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Huixin Bi

Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City

Nicolas Petrosky-Nadeau

Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco

Nora Traum

HEC Montreal

Greg Woodward

Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City

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# FIRM SEARCH IN THE LABOR MARKET: EVIDENCE FROM HELP-WANTED ADVERTISEMENTS\*

Huixin Bi<sup>†</sup> Nicolas Petrosky-Nadeau<sup>‡</sup> Nora Traum<sup>§</sup> and Greg Woodward<sup>¶</sup>

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## ABSTRACT

We construct new monthly city-level and national measures of firm search for workers from 1900 to 1938, drawing on approximately 5 million scanned help-wanted advertisements from five U.S. newspapers, with breakdowns by gender. We document four main findings: (1) firm search effort is procyclical, declining sharply at the onset of recessions; (2) posting costs affect advertising behavior, but the effect is modest, with an elasticity of  $-0.09$ ; (3) the U.S. Beveridge curve has been stable for the past 125 years, with matching elasticities of 0.57 pre-WWII and 0.55 post-WWII; and (4) help-wanted advertisements for women are more responsive than those for men to both posting costs and the business cycle.

**JEL Classification:** J64, N32, E32, C82

**Keywords:** help-wanted; job vacancies; historical data

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<sup>†</sup>Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City. Email: huixin.bi@kc.frb.org

<sup>‡</sup>Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco. Email: nicolas.petrosky-nadeau@sf.frb.org

<sup>§</sup>HEC Montreal. Email: nora.traum@hec.ca

<sup>¶</sup>Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City. Email: greg.Woodward@kc.frb.org

# 1 INTRODUCTION

The early twentieth century was a period of significant economic upheaval in the United States. Several pivotal events reshaped the U.S. economy: two World Wars, the Great Depression, banking crises, and a pandemic. The period also brought sweeping social and political changes, including the rise of labor unions, the introduction of unemployment benefits, significant shifts in tariff policy, and immigration reform. However, despite its historical importance, our understanding of how the labor market behaved during this period is constrained by limited data. Existing studies rely mainly on annual or lower-frequency data series or cover only a subset of the economy, providing little systematic information on firms' demand for labor and making it difficult to evaluate the stability of labor-market relationships central to modern search and business-cycle models.

We fill this gap by introducing new monthly, geographically diverse, and gender-disaggregated measures of firm search activity that opens a new window onto how labor markets functioned in the first decades of the twentieth century. Specifically, we construct measures of labor demand from January 1900 to December 1938 using a single source: the classified ads of contemporary newspapers. Help-wanted ads are a familiar proxy for job openings and labor demand in the second half of the twentieth century. Beyond extending the available national series back to 1900, we provide novel breakdowns by location and gender.

The new series yields four central findings. First, firm search effort was highly procyclical, contracting sharply at the onset of recessions. Second, advertising costs shaped firms' posting decisions, although the estimated elasticity is modest at  $-0.09$ . Third, despite profound structural changes in the U.S. economy, the Beveridge curve remained remarkably stable over the last 125 years, with matching elasticities of 0.57 before World War II and 0.55 afterward. Finally, help-wanted advertisements for women were more responsive both to posting costs and to cyclical fluctuations. Taken together, these findings suggest that several empirical relationships central to modern search models are remarkably stable across different macroeconomic and institutional environments.

To construct the labor demand series, we extract individual advertisements from scanned images of five newspapers with a broad national coverage for the time: the *New York Times*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Atlanta Constitution*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *Washington Post*.<sup>1</sup> We process and catalog approximately 5 million labor advertisements using a pipeline of image

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<sup>1</sup>The scanned images are accessed through rights from ProQuest.

processing techniques tailored to the dense classified pages of this period.<sup>2</sup> We first identify columns and individual advertisements within newspaper pages, then classify sections such as “Help Wanted” using template matching on classified-page headers. Because job advertisements remained legally gender-segregated until Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and persisted in practice into the early 1970s (Pedriana and Abraham, 2006), we can additionally classify help-wanted ads separately for men and women. We then use these counts to construct city-level and national help-wanted indices.

We validate the methodology with an extensive series of checks. First, our automated counts match closely with about one hundred thousand manual counts conducted at regular intervals across the five newspapers. The average median error across newspapers is 4 percent. Second, we externally validate our national help-wanted indicator against a measure available for a sub-period of our time frame: the help-wanted index constructed by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company (MetLife), available from 1919 onward. Weighting cities by populations, our national help-wanted index has a correlation of 0.98 with the MetLife national help-wanted index over the overlapping period. Finally, we digitize help-wanted registrations from local public employment agencies between 1924 and 1932, demonstrating that our city-level series track these alternative measures closely.

The paper makes three contributions. First, we construct new monthly measures of firm search at both the city and national levels, disaggregated by gender from 1900 to 1938. The national series extends systematic vacancy measurement nearly two decades before the MetLife index began in 1919, and the city-level and gender breakdowns are entirely new. Second, we establish that several empirical regularities central to labor market search theory also hold in pre-WWII data: firm search effort is strongly procyclical, the Beveridge curve is stable over 125 years, and the matching elasticity is similar across eras (0.57 pre-WWII versus 0.55 post-WWII). Third, we document the role of posting costs and gender in shaping vacancy dynamics. The elasticity of help-wanted advertising with respect to posting costs is  $-0.09$  — statistically significant but economically modest — and help-wanted ads for women display roughly twice the cyclical sensitivity of those for men, with impulse responses to productivity shocks approximately double in magnitude.

At the city level, all five metropolitan areas display common cyclical patterns in help-wanted advertising, with sharp declines during the Great Depression. Meaningful regional variation nonetheless emerges: Atlanta rebounded earlier than the other cities, consistent

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<sup>2</sup>The high density of classified ads appears challenging for the pre-trained layout-detection models of Shen *et al.* (2021). Instead, we rely heavily on computer vision to identify individual ads.

with milder employment losses in the South (Wallis, 1989). Gender differences are pronounced throughout the sample. Help-wanted ads for women were more volatile than those for men, rising sharply after World War I. Although female workers were a smaller share of the employed population, women were overrepresented among workers reached through newspaper ads. This finding is consistent with limited access to alternative search channels, as women were largely excluded from union-based referrals and from direct hiring at the work site (Kessler-Harris, 1982).

To examine the role of posting costs, we hand-collect advertising rates for three newspapers in our sample and estimate a panel regression of ad counts on costs. A period during which the *Washington Post* made classified ads free provides a natural experiment: the removal of posting costs led to an immediate and substantial increase in job postings, concentrated among positions for women. Combined with the greater cyclical sensitivity of female help-wanted ads, this suggests that the cost margin was particularly important for employers seeking female workers.

Our work contributes to several strands of the literature. First, it speaks to studies that use data to examine economic activity, and labor markets in particular, in the early twentieth century. A number of papers construct measures of employment and hours worked at lower frequencies (e.g., Ramey and Francis, 2009, Wallis, 1989), while others examine the effects of technological change on labor market outcomes (Alexopoulos and Cohen, 2016, Goldin and Katz, 1998). Goldin (1990) documents important shifts in employment patterns and wage structures for women over this period. More closely related to our paper, Lee (2016) uses data from public employment offices between 1924 and 1932 to estimate a matching function, while DeVaro and Gurtler (2018) study long-run variation in help-wanted advertising using manual newspaper counts. We instead automate the extraction of advertisements from historical newspapers to construct systematic high-frequency measures of help-wanted advertising for the first four decades of the twentieth century.

Our findings also speak to the modern business-cycle literature on labor market search. Merz (1995) and Shimer (2005) document the cyclical properties of vacancies and labor market tightness in post-war U.S. data, establishing the stylized facts that search models aim to match. Fujita and Ramey (2009) study the dynamic response of job vacancies to productivity shocks using structural VARs. We extend these analyzes to the pre-WWII period and show that the cyclical moments and impulse response patterns are qualitatively similar, despite substantially higher volatility before WWII. Our estimation of a matching function complements the survey by Petrongolo and Pissarides (2001): we find a matching elasticity

in the pre-war period that is comparable to the post-war estimates.

The rest of this paper is organized as follows. Section 2 provides an overview of labor postings in classified ads, as well as our methodology and strategy for developing indices based on these ads. Section 3 focuses on the city-level indices, while section 4 presents the aggregate help-wanted index at the national level. Section 5 concludes.

## 2 BACKGROUND AND DATA CONSTRUCTION

In the early twentieth century, firms used a variety of methods to connect with job seekers in the labor market: informal networks, direct application, newspaper ads, and employment agencies (see Fishback, 1998; Simon, 2001). Direct evidence on the hiring process during this period is limited, with most studies relying on small surveys of firms in specific industries (e.g., Schweinitz, 1932; Fishback, 1992; Rosenbloom, 1994).<sup>3</sup> Classified advertisements were used consistently by firms, and analyzing them offers valuable insights into the functioning of the labor market. A particular advantage of newspaper advertisements was their wide circulation and readership, which made them an effective outlet for advertising positions to a broad regional market.<sup>4</sup>

We use digitized records of widely-circulated newspapers in major metropolises to build a monthly database of advertisements by employers. The number of newspapers in our analysis is constrained primarily by access: after 1923, U.S. newspapers became subject to copyright laws that restricted public access (Heald, 2014). We focus on five newspapers with wide circulation in their respective cities, accessed under direct rights from ProQuest for the period from January 1, 1900 through December 31, 1938: (i) the *New York Times*; (ii) the *Chicago Tribune*; (iii) the *Los Angeles Times*; (iv) the *Atlanta Constitution*; and (v) the *Washington Post*. According to the 1930 Census, the populations of these five metropolitan areas together accounted for more than 33 percent of all U.S. city populations and roughly 10 percent of the total U.S. population. The following subsections describe classified ads during this period, our methodology for extracting labor ads, and our checks on the accuracy of the resulting counts.

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<sup>3</sup>These studies suggest that informal networks and direct applications were the preferred job search methods in mining and manufacturing, but considerably less is known about search practices in other sectors. Classified advertisements provide a valuable complementary perspective on search across a broad range of sectors. Simon (2001) notes that classified ads were a significant part of the search process for clerical workers.

<sup>4</sup>Education had increased markedly by the early twentieth century: the illiteracy rate was only 4 percent by 1930, and overall enrollment among 5- to 19-year-olds rose from 51 percent in 1900 to 75 percent in 1940 (Snyder, 1993). Employment agencies also frequently posted in the classifieds, so newspaper ads partially encompass other search methods.

Figure 1: Help Wanted Ads: Example from the *New York Times*, January 19, 1930.

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**Help Wanted—Female.**

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**BOOKKEEPER**, experienced; Yorkville section. R 387 Times.

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**CHEMIST**, college training in standard methods of water analysis. G. R. Spalding, Hackensack Water Co., Oradell, N. J.

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**CONTROLLER**, for first-class hotel; must be absolutely thorough and hard worker; give references and full particulars in first letter. X 2008 Times Annex.

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**DENTAL ASSISTANT-SECRETARY**, refined, cultured, willing young lady. Apply in person Monday, 9-11 A. M., Dr. Alan Mishkin, 240 West 98th.

