found under—

Jewelry.

Optical goods.

Watch and clock materials.

**TOYS, GAMES, SPORTING GOODS, AND RELATED LINES** decree includes all women in the Division of Statistics report found under—

Toys and games.

Sporting and athletic goods.

**OFFICE AND BUILDING CLEANERS** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Domestic and personal service:

Charwomen and cleaners.

Porters (except in stores).

Trade:

Laborers, porters, and helpers in stores.

**LAUNDRY** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Domestic and personal service:

Laundry operatives.

**RETAIL STORES**\* decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Trade:

Decorators, drapers, and window dressers.

Deliverymen.

Inspectors, gaugers, and samplers.

Laborers in coal and lumber yards, warehouses, etc.

Salesmen and saleswomen.

Other pursuits (semiskilled).

Clerical occupations:

Messenger, bundle, and office boys and girls—

Bundle and cash boys and girls.

#### MINNESOTA

**ANY OCCUPATION** decree includes all women in Section B of this appendix (p. 604).

**MERCANTILE, WAITRESS, HAIRDRESSERS, AND OFFICE** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Trade:

Clerks in stores.

Decorators, drapers, and window dressers.

Deliverymen.

Floorwalkers, foremen, and overseers.

Inspectors, gaugers, and samplers.

Laborers in coal and lumber yards, warehouses, etc.

Laborers, porters, and helpers in stores.

Salesmen and saleswomen.

Other pursuits (semiskilled).

Clerical occupations.

Professional service:

Attendants and helpers (professional service)—

Dentists' assistants and apprentices.

Physicians' and surgeons' attendants.

Domestic and personal service:

Barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists.

Waiters.

\*The figure for this decree is an underestimate, because figures for alteration women (included under tailresses), cashiers (included under bookkeepers and cashiers), shipping clerks (grouped with shipping clerks in all industries), and messengers (included under clerical) can not be separated from census totals, though all these groups come under the decree.

**LAUNDRY, DYEING, DRY CLEANING, LUNCHROOM, HOTEL, OR RESTAURANT, TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Manufacturing and mechanical industries except  
 Builders and building contractors.  
 Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).  
 Managers and superintendents (manufacturing).  
 Manufacturers and officials.  
 Shoemakers and cobblers (not in factory).

Transportation:

Express, post, telegraph, and telephone (selected occupations).  
 Telegraph messengers.  
 Telegraph operators.  
 Telephone operators.

Domestic and personal service:

Housekeepers and stewards.  
 Laundry operatives.

Servants—

Bell boys, chore boys, etc.  
 Chambermaids.

#### NORTH DAKOTA\*

**MANUFACTURING** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Manufacturing and mechanical industries except—  
 Builders and building contractors.  
 Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).  
 Managers and superintendents (manufacturing).  
 Manufacturers and officials.  
 Shoemakers and cobblers (not in factory).

**MERCANTILE** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Trade:

Clerks in stores.  
 Decorators, drapers, and window dressers.  
 Deliverymen.  
 Floorwalkers, foremen, and overseers.  
 Inspectors, gaugers, and samplers.  
 Laborers in coal and lumber yards, warehouses, etc.  
 Laborers, porters, and helpers in stores.  
 Salesmen and saleswomen.  
 Other pursuits (semiskilled).

Clerical occupations:

Messenger, bundle, and office boys and girls—  
 Bundle and cash boys and girls.

**LAUNDRY** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Domestic and personal service:

Laundry operatives.  
 Other pursuits—  
 Cleaners and renovators (clothing, etc.).

**PUBLIC HOUSEKEEPING** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Domestic and personal service:

Charwomen and cleaners.  
 Elevator tenders.  
 Housekeepers and stewards.  
 Janitors and sextons.  
 Porters (except in stores).  
 Servants—  
 Bell boys, chore boys, etc.  
 Chambermaids.  
 Waiters.

\* It is not possible to locate student nurses in the census classifications.



**PERSONAL SERVICE**<sup>4</sup> decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

- Domestic and personal service:
  - Barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists.
- Professional service:
  - Attendants and helpers (professional service)—
  - Theater ushers.

**TELEPHONE** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

- Transportation:
  - Express, post, telegraph, and telephone (selected occupations)—
  - Telephone operators.

**OFFICE** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

- Clerical occupations except—
  - Messenger, bundle, and office boys and girls:
    - Bundle and cash boys and girls.
- Professional service:
  - Attendants and helpers (professional service)—
  - Dentists' assistants and apprentices.
  - Physicians' and surgeons' attendants.

