

MINISTRY OF LABOUR.

REPORT

TO THE

MINISTER OF LABOUR

OF THE

COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO ENQUIRE INTO

THE PRESENT CONDITIONS AS TO THE

SUPPLY OF FEMALE DOMESTIC

SERVANTS.

Pamphlet

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**REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE**  
**APPOINTED TO ENQUIRE INTO THE PRESENT**  
**CONDITIONS AS TO THE SUPPLY OF**  
**FEMALE DOMESTIC SERVANTS.**

Sir MONTAGUE BARLOW, K.B.E., LL.D., M.P.,  
 Minister of Labour.

SIR,

THE members of the Committee appointed by you in April, 1923, "To enquire into the present conditions as to the supply of female domestic servants, and in particular to enquire into the effect of the Unemployment Insurance Scheme in this connection, and to make recommendations," have the honour to submit the following Report:—

CONSTITUTION OF COMMITTEE.

1. The Committee consisted of:—
  - Mrs. E. M. Wood, C.B.E. (CHAIRMAN).
  - Mrs. Harrison Bell.
  - Mrs. E. M. Burgwin.
  - Mrs. Leonora Cohen.
  - Miss Fardell, O.B.E.
  - Mrs. R. K. Hannay, O.B.E., J.P.
  - Mrs. G. B. Hurst.
  - Mrs. Moore.
  - Lady Procter, C.B.E.
  - Mrs. J. St. Loe Strachey, O.B.E., J.P.
  - Miss Julia Varley.
  - Mrs. Wintringham, M.P.
  - Miss E. S. Fraser (*Secretary*) who, however, was compelled to retire owing to serious illness. Miss Rees performed the duties of Acting Secretary until 18th June, when the Secretaryship was taken over by Miss E. M. Foster.

PROCEDURE.

2. We have held 16 full-day and two half-day meetings, and have received evidence from a large number of witnesses. In view of the nature of the enquiry and the widespread interest in the matter, it was thought desirable that the Press should be given an opportunity of hearing witnesses who were willing to give evidence under such conditions, and, accordingly, 12 meetings at which oral evidence was taken were held in open session.

You will, no doubt, observe that our careful and independent investigations have, in several instances, led us to conclusions the same as or similar to those reached by the Women's Advisory Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction which sat during the winter of 1918-19, and we hope that this fact will be regarded

as not without value in estimating the importance of such conclusions.

Knowing that your decision to hold an enquiry was based on the admittedly serious shortage of domestic workers, we felt that our principal duty was to try and find the reasons for the unpopularity of household work, and that very little would be gained by hearing witnesses who had no knowledge of these. We also considered that the entire lack of organisation in the industry as such, and the absence of any recognised standards either of efficiency or of working conditions, rendered it dangerous to attach too much importance to individual views, especially as most private individuals show a disposition to regard the circumstances known to themselves as necessarily typical. In order, therefore, to discover why women are so reluctant to adopt a profession comparing favourably in many respects with other industrial occupations, we tried, as far as possible, to collect evidence from persons in touch with large numbers of actual or potential domestic workers, or with long experience of their troubles and desires. Further, since conditions vary considerably in different parts of the country, we endeavoured to secure witnesses from various parts of Great Britain who might be regarded as representative of differing conditions. Members of Local Employment Committees and Juvenile Advisory Committees, Education and other officials, representatives of organisations such as the Y.W.C.A., Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants, etc., as well as individual employers and employees have given us the benefit of their experience and knowledge. For these reasons the number of witnesses heard has been large; but, as a result, we feel that the points which were raised by the majority of our informants may be accepted with considerable confidence as being definitely of primary importance.

In addition to the *viva voce* evidence, a large number of written statements were received. In order to focus these observations, the Committee asked correspondents who appeared to have special qualifications for dealing with one or more aspects of the question to reply to the following list of questions:—

- (1) What in your view are the main causes of the shortage of domestic workers?
- (2) On what do you base your opinions?
- (3) Can you suggest any definite steps which could be taken to improve matters?
- (4)—(a) Do you think the Unemployment Insurance Scheme affects the supply of domestic workers, if so, in what way?  
 (b) Do you think the fact that domestic servants in private houses are not eligible for Unemployment Insurance Benefit influences women against entering this occupation?  
 (c) Can you quote an actual instance of a woman drawing or having drawn Unemployment Benefit who, in your opinion, is suitable for domestic work? If so, please give details.



A note welcoming information on any other points that the correspondent considered might be helpful to the enquiry was added to these queries.

This questionnaire usually formed the groundwork of the enquiries made from the witnesses who gave oral evidence.

#### EVIDENCE RECEIVED.

3. An analysis of the nature of the oral evidence given is subjoined, and the full list of witnesses heard will be found in Appendix A.

Officials of the Ministry of Labour, Employment and Insurance Department ... ..	6
Representatives of Local Employment Committees and Juvenile Advisory Committees ... ..	12
Representatives of Educational Bodies ... ..	6
Representatives of Registry Office proprietors ... ..	3
Employers (including a deputation from National Citizens' Union) ... ..	15
Employees and organisations representing them ... ..	10
Other organisations ... ..	15
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The writer of a series of articles entitled "Scandals of the Dole," which appeared in "The Daily Mail" from April 9th to 16th, 1923, inclusive, was also invited to give evidence before us. The Editor of that Journal replied, however, that this gentleman was unable to accept our invitation on the ground that no useful purpose would be served thereby. A further request that he would place the information on which his articles were based at the disposal of the Committee met with the response that the Editor had nothing further to add to his previous communication.

#### CLASSIFICATION OF EVIDENCE.

4. Generally speaking, the evidence received as to the *causes* of the shortage fell under certain well-defined headings, which may be classified roughly, in order of importance, as follows:—

- (a) Necessity of, and lack of facilities for, training.
- (b) Question of status.
- (c) Psychological aspects.
- (d) Hours and conditions of employment.
- (e) Defects of the present system of distribution.

It will, no doubt, be observed that what is popularly asserted to be the primary cause of the shortage, namely, the payment of Unemployment Benefit to women suitable for domestic work, is omitted from this list, the reason being that although this allegation was not infrequently made by individual witnesses,

extremely few of them were able to respond to the Committee's request for specific cases. Of the instances which were furnished, a large number broke down completely under investigation, and the rest were found, for the most part, to have circumstances attaching to them, doubtless unknown to those who quoted them, which put an entirely different complexion upon them. (See Appendix D.) Many of the witnesses frankly admitted complete ignorance of the provisions of the Insurance Acts, and stated that they were only repeating "what everybody said."

Steps were also taken to investigate as far as possible the statements and complaints made in the correspondence published in "The Daily Mail" following the appearance of the articles already referred to, but the results have been on the whole, negative. A summary of these cases and the official reports upon them, together with the results of other investigations into specific cases, will be found in Appendix D.

#### GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

5. Before proceeding to the consideration of the above headings, there are a few general observations which we think it essential to make, both in explanation of the conclusions to which we have come, and in order that minor contributory points may not be ignored.

There is apparently little difficulty, even now, in obtaining domestic workers for big private establishments maintaining a large staff. Many of the difficulties inherent in small households do not arise in large ones. It is probably true to say that the solution of any questions as to regular leisure, recreation, etc., lies in the hands of the heads of staff in large houses, and that a more generous recognition of mutual responsibilities, better team work, and the growth of the sense of camaraderie among members of big staffs are all that are required. But such establishments are comparatively few, and the majority of employers keep one or two maids. Since it is these homes which are experiencing the worst of the difficulties, and, in many instances, the real hardships resulting from the present position, our report should be regarded as dealing mainly with the conditions in what are termed "small households."

6. The shortage of domestic workers was marked even before the War, the Census figures showing a steady decrease in the number of persons engaged in this occupation since about 1881. Nor is this shortage confined to this country: on the contrary the position is equally acute in many European countries, and far more so in the overseas Dominions and in the United States of America. The War accentuated the problem and precipitated the crisis by widening the scope of women's activities, while, in addition to this, many of those who had been previously employed in domestic work found the comradeship, definite hours and routine of factory, office, or shop life very much to their liking, and had no desire to return to their former occupation.



7. The intimate relationship existing between domestic workers and their employers is the crux both of the happiness and of the unhappiness of domestic service. The maidservant's place of business is also her home, and where the employer recognises this and treats her as a member of the household and not as an adjunct, and the maid responds, an atmosphere of mutual affection, loyalty and consideration is engendered that makes happiness inevitable. As one maid of 25 years' experience expressed it, "There is nothing better for a girl if she is with good, kind people, but nothing worse should a girl find herself in a hard place."

8. The standards of living of the majority of the employers and of the workers are so different that it is undoubtedly difficult for them to appreciate each others' outlook or to understand each others' problems. On the one hand, the better class employer points to more house-room, better food, and greater quiet than the girls have at home as unquestionable attractions; whilst the girl, who has probably never been alone day or night until she came to her first "place," attaches little or no value to these things. On the other hand, in comparing the wages with those paid in other occupations, the worker gives little or no consideration to the value of the board and lodging provided, and many parents consider the few shillings paid into the family exchequer by a daughter living at home and having to be maintained of more assistance than being relieved altogether of the girl's keep.

9. The radical changes and improvements in the moral and material conditions of industrial life generally during the past half century—such as the limitation of the hours of work, recognised rates of pay, improved educational advantages, inspection of factories, the wider social and recreational opportunities open to increasing numbers of workers, and many other progressive developments—have not been so marked in domestic work. Formerly the conditions in the latter were very superior to those appertaining to workshop or factory, but the failure further to advance them has resulted in the relative attractions of industrial and domestic life being reversed. Convention and habit are strong factors in family life and make change both difficult and dreaded, and although the competition to secure maids has, of course, resulted in concessions, the facts above referred to, as well as what may be described as the spirit of the age, have both been too much ignored by employers of domestic workers. For instance, a worker's need of definite liberty and recreation is still so little recognised that many employers expect maids to take their free evening at different times which may suit the former's convenience, so that it is impossible for the girls to make plans ahead. It is also constantly argued that the hours of work are not so long as is declared—6.30 or 7 a.m. to 10 or 11 p.m.—because the girls have little or nothing to do during a considerable part of the afternoon or evening. This is no

doubt true, but if the maid is expected to be available to answer bells or to perform other light duties, etc., such periods cannot reasonably be regarded as time off duty. If employers would calculate the number of hours weekly that their maids are on duty (though not necessarily actively employed) we think the total would frequently startle them, and the whole question take on a different aspect. Generally speaking, employers are too prone to acquiesce in the subordination of the legitimate desires and interests of domestic workers to their own convenience. It is also undoubtedly true that many people who can only afford to keep one maid expect far too much from her.

10. A great deal of unnecessary expenditure of time and energy might be obviated by a wider use of labour-saving devices, which we believe would do much to make domestic service more attractive to educated girls. The bad domestic architecture of our houses makes their introduction in some cases difficult and costly, but there is also a curious and quite unreasoning hostility among maids themselves to the use of such appliances, due presumably to that conservatism of which the British race is not infrequently accused. The elimination of open fires, the installation of lavatory basins in bedrooms, the regular use of vacuum cleaners, etc., would not only ease the labour of keeping a home clean and fresh, but would largely do away with some of the least attractive of domestic tasks. Training would accustom girls to their use and so facilitate their introduction. We are informed that housemaids' "mats" and "boxes," and other common objects of our homes, would, in the Overseas Dominions, be regarded as mysterious articles of incomprehensible purport and would probably be placed in a museum. We would recommend all employers of domestic servants to study the many labour-saving devices now on the market, with a view to utilising those suited to their own houses and within their means.

11. As regards the question of uniform, we found little evidence of dislike of wearing it, but a very general objection to having to bear the cost of it. The girls point out that most men servants, policemen, and other workers required to wear uniform are either provided with it or given an allowance towards its cost, and we see no reason why maidservants should not be treated similarly. It was also argued that the present system in fact results in a girl having to provide herself with three sets of clothes: cotton dresses for morning, black with caps and aprons for afternoon, and private clothes.

12. We also found that very few witnesses attached importance to the question of the use of Christian names, though if a girl prefers to be addressed as "Miss So-and-So," as she would be in an office, especially when she first joins a household, it is difficult to understand why her wish should not be respected, and there is something to be said for a more formal address from the point of view of status.



13. Criticism may perhaps be made of the extent to which we have concerned ourselves with the workers' grievances and difficulties to the apparent neglect of those of the employers. This does not, however, arise from lack of appreciation of the latter, which we know to be genuine and widespread, but from our certainty that nothing can remedy them except the proper operation of the laws of supply and demand, and we have, therefore, devoted ourselves to trying to find the quickest and most practical ways of restoring the necessary balance. The present conditions, which enable inefficiency, neglect of duty and bad service to obtain the same rewards as efficiency and good service, are demoralising for the workers and intolerable for the employers. The only way to improve so unsatisfactory a condition of affairs is to render domestic work more attractive to the right type of girl, and to make it possible for her to obtain the preparation for her career which we consider absolutely essential, domestic service being, in our opinion, a highly skilled occupation, requiring good qualities both of character and of mind.

