

# "HOME AIDE":

## A Solution to Women's Unemployment After World War II

by Ruth Pierson

In July 1945 even the Prime Minister was having difficulty securing a cook. Officials of National Selective Service (NSS), right up to Mrs. Rex Eaton, Associate Director in charge of the Women's Division, and NSS Director Arthur MacNamara himself, were drawn into the search. But for the fact she was "a bit over the stated age," Mrs. Eaton would have gallantly offered to take the job herself, "rather than see the Prime Minister stuck."<sup>(1)</sup>

In October 1945 the Pearsons, Lester B. and Maryon, were looking for a housemaid, kitchen maid and cook for their household staff at the Canadian Embassy in Washington, D.C. In their need, they too turned to NSS Director MacNamara. He wired that he would do all he could. L.B. Pearson responded:

We are both most grateful for your help in this matter. In return, I can assure you that I will do my best to get your 9000 Japs back to Japan. After all, in present circumstances, 9000 Japs are nothing compared with two or three maids!<sup>(2)</sup>

These are but two dramatic examples of the shortage of domestic servants, keenly felt by upper-income Canadians in the immediate post-war period.

A far larger problem worried leaders of Canada in the last years of war and the first months of peace: the transition from a war-time to a peace-time economy. Countless documents give testimony to the

fear that the momentum which Canadian production had gained during war might be lost at war's end. Those old enough recalled the economic slump which followed the first Great War. The Depression spectre of massive unemployment still haunted nearly everyone. To avert such dire consequences, a battery of committees and commissions on demobilization and reconstruction came into existence over the war years, proliferating so rapidly as the war neared its end that the Wartime Information Board brought out a directory to Dominion and Provincial Agencies on Demobilization and Rehabilitation in 1945.<sup>(3)</sup> On the federal level one of the most influential of these post-war planning agencies was the Advisory Committee on Reconstruction which, in January 1943, appointed a subcommittee, under the chairmanship of Mrs. R.F. McWilliams, specifically to study the problems facing women in the period of transition from war to peace.

Post-war planning was concerned generally



*Suzanne M.*

with finding jobs for the demobilized troops and for workers whose jobs would disappear with the cessation of war production. It was widely assumed that the employment problem for ex-servicemen would be partially met by an exodus from the labour market of married women. Indeed the proportion of married women in the female labour force was believed to have increased from an estimated 10% in 1939 to an estimated 35% in 1944.(4) But the female labour force as a whole (excluding agriculture) had increased by almost 70% from 639,000 in 1939 to 1,077,000 in October 1944.(5) An estimated 265,000 of these women were engaged directly or indirectly in war production and an additional 37,000 were serving in the Canadian Armed Forces.(6) Not even according to the most optimistic predictions, would the number of married and marrying women leaving the labour force be sufficient to allay unemployment among demobilized servicewomen as well as servicemen and among female as well as male workers displaced from war industrial jobs.

The Sub-Committee on Post-War Problems of Women calculated that, excluding ex-servicewomen, approximately 180,000 self-supporting women would be without jobs owing to post-war economic dislocation. Something would have to be done, the Sub-Committee reported, "If thousands of women are not to be searching earnestly, if not desperately, for work, and depressing thereby the wages of men and women already working . . ."(7) Post-war planners hoped to fill this breach

in part with the employment possibilities of domestic service.

According to the 1941 Census, domestic servants were still the third largest group of employed women in Canada.(8) Pulled by the opening of more attractive jobs and pushed by the priority given by NSS to the filling of jobs in war industry and essential civilian services, an estimated 50,000 women left domestic service between 1941 and 1944.(9) During the war many households accustomed to domestic servants patriotically got along with fewer or did without altogether. Like Maryon Pearson, wives in charge of large, well-to-do households assumed that once the war was over "the domestic servant situation in Canada" would be "easing up a little."(10) But the first months of peace did not bring a lessening of the scarcity of domestics. The Report on NSS Operations for October 1945 noted "a shortage of household workers in many parts of Canada."(11) The October 1, 1945 issue of Maclean's Magazine carried an article entitled "Crisis in the Kitchen" which described the "servant problem" as having become "acute."(12)