#### OREGON<sup>5</sup>

**ALL INDUSTRIES** decree includes all women in Section B of this appendix (p. 604).

**MANUFACTURING**<sup>7</sup> decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

- Manufacturing and mechanical industries except—
  - Builders and building contractors.
  - Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).
- Laborers (n. o. s.):
  - Food industries—
    - Fruit and vegetable canning, etc.
  - Managers and superintendents (manufacturing).
  - Manufacturers and officials.
  - Semiskilled operatives (n. o. s.):
    - Food industries—
      - Fruit and vegetable canning, etc.
    - Shoemakers and cobblers (not in factory).

- Trade:
  - Other pursuits (semiskilled)—
  - Fruit graders and packers.

**MERCANTILE**<sup>7</sup> decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

- Trade:
  - Clerks in stores.
  - Decorators, drapers, and window dressers.
  - Deliverymen.
  - Floorwalkers, foremen, and overseers.
  - Inspectors, gaugers, and samplers.
  - Laborers in coal and lumber yards, warehouses, etc.
  - Laborers, porters, and helpers in stores.
  - Salesmen and saleswomen.
  - Other pursuits (semiskilled)—
    - Meat cutters.
    - Packers, wholesale and retail trade.
    - Other occupations.
- Clerical occupations:
  - Messengers, bundle, and office boys and girls—
  - Bundle and cash boys and girls.

<sup>4</sup> It is not possible to locate student nurses in the census classifications.

<sup>5</sup> Figures for ticket sellers can not be separated from census totals.

<sup>7</sup> In some years there were separate decrees in these industries for Portland and the State at large, but the separate decrees cover the same census classifications in Portland and in the State.

**LAUNDRY**<sup>1</sup> decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Domestic and personal service:

Laundry operatives.

Other pursuits—

Cleaners and renovators (clothing, etc.).

**OFFICE**<sup>1</sup> decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Clerical occupations except—

Messenger, bundle, and office boys and girls:

Bundle and cash boys and girls.

Professional service:

Attendants and helpers (professional service)—

Dentists' assistants and apprentices.

Physicians' and surgeons' attendants.

**PUBLIC HOUSEKEEPING**<sup>2</sup> decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Domestic and personal service:

Charwomen and cleaners.

Elevator tenders.

Housekeepers and stewards.

Janitors and sextons.

Porters (except in stores).

Servants—

Bell boys, chore boys, etc.

Chambermaids.

Waiters.

**CANNING** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Manufacturing and mechanical industries:

Laborers (n. o. s.)—

Food industries:

Fruit and vegetable canning, etc.

Semiskilled operatives (n. o. s.)—

Food industries:

Fruit and vegetable canning, etc.

Trade:

Other pursuits (semiskilled)—

Fruit graders and packers.

**PERSONAL SERVICE** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Professional service:

Attendants and helpers (professional service)—

Theater ushers.

Domestic and personal service:

Barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists.

**TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH**<sup>1</sup> decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Transportation:

Express, post, telegraph, and telephone (selected occupations)—

Telegraph messengers.

Telegraph operators.

Telephone operators.

#### TEXAS

**ALL** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Manufacturing and mechanical industries except—

Builders and building contractors.

Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).

Managers and superintendents (manufacturing).

Manufacturers and officials.

Shoemakers and cobblers (not in factory).

<sup>1</sup> In some years there were separate decrees in these industries for Portland and the State at large, but the separate decrees cover the same census classifications in Portland and in the State.

<sup>2</sup> Figures for cleaners and kitchen help can not be separated from census totals.

ALL decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—  
Continued.

Trade:

Clerks in stores.  
Decorators.  
Deliverymen.  
Floorwalkers, foremen, and overseers.  
Inspectors, gaugers, and samplers.  
Laborers in coal and lumber yards, warehouses, etc.  
Laborers, porters, and helpers in stores.  
Salesmen and saleswomen.  
Other pursuits (semiskilled).

Clerical occupations:

Messenger, bundle, and office boys and girls—  
Bundle and cash boys and girls.

Domestic and personal service:

Laundry operatives.

Transportation:

Express, post, telegraph, and telephone (selected occupations)—  
Telegraph messengers.  
Telegraph operators.  
Telephone operators.

WASHINGTON

ALL INDUSTRIES decree includes all women in Section B of this appendix  
(p. 604).

MANUFACTURING decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations  
found under—

Manufacturing and mechanical industries except—

Builders and building contractors.  
Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).  
Managers and superintendents (manufacturing).  
Manufacturers and officials.  
Shoemakers and cobblers (not in factory).

