

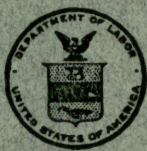
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
JAMES J. DAVIS, SECRETARY
WOMEN'S BUREAU
MARY ANDERSON, Director

BULLETIN OF THE WOMEN'S BUREAU, NO. 39

DOMESTIC WORKERS AND THEIR EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS

A Study Based on the Records of the
Domestic Efficiency Association
of Baltimore, Maryland

BY MARY V. ROBINSON



WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1924

[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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JAMES J. DAVIS, SECRETARY
WOMEN'S BUREAU
MARY ANDERSON, Director

BULLETIN OF THE WOMEN'S BUREAU, NO. 32

DOMESTIC WORKERS AND THEIR EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS

A Study Based on the Records of the
Domestic Efficiency Association

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1913

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,

WOMEN'S BUREAU,

Washington, January 17, 1924.

SIR: I am submitting herewith a report on domestic workers and their employment relations, a study based upon the records of the Domestic Efficiency Association of Baltimore, Md.

This organization asked the Women's Bureau to make a study of a little more than 2,000 records for the purpose of ascertaining the cause of the high labor turnover among domestics because of a desire to improve the standards in the service and to effect more cooperation among the employers. The findings and the analysis are set forth in the report.

Miss Mary V. Robinson made the study of the records and wrote the report.

MARY ANDERSON, *Director.*

Hon. JAMES J. DAVIS,

Secretary of Labor.

v

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

WOMEN'S BUREAU

WASHINGTON, JANUARY 22, 1914

Dear Sir: In submitting herewith a report on domestic workers and their employment relations, a study based upon the records of the Domestic Efficiency Association of Baltimore, Md.

This study was made by the Women's Bureau in order to obtain of a little more than 2,000 records for the purpose of ascertaining the range of the high labor turnover among domestic workers, in order to improve the standards in the service and to eliminate discrimination among the employees. Its findings and the suggestions are set forth in the report.

Very truly yours,
Miss Mary J. Robinson, Chief of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington.

Mary Anderson, Assistant

Hon. James J. Davis,
Secretary of Labor.

DOMESTIC WORKERS AND THEIR EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS.

PART I.

INTRODUCTION.

The "servant question," as it is popularly called, is a matter of discussion involving probably more talk with fewer satisfactory solutions than do the problems of any other one type of employment. The question seems to be a complex one in almost every country at the present time, but perhaps fraught with more complications in the United States than elsewhere. The two factors affecting the situation in this country more strikingly than in others are the traditions and ideals of democracy and the mixture of races. The principle that all men are born free and equal is largely responsible for the eschewing by many citizens of a form of service with which are associated subserviency and a social stigma. This odium is partly due to tradition, partly to the lack of financial and social advancement for persons engaged in domestic service, and partly to the present custom of applying the term "servants" to such workers and of viewing them as a class apart. Foreign-born persons newly arrived in this country in many cases are not unwilling to enter domestic service, but eventually they make an effort to break away from it in order to go into work that appears to them to be on a higher plane.

It is generally admitted by authorities on the subject, and by all persons who have at any time made an attempt to analyze the problem, that it is not the work itself that is objectionable, but the conditions under which the work is performed. All those who have made a study of the question point out that the failure to adjust conditions and to make domestic work attractive as a means of livelihood is caused by a lack of recognition of its importance and the necessity of putting it on a better economic and social basis.

Dr. Lucy M. Salmon, writing about this point in 1897, made the following statement:

In the first place there must be a truer conception on the part of both men and women of the important place that household employments occupy in the economy of the world. The utter neglect of the subject by economic students and writers must give place to a scientific investigation of an employment which is at least wealth consuming if not wealth producing. * * * In no other occupation is there so much waste of labor and capital; in no other would a fraction of this waste be overlooked. It is idle to complain of poor servants and of poor mistresses so long as domestic service is divorced from general labor questions, and employers everywhere are ignorant of the economic laws, principles, and conditions underlying the household.¹

¹ Salmon, Lucy M. Domestic service. London, 1897. p. 199.

The report on domestic service of the Industrial Commission of the United States, submitted in 1901, stated:

There is no other branch of labor which directly affects so many people as does household labor, yet there is no branch of labor which has received so little scientific attention from either economists or people generally. In the wages paid to domestic employees alone, without reckoning the value of the board and lodging supplied to them, fully \$200,000,000 is expended annually. Any other industry which involved the expenditure of so large an amount of money in wages would not be left out of the field of economic discussion and investigation.²

It must be remembered that the annual expenditure of wages quoted was that of over two decades ago, when wage rates were considerably lower, and that the amount expended at present for domestic service would be very much greater. The lack of economic standards described at that date is, however, equally true of the present time.

Several publications brought out a number of years ago under the auspices of the Young Women's Christian Association indicate the efforts that have been made by that organization to get at the economic nucleus of the problem and to point the way to reform. In one of these bulletins we read:

When employers adopt for their households a business basis, systematizing the work, regulating hours, granting the worker sufficient time and freedom to live a normal life among her own people, then both educators and girls will be more than glad to do their part in meeting the demand for trained service. The results to be obtained by an adjustment of household employment to meet the fundamental requirements of a good job are so full of promise for the peace and comfort of the home that it is impossible to think that employers will longer delay the venture.³

That Clara Hélène Barker, another writer on this subject, has not hesitated to fix the responsibility for the lack of progress in this respect where she believes it to belong, is shown by the following quotations from her book, published in 1915:

The twentieth-century woman, in spite of her progressive and ambitious theories about woman's sphere of activity, has allowed her housekeeping methods to remain almost stationary, while other professions and industries have moved forward with gigantic strides. She does not hesitate to blazon abroad with banners and pennants her desire to share with man the responsibility for the administration of the State, but she overlooks the disquieting fact that in the management of her own household, where her authority is absolute, she has failed to convince the world of her power to govern.⁴

The present system of housekeeping can no longer stand. One of two things must occur. Either the housewife must adopt business principles in ruling her household, or she will find before many years elapse that there will be no longer any woman willing to place her neck under the domestic yoke.⁵

² Laughlin, Gail. Domestic service. U. S. Industrial Commission. Report on the relations and conditions of capital and labor employed in manufactures and general business, v. 2. 1901 (v. 14 of the commission's reports), p. 765.

³ Roelofs, Henrietta. The road to trained service in the household. p. 13. (Commission on household employment, Bul. No. 2. National board Young Women's Christian Associations.)

⁴ Barker, Clara Hélène. Wanted, a young woman to do housework, * * *. New York, 1915. p. 1.

⁵ Ibid., p. 7.

These various quotations call for several comments. In the first place, although they cover a range in years of more than two decades, they strike the same theme, a theme which must be emphasized in any discussion of domestic service. The difficulties connected with this type of employment appear to be just as numerous at the present time as they were a quarter of a century ago. There are, however, two decided tendencies making for the solution of the problem for a certain proportion of the people, but not proving of real benefit to those compelled to employ domestic workers or to those forced to engage in such form of service. The first movement is that of a simplification of domestic requirements: Living in apartments, using mechanical contrivances, and doing without household employees. The second movement is for wage-earning women to seek employment in other types of labor rather than in domestic service. However, as society is now organized with the family and home as the ideal unit, and as there is every indication that this general system will continue, domestic and personal service will be required for the accomplishment of the necessary activities of the home. The importance of this type of service is apparent, since some most vital functions fall within its scope, such as the preparation of food to maintain mankind in health, the maintenance of homes, and the care of children. The words—

We may live without friends, we may live without books,
But civilized man can not live without cooks—

not only are a rhyme but have a very strong measure of truth.

Although there is a movement away from domestic employment by many wage earners, there will be for decades to come the need of many others to look to this form of service for a livelihood. Though such service may become more and more unpopular with white workers, the great bulk of negro women will have to depend upon it as a means of maintenance. However, this class of workers also will tend to drift away from private household employment as other fields gradually open to them, as they have been opening and will continue to do; with more and more negroes acquiring education and becoming aware of the opportunities of industrial careers. The result will be that the securing of competent domestic employees will become increasingly difficult unless business and economic adjustments are made for this type of employment.

Some idea of the importance and extent of domestic service can be gained from a reference to the 1920 census figures, which show that there were 1,217,968 men and 2,186,924 women engaged at that time throughout the country in domestic and personal service.* Although this is numerically a very important group of wage earners, the significance connected with the size of the group is that it repre-

*U. S. Bureau of the Census. Fourteenth Census, 1920. Population, v. 4, p. 34.

sents a striking decrease in the number of women employed in domestic service in 1920 as compared with 1910. A recent bulletin published by the Women's Bureau compiled from census material and entitled "The Occupational Progress of Women" threw some interesting light on this whole subject. It showed that of the 8,549,511 women gainfully employed in the United States in 1920, one-fourth (25.6 per cent) were engaged in domestic and personal service. In 1910, however, not far from one-third of the women workers in the country were engaged in such service. In fact, there was an actual numerical decrease of 344,297 women in domestic and personal service in this decade, while in all the other large industrial groups with the exception of agricultural pursuits there was an increase in the proportions of women employed. The designation "domestic and personal service" used by the Bureau of the Census comprises a much larger group than servants only, though the latter form nearly one-half of the total number of women engaged in this general division of occupations. For the whole group the women showed a 13.6 per cent decrease in the 1910 to 1920 decade, whereas the men showed only a 1.9 per cent decrease. For some occupations within the main division, usually recognized as women's work, it is surprising to learn that there were even larger decreases in the proportions of women than for the group as a whole, and that the proportions of men in these same occupations increased, as may be seen from certain groups in the following list, compiled from census figures:

Increase (+) or decrease (-) from 1910 to 1920 in number of persons of each sex 10 years of age and over engaged in domestic and personal service.¹

Occupation.	Male.		Female.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Domestic and personal service ¹ -----	-23, 370	-1. 9	-344, 297	-13. 6
Barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists-----	+9, 988	+5. 8	+10, 948	+49. 1
Boarding and lodging-house keepers-----	-4, 400	-19. 1	-27, 660	-19. 4
Charwomen and cleaners-----	+4, 653	+64. 7	-1, 884	-7. 0
Cleaners and renovators (clothing, etc.)-----	+4, 879	+39. 9	+1, 928	+72. 9
Cooks-----	+12, 853	+11. 0	-64, 818	-19. 4
General servants-----	+11, 292	+13. 0	-216, 762	-23. 7
Hotel keepers and managers-----	-8, 820	-17. 5	-101	-. 7
Housekeepers and stewards-----	+1, 322	+8. 3	+31, 017	+17. 9
Janitors and sextons-----	+57, 961	+63. 3	+7, 586	+35. 4
Laborers (domestic and professional service)-----	-19, 041	-37. 9	-1, 546	-48. 1
Launderers and laundresses (not in laundry)-----	-2, 811	-20. 5	-134, 130	-25. 8
Laundry operatives-----	+4, 059	+11. 3	+4, 392	+5. 8
Nurses (not trained)-----	+3, 412	+21. 4	+21, 746	+19. 6
Restaurant, café, and lunch-room keepers-----	+22, 027	+43. 8	+5, 128	+48. 8
Waiters-----	+9, 569	+9. 3	+31, 123	+36. 3

¹Exclusive of occupations belonging so preponderantly to one sex as to be noncomparable; for example, bell boys, butlers, chambermaids, ladies' maids, valets.

An analysis of these figures indicates the tendency of women to desert private housekeeping for public housekeeping enterprises, when opportunity offers, probably because in many branches of public housekeeping the objectionable features of often long and indefinite hours and of too close personal relation between employer and employee are eliminated. For example, there were striking increases in women barbers, hairdressers, manicurists, cleaners and renovators (clothing, etc.), housekeepers and stewardesses, janitors and sextons, laundry operatives, nurses (not trained), restaurant and café and lunch-room keepers, and waiters, all of which occupations are carried on outside private homes and most of which are characterized on the whole by regular hours. On the other hand, there was a 19.4 per cent decrease in boarding and lodging-house keepers, a 7 per cent decrease in charwomen and cleaners, a 19.4 per cent decrease in women cooks, a 23.7 per cent decrease in women general servants, a 48.1 per cent decrease in laborers (domestic and professional service), and a 25.8 per cent decrease in laundresses not employed in laundries. These occupations, it will be seen, are those, generally speaking, which are performed in private homes. Although the men cooks and general servants increased significantly, it is almost safe to conclude that the bulk of these were employed in hotels, restaurants, and clubs, where men are preferred to women for these occupations, and that the proportion of male domestics in private households was not increasing to any noticeable degree. The growth of hotel and apartment life is doubtless largely responsible for the striking increase of men in such work.

Apart from the many thousands of women who have succeeded in leaving the ranks of domestic service in the last 10 years there are large numbers still engaged in such work who are discontented but unable to make a change to another type of occupation. This causes restlessness. In the desire to vary their work they adopt the partial remedy of frequent changes of job, always seeking more congenial conditions.

The attempts which have been made by groups of workers here and there to find a solution of the problem have met with comparatively little cooperation or success. The employees in this type of work are scattered and have not the same means of getting together as have factory employees, for example. Their duties are spread over many hours a day and there is very little time left for consultation with others.

Looking at the problem from the employers' point of view, it is interesting to see what contribution they have made toward stabilizing domestic employment. In the first place, the average employer usually expects more than she can get, or more than she should expect, from a type of labor that has been for the most part haphazardly trained

and employed. Employers, consequently, in their search for "the perfect treasure of a servant" add to the labor turnover by dismissing incompetent employees rather than take the trouble to train them. On the other hand, an equally unsatisfactory situation prevails among householders who retain incompetent help in the fear that if they do change they may change for the worse. In this way the chances for establishing efficient standards for domestic service are diminished.

Let us turn for a bit to the broader aspect of the question. The dominant motive of what has been designated as the woman movement of the last half century is the desire of women to secure a greater personal and economic freedom and independence. The bulletin, "The Occupational Progress of Women," already referred to as one of the publications of the Women's Bureau, illustrates forcibly the tendency of women to rise in the occupational scale. In addition to this, the increase in the number of women in the professions whose activities call them from personal performance of domestic duties, the growing tendency of married women to work outside the home, and the quickened interest of thousands of women in public and political matters which take at least part of their time and attention make for an exceedingly intricate situation.

Even with the women who remain in their own homes there are many who, because of large houses and large families, are in need of domestic assistance. The financial status of these women differs greatly. The majority of them can afford but one general worker to assist in the many household tasks. Others with more wealth and more requirements need a corps of specialists to help in the running of their households. All these women, however, irrespective of station in life, have one great desire in common, the desire for efficient domestic service.

If a census could be taken of all women householders in the country in search of competent domestic assistance the number would be exceedingly large. If a census could be taken of all women householders who had succeeded in securing such efficient service the number would be pathetically small. Nevertheless, were such a census to report the number of women affected by the problem of domestic service who were engaged in some constructive program, either within their own homes or outside them, to bring about a better condition of affairs, the number would probably be so small that it would indicate definitely why so little has been done through concerted efforts of employers to remedy conditions. It has been generally proved by recent history that where women have made up their minds to attain an object and have organized for the accomplishment thereof, they have met with success. It seems reasonable to expect, since women are most vitally concerned in this subject,

that they would organize efficiently for this important matter as they have for other objects, and thus make the much-needed adjustments. The argument can scarcely be advanced that women housekeepers are so busy over private domestic matters that they have no time to devote to the public domestic problem, since many of these same women usually find time to tackle other public questions. Consequently it would seem that women are not willing to apply twentieth-century methods to this age-old problem. Although they introduce new and scientific contrivances into the households in the name of efficiency, they are not ready to apply scientific ideas to domestic service in the name of either efficiency or humanity. Revolution in regard to this problem must begin at home, but it must not stop there. Women must be willing to abolish antiquated traditions and methods bound up with domestic service in their own home, but they must carry the battle against prejudices out into the public arena, for it is only by concerted action that lasting achievements can be made.

Miss Barker says:

A great power lies in the hands of the modern housewife, a power as yet only suspected by a few, which, if properly wielded, can raise housework from its present undignified position to the place it ought to occupy, and that is in the foremost rank of manual labor for women.⁷

Doctor Salmon goes a little more into detail along this same line:

It is true that in thousands of households no difficulty in regard to domestic service exists, but this fact does not relieve those in charge of such households from further responsibility in the matter * * * the responsibility of the employer does not end with his own household, but he is responsible for as much evil in the general condition of domestic service as he could have prevented by his investigation and discussion of the subject.⁸

The president of the Domestic Efficiency Association,⁹ on whose records the present report is based, adds one more to the appeals for a broader interest on the part of women employers:

In our opinion the solution lies in training for *both* servant and housekeeper, and a new attitude on the part of employers.

Why is it that women organize in clubs and societies for the advancement of every art except the art of conducting the home?

Why has the domestic servant no mention, no recognition, in conferences and discussions on the questions concerning labor for women?

Is it then of no importance that our food should be well cooked, our meals well planned, our rooms well cleaned, our children well cared for?

Is it *proper* and *right* that these matters so vital to the higher life should be left to those *so low in the social scale* that they are unworthy of recognition in the economic world?

⁷ Barker, Clara Hélène. *Wanted, a young woman to do housework* * * *. New York, 1915. p. 83

⁸ Salmon, Lucy M. *Domestic service*. London, 1897. p. 263.

⁹ Mrs. R. Manson Smith, president, Domestic Efficiency Association (Inc.), 15 West Chase Street, Baltimore, Md.

Women are able to get what they want when they choose to work for it. Let them get together and demand proper training for domestic service by the State.

Let women establish hostels, or homes, or even clubs, to do for the girl in domestic service what has been done for girls in factory and office life by the Y. W. C. A. and Girls' Friendly Associations.

Let women cast their weight of opinion and influence for these homes, and this recognized training. Let the press cease its cackling about the vagaries of cooks, and use its undoubted influence for the elevation of this calling. Then the trained cook will rise as superior to the cook of the newspaper "funny column" as the trained nurse has risen superior to "Sairey Gamp" and her midnightly potatoes.

PART II.

THE DOMESTIC EFFICIENCY ASSOCIATION OF BALTIMORE.

Domestic service reform is not a wholly untrodden field. A few individuals and organizations have been pioneers in this territory, preaching the need for improvement, pointing out possible remedies, and experimenting in adjustments, but these have been comparatively few in proportion to the size and urgency of the problem.

There are, however, dotted here and there about the country, groups of housekeepers organized into associations looking toward better results for both employer and employee. In January, 1923, one of these organizations, the Domestic Efficiency Association of Baltimore, trying to get at the causes of the high labor turnover among domestics and desiring to improve the standards in the service and to effect more cooperation among employers, requested the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor to examine and analyze the records of the association. The findings of this analysis are set forth in the following pages.

The Domestic Efficiency Association of Baltimore was organized in September, 1921, for the purpose of putting domestic service on a better and more standardized basis. According to its purposes it was to be run as an employment bureau for applicants for such work, but it was not to be a money-making enterprise; it aimed also to bring about a cooperation of housekeepers with the hope of getting better results for the employees and to furnish more efficient workers.

It has been the policy to ask householders to become members by the payment of annual dues of \$5, only members being permitted to apply to the association for domestic workers. The rules which the members are asked to observe are as follows:

1. Annual fee, \$5.
2. Not to engage a servant who has left her former place without giving a week's notice, from any agency or any source whatever, unless under very exceptional emergency circumstances.
3. Not to tempt servants, by offering higher wages, to leave positions where they are already employed, unless the arrangement is made with full knowledge of present employer.
4. To give a conscientious report of a servant leaving member's employ.
5. To endeavor not to pay exorbitant wages for incompetent service.
6. To require a full reference of every servant engaged.
7. To make a business contract with every employee according to the rules of the bureau, under which the employer will sign an agreement to give a week's

notice or full pay, and the employee will also sign an agreement as to giving a week's notice, or forfeit a week's pay.

8. To do all in one's power toward consideration and fairness for employees.

I promise to observe these rules faithfully so long as I am a member of the association.

Name

Address

The rules of the association provide for an additional fee of \$2 from an employer for whom a worker is secured, and for a fee of \$1.25 from the employee who is placed. Either employer or employee compelled to make a change within a month can do so without paying another fee.

The association exists primarily in the interests of private housekeeping and not public housekeeping, such as is characteristic of hotels, restaurants, and so on.

It claims to handle only those applicants who are trained or experienced and who can produce satisfactory references. Occasionally, in the case of a foreign-born person who is unacquainted in this country and perhaps inexperienced in domestic service, placement is made if an employer states her willingness to accept what appears to be a good potential domestic worker. Even in such cases a character reference from a priest, minister, doctor, or some person of reputable standing is usually required.

An unpublished report of the association states that in the first two years of its existence a total of 6,199 applicants—white and negro men and women—were interviewed, 1,343 of whom were placed.

The scope of the records maintained by the association and placed at the service of agents of the Women's Bureau comprised three files, designated as the placed, the waiting, and the out or "dead" files.

In the placed file were kept the applications of those workers who at any one time were in positions secured by the association. In the waiting file were the applications of those who had adequate references and were deemed eligible for positions when opportunity offered. It was possible, therefore, that applications in the waiting file might at any time become placements and be transferred to the placed file, and vice versa, according to whether a worker secured or lost a position. To be sure, the waiting file contained a considerable number of applications of persons who were never likely to be placed, since their references, although sufficient according to the rules of the association, did not measure up to the requirements of housekeepers who were seeking employees. Moreover, in some instances, the cards of men and women who had made application for a position through the association, but had succeeded in securing employment on their own initiative, were kept in the waiting file, in case these applicants returned to the association.

The out, or "dead," file contained the cards of applicants who had failed to secure references or whose references were unsatisfactory; who more than once had left a position without notice; or who, when sent to fill a position, in one or more instances had failed to go. The applicants in this file were not placeable according to the rules of the association and were accordingly "dead" for its purposes.

On the application blanks were written the worker's name, address, color, age, religion, and conjugal condition, and a statement as to his or her health and appearance, and preference as to living in or out of the employer's home and in city, suburbs, or country. In many cases on these application cards were written remarks about the applicant's character and capability, which information had been secured by telephone, by personal interview, or by a questionnaire from one or more of the persons whose names had been given by the applicant as references. For a number of employees were filed questionnaires filled out personally by former employers, giving the nature and length of services performed by the applicant and a statement as to the method of leaving and the employee's capability, character, disposition, appearance, regularity, and punctuality. In a number of instances the reason for leaving the position also was given.

For a rather small proportion of the applicants wage data were available. The custom of the association was to furnish each worker who was being placed with an official card bearing the name of the employer, the name and address of the person recommending the applicant, and the kind of services to be performed. The applicant on arrival was expected to hand this card to the householder, who in turn was requested to enter the rate of wages and send back the card to the association. The failure of many to cooperate in this respect was apparent, since for only a comparatively small group of placed employees were such cards on file.

Another rule of the association has been that an employee must not leave without giving notice nor an employer dismiss a worker without notice or a week's wages in advance. In the original rules of the association, if an employee left without notice he or she was disqualified for further placements. As this rule seemed too drastic, however, a revision was made and the applicant, if circumstances justified, was allowed another opportunity to secure employment.

An important end toward which the association has been working since its inauguration is a training school for women in domestic service. A house has been rented and partially equipped for this purpose. As soon as the necessary funds are available steps will be taken to give training to a number of women who will live in the house during their period of preparation.

