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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
JAMES J. DAVIS, Secretary

CHILDREN'S BUREAU
GRACE ABBOTT, Chief

WORK OF CHILDREN ON TRUCK AND SMALL-FRUIT FARMS IN SOUTHERN NEW JERSEY

Bureau Publication No. 132

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

UNITTD STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
CHILDREN'S BUREAU,
Washington, October 11, 1923.

SIR: I am transmitting herewith a report on the Work of Children on Truck and Small-Fruit Farms in Southern New Jersey. This report is the sixth of a series on rural child labor made by the Children's Bureau and the third in a series dealing specifically with the employment of children on truck farms.

The investigation upon which this report was based was planned and carried on under the general supervision of Ellen Nathalie Matthews, Director of the Industrial Division. The field work was under the immediate direction of Mary E. Skinner, who is also responsible for the analysis and interpretation of the findings of the investigation with the exception of the section on the school records of Philadelphia children migrating for seasonal work, which was prepared by Caroline E. Legg.

The bureau desires to express its appreciation of the assistance in obtaining the facts upon which this study is based given by State, county, and local school officials, especially Mr. Henry J. Gideon, director of the bureau of compulsory education of the Philadelphia public schools, and by county agricultural agents and the social agencies of Philadelphia.

Respectfully submitted.

GRACE ABBOTT, *Chief.*

Hon. JAMES J. DAVIS,
Secretary of Labor.

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WORK OF CHILDREN ON TRUCK AND SMALL-FRUIT FARMS IN SOUTHERN NEW JERSEY.

INTRODUCTION.

This inquiry into the character and extent of the work of children in truck and small-fruit growing sections of southern New Jersey is part of a more comprehensive study by the Children's Bureau of child labor on truck farms. Up to the present time it has included, in addition to the New Jersey area, sections of two other important truck-farming States of the Atlantic coast—Maryland and Virginia.[1] The large-scale production of vegetables and fruits for shipment to city markets, a development of comparatively recent years,[2] has resulted in the employment of children living on the truck farms and in their immediate vicinity, and also of large numbers of children from near-by cities, who are brought out to the farms when many hands are needed to help in the harvesting of perishable produce.

New Jersey is a leading State in the production of truck crops. As far back as 1830 the boats of the farmers of New Jersey, loaded with fruits and vegetables, could be found at the wharves along the Delaware and Hudson Rivers,[3] and as the urban population increased the demand for fresh fruits and vegetables, production increased until southern New Jersey, with its great diversity of soil, favorable climate, and accessibility to New York and Philadelphia markets, has become one of the foremost truck-farming centers in the country.[4] In 1919, 46.5 per cent of the value of New Jersey crops was in potatoes (28.7 per cent) and other vegetables, principally tomatoes (4.3 per cent), sweet corn (1.5 per cent), peppers (1 per cent), onions (1 per cent), and asparagus (0.8 per cent), while only 23.9 per cent was in cereals and 16 per cent in hay and forage, the principal crops of the northern part of the State.[5] Potatoes and yams are the most important truck crops, but the State ranks high in the production of many

[1] Child Labor on Maryland Truck Farms, Children's Bureau Publication No. 123, and Child Labor and the Work of Mothers on Norfolk Truck Farms, Children's Bureau Publication No. 130.

[2] Development and Localization of Truck Crops in the United States. U.S. Department of Agriculture Bulletin 702, p. 2. Washington, 1917.

[3] Lee, Francis B.: New Jersey as a Colony and as a State: One of the Original Thirteen. Vol. IV, p. 321. The Publishing Society of New Jersey, New York, 1902.

[4] Soils of Southern New Jersey and Their Uses. U.S. Department of Agriculture Bulletin 677, pp. 2 and 11. Washington, 1918.

[5] Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Vol. VI, Part I, Agriculture, pp. 239 and 240. Washington, 1922.

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other vegetables. It grows more than half the peppers produced in the United States, is second in the production of asparagus and tomatoes,[6] and is surpassed only by Massachusetts in cranberry output. Strawberries, blackberries, dewberries, and raspberries are also extensively grown, the value of the small fruits, including cranberries, being placed in 1919 at 4 per cent of the value of all New Jersey crops.[7]

The present study was made in Cumberland, Gloucester, and Burlington Counties in the southern section of the State. In Cumberland County great quantities of strawberries, green peas and beans, peppers, potatoes, and tomatoes are grown. Gloucester County specializes in asparagus, cantaloupes, cucumbers, peppers, tomatoes, potatoes, and watermelons. Burlington County has a large cranberry output, and, in addition, produces in quantity green peas and beans, tomatoes, potatoes, and sweet corn. Four communities in the three counties were selected as representative.

Every family, the names of whose children appeared on the school registers of the selected districts, was visited by an agent of the bureau, and every farm in the selected territory was canvassed to find both local children who had not enrolled in school during the year and seasonal workers from neighboring cities. Four hundred and ninety-seven families were interviewed in the course of the study, 243 of whom were local or resident and 254 of whom were migratory families. Detailed information as to the nature and extent of work on the truck farms was obtained for every child under 16 years of age who had worked in the fields at least 12 days during the year previous to September, 1921. Information of a more general nature was secured from school authorities, county agricultural agents, and home-demonstration agents, and from farmers who depended entirely upon hired labor. A short inquiry into the methods of recruiting migratory labor was later made in Philadelphia, the city from which most of the nonresident workers came. The inquiry was conducted in the autumn when the late truck crops were being gathered and the cranberry harvest was at its height, but return visits were made to the territory at other seasons of the year to observe the work on other important crops.

[6] New Jersey for Progressive Farmers, pp. 38, 48. Land Registry, Department of Conservation and Development. Trenton, N. J.
[7] Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Vol. VI, Part I, Agriculture, p. 239.

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LOCAL WORKERS.

THE FAMILIES.

The children living in the vicinity who work on the truck and small-fruit farms are chiefly those of farmers who own or rent small farms and depend upon their families for such assistance as they need; but some are the children of laborers living on the farms where their fathers work, and others come out from neighboring settlements to work by the day.