As early as autumn 1943 Labour Department officials had been counting on domestic service to provide jobs at war's end for many women laid off from war industry. In answer to an inquiry from Marion Royce, Secretary for Young Adult Membership, World's YWCA, the Chief of the Legislation Branch, Department of Labour, wrote in September 1943:

As regards the re-employment in peacetime industries of many women now employed in war plants, the old standby--domestic service--will probably absorb a large number . . . .(13)

When in May 1945 the winding down of war production in Quebec City threw many women out of work, NSS launched a campaign to recruit these women for employment as domestic workers in Montreal but without much success.(14) In September 1945 the Director of Information of the Department of Labour instructed managers of local National Employment Offices at Montreal, Quebec City, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver to place an advertisement in their local papers, offering "JOBS FOR WOMEN as PERSONAL SERVICE WORKERS and HOUSEHOLD ASSISTANTS."(15) The response to these ads must have been disappointing for the Report on NSS Operations for September 1945 warned that a widespread "reluctance of displaced workers to resume employment in domestic service . . . must be accepted as a deterrent to satisfactory placement of women in this occupation . . . ."(16)

Thus, although demand for domestics certainly existed, women's disinclination to enter this service impeded its use as a solution to women's post-war unemployment. The unattractiveness of domestic service was well known. As Mrs. Eaton observed in her May 1943 Report on Domestic Workers: "Undoubtedly the occupation has been unsatisfactory in reference to hours, wages and status . . . ." (17) Eva W. Turner, Principal of the

private Oxford House School for Girls in Winnipeg, made the same observation in a January 1945 letter to the Minister of Rehabilitation. From her study of "the acute shortage of domestic workers in Winnipeg and other towns," she had isolated three main reasons "why Domestic Service is the most hated of all types of work":

first and most important, the low social status of the domestic worker; second the low rate of remuneration in peace times; third the long hours and lack of freedom.(18)

Clearly, if domestic service was to soak up jobless women after the war, some positive steps had to be taken to make the occupation more attractive.

Mrs. R.F. McWilliams' Sub-Committee on Post-War Problems of Women recognized this fact. Added to their assumption that "household workers will continue to be the largest, or one of the largest groups of gainfully occupied women" was their recognition that "the problem is to make the vocation of household work sufficiently attractive to hold more adequate numbers of well-trained intelligent girls and women."(19) In the second of twelve principal recommendations, with which the Report concluded, the Sub-Committee called for: "The implementation by the Government of a new plan for raising the status of household work and household workers."(20) The body of the Report contained a more detailed discussion of what that plan should entail: among other things, extension of Unemployment Insurance to

household workers. The Sub-Committee had already taken what it must have believed to be the first step toward raising the status of domestic service by using throughout the Report the less servile terms "household work" and "household workers."

In the recommendations of the Sub-Committee altruism converged with self-interest for the concern to improve the lot of "household workers" coincided with the class interest of the Sub-Committee members. The discussion of household workers appeared in the subsection entitled "Measures which will Contribute to the Successful Maintenance of Canadian Homes." The Report claimed that training in household work would help the domestic worker herself to become a better homemaker but specifically mentioned as the homemakers whose homes required the services of well-trained household workers were "highly trained professional and business women" and women involved in voluntary community service. (21) The Sub-Committee members were from the servant employing class not from the class that would supply the domestic servants.