#### TRAINING

14. The evidence we have heard leaves no doubt in our minds that the most important question in connection with the solution of the domestic service problem is that of *training*, since it appears to be universally admitted that the standard of home teaching among all classes has greatly depreciated. Although, theoretically, many people consider that all women are potential domestic workers, in practice there is such a strong reluctance to employ untrained women or girls as to render it impossible to place the majority of those willing to undertake the work. All witnesses who had really studied the question agreed that domestic work is a highly skilled occupation, in which training of a practical kind is essential. We are strongly of opinion that training in domestic science should form an integral part of the education of every young girl, no matter what her station in life, and that the inability of many employers to instruct untrained or semi-skilled workers, to organise the work, or to take any real share in it, has a definite and disastrous influence.

15. There are two, and only two, possible sources of supply from which domestic workers can be drawn, (a) juveniles leaving school, and (b) women who have taken up some other industrial occupation, but are prepared to transfer to domestic service. We are convinced that the substantial increase in the supply of trained workers, which is necessary if the balance in the occupation is to be restored, can only be drawn from the former source, and we, therefore, desire to recommend that the following measures be taken to provide reasonable and continuous training, culminating in the proper certification of students, and opening to those with ability and perseverance the higher grades of a most honourable profession.

#### (a) TRAINING OF JUVENILES.

16. The evidence given before us shows that there is considerable variation both as to the extent and the continuity of the instruction given in domestic subjects in the elementary schools. Although the Regulations of the Board of Education require that all the older girls in such schools should receive instruction in domestic subjects as part of the general curriculum, in fact only a proportion of these pupils are at present under instruction, owing to the deficiency of suitable accommodation. This proportion varies very considerably in different places, some Education Authorities lagging far behind others in the provision of the necessary premises and apparatus. While we are anxious to avoid any recommendation which might prejudice the general education of the children, we desire to urge that adequate provision should be made for the teaching of domestic subjects to *all* older girls in the public elementary schools, and that the course of instruction should be as continuous, systematic and carefully planned as possible. We understand that as a rule this teaching is given during the last two years of elementary school life, and it is our view that girls are more likely to profit by such instruction at this age than younger children would be.

17. The Board of Education Regulations also require that instruction in domestic subjects shall be part of the curriculum in grant-aided Secondary Schools for girls, but it would appear that these schools are even further from complying fully with this requirement than are the Elementary Schools. Provision for instruction in domestic subjects is also made for a certain number of girls in Central Schools and may be made in Technical Schools. Girls proceed from the ordinary Elementary Schools to the Central Schools at the age of about 11 and stay until 14 or 15; in some cases they remain until they are 16. We understand that in practically every Central School provision is made for a more or less continuous course of domestic teaching to be given. Technical School Courses in Domestic Subjects are definitely vocational, although provision for a continuance of the general intellectual and physical education may be made at the same time. The majority of the courses in these schools occupy two or three years and provide for pupils who pass on from the Elementary Schools at the age of 13 or 14.

18. It would appear, therefore, that the machinery is already in existence, but that, so far, only very partial use has been made of it by Education Authorities. We are strongly of opinion that the existing provision for the teaching of domestic science in Elementary Schools, and in grant-aided schools other than Elementary Schools, should be largely extended, in order that all girls in the Elementary Schools may have a grounding in this all-important subject, and that girls leaving the primary schools and proceeding to the higher schools may have further opportunities for obtaining such instruction.



19. Girls proceeding from Elementary Schools to Central Schools, and a proportion of those going to Secondary Schools, receive free tuition, and Education Authorities have power to make maintenance grants in suitable cases. Generally speaking, children in the industrial world are expected to contribute something to the domestic exchequer very shortly after leaving school at the age of 14. We consider, therefore, that the existing powers of Education Authorities to provide maintenance grants should be fully utilised to enable girls over 14 years of age, who are willing to take advantage of the training facilities which have been recommended. In our opinion it would be unreasonable, while the school age remains as it is, to expect any considerable number of parents to consent to postpone the age at which their children become wage earners, unless they are relieved of at least a part of their maintenance.

20. Students who continue their training to an advanced stage in Secondary or Technical Schools or elsewhere would probably qualify as teachers of domestic science, for whom, if our proposals are adopted, there will be a much greater demand, or obtain posts such as housekeepers or directors of staff in large private or public establishments.

We, therefore, consider that a certain number of advanced scholarships or bursaries should be provided for girls desirous of completing a specialised training.

21. There is evidence that a large number of girls of 14, especially in rural areas, are desirous of taking up domestic service as their profession when they leave school, but that very few employers are prepared to engage such young, inexperienced girls, with the result that they drift off into other occupations, become accustomed to the conditions of industrial life, and at 16 or 17 it is very difficult to redirect their thoughts to domestic work. It is an unfortunate fact that rural areas, which might otherwise be the chief source of supply, are precisely those in which the facilities for training are most deficient and most difficult to organise. We understand that for some time to come it will not be practicable to provide a sufficient number of places in Central or Secondary Schools to enable all the children desirous of entering domestic service to obtain training in them, and we, therefore, urge that, at any rate pending such provision, whole-time domestic courses of a vocational character should be established in the larger centres of population. Courses of this type are, it is understood, contemplated by the Regulations of the Board of Education for Technical Schools, and a few are already in existence and functioning successfully.

22. Such courses would naturally lead up to practical examinations, which we suggest should be carried out by a public body and should be open to all women and girls without any upper limit of age, in order that girls who have been trained privately should not be handicapped. These examinations would establish

standards of efficiency which would not only be of value from the employer's point of view, but would undoubtedly improve the status of the occupation in the eyes of both teachers, pupils and parents.

23. There is evidently a widespread belief that the teachers in Elementary Schools are averse from recommending any but the duller girls to enter domestic service, and are apt to influence their pupils against it. While this allegation must be regarded as non-proven, it would seem to us only natural that teachers interested in, and genuinely fond of, their girls would not be enthusiastic in recommending them to enter an occupation often despised by their family and friends, without any standards of proficiency and with entirely unstable conditions. If the general respect for domestic work were raised by the provision of proper training and by its consequent recognition as being a skilled profession, we think any such reluctance would tend to vanish; but we would point out that there is a distinction between desiring teachers to encourage or suggest the idea of domestic service in suitable cases, and an expectation that they should recommend it wholesale simply because there is a shortage of supply.

24. It was frequently stated in evidence that the more careful parents were most unwilling to allow their young daughters to go away from home unless they knew something of the employer to whom they were going, and were assured that someone would be prepared to look after them in the locality to which they went. This attitude is obviously a right one, and we suggest that it should be a definite part of the duty of Juvenile Advisory Committees not only to assist in the placing of young girls, but to ensure that reasonable supervision is maintained when the parents are living at a distance and cannot look after their children themselves.

#### (b) TRAINING OF ADULTS.

25. In connection with this subject we desire to express our emphatic disagreement with the tendency manifested in some quarters to consider that all women, no matter what their age, temperament, experience, or domestic circumstances, are potentially fitted for resident domestic service as a wage-earning occupation, and should be penalised for failing to undertake it. We are, on the contrary, of opinion that, save in exceptional circumstances, it is difficult, even with training, to make good domestic workers out of women whose whole upbringing and experience have been non-domestic in character.

26. The Homecraft and the Homemakers' Courses arranged in various centres by the Central Committee for Women's Training represent the main experiment which has as yet been



made in training older girls and women for domestic work.\* It should be remembered that the primary object of those centres was not to increase the supply of domestic servants, but to provide some alleviation of the acute distress caused by the prolonged trade depression and the resulting widespread unemployment among women, and to prevent, or at least arrest, the physical and moral deterioration which protracted idleness is so apt to produce. The Homemakers' Courses, indeed, aimed solely at giving unemployed women some instruction in elementary home duties, and were never regarded as vocational training at all; and it was not until after a considerable number of women had passed through the Homecraft Courses that any pledge with regard to entering domestic service was asked for—a fact which must not be overlooked when trainees are criticised.

The Central Committee's work has undoubtedly been a most valuable contribution towards the amelioration of the distress it was designed to meet, and as experience has been gained, it has become progressively successful both in the selection of the candidates and in their training and subsequent placing. Some 15,000 women and girls previously employed in industry have been trained in these Centres, and though the exact number who have permanently adopted domestic work is not known, there is ample evidence that a satisfactory percentage has been turned through these Centres from unemployment to employment by the adoption of domestic work as an alternative occupation. We hope sincerely that the Central Committee's fine work will continue until trade conditions have become more normal, and whilst regarding such training as an emergency measure and not as a permanent factor in the provision of domestic workers, we think it highly desirable that these opportunities should not be withdrawn until the other sources of supply indicated above have been properly developed.

27. Finally, we desire to recommend that a certain number of domestic science courses, to consist of six months' training, with maintenance grant in lieu of Unemployment Benefit, should be granted in districts where there are facilities for such training but where there is no centre under the control of the Central Committee for Women's Training.

#### STATUS.

28. Curious though it may appear that an occupation in which a good moral standard, absolute trustworthiness, and ability to accept responsibility are essentials, should be regarded as inferior to unskilled work in a shop, factory, or office, it is useless to

\* *Note.*—The Central Committee for Women's Training administers its own resources, which are derived from the National Relief Fund, supplemented by a Government grant made for this purpose.

deny that such is the case so far as the workers themselves are concerned. Maids who gave evidence or wrote to us invariably agreed that it is not so much the employers, as their own friends and relatives who look down upon domestic service and regard the domestic workers (especially those in private situations) with a mixture of pity and contempt.

29. The following observations on this question made by various witnesses and correspondents may be of interest:—

“Not only servants, but parsons, etc., are held up to ridicule by the stage. Why should servants object more than the others? For the very good reason that parsons, having an assured standing as the first gentleman in the district, could well afford to ignore it. Servants cannot.”—*By an ex-Maid.*

“What is the good of preaching about it being a dignified calling if they are treated as undignified beings. A domestic servant is deliberately made to feel that she is inferior to anyone else.”—*By a Housekeeper.*

“The lowered status of domestic service goes back to the fact that women's work in the home has never been recognised, that it has never been paid and that we did not get our enfranchisement through the work of the women in the homes, but only when they came out of the homes. Women's work has never been recognised as having commercial value until now.”—*By an Employer.*

“I do not believe any girl minds the work. They do mind being ridiculed. I have suffered untold misery by the name ‘only a servant.’ Invitations out state, ‘Be sure and do not let it be known you are a domestic. We should not like our friends to mix with servants.’ It is the snobbery of our own class.”—*By a Parlourmaid.*

“Domestic service will not come into its own again until insults and ridicule of daily papers are stopped. Servants themselves do not consider the work degrading.”—*By a Domestic Servant of 30-40 Years' Experience.*

“If two girls come from the same family and one went as a domestic servant and the other as a clerk, the servant would be looked down on much more than the clerk. Some of them (the employers) make the maids so much lower than themselves—when there is not such a big difference after all.”—*By a Housemaid.*

“The domestic servant must only take a respectful interest in the doings of those for whom she works. She must minister but not participate. One real way to establish status is to offer such conditions as will attract girls to whom you are prepared to extend the same quality of respect as is



expected from the worker, and give them such opportunities of personal life as would be possible to an office clerk or factory hand."—*By a Member of a Juvenile Advisory Committee.*

"Much might be done to make service happier, as it is our home as long as we are there. Mistresses very often go out of their way to make you feel your dependent position."—*By a Maid.*

"Masters and mistresses should speak a little bit more highly of the people they employ."—*By a Member of Parliament.*

30. But whilst those employed in other industrial channels frankly despise domestic service and relegate it to an inferior status, we cannot feel that the general public is free from blame in this genuinely important matter. The constant caricaturing of maidservants as dirty, harassed, impertinent and somewhat grotesque creatures, and the use of contemptuous terms such as "skivvy" and "slavey," are significant. During the progress of our enquiry several most offensive and unjust articles and letters about domestic workers appeared in print, and were not only tolerated but acclaimed in some quarters. If domestic work were really given the high place in popular estimation which in our view it deserves, cheap jokes at the expense of the "general," whose lot frequently calls for sympathy rather than ridicule, would not be approved, nor would abusive generalities, based on conditions arising from a shortage for which the workers are by no means alone to blame, meet with any response. Unfortunately these attacks and witticisms are keenly felt and resented by the girls, many of whom are young, and sensitive, as the young usually are, to ridicule however ill-founded. We earnestly hope that the Press, the dramatist, and the humorist will realise that they are inflicting pain (which we are convinced is not their intention) and adding to the difficulties of a situation admittedly causing widespread inconvenience and hardship and injurious in its effects.