The majority of these small farmers whose children work in the fields are of foreign birth, chiefly Italian; the children of native farmers and of those owning large farms do not, as a rule, work in the fields. Colonies of Italian farmers in southern New Jersey are old and numerous.[1] In Cumberland County, for instance, Italian settlements date back about 40 years. East Vineland, or "New Italy," a few miles outside of Vineland, one of the largest of the colonies, was founded in 1885. At the present time the population for miles around East Vineland is almost wholly Italian, and in 1920, 462 of the 3,094 farms of the entire county were operated by Italians or the American-born children of Italians.

TABLE I.—*Race and nationality of father in families with working children under 16 years of age, by work status of family.*

Race and nationality of father.	Families with working children under 16 years of age.											
	Total.		Resident.								Migratory laborers.	
			Total.		Farm owners.		Farm tenants.[a]	Farm laborers.[a]	Rural day laborers.			
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.			Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total	497	100.0	243	100.0	133	100.0	12	37	61	100.0	254	100.0
White	492	99.0	240	98.8	132	99.2	11	37	60	98.4	252	99.2
Native	104	20.9	99	40.7	37	27.8	5	19	38	62.3	5	2.0
Foreign born	388	78.1	141	58.0	95	71.4	6	18	22	36.1	247	97.2
Italian	339	68.2	93	38.3	64	48.1	3	15	11	18.0	246	96.9
Russian Jew	26	5.2	26	10.7	19	14.3	2	......	5	8.2	......	......
Other	23	4.6	22	9.1	12	9.0	1	3	6	9.8	1	.4
Negro	4	.8	2	.8	......	......	1	......	1	1.6	2	.8
Race not reported	1	.2	1	.4	1	.8	......	......	......	......	......	......

[a] Per cent distribution not shown where base is less than 50.

Nearly 50 per cent of the farm owners and tenants whose children came within the scope of the study had been born in Italy, and 23.4 per cent were foreign born of other nationalities. They lived, as a

[1] "Immigrant Farm Colonies in Southern New Jersey," Monthly Labor Review, Jan., 1921, pp. 1-22.

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rule, in little communities of their own, and, although practically all of the families had been in this country at least 10 years, in only about half of them could both parents speak English, and in one-sixth of them neither parent spoke the language. In almost one-fifth both parents, or the only living parent, could not read or write. Their farms, those of owners as well as tenants, are small—11 per cent of the 145 farmers included in the study because their children worked, reported that they held 100 acres or more and 32 per cent that they held 50 acres or more, though in the State as a whole 28 per cent of the farms were at least 100 acres and 53 per cent were at least 50 acres. They are a thrifty, stable, hard-working group. Some of the men work out as farm laborers themselves or allow their children to hire out when work on the home farm is not pressing. Others engage in occupations not connected with farming. One farmer included in the study, for example, acted as freight agent for the settlement near his farm; another was a telegraph operator; a third was an expressman. Several had small business enterprises of their own, a grocery or butcher shop; one was a blacksmith; another, a cobbler. Many of the mothers worked in the fields along with the fathers and children to save the expense of hired help.

TABLE II.—*Farm tenure of families[1] with working children under 16 years of age, by total acreage in farm.*

Farm tenure.	Farm families with working children under 16 years of age.[1]						
	Total		Total acreage.				
			Less than 50 acres.		50 acres, less than 100.[2]	100 acres and over.[2]	Not reported.[2]
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.			
Total	145	100.0	96	100.0	30	15	4
Owner	104	71.7	68	70.8	19	13	4
Owner and tenant	4	2.8	2	2.1	2		
Owner and farm laborer	25	17.2	21	21.9	4		
Tenant	10	6.9	3	3.1	5	2	
Share	8	5.5	3	3.1	5		
Cash	2	1.4				2	
Tenant and farm laborer	2	1.4	2	2.1			

[1] Includes only families that own or rent farms.
[2] Per cent distribution not shown where base is less than 50

The farmers whose children work on the farms live usually in small two-story frame houses, well built and well kept, but with none of the equipment that makes for comfortable living. Most of the families visited had no household conveniences except a pump inside the house; even a rudely improvised pump box to take the place of a sink was not common. While the majority were supplied with water

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from a drilled well, many had to depend upon dug wells, and several families had only open springs. Few had any toilet accommodations other than an outside privy. Some of the households were seriously overcrowded; 15, or 10.3 per cent of the 145 farm owners' and tenants' households, had two or more persons per room, about the same proportion of families suffering from that degree of overcrowding as was found among white farm families included in Children's Bureau surveys of child workers on truck farms both in the peninsula counties of Maryland, where the farming population is chiefly native, and in Anne Arundel County, Md., where the composition of the farming population is more nearly like that in the New Jersey areas included in the present study.[2]

The local labor supply, like the smaller farm operators in the vicinity, is largely foreign born. Thus, of the 37 families in the study who lived on farms where the father was a hired hand, 18 were of foreign birth, 15 being Italian. Although the majority of the fathers in the 61 other families whose children were hired for farm work were native, the fathers in 22 of the families were of foreign birth. These men were not necessarily farm laborers themselves, though their children were; only 35, for instance, were engaged in any kind of agricultural pursuit. Some of those living in the pine woods of Burlington County made their living by cutting down wood or gathering moss from the swamps to send to city florists. Among those doing other kinds of work were tailors, carpenters, mill workers, and laborers of one kind or another. In one or two communities the fathers of the children who went out to the farms to work were employed in a leather mill, a sawmill, a brickyard, or a foundry; others worked on the public highways or at railroad terminals. Sometimes the women in these and the farm laborers' families contributed to the family income by doing farm work, or less often by taking in sewing, keeping boarders or lodgers, or doing laundry work; and some who lived in the vicinity of the cranberry bogs earned a considerable amount during the harvesting season by sorting cranberries in a packing house. A few worked in the cannery or in the "washhouse"[3] on one very large farm. Altogether 43 of the 98 mothers whose children hired out for farm work were wage earners themselves.

Except for a small group on one of the largest farms, the regular farm hands whose families lived with them on farms occupied houses not very different in size and household conveniences from those of the farmer whose children worked in the fields. Although the resident farm laborers' families suffered somewhat more from room con-

[2] Child Labor on Maryland Truck Farms, Children's Bureau Publication No. 123, pp. 7, 37. Washington, 1923.

[3] Washhouse—a shed where vegetables are washed before being shipped to canneries or markets.

