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## **“THEIRS IS A NEVER ENDING JOB”: GENDER AND TEMPLE FOREST PRODUCTS INDUSTRIES, 1945-1975**

BY MEREDITH MAY

In 2004, Hattie Butler prepared to move into a nursing home in Lufkin, Texas. She was eighty-two years old, and her severe rheumatoid arthritis had reached a debilitating point. Her older sister, Malissia Butler Price, was joining her in the home, and the two had to consolidate decades of furniture, pictures, clothing, and knickknacks into one small room. Out of all the pictures and decorations, Butler chose to make sure that her plaque for twenty-five years of service to Temple Industries came with her, and she made special provisions for her service pins and a jade ring the company gave to her with family members. Butler had worked long and hard hours in Temple owned plants from 1958 to 1975, coming home covered in sawdust and with aching joints. Nevertheless, she felt a deep gratitude and fondness for the company that gave her a livelihood and helped support her sister's family, with whom she lived nearly her entire life. Instead of being a burden to the sister who had taken her in as a child, Butler was able to become an asset. The heavy brass plaque for twenty-five years of service, therefore, confirmed Butler's hard work and remained in her room at the nursing home until her death in 2008.<sup>1</sup>

Hattie Butler was not an exceptional woman in terms of her work history. Many women across the nation worked outside of the home in the post-war years. The difference between the majority of wage-earning women and women like Butler in the forest-products industry was the type of work done. Most women across the nation worked in the service or white-collar industries as clerical workers or in traditionally feminine occupations, such as teaching and nursing.<sup>2</sup> Women in East Texas mills and plants, on the other hand, operated saws and heavy machinery in a manner similar to their male counterparts. Subsets of women across the nation were working

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in blue-collar industry in the postwar years, but scholars have largely focused their attention on unionized factories.<sup>3</sup> Non-union working women in the postwar era remain relatively voiceless. Temple Industries, which never successfully unionized, provides an excellent case study of managerial strategies and gender in a non-unionized setting. Although females working in the forest-products industry in East Texas may have seemed nontraditional by national standards, the companies feminized certain work through deskilling and gender divisions by job description, a practice replicated in other factories and mills in different industries.<sup>4</sup>

Primarily located in Diboll and Pineland, Texas, plants and mills owned by the Temple family produced multiple forest products in the postwar years. The Temples first hired white women in their mills in the early 1930s, and the presence of white female labor continued in Temple Industries well into the postwar years.<sup>5</sup> Despite their presence in a non-culturally normative position, however, women employed by Temple companies achieved little progress in terms of wage and promotional equality. Female employees who faced similar risks to health and safety as their male co-workers in non-skilled positions found themselves barred from equal opportunities for advancement or wage equity.

### **East Texas Timber Revolution: Temple Industries in the Postwar Years**

Diboll, a typical sawmill town, sprang from the vision of Virginian businessman Thomas Louis Latane Temple, known as T. L. L. Temple. After a failed attempt at beginning a lumber company in Arkansas, Temple created Southern Pine Lumber Company in 1893. He moved to densely forested Angelina County in order to take advantage of the big timber.<sup>6</sup> As the mill began operation, the workers and their families formed an active town. Temple continued expanding his operations, opening more sawmills in Diboll and opening new mills in nearby Pineland.

Temple began diversifying his operations prior to the beginning of the Depression, creating other timber products in addition to sawed boards, and opening a box factory in the 1920s as a subsidiary company, Temple Manufacturing. Employees at the box factory manufactured all kinds of wooden boxes, particularly fruit and vegetable crates and egg cases. They cut the boards to size and put them together as boxes and crates on an assembly line. During the difficult years of the Depression, when the company was operating in the red due to the extensive capital investments of the 1920s, it increased the number of women working for the box factory. The

Diboll box factory was a major employer of local white women in manufacturing jobs and laid the foundation for women's further employment in the area's forest products industries.<sup>7</sup>

A 1935 photograph shows all of the box factory employees in front of the building. Females account for nearly a quarter of those pictured. The ages vary from young teenagers to elderly women, and there is not a single racial minority, male or female.<sup>8</sup> According to personnel records, many of the women pictured remained with the factory into the 1940s, and more women joined them during World War II.<sup>9</sup> There is no evidence of what kind of reaction men in the town and company had to the new female employees. The actions of Temple Industries appear extremely unusual when juxtaposed against the national trends during the Great Depression. Most companies in the nation did not hire women, especially married women, for industrial jobs in the Depression years. Traditional views of married women's domestic roles became further entrenched as male unemployment continued to rise. Temple Industries, however, was over two million dollars in debt, due to their expansion in the pre-Depression years, and was desperate for cheap labor.<sup>10</sup>

During the Depression, the women of Diboll, who had watched as their husbands received drastically reduced pay and their family economy suffered, were more than eager to join the labor force, and the management of the box factory knew it. It is possible that Temple Manufacturing Company's management felt a philanthropic urge that prodded them to hire women during the Depression years. On the other hand, the fact that new machinery allowed women to work on a repetitious assembly line in non-skilled, low-wage positions was probably also a factor. Sawmills at the time were dangerous and required physical strength, even with new technology, that women usually did not possess, but the new industries, like box factories, were neither overly hazardous nor as physically demanding. Regardless of the company's motivations, the opening of the box factory, and, in 1939, the Temple-White Company handle factory, provided women with their first blue-collar industrial positions in the East Texas sawmill communities several years before the first Rosie hit the rivets during World War II.<sup>11</sup>

East Texas and the lumber industry mostly followed the same path as the rest of the United States during World War II. By 1943, the government counted East Texas sawmills and timber products plants as essential defense industries. Timber was vital to the war effort. Angelina County's timber went into barracks, training planes, railroad equipment, ammuni-

tion and blood plasma boxes, rifle stocks, and charcoal, to name only a few.<sup>12</sup> The number of women employed in entry-level positions in timber skyrocketed, and, for the first time, Temple Industries began to hire African-American women. Few women of either race rose past that entry-level status, though their options in the sawmills and other timber industries were not as limited as those in the local foundry. The only area women at Temple Industries were not permitted to enter was "sawing in the woods."<sup>13</sup>

In the immediate aftermath of World War II, heavy industry contracted. The East Texas timber industry, on the other hand, thrived. With the growth of housing developments and the beginning of a building boom, the East Texas timber industry entered a new era of profitability. New possibilities opened up for the industry, in addition to the continued production of solid wood board. The Temple family's operations demonstrate how the timber industry expanded in the postwar years. In 1949 alone, the Temples opened two more sawmills, a planer mill, an expanded handle factory, a wood floor plant, and a timber treating plant in Diboll. The following year, they rebuilt the box factory, which had burned in 1946.