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**DENTAL ASSISTANT**; write details, knowledge of dental experience; \$18 to start. Write Box A. B., 19 Greenwich Av.

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**JANITRESS**.— man and wife; experienced steam, hot water; salary and rooms. Apply at once, Heckman, 136 West 96th.

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## 2.1 CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

In the first half of the twentieth century, employer advertisements in the classified section of newspapers were organized by gender into distinct sections for men and women. Ads sometimes listed information on offered compensation as well as education and/or experience requirements. They could include other characteristics requested by employers, such as race, ethnicity, or marital status.

As an example, Figure 1 shows a sample of ads seeking female workers in the *New York Times* on January 19, 1930. The advertisements include higher-paid jobs with substantial qualification requirements, such as a college-trained chemist, alongside lower-paid jobs with little required expertise, such as a janitor.<sup>5</sup>

The posting of advertisements required a monetary cost that varied over time and across cities, with rates regularly printed in the Sunday edition of some newspapers. We hand-collect the posting costs for the *New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and *Washington Post*.<sup>6</sup> Figure 2 reports the nominal cost of help-wanted ads placed in the Sunday paper in solid lines and the real cost adjusted by the Consumer Price Index in dashed lines.

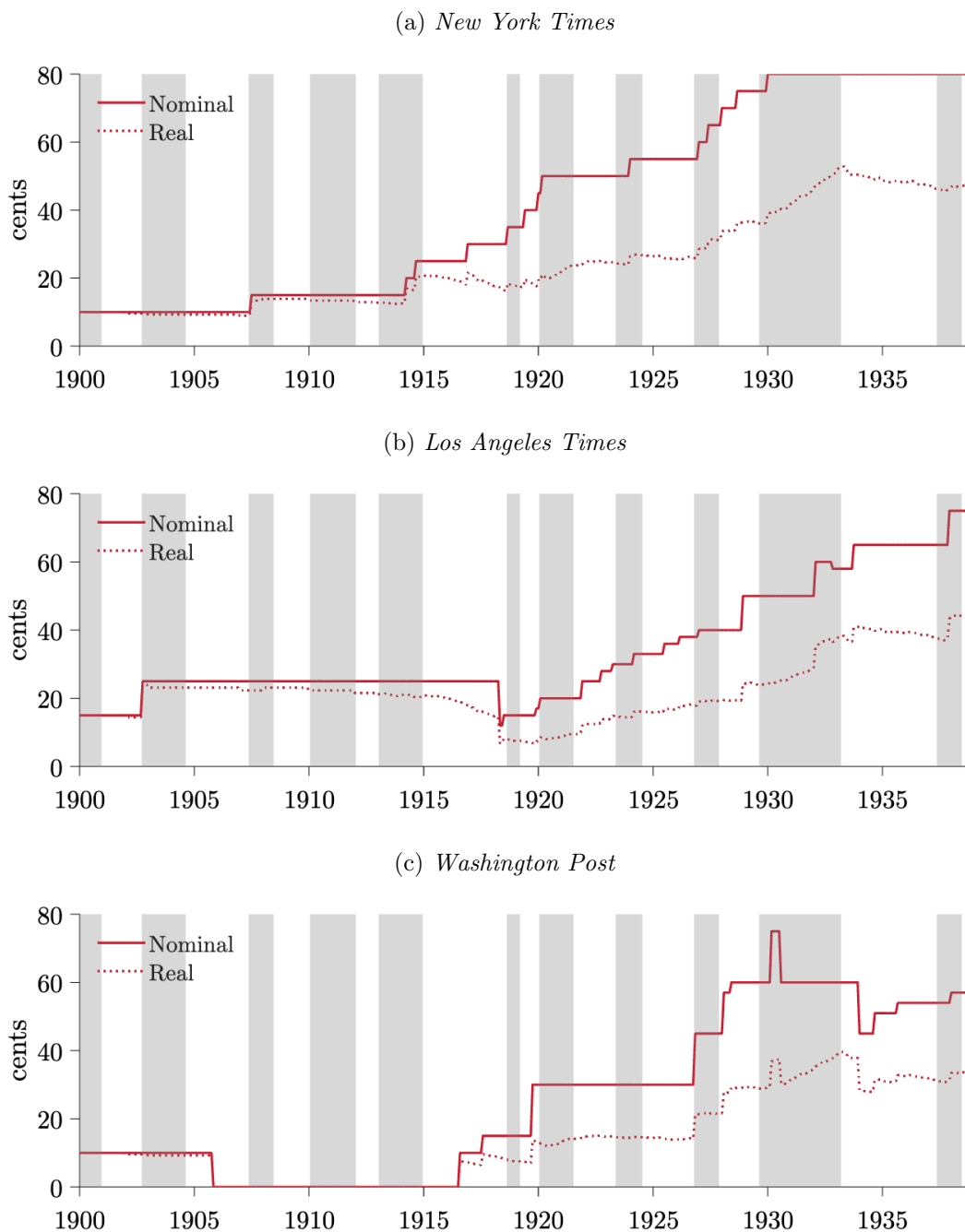
Although nominal costs rarely changed before 1915, posting costs were adjusted frequently between 1915 and 1938, and the frequency and magnitude of changes varied across

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<sup>5</sup>Appendix B discusses the distribution of jobs listed relative to the 1930 U.S. Census. In general, help-wanted advertisements were dominated by trade occupations and excluded manufacturing and mining industries.

<sup>6</sup>Appendix C provides additional details. Information on posting costs were not printed in the *Chicago Tribune* and *Atlanta Constitution*.

Figure 2: Costs for posting help-wanted ads: *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *Washington Post*.



Notes: Costs are for posting help-wanted ads one time in the Sunday paper. Solid lines are nominal costs; dashed lines are real costs adjusted by the Consumer Price Index. Shaded bar correspond to NBER dated recessions.

cities. The *New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times* made more frequent changes at an incremental pace, while the *Washington Post* made fewer changes but with larger magni-

tude. The *Los Angeles Times*, for example, changed its help-wanted rate 14 times between 1918 and 1933, by an average of less than 3 cents, while the *Washington Post* changed its rate only 5 times, by an average of 10 cents. The *Washington Post* also made labor ads free between November 1905 and July 1916. The changes appear unrelated to business-cycle conditions.<sup>7</sup> Real costs were relatively stable until 1926, as nominal rate changes broadly tracked the Consumer Price Index. After 1926, the increase in real costs was particularly pronounced during the Great Depression, as the economy entered deflation.

## 2.2 EXTRACTING LABOR ADVERTISEMENTS

Identifying labor advertisements at scale requires a novel approach, as our raw data are image files of newspaper pages. The procedure is outlined in the following subsections.

**2.2.1 SPLITTING ADS** Previous studies often apply textual analysis to text files produced from image scans by Optical Character Recognition (OCR). For instance, Atalay *et al.* (2020) used regular textual patterns, such as a help-wanted ad beginning with a word in upper-case letters, to discern boundaries between labor ads for the period 1950–2000. During our period of interest, classified ads were arranged in columns of densely-packed listings.<sup>8</sup> Although OCR technology has advanced significantly and now performs well on cleaner text, state-of-the-art OCR still fails to identify most break points between ads when applied directly to an entire newspaper page with many columns, or even to a single column with many ads. Properly separating labor ads is crucial for constructing accurate labor demand indices: failure to do so can produce large error rates.

To overcome these challenges, we rely on digital image processing to identify ad boundaries directly from images of the classified pages. A common formatting style for classified sections used black vertical bars to separate the page’s columns and black horizontal lines to separate individual ads. We exploit this structure to identify and divide columns and ads, as illustrated in panels (a) and (b) of Figure 3, in three steps. First, we straighten and rotate any images that are misaligned from the scanning process. Second, we split newspaper

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<sup>7</sup>Kirchhoff (2011) reports that total newspaper advertising revenue fell by 45 percent between 1929 and 1933. Our data indicate that for classified advertisements specifically, this decline was driven primarily by a reduction in the number of postings rather than by changes in advertising rates (see Section 3). In Section 3.3, we exploit changes in posting costs across cities and over time to estimate their impact on firm search effort.

<sup>8</sup>ProQuest provides text files derived from scanned images of newspaper pages, but the text quality for the classified ads in our sample period is too poor for textual analysis. ProQuest also outputs a single raw text file for *all* classified ads on a given page, making it nearly impossible to identify individual ads even when the file quality is adequate.

Figure 3: Extracting individual classified ads: example from the *Los Angeles Times*.

(a) Column Splits

This figure shows a grid of 12 columns of classified advertisements. Each column is separated by a vertical green line. The columns are labeled at the top with various categories such as 'WANTED-HELP-Female', 'WANTED-HELP-Male', 'WANTED-SITUATIONS-Female', 'WANTED-SITUATIONS-Male', 'ANNOUNCEMENT', and 'TO LET-ROOMS-Partial'. The advertisements themselves are dense blocks of text, often starting with 'WANTED' or 'ANNOUNCEMENT'. The text is small and difficult to read in detail, but the overall structure is a regular grid of text blocks.

(b) Ad Splits

This figure shows a single column of classified advertisements, with horizontal lines separating individual ads. The ads are organized into sections with bolded headers. The sections include:
 