31. The recognition of domestic work as a skilled occupation requiring proper preparation and having definite standards of efficiency; the realisation that household work must be organised so that the workers have definite leisure, including uninterrupted meal-times; the general acceptance of agreed conditions and wages in different localities arranged by the two parties concerned; the provision of special insurance benefits; the realisation on the part of the employers that the conditions of domestic service must be brought more into line with those of other industries; and the arrangement of safeguards to prevent both sides from abuse, such as the proper control of the channels of distribution, a less haphazard way of dealing with references, &c., should

all help to give dignity and definite material advantages to the occupation, eradicate much of the uncertainty which at present dogs the career of even the best of maids and employers, and have a decided effect on popular opinion. With the establishment of these material safeguards it is not unreasonable to hope that the workers themselves would cease to accept the valuation placed upon their profession by others, and, realising its national importance and significance, would take pride in their part in it, and by their own attitude educate and influence their fellow workers. Service is the highest privilege of life and it is surely difficult to overestimate the importance of service connected with the home life and home keeping of the nation as a whole.

This question of status is so intimately bound up with every aspect of our subject that references will be found to it in practically every section of our report, and we do not feel that anything can be gained by enlarging upon it further as a separate issue. Its influence is, however, so great and so far reaching that we felt it impossible to give a fair survey of the position as a whole without indicating it definitely as one of the primary factors.

32. A considerable number of suggestions for raising the status, standards of efficiency, and general attractiveness of domestic service have been put before us, such as the Order of the Golden Cross, adumbrated by Lieut.-Colonel Hilder, M.P., a scheme for pensions drawn up by Mr. Part, and various plans for the formation of corps of workers modelled more or less on the lines of the domestic side of Queen Mary's Auxiliary Army Corps. The extension of the League of Skilled Housecraft, an existing organisation initiated by the Girls' Friendly Society and governed by a Council representing the Young Women's Christian Association, the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants, the Girls' Friendly Society, and the National Organisation of Girls' Clubs, was urged with the same object.

33. Details of other schemes already operating successfully on a small scale and capable of expansion, which deal more directly with the actual provision of daily workers, have also been described to us, and as we feel these to be of special interest in view of their having given practical proof of their utility, not only from the ethical, but from the commercial standpoint, an outline of the principal ones is given in Appendix C. Almost all these schemes, however, assume the existence of a considerable number of workers, and for the most part fail to indicate the source from which these should in the first place be obtained. We feel that while all these proposals have their value, and would exercise a very favourable influence on the general position, they are clearly a matter for private enterprise, and not for State action. We desire to express the hope that bodies like the Young Women's Christian Association and private individuals will both devote themselves in an increasing degree to the development of such proposals.



## PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS.

34. It is, we think, generally recognised that one of the great difficulties in connection with the subject of Domestic Service is the intensely human nature of the problems involved, making generalities both difficult and dangerous. We have, indeed, been agreeably surprised to find the evidence bringing out so many definite points capable of being dealt with by legislative or other action, but there remain a considerable number of what may be termed psychological factors, all the more difficult to deal with because of their somewhat indefinite and usually very personal character.

35. Chief place among these may perhaps be given to the loneliness of girls in one or two maid households. We have received overwhelming evidence from employers, social workers, officials, and employees alike, of the genuine suffering caused by this pathetic factor, the prevalence of which we think has hardly been realised by employers, and we have little doubt that efforts will be made to combat it once its existence is made known. We have already referred to the indifference of the girls to a privacy they have never experienced or desired, and it is not difficult to imagine how strange it must seem to come from the constant close companionship, unceasing chatter and active bustle of the average industrial home to situations where they are alone much of the time, have little opportunity to indulge their gregarious instincts, and, if they are at a distance from home, have no alternative to the kitchen or the bedroom but the street. While it is no doubt true that domestic girl members are welcomed by organisations such as the Girl Guides' Clubs, Y.W.C.A., &c., their participation in the social recreations of other workers is limited by their comparative lack of free time, and their opportunities for making friends are few and far between. Opinions differed as to whether the needs of resident domestic workers could best be met by clubs, &c., organised for them alone, or not. But this is clearly a matter lying within the province of unofficial organisations and governed largely by local conditions, so that, having drawn attention to the very real and urgent need that exists, we feel we must leave it to such organisations to take the necessary steps for dealing with it.

36. Most young girls look forward to having a home of their own in due course, an expectation so natural and general that its influence in limiting the ambitions and absorption in work of female workers is recognised by students of industrial psychology. The restrictions involved in domestic work, as well as the social stigma at present attaching to it in her own circle, arouse a sense of handicap in the mind of many a potential worker. Girls in shops, factories, or offices have, she vaguely feels, an unfair advantage over her, with their free evenings and week ends. The marriage statistics of domestic workers are in fact high,

so that this fear is largely groundless, but it is perfectly natural, and more liberal and definite hours of leisure, especially at times when other workers are free, would go far to remove it. The faculty of reasoning has little influence in matrimonial adventures as a whole, or the obvious advantages which trained domestic workers possess as wives and mothers would require no emphasising. Employers could also do much for the present as well as for the future happiness of their maids if, in addition to providing facilities for the making of friends, they would give reasonable opportunities for their reception and entertainment in the house, which as has been already pointed out, should be regarded as the girl's home as well as her place of employment.

37. The domestic worker has unquestionably fewer chances for indulging in or developing artistic, intellectual or athletic interests. In most industrial firms with staffs of any size, house orchestras, debating societies, athletic clubs, and the like, are encouraged and regarded as exercising a wholly desirable influence. Yet the reference by a witness to the domestic worker's lack of opportunity of cultivating a talent for music aroused only ridicule and sarcasm in the daily press. The Committee are unable to understand why. In the treatment of questions such as this lies much of the true reason for the unpopularity of domestic work, for it reveals an attitude of mind out of tune with modern development and progress. These matters cannot be dealt with legislatively nor are they amenable to rules and regulations—they are and must remain questions of individual outlook, understanding, unselfishness, and of the personal relationship between employer and staff; but the putting aside of such considerations, and still more their dismissal with a sneer, will neither arrest their influence nor provide their solution.

38. While some witnesses laid stress on the effect upon status of the ineligibility of resident domestic servants to exercise the franchise, the consensus of opinion appeared to be that this has only a subsidiary and indirect influence in regard to the general question now under consideration. We feel, however, that the present position is an anomalous one and should be rectified, and suggest that a simple and reasonable solution would be the extension of the Parliamentary Vote to female domestic workers (who have attained the statutory age) on the same residence qualification as men.

## CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT.

39. One of the most serious deterrents to domestic work, especially in the eyes of women accustomed to the usual conditions of industrial life, is the absence, in general, of any standards of working hours, wages, or duties, or of a definite minimum of leisure. It has been generally agreed that homes



cannot be organised like factories and that it would be detrimental to attempt to do such a thing. At the same time, the extraordinary diversity now existing in regard to hours, wages, and conditions of employment, which vary not merely from one locality to another, but from street to street, and from house to house, and the general uncertainty resulting from this, is undesirable, and has a distinct influence in rendering the occupation unpopular.

40. We believe that much good could be accomplished if employers and employees in different localities could get together, and, having arrived at an agreement as to working conditions which would be generally acceptable and suited to the needs of their particular area, would consider the best means of enlisting the practical support of all employers of goodwill in favour of such agreed conditions.

41. We have studied with much interest the schemes for standard conditions in certain localities suggested by the Women's Sub-Committees of the Local Employment Committees. These voluntary bodies, set up under the authority of the Minister of Labour, and attached to most of the Employment Exchanges in the country, consist of representatives of employers and employees in each area, together with a certain number of additional members. The functions of the main Local Employment Committees are to advise and assist Managers of Employment Exchanges, especially in their primary duty of bringing together employers requiring workpeople and workpeople requiring employment; while those of the Women's Sub-Committees are "to deal with problems of Women's Employment." In several areas, as a result of these Sub-Committees' labours, local Associations of Employers and Employees were formed in connection with Domestic Service, and the conditions agreed upon by them were accepted by considerable numbers of local employers not actively participating in the work.

42. In 1919 special investigations were carried out by some of the Women's Sub-Committees, and certain recommendations were submitted to the Minister of Labour by the Main Committees with a view to raising and standardising the conditions of employment in domestic service in their own districts. Sir Robert Horne, then Minister of Labour, found himself unable to approve or circulate the various schedules of hours, wages and conditions put forward, but said, in giving his decision, "The work which they (the Committees) have performed by exploring this question is not the less valuable because circumstances make it impossible for me to adopt at once the course recommended. On the contrary, the suggestions which they have made will, I have no doubt, form the basis of future arrangements in this important branch of women's work."

43. We desire to emphasise this statement of Sir Robert Horne's, and to express the hope that out of the existing machinery of the Women's Sub-Committees may be evolved a National Organisation giving its attention particularly to the domestic service problem, and arriving at working conditions suited to the needs of each locality and acceptable to both employers and employed. We suggest that all Women's Sub-Committees be urged to set up a special Sub-Committee to consider the question of domestic service in all its aspects, with a view to forming "Local Associations" if possible. In order to make these Sub-Committees as effective as possible, the basis of representation should be made wider than it is at present, the rural as well as the urban employers and employees in each area being represented.

Particulars of one or two of the local schemes referred to above, and of others drawn up by the Juvenile Advisory Committees, which, however, have not been actually in operation, will be found in Appendix B.

#### SYSTEM OF DISTRIBUTION—REGISTRY OFFICES.

44. By far the greatest number of placements are made through Registry Offices, and a considerable number of witnesses and many of the written communications received (including a Memorandum from the Chief Officer of the Public Control Department of the Middlesex County Council, whose Council has been very active in the matter) have drawn attention to the unsatisfactory nature of the supervision at present exercised over such offices and the grave evils resulting therefrom.

45. The legal position in regard to Registry Offices in England and Wales is governed, as far as Urban Sanitary Authorities and Urban or Rural Districts Councils are concerned, by Section 85 of the Public Health Acts Amendment Act, 1907. This Section provides, *inter alia*, that the name and private address of the owner and the business address of any Registry for female domestic servants carried on for gain shall be registered at the offices of the Local Authority; and that such Authorities "may make bye-laws prescribing the books to be kept and the entries to be made therein and any other matter which the Local Authority may deem necessary for the prevention of fraud or immorality in the conduct of such business" . . . . .

46. There is no general statutory provision of this kind relating to Scotland, but the Corporations of Edinburgh and Glasgow have taken power, under Local Acts, to require, in the one case registration, and in the other, the issue of a licence by the magistrates, before such businesses can be carried on, and have made bye-laws regulating their conduct.

47. While this Section of the Public Health Acts Amendment Act gives considerable power to Urban and Rural District Councils, it does not apply to County Councils. Two County Councils,



however—the London County Council and Middlesex County Council and the Cities of London, Manchester, and Hull—have taken power to deal with Registry Offices under special Acts of their own, and have made bye-laws which are strictly enforced. Only 54 out of the 1,767 (of which 1,119 are Urban) Local Authorities who are empowered to do so have at present made bye-laws under Section 85 of the Public Health Acts Amendment Act, 1907, and it would appear reasonable to assume, therefore, that only in 54 towns in England and Wales (outside the areas mentioned above) is any real supervision exercised. The effect of this is that proprietors of Domestic Agencies whose methods of business will not bear the light of day, when driven from one area by the vigilance of a Local Authority availing itself of its existing powers, find no difficulty in setting up and carrying on an equally lucrative business a few miles away in the area of another Local Authority which has failed to take advantage of the statute.

48. The following extract from the Report of 1920-21 of the Chief Officer of the Public Control Department of the Middlesex County Council is of interest in this connection :—

“ Glaring instances of fraudulent advertising came to light during the year 1920-21. A registered employment agent at Teddington with several pre-war convictions for offences under the bye-laws, was found to be defrauding the public on a wholesale scale by means of bogus advertisements of domestic servants supposed to be seeking situations, and of householders—in most cases ‘ a retired bachelor colonel ’ or ‘ a young lady about to marry ’—supposed to be requiring servants. Many weekly provincial journals, as well as a London daily newspaper were regularly used as media for these wholly fictitious advertisements. The investigation of this case was lengthy and difficult, but eventually the offender was fined £35, plus 25 guineas costs, and his name was erased by order of the Justices from the Middlesex register of employment agents. Shortly afterwards, similar action was taken at the instance of the London County Council in connection with an associated agency in the County of London. The man concerned continues, however, to carry on his occupation at premises in Surrey and to advertise that the registry has desirable servants seeking situations.

“ A second prosecution resulted in a fine of £10 being imposed on a registered agent at Hampton Wick, who has now sold his business and left the County of Middlesex, but is still carrying on business under another name in Kent.

“ A large agency, with headquarters in Kent, once had nearly 50 branches in Middlesex, but the firm’s methods of conducting business were regarded as highly objectionable and a fine of £20 imposed at Brentford before the war had the effect of causing the offender to close all his branches in the county. During the past year (1921) action has been necessary to prevent the contemplated establishment of

another branch of this agency in the county. The agent in question has now no branches in London or Middlesex, but has a large number in other home counties, and alluring advertisements of desirable servants supposed to be seeking situations are still appearing in the Press from this agent as from the others already mentioned.”

A study of the columns of the leading newspapers shows that numerous agencies are still daily advertising their ability to supply female Admirable Crichtons, and the extent of these advertisements would appear to indicate that the proprietors are reaping a golden harvest from the booking fees thus extracted from the public.