Influential, socially prestigious women's organizations embraced with alacrity and enthusiasm the Sub-Committee's proposals for upgrading domestic service. The Report of the Sub-Committee provided the main topic for discussion on the second and last day of the March 1944 Executive Meeting of the National Council of Women. In her review of avenues of employment

open to the single woman, Miss Margaret Wherry, a member of Mrs. McWilliams' Sub-Committee and President of the Canadian Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, named "the vexed one" of household work as most important. To relieve certain of the vexations, she urged "the need for a changed attitude towards the work and place of the household workers on the part of the employer." (22) In July 1945, at its 52nd Annual Meeting, the National Council of Women passed a resolution "That the National Council urge the Dominion Government to extend provisions of the Unemployment Insurance Act to include household workers." (23)

Mrs. Eaton, NSS Associate Director (Women's Division), was well aware of the shortage of domestic workers and of proposals for alleviating that shortage by raising the status of the occupation and improving the conditions of work. She wrote the NSS Director on August 1, 1945, "that the interest in this subject, which has been increasing over the past year, does not seem to be dying out but rather is becoming more widespread." (24) She had had referred to her representations addressed not only to the Department of Labour but also to the Department of Veterans Affairs, the Minister of Rehabilitation, the various reconstruction committees of the provinces and even the National Director, Nutrition Services, of the Canadian Red Cross Society.

The idea of upgrading domestic service was certainly in the air not just in

Canada but in Britain and the U.S. as well. News came in June 1945 of a British White Paper calling for the creation of a National Institute of House-workers(25)and, from New York, of plans for a new domestic training program sponsored by the United States Employment Service and the New York City Board of Education.(26) At home, besides those of Mrs. McWilliams' Sub-Committee, proposals for upgrading domestic service were put forward by the Canadian Youth Commission, Dorise Nielsen in her booklet New Worlds for Women and the Winnipeg Labour Council in a report to the Prairie Regional Selective Service Advisory Board.(27)

There seems to have been a consensus on the bare minimum required: a training programme, regular and limited hours, a guarantee of freedom during off hours and fair wages. Most proposals also specified firm contracts, supervised by a government agency, and covering hours of work, type of work, wages, days off and living conditions, where relevant, although "daily help" in place of "living-in" service was seen as the coming trend preferable to the employee for reasons of greater freedom but also to many employers in a period of housing shortage and smaller homes. The Sub-Committee on Post-War Problems of Women, the Canadian Youth Commission and the Winnipeg Labour Council all demanded coverage of household workers under the provisions of Provincial Labour Codes, above all fair wages acts, and extension to household workers of Workmen's Compensation and Unemployment

Insurance Benefits. The Canadian Youth Commission even advocated unionization with the power of collective bargaining for domestic workers. Dorise Nielsen suggested that household work be given a quasi-corporate organization: her idea was that groups of women, with specialized skills and trucks filled with up-to-date equipment, could "form themselves into a house-cleaning service." The Winnipeg Labour Council unequivocally assigned to Government "a moral responsibility to redignify" domestic service; for it was in "the hungry thirties" that "the utter depravity of almost the entire Domestic Service situation" had taken place and blame rested with "the Government's policy" during that period "of forcing young girls into someone's home for a mere existence."

Certain ideas on upgrading domestic service were familiar to Mrs. Eaton from previous experience. Undoubtedly she would have repudiated the Winnipeg Labour Council's indictment of Government policy on domestic service during the Depression for she had helped administer in British Columbia, under the Dominion-Provincial Youth Training Plan, training projects for household workers as a means of providing employment for girls. Before her appointment to NSS, she had also worked with the British Columbia government and the YWCA on another domestic training project, "not based on a desire to relieve unemployment but rather with the objective of doing something to improve the status of the

occupation and, through this, create conditions of work attractive to young women and thus increase the number of women who would be willing to accept household work." The project was designed for experienced girls "known to be efficient" and offered a series of evening classes and examinations leading to "a certificate signed by the Provincial Minister of Labour." The Provincial Employment Service was then to keep watch that the graduates of this course "not be placed in employment at less than so much a month and their hours of work and time off should meet a standard."(28)