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gestion than did the farmers' families, 10 of the 37 being crowded to the extent of two or more persons per room, most of this overcrowding was found among the families of laborers or foremen living on one farm, 7 out of 16 of these families having two or more persons per room. On the other hand, it was this group of resident laborers who enjoyed more household conveniences than any other and more than the farmers' families included in the study, their cottages being provided with running water, sinks, and in some cases, electric lights.

Most of the families whose children go out to the farms to work by the day live in little settlements clustered around a church or a school and a small store or two. Most of these settlements are within easy reach of a railroad or trolley, and a trip to one of the larger towns is not a difficult nor an expensive matter. Of 61 families living in rural settlements whose children were included in the study only 5 were living in houses in which there were two or more persons per room.

As might be expected in such a thickly populated region, even the farmhouses are comparatively close together, so that there are none of the problems arising from isolation that exist in many farming communities. About one-third of the local families interviewed had automobiles and could get around freely, few of the farms except those in the pine woods of Burlington County being far from improved highways. The majority of the families, slightly over two-thirds, lived less than 4 miles from town.

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THE CHILDREN'S WORK.

Children living on farms in the truck-growing districts included in the survey do much the same kind of work whether they belong to families of landowners, tenants, or laborers. In addition to their work in the harvesting season when all hands are pressed into service they help with much of the general farm work that has to be done in preparation for planting or in the course of cultivation, and also with the harvesting of such crops as are grown only in small quantities. The children who come out to work by the day, on the other hand, are, as a rule, called upon to assist only during "rush" periods in the harvesting of large or perishable crops and at planting time when it is desirable to get the crops in while the weather is favorable.

In the 243 local families interviewed were 445 children who had worked on truck farms during the preceding year, 345 of whom lived on farms, and 100 of whom came from near-by settlements. Of the children living on farms all except 67 were the children of farm owners or tenants. The workers ranged in age from 5 to 15 years, 76 per cent of the group being under 14 and 20 per cent less than 10 years of age. It might be expected that children going away from home to the farms for work by the day would average older than the farm children, but there was practically no difference between the groups in this respect—21 per cent of the former as compared with 19 per cent of the latter were under 10 years of age. Although almost half the workers were girls, there were considerably more boys than girls among the children under 10. Many of the older children had worked in the fields a number of years. Thirty-three of the 106 children who were 14 or more years of age when interviewed had started field work before they were 10 years of age and 53 before they were 12.

TABLE III.—*Age of resident children at beginning field work, by age August 31, 1921.*

Age Aug. 31, 1921.	Working children under 16 years of age in resident families.																		
	Total.	Age at beginning field work.																	
		Under 6 years.		6 years, under 7.		7 years, under 8.		8 years, under 9.		9 years, under 10.		10 years, under 12.		12 years, under 14.		14 years and over.		Not reported.	
		Number.	Per cent.[1]	Number.	Per cent.[1]	Number.	Per cent.[1]	Number.	Per cent.[1]	Number.	Per cent.[1]	Number.	Per cent.[1]	Number.	Per cent.[1]	Number.	Per cent.[1]	Number.	Per cent.[1]
Total	[2] 445	9	2.0	29	6.5	55	12.4	65	14.6	77	17.3	109	24.5	62	13.0	10	2.2	[2] 29	6.5
Under 10 years	89	5	5.6	24	27.0	21	23.6	26	29.2	11	12.4	....	....	....	....	....	....	2	2.2
10 years, under 11	49	1	....	2	....	7	....	8	....	22	....	7	....	....	....	....	....	2	....
11 years, under 12	53	....	....	....	....	3	5.7	7	13.2	16	30.2	20	37.7	....	....	....	....	7	13.2
12 years, under 13	78	1	1.3	....	....	10	12.8	5	6.4	8	10.3	43	55.1	7	9.0	....	....	4	5.1
13 years, under 14	69	....	....	1	1.4	6	8.7	7	10.1	11	15.9	19	27.5	19	27.5	....	....	6	8.7
14 years, under 15	58	2	3.4	2	3.4	2	3.4	8	13.8	5	8.6	10	17.2	23	39.7	3	5.2	3	5.2
15 years, under 16	48	....	....	....	....	6	....	4	....	4	....	10	....	13	....	7	....	4	....

[1] Not shown where base is less than 50. [2] Includes 1 child for whom age was not reported.

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Kinds of work.

General farm work.—Plowing, harrowing, cultivating, weeding, hoeing, and thinning are the most common kinds of general farm work which children in the communities studied had done. With the exception of cultivating, weeding, and hoeing, this work was confined almost entirely to children living on farms. Plowing is probably the most difficult of the operations reported. Two types of plow—one having a seat for the driver, the other necessitating the driver's walking—were in use, but with either type of machine the work is too difficult for most children. When the driver walks, considerable strength is necessary to hold the plow in line in order to cut a straight furrow. In operating the other type of plow, strength is likewise necessary to manipulate the levers that lift the plow from the ground and regulate the depth of cutting. Moreover, as the machine is built for an adult, a child, unless he is very large, has to strain to reach the lever. A light-weight child is in danger of being jolted from the seat and injured, especially if the ground is rough, such an accident being particularly to be feared with disk plows, as there is the possibility that if thrown the child will fall in the way of the moving disks. Of the 345 farm children, 14 per cent, including 2 girls, had plowed during the year covered by the study. Almost half the workers were under 14 years of age, including 3 small boys of 11.

Harrowing, which is not so difficult as plowing, is more tedious and very fatiguing. Both disk and spike harrows were in common use in the area included in the survey. The spike harrow has no seat and, unless some arrangement for seating the driver is provided, as is sometimes done, the driver is obliged to follow along on foot. After a few hours continuous walking in the loosened soil becomes extremely wearisome, and workers suffer from aching feet and ankles. In disk harrowing there is less discomfort because the machine has a seat for the driver, but it involves the same danger for light-weight children as disk plowing. Ten per cent of the children (one of whom was a girl), had harrowed; about half of them were under 14 years of age.