A study of the records of the association is of value, since it gives a representative cross section of the employment relations in domestic service in a large city where both negro and white and both men and women domestic workers are found in large numbers, the negroes predominating and the women outnumbering the men. It was for this reason that the Women's Bureau undertook to analyze the records, hoping to get from them a clear outline of the main features which characterize the situation in a fairly representative community.

An actual picture of the domestic service situation in Baltimore can be gained from the 1920 census figures, which show that there were in Baltimore at that period a total of 43,767 men and women in domestic and personal service, 70.3 per cent of whom were women. Of these workers 68.2 per cent were negro, 22.8 per cent native-born white, 8.3 per cent white of foreign birth, and 0.6 per cent of the Chinese, the Japanese, and other races not Caucasian.¹⁰

From the census figures ¹¹ it is possible also to compare the domestic service situation in Baltimore with the general situation throughout the United States. In the country as a whole, a little less than two-thirds of the employees in this type of work were women, showing Baltimore to have a somewhat higher proportion of women in such occupations. Baltimore also had a strikingly larger proportion of negro domestic workers than had the country as a whole, a little over two-thirds (68.2 per cent) in Baltimore as against less than one-third (31.3 per cent) in the country as a whole. When the sexes were taken separately Baltimore showed 53.2 per cent of the men and 74.5 per cent of the women in domestic service to be negroes, as compared with 22.5 per cent of the men and 36.2 per cent of the women in such work in the country as a whole. Baltimore showed a smaller proportion of foreign-born men (14.8 per cent) in domestic work than did the whole country (30.3 per cent), as well as a smaller proportion of foreign-born women in this kind of service, 5.6 per cent as compared with 18.3 per cent in the country at large.

It must be remembered that the classification of domestic and personal service as used by the Bureau of the Census includes a number of occupations not handled by the Domestic Efficiency Association and places the occupation of chauffeurs, which was a type of employment covered by the association, in the classification of transportation. The following figures from the 1920 census ¹² therefore, which reveal the numbers of men and women in Baltimore engaged in the chief occupations handled by the association, are of interest:

¹⁰ U. S. Bureau of the Census. Fourteenth Census, 1920. Population, v. 4, p. 129, 1058-59.

¹¹ U. S. Bureau of the Census. Fourteenth Census, 1920. Population, v. 4, p. 34, 341.

¹² U. S. Bureau of the Census. Fourteenth Census, 1920. Population, v. 4, p. 148.

	Male.	Female.
Charwomen and cleaners.....	114	559
Chauffeurs.....	5, 210	9
Coachmen.....	31	
Cooks.....	1, 202	3, 924
Bell boys.....	250	14
Butlers.....	354	
Chambermaids.....		405
Laborers.....	263	19
Laundresses.....	152	8, 070
Ladies' maids and valets.....	28	43
Nurses (not trained).....	195	1, 145
Nursemaids.....		135
Porters (domestic and personal service).....	577	15
Other servants.....	662	10, 618
Total.....	9, 038	24, 956
Grand total.....	33, 994	

Since according to these figures there are in Baltimore approximately 34,000 men and women engaged in the kinds of occupation connected with private household employment, the importance and value of an organization in the city whose object is to raise the standards and improve the status of these workers are apparent. Accordingly, the facts obtained from an examination of the association's records are helpful in presenting first-hand information, both from employers and from employees, on some of the important matters connected with the problem.

Although the data on the records are discussed in detail in the next section of this report, the chief findings are presented here in summary form.

Summary.

The records of the association showed certain facts for 2,293 women and 672 men. In comparatively few cases, however, were the records complete, so most of the facts given in the following pages are for only part of the entire group for whom some records were available.

In Baltimore, as in many other communities located on the border line between the North and the South, the domestic service situation is complicated by the fact that there are two races to be considered, for whom employment standards vary. Two-thirds of the applicants to the association were negroes, and three-fourths of these were women.

The system of record keeping in the association involves the use of three files, one for those who are placed, one for those who are waiting,

and one for those who for various reasons—lack of references or poor references—are not considered eligible for placement. Two-fifths of the applicants were in this last file. So large a proportion as this must indicate either that on the whole the applicants are of low grade or that the standards of the association are too exacting for the class of employees they are handling. It is also possible that the employees' lack of references which has disqualified them for placement may be due to a lack of general understanding of the importance of giving and of securing such references. The need for impressing on both employers and employees the importance of giving and securing adequate references was one of the outstanding facts disclosed by this study.

One important lack in the records, which made it impossible to judge satisfactorily the capability of the employees, was the failure to record any statement from the employee about the position formerly held and the reason for leaving it. There are two sides to every story, and no satisfactory estimate of the situation in domestic service will ever be arrived at so long as the domestic workers themselves are not consulted and their opinions registered. In discussing this matter the president of the Domestic Efficiency Association states:

Now as a matter of fact, this consideration of "two sides to every story" is one of the fundamental tenets on which the association was formed. That is, that it should be a fifty-fifty proposition, endeavoring to adjust grievances on both sides. But the reasons why no records of employees' opinions are shown must be apparent to anyone who has had extensive dealings with employers. There is no subject on which women are so touchy, or so irascible, as upon their own personal management of their own personal homes. Any association which professed to record the opinions of employees as to their employers would be doomed at its birth, and a case of fools rushing in where angels feared to tread. That the employees' opinions, however, *are* considered is a matter of fact, and complaints from worthy persons are met with tact and discretion.

It is undoubtedly true from the point of view of an association supported by employers themselves that the recording of such facts would be a difficult precedent to establish. Nevertheless, it is a fundamental rule for straight thinking on any subject that each side should be given the same consideration. If records are to be of any value at all, they should be complete. In studying the records in this regard, much helpful and illuminating information was given to the bureau's agents by the secretary who was then in charge of the work of the association. She knew the ins and outs and qualifications of many situations and was able, from her own personal knowledge, to supply the deficiencies of the records. This secretary, however, was leaving the association, and it was not likely that she would be able to pass on to her successor the vast fund of information she had acquired, and which had not been recorded. If domestic work is to be put on a higher plane of efficiency it is essential that the women em-

ployers be educated to a realization of the fact that their responsibility to their employees is not a matter for secret individual adjustment but is a condition which should be given the benefit of full discussion and standardization.

The positions applied for give a general index of the popularity of various kinds of domestic work. For the women, maid's work was the most popular, followed by cooking in the case of the negroes and nursing in that of the whites. Of the negro women, 28 per cent wanted to do maid's work and 25 per cent wanted to do cooking. Only 16 per cent wanted general work and 15 per cent day's work. Of the white women more than 40 per cent wanted maid's work and 15.4 per cent wanted to do nursing.

The work of butler and houseman was most in demand by the negro men, 36 per cent wanting work as butlers and 26 per cent as housemen. More than 40 per cent of the white men wanted work as chauffeurs and 33 per cent as butlers or housemen.

In studying the records of the kind of work applied for it was apparent that there was considerable restlessness and dissatisfaction among the applicants. This was shown by the fact that a little over two-fifths of both the women and men were applying for work different from that which they had formerly done. Of 161 women who had been general workers, only one-third were applying for the same work again. Ten per cent of the women who had had regular full-time positions wanted to change to day's work.

In outlining occupational opportunity in domestic service it is important to see what relationship there is between occupation and such personal factors as age and conjugal condition. The young women seem to be more generally employed as nurses, maids, and general workers. A large majority of women in these occupations were less than 30 years old. The older women were more generally employed as day workers, cooks, and laundresses, more than half of the women in each of these groups being 30 years of age and over. The younger men were mostly chauffeurs, housemen, and cooks. More than half the men in each of these occupations were less than 30 years old.

From the standpoint of the employer it is important to consider the preferences shown for living in or out of the employer's home. One-half of the women and nearly two-thirds of the men were willing to live in. A very much larger proportion of whites than of negroes were willing to live in: 79.8 per cent of the white women and 80.3 per cent of the white men, and only 35.8 per cent of the negro women and 62.2 per cent of the negro men.

Considering this matter by age it appears that the women between 20 and 30 years of age are least likely to be willing to live in their employers' homes. By occupation, the proportions of women willing

to live in were 88.9 per cent of the housekeepers, 82.6 per cent of the nurses, 63.6 per cent of the governesses, 57.8 per cent of the cooks, 50.3 per cent of the maids, 40.4 per cent of the general workers, and 24.4 per cent of the laundresses. Of the men, 71.4 per cent of the chauffeurs, 68 per cent of the butlers, 64.7 per cent of the housemen, and 63.3 per cent of the cooks were willing to live in.

It is interesting and rather unexpected to find that work in the suburbs was more in demand than work in the city. Seventy-eight per cent of the women and 76 per cent of the men wanted or were willing to work in the suburbs.

Work in the country was less popular, but a larger proportion of white workers (45 per cent of the white women and 79.4 per cent of the white men) were willing to work in the country than of the negroes (26 per cent of the negro women and 60.4 per cent of the negro men).

A study of the records of experience yielded some very interesting facts. Apparently the domestic workers of Baltimore change their jobs often, since 66.4 per cent of the women and 59.1 per cent of the men had not been with one employer for as long as two years. Of the women 52.2 per cent had worked in one place for less than a year.

The reasons for this lack of stability were brought out to a certain extent through studying the reasons for leaving jobs. Only 15.9 per cent of the women and 19 per cent of the men had been dismissed because they were unsatisfactory. A considerable proportion, 25.7 per cent of the women and 31.8 per cent of the men had left because the establishment where they had been working had been closed. Domestic employment is not usually considered a seasonal occupation, but these figures indicate that the problem of seasonal employment is a serious one for the average household worker. That the changing of jobs was not usually caused by dissatisfaction on the part of the workers is shown by the fact that only 21 per cent of the women and 11 per cent of the men had left of their own accord. Of those who did leave of their own accord the large majority gave notice before leaving.

To judge accurately of the quality of service given by the workers it would be necessary to have much more carefully standardized and detailed references, but from what references were available it would seem that on the whole the service rendered by the applicants considered had been fairly satisfactory. Seventy per cent of the women and 64 per cent of the men had been given excellent, good, or satisfactory references by the employers for whom they had worked the longest time. Among the small group who had received unsatisfactory references, carelessness in appearance and work was the most conspicuous failing, while dishonesty, intemperance, and bad dis-

positions played a minor part in disqualifying applicants for recommendation.

On the whole, contradictory references about the same person from different employers and the obvious lack of an accepted standard on which could be based both requirements of work and references were the outstanding features of the situation. Until housekeepers accept a common standard of requirements, and until they can be brought to see the importance and necessity of giving careful and complete references, no employment system can hope to achieve any lasting improvement in the general attitude of domestic workers and of the public toward this large number of indispensable factors in the social and community life of to-day.

In discussing this question the president of the Domestic Efficiency Association brought out in a very interesting manner the agency's point of view when she said:

Experience has proved that much of the difficulty of domestic service is caused by employers themselves. There is a deplorable lack of patience on the part of employers. They expect too much at first, and are too easily discouraged if the servant does not measure up to their expectations; not stopping to realize that they are dealing with very limited brain power, nor understanding that the servant is confused by unfamiliar surroundings and would like to do better if she knew how. It often happens that after one or two days' experience an employer will call the office and say, "This person is impossible; get me somebody else." Before a substitute can be procured the employer frequently has changed her mind, and says, "After all she does pretty well. I think I'll keep her," utterly unmindful that she may have disappointed another applicant, and given the office unnecessary trouble and expense!

Another very serious handicap is the reluctance of employers to give a strictly fair and just answer to questionnaires as to the character and capabilities of their former employees. We women are creatures of impulse, and are too often swayed by the feeling of the moment, either for or against, and it is the experience of the association that the majority do not realize that they may be either ruining the future of a servant (a serious matter) or may be plunging other employers into quite useless trouble and difficulty.

PART III.

A DETAILED STUDY OF THE RECORDS OF THE DOMESTIC EFFICIENCY ASSOCIATION OF BALTIMORE.

Detailed studies of domestic service are rare because of the great difficulty in collecting data. Both householders and domestic employees when asked to answer questionnaires frequently neglect or refuse to do so. The experience of the Industrial Commission of the United States in its investigation of domestic service, when only a fractional part of the schedules sent out to employers and employees were returned with answers, is typical. A study of the Domestic Efficiency Association's records, which were compiled primarily for the ordinary activities of the association and not for the purpose of analysis and discussion, is therefore of value and has both its advantages and disadvantages. A more natural and accurate picture of the domestic situation probably can be gained when employers and employees give opinions for the practical purpose of securing workers or jobs than when they are asked questions for statistical studies. On the other hand, records used for a practical purpose often fail to throw light on certain aspects which would be of tremendous interest in an analytical and scientific investigation. Such records are all right as far as they go, but they do not go far enough. They are apt not to be sufficiently comprehensive and well rounded. This condition was true of the records of the Domestic Efficiency Association. An outstanding example of deficiency in the records kept was that although the opinions of householders about former employees were carefully filed, there was no such record of the employees' opinions of such employers. In a number of cases the employers had made statements about the efficiency, character, desirability, reasons for leaving positions, and so on, but there was no first-hand information from domestic workers to balance and check up on this information. One side of the story was given—the employers' point of view as to whether former employees had been satisfactory—but the domestic workers' version as to whether the positions had been satisfactory was not given except in a few instances where the employers, who were apt to be biased, attempted to present the domestics' opinions.

Some first-hand information from the applicants was available, the answers given by them to questions of age, conjugal condition, and preferences as to type and location of work. This information, however, was somewhat fragmentary, as for many applicants there

were no answers to the questions. Another difficulty of the analysis has been the cases where no statement was made of the race of the applicant, and it has consequently been impossible to include these with either the negroes or the white workers. Taken all in all, however, the records contained much interesting and illuminating information and constituted a decided contribution in this field. Their significance lay not only in the facts disclosed, but in the deductions that can be drawn from them.

Of the 2,675 persons for whom records were available, only 16 per cent were in the placed file, 43.1 per cent being in the waiting file, and 40.9 per cent in the out file. The waiting file contained the largest proportion of applicants, as might be expected, but the proportion of placed applicants seemed surprisingly small. That two-fifths of the applicants were in the out file and were thus disqualified on account of lack of experience or of references, or because of unsatisfactory references, or failure to comply with the regulations of the association seems a significant fact pointing to the need for increased attention to the matter and attempts at adjustment and improvement, such as the proposed training school.

The applicants.

Of the 2,965 applicants, over three-fourths were women (77.3 per cent), which is, according to the census figures, a proportion typical of Baltimore. As already pointed out, the Bureau of the Census showed for the country as a whole a much larger number of women than of men in the ranks of domestic and personal service, approximately two-thirds of such workers (64.2 per cent) being women. The preponderance of women in this type of employment is not surprising in view of the fact that only 3.7 per cent of the men 10 years of age and over gainfully employed were found in this occupational group as compared with 25.6 per cent of the women working outside the home who were thus classified as to occupation.¹³

The applicants to the Domestic Efficiency Association also were representative of the race situation in domestic service in Baltimore. Of the 2,800 applicants reported upon as to race, a little over two-thirds (68.9 per cent) were negroes, and the census figures show that 68.2 per cent of the domestic and personal service workers in Baltimore were negroes. The association's records, however, show a larger proportion of negroes among the men whose race is reported (78.9 per cent) than do the census figures for the city (53.2 per cent). The association discloses, on the other hand, a somewhat smaller proportion of negro women (66 per cent) than does the city as a whole (74.5 per cent). The differences are not sufficient to prevent the association figures from being fairly representative.

¹³ Bureau of the Census. Fourteenth Census, 1920. Population, v. 4, p. 34.

Although the country of birth was given for a number of applicants to the Domestic Efficiency Association, it was not given consistently enough to justify a compilation in this respect. It is apparent that although both the census and the association records show a great preponderance of negro workers, there was a sufficient number of white employees to complicate the situation. In the extreme South, where almost no white persons are employed in the capacity of servants, and in other sections where domestic employees are almost exclusively white, there are, to be sure, many problems; but in Baltimore there are not only all the individual problems for each race but additional complications caused by the presence of two quite different elements in the same type of work. For example, employers have found it almost impossible to attempt a mixture of white and negro workers in the same household. More than one householder stated that her reason for dismissing negro servants was that she was engaging white persons, or vice versa, and could not employ the two together. The segregation of the white domestics as a class is even more marked than in many places and the social stigma more strongly felt by the white employees themselves. Consequently, the presence of the white and negro elements in domestic service has a tendency to increase the labor turnover in such work. According to the association records the proportion of negro applicants among the men (over three-fourths of the total number reported upon) was considerably greater than that among the women, two-thirds of whom were negroes.

Occupations applied for.

Many were the occupations for which the domestics applied. In some cases the applicants asked for a definite clear-cut job, such as cook, chambermaid, butler, or chauffeur, but in other instances they expressed a willingness to accept more than one kind of work or a combination job, such as chambermaid-waitress or cook-houseman. In order to classify the occupations applied for it was necessary to do considerable grouping. Accordingly, with the exception of such stereotyped and frequent combinations as cook-laundress and chambermaid-waitress, when more than one occupation was mentioned by the applicant it has been classified under the first occupation mentioned with the term "other work," "inside work," or "outside work," appended. For example, if a woman specified that she would do chamber work and sewing, she has been placed under the group designated as "chambermaid-other work," or if she expressed a desire to do cooking and the first-floor cleaning she is included in the classification of "cook-other work." Under these combination terms were placed not only those who stated their willingness to perform two or more kinds of work in one position but those who were applying for one of two or three specified occupations. Thus, if one said that

he wanted employment as a chauffeur or houseman and another declared his willingness to accept a position requiring the two kinds of work, both men were included in the "chauffeur-inside" group. This method of tabulation was used for two reasons—first, for the sake of simplification, and, second, because it was thought that an applicant expressing a desire to do one of two kinds of work would probably be willing to accept a position necessitating the performance of both kinds.

Some further analysis of the occupations may be helpful. The term "day workers" was applied to all those who stipulated that they wanted to work by the day, irrespective of the kind of work desired, whether cooking, cleaning, or laundry work. "Part-time" workers were treated in similar fashion. Under "other maids" were included those who were called merely maids and those described as house, kitchen, pantry, or parlor maids. The nurses were somewhat difficult to classify, since in a number of cases the kind of nursing was not specified. It was not possible to decide in such instances whether this meant the care of children or of the sick, although the former was probably the kind of service most frequently meant since in general nurses for the sick are registered with nurses' bureaus. The "miscellaneous" group for women comprised dishwashers, mother's helpers, accommodators, and cleaners. The "miscellaneous" group for men consisted of dishwashers, janitors, kitchen workers, machinists, second men, counter men, porters, and traveling companions or valets. The classification "general workers" for women is one so frequently used as to need no explanation. Somewhat different from this, however, is the term "general utility" for men, since it was applied to those who called themselves "handy men," who wanted to do odd jobs or to make themselves generally useful. The following list gives the types of service included under "other work" for the various occupations:

Companion—other work:

- Chamber work.
- Sewing.
- Housekeeping.
- Cooking.
- Acting as lady's maid, governess, mother's helper, secretary.
- Nursing children or invalids.

Cook—other work:

- Chamber work.
- Waiting.
- First-floor cleaning.
- Nursing children.

Governess—other work:

- Sewing.
- Chamber work.
- Housekeeping.

Housekeeping—other work:

- Sewing.
- Chamber work.
- Laundry work.
- Acting as companion.
- Nursing or tutoring children.

Laundress—other work:

- Cleaning.

Waitress—other work:

- Cooking.
- Nursing (kind not specified).
- Nursing children.
- Maid's work.

Chambermaid—other work:

- Cooking.
- Laundry work.
- Acting as lady's maid or companion.

Chambermaid—other work—Contd.	Nursing, kind not specified—other work:
Nursing (kind not specified).	Chamber work.
Nursing children.	Dish washing.
Sewing.	Cooking.
Housekeeping.	Maid's work.
Child's nurse—other work:	Seamstress—other work:
Chamber work.	Chamber work.
Waiting.	Nursing children.
Sewing.	Acting as mother's helper or companion, lady's maid.
Invalid's nurse—other work:	Nursing (kind not specified).
Acting as lady's maid, mother's helper, governess.	
Sewing.	
Practical nursing.	

The additional occupations which men applying for certain jobs were willing to perform are shown in the following list:

Butler—other work:	Cook—other work—Continued.
Outside—	Inside—
Acting as chauffeur.	Acting as butler, houseman, janitor, or porter.
Gardening.	Waiting.
Inside—	Houseman—other work:
Cooking.	Outside—
Waiting.	Acting as chauffeur.
Janitor or fireman service.	Gardening.
Acting as houseman.	Inside—
Chauffeur—other work:	Butler service.
Outside—	Cleaning.
Gardening.	Cooking.
General outside work.	Kitchen or fireman service.
Inside—	Waiter—other work:
Acting as butler or houseman.	Outside—
Waiting.	Butler service.
Cook—other work:	Houseman service.
Outside—	Janitor service.
Acting as chauffeur.	Kitchen service.

The largest number of negro women in any of the occupational groups were those applying for maid's work of some sort, these constituting 28 per cent of all the negro women applicants. The next largest group (25.5 per cent) wanted to be cooks, or applied for the job of cooking in conjunction with some other work. Only 16 per cent of the negro women expressed a desire to do general work; not a surprising figure, however, since specialists in domestic service are apt to receive better wages and to have more clearly defined and less onerous work. This is probably due to the fact that employers who engage specialists are better off financially than are those in need of general workers and hence are able to pay higher wages. Unfortunately, however, for the great bulk of householders who seek paid assistance in the home requiring only one worker, that employee must be capable of performing a variety of occupations. Altogether

the great majority of negro applicants, over two-thirds, were seeking jobs as cooks, maids, or general workers. It is rather surprising to discover that only 2.5 per cent of the negro women were applying for the position of nurse of any sort, since although there is comparatively little opportunity for them as invalid's nurses there would seem to be considerable demand for them as children's attendants. The growing practice among negro women to engage in day work instead of taking a regular full-time position in a household is illustrated by the 15.4 per cent who applied for day work. This tendency is traceable to the desire on the part of the workers to be more independent in regard to days off, to work shorter hours—and usually at higher wages—per day, and to escape from the monotony of a regular household position. Furthermore, there is an increasing demand among householders for day service, where apartment life and mechanical contrivances make it possible to dispense with the continuous service of domestic employees.

The figures for the white woman applicants tell a somewhat different story. Like the negroes, the white women preferred maid's work, but to a much greater extent, over two-fifths of the white women applying for such work. Cooking was much less popular than with the negroes, since a little less than one-tenth of the white women wanted to be cooks as against one-fourth of the negroes. General work was even less desired by white women, since only 8.6 per cent of them applied for positions requiring such variety of labor. That white women were not manifesting anything like so strong a tendency toward daywork as were the negro women is shown by the very small proportion, 2.3 per cent, who sought this form of employment. The white women, with 15.4 per cent of those registered, in quest of jobs as nurses, greatly overbalanced the negroes in this respect. Since only 20 of the 113 white women wanting such positions were reported definitely as invalid's nurses, this kind of nursing apparently was not responsible for the difference. Evidently the white women were more desirous than the negro women of taking care of children, and perhaps were more desired by employers for this occupation. White women naturally outranked the negroes both in the opportunity and in the demand for the higher grades of domestic occupations, such as companion, governess, housekeeper, and invalid's nurse, which are usually considered to be on a higher social plane; 112 white women as compared with 3 negro women were classified as such.