Nationally, women experienced a drop in employment rates after the war, and East Texas was no exception. The entry of women during the Depression years in Deep East Texas timber, however, put that particular area of the labor force on a different trajectory. Unlike industrial areas that first saw widespread female participation during World War II and could explain their appearance, and resulting layoffs, as an emergency of war, the timber products industry in Deep East Texas, including Temple, had hired women before the war and continued to hire women after 1945. Women had proven to be a cheap and dependable source of labor in the Depression and World War II, and East Texas timber companies acted accordingly.

The postwar world proved a boon for Temple Industries. Innovation and technological advances allowed for further diversification. In 1958, Temple opened a fiberboard plant. Bound with synthetic resin, fiberboard forms when machines press leftover sawdust and wood fibers into boards used in furniture, housing, and insulation. Similarly, changes in synthetic bonding allowed for the use of southern yellow pine to make plywood. A product of the early twentieth century, plywood is made of thin layers of wood, known as veneers. Southern yellow pine, with its notoriously thick resin, could not become plywood until scientists developed new synthetic bonds. In 1964, the Temples opened the first southern yellow pine plywood plant in Diboll. The concept spread rapidly. Southern yellow pine plywood, by the 1970s, accounted for a quarter of the plywood market.<sup>14</sup>

The production of these new materials, for the most part, did not require the same amount of upper-body strength as most sawmill jobs in the postwar years still did but rather relied upon machines and unskilled labor to operate them. In a ten-year period following the war, the timber products industry of East Texas added thousands of these new, unskilled jobs.<sup>15</sup> At a time when rural blue-collar women needed jobs, the timber products industry needed cheap, unskilled laborers for the new fiberboard and plywood plants, as well as other ventures. Although representatives for Temple later claimed that the company was an equal opportunity employer long before government mandates, the fact that women worked for lower wages at Southern Pine may have also been an enticement to find women employees.<sup>16</sup> Thus, in the East Texas timber products industry, the kind of work in which women participated changed little between the war and the 1950s and 1960s, although their opportunities for employment in the new positions and plants increased.

Vernon Burkhalter, the personnel director for Southern Pine, went to Oregon and Washington to examine plywood plants in preparation for the opening of Diboll's plant. When shown the jobs that were "men only," Burkhalter replied, to the disbelief of the plant managers in the Pacific Northwest, that he had women in Diboll who could do those jobs just as easily. He recalled, "When we started doing our hiring, we started putting women on those jobs."<sup>17</sup> This episode between Burkhalter and the managers of the company in the Pacific Northwest highlights just how different the hiring practices between the East Texas timber products industry and the same industry in other areas were in the immediate postwar era. Women did participate in sawmill and other timber operations all around the nation during World War II, as they did in East Texas. One of the most studied operations was a sawmill in New Hampshire, the Turkey Pond mill. That mill opened in 1942 as a war emergency to process salvaged timber from a 1938 hurricane. The federal government ran the all-female operated mill until its closure in 1945. Due to a massive labor shortage in the area, women operated all of the machines and processed all of the lumber, although they were under a male supervisor, and the sawyer (person responsible for operating the plant's saws) was also male. Additionally, they worked for a cheaper rate compared to male laborers. After the salvaged wood was processed and the war ended, the mill closed and most of the women returned to the home or a traditionally feminine occupation.<sup>18</sup>

The Pacific Northwest held on to the historical memory of masculine participation in the timber products industry, personified by the solitary,

flannel-wearing, hypermasculine lumberjack, into the postwar years, discouraging female participation.<sup>19</sup> In contrast, the East Texas timberman did not enter the state's roster of legendary figures alongside cowboys and wildcatters. As sociologist Ruth Allen explained, "The actuality of the present [1960s] mocks any romance that might be generated about the [timber] worker and his work."<sup>20</sup> East Texas timberworkers had low pay and harsh conditions with nothing to glorify. Pacific lumberjacks were a part of the "colonizing" effort in the West, widely romanticized, as opposed to East Texas timber workers participating as a part of the "industrializing" effort in Texas. Their work did not fit into the pantheon of Texas mythology. Thus, there was no memory of male-only enclaves, where men could live without their families and beyond the scope of civilization, that women wanting to enter the occupation in East Texas had to combat. This also meant that timber products companies did not have to justify their decision to hire women to the larger community. They simply hired women because they needed them.

### **A Need for Labor Meets a Need for Work**

Across the nation the kinds of work in which women generally partook changed in the postwar years. More women held production jobs in 1950 than in 1940, in spite of a sustained attempt by the media and other opinion-shaping outlets to promote the nuclear family with a stay-at-home mother.<sup>21</sup> The blue-collar jobs they obtained, though, were in deskilled positions, not in the higher-paying skilled areas. In 1959, labor analyst Robert Smuts concurred that women in factory positions worked as assemblers of small items and machine operators, and "most jobs [were] still assigned on the basis of sex, and the best ones [were] still reserved for men."<sup>22</sup> The most rapidly growing industries, however, were in the service and clerical fields and relied upon female labor. Government employment agencies in 1946 found 40 percent of female applicants in service jobs, 13 to 15 percent in semiskilled positions and fewer than 5 percent in skilled work. These were menial and poorly compensated positions. Women earned an average of less than sixty-five cents an hour in 70 percent of the jobs available to women. This meant that 75 percent of all men earned more than the average women.<sup>23</sup>

Why did women continue in the labor force after World War II in spite of the media's opinions, low wages at their jobs, and little recognition? Similar to East Texas women who remained in the workforce throughout the mid-twentieth century, women entered the workforce out of econom-

ic necessity. The postwar economy, dependent on consumer participation, demanded more income than many families with one breadwinner possessed. After years of deprivation during the Depression and World War II, families wanted new commodities, like televisions, cars, and appliances. Competitive consumption was necessary to achieve the middle-class American dream. Consequently, women pursued employment to help the family budget but did not wish to equal or surpass the income of their husbands.<sup>24</sup> The typical middle-class working woman of the 1950s and 1960s was supplementing her family's livelihood, not challenging the male breadwinner. Additionally, rising earnings, fewer children, and the completion of childrearing relatively early in life left middle-class women free to find employment.