49. It was stated by a lady who has carried on the business of a Registry Office for 14 years, that she has never advertised a maid as wanting a situation, and that, in her opinion, it is unnecessary to do so, as all reputable agencies always have plenty of employers on their books.

50. It is beyond question that advertisements of a bogus or fraudulent character do frequently appear in journals of the highest standing, and we would appeal to newspaper proprietors to co-operate with the Local Authorities and the owners of honourably conducted Employment Agencies by refusing to accept for publication any advertisement of whose bona fides there can be any reasonable doubt.

51. As regards the public control of Domestic Agencies, most, if not all of the evils now prevalent, might be mitigated if their existing statutory powers were fully utilised by the Local Authorities concerned. Section 85 of the Public Health Acts Amendment Act, 1907, is, however, an adoptive one, *i.e.*, it can only be put into force after an Order has been made by the Home Office upon the application of the Local Authority, and if no such application is made the Section remains a dead letter. In view of the long time which has elapsed since the passing of this Act, and the very small number of Urban Authorities (4·8 per cent.) who have adopted this Section, it would appear that further pressure of some sort is necessary to induce Local Authorities to take the necessary steps for the protection of the public, and we therefore recommend :—

- (1) That every possible administrative action should be taken by the Home Office to urge upon competent Local Authorities the necessity for making bye-laws under Section 85 of the Public Health Acts Amendment Act, and, in the event of their continued failure to do so, that legislation should be promoted making the exercise of such powers compulsory; and that the attention of the Scottish Office should be drawn to the need for some provision of the kind applicable to the rest of Scotland.



- (2) That the bye-laws made by Local Authorities under this Section should in all cases include provisions regulating the payment of booking fees, and the publication of advertisements relating to vacant situations or persons requiring employment.

52. At present the Employment Exchanges of the Ministry of Labour do not compete with Registry Offices as the main channel of connection between trained resident maids and their employers. If they are to do so it will be necessary for attention to be given to questions of suitable accommodation, adequate staff, etc. We feel, however, that at the present time the Exchanges are doing useful work in helping suitable workers to transfer from other industries, in supplying the needs of employers who do not wish or cannot afford to make use of the Registries, and in dealing with the daily workers, who are everywhere available in greater numbers than can be placed. Employers complain of day workers' unreliability and unpunctuality, and say they will not come at the hours when they are most needed. We can only repeat that nothing but a healthier relation between supply and demand is likely to cure ethical faults, but at the same time, we are convinced that the practical difficulties at present attaching to day work could be met, to a large extent, by efforts at organisation. The success of some of the schemes already referred to in this Report, and outlined in Appendix C, is sufficient proof of this, and we have no doubt that proper organisation would enable day workers to take a far larger part in the domestic work of the country than is at present considered feasible. We were fortunate in hearing the experience of one or two employers who were actually running their homes on the shift system (each shift consisting of one worker only) and finding this method quite successful and no more expensive than the employment of a resident staff.

53. Before leaving this part of our subject, we would wish to draw attention to the very real need for consideration of the large number of women who cannot afford to employ domestic help regularly, but who urgently need assistance in times of incapacity through illness or other causes. The whole machinery of a working woman's home breaks down if she is ill, so that frequently she continues the performance of her household duties when she is totally unfit for them, and much suffering and definite ill-health brought about by overwork might be avoided if a system of "home helps" were developed which would render such assistance available. It is obvious that work of this kind might provide employment for women not in a position to undertake whole time duties, and whilst we see no reason whatever why such schemes should not be developed on a commercial basis, we think it would be desirable for Local Authorities to take the initial steps to establish them if necessary.

## REFERENCES.

54. Our attention has constantly been drawn to the extent to which a maid's future is at the mercy of an unjust or spiteful employer, who by withholding a reference, or giving an unfair or prejudiced account of her, may easily render her chances of obtaining desirable employment very small. Concrete instances of the abuse of this power have been brought to our notice, and many witnesses stated that it was the fear of having short or bad references which often induced maids to remain in situations where they did not receive good treatment. We have devoted considerable time to deliberating this matter, and have come to the conclusion that any system of obligatory references in books officially issued, such as is in vogue in some continental countries, would involve formalities and the introduction of a bureaucratic element which would be very distasteful to both parties. Registry offices can and do assist in this matter very practically by their intimate knowledge of their clientèle, and since we hope to see the standard of Registries legally safeguarded, we think it best to leave this matter to be dealt with by those concerned with the ordinary channels of distribution, who are alive to its importance and difficulties, and by the Local Associations we hope to see set up, both of whom will be interested in preventing abuse without imperilling unduly the confidential nature of references. We would, however, wish to record our view that unless an employer has sufficiently definite grounds for dissatisfaction to be prepared to state them in writing, and to tell the maid at least what their general nature is, she should give a formal reference only and refrain from criticism or comment unless pressed for further detail.

On the other hand employers owe consideration to efficient maids and should be prepared to differentiate between satisfactory and unsatisfactory maids when giving a reference. A strict sense of justice to competent trustworthy maids demands that they should be safeguarded in the matter of a true reference.

## EFFECT OF THE UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE SCHEME ON THE SUPPLY OF DOMESTIC WORKERS.

55. There is undoubtedly widespread misapprehension both as to what persons are eligible for unemployment benefit and under what conditions it may be paid. Many of the witnesses were unaware that the Unemployment Insurance Scheme applies to domestic workers only when they are employed "in any trade or business carried on for the purposes of gain" so that employment in private service is outside the scope of the Act, neither contributions nor benefit being payable in respect of it, and even maintained that women so employed drew benefit in spite of these facts. Such suspicions would be impossible if the conditions and working of the Acts were more generally understood, and the following very brief outline may be of assistance in clearing up the position.



56. The original National Insurance Act of 1911 covered only five trades so far as unemployment insurance was concerned. In 1916 the munition trades became subject to Unemployment Insurance, and in 1920 practically all persons who had previously been liable to Health Insurance were brought within the scope of Unemployment Insurance, with the exception of those engaged in private domestic service and agriculture.

57. The permanent Unemployment Insurance Scheme is on a contributory basis, *i.e.*, the amount of benefit that can be drawn is strictly proportionate to the number of contributions paid. Under the 1920 Act one week's benefit is payable for every six contributions standing to the contributor's credit, with 15 weeks (now extended to 26 weeks) as the maximum payable in a period of 12 months. As from October, 1923, the Benefit year will run from mid October to mid October. Under this scheme benefit can obviously only be drawn by women who have been employed in an insurable occupation, and in proportion to the amount of such employment. Such employment must also be recent, since the Acts provide that if an Insurance year has elapsed without the payment of contributions (except in case of illness), those previously paid are not available for the purpose of benefit until further insurable work has been performed in at least 12 weeks.

58. At the time of the extension of the scheme in November, 1920, some relaxation of the strict contributory rule became necessary in the case of new entrants who obviously could not have acquired any considerable credit through contributions. Early in 1921 the rapid onset of the industrial depression made emergency methods essential, and a development never even contemplated in the framing of the original Acts, namely, the payment of "uncovenanted benefit," *i.e.*, benefit to which the recipient has not established a title through contributions, was introduced. Under this arrangement benefit has been payable during special periods as follows:—

1st special period, March 3, 1921, to Nov. 2, 1921, maximum benefit 22 weeks.

2nd special period, Nov. 3, 1921, to April 5, 1922, maximum benefit 22 weeks.

3rd special period, April 6, 1922, to Nov. 1, 1922, maximum benefit 22 weeks.

4th special period, Nov. 2, 1922, to Oct. 17, 1923, maximum benefit 44 weeks.

Payment of this benefit is limited to persons ordinarily coming within the scope of the Unemployment Insurance Acts, and applicants have to prove to a Local Committee consisting of representatives of employers and employees that they are normally employed in an insurable occupation. It therefore provides no loophole for the fraudulent claims of women or girls normally employed in private domestic service, since no one can qualify except by establishing, either by the recent payment of contributions or by their industrial record, that they are normally so employed. These stipulations

also rule out from uncovenanted benefit persons employed, during war time only, on munitions work, though there is apparently a widespread impression that such persons can obtain it.

59. As from November, 1922, a partial return to the principle of "covenanted benefit," or a definite ratio of benefit to contributions paid, was attempted, and to render this possible it was decided to ignore benefit paid between November, 1920, and November, 1922, and also to increase the proportion of benefit, so that a basis of one week's benefit for three instead of for six contributions was adopted as a temporary expedient. The extraordinary fluctuations in the number of persons shown as drawing "covenanted" and "uncovenanted" benefit at various times are explained by the special arrangements outlined above.

60. It should not be forgotten that three quarters of the Insurance Fund has been provided by the contributions of the employers and the employed; that the Fund has an actual income approaching £50,000,000 per annum, whilst its debt to the Treasury is only about £14,000,000; that interest is paid on the money thus borrowed from the State, and that the contributions, which have been heavily increased to meet the exceptional demands made upon the Fund, cannot be diminished until the debt has been repaid.

61. It must also be remembered that claimants are not entitled to payments merely because they are in credit, or because they can show that they are normally in an insurable trade, still less merely because they are unemployed. A number of statutory conditions for the receipt of benefit have to be fulfilled; not only must the authorities be satisfied that the claimant is capable of and available for work, but unable to obtain suitable employment, but loss of work through misconduct, stoppage of work due to a trade dispute, or the leaving of work voluntarily without just cause, definitely disqualify him or her for varying periods. Those applying for uncovenanted benefit must further satisfy the Local Employment Committee that they are genuinely seeking whole-time employment, whilst various classes of claimants have been definitely excluded from such benefit on the ground that payment would be inexpedient in the public interest, as, for instance, single persons with relatives to whom they can reasonably turn for support, or married women whose husbands are in employment.

62. A section of the public would appear to advocate that no woman should receive Unemployment Benefit at all, because they consider there are sufficient domestic vacancies to absorb all unemployed women. We desire to record our total and emphatic disagreement with such an outlook. We feel that women should have as much freedom in their choice of a profession as men—though they must not expect to exercise this choice at the expense of the rest of the community—and that women who have been trained for a particular trade and have paid contributions into the Insurance Fund are entitled to benefit subject to the regulations governing its payment. But obviously there will be cases where



there is nothing unreasonable in expecting alternative employment to be accepted after, or in proper cases, before, covenanted benefit has been exhausted if the chances of employment in the original trade remain slender.

63. An official witness informed us that in December, 1922, approximately only 4 per cent. of women coming within insurable trades were drawing benefit, as compared with 10 per cent. of men.\* This fact, together with the large number of appeals against the refusal of benefit by Courts of Referees which are subsequently allowed by the Umpire (an independent statutory officer of the Crown), would appear to show that women's claims are subjected to very close scrutiny. Occasional mistakes on the part of officials, or fraud on that of applicants, must of course occur in a scheme of such magnitude, but we are fully satisfied that there is no widespread abuse of Unemployment Benefit. The machinery for safeguarding the fund against improper claims may perhaps be briefly described:—

An applicant desiring to make a claim for benefit must attend at an Employment Exchange in person and sign a declaration including a statement that she is capable of and available for work but unable to obtain suitable employment. Her Unemployment Book has to be lodged at the Exchange and she is registered for employment.

An enquiry is sent to her last employer enquiring why the claimant left her employment. If the employer's reply is unfavourable, benefit is suspended, the claimant is afforded an opportunity of giving her own version of the circumstances, and the claim is referred to the Chief Insurance Officer in London. Pending the consideration of the claim, the applicant must sign the Unemployed Register daily, or as often as is prescribed, and must certify on each occasion that the above-mentioned conditions for the receipt of benefit are fulfilled. This procedure obtains during the whole period of a claim.

If the report from the employer is satisfactory and the claimant is in all respects qualified for benefit, either covenanted or uncovenanted, payment is authorised.

If any of the statutory conditions are not fulfilled, or the claimant is for any reason disqualified, the claim is disallowed by the Chief Insurance Officer. The claimant then has the right of appeal to the local Court of Referees, to whom she may state her case either in person or through a representative, and from whose decision, if it is unfavourable, there is in certain cases a right of appeal to the Umpire, an independent judicial officer appointed by the Crown finally to decide these and other cases. If a recommendation of the Court of Referees to allow a claim is accepted by the Chief Insurance Officer, benefit is paid, but if he

\* On September 1st, 1923, the percentages were roughly 6 per cent. women to 9 per cent. men, the alteration being almost entirely due to the heavy increase of unemployment among women in the cotton and woollen trades.

should refuse it, the claim is referred to the Umpire, whose decision is final.

Whenever a vacancy which appears suitable for a claimant occurs, she is offered employment. Should she refuse it, benefit is at once suspended and the claim is referred to the Chief Insurance Officer. In such cases also the claimant has the right of appeal to the Court of Referees, and, in certain cases, to the Umpire, as indicated above. It is not left with the claimant to decide what employment is to be regarded as suitable. We understand that due consideration is given to such factors as the degree of skill or length of experience acquired by her in a particular occupation, her home ties, what prospect there is of work becoming available in her own trade, &c., the decision depending on the circumstances of each individual case. Apart from these individual factors, there are also important general considerations, such as the normal requirements of industries suffering from the present abnormal conditions, which cannot be ignored.