Among the negro men the largest group were the butlers, since over one-third (36.1 per cent) applied for such service straight or with additional work. The housemen, constituting over one-fourth of the total number of negro men (26.3 per cent), were the next largest group. The chauffeurs totaled 13.6 per cent of the negro

applicants, and cooks 10.1 per cent. This last figure is not surprising, since negro men cooks seek employment in hotels and restaurants rather than in private homes.

The white men numbered altogether only 134, over two-fifths of whom were registered as chauffeurs and over one-third as butlers or housemen. There was only a scattering of men in the other occupations listed.

Former occupations of applicants.

The training of domestic workers, as has been pointed out, is likely to be very haphazard; they are in many instances apt to get a superficial knowledge of a number of types of work rather than a thorough knowledge of one. This would tend to make them shift from one occupation to another, as they got tired of one sort and according to the demands of employers for workers in the various occupations. It is interesting and significant, therefore, to try to discover the trend in this respect. Did the workers whose records were secured tend to change from one occupation to another? Were they more apt to change from the general to the specific, or from a position requiring one kind of work to the occupation of general worker?

The occupations sought by the applicants were given for almost all the men and women, but for only those applicants for whom references had been secured was there any statement as to former occupation. It has been possible, therefore, to correlate for only a part of the applicants the former occupation with the kind sought.

Detailed figures not given in this report show that of 1,174 women reporting, a little over two-fifths were applying for exactly the same sort of work as in former positions, and a little over two-fifths were seeking a change in occupation; the remainder wanted to engage in the same occupation as one of two or more possibilities, or in the same occupation with additional duties. Thus a woman who had been a cook would be willing to be a cook and laundress, or to do the cooking with first-floor cleaning, perhaps. Of those women who were changing from one occupation to another, there were some who desired to go from one special occupation to general work or from general work to one of the occupations included under general work, so that these women were not trying to get work of a totally different nature. In fact, of the 161 women who had been general workers, only about one-third were again applying for general work. Thirty-three wanted to be cooks either with or without some other work, 42 were seeking maid's work of some sort, 14 wanted to change to day work, 7 to part-time work, and there were a few in each of the various other occupations. On the other hand, 100 women who had been cooks, maids, laundresses, nurses, and so on—that is, about 10 per cent of

those who had been doing some special kind of work—expressed a desire to become general workers. It would appear from this that there was a tendency and desire to get away from general work rather than a drift toward it. Possibly a great many domestics go into general work from necessity rather than choice, because of the great demand on the part of housekeepers for this type of worker.

Another significant trend is that toward day work, since approximately 10 per cent of the women who had had regular full-time positions expressed a preference for day work, desiring by this means to have more independence in their work, as already suggested in the case of negroes. Employment by the day seems to be steadily increasing and is believed by some persons to point the way to a solution of the whole problem of domestic service, provided its many inherent difficulties as far as the average family is concerned can be overcome. That there is not a very strong drift from other types of employment into domestic service is apparent from the fact that only 3.7 per cent of the women applying for positions had been engaged in work other than domestic; in fact, there was an unimportant sprinkling of women from factories, laundries, stores, and offices.

Of 334 men for whom was given both the sort of work applied for and the former occupation, two-fifths were seeking exactly the same type of work as that done in a former position. A little over two-fifths applied for different work from the kind given in the reference. In some cases the difference in the occupation was not striking; for example, when a former houseman wanted to be a butler or a butler and houseman. Sometimes the occupation was totally different, when there was a desired transfer from indoor to outdoor work. The rest of the men, somewhat less than one-fifth, gave the former occupation as one of two types of work desired, or expressed a wish for the same occupation as that in a former job plus additional duties. For example, a man who had been butler was willing to be a butler or a houseman, or a former butler signified his willingness to serve as butler and chauffeur. The men and women showed no striking differences in the proportions seeking the same and different kinds of occupations.

The white men varied conspicuously from the negro men in the proportion seeking the same occupation, almost two-thirds of the white as against a little over one-third of the latter falling in this class. The negro and white women, however, differed but little.

The reasons for change of occupation can be a matter of conjecture only, since no facts were given in explanation. The desire for variety of work or for less onerous work; the lack of specific training in any one occupation, or of experience of any real value; the almost complete absence of a system of promotion and the feeling that there might be greater opportunity in one line of work than in another—

may all have been factors contributing to the marked tendency among both the men and women to change occupations.

Age.

The age span of household employees is somewhat more limited than in other types of employment. Householders as a rule prefer not to have workers who are under 18 or 20, perhaps considering them too young for the kind of service desired and that their youth places something of a guardian's responsibility upon the employer. Also householders are likely to refuse to employ applicants who appear to be getting along in years.

The following summary compiled from Table II in the appendix reveals the proportions in the various age groups of white and negro men and women applicants reporting on age:

Age.	All women.	White women.	Negro women.
	<i>Per cent.</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>
Under 18 years.....	3.8	4.9	3.6
18 and under 20 years.....	9.2	7.5	9.8
20 and under 25 years.....	30.5	26.1	32.2
25 and under 30 years.....	20.3	21.9	19.3
30 and under 40 years.....	22.9	24.2	22.7
40 and under 50 years.....	10.9	10.5	11.0
50 years and over.....	2.3	4.9	1.3

Age.	All men.	White men.	Negro men.
	<i>Per cent.</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>
Under 18 years.....	0.9	1.3	0.9
18 and under 20 years.....	4.1	5.1	3.9
20 and under 25 years.....	27.5	41.8	23.7
25 and under 30 years.....	29.1	27.8	29.7
30 and under 40 years.....	28.7	13.9	32.3
40 and under 50 years.....	8.3	8.9	8.0
50 years and over.....	1.4	1.3	1.5

These figures show that a very small proportion of both the women and men domestics were under 18 or as old as 50, the women showing a slightly larger proportion in each case than did the men, 3.8 per cent of the women being under 18 and 2.3 per cent being 50 or over. One-half of the women and a little over one-half of the men ranged in age from 20 to 30. The largest proportion of women in any one age group were found in the 20-to-25 classification (30.5 per cent), whereas

the largest group of men was in the 25-and-under-30 division (29.1 per cent).

There were fewer women from 25 to 30 years old, perhaps, because women during these years are more closely tied down by the child-bearing function and maternal duties than at any other time. This theory is upheld by the increase in the proportion of women in the 30-to-40 age division over that in the 25-to-30 classification.

A comparison of figures for the white and negro women shows no striking difference in the age groups of the two races. The proportion of negro women in the 20-to-25 years group is somewhat larger than the corresponding proportion of white women. There are, on the other hand, slightly larger proportions of white women than of negro in the oldest and youngest age groups, an indication perhaps that their span of years for domestic service is a little longer than that of the negroes.

The division of men according to race discloses a more striking difference, since the largest group of white men or over two-fifths were in the 20-to-25 year class and the largest proportion of negro or approximately two-thirds were in the 30-to-40 group. Probably white men while still young have more opportunities to leave domestic work and go into other types of employment.

When the age of the men and women applicants is analyzed in conjunction with occupations, the following facts are revealed: Nurses, maids, and general workers show a preponderance of women under 30 years of age, 67 per cent, 70.6 per cent, and 81.4 per cent, respectively, being in this age division; whereas day workers, cooks, and laundresses show more than one-half of the workers to have been 30 years old or more; that is, 54.9 per cent, 59.4 per cent, and 73.7 per cent, respectively. Approximately one-fifth of the cooks and laundresses were between 30 and 40 years of age. In fact, since almost one-fourth of the cooks reporting on age were 40 or over and since no other occupational group contained so high a proportion in this age division, cooking would seem to be the work preferred by older women, probably because it offers more opportunity for employment. On the other hand, maid service would appear to be the most popular form of service with young women, as almost two-thirds of the applicants for this kind of work were under 25 years. The nurses, although showing a smaller proportion altogether under 25, disclose the largest proportion in the youngest age group, those under 18, a circumstance due to the idea held by young applicants and shared apparently by some employers that taking care of children does not require maturity or experience. That there is a difference of opinion in this respect, however, is indicated by the scattering of nurses in the various age groups, those from 20 to 25 and those from 30 to 40 tying for first place. It must be remembered that the nurses include both children's

and invalid's nurses, although the latter probably were too few in number to weight the figures to any noticeable extent. In a consideration of the chief occupations of the men the chauffeurs, with almost three-fourths below the age of 30, show up as the youngest group, followed by housemen with 70.1 per cent and cooks with 59.5 per cent as young as this. The butlers stand out as the only group having a preponderance of applicants who were 30 years of age or over. Additional evidence of the probability that this type of service offers considerable opportunity to older men is the fact that 13.6 per cent of the applicants were 40 or over.

Conjugal condition.

Conjugal condition is an extremely important question in a study of domestic service, since it is probably much more of a complicating factor than is generally recognized by employers or society at large. Conjugal conditions must be considered in relation to the custom of having domestic workers live in the home of employers and of demanding from them long and indefinite hours of labor. If the employees are single women of a marriageable age, both of these customs are decided drawbacks, as they frequently mean no place and little or no time for the young women to entertain male callers. Moreover, many householders are not desirous of encouraging masculine attentions to their employees for fear of losing them through marriage. Matrimony, however, does not necessarily mean a withdrawal of women from employment as domestics in other persons' households, particularly in the case of negro women. It usually means added responsibilities which tend to demand more time than many women in domestic service are able to find for such important private matters, especially if they are compelled to live in the home of employers or to have the usual hours of labor expected in domestic service. When women live in the homes of their employers they rarely have opportunity to go to their own homes more than once or twice a week, and can have but little private life with their families. If they have small children, as is frequently the case, the mothers must make some arrangements for the care of the children in their absence.

Of the 975 negro women reporting on conjugal condition in the records of the Domestic Efficiency Association, 54.2 per cent were married and 10.7 per cent were widowed, separated, or divorced, making approximately two-thirds who were likely to have family and home responsibilities in addition to their domestic service (Table III in the appendix). White women are less likely than negro women to remain in domestic service after they marry. The Baltimore records testify to this fact, since of the 460 white women whose conjugal condition was given, only 29.8 per cent were married, although 16.7

per cent were widowed, separated, or divorced, totaling in all 46.5 per cent who were or had been married.

The largest proportion of married negro women in any one occupation, as might be expected, was among the day workers, 83.9 per cent of whom reporting on conjugal condition were married, widowed, separated, or divorced. Probably family responsibilities were forcing most of these women to apply for work by the day rather than by the week. Many of the day workers who were laundresses were permitted to do their work at home. The group designated as laundresses, some of whom may have been day workers, although their records did not reveal this fact, had almost as high a proportion of married women (81.7 per cent). The cooks came next, with 70.4 per cent, followed by the general workers, with 57.5 per cent who were or had been married. Of all the important occupational groups, the maids showed the smallest proportion—slightly less than one-half (49.3 per cent)—to have been married. It must be recalled, however, that almost two-thirds of the maids were under 25 years of age.

As there were only 11 white day workers reporting, the fact that they showed a large proportion of married women (81.8 per cent) is not of much significance. In regard to the white women in other occupations, approximately two-thirds of the cooks, general workers, and companions, over one-third of the maids, and less than one-third of the nurses were or had been married.

It is not so important to study the conjugal condition of the men engaged in domestic service, since matrimony has less influence upon the habits and labor turnover of men than of women, although, if anything, marriage may tend to make them more steady and regular as workers. Of the negro men reporting on conjugal condition, 69 per cent were married, and of the white men, 45.5 per cent.

Preference as to living in or out of home of employer.

It is of interest to correlate certain conditions with the applicant's preference in regard to living in or out of the employer's home. In what occupations were the employees willing to "stay nights"? Did those who were married prefer to live at home? And were the young and the single workers more willing than others to live in the households where they worked?

Domestics are usually paid the same rate of wages whether they live in or outside the home of the employer. As a rule, a householder believes it is to her advantage to have employees living in her home, thinking that they are in this way more accessible and more apt to be regular and prompt. She believes that such a system is a financial advantage to the workers, since they receive not only their wages and board but also lodging and laundry. This is not necessarily true, for even though employees may live in the employers'

homes they frequently must maintain homes for their own families. For workers without family ties, to be sure, the living-in system does mean higher wages, since they do not need to pay for lodging. Probably a number of workers who would prefer to live away from their jobs feel that they can not afford to do so, as it is really equivalent to giving up part of their pay. Especially is this a factor since the great increase in rents within the past decade. It is not the custom for householders to offer higher wages to employees living outside the household, as might seem to be the logical course. As a rule, it means comparatively little additional expense to the householder to have workers living in, since there usually are available quarters, although in too many instances the rooms offered for this purpose are far from satisfactory or comfortable. Unfortunately, the Baltimore records contain no data on the proportion of employers who want servants to live in, but they do give the preferences, or rather the willingness, of the applicants in this respect. These opinions have been tabulated in connection with occupation, sex, and race, and unpublished material concerns further the applicant's age and conjugal condition. The preferences and reasons therefore of the employers may perhaps be best indicated by the following statement made by the president of the Domestic Efficiency Association:

The desire to live out so prevalent to-day among the negro workers should be discouraged for many reasons, but principally on the serious question of health.

Negroes are notoriously easy prey to disease, particularly to tuberculosis, a veritable scourge among them. Most negro women who demand to go home at night do so for one of two reasons. Either they do really go to their homes to do the work they must neglect during the day, or, particularly the younger ones, want to amuse themselves and spend much too large a portion of the nights at dances, or movies, or festivals, etc. In either case they are trying to burn their candles at both ends and their health suffers, while the employer suffers from a tired servant utterly unequal to the requirements of her day's work.

Table IV in the appendix reveals that of 1,358 women, including both negro and white, expressing opinions as to whether they would prefer to live in or out of home of employer, about one-half (49.7 per cent) expressed a willingness to live in, 37.6 per cent desired to live out, 8.5 per cent were willing to live in part of the time provided they could go home some nights or a few nights a week, and 4.3 per cent had no preference. A considerably larger proportion of men than of women were willing to live in, two-thirds of the men and approximately one-half of the women falling into this class. Only 17.2 per cent of the men wanted to live out, 9.1 per cent had no preference, being willing to live either in or out, and 7.1 per cent stated they would live in part of the time. Probably men who live in employers' homes have more freedom and independence and are called upon for less additional night work than are women, since the latter may be asked to take care of children in the evening. Men as a rule are

given more freedom in going and coming at night than are women; they are more likely to go out for visiting in the evening and less likely to want to have company at home. Women naturally have a stronger desire than have men for a place in which to entertain their friends. Too seldom is such a place available for the women who live in.

The negro and white domestics differed very noticeably in respect to preference for living conditions, since 79.8 per cent of the white women as compared with 35.8 per cent of the negro women, and 80.4 per cent of the white men as compared with 62.2 per cent of the negro men, stated that they would live in. Evidently the white men and women seeking employment in domestic service were more desirous of securing a home with the job. This is partly accounted for by the fact that some of the white employees were foreigners and entirely foot loose from their families, while the bulk of the negroes probably belonged to the locality and had homes and families in the city. Increased rents and a higher standard of living may have had something to do with it.

Unpublished figures correlating conjugal condition with preference for living in or out show that among the women, irrespective of race, 62.9 per cent of the single women, 33.7 per cent of the married ones, and 59.1 per cent of those who were widowed, separated, or divorced were willing to live in. Since 76 per cent of the single men and 55.7 per cent of the married men were willing to live in,¹⁴ each group showed a larger proportion than did the corresponding groups of women.

In general, therefore, the men appeared more willing to live in than the women, the white domestics were more willing than the negroes, and the single workers more willing than the married ones. To be sure, when those who were willing to live either in or out or to live in part of the time are added the proportions who insisted upon living out naturally dwindle.

That there is a rather definite relation between age and a willingness to live in is apparent from unpublished figures on this subject from which the following statement has been prepared:

Age.	Per cent of women willing or preferring to—	
	Live in.	Live out.
Under 18 years.....	53. 1	34. 4
18 and under 20 years.....	44. 2	38. 4
20 and under 25 years.....	40. 3	44. 7
25 and under 30 years.....	40. 1	43. 6
30 and under 40 years.....	44. 2	44. 2
40 and under 50 years.....	52. 7	34. 1
50 years and over.....	81. 3	12. 5

¹⁴ None of the men reported that they were widowed, separated, or divorced.

Age.	Per cent of men willing or preferring to—	
	Live in.	Live out.
Under 18 years.....	100. 0	-----
18 and under 20 years.....	75. 0	25. 0
20 and under 25 years.....	72. 8	14. 8
25 and under 30 years.....	70. 4	11. 3
30 and under 40 years.....	58. 6	18. 6
40 and under 50 years.....	50. 0	21. 4
50 years and over.....	60. 0	20. 0

It is apparent that for the women the proportion of those willing to live in decreases gradually with the increase in age from the more than one-half under 18 years to the two-fifths between the years of 25 and 30 who were so reported. After this the proportion increases with increase in years, more than one-half of those between 40 and 50 and over four-fifths of those who were 50 and over being willing to live in. The period from 20 to 30 years is the time when marriage and home duties are likely to make it necessary for women to live at home in order to give some attention to their families. If circumstances permit they are probably willing to live in, but frequently they are compelled to live out.

As for the men the correlation between age and preferences for living condition seems to take a slightly different twist. With increase in age there is a steady decrease in the proportion expressing a desire to live in, with the exception of the oldest age group, in which the number of men was too small to make the figures of any value. Even so, the proportion of men in each age group willing to live in is considerably larger than the corresponding proportion of women. Apparently men are not compelled by circumstances to live out so much as are women.

Another question which arises in this connection is: To what extent does the occupation in which a worker engages affect his or her willingness to live in? In view of the additional workers who would live either in or out, and those who would live in part of the time, a statement in regard to those in the various occupations who insisted upon living out might be more significant.

Among the women applicants in the occupational groups with numbers sufficiently large to make computations worth while (Table IV in the appendix), the laundresses took the lead in the proportion wanting to live out (65.9 per cent).¹⁵ Nor do householders ordinarily desire laundresses to live in. Moreover, it is possible that some of the laundresses may have been day workers and that such

¹⁵ Day workers are not considered, since they naturally live out.

statement was omitted on the worker's application card. The general workers came next in the proportion of women who wanted to live out, over two-fifths (42.4 per cent) falling into that category. Over one-third of the maids (36.7 per cent), 28.7 per cent of the cooks, 27.3 per cent of the governesses, 10.5 per cent of the nurses, and 11.1 per cent of the housekeepers expressed a desire to live away from the job. These figures tally well with what would seem to be the facts of the case. There would be a strong inclination on the part of many employers to have workers in all of these five groups live on the premises, especially as some evening service might be required in these occupations, almost certainly from housekeepers, nurses, and governesses, and probably to some extent from maids, cooks, and general workers. Also, in regard to cooks and general workers, householders frequently dislike these employees to live out for fear they may fail to be regular and punctual in the morning. From the worker's point of view, those who were nurses, governesses, and housekeepers would undoubtedly expect, from the nature of their occupations, to render some evening and night service, and consequently would not object to it so strongly as would cooks, maids, and general workers.

An examination of the men in the chief occupational groups reveals that 12.1 per cent of the butlers, 17.6 per cent of the housemen, 18.4 per cent of the chauffeurs, and 20 per cent of the cooks wanted to live out.

Preference for work in city, suburbs, or country.

There is in general a feeling that domestic workers are much more willing to work in the city than in the suburbs or country because of the conveniences, amusements, and companionship of city life.

The Domestic Efficiency Association numbers among its employer members not only city residents but many in the suburbs and some in the country. Accordingly, all applicants were questioned as to where they would accept positions, and the answers have been tabulated and are presented in Table V in the appendix. The figures in general show that although the country was not at all popular as a place for service among domestic workers, there was not only no discrimination against the suburbs but even a preference for such a location. Altogether, over three-fourths of the women, irrespective of race, reporting on this subject (78 per cent) stipulated the suburbs as the only place or one of the places in which they would accept employment, whereas less than two-thirds of the women (62 per cent) gave the city as the only place or one of the places where they would work. Less than one-third (32.4 per cent) expressed a preference for the country or a willingness to go to a position so located.

The men showed a similar preference for the suburbs, since over three-fourths (76.1 per cent) were willing to accept suburban work. They showed, however, a much stronger predilection for the country than did the women, almost two-thirds (64.1 per cent) of the men as against one-third of the women giving it as the only place or one of the places in which they would take a position. The city boasted of a much smaller proportion of possible recruits among the men; that is, somewhat over one-half of those reporting. The men were, on the whole, less discriminating than the women in regard to their place of service, since 31.9 per cent of the former as against 12.9 per cent of the latter expressed no preference but were willing to work in the city, suburbs, or country. This is not surprising, since men are usually more foot-loose and less tied down to a particular or limited area by family affairs and responsibilities than are women. Also, married men more easily than married women can accept a job which necessitates continued absence from home.

When the matter is looked at from the point of view of race, the white workers were more willing than the negroes to work in the country; somewhat over two-fifths of the white women and approximately four-fifths of the white men, as compared with a little less than one-third of the negro women and three-fifths of the negro men stipulated the country as the only place or one of the places where they would work. Since there was a larger proportion of married women among the negroes than among the whites, this fact may have been influential in increasing the proportion of negro women expressing preference for work in the city or suburbs. In general, the loneliness of country life probably would serve as a deterrent to negroes more than to whites, as would the negroes' fewer resources within themselves. Types of occupation did not seem to enter very strongly into the question of where the applicants were willing to work.

Among the women, the nurses showed a greater willingness to work in the country than did the women in the other occupational groups, since over one-half of them, as compared with 45 per cent of the companions, somewhat over one-third of the cooks, and a little over one-fourth of the general workers, the laundresses, and the maids, gave the country as a possible place for service. Among the men, the housemen showed the smallest proportion in any occupational group (57.8 per cent) willing to work in the country, the butlers, chauffeurs, and cooks each showing approximately two-thirds in this class.

Length of service in former jobs.

That the labor turnover among domestic employees is very high is a well-recognized fact. The reasons for this, however, are not so well known. Since frequent changing about of workers after brief

periods of service causes a difficult situation for the housekeepers and a probably far from advantageous one for the workers, it is significant to attempt to get at the roots of the trouble. It is possible to throw some light on this subject from an analysis of the Baltimore records, which revealed the length of service in former jobs of a considerable number of the applicants. On the whole, this information was given by former employers in references sent to the association, and these statements have been tabulated (Appendix Table VI). Whenever one worker had several references from different employers, with varying periods of service, only the longest period has been tabulated.

A little over one-half of all the women reported on for length of service had worked in one position for less than a year. There was not a great deal of difference between the white and negro women in this respect, 48.7 per cent of the former as compared with 53.4 per cent of the latter disclosing less than a year in one position. The similarity in the proportions of white and negro women who worked in one place for less than three months is even more striking, 18.2 per cent and 19.2 per cent, respectively. There was, in fact, a very close resemblance in all the various service groups for the white and negro women, which would seem to indicate that race is not an influential factor in the question of labor turnover among domestics.