For working-class women, the economic situation was more dire. In the cultural debates over whether or not women should work, few scholars and journalists paid attention to poor women in both rural and urban areas. Although the end of the war brought new consumer goods, it also heralded inflation and rising costs. Meat prices alone increased 122 percent in two years. The rising prices increased pressure on families already dealing with inadequate incomes. East Texas, in particular, was an area with deep poverty. In 1950, seven out of the twelve counties in the Deep East Texas Council of Government had more than 20 percent of their families earning less than \$2000 a year, the cut-off line for deep poverty, as defined by the United States Census Bureau. In 1950, the median annual income of southern male workers, including those living and working in Deep East Texas, in logging was \$1,151; in sawmills, \$1,545. Only private household servants, earning \$763, were lower. The median for all workers in the state of Texas was \$2,332, making the wages for sawmill and lumber workers significantly lower than those in other occupations.

In company towns and the rural outposts of East Texas, the typical white-collar industrial jobs, like clerical work and teaching, were not widely available and also demanded an education few working-class women in the region possessed. Sociologist Ruth Allen claimed, in her 1961 work on East Texas lumber workers, that few female-oriented service industries, like clothing stores and beauty salons, existed around sawmill towns during the lumber boom at the turn of the century. That did not change with the end of World War II, since companies maintained control of their towns and the businesses within them, including all of the boarding houses and restaurants and nearly all of the retail stores. Although the lumber companies would probably not have objected to a beauty salon or another female



enterprise in their town, few women had the necessary capital to start such a venture. With so few options, the same timber industries that employed their husbands and fathers provided the answer for women's search for gainful employment. Due to a labor shortage caused by many Deep East Texas citizens moving to Houston, Beaumont, and other major industrial centers, the fact that women worked for lower wages, and the absence of a masculine mythology around the East Texas lumber industry, unlike that in the Pacific Northwest, the East Texas timber products industry welcomed women into the plants.

### **Screwdrivers and Forklifts: Gendered Work in Temple Mills and Plants**

Though Temple Industries enthusiastically recruited women for positions in their many plants, management worked to insure that the female workforce would remain at an entry-level, and, therefore, cheap, position. Women worked in a multitude of positions throughout the plants, often operating the same machines as male coworkers, but subtle differences precluded them from the same access to promotion and advancement.

One of the largest employers of women within the Temple industries was the Temple-White handle factory. The factory originated from the 1910 White Wood Products company out of Martinsville, Indiana. H. B. White created a way to utilize sawmill waste by making mop and broom handles. For two years the sawmill and handle factory worked together, and in 1912, the handle factory moved to Spencer and later Crotherville, Indiana. In 1922, the Whites moved their factory again to Bogalusa, Louisiana, after the Great Southern Lumber Company sawmill there agreed to give its waste products to the Whites. The Great Southern Lumber Company, however, fell prey to its own practices. In 1938, it ran out of timber after not using any type of conservation or reforestation and shut down, leaving the White Wood Products company without a supplier. That same year, the company negotiated a contract with the Temple-run sawmill in Diboll and moved into a new plant there, forming a new company: Temple-White. Production began in February 1939. In 1949, the factory could finish roughly 50,000 handles per eight-hour day.

The Temples built a large building, six hundred feet long and one hundred feet wide, for the new handle factory. Oneta Hendrick, payroll clerk for Temple-White and wife of the factory's superintendent, remembered the building as "maze-like." At the front was the square shack, where the raw material for handles arrived and laborers stored it. By the late 1940s,

Temple-White had sixteen suppliers, including multiple Temple-owned plants, cutting waste products from their sawmills into squares for their handles. Women and men stacked the squares in the yard to dry, then moved them under a large shed, and as the factory required more raw material, they pulled squares from the shed. The work in the square yard was so grueling, due to the labor intensity and exposure to the elements, that the Temple employee-run newspaper, the *Buzz Saw*, singled out the women at Temple-White's yard for commendation. One article stated, "We'll have to hand it to Dick Hendricks' crew of women who stack squares at Temple-White. Theirs is a never-ending job in good weather and bad, in hot summer and chilly winters." This comment demonstrates how much the company relied on women to do undesirable jobs and that their male co-workers did acknowledge their labors.

The first area inside of the plant was the turning room where machines turned squares into dowels. That room also housed the lathe machines, which shaped the dowels into handles, and the automatic chucking and boring machines, which rounded the ends of the handles and bored a hole for the broom or mop wire. Sanders smoothed the handles before they were moved to the next area, shipping. Women operated all of the aforementioned machines, but they were not responsible for upkeep or taught how to maintain their machines. Full-time skilled craftsmen fixed broken machines. According to Oneta Hendrick, "How many women could break a machine down and work it? Few women are mechanically [adept]. And that's what men did, things like that." Women could run the machines, but the male-dominated management and many of the women themselves did not think the female workers were capable enough to understand them.

After sanding, the handles moved to the paint room. Customers could order handles in any color they desired. Women, according to Oneta Hendrick, "did all of the painting. The men didn't like to paint." Mixing the paint, however, was considered too difficult for women. As Hendrick said, "It required men's work really, just like a woman mixing paint, you were paint from here down. And they were five gallon cans. How many women can lift a five gallon can all day long?" The supervisor in the paint room was also male. Women began by painting the handles by hand, a tedious job that involved dipping the handle in large tanks of paint and endeavoring to remove the handle without allowing the paint to run back on the handle. Eventually, by the late 1940s, the company added painting machines, which the women ran, doing the same job that they had done by hand.

At the Temple-White handle factory, thirty-three year old Jewel Min-

ton went to work in January 1948. She painted more than three thousand mop and broom handles by hand a day. After a machine entered the plant, she was able to dip six thousand handles into the machine in eight hours, a feat that only she and one other woman ever accomplished. To those who remarked on her abilities, she replied, "You had to concentrate. It was compared to rubbing your head and patting your stomach at the same time." She worked for the handle factory for sixteen and a half years where, despite her experience, she never received a promotion.

After the painting process, workers moved the handles to the shipping room. Women and men stacked handles by orders, moved them onto one of the Texas-Southeastern (the company's railroad) railroad cars, then the train pulled the handles to Lufkin, where major railroads shipped them out of the state. Customers for handles were numerous and scattered throughout the United States, even reaching Cuba and South Africa. Temple-White continued to have a contract with the United States military after World War II, and biohazard cleanup for the armed forces proved a boon for the company, which made nearly all of the mop handles used by the military.