It was this past experience, rather than the more recent proposals, that Mrs. Eaton drew on when, in September 1945, under her guidance, NSS came up with its scheme for providing jobs for women through elevating domestic service. In October the scheme was introduced in Toronto, under the direction of Miss Mary Eadie, Women's Division Supervisor of the Toronto National Employment Service, and with the cooperation of the Local Council of Women. Although the name selected for the scheme, the "Home Aide" project, suggests a possible penchant for puns on the part of Mrs. Eaton or Miss Eadie, it is more likely that the name was chosen on analogy with ward aide and hospital aide. The "Home Aide" scheme incorporated some of the objectives of the recent proposals, such as improving working conditions through establishing standard wages, set tasks, definite hours and freedom during off hours. It also embodied the aim of raising status through

improved employer-employee relations, training and the inculcation of "craft pride." But the plan was designed with an eye to meeting the needs of the employer as much as the employee and is as noteworthy for what it left out in the form of legal guarantees (the real meat of the recent proposals) as for what it put in by way of good intentions.(29)

The "Home Aide" became, in fact, a new classification of domestic servant: a diluted hybrid of cook, kitchen maid, parlour maid, baby sitter, mother's helper and housekeeping assistant. The scheme's major innovation was to put hired housework on a regular hourly and "living-out" basis. There were to be three part-time shifts: a morning shift from 9:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m.; a late afternoon, early evening shift from 3:30 to 7:30 p.m.; and a night shift from 8:00 to 12:00 p.m. These part-time shifts were to give "Canadian women everywhere a flexible supply of household assistance,"(30) as much as they were to safeguard the domestic worker's free time. The plan would, however, accommodate both the married woman seeking only part-time work and the totally self-supporting woman seeking full-time employment. The latter could work five and a half or six days a week by putting in eleven or twelve four-hour shifts for a single employer or a series of employers. Over-time, in the sense of more than two shifts a day, was also possible, although no provision was made for over-time pay.

As regards duties, the main feature was the exclusion of the really heavy household chores like scrubbing and waxing floors. General and specific tasks were associated with each shift: for the morning shift, routine housework, preparation and serving of lunch and supervision of children; for the late afternoon, early evening shift, more routine housework, plus preparation and serving of dinner, and the washing-up; for the night shift, care of children and light housekeeping duties. The "routine housework" was to be arranged with the employer but was understood to include such tasks as sweeping, dusting, tidying the house, ironing and light "personal" laundry. The example given for a night's "light housekeeping duties" was cleaning silverware.

Administration of the scheme was to involve a local Women's Advisory Committee, "made up of persons interested in labour, social service, educational and other fields,"(31) in practice "representatives of outstanding women's organizations." (32) Besides help with publicity, the main contribution of the Advisory Committee was to establish the minimum wage rates for Home Aides, in consultation with the staff of the local office of the National Employment Service. Wages were not to be so high as to discourage employers or so low as to discourage job applicants. As far as possible, they were to be comparable with local "peacetime" wages for factory, store or restaurant work. (In Toronto the minimum wage was set at 40¢ an hour for the first

two shifts and 30 to 40¢ an hour for the third.) The employer was to provide one meal per shift but no car fare.

So far, perhaps, so good. But the training to be provided barely merited the name: a course of three to four one-hour lectures in the evening to be taken during the first month of employment. Construed as, at best, a "refresher" course, the lectures were to stress suitable employer-employee relations, attitude of employer and employee toward household employment, the planning of housework schedules, "personal cleanliness and deportment" and sources for further information on housework and cooking. Clearly a major purpose of the course was to instill "craft pride," with the planners assuming they could raise the status of domestic work in part simply by telling both employee and employer that it was an important and esteemed occupation. After satisfactory completion of the training course and one month's employment, the employee would receive classification as a Home Aide and, eventually, a certificate and badge from the local office of the National Employment Service.

More than by means of this crash "consciousness raising" course, raised status would be conferred on the Home Aide through a process of screening and selection to be carried out by the National Employment Service. Skill and qualifications would be established by requiring applicants to be experienced household workers, either in their own

homes or in previous domestic employment and to supply character references. The latter would be checked, as would the personal cleanliness of the applicants, by the Women's Division of the local Employment Office.