MERCANTILE decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found  
under—

Trade:

Clerks in stores.  
Decorators.  
Deliverymen.  
Floorwalkers, foremen, and overseers.  
Inspectors, gaugers, and samplers.  
Laborers in coal and lumber yards, warehouses, etc.  
Laborers, porters, and helpers in stores.  
Salesmen and saleswomen.  
Other pursuits (semiskilled).

Clerical occupations:

Messenger, bundle, and office boys and girls—  
Bundle and cash boys and girls.

LAUNDRY AND DRY CLEANING decree includes all women in the Census  
of Occupations found under—

Domestic and personal service:

Laundry operatives.

Other pursuits—

Cleaners and renovators (clothing, etc.).

HOTEL AND RESTAURANT decree includes all women in the Census of  
Occupations found under—

Domestic and personal service:

Housekeepers and stewards.

Servants—

Chambermaids.

**PUBLIC HOUSEKEEPING**<sup>a</sup> decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Domestic and personal service:

- Charwomen and cleaners.
- Elevator tenders.
- Housekeepers and stewards.
- Janitors and sextons.
- Porters (except in stores).
- Servants—
  - Bell boys, chore boys, etc.
  - Chambermaids.

Waiters.

**OFFICE** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Clerical occupations except—

- Messenger, bundle, and office boys and girls;
- Bundle and cash boys and girls.

Professional service:

- Attendants and helpers (professional service)—
  - Dentists' assistants and apprentices.
  - Physicians' and surgeons' attendants.

**TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Transportation:

- Express, post, telegraph, and telephone (selected occupations)—
  - Telegraph messengers.
  - Telegraph operators.
  - Telephone operators.

#### WISCONSIN<sup>b</sup>

**ALL INDUSTRIES** decree includes all women in Section B of this appendix (p. 604).

**CANNING**<sup>c</sup> decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Manufacturing and mechanical industries:

- Laborers (n. o. a.)—
  - Food industries:
    - Fruit and vegetable canning, etc.
- Semiskilled operatives—
  - Food industries:
    - Fruit and vegetable canning, etc.

Trade:

- Other pursuits (semiskilled)—
  - Fruit graders and packers.

**BEAUTY PARLORS** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Domestic and personal service:

- Barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists.

**TELEPHONE OFFICES** decree includes all women in the Census of Occupations found under—

Transportation:

- Express, post, telegraph, and telephone (selected occupations)—
  - Telephone operators.

<sup>a</sup> Figures for cooks, laundresses, and kitchen help can not be separated from census totals.

<sup>b</sup> Figures for attendants in hospitals and sanitariums can not be separated from census totals.

<sup>c</sup> There are separate decrees for pea canning and for cherry, bean, corn, and tomato canning, but figures for the different products can not be separated from the census totals.

**B. NUMBER OF WOMEN GAINFULLY EMPLOYED WHO FOR THE PURPOSES OF THIS STUDY HAVE BEEN CONSIDERED AS COMING WITHIN THE SCOPE OF THE MINIMUM-WAGE LAWS**

**I. In States with flexible laws—Arkansas, California, Colorado, District of Columbia, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oregon, Texas, Washington, Wisconsin—and in Utah, of the States with inflexible laws—all women are included who are found in the Census of Occupations under—**

**Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry except—**

Dairy farmers, farmers, and stock raisers.

Dairy farm, farm, and stock-farm laborers:

Farm laborers (home farm).

Fishermen and oystermen.

Foresters, forest rangers, and timber cruisers.

Gardeners, florists, fruit growers, and nurserymen.

Owners and managers of log and timber camps.

Other agricultural and animal husbandry pursuits:

Apiarists.

Poultry raisers.

**Extraction of minerals except—**

Operators, officials, and managers.

**Manufacturing and mechanical industries except—**

Builders and building contractors.

Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).

Managers and superintendents (manufacturing).

Manufacturers and officials.

Shoemakers and cobblers (not in factory).

**Transportation except—**

Water transportation (selected occupations):

Captains, masters, mates, and pilots.

Road and street transportation (selected occupations):

Garage keepers and managers.

Livery-stable keepers and managers.

Proprietors and managers of transfer companies.

Railroad transportation (selected occupations):

Officials and superintendents.

Other transportation pursuits:

Proprietors, officials, and managers (n. o. s.).

**Trade except—**

Bankers, brokers, and money lenders.

Commercial travelers.

Insurance agents and officials.

Newsboys.