The figures for the men tell very much the same story in the relation between race and labor turnover. In a comparison of men and women, however, although there are no striking differences in the matter of length of service, the men seem to present a somewhat better record, as can be seen from the following statement:

	Length of service.					
	Under 3 months.	3 and under 6 months	6 months and under 1 year	1 year and under 5 years.	5 and under 10 years.	10 years and over.
Men-----	12. 7	14. 1	17. 0	41. 7	10. 5	4. 0
Women-----	18. 9	17. 9	15. 4	34. 4	7. 7	5. 7

Although the women overbalanced the men in the proposition who worked for less than six months, 36.8 per cent of the women and 26.8 per cent of the men being in these groups, they fell below the men slightly in the six-months-and-under-one-year classes. The men, with 43.8 per cent working in one place for less than a year, show up better than the women, 52.2 per cent of whom had such a record. The men surpassed the women in the proportions working from one to five years and from five to ten years, but dropped slightly below the women for those with a record for 10 years and over in one

position. It does seem significant that the great bulk of the workers, two-thirds of the women and approximately three-fifths of the men, had not worked with the same employer for as long as two years. There were only 13.3 per cent of the women and 14.5 per cent of the men who had a record for five years or more in one position. Nine women and three men had worked for 20 years or over without change of employer.

Among the women, occupations seemed to have very little bearing on the length of service. Cooks and general workers showed about the same proportion with less than one year of service as all the women taken together; maids showed a somewhat higher and nurses a somewhat lower proportion than did the figures for all women. Also, in regard to the longer term of service, that of five years or over, there were no striking or significant variations from the general for the individual occupations.

The men in the chief occupational groups showed some deviation from the 43.8 per cent of all men with less than a year's service with one employer, since over one-half of both the cooks and the housemen had worked for less than a year in one place. None of the cooks and only 4.9 per cent of the housemen had a record for so long as five years. The chauffeurs, revealing 10.7 per cent with such a record, made a better showing but were surpassed by the butlers, of whom 15.3 per cent had worked with the same employer for at least five years.

Reasons for leaving positions.

The correlation of length of service with reason for leaving obviously has much significance in an analysis of labor turnover. Some former employers when called upon by the Domestic Efficiency Association to furnish references for the applicants, volunteered the reasons why these employees had left their service. It must be remembered, therefore, that the data in Table VII in the appendix, bearing on this subject, are compiled from statements made by employers and represent only one side of the story. Unfortunately there had been no attempt to record the workers' statements about why they had terminated their services with the employers giving the references.

Of the 272 women for whom the reason for leaving was given, 46.3 per cent had left because the employer no longer needed their services, and of this particular group more than one-half (55.6 per cent) had left because the establishments in which they had been employed had closed, the householders giving up their homes entirely or going away for the season, to another home, to a resort, or to Europe. There were 88 men whose reasons for leaving a former position were recorded, and over one-half of these were dismissed because the employer had no further need of their services. Not

far from two-thirds of this latter group were dismissed because of the closing of the establishment. Domestic service has not, as a rule, been viewed as a seasonal job, but that such an element enters to a serious extent is shown by the fact that a little over one-fourth (27.2 per cent) of the applicants, irrespective of sex or race, for whom a former employer had stated the reason for leaving, had been discharged either temporarily or permanently because the employers were closing their homes for a period, or breaking up housekeeping altogether. To be sure there might have been a possibility of reinstatement for a number of the workers with the reopening of the establishment. Even so, during the interim these domestics would be out of work and, unless wages were paid by the absent employer, forced to find at least a temporary job. If, as applicants, they requested temporary work they might have difficulty in being placed, since many housekeepers seeking workers would consider this a handicap. The applicants therefore would be apt to conceal the fact that they wanted the position for just a few months, and, because of the uncertainties in the situation, they could scarcely be condemned for such a step. Former employers might fail for some good reason to reengage the workers, or the workers accepting other positions temporarily might find them more attractive than the so-called permanent ones, and decide to stay on in the new positions even when the opportunity came for return to the old employer. In such cases the employers would have no grounds for resentment, unless they had paid the employees full or part wages as a bonus during their absence to insure a return to their household. If such pay were given in advance, the employee, if he were not honorable, might fail to return when his employer recalled him or he might come back for a brief period and then leave. An employer feeling no particular responsibility for the worker's maintenance during the absence might prefer to pay a bonus on the return. The employee, in the meantime, having secured more congenial employment, might prefer to forego such a bonus by remaining in his new position. The bonus arrangement, however, is apt to serve as a strong inducement and is usually satisfactory.

Not all householders, however, can afford to pay wages to employees when the temporary closing of the home necessitates dismissal of workers for an interval. Moreover, many of those householders who have a summer home in addition to the winter home may feel it too great an expense to pay two sets of servants at the same time, one in the winter and one in the summer quarters. It may be suggested that in such cases the domestics could go away with the householder if they wanted steady employment, but family ties may prevent such employees from leaving the locality of the winter home. Some employers who feel a strong responsibility toward satisfactory

employees, and are unable to pay a bonus, make it a point to secure for such employees work of some sort that will mean a maintenance during the absence.

All such discussion may seem only to lead around in circles, for just what would prove the most satisfactory solution is difficult to say; but it emphasizes the need on the part of employers to give more careful thought to the problem. Also, it is of great significance in throwing light on the causes of labor turnover among domestic workers.

It should be noted that in the group dismissed because of the closing of the establishment were included some men and women who left positions because the death of employers meant no further need of their services. Chauffeurs dismissed because automobiles were sold or put away for the winter also were included.

The general division, "no further need of service by employers," embraced also the employees who lost their jobs because the householders decided to reduce expenses or to change from negro to white workers or vice versa. This division comprised the men and women who were dismissed because of the termination of a limited engagement; that is, workers acting as substitutes left when the regular employees returned, or nurses left when patients recovered or children grew up.

On the whole, a comparatively small group of the applicants for whom the information was furnished were dismissed from former positions because they had been unsatisfactory to employers, only 15.1 per cent of the women and 19.3 per cent of the men. There were in all only 41 women and 17 men in this division, of whom 15 women and 3 men were discharged for inefficiency in work or service, 11 women and 5 men for irregularity or unreliability, 6 women and 3 men on account of trouble with other servants, 2 women and 1 man because of so-called bad disposition, 1 woman and 2 men for intemperance, and 6 women and 3 men with no reason given.

The great bulk of the workers whose reasons for leaving were reported by employers—a little over three-fifths (61.4 per cent) of the women and 69.3 per cent of the men—were said to have been discharged for one reason or another. On the other hand, 21.3 per cent of the women and 11.4 per cent of the men took the initiative and left of their own accord for such personal reasons as dislike of living conditions required for the job, marriage, moving from the locality, opportunity to change to former or more desirable position, onerousness of the work, or their own family responsibilities involved in the care of young children or old parents.

Only 39 of the 272 women (14.3 per cent) and 4 of the 88 men (4.5 per cent) terminated their services because of their physical condition. This group includes both those who left of their own

accord because they were sick and those who were dismissed because their health or physical condition was such that the employer deemed it a handicap. In a few instances a woman's pregnancy was the cause of dismissal.

As only 1 man and 2 women left on account of disagreements about wages, obviously the high labor turnover among domestic workers is not traceable to the amount of pay offered for the work. This may not indicate entire satisfaction, however, as the absence of a system of promotions, already referred to, and the rarity of voluntary wage increases, may result in employees changing their jobs without the matter causing a disagreement or even discussion.

There were no striking differences between the negroes and white workers who terminated their services with employers for the various reasons.

In regard to length of service there seemed to be no definite relation between the dismissal of employees on account of the closing of the establishment and the length of their employment, the proportions in the various service groups discharged from a position on this account showing no significant variation. In the group of employees dismissed because their services were unsatisfactory, there is, among the women, a steady decrease in the proportion discharged for this reason with the increase in the length of service. The men show such a decrease also, except that there is a larger proportion dismissed for unsatisfactory services in the six-months-and-under-one-year group than in the under-six-months group. Among the men and women there seemed to be a scattering in the various service groups who left for personal reasons, apparently circumstances rather than length of service being the influential factor in this matter. The numbers found under the other reasons are too small to justify computations in this connection.

Nor does an analysis by occupation of reasons for leaving as given by employers (Appendix, Table VII) disclose any very striking facts. Among the women the nurses show the largest proportion dismissed because their services were no longer needed (46.2 per cent) and the cooks the smallest proportion (38.2 per cent). Although there are rather similar proportions in the several occupational groups dismissed for unsatisfactory service, the maids reveal the largest proportion (18.3 per cent) and the general houseworkers the smallest (13.1 per cent). This is rather surprising, since, as a rule, it would seem more difficult for a woman who was expected to perform a variety of occupations to be satisfactory than for one who was a specialist. However, the variety of the general worker's duties might cause allowance to be made for the quality of her work. Probably the truth of the matter is that although the average householder expects a general worker to perform each type of work as well as a specialist

would, and is somewhat disgruntled when she finds the worker only partially satisfactory, she frequently is afraid to change for fear of getting a less satisfactory one. A cause of dismissal in a household with more than one employee is the inability to get along with other servants, a difficulty which the general worker does not often encounter, since she is apt to be the only employee in a home. The proportions of workers in the various occupations who left for personal reasons were also strikingly similar, that is, between 21 and 27 per cent in each case, the nurses standing first with 26.9 per cent. The several occupations, however, show a much wider variation in the proportions who left for physical reasons, cooks heading the list with 22.5 per cent and nurses coming last with 7.7 per cent.

The numbers of men in the several occupational groups who left for the various reasons are so small that they detract from the significance of the proportions. The cooks, with two-thirds dismissed because there was no further need of their services, took the lead in this respect, followed by the chauffeurs, of whom more than one-half left for this reason. The butlers had the lowest proportions in this division, somewhat over two-fifths (43.8 per cent). Among the men dismissed for unsatisfactory service no cooks were reported, but there were a little over one-fifth of the butlers, one-fourth of the chauffeurs, and over one-third of the housemen. Personal reasons of the employees caused 18.8 per cent of the butlers and 9.1 per cent of the housemen to leave their place of employment, but none of the chauffeurs or cooks were so reported. In all only 5 men were reported as leaving on account of physical condition, 2 butlers, 1 chauffeur, 1 houseman, and 1 whose occupation was not given.

In Table IX in the appendix the applicants are classified broadly with regard to whether they were discharged or left of their own accord. This group is larger than that already discussed in this connection as the former group included only those for whom the employers' reasons for the termination was reported. Of this greater number of employees, one-third of the women were discharged and slightly less than two-thirds left of their own accord, the other 1.6 per cent leaving by mutual agreement with the employer. A somewhat higher proportion of the negro women were discharged (34.5 per cent) than of the white (29.5 per cent). The men, showing 37.1 per cent to have been discharged, surpass the women a little in this respect; also a slightly higher proportion than among the women left by mutual consent. Although the proportions of negro men and of negro women who were dismissed are practically identical, the white men exceeded considerably the white women in this class.

According to this table there does not seem to be much relation between the length of service and the way in which it was terminated, unless we consider men and women together, and then there is a

rather gradual decrease in the proportion discharged for one reason or another with the increase in length of service until those with a record of five years or over are reached, when the proportion discharged rises a little.

Method of leaving.

Although the preceding discussion gives some idea of the way in which the applicants left former employers, whether they were discharged or left of their own accord, there was no light thrown on the important question of whether or not those who took the initiative in terminating their services gave notice.

Unfortunately the ethics of the business world which obligate employer and employee to give ample notice when terminating employment relations are not always practiced in the field of domestic service. Failure to do so, whether by employer or employee, usually causes considerable inconvenience and even hardship to the other person. It would seem from general knowledge that householders are less prone to err in this fashion than are the workers. The Baltimore records gave very little information on this side of the question. Some idea, however, of the tendencies of the workers in the method of leaving is obtainable from Table IX in the appendix. The figures reveal that of the women domestics who left of their own accord, the great bulk—approximately 70 per cent—gave notice. The white women overbalanced the negroes in this respect, since over three-fourths of the former (78.4 per cent) as compared with a little less than two-thirds of the latter for whom a report was given on this subject had notified their employers of their intention to leave. A little over four-fifths of all the men who were reported as leaving of their own accord (81.1 per cent) had given notice, manifesting a slightly greater tendency toward this businesslike method than did the women. The separation of men according to race shows that the white men surpassed the negro men somewhat in the matter of notifying the employer before they left, and that the white men not only surpassed the white women and the negro men the negro women but that the negro men made a somewhat better showing than did the white women on this basis.

References.

Great stress is laid upon the furnishing of adequate references by applicants for domestic service. So haphazard, however, is the whole method of getting and giving references for this work that the situation is greatly complicated both for applicants and for householders. As stated in an earlier section of this report, the Domestic Efficiency Association insisted that applicants must furnish a satisfactory reference before they could be considered for placement. In a number of instances the applicant was disqualified because a former

employer who might have given a reference had moved and could not be located. Such a difficulty could be partially obviated by a system like that in force in Austria, where an employer is required by law to issue to a domestic who leaves his service a certificate stating the duration and nature of his service. The questionnaire sent out to former employers by the Domestic Efficiency Association for the purpose of securing references for the applicants contained the following questions:

How long has applicant been in your service? -----
 What services did she perform, and length of service? -----
 Did she leave of her own accord, and did she give notice? -----
 Was she satisfactory in her position? -----
 Was the applicant honest and sober? -----
 Has she a good disposition? -----
 Is she neat and tidy in her appearance? -----
 If she did not live in your home, was she on time in the morning, and did she come regularly? -----
 Do you know of anything in her private domestic life that would interfere with her efficiency as a trained servant? -----

In some cases the persons for whom references were sought merely answered the questions, volunteering no further information, whereas others gave additional facts.

Another difficulty in the method of depending too greatly upon the references furnished by employers is that the whole thing is apt to be a matter of personal opinion. A domestic who is entirely satisfactory to one householder may be just as unsatisfactory to another; in fact, the references found in Baltimore records served as concrete illustrations of this statement, for in a number of cases the references furnished by different employers for the same individual were absolutely opposite in tenor.

Sometimes these conflicting references gave no definite information, one employer merely stating that a particular worker was satisfactory and the second employer that he or she was unsatisfactory. In other instances of conflicting opinions, one reference would be specific in its information and the other general, as examples of which are the following:

Colored woman.....	Reference 1. Splendid—good, dependable, fine woman.
	Reference 2. Did not like her.
Colored woman.....	Reference 1. Honest, clean, very good cook, very nice person.
	Reference 2. Not satisfactory.
White woman.....	Reference 1. Satisfactory.
	Reference 2. Honest, clean, industrious, cheerful; five months' service.
	Reference 3. Unsatisfactory.
Colored man.....	Reference 1. Very good man; would take him back; five years' service.
	Reference 2. Would not care to take him back; two weeks' service.

White man----- Reference 1. Trustworthy, honest, reliable; been driver for quite a while without accident or trouble of any kind.

Reference 2. Was not satisfactory; dismissed him.

A general reference that is unfavorable seems scarcely fair to the worker, because if a more detailed statement were given it would enable the next person considering the applicant to judge whether or not the objections made by a former employer would constitute definite handicaps. An employee dismissed by one housekeeper because of tardiness in the morning might be quite acceptable to another who would not require the worker to come at an early hour; or if a worker were an excellent cook, the fact that she was untidy in her appearance might disqualify her absolutely with some housekeepers but not necessarily with all.

As illustrations of other conflicting references which were a little more specific but which threw very little light on the type of work performed are the following:

Colored woman---- Reference 1. Not always prompt; efficient at times—not always.

Reference 2. Very good worker. Several months' service.

Colored woman---- Reference 1. Very excellent woman in every way, always prompt and reliable.

Reference 2. Not satisfactory.

Colored woman---- Reference 1. Excellent in every respect; sorry when she left; one season.

Reference 2. Clean but absolutely untrained.

White woman----- Reference 1. Very inefficient. Did not know anything about care of house.

Reference 2. Very superior woman. Capable in every way.

Reference 3. Inefficient.

Colored man----- Reference 1. Very fine man; very capable.

Reference 2. Is entirely too old to place.

Other conflicting references were more definite in regard to occupation:

Colored woman---- Reference 1. She went off and left child of 27 months in house alone.

Reference 2. A No. 1 with children and good in any capacity. Six weeks' service.

Colored woman---- Reference 1. Laundry work above average; six weeks' service.

Reference 2. Perfectly honest. Not a very good laundress.

Colored woman---- Reference 1. Not a good cook.

Reference 2. Splendid cook.

Reference 3. First-class cook; good, reliable woman.

Colored woman---- Reference 1. Is not a good cook.

Reference 2. Very good cook. Efficient, clean, honest.

Colored woman---- Reference 1. Splendid. Wish I could afford her still. Waits well. Kept whole house clean.

Reference 2. Consider her second-rate maid.

- White woman----- Reference 1. I can not recommend her in any way. Employed as nurse and when family was out she went off and left the children alone at night.
- Reference 2. Very superior type of girl. Clean, intelligent. Would make splendid governess or nurse.
- White woman----- Reference 1. Too old and frail to take a position unless work is very easy.
- Reference 2. Efficient chambermaid. Very thorough and neat in her work. Very willing, honest, perfectly reliable; three years' service.
- Colored man----- Reference 1. Not a reliable or efficient butler.
- Reference 2. Good disposition. Willing, honest, very capable.
- Reference 3. Very good. Left on account of illness. Good all-around man.

Some of the references were conflicting in the matter of character or disposition, of which type are the following examples:

- Colored woman---- Reference 1. Can do if she wants to, but is trifling.
- Reference 2. Very industrious while in my employ. Could recommend her for position of this kind.
- Colored woman---- Reference 1. Wonderful laundress; never disappoints; thoroughly honest.
- Reference 2. Excellent laundress. I am a little suspicious of her honesty.
- White woman----- Reference 1. Always prompt and ready; quiet disposition.
- Reference 2. Very satisfactory, but not good disposition.
- White woman----- Reference 1. Did very well. A very nice girl.
- Reference 2. Bad temper. Very impudent; not willing to recommend.
- Colored man----- Reference 1. I did not think him reliable—was drinking while there.
- Reference 2. Very nice; willing to please. Cooked meats well, but did not please in all his cooking; would make excellent butler.
- Reference 3. Fine cook; good butler; honest, trustworthy, polite.

In some cases when more than one reference was given for an applicant, the first might constitute what would be termed a good reference, whereas the second would introduce a derogatory feature not touched upon in the first. In such an instance the question would naturally arise: Did the first housekeeper say only the favorable things and omit the unfavorable? As illustrations of such are the following:

- Colored woman----- Reference 1. Very good cook.
- Reference 2. Good cook; late in mornings.
- Colored woman----- Reference 1. Very good cook.
- Reference 2. Very good cook; extravagant; dishonest.
- Reference 3. I can not recommend her; dishonest.

- Colored woman----- Reference 1. Perfectly honest and makes good chambermaid.
Reference 2. Very efficient; honest; splendid cook; can not do nursing; quick temper.
Reference 3. Impossible disposition.
- Colored woman----- Reference 1. Very good woman; very nice cook.
Reference 2. Good cook; good natured; extravagant; not tidy.
- Colored woman----- Reference 1. Unusually good cook; clean; honest.
Reference 2. One of the best cooks I ever had; honest; clean, willing, but unreliable about coming to work.
- Colored woman----- Reference 1. Very good as chambermaid.
Reference 2. Good worker alone; has most violent temper.
- White woman----- Reference 1. Very nice; honest; the average cook; kind-hearted; a little loud sometimes.
Reference 2. A very good cook; not neat in kitchen; perfectly honest; willing; does not get along very well with other servants.
- White woman----- Reference 1. Consider her good plain cook; honest.
Reference 2. Left without notice; very disagreeable.
- Colored man----- Reference 1. Very reliable, accommodating, and thoroughly trustworthy.
Reference 2. Not competent.

Some of the employers by being too noncommittal in their reference tended to disqualify workers for other positions. Furthermore, if an employer refused to give a reference this had practically the same effect as though she were blacklisting the worker. Other employers made one sweeping derogatory statement without any qualifications. The injustice of such statements as "girl absolutely worthless," "an abominable old woman," "found her to be a very immoral character," or "dreadful," given as the only reference for workers who received satisfactory references from other employers, is apparent. It is quite likely when such a condemnatory reference was given that the householder had been entirely influenced by one circumstance alone.

It was evident from the records that some of the employers had given comparatively little thought to the subject, whereas others had considered the matter carefully and conscientiously. Giving references is not an easy task. However, employers should not dismiss it in a summary fashion, as is too often done, feeling that they are not personally concerned. The furnishing of references should be regarded in the light of a social duty since the welfare of so many employers and employees is dependent upon this method. Sufficient time and thought to make it as reliable as possible should be bestowed upon each reference that an employer is called upon to furnish. Many employers fail in this respect. As one writer said in discussing this subject, it is very difficult for housekeepers called upon for refer-

ences to give "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." On the one side are those who err by withholding anything that is at all unfavorable, fearing that they may hurt the worker's chances at further employment; in some instances, where it may be largely a question of personal opinion, this method is not so objectionable, but in others it may be the employer's duty to society to disclose rather than withhold certain revelations. On the other side are those who fall short by making only derogatory statements, evidently unable to see any virtue in an employee because of some conspicuous fault.

The references found in the Baltimore records have been tabulated according to kind and correlated with the length of service of the workers in the home of the employers furnishing such records. (Appendix, Table X.) When more than one reference had been furnished for a domestic, the one given for the longest period of service was chosen for this table.

The classification of the references was an extremely difficult matter, due not only to the different standards of employers and their personal methods of expression but also to the possibility of making different decisions upon many of the references. Individual opinions might easily vary as to whether a reference should be classed as good or excellent, or whether one was good or only fair. Accordingly, in order to give some idea of the basis of judgment used in classifying the references, the following examples are offered as illustrations of the terminology of the table:

Excellent.

- a. Very excellent woman; beautiful cleaner.
- b. Very honest, upright good woman; far above average in every way.
- c. Best servant I ever had.
- d. She is simply perfect; honest, and reliable in every way.
- e. Perfectly capable man; never had a better chauffeur.
- f. Perfectly satisfactory; excellent cleaner.
- g. Excellent cook and splendid waitress.

Good.

- a. Very good woman; I would like to have her again.
- b. Very good, earnest worker; strong and willing.
- c. Very satisfactory; very neat; prompt and reliable.
- d. Honest, sober, trustworthy.
- e. Very good man, honest, works well, waits well, quiet, very respectful, learns quickly.
- f. Willing, efficient, polite, entirely reliable.

Satisfactory.

- a. As butler satisfactory; honest; fairly good disposition.
- b. Very satisfactory.

Fair.

- a. Neat and willing; never done any cooking.
- b. Honest; fair waiter; broke dishes.
- c. Honest so far as I have seen her.

Partly unfavorable.