In box production, women were also limited to low-skilled positions. Women continued to work after the war for Temple Manufacturing's box factory. The box factory typically had a female workforce of 40 percent of all the workers, although some employees estimated the number at a peak of 80 percent during the Korean War. Nannie Braezeale began working for the box factory at the age of fifteen in 1931. She participated in all areas of box manufacturing until the factory burned in a fire in 1946, resulting in the loss of 135 jobs. One quarter of those jobs belonged to women, including Braezeale. The factory reopened as Temple & Associates Box Factory (commonly referred to as Temple Associates) in 1951 with a proportion of two women to every male employee. The factory made ammunition boxes for the U.S. Department of Defense as well as vegetable crates for California and South Texas, and Temple Associates quickly made a reputation for themselves. They broke defense records for war manufacturing, reaching one million boxes by May 1953.

Braezeale remembered that women at the box factory "did a little bit of everything." She pulled out bent nails, operated a stamping machine which placed the Temple logo on the boxes, and various other odd jobs around the production line. "It was hard work at times," she recalled. "I was really sore some days; one man even quit because the work was so tough." A photograph of Braezeale in 1951 shows her sawing boards on a massive circular saw. Women like Braezeale were on the rapid assembly

line, operating nearly all machinery, but never maintained or fixed their machines.

Jocie Swallows began working at the box factory in 1953. Swallows's husband began complaining that money was too tight on only his salary as a fireman at the sawmill to support their nine-person family. Hoping to alleviate the financial strain, Swallows began work after her last child went to school. Like Braezeale, Swallows did a number of things. In one of her first jobs, she worked in the area directly behind the saws, stacking the small, newly-cut pieces of wood into frames. After a few weeks there, she moved behind the nailing machine where she put boards onto the bottom of the box for the nailer to fix in place. The work was more labor intensive than she thought it would be. "I was still out of shape after seven babies," she remembered. "I turned around and picked up two boards and turned around to the box. I worked that fat off; I got pretty lean to the tune of about three hundred boxes a day."

The supervisors moved women like Swallows around throughout the year, so they rarely had the chance to become well-acquainted enough with a particular machine to understand how to repair it. In this way, management prevented women from gaining enough experience to become classified as a skilled machine operator. Swallows recalled how some women became so familiar with their machine that they did not need assistance from one of the male mechanics. Referring to the nailing machine, "sometimes it would miss a nail or something, and she [the woman operating the nailer] got to be a pretty good mechanic. She could do little things that made it operate without calling a man up." Most women, however, did not have that opportunity, and those who did never benefitted from their expertise.

At the box factory, Marie Hutto was a screw-setter. Panels had to be screwed into place for the box to take shape. She set the screws into the hardware of boxes on the conveyor belt before the next person on the line used an automatic screwdriver to secure the wood panels. Some employees at the box factory were paid by the box, including Hutto, "So you really had to work hard to make any money." The most Hutto ever brought home in a week during her two to three years at the box factory was thirty-five or forty dollars. It is unclear why some women at the box factory were paid piecework and some were not.

Lola Carter also began working for the box factory at the same time as Marie Hutto and in the same position. Carter saw little differentiation between what men and women did at the factory, describing how "girl jobs was just everything." Women, however, did not use the electric screw-

drivers on the assembly line. They set the screws in place, but men operated the machines. It is unclear why women could operate other machines in the plant but not the electric screwdrivers. They were a newly introduced technology, so that may have played a role in men's unofficial monopoly. Similarly, after the box factory purchased a new nailer in 1951, it was several weeks before management allowed women to operate the machine. Men may have deemed the new items as too skilled for women to operate. Once management established that the technology was not tied to a skilled occupation, women could operate them. By the 1970s, for example, almost all of the forklift drivers in Temple industries were women and the position lower on the payroll scale, whereas in the previous decades, the company unofficially classified forklift driving as male and paid, proportionately, more.

In the final stage of the box production process, the men inspected the boxes. "These men were working by the piece," Swallows remembered, "and boy did they move, but . . . if there was a nail missing in those boxes, they were supposed to catch it and put that nail in there. It had to be inspected to see that those nails were there and that the screws were there before they loaded it in them trailers." Women did not act as inspectors at the box factory, as it was considered another male domain. Temple-owned industries did not promote a female to inspector status until the early 1960s. As with fork lift driving and electric screwdriver operations, male management probably deemed inspecting as requiring too much skill for a woman and, presumably, since it involved the judging of others, it implied superiority.

Swallows moved to the furniture-making plant of Temple Associates after the closure of the box factory. She ran saws, cut cleats, drove legs down into chairs, and ran a sander. Her longest running job was running a clamp that made headboards. She usually worked an eight-hour shift, but it was an uncertain schedule. The plant often ran out of parts to make the furniture, which shut down the entire line. "They were liable to walk by any time and tell you to 'go fishing' . . . You never knew when you were going to have a full week or a full day." The unstable working conditions and wages added a great deal of stress to Swallows' life. In 1970, the furniture factory shut down, and Swallows moved to the planer mill, which smoothed out the surface of the sawed boards before shipment. There she wrapped and packaged lumber for shipment until her retirement in 1982 at the age of sixty-seven. Like Swallows, quite a few women worked at the planer mill as low-level laborers. Some worked in shipping, like Swal-

lows, wrapping lumber and preparing boxes, and others pulled lumber off assembly lines, hauling it to various locations.

Hutto also moved to the Temple Associates furniture factory. She began as a sander, using sandpaper or hand sanders to prepare furniture for paint. "Needless to say, your hands were pretty rough at the end of the day," she recalled. In the early 1960s, Temple Associates promoted Hutto to final inspector of furniture at the plant, the first female inspector in a Temple-owned business. She received a small raise, ten cents above minimum wage, for her extra duties. When asked what other jobs women did at Temple Associates, Hutto replied that they worked on nearly all parts of the assembly line. Men, however, were responsible for fitting drawers. The supervisors considered that job too challenging and difficult for women.