64. We have visited a large number of Exchanges all over the country, each member of the Committee having undertaken to go to several in her own neighbourhood, and we are satisfied that, generally speaking, great efforts are made to try and place applicants in work. We were much impressed by the interest, amounting in many cases to real enthusiasm, shown by the officials in their work, and with their grasp and understanding of the problems and difficulties of those with whom they were dealing. All spoke of the extreme difficulty of placing untrained girls, however willing, or of utilising the supply of daily workers everywhere available; whilst in many industrial areas it was pointed out that the women attending the Exchange are totally unsuitable for domestic work.

65. It will be appreciated that the more individual and careful the case work, and the better acquainted the officials of the Employment Exchanges become with their clientèle, the less likely is it that unemployment benefit will be wrongfully paid. Such individual work, however, requires time, attention, sympathy and patience, and we are of opinion that in many Exchanges the staff has been reduced to a dangerous degree, if these, the most efficient safeguards, are to be maintained.

66. The public could do much to assist in preventing any leakage. In one of the written answers to our questionnaire, a lady stated that she had known of several girls who had been in service prior to the war and who were drawing benefit, that she reported these cases to the Employment Exchanges, and that "*in every case benefit was stopped immediately.*" Such action is unfortunately rare, and since it is obviously difficult to establish facts after a lapse of many years, if the public do not assist the Exchanges by giving them the information in their possession, it is they, and not the system or the Exchanges, who are to blame if, in such cases, the law is evaded.



67. When visiting Exchanges, we took the opportunity of scrutinising a considerable number of cases in which benefit was being paid, without finding any irregularities, or any indication that the stoppage of such payments would result in an increase in the supply of employable domestic workers. We have also, throughout our enquiry, systematically endeavoured to obtain details of instances of wrongful or unwise payments, both because of the constant criticism of the whole system of Unemployment Insurance, and because we hoped that the investigation of such cases might enable steps to be taken to prevent their recurrence. Perusal of Appendix D will show how much at variance with fact most of the general statements have been and how few of the specific cases have been accurately described. The common acceptance of both, however, is too serious a matter to be lightly dismissed, and it is disturbing to find a responsible body such as an L.C.C. School (Care) Committee circumstantially accusing a girl who not only had not, but could not, have acted in the manner alleged, since her age made it impossible for her to do so. We are sure the accusation was made in good faith, though we regret that our explanation of the facts elicited no expression either of satisfaction at the vindication of the girl and her relatives, or of regret for having wrongfully accused her. We think that the prevailing ignorance of the provisions of the Acts is chiefly responsible for the ready credence given both to vague assertions and to alleged instances of abuse, and that the fullest possible publicity should be given to the facts. We have also included in the Appendix referred to the facts about certain cases where benefit was alleged to have been wrongfully withheld, in which the result of the investigation is very much the same as in cases of the opposite kind.

68. There arose in the Committee's mind a question as to whether, when Unemployment Benefit was withheld or withdrawn, it was comparatively easy for a woman to obtain outdoor relief from the Boards of Guardians or Parish Councils. Enquiry has shown that in most instances the co-operation between these bodies and the Employment Exchanges is close and the interchange of information effective. There would appear to be some areas, however, where the relationship between the officers responsible for the two forms of expenditure of public monies might with advantage be strengthened.

69. We have very carefully considered the desirability or otherwise of the present exclusion of domestic workers in private service from the operation of the Insurance Acts so far as insurance against unemployment is concerned. As indicated in para. 55 above, persons employed in domestic service are only liable to Unemployment Insurance if they are employed in a trade or business carried on for gain (*e.g.*, servants employed in hotels, boarding houses and proprietary nursing homes, or to wait upon shop assistants, etc.). We are of opinion that this distinction is an artificial one, and that it is desirable that women

employed in private domestic service should not be excluded from the advantages of the Unemployment Insurance scheme unless some alternative scheme better suited to their particular needs is provided for them.

70. Even skilled domestic workers find a difficulty in securing fresh engagements after about the age of 50, should they for any reason be thrown out of employment, and we therefore desire to recommend that a pension fund should be established to which all female domestic workers in private employment and their employers should be required to contribute at the appropriate weekly rate, the State adding a proportionate contribution. These contributions would be sufficient to provide a pension of, say, 15*s.* a week from the age of 55 until the Old Age Pension becomes payable, when it would be reduced by the amount of the latter. Provision should also be made to enable domestic workers to commute their pension rights in favour of a cash payment on marriage if they prefer to do so.

71. We suggest that this pension scheme should be restricted to women employed in private domestic service; that women leaving this occupation for, or coming to it from, other industries should be transferred to or from the general Unemployment Insurance scheme as the case may be, and should carry a transfer value with them when doing this for the first time, but not on any subsequent occasion.

72. We consider it essential that benefits under this scheme should come into operation for women at present engaged in private domestic work and already approaching the age of 55, as soon as possible, and in any event not later than three years hence. As it is obvious that the total contributions in such cases will be small, it would probably be necessary to grant a smaller pension at the inauguration of the scheme, and gradually to increase the amount payable to new claimants each year until the full pension rate is reached. This, and other details must necessarily be worked out on an actuarial basis, and we therefore feel that we should confine our recommendation to the fundamental principles of the scheme.

73. The retirement from employment of those persons who receive pensions at the age of 55 or later would presumably involve the cessation of their insurance under the National Health Insurance scheme. There would, however, probably be a general desire that their title to medical benefit (*i.e.*, free medical attention) under that scheme should be retained, and the pension should therefore be fixed at such an amount as would permit of this being done without requiring the pensioner to pay any further Health Insurance contributions after the date of retirement.

74. While we should be glad to see such a pension scheme regarded as a definite alternative to the general Unemployment scheme, or at any rate as linked in some way with Unemployment



Insurance, we do not wish to make any definite recommendation as to the machinery by which this fund should be administered. We have satisfied ourselves that such a scheme is practicable, but the question of the most suitable machinery to carry it into operation is clearly a matter which only the Government and the Legislature can decide. We are confident that the sense of security which such a pension scheme would give to women domestic workers would have a great and immediate influence upon the status of their profession, since it is common knowledge that occupations in which the worker has security of tenure, or in which provision is made for old age and retirement, rank high in the general estimation. It is obvious that girls of 16 are unlikely to appreciate this, but their parents will do so, and as the scheme comes into operation the freedom from anxiety of those who benefit by it will have a very decided influence in the same direction.

#### SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

75. In order to bring our various conclusions and recommendations into proper relation to each other, and to indicate them more concisely than is possible in the body of the Report, we venture to present them in the following tabulated form—

##### CONCLUSIONS.

- (1) That domestic service being a skilled occupation, training through some channel is essential. The home life of a very large number of girls does not provide them with such training, and since it is extremely difficult to place untrained girls of 14 in private houses now-a-days, it is necessary to provide reasonable facilities for teaching young girls how to perform the work required of them;
- (2) that standards of efficiency are desirable in both the employers' and employees' interests, and should in future be established by the usual methods of examination and certification;
- (3) that it is desirable to obliterate as far as possible the distinction between domestic and other workers, and that, therefore, the former should (again as far as practicable) be included in schemes of industrial improvement;
- (4) that recognised conditions are desirable, but that, having regard to the varying needs of individual homes, these cannot be established by legislation and must be left to local agreements;
- (5) That the question of status is a very crucial one which can only be influenced indirectly;

- (6) that there is widespread misunderstanding as to the conditions governing the payment of Unemployment Benefit;
- (7) that the payment of Unemployment Benefit to women has very little to do with the shortage of domestic workers;
- (8) that this shortage is being exploited by many registries in areas where no by-laws regulating their methods are in force;
- (9) that the conditions of domestic service make it difficult for girls to take part in the recreations or interests open to other workers, and that their needs in these directions require to be specially studied and catered for;
- (10) that the extension of day work is difficult because of the objection of private employers to any change in their accustomed procedure, but that, with careful organisation, day workers could take a much larger share of the domestic work of the country than is at present considered feasible.

##### RECOMMENDATIONS.

76. We therefore recommend :—

- (1) *Training* :
  - (a) Instruction in domestic science in all Elementary Schools for every girl between the ages of 12 and 14;
  - (b) instruction in domestic science carried to a further point for all girls in Central and Secondary Schools, and, in Scotland, in the schools corresponding to these;
  - (c) the provision of advanced scholarships or bursaries for girls desirous of completing a specialised training;
  - (d) the provision of whole-time vocational courses in suitable centres for girls over the age of 14;
  - (e) the giving of maintenance grants where necessary to individual pupils;
  - (f) the establishment of open examinations with certificates of proficiency.

Thus a child could be trained in domestic subjects either—  
 at an Elementary School followed by a vocational course,  
 or at an Elementary School and Central School, whether or not followed by a vocational course,  
 or at an Elementary School and Secondary School and then, in suitable cases, by a further course at a Technical School, to enable her to qualify for a teacher or for other superior posts,  
 or at an Elementary School followed by private training.



In all cases examinations will enable students to provide themselves with definite certificates of proficiency.

Until these sources of supply are developed the courses arranged by the Central Committee for Women's Training (or similar ones) should be available for older girls or adults wishing to transfer into the occupation, and where these are not available, courses with a maintenance grant in lieu of Unemployment Benefit should be instituted where the facilities for training can be arranged

(2) *Unemployment Benefit.*

That the artificial distinction between various types of domestic workers should be obliterated as far as possible by bringing all female domestic workers, wherever employed, under a scheme of insurance in addition to National Health Insurance; but that in the case of women and girls in private domestic employment there should be, as an alternative to Unemployment Benefit, a scheme whereby a pension of 15s. a week should be obtainable at the age of 55, and should continue until the Old Age Pension becomes payable when it should be reduced by the amount of that pension. Contributors to the pension scheme should have the option of a cash payment on marriage in lieu of pension. Benefits under this scheme should come into operation as soon as possible and in any case not later than three years hence.

(3) *Distribution.*

That the making of by-laws for the proper control and supervision of Registry Offices be made compulsory upon Local Authorities.

(4) *General.*

- (a) That special Sub-Committees be established by the Local Employment Committees attached to Employment Exchanges to consider the problems in connection with domestic work and to endeavour to form local Associations of employers and employees to agree upon conditions in their area;
- (b) that female domestic workers who have attained the statutory age should be entitled to the Parliamentary Vote on the same residence qualification as men.

And we specially draw attention to the desirability of unofficial organisations such as the Young Women's Christian Association, the National Organisation of Girls' Clubs, etc., and private individuals furthering by all means in their power the provision of better social, recreational, and educational advantages for domestic workers and the upholding of the dignity of domestic service as a skilled and honourable profession.

77. We desire to place on record our warm appreciation of the services rendered by our secretaries. Miss Fraser was prevented by serious illness from continuing the very able and intelligent work she had commenced, but her successor, Miss Foster, took it up with wholehearted energy and interest and carried it through with the utmost zeal and capability. We tender our very sincere thanks to both these ladies, whose work has been of the greatest value and assistance to us. We also wish to express our cordial thanks to Miss Rees, who acted as secretary pending Miss Foster's appointment, and who spared neither thought nor labour to prevent the work from suffering by Miss Fraser's sudden removal.

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient Servants,

(Signed) ETHEL M. WOOD (*Chairman*).  
ANNE STRACHEY.  
E. M. BURGWIN.  
FLORA E. FARDELL.  
MARGARET A. HURST.  
JANE E. HANNAY.  
MARGARET WINTRINGHAM.  
LEONORA COHEN.  
JULIA VARLEY.  
H. M. PROCTER.  
FLORENCE N. HARRISON BELL.  
ROSALIND MOORE.

E. M. FOSTER (*Secretary*).

19 October, 1923.



APPENDIX A.

LIST OF WITNESSES GIVING ORAL EVIDENCE.

*Representing the Ministry of Labour, and Local Employment Committees or Juvenile Advisory Committees (voluntary bodies in connection with the administration of the Employment Exchanges and the Unemployment Insurance Acts and consisting of representatives of employers and employees).*

Mr. T. W. Phillips, C.B., C.B.E., Principal Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Labour.  
Miss A. E. Gardner, O.B.E., Chief Woman Officer, S.E. Division.  
Miss A. Younger, M.A., O.B.E., Chief Woman Officer, Scotland.  
Miss F. Baron, B.A., Bristol Employment Exchange.  
Miss A. Cassells, Nottingham Employment Exchange.  
Mrs. E. M. Parker, Leeds Employment Exchange.  
Mrs. Acworth, J.P., Willesden Local Employment Committee.  
Mrs. M. D. Adam, Hamilton Local Employment Committee.  
Miss Jean Ball, Glasgow Central Juvenile Advisory Committee.  
Miss Benson, Shepherd's Bush Juvenile Advisory Committee.  
Miss Craig, Sunderland Local Employment Committee.  
Mrs. F. R. Davies, J.P., Aberdare Juvenile Advisory Committee.  
Lady Matthews, Tunbridge Wells Juvenile Advisory Committee.  
Mrs. Mines, Hereford Local Employment Committee.  
Miss E. Rathbone, M.A., J.P., C.C., Liverpool Juvenile Advisory Committee.  
Mrs. Salmond, O.B.E., London Central Juvenile Advisory Committee.  
Mrs. E. H. Smith, Bootle Local Employment Committee.  
Councillor Mrs. H. D. Williams, Swansea Local Employment Committee.