- MISCELLANEOUS**: BAKER-Left, fully experienced, ex. in two cases, milk and home, change position, excellent local references, Address 24, box 207, TIMES OFFICE.
- Store and Office**: REFINED, efficient & very attractive young lady, clean, neat, wishes high-class position in well established office and accounting department, \$150 start, P.O. box 100, 7th St. office.
- OFFICE POSITION**: ATTRACTIVE HOTEL MANAGER, NO AGENCY, SUPERVISOR, COMMERCIAL CLUB, 418 BRADLEY BLVD., L.A.
- BOOKKEEPER-OFFICE**: HIGH, desirable position where large responsibility is required, local references, \$150.00, address V. box 311, TIMES BRANCH.
- YOUNG lady**: wishes position with auto in corp., executive ability, excellent references, address V. box 301, TIMES BRANCH.
- YOUNG lady**: graduate of eastern business college, with 6 mos. experience, O.A. 10685, desires position with reliable firm, P.O. Birmingham 1210.
- YOUNG lady**: high school, desires pos. full time, office, \$100.00, address V. box 311, Times V. box 311, TIMES BRANCH.
- EXPERIENCED**: woman, clean, honest, monthly work, \$150.00, address M. box 207, TIMES OFFICE.
- COLLEGE student**: experienced stenographer, part time or home part, phone 100-55-55.
- STENO.**: neat, high school, desires pos. Comp. M. Co., phone 37-27, 27th St., P.O. Packer 2118.
- BOOKKEEPER**: high school girl, desires work, office pos. Adv. phone, etc. 51812.
- COMPTON**: stenographer, extensive ability, expert shorthand, local ref. HAZARD, 7781.
- BEGINNER**: stenographer, wants position, Call area CODES, MAR. 1934.
- REPR-TYPIST**: 6 yrs. experience, local references, \$100.00, address V. box 311, Times V. box 311, TIMES BRANCH.
- STENO-OFFIC.**: A-1 references, phone VA. 2506, area 7-2554.
- EXTRA**: work wanted by A-1 sten. tried typing, etc. P.O. 8421.
- CAPABLE**: stenographer, excellent local office & data to earn tuition, 21-2830.
- CAPABLE**: stenographer, wishes position, local references, local ref. HAZARD, 7781.
- POSITION**: as dictaphone or telephone operator, call 100-55-55.
- TYPIST**: experienced, English, Spanish, P.O. box 311, TIMES BRANCH.
- TYPIST**: English, Spanish, best typ. & stenographer, \$100.00, address V. box 311, Times V. box 311, TIMES BRANCH.
- CHEMICAL**: & light stenographer, can operate switchboard, \$20.00, EM. 2177.
- POSITION**: as dictaphone operator, exp. ref. 100-55-55.
- P.R.N. operator**: stenographer, light clerical experience, P.O. 8007.
- Nurses**: KIND, efficient nurse, will take patient in her home, phone 100-55-55.
- REF. nurse**: wants work by week days or hour, references, phone 100-55-55.
- COMPETENT**: infant or child's nurse, telephone TRINITY 8317, Room 418.
- WIFE**: takes care of child or country, near street, ME. 1273.
- TRAINED**: nurse, for 1 or 2 years, local office in her splendid home, 2812-55.
- THOROUGHLY**: experienced practical nurse, best references, phone 100-55-55.
- NURSE**: experienced, many years, wishes care of adult, local ref. HAZARD, 7781.
- PRACTICE**: nurse, will care for sick in home, A-1 references, phone 100-55-55.
- CARE**: of children, day or eve, by related nurse, ref. P.O. 8421.
- PRACTICAL**: nurse, good ref., care of invalid or maternity case, 100-55-55.
- NURSE**: any case, SPECIAL, MANAGER for gland and nervous trouble, 100-55-55.
- PRACTICAL NURSE**: WISES CARE OF INVALID, AN. 5017.
- EXP. infant's**: nurse, experience, A-1 ref. P.O. 8421, room 101.
- NURSE**: exp. and chronic patients preferred, full exp. 100-55-55.
- Housekeepers, Domestic, Cooks**: REFINED lady will seek evening to see changes for room and next best private home preferred, Address 11, box 124, TIMES OFFICE.
- REPUTABLE**: lady, neat, economical, at cook and some housework in small family or household for steady position, Address M. box 10, TIMES OFFICE.
- YOUNG woman**: wishes housekeeping in refined home, Good cook, capable of full charge, Address M. box 252, TIMES OFFICE.
- CAPABLE**: and efficient woman desires position as manager or housekeeper of hotel, references, phone 100-55-55, address 4284, 2359 W. 5TH ST.
- PH. TR. 1937**: Very competent cook, capable of full charge, local ref. HAZARD, 7781, can ref. TR. 1937, 100-55-55.
- HOUSEKEEPER**: refined, has child, good cook, working exp. to manager ref. 100-55-55, 2540 5TH ST. Fortuna st. N. 515 A. Convent.
- WORKING**: lady, for 80-7 hotel, have child, 2 hrs. day, 100-55-55, address M. box 71, TIMES OFFICE.
- EXPERIENCED**: housekeeper, desires position as mother's helper in district, A. H.S. waiting list, 85, 100-55-55.
- AMERICAN woman**: would like a home place in a small town, references, phone 100-55-55, 1618 Alvarado Terrace.
- MIDDLEAGED**: woman, unaccompanied, 140 class cook, wants cooking and waitress, No laundry, will leave city, TR. 1937, 100-55-55.
- AN experienced**: housekeeper, wants a position in a small hotel, 900 S. Hill St., 100-55-55, 100-55-55.
- HOUSEKEEPER**: take full charge, fine cook, small family, references, phone 100-55-55, 100-55-55, 100-55-55.
- COOK**: exp. ref. 100-55-55, other refs. preferred, wages \$50 and up, 21-2830.

pages into columns by identifying concentrations of black pixels in narrow vertical bands and grouping them into clusters based on their horizontal coordinates. Third, we split columns into individual ads, the most challenging step because of the density of text. We invert the image colors and remove text from each column to simplify the search for dividers, then compute the mean of each row of pixels: a row corresponding to a (now inverted) divider line should lie close to a white pixel value. Based on the distribution of pixel values within each column, we compute a prominence threshold and use it to identify ad dividers. Appendix [D.1](#) provides further details for each of these steps.

**2.2.2 IDENTIFYING HELP-WANTED ADS** While the image-processing procedure allows us to identify every ad in the classifieds section, it does not tell us the type of ad, that is, whether the ad is a labor ad posted by an employer or, say, a person advertising a room for rent. To classify ads, we identify section headers using an image-matching procedure. As detailed below, we create image templates that match the section headers used by a particular newspaper at a particular point in time.

The template-matching approach proceeds in three steps. First, we manually identify the headers used for labor demand (help-wanted) ads and for the sections that immediately follow them. Second, we create image templates that match the typesetting of these headers as they appear in the underlying section header images. Third, we use template-matching scores to identify the beginning and end of each relevant classified section and sort individual ads into their respective categories.

Section headers varied in wording and font style across newspapers and over time, even though they typically appear in offset lettering and a larger font than the words in an individual ad. As an example, Figure 4 illustrates some changes to section headers in the *Los Angeles Times* between 1925 and 1938. The frequency of header changes varies considerably across newspapers. For instance, the *Chicago Tribune* changed its section headers only twice over the data sample period, while the *New York Times* made 20 such changes. Appendix [D.2](#) provides an extensive catalog. In total, we create 947 distinct header templates across newspapers over our entire time frame.

Section headers are identified by matching ad images to templates designed to mirror the typesetting of headers in the underlying scans. The matching procedure proceeds as follows: (i) create a template for each identified section header; (ii) compute a match score between each candidate ad image and each template; (iii) compare the score against a threshold to determine whether the image is a section header and, if so, of what type. The match score

Figure 4: Changing Section Headers: examples from the *Los Angeles Times* between 1925 and 1938.

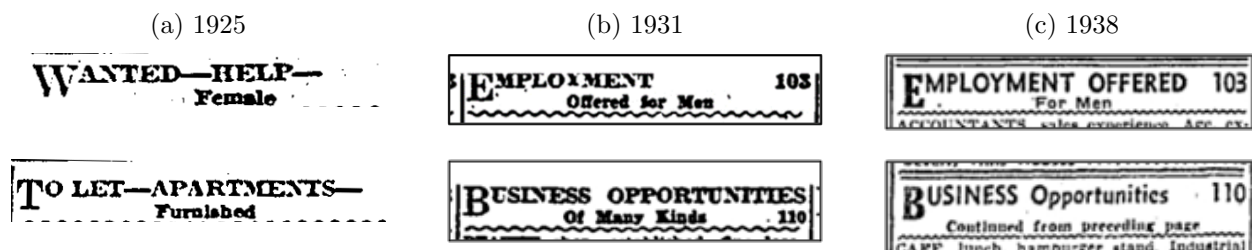
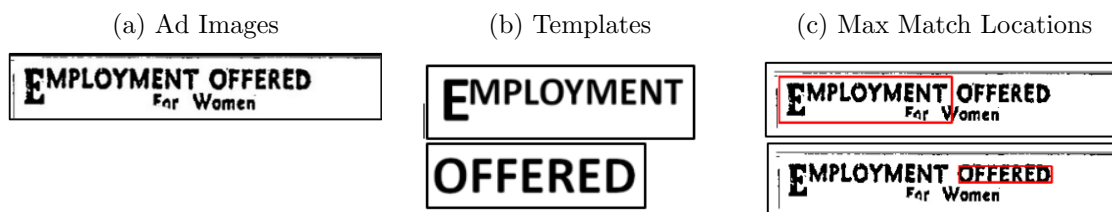


Figure 5: Steps to the Template Matching Procedure: example for identifying “Employment offered” section in the *Los Angeles Times*.



Notes: Templates in (b) are slid across ad images (a) search for the highest correspondence of pixels (c).

lies between 0 and 1, with 1 indicating that the template exactly matches the pattern of pixels in the underlying image. Headers are then classified as either labor demand or other categories based on preset thresholds. We count every ad immediately following an identified header as belonging to that category, up to the next identified header or the end of the page. Appendix D.2 provides further details.

Figure 5 illustrates the three steps of template matching for the “Employment Offered” header in the *Los Angeles Times* in the 1930s. We first identify the header in question (top left panel) and create two templates, “Employment” and “Offered,” that mirror its typesetting, size, and font (middle panel). A 2-dimensional convolution then locates the best match of each template within the candidate ad image. The red bounding boxes in the right panel mark the windows with the highest correlation between template and image pixels. The resulting match scores for “Employment” and “Offered” (0.66 and 0.68, respectively) clear the preset threshold of 0.55, and the header is classified as a labor demand header. Because the accuracy of template matching depends on the chosen thresholds, we tune them through an iterative process, described in Appendix D.2.

Although the three-step procedure works well for most newspaper pages, multicolumn

headers in the *New York Times* require modifications to the approach (see Figure D4). We use an object-detection model, a computer-vision technique that recognizes and localizes objects of interest, to detect and locate these multicolumn headers. We first build a training sample by manually classifying objects on a large number of newspaper pages into three types: (1) help-wanted multicolumn headers, (2) other multicolumn headers, and (3) anything else. We then train the object-detection model on this sample, apply the trained model to each newspaper page, and record the location of every detected bounding box together with its predicted class probability. Each header is classified by comparing its predicted probability to preset thresholds; details are given in Appendix D.3.

To convey the scale of the image-processing effort, consider the *Chicago Tribune*. We begin with over 40 thousand image files of newspaper pages, about 10 thousand of which contain labor ads. These files are split into almost 4 million individual ads, of which 3 million are identified as labor ads. Appendix D.4 provides analogous figures for all five newspapers. The next subsection discusses the accuracy of our identification procedure.

### 2.3 ACCURACY

We test the accuracy of our labor-ad identification with extensive manual counts. For each year between 1900 and 1938, we manually counted help-wanted ads on the second Sunday in May for all five newspapers, yielding more than 100 thousand individual help-wanted ads. We use the same Sunday across years for consistency. As a robustness check, we also randomly select two newspaper pages per month across newspapers and count those manually (see Appendix D.5). Figure 6 compares the number of ads counted by our algorithm with the manual counts.<sup>9</sup> The method works well overall: the observations cluster tightly around the 45-degree line, indicating close agreement between manual counts and template matching.

We further evaluate the performance of our template matching method by providing comparison summary statistics. Specifically, we define a measure of error on a particular day as:

$$E_t = \frac{|C_t^{template} - C_t^{manual}|}{C_t^{manual}}, \quad (1)$$

where  $C_t^{manual}$  is the manual count and  $C_t^{template}$  is the template matching count.