More children had done cultivating than had plowed or harrowed, as might perhaps be expected from the fact that it is lighter work. It was not confined, as was most of the general farm work, to children who lived on farms, for 10 of the 100 children going out to the farms to work by the day reported that they had done cultivating. Of the farm children 19 per cent, including 5 girls, had cultivated. While the work is comparatively light, it requires care and intelligence and is therefore seldom done by very young children, though almost three-fifths of the workers reporting it were under 14 years of age. It is done for the most part with a horse-drawn machine, though a

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small hand machine which is pushed along the row in front of the worker is sometimes used.

TABLE IV.—*Kinds of field work done by children in farm families, by age.*

Kind of field work.	Children under 16 years of age doing each specified kind of field work.									
	Total.		Under 8 years[1]	8 years, under 10.[1]	10 years, under 12.		12 years, under 14.		14 years, under 16.	
	Number.	Per cent.			Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Total	345	100.0	25	43	78	100.0	115	100.0	84	100.0
General:										
Plowing	48	13.9	......	1	5	6.4	16	13.9	26	31.0
Harrowing	34	9.9	......	1	3	3.8	12	10.4	18	21.4
Cultivating	64	18.6	1	4	7	9.0	23	20.0	29	34.5
Weeding	150	43.5	8	16	32	41.0	46	40.0	48	57.1
Hoeing	163	47.2	4	13	34	43.6	60	52.2	52	61.9
Thinning	34	9.9	1	2	8	10.3	12	10.4	11	13.1
Planting	135	39.1	4	14	24	30.8	46	40.0	47	56.0
Transplanting[2]	122	35.4	4	11	18	23.1	37	32.2	52	61.9
Dropping[3]	166	48.1	16	20	45	57.7	53	46.1	32	38.1
Harvesting:										
Gathering potatoes, sweet potatoes, beets, turnips, onions	195	56.5	8	25	47	60.3	70	60.9	45	53.6
Cutting asparagus, lettuce, rhubarb, spinach, kale, cabbages, watermelons, cantaloupes, pumpkins, or other crops	98	28.4	4	9	23	29.5	32	27.8	30	35.7
Pulling beets, carrots, onions, radishes, turnips, or other crops	53	15.4	3	3	11	14.1	20	17.4	16	19.0
Husking	54	15.7	2	4	7	9.0	22	19.1	19	22.6
Sorting or bunching	44	12.8	2	4	9	11.5	14	12.2	15	17.9
Shocking	39	11.3	......	......	5	6.4	20	17.4	14	16.7
Carrying baskets, hampers, etc	29	8.4	1	1	5	6.4	11	9.6	11	13.1
Other:										
Driving or hauling	20	5.8	......	......	2	2.6	11	9.6	7	8.3
Loading	7	2.0	......	......	......	......	2	1.7	5	6.0
Other truck work	122	35.4	9	10	21	26.9	38	33.0	44	52.4
Other field work	39	11.3	......	2	5	6.4	18	15.7	14	16.7

[1] Per cent not shown where base is less than 50.
[2] Includes "setting out."
[3] Includes children who, in connection with the planting or transplanting of any crop, did dropping only, though the same children may have both dropped and set out in transplanting some other crop.

Hoeing and weeding, more commonly than other kinds of general farm work, were done by children of all groups and all ages. About 15 per cent of the village and 45 per cent of the farm children had weeded or hoed. Among the farm children doing the work were almost as many girls as boys, but the group of children going out to the farms for the work of weeding or hoeing included more boys than girls. Although less strain is involved in weeding and hoeing than in the machine operations, either task, if done for any length of time, becomes extremely fatiguing, as the muscles of the back grow tired and stiff from the continual bending. Moreover, the work has to be done at a time of year when the heat is often intense, adding much to the discomfort of the worker.

Thinning, or pulling out superfluous plants, is, perhaps, no harder than weeding, but like cultivating it requires more mature judgment to determine which plants shall be left, and can be intrusted only

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to older children. Ten per cent of the farm children and 5 per cent of those going out for day's work reported that they had thinned.

Planting and transplanting.—Two hundred and eighty, or 63 per cent of the working children, had helped in some way with planting or transplanting, a very much larger proportion of the children living on farms than of the other children reporting the work. "Dropping" is the particular part of planting or transplanting which falls to the lot of most of the children. It consists merely of dropping seed into open furrows or hills, or, in the case of transplanting, dropping seedling plants at regular intervals along the rows in a field ready for the "setter," who follows and does the actual planting. The transplanting of many truck crops—cabbage, strawberries, tomatoes, peppers, and sweet potatoes—is done in this way. Setting was also done by the children but not so commonly as dropping. About 50 per cent of the farm children helped with dropping while only 35 per cent did setting; as compared with 15 per cent and 17 per cent, respectively, of the day workers. Setting is more difficult work and requires more care and intelligence than dropping, which can readily be learned by young children, as is evidenced by the fact that one child 5 years of age and four 6-year-old children had done it. Most of the children who set were at least 12 years of age. The planting of most of the crops which children had worked on in any considerable numbers—peas, beans, corn, cucumbers, and potatoes—was usually done by hand. So also was the planting of onions. It should be mentioned in passing that, although few of the children included in the study (only 18) had been employed in setting out onions, this work is particularly undesirable work for them. They crawl along on their hands and knees pressing the bulbs into the softened soil, and, as the work is sometimes begun as early as the latter part of February when the ground is still cold and damp, they run considerable risk of illness.

Some farmers use a transplanting machine [1] for sweet potatoes, peppers, tomatoes, and occasionally for strawberries. It does the work more speedily and efficiently than when the work is done by hand, but is expensive, and comparatively few of the families included in the study could afford it. Thus, only 18 boys and 9 girls reported transplanting by machine. In cases where the machine was used, however, children were generally employed on it, their work being known as "feeding." This is a disagreeable job requiring skill and alertness. The "feeders"—two to a machine—sit on small seats only slightly raised from the ground with their legs stretched out in front of them, and as the machine moves along they alternate in dropping plants into a furrow at intervals indicated by a spacer.

[1] Sweet Potato Growing. Farmers' Bulletin 999, U. S. Department of Agriculture, p. 19. Washington, 1919.

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In order to keep pace with the machine the feeder must act quickly and keep his attention riveted upon the work. Children who had worked on these machines complained of becoming tired and cramped, as there is no way of changing their position. They sit so close to the ground, also, that on dry days they work in a continual cloud of dust stirred up by the machine in its progress across the field.