The plan was launched in Toronto with considerable fanfare. Mary Eadie arranged a series of five radio broadcasts in the form of scripted interviews with women who were employing, and women who were employed as, Home Aides, as well as with Mrs. Norman Stephens, President of the Local Council of Women of Toronto. The "sell" to potential applicants stressed the free evenings and room of one's own, the wages and hours comparable to, without the monotony of, factory and office work, the choice of shifts and part-time or full-time employment and the "raised social status." The pitch to potential employers played up the advantages of greater privacy in the home and more work obtained in less time. In general, the broadcasts emphasized the streamlined and business-like organization of this new occupation and its availability to former war workers.(33)

Certainly the Women's Division of NSS and the Labour Department regarded the "Home Aide" project as an important undertaking; but, if its aim was to provide jobs through raising the status of domestic service, the scheme fell far short of the mark. While the project received favourable comment from some quarters, as in Janet R. Keith's article "Canada's Answer to the Housewife's Prayer" for the Novem-

ber 1945 Issue of The Woman, it also came under fire. Miss Margaret Wherry, President of the Canadian Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, criticized the scantiness of the proposed training.(34) Miss A.G. Dunham, Regional Employment Advisor for Women, Toronto, suggested that the Home Aide Local Advisory Committees should have representation from household workers and not just potential employers.(35) Miss Katherine Foster, member of the Regional Employment Advisory Committee for the Maritimes, feared the Employment Service might appear to be "reverting" to a pre-war role of "an employment bureau mainly for household employment."(36)

Almost as if anticipating criticism that the Home Aide project sought to elevate only one small category of domestic servants, Mrs. Eaton justified it

. . . as an attempt to build up the status of at least one section of household employment. It is only a beginning but it is following the principle that personal pride in occupation or profession is based upon an acknowledgment of skill.(37)

Although probably not insincere, Mrs. Eaton at the same time adduced as a point in favour of the Home Aide project that the new classification would not cut into the market for other categories of household employment, "such as . . . the charwoman, the inexperienced, the full time employee living in the home of the employer, the children's supervisor or nurse during the day or evening, etc."(38)

The point that seems to have been missed is that attempts to elevate the status of only one class of household worker could only fail in a market where demand for charwomen, casual labourers and other kinds of domestic help remained high. The very exclusion of all other classifications of domestic work from status-raising measures undercut the attempt reserved for the Home Aide.

Even more detrimental to the status-raising objectives of the Home Aide project, was the total omission from the scheme of protections and benefits anchored in legislation, as Miss A.G. Dunham's searching criticism pointed out. "Unless the status is raised," she wrote, by adequate provincial legislation covering "hours of work (including a six-day week), minimum wage rates, holidays with pay, training standards, etc." and federal legislation "establishing the eligibility of household workers for Unemployment Insurance," then "no recruiting or training will prove lasting." (39) And not even Miss Dunham made mention of Workmen's Compensation. Under the scheme as it was put into effect, "wage rates in a community [were to] be determined on a purely arbitrary basis through the Women's Advisory Committee, assisted by the Supervisor of Women's Employment, in conference with the local office manager." (40) Indeed, as Mrs. Eaton conceded in a letter to a Labour Department official, there were "no 'legal regulations' in connection with the project." (41) Pay, work load and hours all depended ultimately on the

goodwill of the employer.

In April 1945 Mrs. Eaton had cavalierly dismissed the need for protective legislation for domestic workers with the comment: "Some of the positions listed [in the papers] conform with as high standard as will ever be set by legislation." (42) On the specific question of extending the provisions of the Unemployment Insurance Act to household workers, L.J. Trottier, Chief Commissioner of the UIC, made his position clear in a letter of August 24, 1945, to the Corresponding Secretary of the National Council of Women. As far as he was concerned, difficulties of administration ruled out coverage of domestic workers under the Unemployment Insurance Act.

At the present time there are registered with the Commission approximately 150,000 employers who employ roughly 2,250,000 workers or an average of 15 workers to each employer. The inclusion of domestic servants would add at least an additional 100,000 employers from whom contributions would be due and to properly enforce the law our Auditors would have to visit practically every home in Canada. (43)

As a scheme to raise the status of domestic workers, the Home Aide project had no teeth.