Proprietors, officials, and managers (n. o. s.).

Real-estate agents and officials.

Retail dealers.

Undertakers.

Wholesale dealers, importers, and exporters.

**Professional service:**

Attendants and helpers (professional service).

**Domestic and personal service except—**

Billiard room, dance hall, skating rink, etc., keepers.

Boarding and lodging house keepers.

Bootblacks.

Hotel keepers and managers.

Laundry owners, officials, and managers.

Midwives and nurses (not trained).

Restaurant, cafe, and lunchroom keepers.

**Clerical occupations.**

*Exceptions:* The women in the census groups following are to be omitted because they are excepted in the law (1) or they are excepted in an attorney general's opinion (a).

**In Minnesota (a), North Dakota (1), and Texas (1):**

Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry.

Domestic and personal service—

Launderers and laundresses (not in laundry).

Servants:

Butlers.

Coachmen and footmen.

Cooks.

Ladies' maids, valets, etc.

Nurse maids.

Other servants.

**In the District of Columbia (1):**

Domestic and personal service—

Launderers and laundresses (not in laundry).

Servants:

Butlers.

Coachmen and footmen.

Cooks.

Ladies' maids, valets, etc.

Nurse maids.

Other servants.

**In Arkansas (1):**

Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry.

Manufacturing and mechanical industries—

Laborers (n. o. s.):

Textile industries—

Cotton mills.

Semiskilled operatives (n. o. s.):

Textile industries—

Cotton mills.

**II. In States with inflexible laws—Arizona, Arkansas, Porto Rico, and South Dakota—all women are included who are found in the Census of Occupations under the following occupational groups:****ARIZONA****Manufacturing and mechanical industries except—**

Builders and building contractors.

Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).

Managers and superintendents (manufacturing).

Manufacturers and officials.

Shoemakers and cobblers (not in factory).

**Trade except—**

Bankers, brokers, and money lenders.

Commercial travelers.

Insurance agents and officials.

Newsboys.

Proprietors, officials, and managers (n. o. s.).

Real-estate agents and officials.

Retail dealers.

Undertakers.

Wholesale dealers, importers, and exporters.

**Professional service:**

Attendants and helpers (professional service)—

Dentists' assistants and apprentices.

Physicians' and surgeons' attendants.

**Domestic and personal service except—**

Billiard room, dance hall, skating rink, etc., keepers.

Boarding and lodging house keepers.

Bootblacks.

Hotel keepers and managers.

Launderers and laundresses (not in laundry).

Laundry owners, officials, and managers.

Midwives and nurses (not trained).

II. In States with inflexible laws—Arizona, Arkansas, Porto Rico, and South Dakota—all women are included who are found in the Census of Occupations under the following occupational groups—Continued.  
Domestic and personal service except—Continued.

Servants:

Butlers.  
Coachmen and footmen.  
Cooks.  
Ladies' maids, valets, etc.  
Nurse maids.  
Other servants.

Clerical occupations.

ARKANSAS

Manufacturing and mechanical industries except—

Builders and building contractors.  
Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).

Laborers (n. o. s.):

Textile industries—  
Cotton mills.

Managers and superintendents (manufacturing).

Manufacturers and officials.

Semiskilled operatives (n. o. s.):

Textile industries—  
Cotton mills.

Shoemakers and cobblers (not in factory).

Transportation except—

Water transportation (selected occupations):

Captains, masters, mates, and pilots.

Road and street transportation:

Garage keepers and managers.

Livery stable keepers and managers.

Proprietors and managers of transfer companies.

Railroad transportation:

Officials and superintendents.

Other transportation pursuits:

Proprietors, officials, and managers (n. o. s.).

Trade except—

Bankers, brokers, and money lenders.

Commercial travelers.

Insurance agents and officials.

Newsboys.

Proprietors, officials, and managers (n. o. s.).

Real-estate agents and officials.

Retail dealers.

Undertakers.

Wholesale dealers, importers, and exporters.

Domestic and personal service:

Laundry operatives.

Clerical occupations:

Messenger, bundle, and office boys and girls—

Bundle and cash boys and girls.

PORTO RICO

Extraction of minerals except—

Operators, officials, and managers.

Manufacturing and mechanical industries except—

Builders and building contractors.

Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).

Managers and superintendents (manufacturing).

Manufacturers and officials.

Shoemakers and cobblers (not in factory).

Transportation except—

Water transportation:

Captains, masters, mates, and pilots.