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<sup>9</sup>Appendix D.5 provides further details on the manual checks. As a further alternative, we identified ads using a Convolutional Neural Network (CNN). This method is more time- and labor-intensive but produces results comparable to template matching; see Appendix D.6.

Table 1: Accuracy of Template Matching Approach: Comparison with Manual Counts

	Number of ads	Error rate		
		1st Tertile	Median	3rd Tertile
<i>New York Times</i>	23,486	0.01	0.04	0.06
<i>Chicago Tribune</i>	47,723	0.02	0.03	0.06
<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	20,478	0.03	0.06	0.18
<i>Atlanta Constitution</i>	4,634	0.03	0.04	0.11
<i>Washington Post</i>	5,114	0.01	0.02	0.05

*Notes.* Errors between machine and manual counts computed according to equation (1). Manual counts collected on the second Sunday in May between 1900 and 1938.

Errors are generally small across newspapers and over time, despite the frequent changes in header wording and typesetting. Table 1 summarizes the distribution of errors by newspaper, reporting the median share along with the first and third tertiles. Identification is most accurate for the *Chicago Tribune*, with a median misclassification share of 3 percent. It is least accurate for the *Los Angeles Times*, which has relatively poor print quality, but accuracy remains high there as well, with a median error of 6 percent.

#### 2.4 EXTRACTING GENDER BASED HELP-WANTED ADS

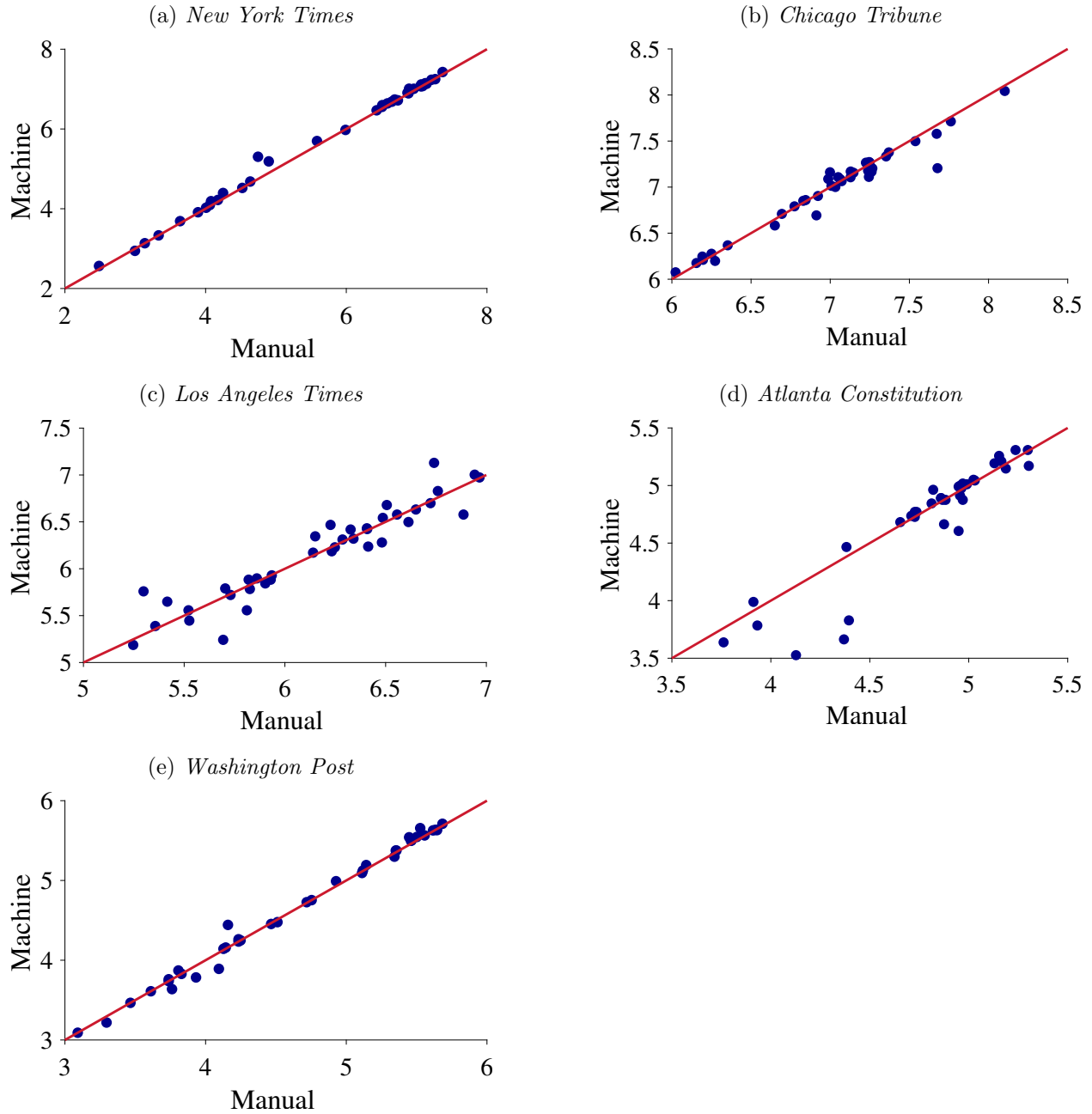
Labor demand ads were grouped by gender in the early twentieth century, as shown in Figures 1 and 3. We exploit this distinctive feature to separate our measures by gender. The pattern of gendered job advertising has been well documented in historical labor-market studies (e.g., Goldin (1990)) and provides a useful opportunity to compare the male and female labor markets in the first half of the twentieth century.<sup>10</sup>

To extract gender information from headers, we combine the template-matching procedure of Section 2.2.2 with OCR. This hybrid approach is motivated by a practical consideration: template matching alone struggles with the small fonts often used to denote gender within section headers, and the dividers between headers and ads are frequently faint, causing the first ad to bleed into the header image. We therefore proceed in two steps. We first run OCR once per classified page using Google Cloud Vision, which provides the best results for our application of the tools we tested.<sup>11</sup> The OCR output returns bounding boxes for

<sup>10</sup>The mix of advertised occupations also differs by gender. Goldin (1990), p. 68, notes that the largest categories of female employment over the period were domestic servants, manufacturing operatives, and farm laborers, followed by professional and clerical workers.

<sup>11</sup>We tested Amazon Textract, Google Cloud Vision, and the open-source Tesseract. Correia and Luck (2023) reach a similar conclusion regarding Google Cloud Vision. In addition, we apply OCR to each

Figure 6: Accuracy of help-wanted ad counts



Note: The plots are in log-log scale. Manual counts collected on the second Sunday in May. See the Appendix for details.

every letter and word on the page. We then assign each OCR-detected word to a specific ad using the ad bounding boxes recorded during the column- and ad-splitting step (Section 2.2). For each header identified by template matching, we reclassify it as for men or for women based on whether gender-specific words (e.g., *male*, *men*, *female*, *women*) appear in the OCR text within the header’s bounding box. Appendix D.7 provides further details.

### 3 HELP-WANTED TIME SERIES: CITY LEVEL MEASURES

In this section, we present city-level measures of help-wanted advertising. We first report total ad counts, constructed as monthly averages of Sunday editions, and then provide breakdowns by gender. In addition, we leverage variation in posting costs across cities and over time to estimate their effect on firm advertising behavior.

#### 3.1 CITY-LEVEL COUNTS

We construct monthly series of help-wanted ads for each city by averaging the Sunday counts within a month. We focus on Sundays as they carried substantially more classified postings than other days of the week. Bezanson (1929) notes that in the early twentieth century, help-wanted advertisements displayed notable seasonal patterns in certain occupations, for instance, demand for domestic workers spiked in the summer months. We observe seasonal patterns throughout our sample. To account for these, we seasonally adjust each city-level measure and take a 3-month moving average of the resulting series.<sup>12</sup> The measures for each city are shown in Figure 7, with NBER recession dates shaded in grey. For the *New York Times*, we report ad counts prior to January 1919 with a dashed line to reflect the paper’s low circulation in those earlier years.<sup>13</sup>

Several newspaper-specific patterns stand out for New York, Los Angeles, and Washington. As noted, the *New York Times* had comparatively low circulation in the city before 1919 and hence captured a low volume of help-wanted advertising. The *Los Angeles Times* shows a moderate upward trend during the first seven years of the sample, likely reflecting the rapid growth of the city’s population. The *Washington Post* exhibits a large spike in late 1905 driven by the paper’s decision to make labor advertisements free starting that November, with the goal of boosting circulation.

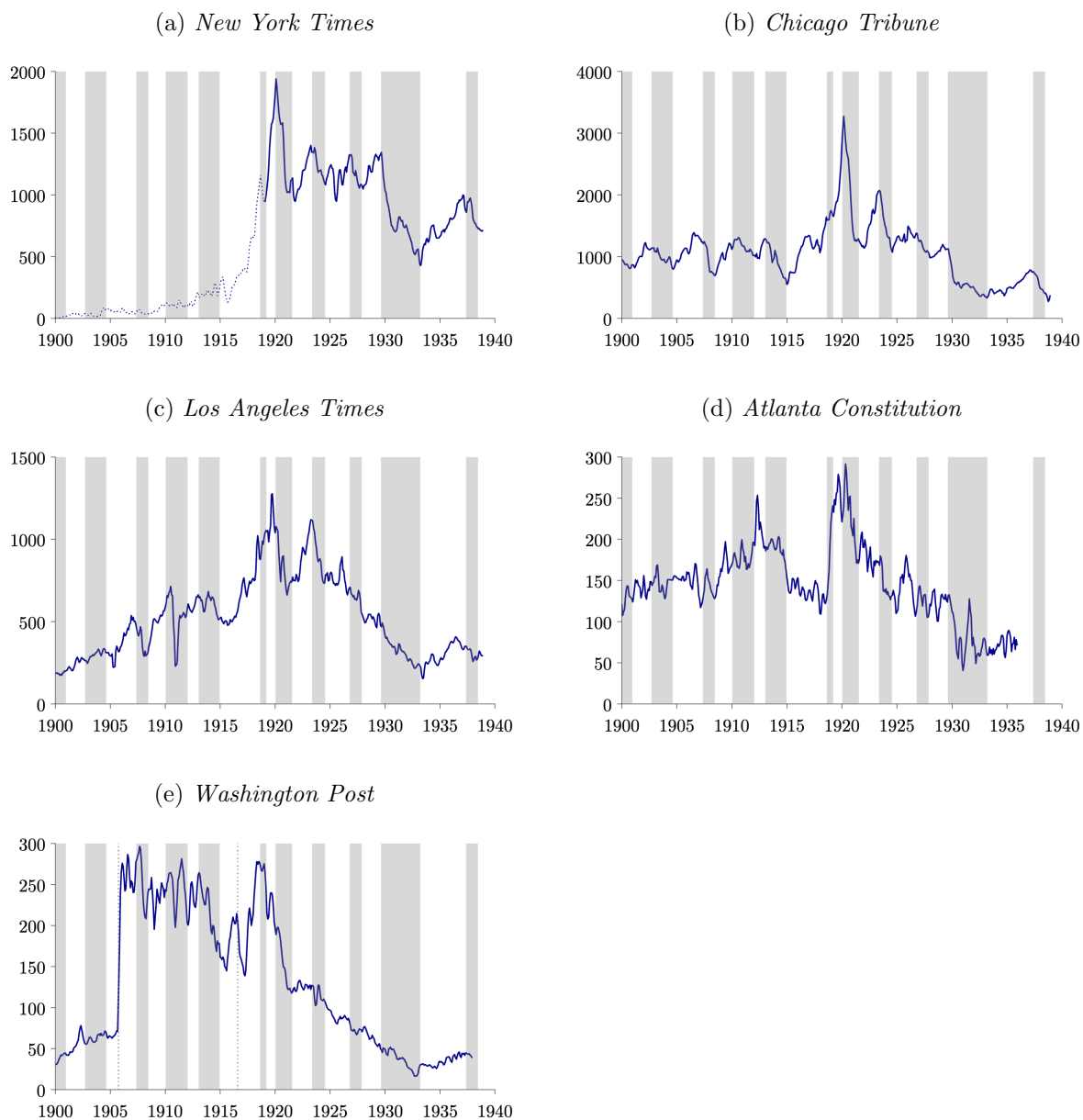
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newspaper page rather than each ad, as providers price by file rather than by file size and our newspapers contain hundreds of classified ads per day.