How did it work as a scheme to provide jobs? Documentary evidence available at the Public Archives would seem to indicate that it did not go very far. The Toronto Office could report only 243 Home

Aides placed between the first of October and the end of December 1945.(44) The National Employment Service had definite plans at the end of 1945 for launching the scheme in January or February of the next year in Ottawa, Hamilton, Regina, Saskatoon, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver, and reported favourable consideration of the project in Victoria, Winnipeg, Orillia, London, Windsor, Montreal, Quebec City and St. John.(45) (I do not know to what extent these plans materialized. The only reports I have for 1946 are from Toronto, where 163 Home Aides were presented with badges and certificates on June 17th, and from Hamilton, where eleven Home Aides were placed in the month of July.(46)

As for solving the "domestic servant problem," the Home Aide scheme would seem to have failed. The exclusion of "heavy cleaning" from the tasks appropriate to the Home Aide limited the scheme's appeal to potential employers in many parts of Canada. As the manager of the Kitchener local office wrote in November 1945:

If the lady of the home is expected to hire women to dust, polish silver, help to prepare a meal, and possibly care for a child or children, this is not the answer to the need for domestics in this area.(47)

In August 1947 the Immigration Branch and the Department of Labour of the federal government sent out a team of six "ladies" to comb Displaced Persons camps in Europe for women "between the

ages of 18-40, suitable for and willing to accept and to remain in domestic employment." The "ladies" carried with them copies of an "Undertaking to the Minister of Labour," i.e., an indentured servant contract to be signed by the women recruited.(48) The Ottawa Gazette reported on August 27, 1947, that the first party of 1000 displaced women selected for domestic work in Canada was scheduled to leave Europe in October.

When at the end of the war continuing demand for, but scarcity of, domestic servants came together with fear of unemployment among women, post-war planners fell back on the old hope that domestic service would provide the needed jobs, a clear indication that the notion of certain occupations as suitable for women had survived the war. Most planners, however, realized that for domestic service to attract women, something would have to be done to elevate the status and improve the working conditions of domestic employment. The more substantive proposals called for inclusion of domestic workers under protective labour legislation and social insurance programmes. The truncated scheme actually implemented by the National Employment Service not only lacked provision for legal protection and benefits, it focussed its efforts on but one small segment of the occupation, the new classification of "Home Aide." So designed, the NSS scheme was doomed to failure. Two years after the war, Department of Labour and Immigration

authorities were hunting among the uprooted and homeless of devastated Europe to supply the Canadian demand for domestic servants not being met by the resident female population. The abortive "Home Aide" project illustrates not only the survival through the war of the

identification of domestic service as a suitable occupation for women; it also illustrates the unwillingness of government to give that occupation the legal protection and benefits which might have raised its status and made it capable of providing a decent livelihood.

Chatelaine. June, 1944 — 21



## Will Maids Come Back?



**H**OW can the job of being a maid compete on equal terms with jobs in factories, offices and shops? During the war there's been a mass movement of women into industry, and for those who were formerly employed as maids, the change, in most cases, has been very much for the better as regards pay, working hours and the feeling of self-respect. These women, who've had a taste of a new way of life, won't willingly return to the long hours, the comparatively low wages and sometimes the uncongenial surroundings of the average "cook general."

The re-establishment of women will be

almost as important a problem as the re-establishment of returned soldiers. When war ends there will be four and a half million Canadians seeking jobs. Our returned men will naturally have priority — which means that a vast number of women may be forced back into domestic service in order to earn a living. Unless drastic changes are made, they will be most unhappy. If, however, we're able to put domestic work on the same plane as industrial work, this problem will be solved.

How can this be achieved? Chatelaine brings you a variety of ideas and suggestions. — The Editors.

NOTES

In the following, the abbreviation PAC stands for Public Archives of Canada.