- Transportation except—Continued.  
 Road and street transportation:  
   Garage keepers and managers.  
   Livery-stable keepers and managers.  
   Proprietors and managers of transfer companies.  
 Railroad transportation:  
   Officials and superintendents.  
 Other transportation pursuits:  
   Proprietors, officials, and managers (n. o. s.).
- Trade except—  
 Bankers, brokers, and money lenders.  
 Commercial travelers.  
 Insurance agents and officials.  
 Newsboys.  
 Proprietors, officials, and managers (n. o. s.).  
 Real-estate agents and officials.  
 Retail dealers.  
 Undertakers.  
 Wholesale dealers, importers, and exporters.
- Professional service:  
 Attendants and helpers (professional service)—  
   Dentists' assistants and apprentices.  
   Physicians' and surgeons' attendants.
- Domestic and personal service except—  
 Billiard room, dance hall, skating rink, etc., keepers.  
 Boarding and lodging house keepers.  
 Bootblacks.  
 Hotel keepers and managers.  
 Launderers and laundresses (not in laundry).  
 Laundry owners, officials, and managers.  
 Midwives and nurses (not trained).  
 Servants:  
   Butlers.  
   Coachmen and footmen.  
   Cooks.  
   Ladies' maids, valets, etc.  
   Nurse maids.  
   Other servants.
- Clerical occupations.

## SOUTH DAKOTA

- Manufacturing and mechanical industries except—  
 Builders and building contractors.  
 Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).  
 Managers and superintendents (manufacturing).  
 Manufacturers and officials.  
 Shoemakers and cobblers (not in factory).
- Trade except—  
 Bankers, brokers, and money lenders.  
 Commercial travelers.  
 Insurance agents and officials.  
 Newsboys.  
 Proprietors, officials, and managers (n. o. s.).  
 Real-estate agents and officials.  
 Retail dealers.  
 Undertakers.  
 Wholesale dealers, importers, and exporters.
- Domestic and personal service:  
 Housekeepers and stewards.  
 Laundry operatives.  
 Servants—  
   Bell boys, chore boys, etc.  
   Chambermaids.  
   Walters.
- Clerical occupations:  
 Messenger, bundle, and office boys and girls—  
 Bundle and cash boys and girls.



**C. NUMBER OF WOMEN GAINFULLY EMPLOYED IN UTAH WHO FOR THE PURPOSES OF THIS STUDY HAVE BEEN CONSIDERED AS COMING WITHIN THE PRACTICAL SCOPE OF THE MINIMUM-WAGE LAW**

All women are included who are found in the Census of Occupations under—  
**Manufacturing and mechanical industries except—**

- Builders and building contractors.
- Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).
- Managers and superintendents (manufacturing).
- Manufacturers and officials.
- Shoemakers and cobblers (not in factory).

**Transportation except—**

- Water transportation:
  - Captains, masters, mates, and pilots.
- Road and street transportation:
  - Garage keepers and managers.
  - Livery-stable keepers and managers.
  - Proprietors and managers of transfer companies.
- Railroad transportation (selected occupations):
  - Officials and superintendents.
- Other transportation pursuits:
  - Proprietors, officials, and managers (n. o. s.).

**Trade except—**

- Bankers, brokers, and money lenders.
- Commercial travelers.
- Insurance agents and officials.
- Newsboys.
- Proprietors, officials, and managers (n. o. s.).
- Real-estate officials and agents.
- Retail dealers.
- Undertakers.
- Wholesale dealers, importers, and exporters.

**Professional service:**

- Attendants and helpers (professional service).

**Domestic and personal service:**

- Laundry operatives.

**Clerical occupations.**

## APPENDIX E

### NUMBERS OF WOMEN ON WHICH ARE BASED MEDIAN AND QUARTILE RATES AND EARNINGS

In this appendix are shown the numbers of women on which are based the tables on median and quartile rates and earnings discussed in Chapter XV (p. 332). The figures printed in roman were secured by investigation before the establishing of a decree; the figures in italic were secured by inspection following a decree. In a number of cases one survey constituted both an investigation and an inspection. (See footnote to Arkansas for example.)

#### ARKANSAS

[Based on original material collected and tabulated by the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor]

Industry and year of survey	Number of women reported for—							
	State at large		State at large minus Fort Smith		Fort Smith		Little Rock	
	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings
1922								
Laundry	391	410						
Manufacturing	351	531						
Mercantile			689	689	158	169	451	451
1924								
Mercantile					142	147	380	387

<sup>1</sup> Figures necessarily constitute an inspection, since they were collected after a decree was set, but they were available also as investigation figures in determining the necessity for revising the decree in question.