TABLE V.—*Kinds of field work done by children working as rural day laborers, by age.*

Kind of field work.	Children under 16 years of age doing each specified kind of field work.					
	Total.	Under 8 years.	8 years, under 10.	10 years, under 12.	12 years, under 14.	14 years, under 16.
Total	[1] 100	6	15	24	32	22
General:						
Harrowing	1				1	
Cultivating	10			2	6	2
Weeding	17			3	9	5
Hoeing	14			4	7	3
Thinning	5			1	2	2
Planting	11	1		4	4	2
Transplanting [2]	17			3	10	4
Dropping [3]	[1] 15	2		3	6	3
Harvesting:						
Gathering potatoes, sweet potatoes, beets, turnips, onions	17	1	1	4	6	5
Cutting asparagus, lettuce, rhubarb, spinach, kale, cabbages, watermelons, cantaloupes, pumpkins, or other crops	7	1		2	1	3
Pulling beets, carrots, onions, radishes, turnips, or other crops	1				1	
Husking	7			1	3	3
Sorting or bunching	2				2	
Shocking	2				1	1
Carrying baskets, hampers, etc	5				4	1
Other:						
Driving or hauling	2				1	1
Other truck work	24	1	3	6	6	8
Other field work	5				4	1

[1] Includes 1 child for whom age was not reported.
[2] Includes "setting out."
[3] Includes children who in connection with the planting or transplanting of any crop did dropping only, though the same children may have both dropped and set out in transplanting some other crop.

Harvesting.—Of all work on the farm harvesting is most generally done by the children. Comparatively few do work involving the use of machines, and not all are required to help with planting or even with the lighter work of weeding and hoeing, but practically every child "picks." Among the 445 local children included in the study only 29 had not helped in gathering one crop or another, the specific crop that they worked upon depending upon the degree of skill and amount of strength necessary for the work. Girls and younger children are less likely than older boys to pick tomatoes or gather potatoes, for example. The harvesting of a great variety of fruits and vegetables was reported, but the most important, from the standpoint of numbers of children engaged, were peppers, potatoes, strawberries, beans and peas, tomatoes, and cranberries.

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The strawberry crop is the first of the season to be harvested. Forty-five per cent of the children included in the study reported strawberry picking as part of their work. If the berries are plentiful the worker can sit or kneel on the ground and pick for a considerable time without changing his position, but if they are scarce sitting is not worth while, and the picker walks down the rows continually bending over low-growing plants. As the berries must reach their market as soon as possible, picking must cease in time for them to be taken to the train for shipment on the same day, a circumstance which often shortens the possible working day by several hours; but as the crop must be harvested before it spoils the shorter hours may mean more speeding up and hence more fatiguing work than a longer day might represent.

Picking beans and peas, in which 38 per cent of the children had engaged, is much the same sort of work as picking strawberries, though somewhat easier because the plants are higher and also because the worker can pick longer without changing his position. The five-eighths bushel baskets which are used are comparatively light, even when filled, and children carry them with no difficulty. Moreover, since heat shrivels the pods, both beans and peas are picked, as a rule, in the morning or late in the afternoon, affording a break in the long hours and allowing a rest during the most trying part of the day.

More than one-half the children reported picking peppers. This work is simple, except that care must be taken not to pull the center out as the fruit is pulled from the vine, and is easily learned by even the younger children. Although the picker is unable to sit at his work, since he moves as quickly from plant to plant as he can pick the fruit, he is not obliged to hurry as when working on more perishable crops. The hampers, commonly used in picking, hold five-eighths of a bushel, and when full probably weigh only about 16 pounds.

The hardest work that children have to do during the harvest season is probably tomato picking. The worker does not sit down, as the fruit is scattered, and as the vines are weighted to the ground continual bending over is necessary. The greatest hardship involved in the work, however, is the weight of the baskets. The five-eighths bushel hampers when full of tomatoes weigh around 40 pounds. They have to be lifted, carried a few steps, and set down again many times during the day, and the strain appears to tax the strength of some of the children. "They are so heavy you just have to drop them sometimes," said one boy. Even women sometimes complain that after a day of lifting tomatoes onto a wagon they are completely exhausted. Thirty-five per cent of the children included in the study had taken part in tomato picking during the year.

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In picking up potatoes or sweet potatoes, which was reported by 201 of the children, the worker crawls along the ground or walks stooping over, rubbing the dirt from the potatoes as he picks them up. Sweet potatoes have to be broken from the vines, but Irish potatoes loosen at a touch. If they are not to be sorted at once they are thrown into hampers, carried to the edge of the field, and dumped into barrels. Carrying is the hardest part of the work, for the full hampers weigh from 30 to 35 pounds.

As most of the work on cranberries[2] is done by migratory workers, a much smaller number of the children living in the section had helped on this crop, only 86 of the 445 who had done any farm work. For the most part these children belong to one of several colonies of native families along the eastern shore of the State in the pine woods of Burlington County who make their living in the summer by picking wild huckleberries and cranberries and in the winter by chopping wood and gathering moss from the swamps to be shipped to the florists in the city. A few have small bogs of their own, but the majority go out to work by the day.

Aside from their work on truck crops a few children helped with the corn crop; 9 per cent of their number had shocked corn and 14 per cent had husked. It will be remembered that very little corn or forage is produced in the section other than is needed for home consumption—it is not uncommon for farmers to plant from 80 to 100 per cent of their cultivated land in truck crops.

TABLE VI.—*Kinds of crops picked by resident children, by sex.*

Kind of crop picked.	Resident children under 16 years of age picking each specified kind of crop.					
	Total.		Boys.		Girls.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total	445	100.0	240	100.0	205	100.0
Beans and peas	169	38.0	97	40.4	72	35.1
Peppers	229	51.5	124	51.7	105	51.2
Tomatoes	157	35.3	98	40.8	59	28.8
Strawberries	198	44.5	108	45.0	90	43.9
Cranberries	86	19.3	40	16.7	46	22.4
Other berries	70	15.7	40	16.7	30	14.6

Hours of work.