- a. Honest; does work well, but will not work any length of time.
- b. Was very good reliable worker, but slow.
- c. As butler perfectly honest and willing but not very clean; worth giving a trial.
- d. Capable driver. Too high class for job; used owner's car for own service.
- e. Good worker; honest; fought with cook.
- f. Very good, honest, nice; stayed at home when she felt like it.
- g. Very good; competent and agreeable, but irregular.
- h. Perfectly honest; good butler; I think he can get along with other help.
- i. Splendid girl; can do anything, but not dependable.
- j. Good butler; dismissed for bad disposition.
- k. Knows something of cooking; poor cleaner; came late.
- l. Splendid disposition; kind to children, tidy, clean; seems to stay short period with every one. I do not think she is absolutely honest, and I keep things locked when she is here. I do not think she would really steal much. In some ways a perfect treasure. I am fond of her and would take her back.
- m. Prompt, honest, if husband is kept away; does not know how to cook (applicant for general work).
- n. Honest, good-natured; could not remember; clean but not tidy.
- o. Clean, honest; not capable of doing work in an apartment. I think she could do private waiting.
- p. Honest and capable; untidy about self; wanted to go home very often.
- q. Honest and fair waiter; obliging, but not very neat and clean. I can only recommend fairly but not very satisfactory; does not get along well with other servants.

Unfavorable.

- a. Undesirable.
- b. Not satisfactory; I think she drinks.
- c. Honest but impossible.
- d. Impossible from every standpoint.
- e. Worthless.
- f. Not satisfactory; health bad.
- g. Honest; not efficient.
- h. Not capable; untruthful.
- i. An abominable old woman.
- j. Will not stick to his work; unreliable; I have tried him a number of times.

Noncommittal.

- a. Did not do any waiting; was dishwasher.
- b. Lived with me 1 year 7 months; left for no special reason.
- c. Was with me some time ago; did plain cooking and waiting.
- d. Left after 1 day's notice.

The following summary compiled from Table X in the appendix gives the proportion of workers having the various types of references:

Type of reference.	Per cent of women.			Per cent of men.		
	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.
Excellent-----	14. 5	11. 9	15. 4	7. 4	13. 8	6. 3
Good-----	49. 7	45. 1	51. 3	51. 5	32. 8	55. 3
Satisfactory-----	5. 8	14. 3	2. 3	5. 0	10. 3	3. 3
Fair-----	9. 7	10. 8	9. 2	15. 6	13. 8	15. 5
Partly unfavorable----	8. 4	1. 6	11. 2	9. 2	13. 8	8. 8
Unfavorable-----	9. 6	13. 2	7. 9	8. 2	13. 8	7. 6
Noncommittal-----	. 7	1. 6	. 4	2. 9	1. 7	3. 0
Untrained-----	1. 6	1. 4	1. 7	. 3	-----	. 3

In all 70 per cent of the women and 63.9 per cent of the men received excellent, good, or satisfactory references. The women, with 14.5 per cent showing excellent references, overbalanced the men, of whom only 7.4 per cent were in this reference group. Approximately one-fifth of the women (19.5 per cent) had partly or entirely unfavorable references or were untrained, as compared with 17.7 per cent of the men receiving such references. In the intermediate, that is, in the fair and noncommittal reference groups, were 18.5 per cent of the men and 10.5 per cent of the women applicants, who might also be difficult to place. Altogether, 30 per cent of the women and 36 per cent of the men, in round numbers, might be kept from being placed by the type of reference given.

It may be that the proportion with entirely favorable references is somewhat higher than should be the case because of the tendency of some employers to present the good points and withhold the bad ones, but as an offset to these are the applicants classed as entirely unfavorable because of the tendency of other employers to condemn in sweeping fashion.

When we contrast the races in regard to the proportions having what we might loosely term the good, bad, and indifferent types of reference, we find that 71.4 per cent of the white women, 69.5 per cent of the negro women, 56.9 per cent of the white men, and 64.8 per cent of the negro men were in the generally favorable class; whereas 16.2 per cent of the white women, 20.9 per cent of the negro women, 27.6 per cent of the white men, and 16.8 per cent of the negro men fall into the group with references classified as partly or entirely unfavorable. In the so-called indifferent group were 12.4 per cent of the white women, 9.6 per cent of the negro women, 15.5 per cent of the white men, and 18.4 per cent of the negro men. It would seem from these figures that white women were the most acceptable domestics of all, and white men the least, negro men and women occupying the middle ground, somewhat on a par.

Has length of service much bearing on the type of reference given? Some idea of this can be gained from the following summary of Table X in the appendix:

WOMEN.

Type of reference.	Under 6 months.			6 months and under 1 year.			1 and under 5 years.			5 years and over.		
	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.
Excellent.....	6.1	3.3	7.1	12.8	12.5	13.7	11.5	6.4	13.6	20.8	20.6	20.3
Good.....	45.3	39.3	46.3	56.9	65.6	52.1	62.4	62.9	61.9	63.2	50.0	71.0
Satisfactory.....	8.9	16.4	6.6	3.7	9.4	1.4	5.0	14.5	-----	7.5	17.6	1.4
Fair.....	11.3	14.8	9.9	9.2	3.1	12.3	10.6	11.3	10.9	2.8	5.9	1.4
Partly unfavorable.....	11.7	3.2	14.8	11.0	-----	16.3	4.6	-----	6.8	2.8	-----	4.3
Unfavorable.....	13.8	19.7	11.5	4.6	3.1	4.1	4.6	3.2	5.4	1.9	2.9	1.4
Noncommittal.....	.8	1.6	.5	.9	3.1	-----	1.4	1.6	1.4	.9	2.9	-----
Untrained.....	2.0	1.6	2.2	.9	3.1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

MEN.

Type of reference.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.
Excellent.....	8.2	11.1	7.8	5.0	20.0	3.1	5.9	16.7	3.6	4.0	14.3	-----
Good.....	47.5	11.1	54.9	40.0	40.0	40.6	75.2	66.7	77.1	68.0	42.9	77.8
Satisfactory.....	4.9	11.1	3.9	12.5	20.0	9.4	1.0	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Fair.....	18.0	11.1	19.6	20.0	-----	21.9	7.9	8.3	8.4	20.0	14.3	22.2
Partly unfavorable.....	11.5	33.3	7.8	17.5	20.0	18.8	5.0	-----	6.0	4.0	14.3	-----
Unfavorable.....	8.2	22.2	5.9	5.0	-----	6.3	3.0	-----	3.6	4.0	14.3	-----
Noncommittal.....	1.6	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	2.0	8.3	-----	-----	-----	-----

The proportions of women who were given favorable references show a steady rise and the proportions with partially or entirely unfavorable references a steady decline with increase in length of service. It is interesting to note that one-fifth of the women who had served 5 years or more with one employer were given excellent references. The resemblance between the white and negro women in these respects is very striking. The men are not so consistent as the women in the increases and decreases. The proportion with good, excellent, and satisfactory references is larger for the 1-to-5-years' service division than for that showing 5 years and over. The proportions with unsatisfactory references, however, are just the same for these two periods, 8 per cent of the total number with references.

As already stated, the reference questionnaires requested information about the morals, disposition, and habits of the applicants. In a study of labor turnover it is interesting to correlate such statements as were furnished with the length of service of the workers. The figures are not presented here, but among the 148 men and 429 women for whom answers were written on the reference questionnaires by employers as to honesty and sobriety, only 2 women and 3 men were definitely accused of dishonesty, and only 1 woman and 3 men of intemperance. Of these, 5 had held their positions for less

than 6 months, 3 from 1 to 5 years, and 1 gave no record of service. Obviously, dishonesty and drunkenness would not appear to contribute to any degree to the labor turnover among domestics.

Nor was the employee's disposition much more of a cause for dismissal among the group reported upon by written references. Of 413 women, over 90 per cent were said to have good dispositions, only 11 being credited with bad and 26 with fair dispositions. The men showed the same proportion with a good disposition. Of the 46 men and women accused of having a bad or only fair disposition whose length of service was given, 17 had worked for their employers for at least a year. In the matter of disposition, an incompatibility of temperament between the employer and employee or the traits of the employer may be responsible for the inability of employer and employee to get along together.

According to the reports for 138 men there was comparatively little complaint made about the lack of neatness of male domestics, less than 10 per cent being characterized as careless in their work or appearance. The 415 women reported upon showed a somewhat larger proportion, or a little over 15 per cent, who were unsatisfactory in this respect, the negro women overbalancing the whites. About one-half of the men and women in this category whose length of service was given had been in a position for less than 6 months. There is indication, therefore, that carelessness in appearance and work contributed more definitely to labor turnover than did dishonesty, intemperance, or bad dispositions of domestic employees.

The answers to the question whether the employees, if they did not live in the household, were regular in attendance and punctual in the morning, revealed that of 307 women and 124 men, only 14 women and 10 men were definitely irregular or not prompt and 16 women and 1 man occasionally so. Somewhat less than one-half of those with such irregular habits whose length of service was given showed less than 6 months' service, but 5 had worked with the employer for 1 to 5 years. Although, on the whole, a small proportion of the applicants were irregular in attendance and promptness, those who were did not hold their positions for a long period. The negro women had a noticeably poorer record in this respect than had the white women, since only 1.7 per cent of the latter as compared with 11.5 per cent of the former were described as being irregular or tardy. There was but little difference between the negro and white men in this matter.

Wages.

It seems to be the consensus of opinion of those who have investigated the question of domestic service, that the wages paid for the work are not the cause of the wage earners' disinclination to enter this type of employment or their withdrawal therefrom. It is agreed

that although the wage rate is not high, the supplement to wages in the way of food, room, and laundry raises this form of work into a much more remunerative class than that of many wage-earning women in other fields. Attention, however, must be called at this juncture to the fact already pointed out in a preceding section of the report, that for the employees who do not live in the household in which they work there is not the same addition to the wages, since workers are given no higher rate when they live out, even though they must pay for lodging.

The wage data available in the records of the Domestic Efficiency Association were very limited. In the first place the organization makes no effort to regulate the wage rates of the workers who are placed through its efforts. In a comparatively few instances wages were recorded, and the rates of 253 women and 29 men who had been placed were on file. The median weekly wage for the women was \$10.70, that is, one-half of the women were paid more than this amount and one-half were paid less. There was a general grouping of the women around the \$10 rate; in fact, only 5.1 per cent of the women showed a weekly rate of \$15 or more, only one woman, a cook, receiving as much as \$16. The cooks, general workers, and maids were the only occupational groups with a sufficient number of women to permit a computation of medians. Of these three groups cooks with a median of \$12 were the best paid, general workers coming next with a median of \$10.90, and maids last with a \$10.55 median. That the white women were paid slightly higher rates than were the negro women is indicated by the fact that the median for the former was \$11.40 as compared with the median of \$10.60 for the latter.

Wage data were obtained for only 29 men, of whom 19 were butlers, 3 were cooks, and 1 was in miscellaneous occupations. The weekly median for the men taken together, irrespective of occupation, was \$15.55, which is \$4.85 higher than the median for women. One man was paid \$25 a week, and several received \$20 and under \$22. The butlers, who were the only occupational group for whom it was possible to compute a median, showed a median weekly rate of \$15.55. It was impossible to compute the median for the white men on account of the small number involved, but the median for the negro men was \$15.45.

The difference in the rates paid to the men and women is quite marked, although it is not likely that the duties of men were any more extensive or onerous than those of women. The custom of considering that men must support a family on their earnings is probably responsible for the lower wages paid to the women. If an investigation were made, however, it is likely that the proportion of women in domestic service who were the complete or partial mainstay of dependents would be similar to the proportion of men with such responsibilities.

Conclusion.

It is important to sum up the chief difficulties which confront employers and employees in the field of domestic service. Certain conditions connected with this type of work serve as one and the same source of disaffection, causing, however, one set of disadvantages for the employers and another set for the employees.

In the first place there is the question of the great need for efficient and well-trained domestic workers, with the supply of such skilled labor far below the demand. That employees, as a rule, are given no systematic training for domestic occupations but are usually expected to pick up their knowledge haphazardly as best they can is a definite handicap to both the householders and the employees. Lack of standardization is the great difficulty resulting where individual households with their different methods and varying standards must serve as the training schools, especially since the householders themselves very frequently have had no training that fits them to be adequate instructors. Many employers, expecting more than they have a right to from workers so trained, are kept in a turmoil of dissatisfaction, and the workers, realizing their inability to measure up to such high expectations, tend to become indifferent and even shiftless. In no branch of the service, perhaps, is the situation more in evidence than with the general workers, who are usually called upon to perform a variety of occupations and to pursue each type of work as satisfactorily as would a specialist.

Another decided handicap to both employers and employees is the close personal relationship characteristic of domestic service as it exists at the present time. The employers have the task of assimilating into their households an outside element. This situation is frequently complicated by a difference in race, standards of living, and religion. The complication is greater when the domestics live in the homes where they work.

Great complaint also is raised by householders about the labor turnover among domestics, about their restlessness and brief tenure of office. As a match for this, however, employees might well cite as a grievance the migratory habits of many employers which introduce a seasonal nature into domestic work. Heretofore not enough stress has been laid on the inconvenience caused to domestics by the closing, for a season or longer, of establishments in which they are employed by those employers who make no arrangements for the maintenance of domestics during such an interval.

Employers may also complain of the lack of ambition and initiative of most persons who engage in domestic service, but a disadvantage to such workers, which is generally recognized, is the lack of promotion which they must face. Dr. Lucy Salmon suggests that the idea

"once a cook always a cook" may be applied to all branches of domestic work. On this point, Miss Barker writes:

As to promotion in housework it seems to be almost unknown. Considering the many responsible positions waiting to be filled in private families, nothing could be more desirable than to instill into one's employees the ambition to rise. An employee who has passed through all the different branches of domestic science, from the lowest to the highest in one family, must be far better fitted to occupy the highest position in that family than one who applies for the position with the training and experience gained only in other families where the mode of living may be very different. Since there is no chance of promotion and in consequence of receiving better pay, the domestic employee is often tempted to seek higher wages elsewhere, and thus the desire "to make a change," so disastrous to the peace of mind of the housewife, is engendered in her employees.¹⁶

It may be discouraging to employees to have comparatively little chance for financial advancement, but it is just as discouraging for householders in need of domestic assistance to be forced to pay a goodly wage to unskilled labor, as must be frequently done.

The president of the Domestic Efficiency Association in discussing this section says:

The suggestion in the foregoing study that the situation might be improved by promotion and a rising scale of wage after length of service and increased efficiency, would seem to be a sensible one, but is impossible to carry out so long as the most ignorant workers can secure from weary housekeepers the same wage as those more competent. This is one of the many problems only possible to be dealt with by concerted action. Those whose sentimental sympathy is lavished on the so-called hard lot of the domestic servant seldom stop to consider that such service in comparison to the training necessary for any other wage-earning profession is the most highly paid of all. Few domestic servants to-day receive less than \$45 to \$55 per month, plus food, lodging, and usually some clothing. To increase this is only within the power of the very rich, and is seldom deserved.

The habit practiced by some workers of leaving a position without notice is a cause of much inconvenience and annoyance to householders. It is true that some employers follow the same method of dismissing employees, but this is less likely to happen.

The system of references in vogue is also an arrangement difficult for both employers and employees, for the latter because they must depend in seeking other positions upon the more or less biased statements of former employers, and for the householders because they must rely on the opinions of other persons whose standards may be decidedly different from their own.

Perhaps the greatest drawback of all to domestic service is the custom of having long and indefinite hours of service. Even those who live out frequently have such a long working day, one of 12 hours or more, and such indefiniteness in regard to the time at which

¹⁶ Barker, Clara Hélène. Wanted, a young woman to do housework. * * * New York, 1915. p. 21-22.

they leave their place of employment, that they have very little time for personal pursuits. Employers complain bitterly of the irregularity of domestics who live out in regard to the time of arrival in the mornings, but they fail to consider that these same domestics have as strong a cause for complaint of irregularity in respect to the hour of departure in the evening. Domestic service is of such a nature that the time for its performance covers a long span of hours. Nevertheless, a revision of household schedules is often possible as a means of remedying the trouble to some extent. As conditions are at present, the long and indefinite hours inflicted upon many household employees and felt to be necessary for the convenience of the employers, in the final analysis react against the comfort of the employers by keeping out of such service many persons who could render efficient service and by undermining the competency of those who do go into it.

This brings us to the heart of the whole problem. A difficulty shared in common by employers and employees and—to quote from Doctor Salmon—

* * * probably the most serious of all, is the prevailing indifference among housekeepers to the action of economic law—a failure to realize that in domestic service, as in other occupations, the course followed by one employer has an appreciable effect on the condition of service as a whole.¹⁷

¹⁷ Salmon, Lucy M. *Domestic service*. London, 1897. p. 117.

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Washington, D.C. Domestic Service, London, E.C. 4, P. 115.

PART IV.

SOME EFFORTS AT READJUSTMENT IN DOMESTIC SERVICE.

In an English weekly publication called *The Woman's Leader* there appeared on May 18, 1923, a paragraph with the heading "More light on domestic employment" which contained the following statement:

It might be said that everything had been said that could be said on the subject of domestic employment. Words—especially heated words—have not been lacking. But words conveying accurate information upon a subject so vast and varied are still urgently needed.¹⁸

An idea that may be gleaned from between the lines of this statement is that just as the constant dripping of water wears away a stone, so that steady harping upon the need for improvement in the field of domestic service will tend to break down prejudices and lead to reform. In conjunction with the foregoing discussion, therefore, it may be helpful to present some of the most conspicuous efforts made, in various places and in various ways, for the betterment of domestic service.

In the United States, for example, there have been some scattered efforts and experiments. Among other movements there have been attempts here and there on the part of domestic employees to organize into trade unions, the achievements of which are not especially noteworthy. Also several organizations of householders aiming to better conditions have sprung up, such bureaus as the Housekeepers' Alliance in Washington, the Domestic Efficiency Association of Baltimore, the Housewives' League of Providence, the Thrift House of White Plains (N. Y.), and similar ones in Boston and Hartford.

The efforts of the Young Women's Christian Association are shown by the following paragraphs from the report in 1915 of the Commission on Household Employment:

In the Young Women's Christian Association there has been more or less effort at adjustments between employers and employees through employment bureaus, training classes, and general education. In certain localities there has been considerable success in enlarging the social life of household employment through Maids' Clubs, but these activities have affected the conditions in the occupation itself very slightly. We have knowledge of two Young Women's Christian Associations, one in the East and one in the West, and there are probably others, which have worked earnestly and consistently for two or more years to place the occupation on the basis of a skilled trade. The former, after three years, seems to be on the road to success through the medium of a vocational school, employment bureau, and an organization of employers pledged to uphold the standards

¹⁸ *The Woman's Leader*. May 18, 1923. p. 122.

of the school. The second experiment never fully materialized. Although the Civic Federation offered to back the effort and the association was equipped for a training course, no pupils could be persuaded to take the course. On the other hand, although the housekeepers had initiated the scheme, no potential employers were willing to enter into a contract with the proposed employees, particularly in regard to definite free time.

This endeavor at a training school can be duplicated on a small or large scale time and time again in different parts of the country. Scores of Young Women's Christian Associations, and other organizations as well, stand ready to conduct training schools, but there are no young women to enter.¹⁹

These paragraphs indicate that the spasmodic attempts to inaugurate training schools have not met with much success, due doubtless to the lack of scientific analysis of the industrial and social principles behind the unwillingness of men and women to embark deliberately upon training for a career in the field of domestic service.

The conclusions arrived at by Doctor Salmon in her careful and scientific study of the problem of domestic service more than a quarter of a century ago are apropos at this point. She writes:

In seeking for some measure of relief from the present oppressive conditions, it must be said in conclusion that little can be accomplished except through the use of means which already exist, developing these along lines marked out by industrial progress in other fields. In the foregoing suggestions—that the historical study of the subject points to relief through the removal of the social stigma; that the specialization of household employments in consequence of the removal of as much work as possible and the removal of the domestic employee as well from the home of the employer leads to a simpler and better manner of life for both employer and employee; that the introduction of profit sharing is one means of placing household employments on a business basis; that the establishment in connection with one of our great universities of a school of investigation open only to graduates of the leading reputable colleges is the only opportunity for the scientific advancement of the household and all questions connected with it; and that together with the last, a recognition of the necessity for the readjustment of the work of both men and women must result in making any form of housework for remuneration honorable for any person, man or woman—in these suggestions nothing either novel or original has been presented. Progress has been made through such means; it seems not unreasonable to believe that further progress will be made through their use.²⁰

In line with this are the following suggestions presented by the Commission on Household Employment already quoted from:

Do not let us confuse the terms "life" and "labor." It may be that in the highest scale of professional service a man's work may become his life. In the industrial world there is still a sharp distinction. A young girl's life consists of her family, her companions, her recreation, her ambition to be somebody—to improve herself, her finding herself a place in social groups—the church, the club, the union, the neighborhood. An ambitious self-respecting young woman is willing, is eager, to sell her labor; but never her life. Make it possible for the household worker to sell her labor for more or less definite pieces of time, so that she may have equal opportunity for self-direction and self-development with the

¹⁹ Commission on Household Employment. First report to the fifth national convention of the Young Women's Christian Associations of the United States, 1915. p. 4-5.

²⁰ Salmon, Lucy M. Domestic service. London, 1897. p. 273.

office, store, and factory worker, and household employment will be able to compete successfully with the store and factory. When this is accomplished the so-called "servant problem" will have disappeared. Ambitious, intelligent young women will be reattracted to household work; with the competition for positions will come the opportunity to demand skill and training. Above all, home life will no longer be at the mercy of housework.²¹

And the report adds that "the burden of placing household work on this new basis rests with the employer."

Miss Barker in her discussion of the subject gives much more definite remedies.²² She not only points out the need for greater efficiency among the householders themselves and the failure of many women to regard housekeeping as a serious occupation, but she emphasizes the urgent need of applying business principles to housework. As such essential principles she elaborates upon the advisability of workers living outside the place of employment, of the limiting of housework by paid employees to eight hours a day and to six days a week, with observance of legal holidays and pay for overtime.

The foregoing illustrations show the kind of efforts and recommendations on the part of individuals and organizations to improve conditions of domestic service in this country, where this type of employment has been practically untouched by law. The laws regulating hours of work of women wage earners in the various States do not apply to the services of women in domestic occupations in private households. In fact, in several States women in such employment are specifically excluded from the law by the provisions of the statute itself.

Other countries, however, have regulated domestic employment and although such regulations may have no application to conditions as they exist in the United States it is of interest to consider the efforts which have been made in this direction. For example, in Austria a protective law for domestic employees was passed in 1920, of which the following is a summary:

Immediately on entering employment each domestic servant must, on his request, be issued a labor contract showing his rights and duties.

The wages of domestic servants are to be fixed according to local usage. Wages must be paid not later than on the 1st of each month. Servants not receiving board must be paid the board allowance agreed upon, semimonthly and in advance. If they are furnished board, it must be wholesome and sufficient and as a rule be the same as that furnished to adult healthy members of the family. Servants' quarters must be so constituted that they do not endanger their health and morals. Their sleeping rooms must have doors that can be locked from the inside, and they are to be furnished a safe, lockable receptacle for their personal belongings.

²¹ Commission on Household Employment. First report to the fifth national convention of the Young Women's Christian Associations of the United States, 1915. p. 33.

²² Barker, Clara Hélène. Wanted, a young woman to do housework. * * * New York, 1915. 127 p

The law provides a daily uninterrupted rest of at least 9 hours, which, as a rule, shall fall within the period between 9 p. m. and 6 a. m. In addition, servants must be allowed a total of two hours' rest for the partaking of the principal meals. Servants under 16 years of age are to be allowed an uninterrupted daily rest of 11 hours and 3 hours' rest during their working time. Any curtailing of rest periods caused by work not permitting of delay must be compensated extra.