<sup>12</sup>Appendix E compares our monthly counts with and without seasonal adjustment.

<sup>13</sup>In 1900, the *New York Times* had a circulation of around 40 thousand, far below the city’s leading papers, which were close to 180 thousand. Circulation rose sharply between 1912 and 1916, from 175 thousand to 320 thousand, narrowing the gap with the leading newspapers in the city.

Figure 7: City-Level Help-Wanted ads, Jan. 1900 to Dec. 1938



Note: Seasonally adjusted monthly averages. NBER recession dates in grey. *New York Times*: the ad counts are reported from 1919 onward due to low circulation in prior years. *Washington Post*: posting ads was free between November 1905 and July 1916, as highlighted by the vertical dotted lines.

Table 2: Pairwise Correlations of Help-Wanted Ads with the *Chicago Tribune*

	Levels		Per Capita (1927=100)	
	Full	Post-WWI	Full	Post-WWI
<i>New York Times</i>	0.40	0.92	0.95	0.95
<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	0.79	0.91	0.83	0.92
<i>Atlanta Constitution</i>	0.72	0.89	0.72	0.91
<i>Washington Post</i>	0.46	0.87	0.53	0.89

*Notes.* Pairwise correlations of seasonally adjusted 3-month moving averages with the *Chicago Tribune*. “Levels” uses seasonally adjusted 3-month moving averages. “Per Capita” divides counts by city population (linearly interpolated between decennial censuses) and indexes to the 1927 annual average = 100. “Full” uses all available months for each city pair; “Post-WWI” restricts to January 1919 onward. For the *New York Times* we begin the adjusted series in January 1919.

Abstracting from idiosyncratic city-level movements, help-wanted counts display similar cyclical patterns across cities between 1900 and 1938: firm advertising activity was highly correlated across cities over the first decades of the twentieth century. The first two columns of Table 2 report pairwise correlations with the *Chicago Tribune*, which we use as the reference city because of the consistent quality of its help-wanted data over the full sample. The last two columns report the same correlations after adjusting for city populations, based on interpolating population estimates in decadal censuses, and rescaling each city measure to 100 in 1927. In each case, we report the moments first for the full sample and then for the post-World War I (WWI) subsample.

The data also share a common set of major trends. Beginning in mid-1918, the number of help-wanted ads rose very rapidly in every city, peaking around 1920. This surge reflected a significant labor shortage tied to the conscription of young men into military service during World War I, together with business disruptions from non-pharmaceutical interventions adopted during the 1918 flu (Correia *et al.*, 2022). The boom came to an end during the recession of 1920–21, when the number of help-wanted ads declined sharply across all cities. After the recession, the series stabilized in New York City, Chicago, and Los Angeles, while a downward trend persisted past 1920 in the two smaller cities, Atlanta and Washington, D.C.

All cities experienced a sharp decline in help-wanted ads during the Great Depression, with some regional variation. New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles share a common pattern: large declines at the onset of the Depression, notable recoveries through the mid-1930s, and a renewed downturn in 1936–37. The fall in labor demand at the start of the Depression was

sharpest in New York and Chicago, while declines in Los Angeles and Washington were more gradual. The initial decline in the *Atlanta Constitution* was more severe but briefly recovered to its pre-Depression level in the summer of 1931.<sup>14</sup> These differences are consistent with the annual employment patterns documented by Wallis (1989): the South experienced milder employment declines and a faster recovery than the rest of the U.S.

**Comparisons with Other City-level Measures** Our city-level measures provide high-frequency, geographically disaggregated indicators of labor demand for a period in which such data are scarce. To validate them, we compare our measures to the few city-level indicators of economic and labor-market conditions available over part of our sample.

First, monthly city-level help-wanted registrations at public employment agencies between January 1924 and January 1932 provide an alternative measure of local labor demand. Figure F2 compares the two series for the five cities. They largely share similar trends and cyclical movements: both decline during recessions and recover during expansions. This suggests that the help-wanted measures from classified ads capture similar information about local labor demand.

Second, *Bradstreet's* weekly “Trade at a Glance” tables provide city-level one-word summaries of business conditions, a potentially comparable indicator of local economic activity. We follow Correia *et al.* (2022) to construct business condition indicators, extending their measures over a broader time frame. To do so, we categorize the one-word summaries, provide a numerical value to each category, and then aggregate the measure into a monthly frequency. Figure F3 compares the *Bradstreet* indicator to our help-wanted measure for New York City, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Atlanta.<sup>15</sup> The two series share similar cyclical fluctuations, although the *Bradstreet* indicator is notably more volatile. For New York City, the *Bradstreet* indicator displays a steady decline after 1923 that misses several major cyclical fluctuations.

### 3.2 CITY-LEVEL COUNTS BY GENDER

Labor ads were grouped by gender in the early twentieth century. Figure 8 reports the city-level help-wanted indices by gender. Counts of help-wanted ads for men are generally higher

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<sup>14</sup>Relative to its level at the onset of the Depression (August 1929), the Atlanta series bottomed out at 33% in January 1931.

<sup>15</sup>*Bradstreet's* did not provide information for Washington, D.C. Appendix F.4 provides further details on the indicator's construction.

Table 3: Help-Wanted Volatility by Gender

	Std. dev.		Corr(Men, Women)	Corr. with $U$	
	Men	Women		Men	Women
New York	0.18	0.26	0.59	-0.47	-0.71
Chicago	0.22	0.35	0.92	-0.53	-0.44
Los Angeles	0.19	0.21	0.63	-0.44	-0.53
Atlanta	0.31	0.31	0.22	-0.11	-0.52
Washington D.C.	0.35	0.35	0.86	-0.49	-0.37

*Notes.* Monthly series are converted to quarterly averages, expressed as percentage deviations from the sample mean, and filtered using a band-pass filter retaining fluctuations between 2 and 50 quarters. Standard deviations and correlations are computed on the resulting cyclical components.  $U$  is the national civilian unemployment rate. New York data begin in January 1919.

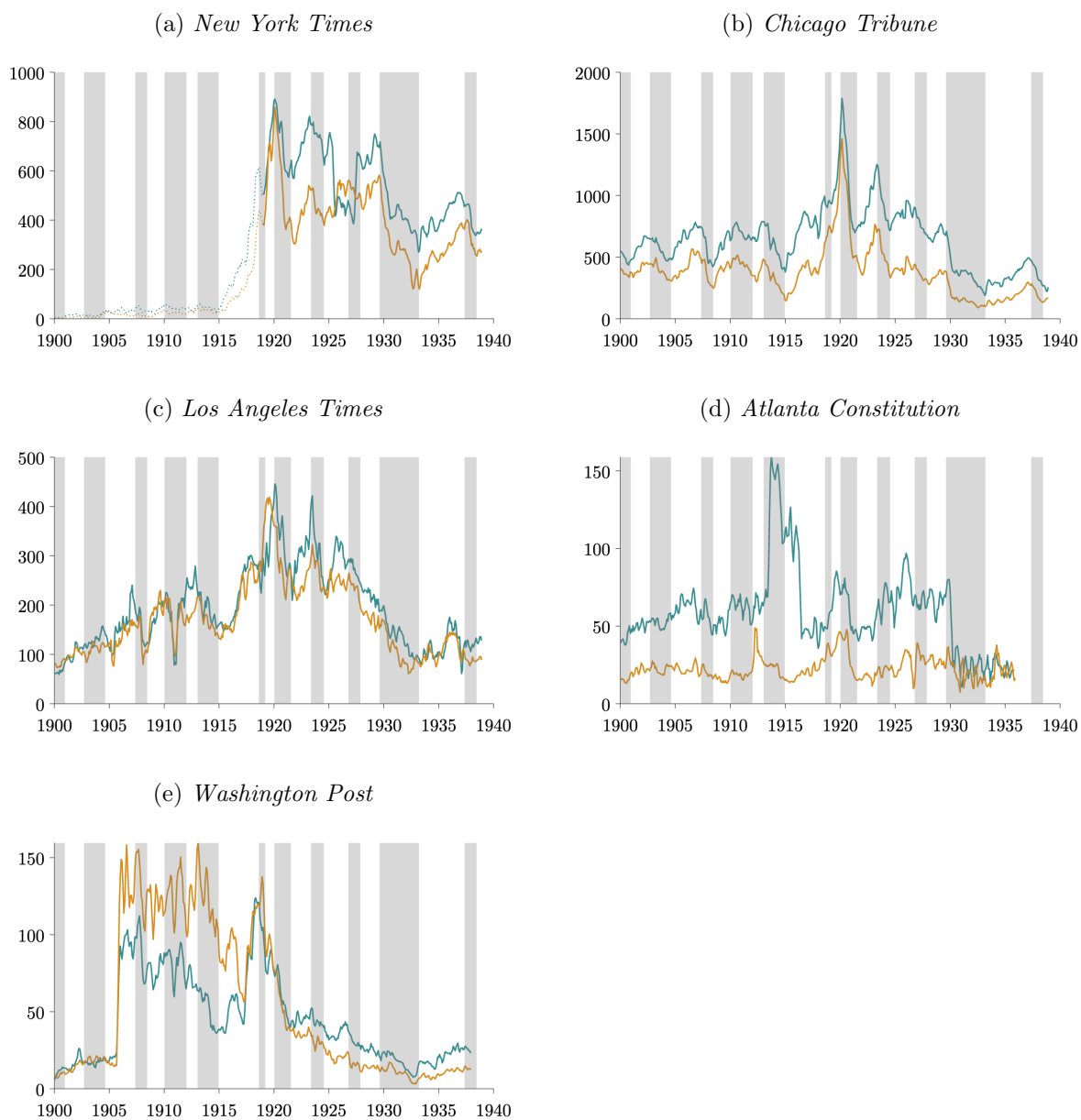
than those for women. In the *Chicago Tribune*, for example, the average daily number is 643 for men and 380 for women. The gap is even more pronounced for the *Atlanta Constitution*, where ads for women are particularly scarce relative to other cities. Patterns vary regionally, however. In Los Angeles, ad counts for women and men are much closer to each other. In Washington, the number of ads for women exceeded the number for men during the period when classifieds were free, but had fallen below those for men by 1921.