#### CALIFORNIA

[Based on material tabulated by the California Industrial Welfare Commission and obtained from the biennial reports, 1913 to 1926]

Year	Number of women reported for—					
	Manufacturing		Mercantile		Laundry	
	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings
1914	2,100		12,166		4,492	
1916			14,848		3,720	4,328
1917			15,794		6,394	7,184
1918					6,327	7,098
					6,559	
1919 <sup>1</sup>	2,219	15,502	21,627	19,896	7,515	7,919
	13,502	18,921	25,088	21,230	7,988	8,622
1920	14,491	20,359	23,645	27,657	7,562	7,905
1921	15,516	18,667	31,159	30,836	8,651	9,131
1922	15,618	22,809	34,944	34,831	10,421	10,413
1923	15,276	22,460	38,102	37,908	10,689	11,285
1924					11,143	
1925	17,754	25,533	39,351	39,233		11,300

Other 1914 rates: Printing and bookbinding, 717; paper boxes, 347; knit goods, 278; telephone, 1,646; telegraph, 225. Clerical—Manufacturing, 695; telephone, 534; telegraph, 161.

<sup>1</sup> Figures necessarily constitute inspections, since they were collected after decrees were set, but they were available also as investigation figures in determining the necessity for revising the decrees in question.

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

[Based on material tabulated by the District of Columbia Minimum Wage Board and obtained from the annual reports, 1919 to 1922, and on material from the files of the Minimum Wage Board, tabulated by the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor]

Year	Number of women reported for—											
	Building cleaners		Hotels and restaurants		Laundries		Manufacturing		Mercantile		Printing and publishing	
	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings
1919.....			2,209	1,373					4,609	3,042	745	441
1920.....	357	452	778	1,064	1,190	908	533	424	3,325	2,971	777	484
1921.....			881	8,098		118			8,694	1,801	848	204
1922.....	222	220	1,019	1,760		65	198	255	4,511	1,918	866	287

Other 1922 rate: Office, 2,108.

<sup>1</sup> Includes 544 women whose earnings, reported as "over \$16.50," were omitted from the computation of the median.

<sup>2</sup> Includes 360 women whose earnings, reported as "over \$16.50," were omitted from the computation of the median.

<sup>3</sup> Includes 13 women whose earnings, reported as "over \$16.50," were omitted from the computation of the median.

<sup>4</sup> Includes 460 women whose earnings, reported as "over \$16.50," were omitted from the computation of the median.

<sup>5</sup> Includes 7 women whose earnings, reported as "over \$16.50," were omitted from the computation of the median.

<sup>6</sup> Includes 366 women whose earnings, reported as "over \$16.50," were omitted from the computation of the median.

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KANSAS

[Based on material tabulated by the Kansas Industrial Welfare Commission and obtained from the biennial report, 1915-1917; on original material collected and tabulated by the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor; and on material from the files of the Industrial Welfare Commission, tabulated by the Women's Bureau]

Year	Number of women reported for—									
	Laundries		Manufacturing		Mercantile		Public house-keeping		Telephone	
	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings
1916		780		2,918		2,095				
1918	268	222			1,317	896				
1919	451	527	189	561	1,348	1,144	559		415	599
1920		1,599		1,842		1,002				1,382
	161	217			813	559	98		125	227
1922	178	51			15	48				
1923	226	183	780	1,008	1,043	709	394		276	136
1924	599	88	496	423	1,414	31	1,126		482	101

Other 1920 earnings: Restaurants, 191.

<sup>1</sup> Investigation made by the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor and used as an inspection by the Kansas Industrial Court to check compliance with the decree.

<sup>2</sup> Figures necessarily constitute inspections, since they were collected after a decree was set, but they were available also as investigation figures in determining the necessity for revising the decree in question.

MASSACHUSETTS (MINIMUM WAGE COMMISSION)

[Based on material tabulated by the Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission and obtained from the annual reports, 1914 to 1919; from the bulletins reporting investigations, numbers 1 to 23; and from the commission's files]