Two counties east from the Temple Associates Box Factory, in Sabine County, the Temple family owned and operated several industries, including two sawmills, a plywood plant, a flooring unit plant, and a toilet seat factory, in Pineland, their company town. Mary Russell went to work at a Southern Pine Company flooring unit plant in Pineland during the late 1950s, cutting knots out of boards with a large saw. Although Russell had attended college in Tyler, where she graduated with a degree in business, there were no job opportunities for a college-educated woman in Pineland. Shortly after her first job at the saws, the plant offered her a job as a grader, determining the fitness of different boards for sale. This had been a traditionally male occupation. Her husband, though, was one of the managers for the company, and, therefore, her promotion was not typical. Furthermore, she only remained in the position for three months, when she quit due to pregnancy. It did, however, pave the way for other women in the occupation.

In the mid-1950s, Temple opened a toilet-seat plant in Pineland. The toilet-seat started at the pressroom, where workers mixed leftover sawdust from the nearby sawmill with glue, pressing the two mixtures together, and heating it in a large oven. Further down the line, men and women sanded the seats, dipped them into paint, and nailed bumpers on the bottom. They were then packed and sent to various stores, like Sears. Leona Stephenson was the second woman hired at the newly opened factory. Stephenson's husband, J. B., was a foreman at the plant and, as such, found his wife the job. Management at the company hired women, according to Stephenson's daughter, Dorothy Price, because "women's fingers were small enough that they could handle the little instruments to put the lids on the seats." Through a complicated boiling process, Stephenson removed chemicals

from the lumber used to make the seats. The lumber for the toilet seats came from salvaged lumber from the sawmill and was considered too poor for usage as boards, plywood, or particleboard. Stephenson remained with the company until her retirement in 1973. As one of the first women hired in the Pineland plant, Stephenson was the only woman in the company's retirement photo for that year, surrounded by fourteen men, including her husband. Despite the many women working in entry-level positions in the Depression, World War II, and postwar years, few made their work into long enough careers to retire.

### **The Question of Pay and Promotion Discrimination at Temple Industries**

A major factor in the low wages for women in the East Texas timber products industry was the similarly low wages for men. The Deep East Texas timber products industry, including all Temple-owned plants, in the postwar years was, for the most part, not unionized, contributing to timber wages significantly lower than wages in other industries. Furthermore, Diboll and Pineland were company towns. As the company newspaper reminded employees, in 1947, "... the saving we get in low house rent, free water, free garbage collection, low gas and electricity rates in Diboll really amounts to something. . . . Ask the man who has lived in other East Texas towns during the past few years! My guess is that he'll tell you we should all be pretty thankful for what we have here." This editorial reminded workers that, although their wages were not as high as the nearby, newly unionized, foundry, Diboll had lower expenses that justified the difference in payroll.

Although wages were low for both men and woman in the timber industry, they were also unequal. In 1954 at Southern Pine, Temple's sawmill operations, women of both races and African American men earned 80 cents at an entry-level job, and white males earned 85 cents at the same level. Former management at Southern Pine claims that the policy changed in the postwar era, and they based the pay at all plants by 1960 on a job rate; everyone who worked in a certain category received the same wage. For example, a lumber grader working for any Temple industry in 1951 made between 85 cents and \$1.10 an hour, with the person with more seniority presumably receiving the higher wage. Unfortunately, few surviving payroll records exist to allow for an analysis based on equality of position, number of years served, and gender. Only one record exists that indicates that Southern Pine discriminated against women employees on

wages. Annie L. Williams, a white woman, was hired in 1947 to be an end matcher for boards. At the same time, a man was hired for the same job, and the company paid him ten cents an hour more.

The women who worked for the same company at the same time have differing stories. Mary Russell, an employee at Pineland's toilet seat factory and, later, a lumber grader, insisted that Temple did not pay women the same wage for equal work. When asked if women received equal pay for equal work, she laughed and replied, "Are you kidding? No!" She continued, "That was one thing my husband [a plant manager] always brought up at meetings, that a woman doing a man's job should draw the same pay. He just thought it was unfair, and it was."

Jocie Swallows, Louise Clark, Oneta Hendrick, and Marie Hutto, on the other hand, asserted that they received the same wages as men. Why would these women confidently say that? In the case of Oneta Hendrick, her husband, Dick, was a supervisor and later a plant foreman for the Temples. A condemnation of the company's policies may have been a reflection on her husband, who tied his identity to Temple. For the other women, the consistent gratitude and affection for the company seem to surpass all criticisms, so perhaps the women honestly believed Southern Pine's pronouncements that they treated every employee equally or as equally as they deemed appropriate. Furthermore, unlike Mary Russell, perhaps the other women simply did not know if they were being paid equally or not. What is significant is that, when interviewed, no female employee of the timber products industry, other than Russell, perceived themselves as unequal. Even when wage discrimination was blatant female timber products employees did not protest, at least not publicly. Bound to their jobs by their families' financial need, a lack of better positions, and loyalty to a company that was the major employer for the town and had made an effort to hire women in the first place, women faced few other options for employment.

In terms of promotion, Jocie Swallows remembered that there were few opportunities for advancement in any of the Temple plants, and most women stayed at the bottom with very few exceptions. White men, on the other hand, could enter the company at an entry-level position and expect to rise through the ranks at a predictable rate. Swallows worked for Temple from 1953 to 1970 at the box and furniture factory only making ten cents over minimum wage at her highest earning point. When she moved to the planer mill in 1970, the company removed even that small raise, and she spent three months at minimum wage before receiving another raise. Though Swallows worked for nearly twenty years at practically minimum



wage, with no chance for further raises, she still maintained that the company treated her equally, in terms of wages, to her male cohorts.

Further complicating the advancement process for women, if a female employee in the Temple industries left to have a baby, she returned to work at a beginning wage, not the wage at which she left. That was if she returned within three days of giving birth; employees who took four or more days did not receive reinstatement at all. All employees received a physical examination before being employed by the Temple industries. If pregnant, the employee was not hired. Some women hid their condition, though this could meet with tragic results. In 1956, a female Temple employee miscarried at work, to the consternation of Vernon Burkhalter, the personnel director, who wrote a letter sternly reminding the company doctor, S. L. Stevenson, to note any suspicions of pregnancy in the employment records.

Texas timber products companies employed few female supervisors in the postwar era. The *Buzz Saw* reported on the promotion of Juanita Nixon in 1949, the only recorded female supervisor in Temple Industries between 1945 and 1975. Nixon oversaw the buffing and waxing of handles for Temple-White. Rather than focus on the qualifications and skills that led to her promotion, the paper applauded her ability to work "under the great 'say a few thousand well chosen words,' and we hear she listens well so we believe all will be fine in Mr. Davis' [who was over all handle production] department." In the same article, the author, Herb White, Jr., mentioned that W.E. Bryce also became a supervisor but made no comments on his ability to listen or his tendencies to talk. White had to assure his audience that the new female supervisor would listen and avoid unnecessary chattering, implying that the male supervisor would automatically refrain. This subtly reinforced the stereotype of women as incessant talkers with few exceptions.