Beyond level differences, the gender split of help-wanted ads diverges sharply from the gender composition of employment. Table F1 compares the average Sunday ratio of female to male ads in each city-year with the corresponding ratio of gainful workers from the U.S. Census. On average, the ratio of women to men in employment is around 0.25 – one woman for every four male workers – while the ratio in help-wanted ads is closer to 0.75.

In interpreting these high female ratios, an important caveat is potential sectoral bias in newspaper coverage. Many male-dominated occupations, including in manufacturing and mining, historically relied on alternative recruitment methods such as union referrals, direct hiring at the work site, or informal networks. Appendix B reports the distribution of occupations listed in the *New York Times*, *Chicago Tribune*, and *Los Angeles Times* on May 11, 1930. Compared to the U.S. Census, the occupational structure of newspaper ads likely over-represents sectors in which women were concentrated and under-represents blue-collar and industrial male employment.

We next turn to the cyclical properties of help-wanted ads by gender. Table 3 reports, for

Figure 8: City-Level Help-Wanted ads by Gender



Note: Seasonally adjusted monthly averages. Amber lines are for female labor ads, while teal lines are for male labor ads. NBER recession dates in grey.

each city-gender pair, the standard deviation of the cyclical component of help-wanted ads, the correlation between the cyclical components of male and female help-wanted, and the correlation of each gender series with the national unemployment rate. Female help-wanted ads are generally more volatile than male ads, and the two series tend to move closely together. In Chicago, for example, the volatility of female help-wanted is nearly 60 percent greater than the volatility for men, and the two series have a contemporaneous correlation of 0.92. Atlanta is the largest outlier from this pattern: volatilities for men and women are similar, and the two series have a low correlation of 0.22.

These gender differences are visible in specific episodes. During the 1920 recession, the number of help-wanted ads in the *New York Times* fell from a peak above 800 to 600 for men, while the decline was more pronounced for women, from 800 to under 400. In the *Los Angeles Times*, help-wanted ads for women rose more rapidly than those for men following the Spanish flu and WWI.

In addition, potential demand for female labor could have been higher than paid advertising captured. The *Washington Post's* period of free classified ads (1905–1916) saw a surge in advertisements for female workers relative to men, suggesting that the cost of posting ads likely discouraged employers, particularly households and employers hiring for lower-wage, female-dominated roles, from advertising regularly.<sup>16</sup> The surge in female postings once that barrier was removed points to a latent demand for female workers that was not previously reflected in paid advertising. In the next subsection, we examine more directly how advertising costs influenced firm behavior.

### 3.3 HELP-WANTED AND AD POSTING COSTS

Three newspapers in our sample—the *New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and the *Washington Post*—systematically published information on advertising costs, as discussed in Section 2.<sup>17</sup> We use this information to estimate how firms respond to changes in posting costs through the following panel regression:

$$\ln(HW_{s,t}) = \alpha_t + \eta_s + \beta \ln(Ad_{s,t}) + \gamma X_{s,t} + \varepsilon_{s,t}, \quad (2)$$

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<sup>16</sup>Wage gaps in this period are well documented by Goldin (1990) and Kessler-Harris (1982).

<sup>17</sup>Systematic data on posting costs for U.S. newspapers are only available starting in 1951; Zagorsky (1993) studies how help-wanted ads have varied with posting costs since that date.

Table 4: Elasticity of Help-Wanted Ads to Posting Costs

	<i>All</i>		<i>Men</i>		<i>Women</i>	
		<i>+ U.</i>		<i>+ U.</i>		<i>+ U.</i>
$\beta$	-0.09** (0.03)	-0.10** (0.03)	-0.12 (0.04)	-0.12 (0.05)	-0.12** (0.03)	-0.12** (0.03)
$\beta_U$		- 0.005*** (0.001)		-0.005 (0.003)		- 0.006*** (0.000)
Obs.	825	825	825	825	825	825
Adj.	0.90	0.90	0.84	0.85	0.87	0.87
$R^2$						

*Notes:* Log-log regressions of  $\ln(HW_{s,t})$  on  $\ln(Ad_{s,t})$ , the contemporaneous log posting cost. The “+ U.” columns add the national unemployment rate. All specifications include city fixed effects, a time trend and its square, and two lags of the log dependent variable. Standard errors clustered by city in parentheses. Data sample is January 1915 to December 1938; Washington Post free-ads months excluded. Statistical significance indicated by \*\* ( $p < 0.10$ ) and \*\*\* ( $p < 0.05$ ).

where  $HW_{s,t}$  is the monthly average of Sunday help-wanted counts in city  $s$  in month  $t$ , prior to seasonal adjustment and 3-month averaging.  $Ad_{s,t}$  is the corresponding labor-ad posting cost.<sup>18</sup> The coefficient  $\beta$  is the elasticity of help-wanted advertising with respect to posting costs. The term  $\alpha_t$  includes a linear and quadratic time trend, controlling for factors common across cities in a given month;  $\eta_s$  is a city fixed effect that controls for city-specific time-invariant factors; and  $X_{s,t}$  contains lags of the help-wanted count.  $\varepsilon_{s,t}$  is an idiosyncratic error term. Because posting costs changed infrequently before 1915, we focus on the period from 1915 to 1938. Appendix Figure C1 displays the dates and values of price changes for each newspaper.

Table 4 reports the results. The first column presents the estimated elasticity for all help-wanted ads, which is  $-0.09$ , statistically significant at the 10 percent level but economically small: a 10 percent increase in the cost of posting is associated with about a 1 percent decline in help-wanted ads. The third and fifth columns report separate estimates for male and female ads. The elasticity is  $-0.12$  for both, though the estimate is statistically significant at the 10 percent level for women but not for men. The second, fourth, and sixth columns add the national unemployment rate as a control. The ad rate elasticities are virtually unchanged, providing reassurance that the estimated response to posting costs is not driven by business-cycle comovement between ad rates and labor demand. The unemploy-

<sup>18</sup>We use a log-log specification because a level-on-level specification is inappropriate given the large differences in ad counts across cities.

ment rate itself is strongly significant for women but not for men, consistent with greater cyclical sensitivity of female labor demand. Overall, the demand for help-wanted advertising is inelastic, with an estimated elasticity of  $-0.09$ .

## 4 NATIONAL HELP-WANTED INDEX

In this section, we construct a national help-wanted index by aggregating labor ad counts across five cities and discuss the cyclical dynamics of the labor market between 1900 and 1938.

### 4.1 CONSTRUCTING THE NATIONAL INDEX

We construct the national help-wanted index as:

$$NHWI_t = 100 \times \frac{\sum_{c=1}^C HW_{c,t} \omega_{c,t}}{\sum_{c=1}^C HW_{c,t=1927:1} \omega_{c,t=1927:1}} \times \frac{LF_{t=1927:1}}{LF_t}, \quad (3)$$

where  $C$  is our set of metropolitan areas;  $HW_{c,t}$  is the seasonally adjusted and smoothed monthly ad count from area  $c$ ;  $\omega_{c,t}$  is a weight for area  $c$  equal to its share of the five-city population in period  $t$ , obtained by interpolating between decennial censuses; and  $LF_t$  is an estimate of the overall labor force. The index is normalized to 100 in January 1927. The resulting series are shown in Figure 9.<sup>19</sup> Panel (a) displays the aggregate index; panel (b) shows the breakdown by gender.

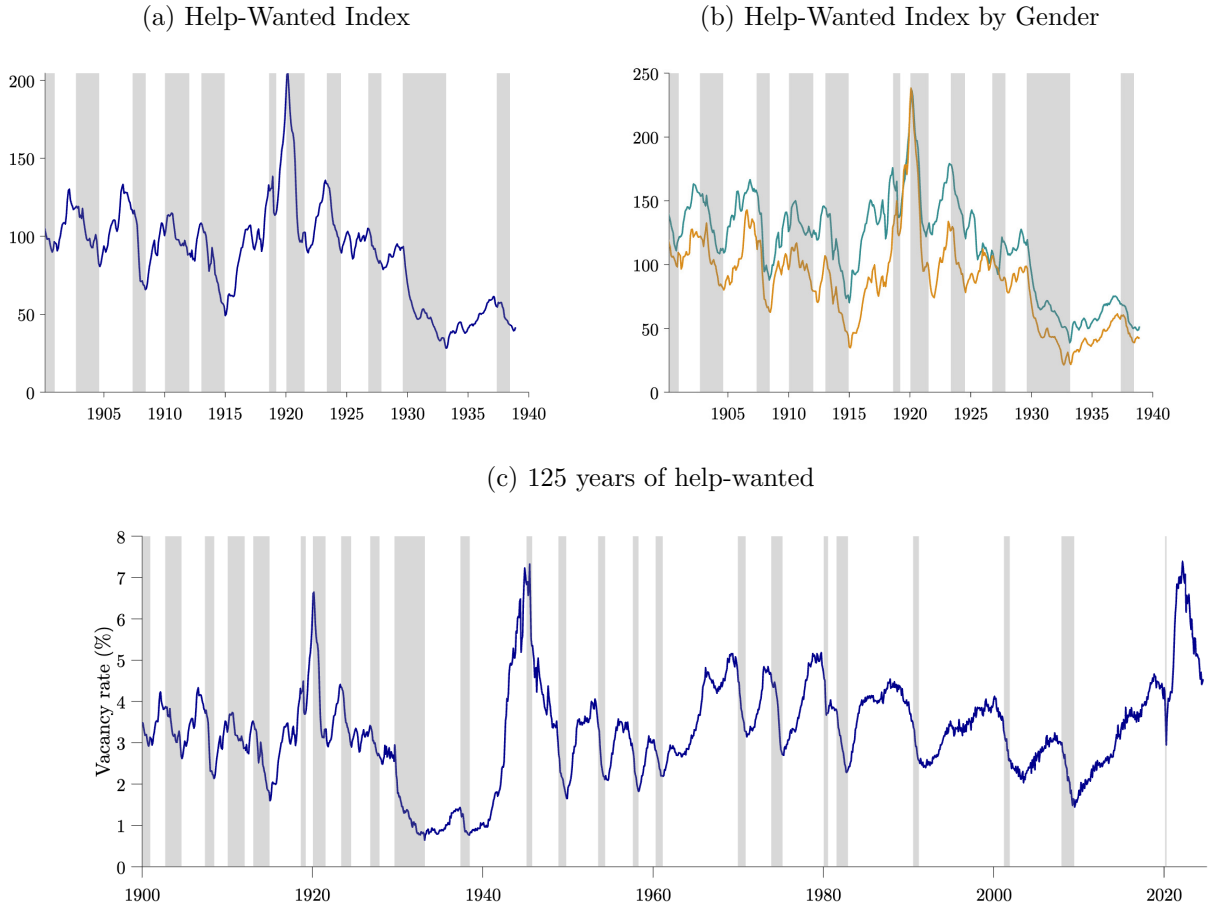
Our aggregate help-wanted series, combined with existing proxies for job vacancies in the remaining decades of the twentieth century, yields 125 years of monthly labor-demand indicators.<sup>20</sup> Panel (c) of Figure 9 shows this combined series, linking our national index with the job vacancy rate from Petrosky-Nadeau and Zhang (2021) to cover the period from 1938 to December 2024.