Varying as they do with the nature of the work to be done, weather conditions, and shipping facilities, the hours of work are irregular. Some tasks can be done at any time, others only in the cool of the day, and still others have to wait until the morning is well advanced and

[2] See p. 35 for description of cranberry picking.

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the dew off the ground. Perishable produce has to be harvested at hours that allow for transportation to market before night; the working day thus depends upon train service or, if delivery is made by truck, upon the distance to market. Because of such irregularity an effort to obtain information on daily hours of work for a period covering even so much as a week proved impossible. A report was, however, secured for a sample day, the last day of work previous to the visit of the Children's Bureau agent, for 378 of the 445 children. While picking cranberries, peppers, beans, and tomatoes and gathering potatoes was the work reported most often for this day, almost every kind of work except the harvesting of early crops was represented, including plowing, weeding, thinning, hoeing, feeding a planter,[3] husking corn, and many other jobs. The hours of work, however, can be considered representative only of the time of year in which the study was made. Although one-third of the children reporting had worked less than 6 hours, about the same number (34 per cent) had worked more than 8 hours, and 17 per cent (64 children) had spent 10 hours or more in the field. On the whole, it was the younger children who had worked the shorter hours. Often, especially if their mothers were working, they spent as much time in the field as their older brothers and sisters, because they could not be left at home alone, but their work was irregular and some of their time spent in play. Of the 64 children under 10 years of age for whom a report on hours could be secured only 16 had worked 8 hours or more; all except 5 of these were 9 years of age. On the other hand, about half of the 216 children between 10 and 14 years of age and of the 97 children between 14 and 16 years of age had spent at least 8 hours at work in the fields. The long working day was more customary for boys than for girls; more than 50 per cent of the boys reporting had worked 8 hours or more while only 25 per cent of the girls had done so. Short hours did not, however, always mean that a child had had an easy day, for some of the children were attending school and their work was in addition to the hours spent in the schoolroom. Thus, one boy who had worked in the field only 3½ hours, had begun work at 7 in the morning stopping at 8.30 just in time for school and at the close of school had gone directly to the fields again, working from 4 until 6 p. m. The sons and daughters of landowners and tenants did not work so long a day as either the children of farm laborers or those who went out to farms to work by the day. About three-fifths of the laborers reporting had worked 8 hours or more as compared with one-third of the children whose fathers owned or rented the farms on which they worked.

The hour of beginning work in the morning was not a serious problem as regards these children, if the sample day for which the report

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[3] See p. 11.

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on hours was made was typical of the year. Only 14 of the 364 children reporting the hour of beginning work had started before 7 a. m. and a few more than two-thirds had not begun until 8 o'clock or later.

The child labor law of the State of New Jersey exempts agricultural pursuits from its provisions, but it is interesting to compare conditions under which children work on New Jersey farms with the standards set by the law.[4] The law prohibits children under 14 years of age from working in any factory or mercantile establishment, restricts the hours of work for children from 14 to 16 years of age in factories or mercantile establishments to 8 in any one day, and forbids work between 7 p. m. and 7. a. m. Almost three-fourths of the children reporting work on the farms of the section studied were below the age prescribed by the law as the minimum for factory and mercantile work, and 34 per cent of the children for whom a report on hours was obtained worked more than 8 hours a day.

TABLE VII.—*Hours spent in field work by resident children on a typical day, by age.*

Hours of field work on typical day.	Working children under 16 years of age in resident families.									
	Total.		Under 10.		10 years, under 12.		12 years, under 14.		14 years, under 16.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total	[a] 445	....	89	....	102	....	147	....	106	....
Reporting hours worked in field:										
Total	[a] 378	100.0	64	100.0	88	100.0	128	100.0	97	100.0
Less than 4 hours	62	16.4	22	34.4	11	12.5	15	11.7	14	14.4
4 hours, less than 6	62	16.4	14	21.9	17	19.3	21	16.4	10	10.3
6 hours, less than 8	86	22.8	12	18.8	22	25.0	25	19.5	27	27.8
8 hours	[a] 39	10.3	6	9.4	8	9.1	17	13.3	7	7.2
Over 8 hours, less than 9	27	7.1	3	4.7	7	8.0	9	7.0	8	8.2
9 hours, less than 10	38	10.1	3	4.7	8	9.1	15	11.7	12	12.4
10 hours, less than 11	57	15.1	4	6.3	13	14.8	23	18.0	17	17.5
11 hours, less than 12	7	1.9	......	....	2	2.3	3	2.3	2	2.1
Hours not reported	67	....	25	....	14	....	19	....	9	....

[a] Includes 1 child for whom age was not reported.

Duration of work.

The season on the truck farms is very long. Aside from general work, the harvesting of one crop or another is fairly continuous from the time of strawberry picking in May to the gathering of cranberries before the November frosts. Five or six months' work on truck crops is not uncommon for children and a large proportion who reported had worked at least three months. Information as to the

[4] New Jersey Compiled Statutes, 1910, vol. 3, Labor, sec. 24, p. 3025, as amended by acts of 1919, ch. 36; acts of 1911, ch. 36, sec. 2, as amended by acts of 1919, ch. 37.

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number of days that they had worked was obtained for 314 of the children included in the study. The work was irregular, and the children or their parents remembered its duration by recalling how much time they had spent on each crop and each operation; they would say, for example, "John helped three days transplanting strawberries, and we all picked strawberries every day for two weeks." Table VIII shows the length of time worked stated in terms of months for those reporting the duration of their work. For children under 10 years of age field work was not so important a matter as for older children. But of those between 10 and 14 years of age, a group which constituted about 50 per cent of the total number, about two-fifths had worked three months (90 days) or more and about one-tenth five months or more. Of the group 14 and 15 years of age, including about one-fourth of all the children, nearly three-fifths had worked three months or more and over one-fourth, five months or more.

Children living on farms had spent more days at work than had children hiring out who did not live on farms, as was to be expected from the fact that the children of farmers and farm laborers did a greater variety of work. In each group girls worked shorter periods than boys; of 150 who were able to report on the duration of their work only 28 had worked four months or more, though 44 (29 per cent) had worked at least 90 days or three months.