No other female supervisor at any Temple or local timber products appear in the archival records until Delores James in 1975. James became a plywood plant supervisor, but the newspaper article on her promotion, headlined "The boss is a lady," emphasized her womanly qualities, stating, ". . . she certainly has proven that being cute and feminine has no drawbacks to the job." James supervised thirty-five people and was the only female supervisor in any local timber operations in the company's records. She had attended business school and worked for Temple's real estate division before becoming a supervisory trainee in June 1974. Her experience

in business probably helped her gain the position over other women who had worked for the company longer and did not have degrees.

### **Splinters and Cuts: Accidents and Risks**

One explanation that appeared in the oral histories of the company for women's pay differentiation between men in unskilled labor positions and their own, as well as their lack of promotion can be that they were not in the dangerous sawmills or operating risky machinery. Certainly, in the years before forest products diversification, one of the primary reasons women were not hired in sawmills was the extremely high accident rate, which could reach the casualty levels of a World War I combat infantry company. Those horrific accidents were, by the 1950s, however, a rare occurrence. Accidents still happened, but the rate was lower, and the level of trauma shrank. Working conditions were still not pleasant for men or women. The precariously perched stacks of lumber, whirring saw blades, and flying debris created a treacherous work environment that led to injuries to both men and women. Postwar accident reports, the supervisor's explanation for all accidents in the company, for Temple Industries offer a snapshot into what women did in the plants as well as how the company handled accidents.

As with male accident claims, the list of injuries to female employees varies greatly in terms of severity. For example, a hand drill operator at the handle factory drilled through her little finger in 1946, and that same year another drill operator dropped the entire drill on her right foot, nearly breaking her bones. In a time before safety equipment, quite a few injuries came from pieces of sawdust or trash blowing into unprotected eyes and were not as severe as drilling injuries. In 1947, Nina Fox, a trim saw operator, had a piece of trash blow into her eye, as did Lillie Roach, a buffer operator, in 1946. Considering that the women were working with wood, splinters, often as large as three inches long, were extremely common. Maurine Windham, while pushing handles into the automatic chucker, got a splinter in her thumb that was large enough to require a doctor's visit. Other hazards could include misplaced footing, slips, and falls. One woman had a square of wood fly back and break her nose, while another tried to haul too much and pulled a muscle in her back. While hauling squares from the yard to the plant, one of the boards between a truck and the plant that Laura Mae Sikes was walking on broke, causing her to hit the bed of the truck. This caused a great deal of bruising and, since she hit the truck

bed astraddle, some unspecified gynecological damage.

The worst injury to a female machine operator at Temple-White on record happened in February 1947 and highlights the difficulty some women had in gaining their compensation. Alice Myres worked on one of the boring machines, and the machine smashed her finger, causing an eventual amputation. She filed for workman's compensation through Temple's insurance company, but the company chose to fight the claim. The insurance company hired investigators to interview Myres's neighbors, hoping to ascertain the extent of the injury. Once the courts established that Myres really had lost part of a finger, she finally received \$750 in December 1948. It is unclear from the available records why the insurance company fought against Myres's claim.

The company did have a history of discriminating against African-American female employees in disability cases since their first appearances on the payroll during World War II. When A. V. Copeland sought compensation from Southern Pine for a 1944 knee injury that resulted in broken bones and a permanent disability, the company investigated her personal life, arguing that, due to her recent marital separation, Copeland was not deserving of work compensation. Copeland sued and, three years after her injury, won her original compensation and an additional fifty dollars. Another African-American woman, Sarah Little, did not receive her insurance compensation from Southern Pine for a shoulder injury after the company discovered that she had syphilis. They argued that her sexually transmitted disease caused her shoulder pain, and, probably not wishing for news of her condition to spread, she did not press the issue. African American women were much more likely to have to sue for their compensation than white women, appearing twice as much in the company's lawsuit records than their white counterparts, despite their lower numbers in employment.

The hazards and difficulties female employees faced in the mills did not go unnoticed. Male employees recognized the strenuous labor facing many of the handle factory female employees. The paint room, in particular, was an awful place to work and was almost entirely populated by women. In February 1948, an article in the *Buzz Saw* appeared applauding the paint room women. The author stated, "They don't have the most comfortable place in the plant by any means, especially during the summer, because even with the temperature high outside, the steam is on inside—and then there is the odor of paint thinner hanging heavy in the air all the time." Indeed, every woman who worked at the handle factory, whether inside the painting room or in another location, remarked on the noxious

fumes and intense steam in the painting room. Furthermore, the repetitive action of dipping the handles, before the arrival of the machines, hurt the women's hands. Emma Pitts reported having muscle spasms in her right index finger after beginning work as a handle dipper in July 1946. The supervisor in the paint room remarked that, "There is no help for this as all new dippers have to get their fingers toughened."

As at the handle-factory, women at the box factory filed multiple accident reports. The box factory did not have safety glasses for their employees, and, as at the handle factory, sawdust could, and did, fly into workers' eyes, causing burning and a temporary work stoppage. Slips and falls were also common, as seen in the case of Sadie Read, who worked on the saw line, tripped, fell, and strained her knee. Machines were another ever-present source of danger. Varma Simmons, a rip saw operator at the box factory, caught a finger in the saw on June 20, 1946, and lost a fingertip. This did not stop Simmons from returning to work on July 8, 1946.

Conditions inside the box factory were different from the handle factory. Unlike the closed-off handle factory, the building for the first box factory "was open all around" with a railroad track running on one side. As a result, the building allowed a breeze to blow through in the summertime, relieving the oppressive Texas heat and humidity but becoming miserably cold in the winter. Workers could add only so many layers of clothing. Pearl Havard, who worked at the first box factory until it burned in 1946, remembered, "I wore a sweater, and working there, I couldn't, because the sleeves, we was afraid it would catch in the machine." The design of the second box factory, completed in 1951, mirrored that of the first box factory. During the winter of 1951, however, the box factory management closed the building in "on all sides with tin materials in an effort to keep the winter weather from hampering the employee's work."