**4.1.1 EXTERNAL VALIDATION** Our approach of building the national help-wanted index mirrors MetLife’s methodology. The MetLife index was initiated in 1927, with past issues

<sup>19</sup>When constructing the aggregate index, we use *New York Times* counts only from January 1919 onward, given the paper’s low earlier circulation. We also drop Atlanta after December 1935 and Washington after December 1937 for lack of help-wanted data. See Section 3 for further details.

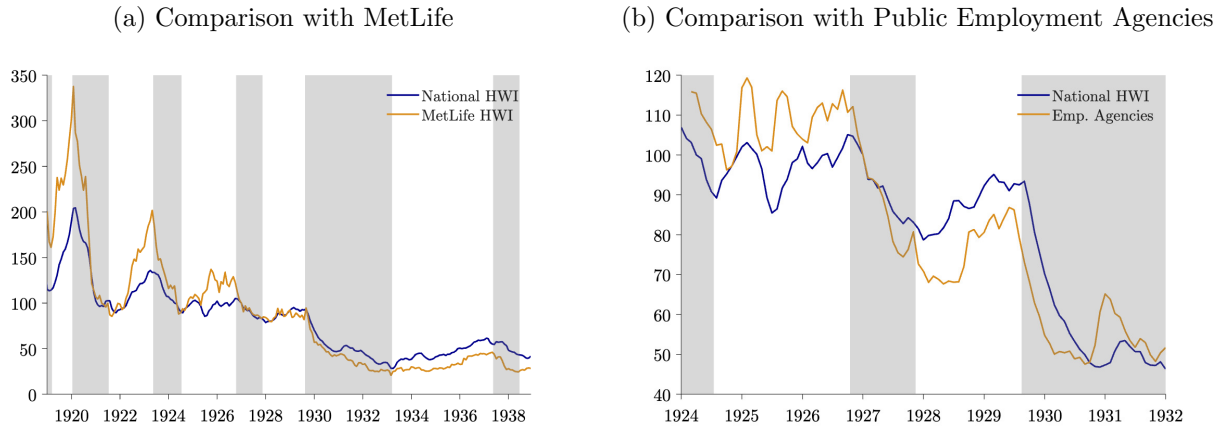
<sup>20</sup>The vacancy rate for 1900–1927 is constructed by rescaling our help-wanted index to match the level of the national vacancy rate series constructed by Petrosky-Nadeau and Zhang (2021) at December 1927.

Figure 9: Aggregate Help-Wanted Index



Note: The help-wanted indices are normalized to Jan. 1927=100. NBER recession dates in grey. Panel (b): yellow line is for female labor ads and green line is for male labor ads.

Figure 10: External Validation



Note: Panel (a) The city-weighted help-wanted Index is defined in equation (3). Both series are normalized to Jan. 1927=100 for comparability. NBER recession dates in grey. Panel (b) Red lines are the city-weighted public employment agency series, and the blue lines are the city-weighted newspaper labor indices as defined in equation (3). They include New York City, Chicago, Los Angeles, Atlanta, and Washington DC. Both series are normalized to Jan. 1927=100 for comparability.

of print newspapers collected to extend the series back to 1919.<sup>21</sup> The shared methodology allows us to validate our national index by comparing it to MetLife’s during the period of overlap. Relative to the MetLife program, data limitations restrict us to a subset of newspapers, but our five cities still provided substantial national coverage, more than 33 percent of all U.S. city populations according to the 1930 Census.

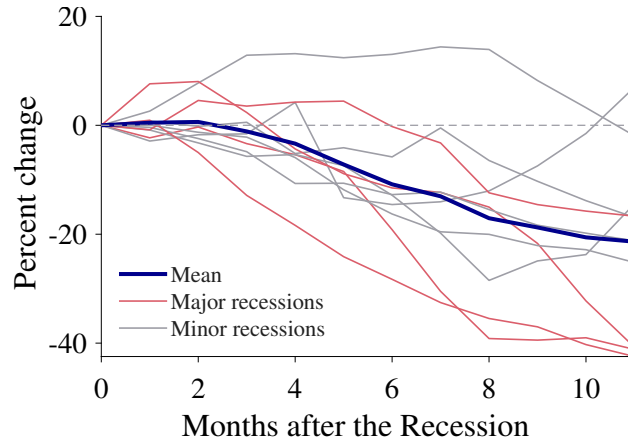
As shown in Figure 10a, our help-wanted index tracks the MetLife series closely during the overlapping period, with a correlation of 0.98 between the two. Our measure is less volatile during 1919 - 1927 period, in which the accuracy of the MetLife data has been questioned (Zagorsky, 1998). Specifically, our measure mirrors the MetLife business-cycle troughs but not the elevated peaks during expansions, which had previously been cited as a reason for concern with the reliability of the MetLife index prior to 1927.

As a second external check, we collect data from public employment agencies. From January 1924 through January 1932, the U.S. Department of Labor, in cooperation with state and local employment services, produced monthly reports of the number of help-wanted registrations from local businesses.<sup>22</sup> We digitized these reports to construct an alterna-

<sup>21</sup>This program, created by William A. Berridge, was the precursor to the Conference Board’s Help-Wanted series. One-third of the 100 newspapers in 45 cities used in the vacancy index were incorporated in 1927 (Berridge, 1929).

<sup>22</sup>According to Lee (2007), about four percent of the U.S. labor force searched for jobs through public employment offices during this period; users were mainly unskilled workers.

Figure 11: Dynamics of Help-Wanted Index Following the Start of a Recession



Note: Percent change in the help-wanted index from the start of a recession. Major recessions, following the classification of Bordo and Haubrich (2017), include 1907, 1920, 1929, and 1937.

tive measure of firm search. The key difference between the two channels is that posting with a public employment agency was free, while posting an ad in a newspaper required a fee.

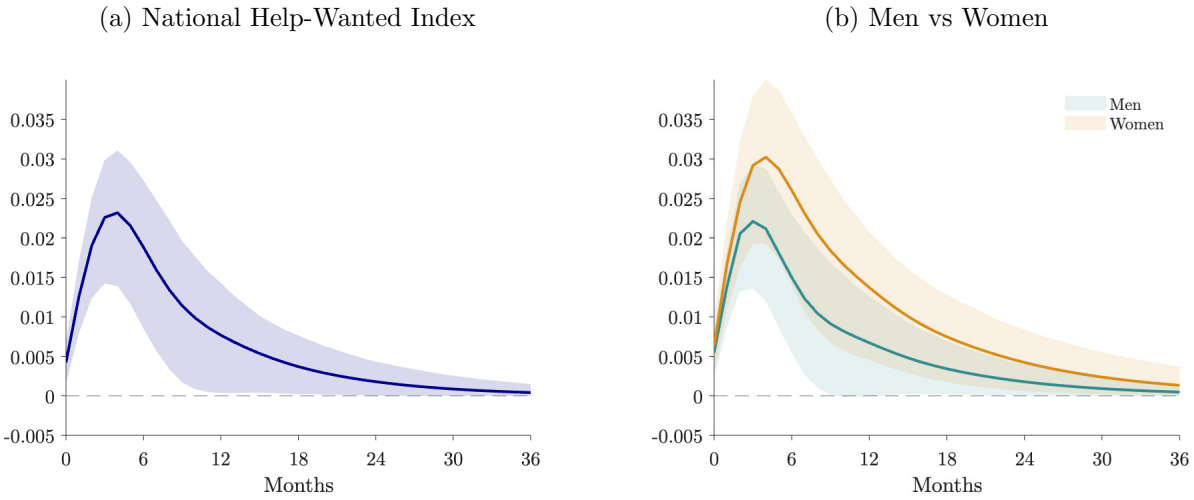
Figure 10b compares our newspaper-based help-wanted index with the corresponding series from public employment agencies, both derived from the same five cities in our sample. The yellow line represents the employment agency data, while the blue line depicts our index based on newspaper advertisements. The two series track each other very closely throughout the period of overlap.

## 4.2 DYNAMICS OF FIRM SEARCH

The aggregate help-wanted index displays strong procyclical dynamics. Panel (a) of Figure 9 shows that the index declines rapidly at the onset of a recession and recovers during the subsequent expansion, a pattern similar to the behavior of job-posting series in the post-war period. The expansion beginning in March 1919, after the most severe wave of the Spanish flu in late 1918 and the end of WWI, was accompanied by an extraordinary surge in help-wanted advertising. The index peaked on the eve of the 1920 recession, drawing parallels with the spike in job openings during the recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020.

Figure 11 further illustrates these points by plotting the help-wanted index relative to its level at the start of each recession. The blue line plots the mean measure across recessions; red lines denote the “major recessions” identified by Bordo and Haubrich (2017), and gray

Figure 12: VAR Impulse Response of Help-Wanted Index to Productivity Shock



Note: Impulse response of the help-wanted index to a labor productivity shock from bivariate VAR(4) models on band-pass filtered cyclical components, 1900–1938. Panel (a): national help-wanted index. Panel (b): separate models on the men’s and women’s indices. Structural identification via Cholesky decomposition with productivity ordered first. Shaded areas denote 90% bootstrap confidence intervals.

lines mark the remaining recessions. The four major recessions are: (i) the 1907 recession, following a stock market crash and banking panic; (ii) the 1920 recession, following a sharp tightening by the Federal Reserve; (iii) the Great Depression of 1929, following a major stock market crash and banking panic; and (iv) the 1937 recession, the third-worst downturn of the twentieth century and often attributed to monetary policy. The figure shows that recessions look similar at their onset, but severe recessions are followed by sharper declines and slower recoveries in help-wanted advertising.

We complement this descriptive evidence with a structural VAR to characterize the dynamic response of help-wanted advertising to productivity shocks. Specifically, we estimate bivariate vector autoregressions (VARs) on the cyclical components of labor productivity and the national help-wanted index. The cyclical components are extracted by applying a band-pass filter to the log of each series and retaining fluctuations with periods between 2 and 72 months. We identify the structural shock to labor productivity using a Cholesky decomposition with productivity ordered first, and include four lags. Panel (a) of Figure 12 presents the impulse response of the aggregate help-wanted index. Following a positive productivity shock, firm search activity rises, peaking after about 3 months and then gradually returning to trend. The response is statistically significant for the first 11 months, consistent with the procyclical nature of help-wanted advertising documented above.