Domestic servants must be granted 8 hours' leave every second Sunday, this leave to begin not later than 3 p. m. If leave is to exceed 8 hours it must be previously agreed upon with the employer. In addition, they are to be given 4 hours' leave on one week day of each week, the leave to begin not later than 5 p. m. They must, moreover, be granted time for attending religious services. During the first year of his service each servant is entitled to one week of annual leave, during the second year to two weeks, and during the fifth year to three weeks. During his annual leave he is to receive full pay and in addition a subsidy in the following amount: In case of one week's leave, half a month's pay; in case of two weeks' leave, one month's pay; and in case of three weeks' leave, one and one-half month's pay. If a domestic servant is discharged by an employer with the obvious intent of depriving the servant of his leave, the latter may claim compensation in the amount of the allowance that would have been due him had he been granted leave.

In case of sickness a domestic servant is entitled to free medical treatment and medicines. If taken to a hospital he is, in addition, entitled to full pay. If the employer moves to another locality, the servant is under no obligation to follow him and can not be discharged for refusing to do so, and, as long as the service contract is not terminated, the servant may in addition to his pay also claim suitable compensation for the failure of the employer to furnish him board.

The term for giving notice is, as a rule, fixed at two weeks. This term may not be reduced to less than one week by agreement and must be of equal length for both parties. If unequal terms have been agreed upon, the longer term shall be valid. After having received notice of his discharge the servant is entitled to four hours' leave on two week days in order that he may have opportunity to find another place of employment. If a servant leaves his employment without valid reason before the expiration of his service contract the employer may either demand his return into his service or claim damages for breach of contract. If, on the other hand, an employer discharges a servant without valid reason, the latter, without prejudice to his claim for damages, has the right to demand full pay for the period up to the expiration of his service contract; he is, moreover, entitled to compensation for any amount he could have saved during that time or earned through other service. An entirely new feature of the present law is the provision which stipulates that after 10 years' continuous service with the same employer the servant is, on discharge, entitled to receipt of a bonus in the amount of three months' pay. This bonus increases by 5 per cent for each additional year of continuous service up to a maximum amount equivalent to one year's pay. If the service relation is, however, terminated through fault of the servant the latter loses his claim to a service bonus.

Whenever a servant leaves his service the employer is obligated to issue him a certificate which shall merely state the duration and nature of the service. Each servant must be provided with a service card issued to him by the proper communal authority.

The law contains special provisions for servants rendering services of a higher order, such as governesses, tutors, etc. They shall be furnished a separate room, whenever possible, and be granted a rest period of three hours per day. After one year's service they are entitled to two weeks' leave and after two years' service to four weeks. They must be given 6 weeks' notice in case of discharge.

Disputes between masters and domestic servants are to be settled by the ordinary courts, i. e., by the court of that locality in which the servant was in service at the time he brought suit. Regulations to be issued for the enforcement of the present law shall, however, provide for the establishment of special conciliation boards for the settlement of disputes between masters and domestic servants.²³

One of the first legislative acts of the new German Government in 1919 was to abrogate the existing oppressive laws regulating domestic service. In Berlin, in connection with the municipal employment exchange, a board was established consisting of representatives of housewives' and domestic servants' associations to draw up a model form of domestic service contract to be signed by both parties before an engagement. The following summary of the chief points in the model is taken from the Monthly Labor Review of July 1919:

It states exactly the kind of work to be done, the number of persons in the household, the number of rooms, and the number of floors in the house, and provides that remuneration will include lodging, adequate board, and a monthly wage of — marks, to be paid on the last day of each month. (For a beginner a minimum wage of 15 marks (\$3.57) per month plus 5 marks (\$1.19) high-cost-of-living bonus is proposed. The domestic servant must be registered with the proper local sick fund and the legal deductions must be made from the pay for invalidity and sickness insurance.)

The contract specifies in detail whether washing, carpet beating, coal carrying, window washing, floor polishing, etc., is to be done. Information as to the servant's household experience and education and training is asked.

The door of the room assigned to the servant must be provided with a lock and key, and the room must have a bed for his or her exclusive use, a window opening into the outer air, a wardrobe, washing appliances, and a towel. There must also be means for heating the room. Where heat can not be provided during the present period of transition, another heated room must be available for the servant during his or her spare time.

Where there is a bathroom in the house, the servants must be permitted to use it or else they must be granted time and money to have one bath per week outside.

The daily period during which the servant must be at call shall be as a rule 13 hours, of which 2 hours shall be free for meals and other purposes. After 7 p. m. the servant shall only be liable to perform current work such as getting supper, preparing bedrooms, opening the door, etc. Washing, ironing, scouring, etc., are not to be undertaken after that time. Any work done after 8 p. m. on account of visitors or parties must be paid for extra, the overtime rate to be 50 pfennigs (11.9 cents) an hour for work done up to 10 p. m., and 75 pfennigs (17.9 cents) per hour for work done after 10 p. m.

In case of sudden cases of illness of a noninfectious nature in the household the servant must be ready to perform work outside of the regular working hours. The servant may, however, decline to care for and attend a person afflicted with an infectious disease and to clean the utensils required for his care.

The servant shall be given leave every other Sunday after 3 p. m., and each week one free afternoon of at least 4 hours after 4 p. m. shall be allowed.

The servant shall not leave the house without notifying the employer. Girls under 18 years of age must return on week days not later than 10 p. m. and Sundays on which they have leave at a time to be agreed upon. For adults, the hours of return on week days is left to agreement with the employer.

²³ Austrian domestic service law. Monthly labor review, v. 10, no. 6, June, 1920. p. 191-193.

No deductions shall be made for household utensils accidentally broken.

After one year's service the servant shall be entitled to at least one week's leave with full pay and suitable allowance for board. This leave is to increase by one week for every two years' additional service up to a maximum of three weeks.

Two weeks' notice shall be given on leaving the service or on discharge.

Instead of the service pass book hitherto prescribed testimonials are to be produced by the servant if required to do so. These shall be returned when the servant begins work.

If disputes arise while the contract is in force, they are to be settled by an arbitration board, consisting of an equal number of representatives of housewives and servants.²⁴

A domestic service bill somewhat different in its content was drafted by the Ministry of Labor in Poland in 1921. As approved by the legal committee and the committee on the protection of labor of the Polish Diet, the bill contained the following provisions, made public by the International Labor Office at Geneva in January, 1923, before final approval by the Polish Constituent Assembly:

Persons are regarded as domestic servants who are employed in a household for a certain period and are not paid by the day. Persons employed in agricultural undertakings do not come within the scope of the bill.

The working conditions agreed on by the two parties must be specified in writing and copies kept both by the employer and the worker. Unless otherwise stipulated the agreement is valid for a month and can only be canceled after two weeks' notice. Agreements valid for three months or more can only be canceled with a month's notice.

The agreement may be canceled without notice by the employer under any of the following circumstances: (a) If the servant fails to enter on his duties on the date fixed; (b) if he fails to carry out his duties in spite of warning repeated three times; (c) if he insults his employer or his family; (d) if he neglects the children intrusted to his care; (e) if he is intoxicated or is guilty of immoral conduct; (f) if he is guilty of any crime or breach of the law; (g) if for a period of more than three weeks he is unable to work on account of illness.

The agreement may be canceled without notice by the servant; (a) If he is insulted by his employer; (b) if unlawful requests are made to him; (c) if the employer changes his residence; (d) if the employer fails to observe his obligations; (e) in the event of the death of the husband or wife of a near relative of the servant; (f) in the event of his marriage.

The effective working day may not exceed 12 hours with an interruption of two hours on week days and 6 hours on Sundays and holidays. The arrangement of hours of work must be specified in the written agreement and must be such as to enable the servant to fulfil his religious obligations on Sundays and holidays. He shall be allowed at least eight consecutive hours of rest at night, which may be interrupted only in case of illness, accident or a journey, and never for more than one night in each case. Domestic servants permanently engaged in the care of children or sick persons are not covered by this provision. All work in excess of these limits must be paid for at overtime rates and can be allowed only four times a month at the rate of at most three hours each time.

Domestic servants are entitled to two weeks' holiday with pay after one year's service. If this holiday is spent away from the home of the employer they are entitled, in addition to their ordinary wages, to a special indemnity equivalent to

²⁴ Model contract of employment for domestic service in Berlin. Monthly labor review, v. 9, no. 1, July, 1919, p. 168-169.

three times their wages. They are further entitled to a holiday of not more than 10 days, with pay, in the event of the serious illness or death of a near relative. If a domestic servant leaves after one year's service, he is entitled to an indemnity equivalent to at least a fortnight's wages provided he has not been dismissed for his own fault.

If the employer's dwelling contains a room intended for a servant it must be used for this purpose. The room must contain heating facilities and in other respects satisfy hygienic requirements.

If a domestic servant is incapacitated by sickness or accident for which the employer may be considered responsible he is entitled to an indemnity. If there is no sickness fund in the locality where he is employed, the following provisions apply: (a) If the sickness is due to conditions of work, the employer must provide for the treatment of his servant at home or in hospital during the whole period of the illness or until the payment of the above-mentioned indemnity; (b) if the sickness is not due to working conditions the employer is only liable to pay the cost of treatment for three weeks.

The bill contains special provisions as to the work of young persons. Minors may not be engaged without the approval of their parents or guardians. The employer must see that provisions of the law concerning continued education are observed. Hours of work must not exceed 11 per day, and the work must end one hour earlier than that of adults. Minors are entitled to annual leave after six months' service.²⁵

In England since the war there has been a definite movement to bring about reforms in domestic service. Shortly after the signing of the armistice the Women's Advisory Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction of Great Britain was asked to consider and report upon the matter of domestic service. After an extensive investigation the committee submitted the following recommendations on training, machinery of distribution, organization, and conditions:

Recommendations for training in domestic service:

1. That largely increased facilities for training should be provided.
2. That such training should commence on leaving school, extend over two years, and should include some general education.
3. That the instruction should be of a good standard and should be given by properly qualified persons.
4. That the training for houseworkers should be regarded in the same light as the training for any other skilled worker.
5. That the cost of such training should fall on the local education authority aided by State grants, and not on the parent.²⁶

Recommendations for machinery of distribution in domestic service:

1. That the system of annual licensing and powers of supervision of agencies which at present exist in the area of the London County Council should be extended to cover the whole country, in place of the permissive power to enforce registration which is at present given to local authorities under the public health amendment act of 1907.
2. That in order to make such powers actively effective the public must be made aware of the fact that the conduct of registry offices is controlled by license, and that it is open to the public to report

²⁵ Poland—Bill to regulate the conditions of domestic service. Industrial and labor information, v. 5, no. 4, January 26, 1923. p. 8-10.

²⁶ Great Britain. Ministry of Reconstruction. Women's Advisory Committee. Report on the domestic service problem. * * * London, 1919. p. 15.

serious complaints to the local authority responsible for the license. An easy way of informing the public that regulations exist would be by making it binding on the proprietor of every registry office to insert at the head of all note paper a short and clear paragraph giving the name of the local authority to whom complaints may be addressed.

3. That the facilities of employment exchanges should continue to remain open to all domestic workers and employers, and that this fact should be made widely known to the public.
4. That in order that the needs of such clients may be adequately dealt with the employment department should provide for the purpose experienced officers with a wide knowledge of the wants of both mistresses and maids. Accommodation for interviews should insure privacy and a reasonable amount of convenience for both parties. Access to those daily newspapers which contain advertisements for domestic workers should be available at each employment exchange.
5. That any injury caused to the interest of private agencies in this connection should be duly considered by the Government.²⁷

Recommendations for organization and conditions of domestic service:

1. That bodies of trained and certificated workers should be formed.
2. That workers' centers should be formed by local authorities, other local bodies, or voluntary associations or groups. The work of these centers in the most complete shape would comprise—
 - (a) The provision of a hostel where workers would live during training, and during and between engagements.
 - (b) Practical training of workers who would do part of the domestic service of the hostel; also theoretic instruction, where not provided by the local education authority.
 - (c) Social clubs and opportunities for general education and recreation.
3. That where a hostel can not be provided, centers should be formed in suitable places to afford opportunities for society, general education, and recreation, and to give advice and help toward obtaining training.
4. That on the governing body of any center there should be a full representation of workers and employers.
5. That as a means of obliterating undesirable social distinctions and avoiding a narrow outlook centers, where there are hostels, should provide some accommodation for women other than domestic workers, and should admit them to the privileges offered.
6. That to some extent the same advantages should be open to men, and the possibility of forming bodies of men for work which may be too heavy for women should be considered by those who organize domestic work.
7. That under the proposed housing bill loans and subsidies should be made available in respect of hostels for training.
8. That such of the existing hostels provided by Government departments as are in suitable positions and not required for other purposes should be made available for the organization, lodging, and training of domestic and other workers.
9. That local joint committees of employers and workers should be formed, and that such committees should be coordinated.

²⁷ Ibid, p. 19-20.

10. That trade-unions should be recognized and workers given facilities for joining them.
11. That the work of centers should be coordinated with that of public authorities. Pending the establishment of joint committees of workers and employers or other machinery for regulating conditions, it is recommended—
12. That the current local rates of wages should be paid unless these are insufficient to attract workers to the occupation.
13. That in the case of workers living in the employer's house—
 - (a) A substantial reduction should be made in the long hours during which workers are on duty.
 - (b) That the usual meal times and the usual outings, of which we give particulars, should be allowed.
 - (c) That in addition free time (two hours or two and a half hours) be allowed daily, or, as an alternative, a day's leave at intervals, with shorter periods of leave when desired.
 - (d) That in large establishments the head of the household should satisfy herself that young girls employed as kitchen maids, etc., are allowed daily free time and a night's rest of at least nine hours.
 - (e) That a fortnight's holiday with board wages should be given annually, with a half day or more at holiday seasons.
14. That for workers living out the hours of work during the week should not exceed 48, not including meal times.
15. That uniform, when required, should be supplied by the employer.
16. That a written reference should be compulsory, and should be considered complete when it states the length and nature of the employment, whether the worker was honest and competent, and whether she left at her own desire or the employer's.
17. That where a worker is connected with a center the full amount of the wages paid by the employer in respect of her services shall be paid to the worker without deduction.
18. That centers should not make it a compulsory rule that they should conclude the agreement between an employer and a worker.
19. That in view of the unnecessary domestic work caused by the bad planning and fitting of houses the local government board should advise local authorities to circulate information to owners and builders as to improved methods.²⁸

That the question has not been allowed to rest merely with recommendations is shown by a recent investigation initiated by the domestic service inquiry committee which was appointed by the Minister of Labor in England. In the *Manchester Guardian* for June 14, 1923,²⁹ appeared an interesting article on the proceedings of the committee, presenting extracts from the evidence of 11 witnesses. These comprised domestic workers, private householders, employers of domestic labor or public housekeeping enterprises, and representatives of the Salvation Army, and of the household service section of the Women's Legion.

²⁸ Ibid, p. 29-30.

²⁹ Domestic service. * * * *Manchester Guardian*, June 14, 1923. p. 12.

The honorary general secretary of the Domestic and Hotel Workers Union pointed out, as a representative of employees, the 12 most important reasons for the unpopularity of domestic service among wage earners, stressing the most conspicuous disadvantages of long hours, restricted liberty, low status, and loneliness. Moreover, she suggested certain remedies advocated by the union, such as the readjustment of household schedules, removal of the social stigma, the establishment of a standard minimum wage for employees who measured up to standards of efficiency, the organization of training centers with a 6 months' course, and the abolition of the living-in system wherever possible.

The managing director of Trust Houses (Ltd.), who had employed 20,000 domestics in all classes of establishments, submitted a prepared scheme for a national service guild of employers and employed which would supply training, grade the occupations of domestic service, and perhaps set up a minimum wage standard. He detailed a scheme of pensions for domestic servants which he thought should not be, at first at any rate, a government scheme.

The efforts being expended in England and the publicity being given to such activities are bound to result in definite attempts at betterment of conditions, and these attempts will be met with at least a measure of success.

This example set by England could well be emulated in the United States, since there is urgent need for a well-organized and comprehensive investigation of the question of domestic service, in view of the large body of men and women engaged in these types of labor and forced to continue to look to this sort of employment as a means of livelihood, and in view of the vast numbers of persons seeking such service from others. Moreover, the decrease in the numbers of wage earners entering domestic employment without a corresponding diminution in the demand for household assistants emphasizes the importance of heading up into an organized effort the spasmodic attempts being made here and there to get at the roots of the difficulties. In such a systematic and far-reaching movement lies the possibility of eliminating the objectional features of domestic service and of elevating it to the plane of labor on which it rightly belongs.

APPENDIX.

TABLE I.—Number of applicants recorded, by sex, race, and occupation.
WOMEN.

Occupation.	Number of applicants.				
	Total.	White.	Negro.	Other races	Race not reported
All occupations.....	2, 293	736	1, 429	-----	128
Companion:					
Companion.....	9	9	-----	-----	-----
Companion-other work.....	33	32	-----	-----	1
Cook:					
Cook.....	381	62	293	-----	26
Cook-laundress.....	19	1	17	-----	1
Cook-other work.....	64	9	54	-----	1
Day worker.....	262	17	220	-----	25
General worker.....	303	63	228	-----	12
Governess:					
Governess.....	28	27	-----	-----	1
Governess-other work.....	2	2	-----	-----	-----
Housekeeper:					
Housekeeper.....	15	15	-----	-----	-----
Housekeeper-other work.....	9	7	1	-----	1
Laundress:					
Laundress.....	94	4	86	-----	4
Laundress-other work.....	11	-----	10	-----	1
Maid:					
Chambermaid.....	218	93	115	-----	10
Chambermaid-waitress.....	271	86	172	-----	13
Chambermaid-other work.....	108	53	52	-----	3
Waitress.....	99	50	45	-----	4
Waitress-other work.....	18	7	10	-----	1
Personal maid.....	14	13	-----	-----	1
Other maid.....	24	15	6	-----	3
Nurse:					
Nurse.....	46	34	10	-----	2
Nurse-other work.....	26	11	15	-----	-----
Child's nurse.....	53	39	9	-----	5
Child's nurse-other work.....	10	9	-----	-----	1
Invalid's nurse.....	18	14	1	-----	3
Invalid's nurse-other work.....	7	6	1	-----	-----
Part-time worker.....	40	8	31	-----	1
Seamstress:					
Seamstress.....	7	7	-----	-----	-----
Seamstress-other work.....	7	7	-----	-----	-----
Miscellaneous.....	6	2	4	-----	-----
Occupation not reported.....	91	34	49	-----	8

MEN.

All occupations.....	672	134	501	9	28
Butler:					
Butler.....	170	22	135	3	10
Butler-other work, inside.....	38	3	31	1	3
Butler-other work, outside.....	17	1	15	1	-----
Chauffeur:					
Chauffeur.....	95	48	47	-----	-----
Chauffeur-other work, inside.....	24	5	19	-----	-----
Chauffeur-other work, outside.....	7	5	2	-----	-----
Cook:					
Cook.....	33	3	28	1	1
Cook-other work, inside.....	27	1	23	1	2
Day worker.....	14	-----	14	-----	-----
Gardener.....	11	5	6	-----	-----
General utility worker.....	9	6	2	-----	1
Houseman:					
Houseman.....	119	13	101	1	4
Houseman-other work, inside.....	32	7	23	-----	2
Houseman-other work, outside.....	9	1	8	-----	-----
Nurse, invalid's.....	2	2	-----	-----	-----
Walter:					
Walter.....	9	1	8	-----	-----
Walter-other work, inside.....	8	-----	8	-----	-----
Miscellaneous.....	16	4	11	-----	1
Occupation not reported.....	32	7	20	1	4

TABLE II.—Age, by sex, race,¹ and occupation.

WOMEN.

Occupation.	Number re- ported.			Number in each specified occupation whose age was—																										Number not reporting age but recorded as—										
				Under 16 years.			16 and under 18 years.			18 and under 20 years.			20 and under 25 years.			25 and under 30 years.			30 and under 40 years.			40 and under 50 years.			50 and under 60 years.			60 years and over.			Young.			Middle- aged.			Old.			
	To- tal.	White.	Ne- gro.	To- tal.	W.	N.	To- tal.	W.	N.	To- tal.	W.	N.	To- tal.	W.	N.	To- tal.	W.	N.	To- tal.	W.	N.	To- tal.	W.	N.	To- tal.	W.	N.	To- tal.	W.	N.	To- tal.	W.	N.	To- tal.	W.	N.	To- tal.	W.	N.	
All occupations..	1,491	454	1,002	4	1	3	41	14	27	109	23	83	360	80	272	240	67	163	270	74	192	129	32	93	20	9	10	7	6	1	64	33	30	200	93	104	47	22	24	
Companion.....	28	28	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	3	—	3	3	—	5	5	—	3	3	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	10	10	—	3	3	—	
Cook.....	289	42	242	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	40	1	38	34	3	30	66	5	61	38	2	35	4	5	2	2	1	1	—	6	1	5	82	23	59	16	4	11
Day worker.....	163	14	142	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2	28	2	25	33	2	29	52	4	46	21	2	17	4	—	4	—	—	5	—	5	17	3	14	1	1	—		
General worker.....	207	33	172	—	—	—	3	—	3	21	—	21	59	3	55	44	6	37	33	4	29	16	3	13	4	—	4	—	—	8	5	3	14	8	6	5	4	1		
Governess.....	14	14	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	—	2	2	—	1	1	—	3	3	—	3	3	—	1	1	—	—	—	3	3	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	
Housekeeper.....	11	10	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	1	—	2	1	—	2	2	—	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	5	5	—	—	—	—		
Laundress.....	58	1	56	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2	9	—	8	22	—	22	8	—	8	—	—	—	1	—	2	1	1	—	1	11	1	10	4	—	4
Maid.....	524	208	303	2	—	2	26	8	18	67	15	50	191	59	128	82	32	46	57	33	24	24	13	11	1	1	—	—	2	2	—	30	17	12	35	24	9	7	4	3
Nurse.....	106	71	29	1	—	1	7	3	4	10	4	5	20	10	9	17	13	3	20	17	2	6	3	2	—	—	—	1	1	—	5	5	—	13	10	2	6	5	1	
Part-time worker.....	30	6	24	—	—	—	1	—	1	2	—	2	7	—	7	6	1	5	3	—	3	4	—	4	—	1	1	—	—	—	2	1	1	3	2	1	1	1	—	
Seamstress.....	7	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Miscellaneous.....	2	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Occupation not re- ported.....	52	19	32	1	1	—	3	2	1	5	3	2	8	—	8	8	4	4	6	1	4	5	2	3	1	1	—	—	—	—	4	1	3	6	3	3	4	—	4	

MEN.