From accident reports and the accounts of employees, we can see that women faced work hazards in a similar manner to the men in the box and handle factories. Thus, an argument that they did not receive employment past entry-level status due to their inability to be employed in hazardous positions does not work. Instead, women, as low-cost employees, helped form a foundation upon which the Temple family constructed a massive enterprise into the twenty-first century.

## Conclusion

On the surface, women in East Texas timber plants appear at odds with common perceptions of postwar femininity. That appearance is de-

ceptive. Although they were working in a blue-collar industry, operating heavy equipment, using physical labor, and risking in most cases, as much injury as men, there was still a gendered aspect to their work. As seen in the many examples above, management relegated women to low-paying, low-skilled jobs in the timber plants across East Texas. Women could paint handles, but they could not mix the paint. They could operate nailing machines, but they could not repair them. They could operate saws, but they could not drive forklifts.

Thus, the years after World War II represented continuity in the timber products industry for women's employment. The uniqueness of women's participation in the timber products industry lies in the fact that, from 1935 to the early 1970s, very little changed. Unlike nearly every other heavy industry in the nation, women did not enter timber in World War II and leave or see their ranks depleted soon after; they commenced work in 1935 and never stopped. Furthermore, the nature of their work did not evolve until the 1970s. They remained in primarily deskilled, machine operator, and common labor positions. The number of those positions, and, therefore, the amount of women in them, however, expanded as new products, technological change, and expansion came to the industry.

Women in the East Texas timber products industry acted in a different role than their counterparts in pink-collar jobs across the nation, but they remained in the same gendered system. If working as a nailer or saw-operator in East Texas did not detract from a woman's feminine status in post-war America, neither did it provide her with many opportunities for advancement. As in industries across the nation, women very rarely became supervisors or obtained the knowledge for a higher-paying job at Temple Industries in the postwar years. Maintaining the status quo of high-skilled, high-paid men and low-skilled, low-paid women and minorities was a subtle but definite form of discrimination. The female employees did similar work to their male co-workers and faced similar risks and injuries but often did not reap the same benefits. For many, though, they came to love their work. After her retirement from Temple, Jocie Swallows made a stop at the Lufkin paper mill with her granddaughter. "I was just standing around and those lifts and stuff was running and oooohhh," she shivered with delight at the over thirty-year-old memory. "I can't explain it, but I wanted to get out there among them so bad." Thus, Temple Industries offers a glimpse into the largely unexplored world of non-unionized blue-collar gender dynamics and the circumstances of the many "Rosies" who did not leave, as well as those, like Jocie Swallows, who followed.

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<sup>1</sup> Dorothy Price, niece-in-law of Butler, interview by Meredith May, Huntington, Texas, January 2, 2011. The plaque, pins, and ring remain in the possession of the family.

<sup>2</sup> Susan Estabrook Kennedy, *If All We Did Was to Weep at Home: A History of White Working-Class Women in America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979), 204. The scholarship on women and work is extensive. For an excellent overview, see Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).

<sup>3</sup> For two excellent works on women and unionized work in the postwar period, see Dennis Deslippe, "Rights, Not Roses: Unions and the Rise of Working Class Feminism, 1945-1980 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000) and Nancy Gabin, *Feminism in the Labor Movement: Women and the United Auto Workers, 1935-1975* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990.)

<sup>4</sup> For more see Ruth Milkman, *Gender at Work: The Dynamics of Job Segregation by Sex during World War II* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987) and Dorothy Sue Cobble, *The Other Women's Movement: Workplace Justice and Social Rights in Modern America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

<sup>5</sup> As far as available records show, African-American women were not hired prior to World War II in any of the Temple-owned plants except as janitorial staff.

<sup>6</sup> Megan Biesele, *The Cornbread Whistle: Oral History of a Texas Timber Company Town* (Lufkin, TX: Lufkin Printing Company, 1986), 6-7.

<sup>7</sup> Jonathan Gerland, "The Temple Associates Box Factory in Diboll," *The Pine Bough*, July 2000, 20. *The Pine Bough* is the publication of the Diboll History Center.

<sup>8</sup> While it does not appear that African-Americans worked in the box factory (except for scattered evidence of janitorial staff), they did fill a large number of positions in Temple's sawmills and in the forests. They typically held deskilled and menial positions. Jonathan Gerland, "1935 photograph features box factory employees," *The Diboll Free Press*, February 24, 2000, pg. 3A.

<sup>9</sup> "List of Temple Employees for the Month of August 1947," Box 223, Temple Industries, Forest Collection, East Texas Research Center, Stephen F. Austin State University, Nacogdoches, TX.

<sup>10</sup> Arthur Temple, Jr., interview by Megan Lambert, Diboll, TX, April 8, 1985, Diboll History Center.

- <sup>11</sup> Gerland, "Box Factory," 20.
- <sup>12</sup> Mary Potchernick Cook, "Angelina's Rosies: Women at War in World War II in East Texas." MA thesis., Stephen F. Austin State University, 1998, 170.
- <sup>13</sup> Vernon Burkhalter, interview by Mary Potchernick Cook, Diboll, TX, July 1994.
- <sup>14</sup> W. G. Younquist and H. O. Fleischer, *Wood in American Life, 1776-2076* (Madison: Forest Products Research Society, 1977), 125.
- <sup>15</sup> Megan Biesele, *The Cornbread Whistle: Oral History of a Texas Timber Company Town* (Lufkin, TX: Lufkin Printing Company, 1986), 153.
- <sup>16</sup> Louis Landers, Archivist, Diboll History Center, e-mail to Meredith May, April 27, 2011. Though the pay difference varied from employee to employee, it appears that women started off at the same pay level as a man employed for the same task, then received fewer raises.
- <sup>17</sup> Vernon Burkhalter, interview by Meredith May, Diboll, Texas, April 1, 2011.
- <sup>18</sup> For a brief account of the Turkey Pond mill, see Sarah Smith, "They Sawed Up a Storm" *The Northern Logger and Timber Processor* 48 (2000): 8-10, 61-62.
- <sup>19</sup> Ruth Allen, *East Texas Lumber Workers: An Economic and Social Picture, 1870-1950* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1961), 51.
- <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>21</sup> Blackwelder, *Now Hiring*, 131.
- <sup>22</sup> Robert W. Smuts, *Women and Work in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 33.
- <sup>23</sup> Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond*, 91.
- <sup>24</sup> Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 65.
- <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.
- <sup>26</sup> Kennedy, *If All We Did was to Weep at Home*, 203
- <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 20
- <sup>28</sup> Allen, *East Texas Lumber Workers*, 6. Those counties were Jasper, Newton, Polk, Sabine, San Jacinto, Trinity, and Tyler.