*Representing Employers.*

The Countess Bathurst.  
Miss Biddell.  
Mrs. Bilborough.  
Miss Bulkeley.  
Mr. Ford.  
Mr. J. Gibbons.  
Miss Dorothy Hedges.  
Miss Pearce.  
Lady Thomson.

*National Citizens Union.*

Captain Abbott.  
Mrs. Burrell.  
Mr. Dowsett.  
Mrs. K. M. Gilbert.  
Mr. Gurling.  
Mrs. Councillor Johnstone.

*Representing Employees.*

Miss Margaret Bondfield, J.P., National Union of General Workers (Women's Section).  
Mr. A. J. Brice.  
Miss Cheeseman.  
Miss Finlayson.  
Mr. Harris (father of 2 domestic workers).  
Miss Long, Member of Blue Triangle Corps (Y.W.C.A.).  
Mrs. Olliver.  
Councillor Jessie Stephen, Domestic Servants and Hotel Workers' Union.  
Miss E. Stewart, Workers' Union (Scotland).

*Other Organisations.*

Miss L. C. Barker, C.B.E., J.P., Central Committee for Women's Training.  
Miss H. Enfield, Women's Co-operative Guild.  
Mrs. Barton, Women's Co-operative Guild.  
Miss Berrill, Salvation Army.  
Miss Brewitt, Canning Town Branch of M.A.B.Y.S.  
Hon. Lady Cunliffe, Girls' Friendly Society.  
Lady Emmott, United Women's Insurance Society.  
Mr. Alban Gordon, United Women's Insurance Society.  
Miss N. G. Levy, National Organisation of Girls' Clubs.  
Miss Macdonald, Blue Triangle Home Service Corps.  
Miss E. New, Women's Legion.  
Miss M. E. Phillips, League of Skilled Housecraft and Y.W.C.A.  
Miss Philippa Strachey, London Society for Women's Service.  
Mrs. E. A. Witt, Superintendent of Domestic Training Centre.

*Representing Educational bodies.*

Miss Lasham, Head Mistress, L.C.C.  
Mr. Arthur Lewis, Director of Education, West Bromwich.  
Miss M. Miller, Birmingham Juvenile Employment and Welfare Committee.  
Miss Sanders, Trade School Organiser, L.C.C.  
Mr. F. S. Tossill, Guildford Education Committee.  
Miss Wood, Education Research Student.

*Representing Registry Office Proprietors.*

Mrs. Dunbar, Registry Office Proprietor.  
Miss R. E. Massey, Mrs. Massey's Servants' Agency.  
Mr. Ouseley, Registry Office Proprietor.

*Independent Witnesses.*

Mr. Frank Briant, M.P.  
Lt.-Col. Hilder, M.P.  
Mr. Chuter.  
Mr. Barry Neame.  
Mr. A. F. Part.  
Dr. C. W. Saleeby.  
Madam Couder Scott.

APPENDIX B.

1. STANDARD CONDITIONS FOR DOMESTIC SERVICE—ADULTS.

I.—General Conditions of Domestic Service drawn up in 1919 by the London and South Eastern Divisional Council.

II.—General Conditions of Domestic Service drawn up in 1919 by the Scottish Divisional Council.

2. STANDARD CONDITIONS FOR DOMESTIC SERVICE FOR GIRLS UNDER 18, AS DRAWN UP BY JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT COMMITTEES at Gt. Marlborough Street, Greenock.

I.

LONDON AND SOUTH EASTERN DIVISIONAL COUNCIL.

STANDING COUNCIL FOR WOMEN'S WORK.

SCHEME for the Improvement of General Conditions of Domestic Service, drawn up at an Extraordinary Meeting of the Committee, held on Tuesday, 11th February, 1919.

The following suggestions were put forward:—

I.—That Domestic Service for women of 18 and over should be classed as a substitute "occupation" and its status raised.



II.—That Domestic Service should be organised.

III.—That publicity should be given to this side of the work of the Employment Exchanges, and that special Committees to advise on the question should be formed in connection with Exchanges, consisting of Employers and Employees, three on each side.

IV.—That there should be a substitute "48-hour week" for resident or non-resident service, and that overtime, if worked, should be paid at the usual Trade Union rates (time and a half on week-days, double time on Sundays).

V.—That annual holidays should be taken at the rate of one day per month (after 6 months' service, 6 days; after one year's service, 12 days).

VI.—That every domestic servant should be entitled to one free half-day per week, from 1 p.m., to a free half-day every Sunday, or a whole free day on alternate Sundays, to a week-end once a month. That there should be a minimum wage of £30 a year where one servant only is kept.

That where more than one servant is kept:—

	Per annum. £
Kitchen and Scullery Maids should receive a minimum wage of ... ..	30
Housemaids should receive a minimum wage of ... ..	35
Parlourmaids, Lady's Maids should receive a minimum wage of ... ..	40
Cooks should receive a minimum wage of ... ..	45

That daily workers should receive a minimum wage of 6s. a day without food, or 4s. 6d. a day with food.

VII.—That no servant should be required to sleep in a room that is not dry and adequately ventilated and lighted.

VIII.—That Domestic Service should be included in the list of trades compulsorily insured against unemployment.

IX.—That a recommendation be forwarded by the Women's Standing Council that facilities for training should be provided, and that a Maintenance Grant equivalent to the Out-of-Work Donation be allowed during training.

II.

DRAFT SCHEME FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF "DOMESTIC ASSISTANCE" IN SCOTLAND, DRAWN UP IN 1919 BY THE SCOTTISH DIVISIONAL COUNCIL.

RECOMMENDATIONS AS TO WAGES AND CONDITIONS IN DOMESTIC EMPLOYMENT.

Note.—The Sub-Committee have had under consideration the method of administering the following scheme, and are of opinion that the best method of dealing with the matter is to appoint an Administrative Committee as a temporary expedient.

1. Constitution of Administrative Committee.

The Administrative Committee shall consist of the Women's Sub-Committee in each Exchange area, with power to co-opt additional members, who shall be appointed in equal numbers from Employers and Employees.

2. That all persons desiring employment in domestic duties may apply to the Committee for advice, and, if necessary and approved, shall be allowed to receive training with a view to being subsequently placed in employment by the Employment Exchange.

3. General rules regarding employment shall be printed for the guidance of employers and employees, and a certificate for proficiency shall be granted by the Committee to all persons who have proved themselves to possess the necessary qualifications in their particular category of domestic assistance.

4. Resident Domestic.

The following rates of pay shall apply to all resident domestics under the following classes, if 18 years and upwards:—

	Three or more Assistants.	Two Assistants.	One Assistant.
	£	£	£
Cooks ... ..	30-40	24-35	24-35
Tablemaids, Housemaids, Laundrymaids, etc. ...	28-35		

Girls under 18 years of age shall be regarded as apprentices, with wages at the rate of £16 per annum for the first year, with an annual increase of £2 if proficient.

Holidays, Meal Times, etc.

Holidays.—A fortnight's holiday every year, with wages including board wages of 15s. per week.

Meal Times.—A suggestion to be made on the back of the card bearing the general rules that employers should keep in view the necessity of allowing assistants uninterrupted time for meals.

Daily.—Two hours per day, during which time an assistant may be permitted to leave the house.

Weekly.—One half-day from 2.30 p.m.

Sunday.—Alternate Sundays free, or half of every Sunday.

Week-ends.—A week-end or a night away once every quarter.

DAILY WORKERS.

1. Casual Assistants, Charwomen, etc.

General work, with dinner—9d. per hour.

General work, without dinner—10d. per hour.

Washing only—1s. per hour, with dinner, if over five hours.

2. Non-resident Domestic Assistants.

Cooks, Tablemaids, Housemaids, Laundrymaids, General Domestic—8d.-1s. per hour (with three meals per day).

Note.—After full consideration, it was felt by the Committee that no organisations of employers and workers having been attempted, it would be premature at the present time to proceed to fix a daily or weekly rate. They have, therefore, proposed hourly rates, leaving time off, holiday arrangements, etc., to be adjusted between employers and workers.

All questions relating to wages, hours, etc., should be referred to the Administrative Committee for adjudication and recommendation. Appeals against the Committee's decision may be made to the Main Local Advisory Committee.

STANDARD CONDITIONS FOR DOMESTIC SERVICE FOR GIRLS UNDER 18, AS DRAWN UP BY JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT COMMITTEES.

I.

GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.

Domestic Employment—Juveniles.

STANDARD OF CONDITIONS AND METHOD OF AFTER-CARE SUGGESTED BY GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET DOMESTIC SERVICE SUB-COMMITTEE.

Boys and Girls.

1. Wages.

For those without training or experience:—

	£
14 years of age ... ..	14
15 " " ... ..	15
16 " " ... ..	17
17 " " ... ..	19



- With training or experience:—
- |                        |    |
|------------------------|----|
| 15 years of age ... .. | £  |
| 16 " " ... ..          | 17 |
| 17 " " ... ..          | 19 |
| 17 " " ... ..          | 22 |
- That uninterrupted meal times shall be arranged.
  - That there shall be a weekly half-holiday from 2.30 p.m. and that the whole of alternate Sundays or half of each Sunday shall be given as a holiday.
  - That there shall be a yearly holiday of two weeks, with pay.
  - That comfortable and healthy sleeping accommodation be provided, with separate bed.
  - That reasonable facilities should be provided for visitors and for attendance at religious or educational organisations in cases not covered by the Education Act.

*After-Care.*

An afternoon Rota to be held to which all children placed shall be periodically invited. Attention of employers to be drawn to this and their interest asked towards ensuring the attendance of young workers.

Subsequently, employers to be approached six-monthly for a report as to progress. A special form to be sent out by the Committee for this.

Co-operation to be sought with local girls' clubs and recreative organisations to which girls could be referred on placement.

In order to secure vacancies it will be necessary to display posters and circularise residential employers.

II.

GREENOCK.

*Employment of Juveniles in Domestic Service.*

The Domestic Service Committee (a Sub-Committee of the Greenock Juvenile Advisory Committee) has carefully considered the conditions prevailing in resident domestic service for Juveniles, and, in view of the hesitation shown by girls to accept this form of employment, recommend to employers the fulfilment of the following suggestions:—

- The minimum rate of wages should be as follows:
 

	£
Girls (14-16) ... ..	16 per annum inclusive.
(16-18) ... ..	20 " "
- That there should be at least two hours off each day, during which time the workers may leave the house, and that uninterrupted meal times should be arranged.
- That there shall be a weekly half-holiday from 2.30 p.m. and that the whole of alternate Sundays, or half of each Sunday, shall be given as a holiday.
- That there shall be a yearly holiday of two weeks, with pay.
- That the bedroom, with a separate bed, shall be properly ventilated, and not isolated from the rest of the household.
- That only light household duties shall be performed after 5 p.m., ordinarily no service shall be expected after 9.30 p.m.

*Note.*—Employers will realise that young workers may be lonely, and will be prepared to allow reasonable facilities for visitors. They will also realise that the two hours off duty each day should be continuous, and at a fairly early time.

Employers desiring a juvenile domestic servant should complete particulars asked for overleaf as fully as possible.

- Address. Private or business nature.
- Class of worker required.
  - Are you prepared to train an inexperienced girl?
  - If not, what previous experience is necessary?
- How many other workers are employed?
- Number in family. Are there young children?
- The wages offered (including laundry).

- Any information with regard to size of house.
- What sleeping accommodation is offered?
- What free time and outings are given?
- What annual holiday is given?

(Signed)  
 Date

To the Secretary,  
 Juvenile Advisory Committee,  
 Employment Exchange.

APPENDIX C.

PARTICULARS OF SCHEMES ACTUALLY IN OPERATION.

*Mrs. G. H. Savournin.*

Has a Local depôt consisting of hostel, club room, office, etc. with staff of daily and resident workers attached. Workers from each depôt sent out to work at a fixed hourly rate, paid by the employer to the organisation who pay a fixed salary to the worker. Employers required to observe certain conditions regarding hours. Misbehaviour on the part of an employee renders her liable to be struck off the register.

*Newhaven (U.S.A.) scheme, particulars furnished by Miss C. Kenny.*

Domestic Bureau was formed to supply domestic workers on basis of 8 hour day, payment by the hour with arrangements for overtime. Certificates given for good work and inspections made. Employment Bureau was part of the scheme.

*Blue Triangle Home Service Corps.*

Hostel opened by Y.W.C.A. for about 28 workers who after testing or training become members of the Corps and go out to do domestic work by the hour. Members paid by Hostel—12s. 6d. per week (if under one year's experience 10s. per week), with board, laundry, uniform, and National Health Insurance contributions for a 48 hours' week—any overtime above this paid at full rate received from employers.