Year	Number of women reported for—																				
	Muslin under- wear		Paper box		Brush		Building cleaners		Candy		Minor lines of confectionery		Canning and preserving		Men's clothing		Women's clothing		Bread and bakery products		
	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	Rate	Earn- ings	
1913.....						597			3,129	3,328											
1915.....	768	2,481	466	2,178	275	485									802	1,758	942	1,961			
1917.....					589	871	859	1,249													
1918.....										1,071				578	660	1,464					
1919.....		1,694	332	1,054		689	1,274			321	601			345			1,238				
1920.....	788	1,644	1,763	4,727			1,056	1,128	4,970	6,589			305	635	1,387	2,530	1,287	1,615			
1921.....			167	241			1,688	1,745	3,159	4,749	157	213	149	204							
1922.....								1,294	1,594	3,507			305	447							
1923.....	1,161	2,437	1,378	3,981					3,895	6,902	305	447						2,004	2,739	1,064	1,293
1924.....						476	714			4,870	6,765										
1925.....	1,110	2,354	1,567	3,331		448	717	1,968	1,997	2,022	2,174			458	602			1,680	2,388	879	1,033

Year	Number of women reported for—																	
	Corset		Cotton goods		Hotel and restaurant		Knit goods		Laundries		Millinery		Retail stores		Men's furnishings		Druggists' preparations	
	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings	Rate	Earnings
1913		2,110							2,772	2,961								
1914																		
1915			7,978	9,190									6,808	6,867				
1916					5,966	2,816						668	1,864	3,624	3,650			
1917			9,591	11,360														
1918					721													
1919																		
1920	211	1,361																
1921	640																	
1922	306	1,461			6,523	6,485	408	1,074					864	710				1,412
1923	224	1,187					463	1,061					379	473				
1924	245	1,158						663	1,607				636	1,656				
1925																		
1926	263	897						684	1,783				3,186	4,205				
													4,355	4,794				
													3,408	3,407				

Other figures:

	Rate	Earnings
1920. Stationery.....	1,168	2,256
1923. Jewelry.....	1,636	2,653
1924. Toys, games, and sporting goods.....	219	837

1 Figures necessarily constitute an inspection, since they were collected after a decree was set, but they were available also as investigation figures in determining the necessity for revising the decree in question.

- 2 Neckwear only.
- 3 Retail only.
- 4 Wholesale only.

MASSACHUSETTS (DIVISION OF STATISTICS)

[Based on material tabulated by the Massachusetts Division of Statistics and obtained from the annual reports and from the files]

Industry	Number of women for whom earnings were reported for—												
	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922
All industries.....	146,525	136,081	152,664	154,683	140,224	151,874	159,191	162,717	162,662	143,145	173,354	147,048	164,896
Bakery products <sup>1</sup> .....	1,037	841	1,115	1,073	1,337	986	931	1,004	1,450	1,656	2,297	2,172	2,355
Boots and shoes <sup>1</sup> .....	31,111	29,204	33,076	31,977	27,654	31,080	34,206	33,862	32,574	30,086	33,539	27,389	32,038
Boxes, fancy and paper.....	2,579	2,176	2,493	2,404	2,390	2,501	2,763	2,681	2,598	2,451	3,448	2,193	2,830
Brushes.....	909	827	912	700	679	613	747	833	719	684	742	745	845
Canning and preserving.....			548	490	682	474	665	420	483	498	435	372	438
Confectionery.....	3,949	3,412	4,033	4,709	4,938	5,412	5,536	5,320	5,493	4,146	7,491	6,337	6,998
Corsets.....	2,170	2,048	2,411	2,360	2,283	2,204	1,985	1,439	1,550	1,250	1,628	1,563	1,800
Electrical machinery <sup>1</sup> .....	2,625	2,768	3,390	3,605	2,638	3,023	4,031	4,159	4,775	3,949	6,652	2,648	3,147
Jewelry <sup>1</sup> .....	3,616	3,097	3,492	3,353	2,798	2,173	2,117	2,142	2,206	3,364	3,651	2,395	2,625
Men's clothing.....	3,011	2,785	3,297	3,642	2,616	3,027	3,205	3,469	3,612	2,434	4,219	2,652	3,756
Men's furnishings.....	4,035	3,889	4,019	3,820	3,265	3,549	3,753	3,720	3,678	1,438	2,748	2,863	2,974
Millinery.....	5,131	4,639	5,590	5,706	4,124	4,710	4,002	3,965	3,120	1,886	1,619	1,898	2,825
Other food.....	223	138	188	203	225	222	258	278	417	293	555	389	455
Patent medicines, etc. <sup>1</sup> .....	737	625	884	878	736	953	746	935	1,251	1,445	1,486	960	1,070
Stationery goods <sup>1</sup> .....	1,727	1,712	1,827	1,964	2,287	2,250	2,478	2,527	2,519	3,229	3,268	2,861	2,988
Textiles:													
Cotton goods <sup>1</sup> .....	49,218	46,785	49,606	50,980	44,502	51,332	52,406	54,706	54,799	47,120	54,039	50,291	52,918
Knit goods.....	5,435	5,460	5,484	7,192	7,134	6,524	7,753	8,605	8,344	7,289	8,526	6,444	8,426
Linen goods <sup>1</sup> .....	808	803	782	826	707	739	588	665	626	693	733	417	520
Silk goods <sup>1</sup> .....	2,453	2,318	2,531	2,728	2,890	2,576	2,707	2,577	2,770	1,969	3,850	3,859	3,857
Wool and worsted <sup>1</sup> .....	19,443	17,985	20,501	20,163	20,587	22,060	22,041	23,116	23,864	22,521	24,314	23,693	24,820
Toys and games <sup>1</sup> .....	662	537	756	831	787	807	1,120	1,014	977	1,027	1,290	975	1,108
Women's clothing.....	4,846	4,032	4,729	5,079	5,115	4,659	5,163	5,280	4,637	3,667	5,424	3,932	4,903