1. Memo. of July 31, 1945, from Mrs. Rex Eaton to Mr. Arthur MacNamara. PAC, RG 27, Vol. 1523, File No. X5-12, pt. 1.
2. Letter of October 8, 1945, from L.B. Pearson, Canadian Embassy, Washington, D.C., to Mr. MacNamara. PAC, RG 27, Vol. 1523, File No. X5-12, pt. 1.
3. Copy in PAC, RG, Acc. No. 71/98, Vol. 1, File No. 22-3-1.
4. "Employment of Women and Day Care of Children" (Completed sometime before August 24, 1950), Part 1, p. 75, in the "History of the Wartime Activities of the Department of Labour," PAC, RG 35, Series 7, Vol. 20, File 10. Hereafter cited as "Wartime History of Employment of Women . . ."
5. Ibid., pp. 80-81.
6. Ibid., pp. 79, 81.
7. Advisory Committee on Reconstruction, VI: Post-War Problems of Women, Final Report of the Sub-Committee, November 30, 1943 (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1944), p. 9. Hereafter cited as Post-War Problems of Women.
8. Report on Domestic Workers, May 20, 1943, by Mrs. Rex Eaton, PAC, RG 27, Vol. 1523, File No. X5-12, pt. 1; "Wartime History of Women's Employment . . ." p. 50.
9. "Wartime History of Women's Employment . . .," p. 50.
10. Letter of October 4, 1945, from Maryon Pearson, Canadian Embassy, Washington, D.C., to Mr. MacNamara, PAC, RG 27, Vol. 1523, File No. X5-12, pt. 1.
11. PAC, RG 27, Acc. No. 71/328, Box #3.
12. Katharine Kent, "Crisis in the Kitchen," Maclean's Magazine, October 1, 1945.
13. Letter of September 23, 1943, from Chief, Legislation Branch, Department of Labour, to Marion Royce, Secretary for Young Adult Membership, World's Young Women's Christian Association, Wash., D.C. PAC, RG 27, Vol. 610, File No. 6-52-2, vol. 2.
14. PAC, RG 27, Vol. 1523, File No. X5-12, pt. 1.
15. Memo. of September 5, 1945. PAC, RG 27, Vol. 605, File No. 6-24-1, vol. 4.
16. PAC, RG 27, Acc. No. 71/328, Box #3.
17. Report on Domestic Workers, May 20, 1943, by Mrs. Rex Eaton.
18. Letter of January 8, 1945, from Eva W. Turner, Principal Oxford House School Winnipeg, to the Minister of Rehabilitation. PAC, RG 27, Vol. 1523, File No. X5-12, pt. 1.
19. Post-War Problems of Women, pp. 10-11.
20. Ibid., p. 24.
21. Ibid., pp. 10-11.
22. Abstract of the Minutes of the Executive Meeting, National Council of Women of Canada, Montreal, March 1-2, 1944. PAC, RG 28, I 25, Vol. 84.
23. PAC, RG 27, Vol. 1523, File No. X5-12, pt. 1.
24. Letter of August 1, 1945, from Mrs. Rex Eaton to Mr. Arthur MacNamara. PAC, RG 27, Vol. 1523, File No. X5-12, pt. 1.
25. "U.K. Plans to Lift Domestic's Level," Montreal Gazette, June 14, 1945.
26. "Courses Planned for Domestic Help," Montreal Gazette, June 11, 1945.
27. Katharine Kent, "Crisis in the Kitchen," Maclean's Magazine, October 1, 1945; Letter of May 18, 1945, from Eleanor S. Morley, Women's Division Supervisor, Vancouver, to Mrs. Rex Eaton; Report of the Winnipeg Labour Council submitted to the Prairie Regional Selective Service Advisory Board on the matter of Female Workers entering the employment of Domestic Service, July 28, 1945, PAC, RG 27, Vol. 1523, File No. X5-12, pt. 1.