*The House Assistants' Centre.*

Established to supply every kind of domestic help, encourage training and interest in domestic occupations and to do everything possible to raise the status of domestic service, as Florence Nightingale did that of Sick-Nursing. It is hoped in time that all House Assistants will not only have good references for personal character, but will also hold certificates showing length of service and practical qualifications as housekeeper, cook, housemaid, parlourmaid, nurse, dairy-maid, gardener, chauffeur, etc. Married couples, men and boys are also registered.

*The League of Skilled Housecraft.*

Founded in 1922 by a Council representing the Girls' Friendly Society, Y.W.C.A., M.A.B.Y.S., National Organisation of Girls' Clubs, representatives of the Board of Education, Ministry of Labour and London County Council, with a view to raising status of domestic service by a system of training, examinations, diplomas. The aim of the League is to form a band of technically qualified domestic servants, rather than attempt to fix hours or conditions. Preliminary examination held twice a year. Girls who pass become probationers of the League of Skilled Housecraft and receive a certificate with the right to wear a probationer's badge. A further examination will qualify for diplomas, which will admit to full membership of the League. Diplomas will be given in every branch of domestic service, and membership of the League will carry with it the right to wear special badge and uniform.



APPENDIX D.

SUMMARY OF COMPLAINTS INVESTIGATED, AS TO THE EFFECT OF UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT ON DOMESTIC SERVICE.

(The names and addresses of individuals referred to, if not previously published, have been omitted, and the letters A, B, C, etc., substituted.)

I.—COMPLAINTS CONTAINED IN LETTERS APPEARING IN THE "DAILY MAIL."

Complaint.	Remarks.
<p>16th April, 1923.</p> <p>SIR,            Recently I required a permanent worker for four hours daily, six days a week (housework). The Labour Exchange recommended me four women. One did not want to earn less than £1 1s. a week, two and three preferred factory work and would not have continued permanently at domestic work; four required 9d. an hour, plus two meals. It would have been sheer waste of time for me to engage them. They would have shown the Labour Exchange Secretary I was not satisfied after the first week, and they would have returned to take the dole. I knew they would not work or even want to learn. What was the use of trying them? I had no option but to sign their cards "Not suitable."</p> <p>A MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHER.            Hitchin</p> <p>11th April, 1923.</p> <p>SIR,            It is a hopeless task writing on the subject of the dole scandal, but I see you contemplate tackling it. The greatest scandal is that of domestic servants. They are unobtainable at any price. The local paper, published every week, has never contained fewer than 300 advertisements any week since the armistice. I have paid them over £9 for advertisements lately, and have never received one single application. A hotel in the district tell me they are willing to guarantee £100 a year to waitresses, including tips,</p>	<p>The Manager of the Employment Exchange reports that as far as can be ascertained the writer of this letter is an employer to whom five applicants were submitted. No. 1, said to be unsuitable, has since been placed, and is still in domestic service. No. 2 was engaged for 10 days and was actually employed for some time longer. No. 3, who had previously been earning 21s. a week and was offered by this employer 12s. a week and no meals for work from 8 to 1 daily, was engaged to start some days later but obtained other work and notified employer. Nos. 4 and 5, girls of 19 and 20, with experience of domestic work, returned to the Exchange with their cards marked "Would prefer someone older."</p> <p>Fourteen women were claiming benefit at the Hitchin Branch Employment Office at the date of the letter. Of these, only four remained on the register in the middle of June, one being a dress-maker with little experience, and three others shop assistants.</p> <p>Correspondent not known at address given. Two letters written to him by applicants for employment (one at Handsworth and one at Wimbledon) were returned through the Dead Letter Office marked "Not known," and were sent to the Committee for their information.</p> <p>The Manager of the Bournemouth Employment Exchange reports that only 17 orders were received during the month of April for waitresses at this Exchange, many being for Easter week only. Ten of these vacancies were filled. A hotel proprietor informed the Manager that</p>

Complaint.	Remarks.
<p>and they cannot get any. They are unobtainable.            You are tackling a mighty subject.</p> <p>ROBERT STEPHENS,            Lieut.-Col.            6, Talbot Road,            Bournemouth.</p> <p>12th April, 1923.</p> <p>I cannot find words to express my appreciation of the way you have shown what is a most unjust state of things. Thousands of girls and women who might have good homes will not take service because they get the dole and idleness, learning nothing to fit them to be good wives and mothers.</p> <p>(Mrs.) A. A. CRAWLEY.            Peterborough.</p> <p>13th April, 1923.</p> <p>SIR,            I am delighted to see you are exposing the scandal of "paying women to be idle" when so many of England's housewives are unable to get any regular domestic worker, and so many homes have been given up for want of workers. It is a crying shame that we should have to pay these idle women by over-taxation.</p> <p>IDA GREVILLE HUIE.            Torquay.</p> <p>SIR,            As a member of the women's rota of the local employment committee, the fact is insistently brought to my notice that the housing shortage is</p>	<p>in respect of one advertisement for a waitress at wages of 12s. a week he received six applications.</p> <p>The Manager of the Peterborough Exchange reports that the number of women drawing benefit during the month of April was 216. 153 of these were employed short-time in elastic and corset factories and were claiming benefit for the intervals during which they were suspended. Another 32 were factory workers of a rough type. Of the remainder, 13 were shop assistants and 15 factory workers. Some of these last were stated by the Exchange officials to be unsuitable for domestic service, while others were refused by employers owing to lack of experience. The demand for domestic servants at the Peterborough Exchange in April was very small.</p> <p>The Manager of the Torquay Employment Exchange reports that the number of women claiming benefit during April varied from 23 to 34 per week, the average number claiming being 27. Writing in July, the Manager says "All these women have been placed or found work and no one who is now claiming was on the Register during April. In each case covenanted benefit was being paid." The Manager stated "The opportunity is taken to offer private domestic service to all women who are in the least degree suitable for same. In several cases claimants have discontinued signing when domestic service has been suggested to them; others have been suspended and claims disallowed."</p> <p>Mrs. Reeve, when interviewed by an officer of the Ministry of Labour, stated that she was referring to uncovenanted benefit and not to</p>



*Complaint.*

very much aggravated by the young women's refusal to undertake resident domestic service.

FLORENCE REEVE.  
 Ramsgate.

14th April, 1923.

SIR,  
 Last season and the one before, I spent pounds to obtain servants who were of little use to me and who left me in the middle of the busy time, knowing they could get something for nothing from the Government. The Labour Exchanges are worse than useless, and I have the assurance of one of their late clerks that they send men and women to prospective employers chosen, not as the most suitable for posts open, but because they have been longest on the books.

(Mrs.) K. DORE.  
 Overstrand.

17th April, 1923.

SIR,  
 As proprietress of a domestic bureau I realise that by abolishing the dole to domestic workers my work would become a pleasure, enabling me to secure competent resident maids to so many embarrassed housewives, thus helping to restore the happy homes of England.

G. T. SARGANT.  
 Westcliff-on-Sea.

SIR,  
 Private institutions find it most difficult to get domestic servants, although their salaries are very good and the hours of work short. Girls will not go into domestic service as long as they have a benevolent Government that is prepared to give them something for nothing.

C. M. McLENNAN, Matron.  
 Grampian Sanatorium,  
 Kingussie.

*Remarks.*

covenanted benefit. She stated her belief that the Ramsgate Committee did their best to administer the Act according to official instructions, and referred to a particular case where "the claimant was furious at having her claim disallowed, and, more forcibly than politely, announced her intention of taking the matter further to obtain her rights."

The Manager of the Cromer Branch Employment Office stated that a waitress was sent from the Exchange and was engaged by the correspondent, but left after a fortnight owing, she stated, to the heavy work. The number of women receiving benefit (all covenanted) during April at the Cromer Office was 11, all the applicants being shop assistants or dressmakers.

The writer of this letter could produce no definite evidence in support of her contention. She agreed to write a report based on her experience, but the only further communication received reiterated the previous statement.

The Exchange Manager, Inverness, reports that difficulty is experienced in getting applicants to accept employment in sanatoria in his area, but vacancies have been received from the Grampian Sanatorium and applicants placed. The vacancies were not notified to the Local Office as the Matron did not wish for local applicants.

The number of women receiving benefit at the Kingussie Branch Employment Office during the month of

*Complaint.*

18th April, 1923.

SIR,  
 It is almost impossible to get a domestic servant in this town and it is certainly high time this dole business ceased. The streets are full of girls dressed to death, who frankly say that as long as they are paid to do nothing they will continue as they are.

A. B.  
 Worthing.

12th April, 1923.

SIR,  
 It is a crying disgrace that all these women and girls should have the dole when domestic servants are wanted in great numbers. I had to give up curing my own bacon and am thinking of giving up my dairy and poultry simply because I cannot get an experienced cook.

R. POTTS.  
 Netherleigh,  
 Chester.

12 people were required for Whitsun week for staff, but although repeated application was made to E.E. and I advertised in 3 local papers, I was unable to obtain even one, and was compelled to close portion of Hotel.

Mr. EDWARDS.  
 Windham Hotel,  
 Bridgend.

*Remarks.*

April was six, consisting of three clerks, one tailoress, one teacher (uncertificated), and one housemaid, formerly employed at the Sanatorium, who refused to return, and was therefore disqualified for benefit for six weeks.

The Manager of the Worthing Employment Exchange reports that 16 women were in receipt of benefit at Worthing Exchange at the time in question. These consisted of—

- 1 Restaurant Manageress,
- 2 Waitresses,
- 2 Clerks,
- 1 Cashier,
- 1 Tailoress,
- 1 Milliner,
- 3 Dressmakers,
- 4 Shop Assistants, and
- 1 Nurse.

All were drawing covenanted benefit and in several cases had retained their last employment for over 10 years.

The Manager of the Chester Employment Exchange reports that no orders were received from this employer during month of April. On January 11th orders were notified for experienced cook and house-parlourmaid; wages not stated. Orders cancelled February 20th and January 25th respectively. During month of April 77 women were claiming at Chester Exchange, of whom three only were claiming uncovenanted benefit. Out of 79 vacancies filled during first 4 months of this year 46 were resident domestics.

The Manager of the Branch Employment Office, Bridgend, reports that on receipt of an order in December, 1922, for a scullery-maid and under-waitress at this hotel, he called on Mr. Edwards with particulars of applicants, but was told by Mr. Edwards that notification of the vacancies to the Local Office was against his instructions and he refused to discuss the matter further. In May two girls, who were not in receipt of benefit were



*Complaint.*

*Remarks.*

engaged by Mr. Edwards from the Cardiff Exchange, but returned about a week later stating that they had been unable to find the railway fare to Bridgend. On the 23rd May three applicants were interviewed and engaged by Mr. Edwards. About a week later one of them called at the Cardiff Exchange to state that she had left the hotel and that the other two were leaving on the following day. It was alleged that the hours of labour were very long.

21st April, 1923.

SIR,

Although my house has no basement, and there are gas-fires in every room and only two people in the family, I could not get a girl at the Labour Exchange although I offered £40 a year and treatment like one of the family. At the other end of the counter stood a long row of girls, all waiting to draw the dole. There ought not to be a single healthy young woman drawing the dole and living in idleness upon the unfortunate taxpayers.

B. HUGHES.

West Kensington.

SIR,

The dole is shamefully abused. A fortnight ago I paid a woman for ordinary housework 8d. an hour. She refused to come again unless I paid at the rate of 1s. an hour, saying she preferred to get parish relief. The Government should not give money for nothing, as it demoralises.

F. E. NEVILLE.

Sheppey.

No trace can be found at the local Exchanges, viz., the Walham Green and Shepherds Bush Exchanges, of any order having been received from Mrs. Hughes.

No orders notified at Sheerness Exchange by this employer, who is not known to Exchange officers.

II.—CASES FURNISHED BY THE NATIONAL CITIZENS' UNION.

A girl was offered 6s. per week and full board and laundry, but refused this because she was receiving unemployment pay. When the dole was stopped she went into domestic service and is now in the employ of "X," Evesham. Her name is "A."

The Manager of the Branch Employment Office, Evesham, who has been in the post since May, 1919, has no record of any person named "A" having claimed benefit or ever having made use of the Branch Office.

*Complaint.*

*Remarks.*

"B" would not accept service until her 16 weeks unemployment pay was run out then she took the first work she could get and is now in service with "Y," Evesham.

The Manager of the Branch Employment Office, Evesham, reports that two persons of this name have claimed benefit at different periods. Particulars of these two cases are as follows:—

1. "B.1" employed four years and four months as factory hand up to 2nd November, 1922. Received covenanted benefit 10th November, 1922 to 5th February, 1923, when she obtained daily domestic work at Stratford-on-Avon. Left voluntarily on 10th February, 1923, and claimed benefit, which was disallowed for six weeks. Has not attended at the Branch Employment Office since.

The Manager has no knowledge that this girl ever refused domestic work and there were no orders at the time for inexperienced maids.

2. "B.2" factory hand with four years' experience. Drew covenanted benefit for 67 days from 6th December, 1920. Applicant has not attended at the Branch Employment Office since 1921.