The response of help-wanted advertising for women to a productivity shock is roughly twice as large as for men. Panel (b) reports the same exercise estimated separately on the men’s and women’s help-wanted indices. Both indices rise following a positive productivity shock, but the responses differ notably: the women’s help-wanted index response remains statistically significant for approximately the entire horizon, while the men’s index shows a more muted peak and wider confidence intervals, losing significance after 8 months.

### 4.3 BUSINESS CYCLE MOMENTS

We report standard business-cycle moments for the early twentieth-century labor market. We remove longer-run trends from each time series at a quarterly frequency and focus on second moments of the resulting cyclical components.<sup>23</sup> The moments of interest—standard deviations and contemporaneous cross-correlations—are computed as proportional deviations from trend. Table 5 reports these moments for the full sample period (panel A) and for the subsample from January 1900 to October 1929, which excludes the Great Depression (panel B). Panel C reports the same moments for the post-World War II sample from 1955 to the end of 2024; details on the post-WWII data are in Appendix F.

Unemployment and job postings are volatile over the business cycle in our full pre-1938 sample. The standard deviation of the cyclical component of unemployment is 0.44, more than twice the 0.19 standard deviation of help-wanted ads. The contemporaneous correlation between unemployment and vacancies, which captures the slope of the Beveridge curve, is close to  $-0.6$  as shown in Table 5. Labor market tightness is strongly procyclical, with a correlation of 0.40 with labor productivity.

The Great Depression, with its large departures from normal business-cycle fluctuations, could distort the characterization of the cyclical dynamics of the labor market. Panel B of Table 5 addresses this issue by reporting the same set of moments for the 1900–1929 subperiod. The patterns are markedly similar to the full sample, though the volatility of unemployment and labor tightness is lower when we exclude the Great Depression, and the slope of the Beveridge curve is somewhat steeper.

For comparison, panel C of Table 5 presents the moments of variables in the post-World War II period (1955-2024). Consistent with the literature, the volatility of all variables is

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<sup>23</sup>We extract the cyclical component by retaining fluctuations at horizons between 2 and 50 quarters using a band-pass filter.

Table 5: Empirical Business Cycle Moments, Quarterly

Panel A: 1900:I to 1938:IV					
		$U$	$HWI$	$\theta$	$X$
Std. dev.		0.44	0.19	0.62	0.06
Corr. matrix	$U$	1.00	-0.59	-0.68	-0.37
	$HWI$		1.00	0.70	0.36
	$\theta$			1.00	0.40

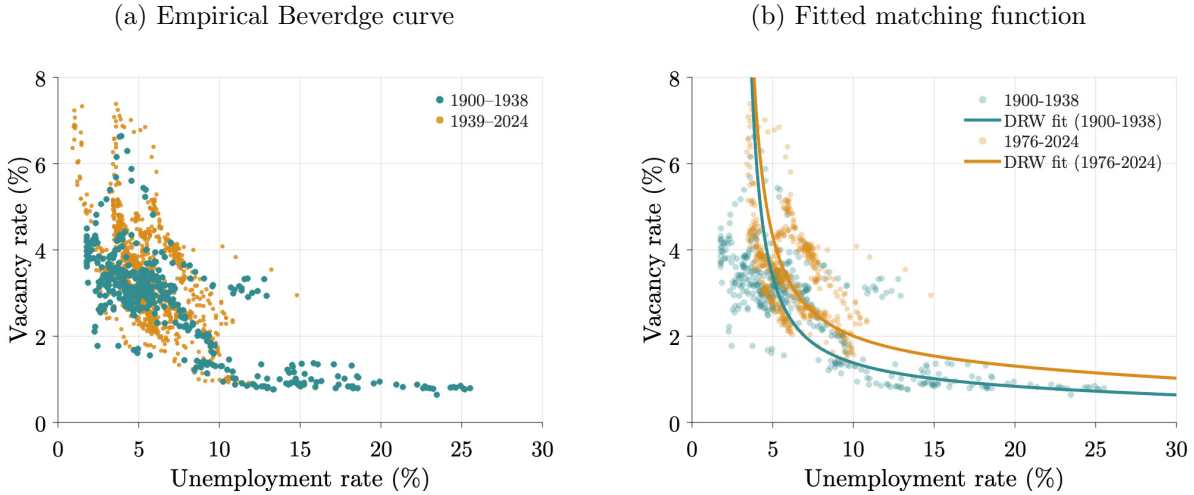
Panel B: 1900:I to 1929:III					
		$U$	$HWI$	$\theta$	$X$
Std. dev.		0.37	0.18	0.54	0.05
Corr. matrix	$U$	1.00	-0.64	-0.87	-0.38
	$HWI$		1.00	0.66	0.36
	$\theta$			1.00	0.45

Panel C: Jan. 1955 to Dec. 2024					
		$U$	$HWI$	$\theta$	$X$
Std. dev.		0.20	0.17	0.32	0.02
Corr. matrix	$U$	1.00	-0.74	-0.84	0.19
	$HWI$		1.00	0.90	0.24
	$\theta$			1.00	-0.04

*Notes.* Monthly series are converted to quarterly averages, expressed as percentage deviations from the sample mean, and filtered using a Baxter-King band-pass filter retaining fluctuations between 2 and 50 quarters.  $U$  is the civilian unemployment rate;  $HWI$  is the national help-wanted index in panels A and B and the JOLTS vacancy rate in panel C;  $\theta = HWI/U$  is labor market tightness;  $X$  is labor productivity. Panel A covers the full sample (1900:I–1938:IV), panel B excludes the Great Depression (1900:I–1929:III), and panel C uses post-war data (1955:I–2024:IV).

Figure 13: The U.S. Beveridge curve and matching function: A long run view



Note: Panel (a) plots unemployment and vacancy rates between Jan. 1900 and Dec. 2024. Panel (b) plots the Beveridge curves implied from estimating a matching function over pre- and post-WWII samples.

considerably lower in the modern era. The variables nonetheless display correlation patterns that are similar to those of the early twentieth century. Notably, the volatility of labor-market tightness relative to that of unemployment is similar across sample periods.

#### 4.4 BEVERIDGE CURVE AND A LABOR MARKET MATCHING FUNCTION

Our new data provide a longer historical view of the Beveridge curve. Figure 13a plots the vacancy rate against the unemployment rate from January 1900 to December 2024. The scatter plot in panel (a) contrasts our new data series from January 1900 to December 1938, shown in teal dots, with data covering the end of the Depression and the post-war period between January 1939 and December 2024, shown in amber.

Consistent with more recent periods, the scatter for the early twentieth century displays a downward-sloping, convex relationship between the unemployment rate and the vacancy rate. The 1900–1918 portion overlaps remarkably with the post-WWII experience of movements in vacancies and unemployment. The 1919–1938 portion, by contrast, was marked by extraordinary events – World War I, the Spanish flu, and the Great Depression – and exhibits notable shifts in the Beveridge curve that are not typical for business cycle movements. The high unemployment and low vacancy rates of the Great Depression, for example, trace a particularly flat portion of the curve, as noted in Petrosky-Nadeau and Zhang (2021). Our novel data from 1900 to 1918 thus help reveal a remarkable stability in the U.S. Beveridge

Table 6: Matching Function Estimates

	<i>Pre-WWII</i> <i>1900–1938</i>	<i>Post-WWII</i> <i>1976–2024</i>
$\chi$ (efficiency)	3.97	2.25
$\iota$ (curvature)	0.64	0.72
$\delta$	0.027	0.027
Obs.	468	584
Mean $\eta_U$	0.57	0.55
Median $\eta_U$	0.63	0.55

*Notes.* Nonlinear least squares estimates of the den Haan *et al.* (2003) matching function.  $\delta$  is the monthly separation rate, set to the JOLTS average (2000–2024).  $\eta_U = \chi^\iota / (\chi^\iota + \theta^{-\iota})$  is the elasticity of matching with respect to unemployment.

curve over the past 125 years, at least as measured by the estimated matching elasticities, a stability that would be obscured by relying only on the existing MetLife vacancy series.

We investigate this stability of the Beveridge curve further by estimating a labor market matching function on pre- and post-WWII data. Starting from the steady-state relationship between the unemployment rate and the flows into and out of unemployment:

$$U = \frac{\delta}{\delta + M(V, U)/U} \quad (4)$$

where  $\delta$  is the flow rate into unemployment; and  $M(V, U)/U$  is the flow rate out of unemployment, determined by the matching of unemployed workers  $U$  with vacant jobs  $V$  through the matching function  $M(V, U)$ . Following den Haan *et al.* (2003), we parameterize the matching function as  $M(V, U) = \chi V U ((\chi V)^\iota + U^{-\iota})^{-1/\iota}$ , where  $\chi$  is a matching level shifter and  $\iota$  is a curvature parameter. This functional form has the desirable property that matching probabilities are bounded between zero and one. We fit equation (4) to data by nonlinear least squares. The separation rate  $\delta$  is set to the average monthly total-separations rate from JOLTS over 2000–2024,  $\delta = 0.027$ , for both samples. Table 6 reports the estimates and panel (b) of Figure 13a displays the implied Beveridge curves.

To compare the implied labor-market dynamics across eras more directly, we compute the elasticity of matching with respect to unemployment. Under our chosen functional form, the elasticity is given by  $\eta_U = \chi^\iota / (\chi^\iota + \theta^{-\iota})$ , where  $\theta \equiv V/U$  is labor-market tightness. The elasticity  $\eta_U$  measures the responsiveness of the job-finding rate to unemployment, holding

vacancies fixed. The mean elasticities are remarkably similar across eras (0.57 versus 0.55). This similarity suggests that the underlying process of matching workers to jobs has been broadly stable for over a century, despite substantial changes in labor-market institutions and search technologies. The larger gap between the mean and median elasticities in our data sample reflects the influence of the Great Depression: very low levels of labor-market tightness generate low matching elasticities that pull the pre-war mean below its median. Taken together, the stability of the Beveridge curve and the similarity of matching elasticities across eras imply that the fundamental process of matching workers to jobs has remained broadly similar across 125 years of U.S. labor-market history.

## 5 CONCLUSION

This paper provides new monthly, city-level and national measures of firm search based on the help-wanted advertisements in early-twentieth century U.S. newspapers. We extract employer-placed advertisements using image-processing techniques and use them to construct help-wanted indices for 1900 to 1938. We validate the methodology with extensive manual checks and by comparison with national and city-level indicators of help-wanted activity available for subperiods of our sample.

Help-wanted advertisements vary substantially over our sample period. Firm search effort is procyclical, with vacancy postings declining sharply at the onset of recessions. We also document a striking stability in the U.S. Beveridge curve over the past 125 years. Disaggregated patterns highlight the importance of regional and demographic context: there is meaningful variation across cities and greater cyclical sensitivity in advertisements placed for women.

Our methodology is adaptable to other newspapers, scalable to additional dimensions of the classified advertisements, and can be enriched with textual analysis to extract deeper economic insights from historical listings. We hope that it encourages further research using archived newspapers to study historical economic dynamics.

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