28. Letter of March 24, 1944, from Mrs. Rex Eaton, to Miss Isobel Robson, Home Economics Chairman, Local Council of Women, Winnipeg, Manitoba. PAC, RG 27, Vol. 1523, File No. X5-12, pt. 1.
29. The discussion below of the "Home Aide" project draws principally on the following PAC documents: Memorandum on Home Aides of September 18, 1945, from A. MacNamara to the Minister of Labour, with attached plan by Mrs. Eaton, RG 27, Vol. 1523, File No. X5-12, pt. 1; Progress Report "Home Aide" Project-Toronto, Appendix "A" to the Minutes of the September 25, 1945, Meeting of the NSS Administration Board, RG 27, Vol. 972, File No. 1; Report on Home Aides in the 31st Report on NSS Operations for October 1945, RG 27, Acc. No. 71/328, Box #3.
30. Report on Employment of Women and Welfare, from the 31st Report on NSS Operations for October 1945. PAC, RG 27, Acc. No. 71/328, Box #3.
31. Ibid.
32. Report on Employment of Women and Welfare, from the 32nd Report on NSS Operations for November 1945. PAC, RG 27, Acc. No. 71/328, Box #3.
33. PAC, RG 27, Vol. 605, File No. 6-24-1, vol. 4.
34. Letter of November 9, 1945, from Mrs. Rex Eaton to Miss Margaret Sherry, Montreal. PAC, RG 27, Vol. 1523, File No. X5-12, pt. 1.
35. Letter of September 19, 1945, from A.G. Dunham to Mrs. Rex Eaton. PAC, RG 27, Vol. 1523, File No. X5-12, pt. 1.
36. Letter of September 21, 1945, from Miss Katherine Foster, Moncton, N.B., to Mrs. Rex Eaton. PAC, RG 27, Vol. 1523, File No. X5-12, pt. 1.
37. Memo. of October 8, 1945, from Mrs. Rex Eaton to Mr. Arthur MacNamara. PAC, RG 27, Vol. 1523, File No. X5-12, pt. 1.
38. Ibid. Also Progress Report "Home Aide" Project-Toronto, Appendix "A" to the Minutes of the September 25, 1945, Meeting of the NSS Administration Board, PAC, RG 27, Vol. 972, File No. 1.
39. See above, note 35.
40. Emphasis mine. Report on Home Aides in the 31st Report on NSS Operations for October 1945. PAC, RG 27, Acc. No. 71/328, Box #3.
41. Letter of October 10, 1945, from Mrs. Rex Eaton to Mr. Gordon Anderson. PAC, RG 27, Vol. 1523, File No. X5-12, pt. 1.
42. Letter of April 2, 1945, from Mrs. Rex Eaton to Miss E.S. Morley, Women's Division Supervisor, Vancouver. PAC, RG 27, Vol. 1523, File No. X5-12, pt. 1.
43. Letter of August 24, 1945, from L.J. Trottier, Chief Commissioner, UIC, to Mrs. G.D. Finlayson, Corresponding Secretary, the National Council of Women, Ottawa. PAC, RG 27, Vol. 1523, File No. X5-12, pt. 1.
44. Report on Home Aides in the 33rd Report on NSS Operations for December 1945. PAC, RG 27, Acc. No. 71/328, Box #3.
45. Ibid.
46. Letter of July 11, 1946, from Margaret McIrvine, for J.F. Dwyer, Regional Employment Officer, Toronto, to Miss Margaret Grier, Assistant Associate Director, National Employment Service; Memo. of July 3, 1946, from William Mayall, Manager, Hamilton, to Mrs. Rex Eaton. PAC, RG 27, Vol. 615, File No. 17-5-11, vol. 1.
47. Memo. of November 2, 1945, from C.W. Boyer, Manager, Kitchener, Ontario, to Mr. B.G. Sullivan, Ontario Regional Superintendent. PAC, RG 27, Vol. 1523, File No. X5-12, pt. 1.
48. Minutes of the 14th Meeting of the Immigration-Labour Committee, August 1, 1947. PAC, RG 27, Acc. No. 70/450, Box #1, File No. 9.