<sup>1</sup> Decree issued after 1922.

<sup>1</sup> No decree issued.

BASES FOR TABLES ON RATES AND EARNINGS

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MINNESOTA

[Based on material tabulated by the Minnesota Minimum Wage Commission and obtained from the biennial reports, 1918 to 1924]

Year	Number of women for whom earnings were reported for—			
	All industries	Laundries	Manufacturing	Mercantile
1920 <sup>1</sup> .....	24,531	954	9,936	5,521
1922.....	3,105	-----	1,789	1,153
1923.....	60,714	2,227	15,784	15,547

Other 1920 earnings: Office workers in laundries, 92; in manufacturing, 1,630 (printing and publishing, 502, included); and in mercantile, 2,668. The figure for printing and publishing in 1920 included in manufacturing in the table is 1,086.

Other 1923 earnings: Hotel and restaurant, 3,665; printing and publishing, 1,825.

<sup>1</sup> Figures necessarily constitute an inspection, since they were collected after a decree was set, but they were gathered as investigation figures when the necessity for revising the decree in question was under consideration.

NORTH DAKOTA

[Based on material tabulated by the North Dakota Workmen's Compensation Bureau, Minimum Wage Department, and obtained from the annual reports, 1920 to 1924]

Year	Number of women for whom rates were reported for—					
	Hotel and restaurant	Laundry	Manufacturing	Mercantile	Office	Telephone
1921 <sup>1</sup> .....	124	94	47	171	45	113
1922.....	91	112	58	524	-----	160
1923.....	-----	158	163	1,068	-----	291
						250

<sup>1</sup> Figures necessarily constitute an inspection, since they were collected after a decree was set, but they were gathered as investigation figures when the necessity for revising the decree in question was under consideration.

<sup>2</sup> Towns with population of 1,800 and over.

<sup>3</sup> Towns with population of under 1,800.

WASHINGTON

[Based on material tabulated by the Washington Industrial Welfare Commission and obtained from the biennial reports, 1913 to 1920]

Year	Number of women for whom earnings were reported for—				
	Laundries	Manufacturing	Mercantile	Telephone	Public house-keeping
1913.....	2,304	3,011	5,323	1,864	-----
1914.....	635	-----	3,102	1,091	-----
1919 <sup>1</sup> .....	-----	-----	-----	-----	830
1920 <sup>1</sup> .....	739	991	-----	-----	-----

<sup>1</sup> Figures necessarily constitute an inspection, since they were collected after a decree was set, but they were gathered as investigation figures when the necessity for revising the decree in question was under consideration.



## WISCONSIN

(Based on material tabulated by the Wisconsin Industrial Commission and obtained from the Wisconsin Labor Statistics Bulletin, May and June, 1923, and from the files)

Year	Number of women for whom earnings were reported for—				
	Canning and preserving	Hotels and restaurants	Laundries	Mercantile	Tobacco
1921 <sup>1</sup> .....	239	35	70	3,874	334
1922.....	168	35	674	7,735	995
1923.....	368	88	797	7,790	368

	1921 <sup>1</sup>	1922	1923	1924
All industries.....	32,689	46,998	66,378	61,407
Manufacturing.....	23,637	33,789	43,075	.....
Office.....	168	.....	60	.....
Printing and publishing.....	448	929	.....	.....
Public utilities.....	.....	4,823	4,574	.....
Telephone.....	.....	4,351	3,786	.....

<sup>1</sup> Figures necessarily constitute an inspection, since they were collected after a decree was set, but they were available also as investigation figures in determining the necessity for revising the decree in question.

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