All occupations..	474	90	394	---	---	---	4	1	3	18	4	13	120	33	80	127	22	100	125	11	109	36	7	27	4	1	3	2	---	2	7	2	5	20	4	16	11	5	6
Butler.....	161	18	134	---	---	---	---	---	---	4	1	2	25	5	16	44	6	36	54	3	50	18	2	15	1	---	1	1	1	---	1	1	---	9	---	9	4	1	3
Chauffeur.....	86	41	45	---	---	---	---	---	---	5	2	3	34	19	15	22	9	13	17	4	13	3	3	---	---	1	1	---	---	1	2	2	---	1	1	---	---	---	
Cook.....	47	2	41	---	---	---	---	---	---	8	1	7	17	1	15	13	---	10	3	---	3	---	3	1	---	---	---	1	---	---	1	---	1	3	---	3	1	---	
Day worker.....	9	---	9	---	---	---	---	---	---	2	---	2	1	---	1	---	---	4	---	1	---	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	---	1	---	---	---	
Gardener.....	6	1	5	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	---	1	1	---	1	2	1	1	1	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	---	1	---	---	---	
General utility worker.....	4	4	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	1	---	2	2	---	
Houseman.....	118	15	97	---	---	---	4	1	3	5	---	5	38	5	30	30	2	26	26	2	23	7	2	5	---	---	---	---	---	---	2	---	2	2	1	1	4	2	2
Nurse, invalid's.....	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	
Waiter.....	13	1	12	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	2	---	2	5	1	4	4	---	4	1	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	
Miscellaneous.....	13	3	10	---	---	---	---	---	---	2	---	2	5	2	3	1	1	---	1	---	1	2	---	2	1	---	1	---	---	---	1	---	1	---	1	---	---	---	
Occupation not re- ported.....	16	4	11	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	1	---	4	---	4	5	1	4	5	2	3	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	

¹ Where the sum of white and negro is less than total, the difference represents persons of other races or whose race was not reported.

TABLE III.—*Conjugal condition, by sex, race,¹ and occupation.*

WOMEN.

Occupation.	Number reported.			Number in each specified occupation who were—								
				Single.			Married.			Widowed, separated, or divorced.		
	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.
All occupations.....	1,463	460	975	602	246	343	676	137	528	185	77	104
Companion.....	31	31	—	19	10	—	14	14	—	7	7	—
Cook.....	307	51	253	92	16	75	160	21	138	55	14	40
Day worker.....	170	11	155	27	2	25	118	5	110	25	4	20
General worker.....	199	37	160	81	13	68	96	13	81	22	11	11
Governess.....	17	17	—	14	14	—	2	2	—	1	1	—
Housekeeper.....	13	12	1	3	3	—	3	2	1	7	7	—
Laundress.....	63	2	60	13	2	11	41	—	40	9	—	9
Maid.....	497	200	286	279	126	145	181	55	124	37	19	17
Nurse.....	91	65	20	57	44	10	22	12	8	12	9	2
Part-time worker.....	24	5	19	5	1	4	15	2	13	4	2	2
Seamstress.....	9	9	—	4	4	—	4	4	—	1	1	—
Miscellaneous.....	2	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—
Occupation not reported.....	40	19	20	16	10	5	19	7	12	5	2	3

MEN.

All occupations.....	406	66	323	143	35	100	261	30	223	2	1	—
Butler.....	136	16	114	39	7	32	97	9	82	—	—	—
Chauffeur.....	71	24	47	24	13	11	47	11	36	—	—	—
Cook.....	44	3	37	11	2	7	32	1	30	1	—	—
Day worker.....	6	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Gardener.....	8	4	4	1	—	1	7	—	4	—	—	—
General utility worker.....	3	2	—	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—
Houseman.....	102	12	85	51	10	36	51	2	49	1	1	—
Waiter.....	12	1	11	2	1	1	10	—	10	—	—	—
Miscellaneous.....	10	2	8	5	1	4	5	1	4	—	—	—
Occupation not reported.....	14	2	11	8	1	6	6	1	5	—	—	—

¹ See footnote to Table II.

TABLE IV.—*Preference as to living in or out of home of employer, by sex, race,¹ and occupation.*

WOMEN.

Occupation.	Number reported.			Number in each specified occupation who—											
				Preferred to live in.			Preferred to live out.			Preferred to live in part of week.			Expressed no preference.		
	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.
All occupations.....	1,358	416	919	675	332	329	510	62	445	115	10	101	58	12	44
Companion.....	27	27	—	25	25	—	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—
Cook.....	327	50	273	189	40	145	94	6	88	30	2	28	14	2	12
Day worker.....	107	8	95	7	1	5	86	7	78	8	—	7	6	—	5
General worker.....	198	31	165	80	23	56	84	5	79	25	2	22	9	1	8
Governess.....	11	11	—	7	7	—	3	3	—	—	—	—	1	1	—
Housekeeper.....	9	8	1	8	8	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Laundress.....	41	1	40	10	1	9	27	—	27	—	—	—	4	—	4
Maid.....	493	192	292	248	150	93	181	33	147	45	4	39	19	5	13
Nurse.....	86	63	20	71	57	12	9	4	4	4	1	3	2	1	1
Part-time worker.....	13	1	12	2	1	1	11	—	11	—	—	—	—	—	—
Seamstress.....	6	6	—	4	4	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	1	—
Occupation not reported.....	40	18	21	24	15	8	12	2	10	2	—	2	2	1	1

MEN.

All occupations.....	296	56	230	197	45	143	51	9	41	21	—	21	27	2	25
Butler.....	97	11	84	66	9	55	12	1	11	6	—	6	13	1	12
Chaufeur.....	49	27	22	35	21	14	9	6	3	—	—	—	5	—	5
Cook.....	30	2	26	19	2	15	6	—	6	3	—	3	2	—	2
Day worker.....	5	—	5	1	—	1	4	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
Gardener.....	7	2	5	6	1	5	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
General utility worker.....	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Houseman.....	85	10	71	55	8	43	15	1	14	11	—	11	4	1	3
Waiter.....	6	1	5	2	1	1	—	—	—	1	—	1	3	—	3
Miscellaneous.....	6	1	4	3	1	2	3	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Occupation not reported.....	10	1	8	9	1	7	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—

¹ See footnote to Table II

TABLE V.—*Preference as to city, suburbs, or country, by sex, race,¹ and occupation.*

WOMEN.

Occupation.	Number reported.			Number in each specified occupation who preferred employment in—																		Number ex- pressing no preference.		
				City.			Suburbs.			Country.			City or suburbs.			City or country.			Suburbs or country.					
	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.			
All occupations.....	1, 148	367	763	105	40	64	216	63	149	144	61	78	455	99	352	4	1	3	76	32	41	148	71	76
Companion.....	20	20	---	2	2	---	3	3	---	4	4	---	6	6	---	---	---	---	2	2	---	3	3	---
Cook.....	277	47	225	27	6	21	43	10	33	45	7	35	105	12	92	3	---	3	14	1	13	40	11	28
Day worker.....	108	8	98	10	1	9	21	2	19	5	1	3	56	3	52	---	---	---	5	---	5	11	1	10
General worker.....	162	28	134	14	4	10	25	4	21	10	2	8	80	10	70	1	1	---	13	3	10	19	4	15
Governess.....	8	8	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	1	1	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	1	1	---	4	4	---
Housekeeper.....	8	7	1	2	2	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	3	2	1	---	---	---	2	2	---	1	1	---
Laundress.....	37	2	34	---	---	---	9	1	8	2	---	2	18	1	16	---	---	---	3	---	3	5	---	5
Maid.....	403	164	232	41	19	21	99	35	61	52	26	25	151	49	101	---	---	---	16	7	8	44	28	16
Nurse.....	78	59	16	6	5	1	11	3	6	4	18	15	3	18	11	7	---	12	9	1	13	13	---	1
Part-time worker.....	11	1	10	1	---	1	1	---	1	---	---	---	7	---	7	---	---	---	---	---	---	2	1	---
Seamstress.....	8	8	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	2	2	---	3	3	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	3	3	---
Occupation not reported.....	28	15	13	1	---	1	4	2	2	5	3	2	7	1	6	---	---	---	8	7	1	3	2	1

MEN.

All occupations.....	301	39	253	12	1	11	34	3	31	60	10	48	62	4	58				37	3	31	96	18	74
Butler.....	96	9	85	4		4	11	2	9	23	3	19	18	2	16				14	1	13	26	1	24
Chauffeur.....	46	17	29	2	1	1	3		3	11	6	5	5	2	3				5	2	3	20	6	14
Cook.....	33	1	29	1		1	1		1	5		5	9		9				5		4	12	1	9
Day worker.....	8		8				1		1				4		4							3		3
Gardener.....	6	1	5							2		2										4	1	3
Houseman.....	90	10	77	3		3	14	1	13	16		15	21		21				9		8	27	9	17
Waiter.....	5		5				1		1				2		2				1		1	1		1
Miscellaneous.....	6		6	2		2							3		3							1		1
Occupation not reported.....	11	1	9				3		3	3	1	2							3		2	2		2

¹ See footnote to Table II.

TABLE VI.—Length of service in previous employment, by sex, race,¹ and occupation at that time.
WOMEN.

Occupation.	Number reported.			Number in each specified occupation whose length of service was—																				
				Under 1 month.			1 and under 3 months.			3 and under 6 months.			6 and under 9 months.			9 months and 1 year.			1 and under 2 years.			2 and under 3 years.		
	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.
All occupations.....	810	231	552	67	19	45	86	23	61	145	36	106	93	25	65	32	11	20	115	37	74	76	23	49
Companion:																								
Companion.....	2	2																				2	2	
Companion-other work.....	2	2									1	1										1	1	
Cook:																								
Cook.....	154	25	122	10	3	6	18	1	17	30	5	25	14	1	11	7	2	5	23	5	16	15	3	12
Cook-laundress.....	11		11	1		1	1		1	1		1	2		2			3	3		3			
Cook-other work.....	43	10	33	4		4	4	2	2	8	1	7	4		4	3		3	6	2	4	2	1	1
Day worker.....	31	1	30	2		2	3	1	2	1		1	2		2			4	4		4	1		1
General worker.....	138	25	111	14	3	10	14	3	11	22	2	20	16	5	11	5	2	3	30	4	26	6		6
Governess.....	8	8								3	3		1	1								2	2	
Housekeeper:																								
Housekeeper.....	2	2											1	1										
Housekeeper-other work.....	5	2	3	1		1				1		1	1	1										
Laundress:																								
Laundress.....	31	3	25	1		1	3		2	7		6	4		4			4		3	5	1	4	
Laundress-other work.....	15		15	1		1	3		3	4		4				1		1	1		1	1		1
Maid:																								
Chambermaid.....	43	21	22	1		1	3		3	11	4	7	4		4	1	1	7	6	1	5	3	2	
Chambermaid-waitress.....	58	13	43	3	2	1	9	1	8	13	2	11	8	1	7	5	3	2	5	1	4	8	1	5
Chambermaid-other work.....	12	5	6	1		1	1	1	1	4	1	2	1	1	1			1	2	1	1			
Waitress.....	42	17	22	2		2	7	4	3	10	2	7	8	4	3	1		1	7	5	2	3		2
Waitress-other work.....	16	4	11	1	1		1	1		3	1	2	4	1	3			3		3				
Personal maid.....	4	4											1	1				1	1					
Other maid.....	34	6	26	5		5	5	2	2	4		4	2		2	3		2	4	2	2	2		2
Nurse:																								
Nurse.....	17	10	7	2		2	2	1	1	3	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	1				2	2	
Nurse-other work.....	6	1	5							1		1	1		1						3	1	2	
Child's nurse.....	34	22	7	2	2		4	1	3	3		3	4	4		1	1		6	5		2		1
Child's nurse-other work.....	5	2	3	1		1				1	1		1					1	1		1	1		1
Invalid's nurse.....	14	13	1	3	3		1	1		1	1					1	1		2	2		3	2	1
Part-time worker.....	1		1										1		1									
Seamstress.....	4	4		1	1					2	2		1		1				2	1	1			
Miscellaneous.....	4	2	2				1	1					1		1				2	1	1			
Occupation not reported.....	74	27	46	11	4	6	6	3	3	11	5	6	10	3	7	1		1	4	2	2	12	3	9

Occupation.	Number in each specified occupation whose length of serve was—																				
	3 and under 4 years.			4 and under 5 years.			5 and under 10 years.			10 and under 15 years.			15 and under 20 years.			20 and under 25 years.			25 years and over.		
	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.
All occupations.....	65	19	43	23	3	19	62	22	39	23	7	14	14	5	9	6		6	3	1	2
Companion:																					
Companion.....																					
Companion-other work.....																					
Cook:																					
Cook.....	10	2	7	7		6	12	3	9	3		3				4		4	1		1
Cook-laundress.....	2		2					3				3							1		1
Cook-other work.....	6	3	3	3		3	2		2	1	1										
Day worker.....	8		8	3		3	2		2	1		1	3		3	1		1			
General worker.....	11	2	8	2		2	6	1	5	7	2	5	5	1	4						
Governess.....	1	1					1	1													
Housekeeper:																					
Housekeeper.....													1	1							
Housekeeper-other work.....							1	1		1		1									
Laundress:																					
Laundress.....	2	1	1	1		1	4	1	3												
Laundress-other work.....							2		2			2									
Maid:																					
Chambermaid.....	1	1		1	1		4	2	2	2	1	1	3	2	1						
Chambermaid-waitress.....	4	1	3	1		1	2	1	1												
Chambermaid-other work.....	2	1	1																		
Waitress.....	3	2	1										1		1						
Waitress-other work.....	1						3		3												
Personal maid.....							1	1		1	1										
Other maid.....	3		3	1		1	4	1	3	1	1										
Nurse:																					
Nurse.....	2	1	1				2	2													
Nurse-other work.....	1		1																		
Child's nurse.....	3	2	1	2	2		5	2	2	2											
Child's nurse-other work.....																					
Invalid's nurse.....	2	2					1	1													
Part-time worker.....																					
Seamstress.....																			1	1	
Miscellaneous.....																					
Occupation not reported.....	3		3	2		2	10	5	5	2	1	1	1	1		1		1			

TABLE VI.—Length of service in previous employment, by sex, race,¹ and occupation at that time—Concluded.

MEN.

Occupation.	Number reported.			Number in each specified occupation whose length of service was—																				
				Under 1 month.			1 and under 3 months.			3 and under 6 months.			6 and under 9 months.			9 months and under 1 year.			1 and under 2 years.			2 and under 3 years.		
	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.
All occupations.....	276	46	219	10	2	7	25	3	22	39	8	31	36	3	29	11	3	8	42	4	35	45	11	33
Butler:																								
Butler.....	74	10	61	2	1	---	8	1	7	11	1	10	9	2	7	4	1	3	12	1	11	9	---	8
Butler-other work, inside.....	8	---	8	---	---	---	1	---	1	---	---	---	2	---	2	1	---	1	1	---	1	2	---	2
Butler-other work, outside.....	3	---	3	---	---	---	1	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	---	---	1
Chauffeur:																								
Chauffeur.....	47	21	26	2	1	1	3	2	1	9	3	6	5	1	4	1	---	1	7	3	4	12	7	5
Chauffeur-other work, inside.....	8	3	5	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	1	---	1	2	1	---	1
Chauffeur-other work, outside.....	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Cook:																								
Cook.....	15	1	11	1	---	1	1	---	1	1	---	1	5	---	4	1	1	---	4	---	2	---	---	---
Cook-other work, inside.....	5	---	5	1	---	1	---	---	---	1	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	1	---	1	2	---	---	2
Cook-other work, outside.....	1	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Day worker.....	1	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	---	1	---	---	---
Gardener.....	4	1	3	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	---	1	1	---	1
General utility worker.....	14	1	11	1	---	1	2	---	2	2	1	1	2	---	1	---	---	3	---	3	---	---	---	---
Houseman:																								
Houseman.....	35	1	34	3	---	3	4	---	4	3	---	3	9	---	9	1	---	1	5	---	5	5	1	4
Houseman-other work, outside.....	6	---	6	---	---	---	1	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	2	---	2	1	---	---	1
Waiter:																								
Waiter.....	13	4	9	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	1	---	1	---	1	1	---	1	---	---	5	2	---	3
Waiter-other work, inside.....	1	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Porter.....	5	---	5	---	---	---	1	---	1	---	---	1	---	---	1	---	---	1	---	1	---	---	---	---
Miscellaneous.....	20	2	17	---	---	---	3	---	3	5	---	5	1	---	1	---	1	---	2	---	2	1	---	1
Occupation not reported.....	15	1	12	---	---	---	---	---	---	2	1	1	1	---	---	1	---	1	---	---	4	---	---	4

Occupation	Number in each specified occupation whose length of service was—																				
	3 and under 4 years.			4 and under 5 years.			5 and under 10 years.			10 and under 15 years.			15 and under 20 years.			20 and under 25 years.			25 years and over.		
	To- tal.	White.	Negro.	To- tal.	White.	Negro.	To- tal.	White.	Negro.	To- tal.	White.	Negro.	To- tal.	White.	Negro.	To- tal.	White.	Negro.	To- tal.	White.	Negro.
All occupations.....	19	2	16	9	1	7	29	6	23	6	3	3	2		2				3		3
Butler:																					
Butler.....	5		4	1		1	9	2	7	2	1	1	1		1				1		1
Butler-other work, inside.....	1		1																		
Butler-other work, outside.....				1		1															
Chauffeur:																					
Chauffeur.....	3	2	1	2	1	1	2		2	1	1										
Chauffeur-other work, inside.....	1		1				2	2		1		1									
Chauffeur-other work, outside.....																					
Cook:																					
Cook.....							2		2												
Cook-other work, inside.....																					
Cook-other work, outside.....	1		1																		
Day worker.....																					
Gardener.....							1	1		1		1									
General utility worker.....	2		2	1			1		1	1		1									
Houseman:																					
Houseman.....	2		2	1		1	2		2												
Houseman-other work, outside.....	1		1	1		1															
Waiter:																					
Waiter.....	1		1	1		1	2	1	1										1		1
Waiter-other work, inside.....																					
Porter.....							1		1												
Miscellaneous.....	1		1				3		3	1	1		1		1				1		1
Occupation not reported.....	1		1	1		1	4		4												

¹See footnote to Table II.

TABLE VII.—Length of service in previous employment and employer's reason for termination, by sex, and race,¹ of employee.

WOMEN.

Reason for leaving.	Number re- ported.			Number leaving employment for specified reason whose length of service was—																									
				Under 1 month.			1 and under 3 months.			3 and under 6 months.			6 and under 9 months.			9 months and under 1 year.			1 and under 5 years.			5 and under 10 years.			10 years a d over.				
	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.		
All reasons.....	249	57	186	30	7	22	35	4	30	53	13	39	31	6	24	10	3	6	65	18	46	11	2	9	14	4	10		
No further need of services:																													
Closing of establishment.....	62	12	48	1		1	9		9	11	2	9	11	2	9	3	1	1	17	4	12	3		3	7	3	4		
Reduction of expenses or number of servants.....	5	2	3							3	1	2							1		1			1	1				
Termination of limited engagement.....	36	6	29	16	2	14	4	1	2	9	1	8	2		2				4	2	2	1		1					
Other reasons.....	13	3	10				2		2	5	3	2							4		4				2		2		
Services unsatisfactory:																													
Inefficiency.....	10	2	8	2	1	1	3		3	1		1	2		2				2	1	1								
Unreliability or irregularity.....	11	2	8				2		2	3	1	1	3	1	2	1		1	2		2								
Trouble with other servants.....	6	2	3				2		2	1		1	1						1		1	1							
Intemperance.....	1		1				1		1				1																
Disposition not good.....	2	2		1	1														1	1									
Reason not reported.....	6	1	5	1		1	3	1	2	1		1							1		1								
Employee's personal reason:																													
Home relations or responsi- bilities.....	12	4	8	1		1	1		1	1		1				2	2		5	2	3	2		2					
Living conditions in em- ployment.....	4	3	1	1		1				1	1								2	2									
Marriage.....	7	2	5										1	1		1		1	5	1	4								
Leaving locality.....	5		5							2		2	1			1	1		1		1								
Another job.....	10	4	6				1	1	3	3	1	2	1		1			4	2	2			1			1			
Work too heavy.....	4	2	2	1	1		1		1	2	1	1																	
Other reason.....	10	1	9				3	1	1	2		2	1		1	1		1	4		4			1	1		1		
Physical condition of employee.....	38	7	30	6	2	3	3		3	7	1	6	8	2	6	1		1	8	2	6	3		3	2		2		
Mutual agreement.....	4	1	3				1		1									3	1	2									
Wage disagreement.....	1		1							1		1																	
Other reason.....	2	1	1				1		1												1	1							

MEN.

All reasons.....	84	14	67	8	2	5	14	2	12	11	2	9	11	-----	11	6	1	5	26	5	19	6	2	4	2	-----	2
No further need of services:																											
Closing of establishment.....	28	6	21	1	-----	1	3	1	2	6	-----	6	3	-----	3	3	-----	3	8	3	4	3	2	1	1	-----	1
Reduction of expenses or number of servants.....	6	2	4	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1	-----	-----	4	2	2	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Termination of limited engagement.....	8	-----	7	2	-----	1	3	-----	3	-----	2	-----	1	-----	1	1	-----	1	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Other reason.....	2	-----	2	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	2	-----	2	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Services unsatisfactory:																											
Inefficiency.....	3	1	2	-----	-----	-----	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1	-----	-----	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Unreliability or irregularity	5	1	4	2	1	1	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1	-----	-----	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Trouble with other servants	3	1	2	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1	1	1	-----	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Intemperance.....	2	-----	2	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Reason not reported.....	3	-----	3	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	2	-----	2	-----	-----	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Employee's personal reason:																											
Home relations or responsi- bilities.....	1	-----	1	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Leaving locality.....	3	-----	3	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Another job.....	3	-----	3	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1	-----	-----	1	-----	1	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----
Work too heavy.....	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Other reason.....	2	2	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Physical condition of employee.	3	-----	3	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	3	-----	3	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Mutual agreement.....	3	-----	3	-----	-----	-----	2	-----	2	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Wage disagreement.....	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Other reason.....	7	1	5	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	3	-----	2	2	-----	2	1	-----	-----	1

¹ See footnote to Table II.

TABLE VIII.—*Employer's reason for termination of employment, by sex, race,¹ and occupation of employee at that time.*

WOMEN.