- 29 U.S. Census, 1950, Pt. 43, Texas, Table 86.
- 30 Allen, East Texas Lumber Workers, 157.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Herb White Jr. "Handles Play Major Role in Waste Utilization," The Buzz Saw Volume II No. 10 April 20, 1949, 2,4,7.
- 33 Oneta Hendrick, interview by Meredith May, Diboll, Texas, July 26, 2011.
- 34 White, "Handles Play Major Role," 4.
- 35 Oneta Hendrick interview.
- 36 "Hot off the Handle..." Buzz Saw January 31, 1948, 4.
- 37 White, "Handles Play Major Role," 2.
- 38 Oneta Hendrick interview.
- 39 Oneta Hendrick interview.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Jewel Minton, interview by Marie Davis, October 7, 1988, Diboll History Center.
- 42 Oneta Hendrick interview.
- 43 White, "Handles Play Major Role," 4.
- 44 Louis Landers, Archivist, Diboll History Center, e-mail to Meredith May, March 23, 2011.
- 45 Nannie Braezeale, interview by Jonathan Gerland, Diboll, Texas, March 23, 2000, Diboll History Center.
- 46 Jonathan Gerland, "The Temple Associates Box Factory in Diboll," The Pine Bough, July 2000, 20-23.
- 47 Nannie Brazeale interview.
- 48 Gerland, "The Temple Associates Box Factory," 20.
- 49 Jocie Swallows, interview by Meredith May Lufkin, Texas, February 12, 2011.
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Marie Hutto, interview by Meredith May, Dallas, Texas, April 9, 2011.



- 52 Lola Carter, interview by Meredith May, Diboll, Texas, July 27, 2011; Jocie Swallows interview.
- 53 "Box Factory Nearing End of Present Contract," *The Buzz Saw* Volume IV No 15, November 1951, 5.
- 54 Vernon Burkhalter, interview by Meredith May.
- 55 Jocie Swallows interview. Marie Hutto interview.
- 56 The second box factory was dependent on military contracts from the Korean War, and after the war came to a close, so did the factory. To their credit, the management at Temple industries tried to move many of the women to other factories within the company; many women dispersed to other Temple industries, including Josie Swallows, Marie Hutto, and Lola Carter
- 57 Jocie Swallows interview.
- 58 Marie Hutto interview.
- 59 Mary Russell, interview by Meredith May, Pineland, Texas, January 22, 2011.
- 60 Louise Clark, interview by Meredith May, Hemphill, Texas, January 23, 2011. In 1964, Southern Pine Lumber Company changed its name to Temple industries.
- 61 Dorothy Price interview.
- 62 "I Might Be Right..." *The Buzz Saw*, Volume I No. 5, October 31, 1947, 1.
- 63 Louis Landers, Archivist, Diboll History Center, e-mail to Meredith May, April 27, 2011.
- 64 Vernon Burkhalter interview by Meredith May.
- 65 Arthur Temple collection, Box 13, Folder 30, HC.
- 66 Temple Industries collection, Box 303, Folder 16, ETRC.
- 67 Mary Russell interview.
- 68 Oneta Hendrick interview.
- 69 Jocie Swallows interview.
- 70 Louis Landers, conversation with Meredith May, July 11, 2011, Diboll, TX.
- 71 Letter from Vernon Burkhalter to Dr. S.L. Stevenson, December 15, 1956, Temple collection, Box 304, Folder 1, ETRC. The Pregnancy Discrimina-

tion Act of 1978 was added to the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It forbids these types of practices.

<sup>72</sup> Herb White Jr., "New Supervisors," *Buzz Saw* January 31, 1949, 5.

<sup>73</sup> "The boss is a lady: Pinewood plywood plant supervisor," *The Free Press* July 17, 1975, 2.

<sup>74</sup> Mary Russell interview.

<sup>75</sup> Sitton and Conrad, *Nameless Towns*, 159.

<sup>76</sup> To place it in perspective, men losing arms or being decapitated in a Temple sawmill happened astonishingly frequently throughout the 1910s. By the postwar period, the most common form of maiming in the sawmill was the loss of a fingertip, not a whole arm.

<sup>77</sup> Imogene Sowell, interview by Mary Potchernick Cook, Diboll, Texas, July 1994.

<sup>78</sup> Clyde Thompson collection, Box 84, Folder 37 and 23, History Center, Diboll, Texas. Hereafter cited as HC.

<sup>79</sup> Clyde Thompson collection, Box 84, Folder 46, HC.

<sup>80</sup> Clyde Thompson collection, Box 84, Folder 37, HC.

<sup>81</sup> Clyde Thompson collection, Box 84, Folder 37, HC.

<sup>82</sup> Clyde Thompson collection, Box 84, Folder 46, HC.

<sup>83</sup> Temple Industries collection, Box 215, Folder 15, East Texas Research Center, Ralph W. Steen Library, Stephen F. Austin State University, Nacogdoches, TX. Hereafter cited as ETRC.

<sup>84</sup> Clyde Thompson collection, Box 72, Folder 2, Diboll History Center, Diboll, TX.

<sup>85</sup> Clyde Thompson collection, Box 72, Folder 62, Diboll History Center, Diboll, TX.

<sup>86</sup> Clyde Thompson collection, Box 72, All Folders, Diboll History Center, Diboll, TX.

<sup>87</sup> "Hot off the Handle..." *Buzz Saw* February 27, 1948, 4.

<sup>88</sup> Clyde Thompson collection, Box 84, Folder 37, HC.

<sup>89</sup> Clyde Thompson collection, Box 84, Folder 42, HC.

- 90 Clyde Thompson collection, Box 84, Folder 7. HC.
- 91 Clyde Thompson collection, Box 84, Folder 5, HC.
- 92 Pearl Havard, interview by Meredith May, Lufkin, Texas, July 13, 2011.
- 93 Gerland, "The Temple Associates Box Factory," 20.
- 94 "Box Factory Nearing End of Present Contract," 5.
- 95 The building products division of Temple-Inland, which includes the operations in Diboll, was sold in early 2013 to Georgia-Pacific.
- 96 Jocie Swallows interview.