"C" Evesham, refused to take domestic work as she worked in the factory in the summer and lived upon the dole in the winter.

Note.—The Labour Exchange under whose jurisdiction the above three cases come is in Bridge Street, Evesham.

The Manager of the Branch Employment Office, Evesham, reports that this girl had been employed for four years and eight months as a factory hand and as a daily domestic for three months. She received eight weeks' benefit in December, 1920, claimed 16 weeks' benefit from 19th November, 1921, and 12 weeks four days from 9th February, 1923. During the currency of the last claim applicant obtained employment as a domestic help from 9th April to 20th April, and factory work from 11th May to 11th June. The Branch Manager knows nothing as to the alleged refusal of domestic work and states that the domestic orders notified since October, 1922, were for experienced domestics only.

"Z," South Kensington, engaged "D," West Kensington, as a daily kitchenmaid at 18s. per week, and finding her a fair worker would have kept her. The girl herself appeared to be quite satisfied with the situation. At the end of the second week she did not turn up and

The Manager of the Walham Green Employment Exchange reports that a girl who appears to be the one referred to registered for employment on June 20th, but did not make a claim to benefit. She was submitted for domestic employment and engaged on the same day,



*Complaint.*

"Z" did not hear from her again. On making enquiries "Z" heard that had the girl remained longer in the situation she would have lost the dole which she preferred to domestic service.

The Labour Exchange in connection with the above case is not known.

"E" Highgate, refused temporary work with "K," Muswell Hill Road, N.10, last November, as by so doing she would lose the dole. Said she would have been willing to oblige otherwise.

The Labour Exchange under whose jurisdiction the above case comes is in Holloway Road, near Holloway Station, N.

*Remarks.*

and on July 19th was still employed there.

"D" gave a person named "Z" as her last employer, with whom she stated she worked for two months.

There is no trace at the Holloway or Wood Green Employment Exchanges of "E" or "K."

III.—CASES REFERRED TO IN AN ARTICLE IN THE "DAILY HERALD" ON THE 26TH APRIL, 1923.

"Miss Preston of Poplar, who had been working in a chocolate factory for six years, was put off on December 30th. For a time she drew the "dole," until being offered domestic service she refused, and benefit was at once stopped.

"I had to remain at home to look after my invalid mother," was her simple explanation.

It is presumed that the applicant in question is Miss G. E. Preston, who was registered at the Canning Town Employment Exchange. She left her employment as confectionery and tobacconist's assistant on 30th December, 1922. Last employment over nine months. Previously employed as a chocolate packer for 2½ years. Received 23 days benefit from 1st January. On the 9th February was offered domestic work, which she refused. The claim was suspended and the case reported to the Chief Insurance Officer. Applicant's reason for refusing domestic work was that her people did not want her to take service. Nothing was said in her appeal about an invalid mother. She had previously refused Homecraft training.

"A Holloway book-keeper, Miss Ashman, told a similar story—discharged owing to slackness of trade; an invalid mother and five young brothers to support."

This applicant claimed benefit at Holloway Employment Exchange on 24th April, 1923. Failed to sign on the 25th, and on the 26th notified the Exchange that she had found work. In these circumstances no benefit was due, but applicant wrote to the Workers' Union, stating that she had had a week's money stopped because she had gone as a member of the deputation to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the 25th April. A

*Complaint.*

"Miss Milton related how she had been in hospital for 18 months. Her aged grandmother had helped her up to a point; her father is dying. Refused domestic service; dole stopped."

"Miss Clift, a fragile girl, pale-faced, with great dark eyes, who lost a clerical job after five-and-a-half years, with a widowed mother, whom she has to keep.

"I told the Exchange I wasn't healthy enough to take on domestic service," she explained.

"She is now waiting to hear that her dole has been stopped."

*Remarks.*

representative of the Workers' Union subsequently called at the Exchange and the facts of the case were explained to her satisfaction.

Miss Milton's father is blind (not dying), and she lives with her grandmother. Applicant has worked in various factories and is apparently not strong enough for domestic work. Has received 110 days' benefit, and on the 24th April an extension of 12 weeks' uncovenanted benefit was granted by the Rota Committee.

Applicant is a clerk, and after drawing 132 days' benefit was summoned to appear before the Local Employment Committee at Poplar on the 24th April, on which date she was granted a further 12 weeks' uncovenanted benefit.

IV.—GENERAL COMPLAINTS THAT WOMEN ARE DRAWING BENEFIT WHO SHOULD BE IN DOMESTIC SERVICE.

*Case reported by Mr. F.*

Complains that there is abundance of work to be given in neighbourhood to domestic workers, but they prefer to remain idle whilst receiving dole.

Mr. F. was asked for specific cases, but was unable to supply these. Still adheres to the views expressed in his letter.

*In giving evidence on 28th June, Miss Bulkeley stated that, roughly, about 30-40 girls were drawing benefit at Cliffe-at-Hoo who were suitable for domestic service, and who would, when benefit stopped, find employment in domestic service.*

Number of women claiming benefit at the beginning of July at Cliffe-at-Hoo Branch Employment Office was: Covenanted, 2; Uncovenanted, nil.

*Complaint made by Mrs. E.*

Obliged to close house through inability to get help. Everything done for maids' comfort. Labour saving devices; high salaries; wireless concerts and short hours. Has been supplied with numbers of women from Walham Green Exchange, but they work so badly that one cannot possibly have them. They are discharged so that they do not lose their dole. A common practice is to work for 3-4 days for 12s. to 15s., to be discharged for bad work, and then apply for the dole.

Mrs. E. was asked to furnish concrete cases. Replied, stating owing to illness, impossible to attend to the matter at present. No reply has been received to a further letter asking if information could now be supplied.



*Complaint.*

*Case reported by Miss W.*

Girls at the Tadema Road Unemployment Centre at Walham Green were drawing unemployment benefit who are suitable for domestic service.

*Cases referred to by Miss Hedges in the course of her evidence before the Committee.*

V.C., drew benefit while in employment, ran away, and four weeks later drew further benefit.

E.P., was supplied with a free outfit, although she had had 16 years' experience in domestic service.

*Case reported by Mrs. M.*

States that a girl who had been a parlourmaid before the war and worked as a clerk on the railway during the war, had received benefit for a considerable time. The Exchange suggested that she should train as a sick nurse instead of telling her to go as a parlourmaid.

*Remarks.*

It is reported by the Walham Green Employment Exchange that no opportunity is lost of urging domestic service upon suitable girls, and when recommended by Domestic Service Rota Committee, vacancies in service are offered to such girls. If suitable vacancies have not been notified to the Exchange, girls are sent to the Fulham or Chelsea M.A.B.Y.S., and adequate arrangements are in operation for reporting all refusals of suitable vacancies to the Exchange. The majority of girl claimants have been employed for from two to three years in skilled or semi-skilled work, and in such cases the Local Employment Committee consider that time should be allowed to such claimants to return to their normal occupation, which in a large number of cases they do. Many employers are unwilling to take inexperienced girls of from 16 to 17, and delay therefore occurs in placing such girls even where they are willing.

The only girl of this name who can be traced in the Unemployment Insurance Records has never made a claim to Unemployment Benefit.

It was ascertained that this woman had been employed in factory work for some years during and after the war and was supplied with an outfit by the Central Committee for Women's Training to enable her to enter domestic service.

The report from the Employment Exchange states that this girl was employed pre-war as a parlourmaid and as a clerk on the railway from January, 1917, till April, 1919. She received Out-of-Work Donation for two months (April to June, 1919), when she obtained employment for a month as a shop assistant. After losing this employment, no claim was made to Donation, and she married in September, 1919. Owing to having had rheumatic fever, she was only able to do light domestic

*Complaint.*

*Cases reported by Mrs. L.*

M. W., drew benefit for 130 days. Has since gone into domestic service.

L. A. F., drew benefit for 130 days. Then obtained work at a grocers. Other members of her family are in domestic service, and she herself ought to be able to fill one of the many vacant situations in the neighbourhood.

*Case reported by the Children's Care (School) Committee of an L.C.C. school.*

Whole family tuberculous; father and mother dead and brother dying. Girl herself and her sister tuberculous, and living with an old grandmother. On leaving school applicant was certified as fit, and the doctor advised that she should go into service, and a place was offered her but the grandmother refused. The girl went into a millinery work-room, but has been out of work for months and draws unemployment pay.

*Case reported by Mrs. F.*

G. F., who was a factory hand discharged on account of short work, was engaged by Mrs. F to live in at a wage of 10s. a week but failed to start. Employer at once notified the Branch Employment Office of the facts. Hearing that the girl was still in receipt of benefit a fortnight later, she again communicated with the Branch Employment Office and was told that G. F. had stated that she had left her employment because she was badly treated. Employer ascertained three months later that the

*Remarks.*

work, and was refused by the District Nursing Association, to whom she applied for training, on the grounds of health.

No benefit has been drawn under the Unemployment Insurance Act, 1920.

M. W., employed as shorthand-typist for 3½ years. Drew covenanted benefit for 132 days. Is believed to have found daily domestic work.

L. A. F., grocer's assistant. Received 119 days' covenanted benefit.

The Manager of the Branch Employment Office reports that neither of these girls had any experience in domestic work, and that there were seldom orders for other than trained domestics at that office.

*R. E.*

The Ministry of Labour report that this girl only became 16 years of age on the 24th February; she has never had an unemployment book, and has never applied for or received unemployment benefit. She registered for employment on the 16th June and was submitted to an open-air vacancy as a messenger girl. Even if contributions had been paid in respect of her, she would not, at that date, have been eligible for benefit, as she could not then have paid the qualifying number of contributions.

*G. F.*

The Branch Manager reports that the events referred to took place early in January, 1921. On hearing from the employer that G. F. had failed to attend, he interviewed her and was informed that she could not live in as she had herself and a younger sister to maintain and a home to keep up, and the money offered was insufficient for this purpose. The Branch Manager has no recollection that the girl ever stated that she had been in the employer's house, and states that he was always under the im-



*Complaint.*

girl had recently accepted a domestic post, having drawn benefit until then.

*Case reported by Mrs. C.*

States that she was obliged to give I. S. notice owing to letting house, and received intimation from Employment Exchange that she had applied for unemployment pay. She is an excellent worker and could obtain situation at any moment if willing to sleep in, and if the dole were discontinued, would undoubtedly do so.

*Case reported by Mr. R.*

States that this girl, who was supplied by the local Exchange, left him without notice after a week owing him for her railway fare and money advanced to her to obtain suitable clothing.

*Cases reported by Mrs. B.*

States that she reported to Employment Exchange in April, 1922, that she had engaged L. G. for a month's work at £1 a week plus railway fares, which she willingly accepted. Applicant informed her that she had been drawing benefit since June, 1921, and nothing more was heard of her by the employer after this interview.

*Mrs. C.*

She and her husband lived on dole for over two years, also parish relief. No children. Man states for dole purposes that he is a paint maker's

*Remarks.*

pression that she never entered the employment at all. The total amount of benefit drawn by the applicant was only seven weeks and two days. She was offered a situation in London, which she took up, and it is understood that she held it for about two years, when she left for Canada.

*I. S.*

The Employment Exchange reports that the girl in question is 16 years of age, and on losing this employment was registered for domestic service. She received seven days' benefit in respect of contributions paid prior to her employment with this employer, after which she was placed as a between maid.

The Ministry of Labour report that the girl in question received 13 weeks Homecraft training and was supplied with a complete outfit. She was employed for three months in a hospital and then placed with complainant. On receipt of complaint she was summoned for interview by the Exchange in her home district and made certain vague charges against the situation, which were entirely unsubstantiated. She has not been seen since and does not reply to letters. Before taking the situation she led the Exchange officers to believe that she still possessed the outfit which had been supplied.

The Exchange reports that applicant had been employed for 21 years as a rubber worker and received 202 days' benefit. On report of refusal of employment, benefit was suspended and the case referred to the Chief Insurance Officer, who allowed the claim. The applicant has a delicate husband, who is unable to earn sufficient to keep them. Uncovenanted benefit was disallowed by the Local Employment Committee.

Mrs. C. has paid 32 contributions and has received in all 231 days' benefit. She claimed uncovenanted benefit on 6th November, 1922, but

*Complaint.*

mate. He is also a shoemaker or mender.

*Mrs. B.*

Refused work; stated "living on dole."

*D. G.*

A strong young servant. "I reported to her Insurance depot but received no reply."

*Mrs. R.*

Drawing dole.

*Mrs. S., Poplar.*

Refused work; husband received dole.

*Remarks.*

the claim was rejected on the ground that she was not normally employed in an insurable occupation.

There is no trace of this applicant at either of the Employment Exchanges in the vicinity of her home.

The Exchange Manager reports that this applicant, 19 years of age, was registered for work only, and has never claimed benefit at his Exchange. The periods for which she was registered for employment were as follows:—

4th October, 1921—Placed in domestic employment.  
 1st to 30th January, 1923.  
 12th to 26th March, 1923

The Manager of the Employment Exchange in whose area this person lives states that there is no trace of her at the Exchange.

No applicant of this name can be traced at the local Employment Exchange.