TABLE VIII.—*Age of resident children who reported duration of field work, by duration of field work.*[1]

Age.	Resident children under 16 years of age reporting duration of field work.							
	Total.	Less than 1 month.	1 month, less than 2.	2 months, less than 3.	3 months, less than 4.	4 months, less than 5.	5 months, less than 6.	6 months and over.
Total	[2] 314	[2] 68	71	49	45	33	19	29
5 years, under 6	1		1					
6 years, under 7	8	4	2		1			1
7 years, under 8	14	7	6			1		
8 years, under 9	16	4	7	1	3	1		
9 years, under 10	30	12	6	4	4	1	1	2
10 years, under 11	26	9	5	5	3	2	1	1
11 years, under 12	35	3	13	5	6	6	1	1
12 years, under 13	54	13	13	7	7	7	5	2
13 years, under 14	47	7	8	10	9	2	3	8
14 years, under 15	46	5	7	10	8	7	4	5
15 years, under 16	36	3	3	7	4	6	4	9

[1] Excludes 131 children for whom duration of field work was not reported.
[2] Includes 1 child for whom age was not reported.

Earnings.

Half, 223, of the working children had received wages. In only a very few instances were children paid by their parents for work on the home farm, but some of the less prosperous or more thrifty

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parents in the farm-owning class took advantage of a chance to obtain a little ready money by allowing their children to help on other farms when they were not needed at home.

The rate of pay for laborers varies with the different crops and to some extent with the individual farmer. A daily or hourly rate is generally paid for all work other than harvesting. The amount reported varied from 50 cents to $3, depending upon the size and ability of the child worker, for a working day ranging from 8 to 11 hours. It seldom, however, exceeded $1.50 and when it did, the working day was generally one of at least 10 hours.

Most harvesting is done on a piecework basis, the rates varying with different crops. Remuneration for picking small fruits such as blackberries, raspberries, and strawberries ranged at the time of the study from 2 to 3 cents a quart, while peas and beans, which were much easier to harvest, brought from 25 cents to 30 cents a bushel, peppers from 10 to 15 cents a barrel, and tomatoes from 2½ to 5 cents a five-eighths bushel basket. The price for picking cranberries varied from 15 to 30 cents a 12-quart measure, the most usual rate being something over 18 cents. Corn was husked at the rate of 6 cents for a five-eighths bushel basket and shocked at 5 cents a shock. Workers were generally paid by the day for picking up potatoes; when they were paid by the basket they received 2 cents for a five-eighths bushel measure.

Because of the irregularity of their work and the fact that much of it was on a piecework basis, earnings could be ascertained for only one day, the same for which a report on their working hours was obtained. Of the 223 children who were paid for their work only 107 could give account of their earnings on the sample day; 52 of these had been paid an hourly or a daily rate and 55 had been on a piecework basis. Because of these variations the earnings have been reduced for purposes of comparison to an hourly basis. The amount most frequently received was from 10 to 15 cents an hour. Fifty-nine of the 107 children had received from 5 to 15 cents, and only 38 children had exceeded this amount. The earning capacity of the child was determined to a large extent by his age. Few children under 10 years of age were able to give any account whatever of their earnings, and most of them probably earned little or nothing. In fact one farmer had come to the conclusion that these workers were a hindrance rather than a profit and would not allow them in the field. But at 10 years of age a child was usually counted as a regular hand, if in the field at all, and his earnings considered of some importance. Of the 23 children ranging in age from 10 to 11 years who reported their earnings only 7 had earned 15 cents or more an hour and almost half had received less than 10 cents. The older children, those from 12 to 15 years of age, showed on the whole

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higher earnings. Of the 69 of this age group reporting, almost half had made 15 cents or more an hour, 6 of them receiving 25 cents or more.

An effort was made to secure information in regard to the largest amounts which the children had ever earned in a day. While children reporting on this point were too few to permit of any general conclusion, it is interesting to note that of 106 children reporting two-fifths stated that they had a maximum daily earning of $1.50 or more and about three-fourths reported at least $1.

FARM WORK IN RELATION TO SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.

A considerable part of the work on truck farms has to be done in the spring and fall at a time when the schools are in session, in spite of the fact that school terms in some of the schools are very brief. Many children drop out for work early in the spring and do not return until late in the fall. The school record of three children, for instance, in one farmer's family included in the study is by no means unique. Although their school opened September 30, two did not enter until October 25 and the third not until October 28, 16 and 18 days late; early in the spring they dropped out again, the oldest child 75 and the others 72 days before the close of the term. One parent reported that three weeks before the close of the term the school attended by her children had only 1 child in attendance although it had an enrollment of about 25 pupils. The majority were staying out to help on the farm. Not only do the children staying away from school suffer a loss of instruction in such cases as these, but those who wish to attend regularly are also handicapped by the disorganized condition of the school.

Data as to the number of days which they had been absent during the school year preceding the survey were secured from school records [5] for 377 of the working children, and information as to the causes of absence was secured from the children's families. A large majority of the 377 children had lost from several days to four months on account of farm work. Two-thirds of those living on farms and one-half of those going out to the farms to work by the day who reported concerning absences from school had been absent on account of their work in the fields. Absences from all causes resulted in almost one-third of the children's attending school less than 70 per cent, and half less than 80 per cent, of the term. One child in every 10 had lost at least half the school term. When school terms are short, as they were in some of the school districts where these children lived, the loss of even a small part of the term is serious. Only 50 per cent of the children attending school had received instruction for as many as 140 days or seven school months. Sev-

[5] All except 20 of the children included in the study were attending school.

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enty-five children had attended less than 100 days and 23 less than 60 days. Children living on farms, especially the children of land-owners or tenants, had received the least schooling. Although unavoidable circumstances, such as illness and bad weather, cause considerable absence among rural school children, the greatest amount of absence for any one cause reported by children included in the study was due to field work, farmers' children, as compared with laborers', reporting more days' absence and the largest proportion of their total absence as being due to this cause. Table X shows the average number of days' absence due to each of the three chief causes for absence.