Reason for leaving.	Number reported.			Number leaving employment for specified reason whose occupation was—																	
				Companion.			Cook.			Day worker.			General worker.			Governess.			Housekeeper.		
	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.
All reasons	345	79	259	1	1	-----	102	14	87	9	-----	9	61	8	53	4	4	-----	7	3	4
No further need of services:																					
Closing of establishment.....	82	16	64	1	1	-----	25	5	20	3	-----	3	16	2	14	-----	-----	-----	4	2	2
Reduction of expenses or number of servants.....	6	2	4	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	2	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Termination of limited engagement.....	42	6	35	-----	-----	-----	13	1	12	1	-----	1	4	-----	4	-----	-----	1	-----	1	-----
Other reason.....	16	4	12	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	2	-----	2	6	-----	6	2	2	-----	1	-----	1
Services unsatisfactory:																					
Inefficiency.....	18	5	13	-----	-----	-----	6	1	5	-----	-----	-----	5	1	4	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Unreliability or irregularity.....	17	7	8	-----	-----	-----	2	-----	2	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	1	1	-----
Trouble with other servants.....	6	1	4	-----	-----	-----	2	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Intemperance.....	2	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Disposition not good.....	6	4	2	-----	-----	-----	2	1	1	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Reason not reported.....	6	1	5	-----	-----	-----	3	-----	3	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Employee's personal reason:																					
Home relations or responsibilities.....	18	5	13	-----	-----	-----	4	-----	4	1	-----	1	4	1	3	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----
Living conditions in employment.....	5	3	2	-----	-----	-----	2	1	1	1	-----	1	-----	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Marriage.....	9	2	7	-----	-----	-----	2	-----	2	-----	-----	-----	2	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Leaving locality.....	8	-----	8	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	3	-----	3	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Another job.....	15	4	11	-----	-----	-----	5	1	4	-----	-----	-----	2	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Work too heavy.....	6	2	4	-----	-----	-----	6	2	4	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Other reason.....	14	3	11	-----	-----	-----	3	-----	3	-----	-----	-----	2	-----	2	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Physical condition of employee.....	57	11	45	-----	-----	-----	23	2	21	-----	-----	-----	10	1	9	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----
Mutual agreement.....	5	1	4	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Wage disagreement.....	5	-----	5	-----	-----	-----	3	-----	3	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Other reason.....	2	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

Reason for leaving.	Number leaving employment for specified reason whose occupation was—																	
	Laundress.			Maid.			Nurse.			Part-time worker.			Seamstress.			Not reported.		
	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.
All reasons.....	13	2	11	93	23	65	26	15	11	1	-----	1	1	1	-----	27	8	18
No further need of services:																		
Closing of establishment.....	4	-----	4	22	6	14	3	-----	3	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	4	-----	4
Reduction of expenses or number of servants.....				3	1	2												
Termination of limited engagement.....	2	-----	2	8	-----	7	8	5	3	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	4	-----	4
Other reason.....				4	2	2	1		1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----			
Services unsatisfactory:																		
Inefficiency.....				4	1	3	2	2		-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1
Unreliability or irregularity.....	1	-----	1	7	3	3	2	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	3	2	-----
Trouble with other servants.....				3	-----	3				-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	1	-----
Intemperance.....	1	-----	1	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----			
Disposition not good.....	1	1	-----	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	1	-----
Reason not reported.....				1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1
Employee's personal reason:																		
Home relations or responsibilities.....				5	1	4	2	2	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	1	-----	1	-----	1
Living conditions in employment.....							1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----			
Marriage.....				4	-----	4	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	1	-----
Leaving locality.....				4	-----	4	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1
Another job.....				4	1	3	3	1	2	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1
Work too heavy.....							-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----			
Other reason.....				5	2	3	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	3	1	2
Physical condition of employee.....	4	1	3	13	3	9	2	2	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	4	1	3
Mutual agreement.....				2	-----	2	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----			
Wage disagreement.....				1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----			
Other reason.....				1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	1	-----

¹ See footnote to Table II.

TABLE VIII.—*Employer's reason for termination of employment, by sex, race,¹ and occupation of employee at that time—Concluded.*

MEN.

Reason for leaving.	Number reported.			Number leaving employment for specified reason whose occupation was—											
				Butler.			Chauffeur.			Cook.			Gardener.		
	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.
All reasons.....	100	17	77	32	4	27	24	10	14	6		4	2		2
No further need of services:															
Closing of establishment.....	32	7	22	6	1	5	9	5	4	3		1			
Reduction of expenses or number of servants.....	6	2	4	1		1	2	1	1	1		1			
Termination of limited engagement.....	9		8	6		5	1		1						
Other reason.....	2		2	1		1	1		1						
Services unsatisfactory:															
Inefficiency.....	4	1	3				2	1	1						
Unreliability or irregularity.....	5	1	4	1		1	2	1	1						
Trouble with other servants.....	3	1	2	3	1	2									
Intemperance.....	2		2	1		1									
Disposition not good.....	1		1	1		1									
Reason not reported.....	4	1	3	1		1	2	1	1						
Employee's personal reason:															
Home relations or responsibilities.....	1		1												
Leaving locality.....	4		4	2		2									
Another job.....	3		3	2		2									
Work too heavy.....	2		2	1		1							1		1
Other reason.....	2	2		1	1										
Physical condition of employee.....	5		5	2		2	1		1						
Mutual agreement.....	3		3	1		1				1		1			
Wage disagreement.....	1		1												
Other reason.....	11	2	7	2	1	1	4	1	3	1		1	1		1

Reason for leaving.	Number leaving employment for specified reason whose occupation was—														
	General utility man.			Houseman.			Waiter.			Miscellaneous.			Not reported.		
	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.	Total.	White.	Negro.
All reasons.....	10	1	8	11	-----	11	4	1	3	7	-----	7	4	1	1
No further need of services:															
Closing of establishment.....	4	-----	4	3	-----	3	3	-----	3	2	-----	2	2	1	-----
Reduction of expenses or number of servants.....	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Termination of limited engagement.....	-----	-----	-----	2	-----	2	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Services unsatisfactory:															
Inefficiency.....	-----	-----	1	-----	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----
Unreliability or irregularity.....	-----	-----	1	-----	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----
Intemperance.....	-----	-----	1	-----	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Reason not reported.....	-----	-----	1	-----	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Employee's personal reason:															
Home relations or responsibilities.....	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Leaving locality.....	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----
Another job.....	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Other reason.....	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Physical condition of employee.....	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1
Mutual agreement.....	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Wage disagreement.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----
Other reason.....	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1	1	-----	-----

¹ See footnote to Table II.

TABLE IX.—*Length of service in previous employment, by sex, race,¹ and manner of leaving.*

WOMEN.

Length of service.	Number reported.			Number leaving employment after specified length of service who—																													
				Were discharged.												Left of own accord.															Left by mutual consent.		
	Total.			With notice.			Without notice.			Manner not reported.			Total.			With notice.			Without notice.			Manner not reported.											
To- tal.	W.	N.	To- tal.	W.	N.	To- tal.	W.	N.	To- tal.	W.	N.	To- tal.	W.	N.	To- tal.	W.	N.	To- tal.	W.	N.	To- tal.	W.	N.	To- tal.	W.	N.	To- tal.	W.	N.				
Total.....	773	149	411	191	44	142	7	1	6	1	1	---	183	42	136	373	103	262	181	58	119	80	16	62	112	29	81	9	2	7			
Under 1 month.....	36	7	26	23	5	17	2	1	1	1	1	---	20	3	16	11	1	8	3	---	2	2	---	2	6	1	4	2	1	1			
1 and under 3 months.....	55	12	43	21	2	19	---	---	---	---	---	---	21	2	19	33	10	23	18	6	12	7	---	7	8	4	4	1	---	1			
3 and under 6 months.....	86	17	66	32	7	24	1	---	1	---	---	---	31	7	23	53	10	41	31	6	24	9	---	9	13	4	8	1	---	1			
6 and under 9 months.....	57	16	39	18	3	14	3	---	3	---	---	---	15	3	11	39	13	25	26	11	14	5	---	5	8	2	6	---	---				
9 months and under 1 year.....	17	7	9	3	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	3	1	1	14	6	8	10	4	6	2	1	1	2	1	1	---	---				
1 and under 2 years.....	68	17	51	20	3	17	---	---	---	---	---	---	20	3	17	46	13	33	33	12	21	5	1	4	8	8	2	1	---				
2 and under 3 years.....	30	9	20	9	2	6	---	---	---	---	---	---	9	2	6	19	7	12	11	5	6	3	---	3	5	2	3	2	---	2			
3 and under 4 years.....	23	8	14	9	2	7	---	---	---	---	---	---	9	2	7	14	6	7	10	5	5	1	---	3	1	2	---	---	---				
4 and under 5 years.....	11	2	9	3	1	2	---	---	---	---	---	---	3	1	2	8	1	7	6	---	6	1	---	1	1	1	---	---	---				
5 and under 10 years.....	20	5	15	5	---	5	---	---	---	---	---	---	5	---	5	15	5	10	7	3	4	---	---	8	2	6	---	---	---				
10 and under 15 years.....	12	3	9	6	2	4	---	---	---	---	---	---	6	2	4	5	1	4	5	1	4	---	---	---	---	---	1	---	1				
15 and under 20 years.....	6	2	4	3	2	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	3	2	1	3	---	3	3	---	3	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---				
20 and under 25 years.....	4	---	4	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	4	---	4	1	---	1	---	---	3	---	3	---	---	---				
25 years and over.....	1	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	---	1	---	---				
Indefinite.....	33	10	22	11	4	7	1	---	1	---	---	---	10	4	6	22	6	15	8	1	6	4	2	2	10	3	7	---	---				
Time not reported.....	114	34	79	28	10	18	---	---	---	---	---	---	28	10	18	86	24	61	9	4	5	41	12	28	36	8	28	---	---				

MEN.

Total	167	28	134	62	13	46	2	---	2	2	1	1	58	12	43	100	15	83	60	11	49	14	2	12	26	2	22	5	---	5
Under 1 month	9	2	6	6	2	3	---	---	---	1	1	---	5	1	3	2	---	2	---	---	3	1	---	1	1	---	1	1	---	1
1 and under 3 months	17	1	16	10	1	9	1	---	1	1	---	1	8	1	7	5	---	5	3	1	6	2	---	2	---	---	---	---	---	---
3 and under 6 months	16	3	13	3	---	3	---	---	---	---	---	---	3	---	3	13	---	10	7	---	5	2	2	---	4	---	4	---	---	2
6 and under 9 months	16	1	15	8	---	8	---	---	---	---	---	---	8	---	8	8	1	7	5	---	---	---	---	2	1	---	1	---	---	---
9 months and under 1 year	8	1	7	5	---	5	1	---	1	---	---	---	4	---	4	1	1	---	---	---	---	2	---	2	---	1	---	2	---	---
1 and under 2 years	19	1	16	6	---	5	---	---	---	---	---	---	6	---	5	13	1	11	8	1	7	---	---	---	5	---	4	---	---	---
2 and under 3 years	23	6	17	8	3	5	---	---	---	---	---	---	8	3	5	15	3	12	13	3	10	---	---	---	2	---	2	---	---	---
3 and under 4 years	9	1	8	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	1	---	8	---	8	4	---	4	1	---	---	---	---	3	---	---	---
4 and under 5 years	6	1	4	2	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	2	1	1	4	---	3	2	---	2	1	---	1	3	---	1	---	---	---
5 and under 10 years	9	3	6	3	2	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	3	2	1	6	1	5	4	1	3	---	---	2	---	2	---	2	---	---
10 and under 15 years	3	1	2	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	3	1	2	3	1	2	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
15 and under 20 years	1	---	1	1	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Indefinite	11	4	7	2	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	2	1	1	9	3	6	7	3	4	---	---	---	2	---	2	---	---	---
Time not reported	20	3	16	7	2	4	---	---	---	---	---	---	7	2	4	13	1	12	4	1	3	6	---	6	3	---	3	---	---	---

¹ See footnote to Table II.

TABLE X.—Length of service in previous employment and type of employer's reference furnished to agency, by sex, and race,¹ of employee.
WOMEN.

Length of service.	Number reported.			Number having service record as specified whose reference was—																				
				Excellent.			Good.			Satisfactory.			Fair.			Partly favorable.			Unfavorable.			Noncommittal		
	To- tal.	White.	Ne- gro.	To- tal.	White.	Ne- gro.	To- tal.	White.	Ne- gro.	To- tal.	White.	Ne- gro.	To- tal.	White.	Ne- gro.	To- tal.	White.	Ne- gro.	To- tal.	White.	Ne- gro.	To- tal.	White.	Ne- gro.
Total.....	1,348	370	939	196	44	149	670	167	482	78	53	22	131	40	86	134	11	122	129	49	74	10	6	4
Under 1 month.....	55	15	38	3		3	18	4	13	3	1	2	10	4	5	8		8	12	5	7	1	1	
1 and under 3 months.....	72	18	54	3	1	2	31	5	26	5	4	1	8	1	7	14	2	12	11	5	6			
3 and under 6 months.....	120	28	90	9	1	8	63	15	47	14	5	9	10	4	6	12	1	11	11	2	8	1		1
6 and under 9 months.....	79	22	54	7	2	5	46	17	27	3	2	1	8		8	10		10	5	1	3			
9 months and under 1 year.....	30	10	19	7	2	5	16	4	11	1	1		2	1	1	3	1	2				1	1	
1 and under 2 years.....	96	27	66	11	2	9	63	20	40	3	3		7	1	6	5		5	5	1	4	2		2
2 and under 3 years.....	62	19	40	8	2	6	32	8	21	4	4		10	4	6	3	3	3	5	1	4			
3 and under 4 years.....	60	16	41	6		5	41	11	30	4	2		6	2	4	2	2	2				1	1	
4 and under 5 years.....	18	3	14	4	1	2	11	1	10	1	1				1	1	1	1	1		1			
5 and under 6 years.....	15	6	9	3	1	2	8	3	5				3	2	1	1		1						
6 and under 7 years.....	11	5	6	2	1	1	8	3	5										1	1				
7 and under 8 years.....	5	2	2	1	1		3	1	2	1														
8 and under 9 years.....	9	4	5	3	2	1	5	2	3							1		1						
9 and under 10 years.....	9	3	6	1			6	1	5	1	1											1	1	
10 and under 15 years.....	21	7	13	3		3	17	6	10	1	1													
15 and under 20 years.....	11	3	8				8		8	3	3													
20 and under 25 years.....	4		4	2		2	1		1	1		1												
25 and under 30 years.....	2	1	1	2	1	1																		
30 years and over.....	1		1	1		1																		
Indefinite.....	83	22	57	10	1	9	44	10	30	6	3	3	9	2	7	10	3	7	3	2	1	1	1	
Time not reported.....	585	159	411	110	26	83	249	56	188	27	22	5	58	19	35	64	4	59	75	31	40	2	1	1

MEN.

Length of service.	Number re- ported.			Number having service record as specified whose reference was—																								
				Excellent.			Good.			Satisfactory.			Fair.			Partly favor- able.			Unfavorable.			Noncommittal.						
	To- tal.	White.	Ne- gro.	To- tal.	White.	Ne- gro.	To- tal.	White.	Ne- gro.	To- tal.	White.	Ne- gro.	To- tal.	White.	Ne- gro.	To- tal.	White.	Ne- gro.	To- tal.	White.	Ne- gro.	To- tal.	White.	Ne- gro.				
Total.....	379	58	304	28		8	19	195	19	168	19	6	10	59	8	47	36		8	28	31		8	23	11		1	9
Under 1 month.....	8	2	5	1			1	3		3							1	1		2	1	1	1					
1 and under 3 months.....	20	2	18					5		5				9	1	8	4	1	3	2		2						
3 and under 6 months.....	33	5	28	4	1	3	21	1	20	3	1	2	2	2		2	2	1	1	1	1							
6 and under 9 months.....	30	3	24				14	2	11	4	1	2	6		5	4		4	2		2							
9 months and under 1 year.....	10	2	8	2	1	1	2		2	1		1	2		2	3	1	2										
1 and under 2 years.....	39	3	33	3		2	24	1	21				6	1	5	2		2	2	2		2	2		2	2	1	1
2 and under 3 years.....	38	8	29	3	2	1	31	6	25	1			1		1	2		2										
3 and under 4 years.....	16	1	14				14	1	12				1		1	1		1										
4 and under 5 years.....	8		7				7		6																			
5 and under 6 years.....	4		4				4		4																			
6 and under 7 years.....	4		4				3		3				1		1													
7 and under 8 years.....	2		2										2		2													
8 and under 9 years.....	4	2	2	1	1		2		2				1	1														
9 and under 10 years.....	4	2	2				3	1	2							1	1											
10 and under 15 years.....	4	3	1				3	2	1										1	1								
25 and under 30 years.....	1		1				1		1																			
30 years and over.....	2		2				1		1				1		1													
Indefinite.....	24	5	19	1	1		13	2	11	1		1	1		1	4	2	2	2		2	2		2	2			2
Time not reported.....	128	20	101	13	2	11	44	3	38	9	4	4	26		5	18	12	1	11	18		5	13	6				6

¹ See footnote to Table II.

TABLE XI.—*Wage rates of placed applicants, by sex, race,¹ and occupation.*

WOMEN.

Weekly rate.	Number reported.		Number placed in positions at rates specified, whose occupation was—																								
			Cook.			Cook-laundress.			Cook-other work.			General worker.			Governess.			Laundress.			Chambermaid.			Chambermaid-waitress.			
			To-tal.	White.	Negro.	To-tal.	White.	Negro.	To-tal.	White.	Negro.	To-tal.	White.	Negro.	To-tal.	White.	Negro.	To-tal.	White.	Negro.	To-tal.	White.	Negro.	To-tal.	White.	Negro.	
Total.....	253	52	148	71	9	44	1		1	4		2	53	6	38	1	1		7		3	26	12	10	28	3	17
\$5 and under \$6.....	4		2												1				3		1						
\$6 and under \$7.....	4		4												1												
\$7 and under \$8.....	2		2																								
\$8 and under \$9.....	25	3	19	5	1	4							6		5						2	4	2	4	2	2	
\$9 and under \$10.....	21	5	13	1						1			5		5	1	1				2	1	2	1	2	1	
\$10 and under \$11.....	103	16	59	28	2	17				2		1	16		12					12	4	6	18	2	10	1	
\$11 and under \$12.....	13	5	7	1		1							5	1	4				2	1	2	2	1	1		3	
\$12 and under \$13.....	62	15	34	25	2	17				1		1	16	4	9				2	1	4	2	1	3		3	
\$13 and under \$14.....	1		1	1		1																					
\$14 and under \$15.....	5	1	3	1		1	1			1			2		1					1	1						
\$15 and under \$16.....	12	7	3	8	4	2							2	1	1					1	1						
\$16 and under \$17.....	1		1	1		1														1	1						

Weekly rate.	Number placed in positions at rates specified, whose occupation was—																										
	Chambermaid, other work.			Waitress.			Other maid.			Child's nurse.			Nurse (kind not specified).			Nurse (kind not specified other work).			Part-time worker.			Miscellaneous.			Not reported.		
	To-tal.	White.	Negro.	To-tal.	White.	Negro.	To-tal.	White.	Negro.	To-tal.	White.	Negro.	To-tal.	White.	Negro.	To-tal.	White.	Negro.	To-tal.	White.	Negro.	To-tal.	White.	Negro.	To-tal.	White.	Negro.
Total.....	6	4	1	11	6	5	9	3	3	2	1	1	10	6	3	1		1	6	1	5	3		3	14		11
\$5 and under \$6.....																			1		1						
\$6 and under \$7.....																			3		3						
\$7 and under \$8.....							1		1				1		1												
\$8 and under \$9.....	1	1				1			1										2	1	1	2		2	2		

\$9 and under \$10.....									2		1	1	1		1	1		1							3		3
\$10 and under \$11.....	2	1	1	8	4	4	6	3	1				2		1					1				1	8		5
\$11 and under \$12.....													2														
\$12 and under \$13.....	3	2		3	2	1	1						3											1			1
\$15 and under \$16.....													1														

MEN

Weekly rate	Number reported.			Number placed in positions at rates specified, whose occupation was—														
				Butler.			Butler, inside other work.			Cook.			Miscellaneous.			Not reported.		
Total.....	29	5	19	18	3	12	1	-----	1	3	-----	2	1	-----	1	6	2	3
\$11 and under \$12.....	1	1	-----	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
\$12 and under \$13.....	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----
\$14 and under \$15.....	4	-----	3	2	-----	2	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1
\$15 and under \$16.....	15	1	12	11	1	9	1	-----	1	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	2	-----	-----
\$17 and under \$18.....	2	-----	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1
\$18 and under \$19.....	2	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	1	1	-----
\$20 and under \$21.....	2	1	1	2	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
\$21 and under \$22.....	1	-----	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
\$25.....	1	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	1	-----

¹ See footnote to Table II.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE WOMEN'S BUREAU.

BULLETINS.

- No. 1. Proposed Employment of Women During the War in the Industries of Niagara Falls, N. Y. 16 pp. 1918.
- No. 2. Labor Laws for Women in Industry in Indiana. 29 pp. 1918.
- No. 3. Standards for the Employment of Women in Industry. 7 pp. 1919.
- No. 4. Wages of Candy Makers in Philadelphia in 1919. 46 pp. 1919.
- No. 5. The Eight-Hour Day in Federal and State Legislation. 19 pp. 1919.
- No. 6. The Employment of Women in Hazardous Industries in the United States. 8 pp. 1919.
- No. 7. Night-Work Laws in the United States. 4 pp. 1919.
- No. 8. Women in the Government Service. 37 pp. 1920.
- No. 9. Home Work in Bridgeport, Connecticut. 35 pp. 1920.
- No. 10. Hours and Conditions of Work for Women in Industry in Virginia. 32 pp. 1920.
- No. 11. Women Street Car Conductors and Ticket Agents. 90 pp. 1920.
- No. 12. The New Position of Women in American Industry. 158 pp. 1920.
- No. 13. Industrial Opportunities and Training for Women and Girls. 48 pp. 1920.
- No. 14. A Physiological Basis for the Shorter Working Day for Women. 20 pp. 1921.
- No. 15. Some Effects of Legislation Limiting Hours of Work for Women. 26 pp. 1921.
- No. 16. State Laws Affecting Working Women. 1920. 104 pp. 1921. (Superse-
ded by Bul. No. 40.)
- No. 17. Women's Wages in Kansas. 1920. 104 pp. 1921.
- No. 18. Health Problems of Women in Industry. 11 pp. 1921.
- No. 19. Iowa Women in Industry. 73 pp. 1921.
- No. 20. Negro Women in Industry. 65 pp. 1922.
- No. 21. Women in Rhode Island Industries. 73 pp. 1922.
- No. 22. Women in Georgia Industries. 89 pp. 1922.
- No. 23. The Family Status of Breadwinning Women. 43 pp. 1922.
- No. 24. Women in Maryland Industries. 96 pp. 1922.
- No. 25. Women in the Candy Industry in Chicago and St. Louis. 72 pp. 1923.
- No. 26. Women in Arkansas Industries. 85 pp. 1922.
- No. 27. The Occupational Progress of Women. 37 pp. 1922.
- No. 28. Women's Contributions in the Field of Invention. 51 pp. 1923.
- No. 29. Women in Kentucky Industries. 114 pp. 1923.
- No. 30. The Share of Wage-Earning Women in Family Support. 170 pp. 1923.
- No. 31. What Industry Means to Women Workers. 10 pp. 1923.
- No. 32. Women in South Carolina Industries. 128 pp. 1923.
- No. 33. Proceedings of the Women's Industrial Conference. 190 pp. 1923.
- No. 34. Women in Alabama Industries. 86 pp. 1924.
- No. 35. Women in Missouri Industries. 127 pp. 1924.
- No. 36. Radio Talks on Women in Industry. 34 pp. 1924.
- No. 37. Women in New Jersey Industries. 99 pp. 1924.
- No. 38. Married Women in Industry. 8 pp. 1924.
- No. 39. Domestic Workers and Their Employment Relations. 87 pp. 1924.
- No. 40. State Laws Affecting Working Women. (In press.)
- No. 41. The Family Status of Breadwinning Women in Four Selected Cities.
(In press.)
- No. 42. Minimum Wage for Women in the United States and Canada; a list of
references. (In press.)
- No. 43. Standard and Scheduled Hours of Work for Women in Industry. (In
press.)
- First Annual Report of the Director. 1919. (Out of print.)
- Second Annual Report of the Director. 1920. (Out of print.)
- Third Annual Report of the Director. 1921.
- Fourth Annual Report of the Director. 1922.
- Fifth Annual Report of the Director. 1923.