TABLE IX.—*Absence from school of resident children on account of field work, by age.*

Absence from school on account of field work.	Resident children between 6 and 16 years of age attending school.							
	Total.		Under 12 years.		12 years, under 14.		14 years, under 16.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total	423		180		144		99	
Reporting on absence for field work	321	100.0	129	100.0	116	100.0	76	100.0
No absence	121	37.7	56	43.4	41	35.3	24	31.6
Less than 10 days	58	18.1	24	18.6	21	18.1	13	17.1
10 days, less than 20	46	14.3	20	15.5	21	18.1	5	6.6
20 days, less than 30	35	10.9	13	10.1	13	11.2	9	11.8
30 days, less than 40	20	6.2	5	3.9	8	6.9	7	9.2
40 days, less than 80	31	9.7	11	8.5	8	6.9	12	15.8
80 days and over	10	3.1			4	3.4	6	7.9
Not reporting	102		51		28		23	

TABLE X.—*Average number of days' absence from school for each specified cause of resident working children under 16 years of age, by work status of family.*

Work status of family.	Average number of days' absence from school for specified cause.			
	All causes.	Farm work.	Illness.	Weather and roads.
Owner and tenant	44.6	19.9	10.2	1.4
Farm laborer	43.2	9.1	8.6	.6
Other	36.1	8.4	7.6	.2

The result of irregular attendance is that many rural school children make such slow progress that they fail to complete the elementary grades by the time thay have reached the end of the compulsory-school age, and so never acquire the common-school education with which the public-school system is supposed to equip every child; or else they remain to receive a type of instruction so unfitted to

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their years and physical development that they are inclined to waste their time and to become the "problems" of the schoolroom. The fact that most of the absence for farm work is concentrated at the most important parts of the school year—the beginning and the end of the term—makes it even more disastrous than if it were scattered in brief periods throughout the year as absence for other causes usually is. A majority (56.8 per cent) of the children included in the present study had not reached the grades considered normal for their years [6] and 20.5 per cent were retarded 3 years or more. As practically all the children had entered school at the age of 6 or 7, their retardation can not be ascribed to a late start. There is little doubt that irregular attendance, a large part of which was due to farm work, was the primary factor in their slow progress.

TABLE XI.—*Progress in school of resident working children between 8 and 16 years of age; by age.*

Progress in school.	Resident working children between 8 and 16 years of age attending school.									
	Total.		8 years, under 10.		10 years, under 12.		12 years, under 14.		14 years, under 16.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total	[1] 400	100.0	55	100.0	101	100.0	144	100.0	99	100.0
Retarded	227	56.8	18	32.7	49	48.5	92	63.9	68	68.7
1 year	76	19.0	13	23.6	19	18.8	29	20.1	15	15.2
2 years	69	17.3	5	9.1	17	16.8	30	20.8	17	17.2
3 years and over	82	20.5			13	12.9	33	22.9	36	36.4
Normal	125	31.3	24	43.6	41	40.6	39	27.1	21	21.2
Advanced	27	6.8	10	18.2	6	5.9	7	4.9	4	4.0
Progress not reported	[1] 21	5.3	3	5.5	5	5.0	6	4.2	6	6.1

[1] Includes 1 child for whom age was not reported.

The compulsory school attendance law of New Jersey [7] does not in any way excuse children under 14 from school for work on farms. It requires every child between the ages of 7 and 16 to attend school regularly during all the days and hours that the public schools are in session in his school district, unless he is mentally or physically incapacitated or has been granted an age and schooling certificate permitting him to leave school for work. The enforcement of the law is in the hands of local attendance officers appointed by the individual school districts, and experience has shown that where local interests thus have an opportunity to assert themselves school-attendance laws in rural districts are seldom well enforced. It is

[6] The age basis upon which retardation has been calculated is that adopted by the United States Bureau of Education. Children are expected to enter the first grade at the age of 6 or 7 years and to complete one grade each year; a child is therefore considered retarded if he is 8 or over on entering the first grade, 9 or over on entering the second, etc.

[7] Acts of 1914, ch. 223, sec. 2, as amended by Acts of 1919, ch. 35.

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difficult for an attendance officer in a small community to enforce the law, since the farmers who keep their children out of school to work on the farms or who hire children for field work are known to him personally and are in many cases his neighbors or friends. He also sympathizes with the farmer's often pressing need for help, and because the children's need for schooling is less obvious and less urgent he dislikes to insist upon their regular attendance at school during busy seasons on the farm. State or, at least, county supervision, where the personal element is eliminated, is necessary to insure effective enforcement.

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MIGRATORY LABORERS.

ENGAGING SEASONAL LABOR.

More than half the children working on the truck and fruit farms of the areas included in the survey were children in the families of migratory workers. Every spring, as soon as the strawberry season begins—toward the latter part of April or the first of May—families are brought out from the settlements of the foreign born in Philadelphia and Camden to New Jersey farms for seasonal work. The practice of importing workers began some 25 years ago and is now a well-established custom. While the primary reason for it is, of course, the scarcity of local workers, many farmers say that they have come to prefer this kind of labor, because they are better able to control the hours and conditions of work when the workers are housed on their premises.

If only one or two families are needed, or if the farmer wishes to keep his laborers the entire season for work on various crops, he generally secures them himself. Otherwise they are hired through Italian agents who make a business of recruiting family labor for the farms of this section. These agents are usually called "padrones" by both farmers and workers. The padrone is primarily a labor agent, but in addition he secures transportation for the "gang," attends to the shipping of their baggage, brings the workers to the farm, and usually serves as "row boss" or field overseer; he is also usually in general charge of the camp where workers are housed. The padrones prefer to furnish labor in gangs for work on specific crops, as it is to their advantage to move from farm to farm and receive commission from as many farmers as possible during the season.

Some padrones are self-appointed, and every spring as the strawberry season draws near they make a canvass of the farms, offering their services for recruiting labor. Many have built up a regular trade and serve the same farmer from year to year. The large employer, however, who requires many pickers usually prefers to select from among his own workers some one to serve as padrone.

The most usual method of paying the padrone is a specific amount per capita for the pickers furnished, the amount depending upon the age and ability of the worker; but some padrones are paid a contract price for every bushel of produce picked and make what profit they can by engaging pickers at the lowest possible rate, a method which

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often makes for discontent among the workers. Padrones often also demand a fee from the worker as well as a per capita sum from the employer. It is difficult to ascertain just how prevalent this custom is, but one farmer employing hundreds of workers said that he knew his padrone was charging families from $1 to $5. Some of the families also reported payment for their jobs; one father said that he had paid the padrone $2, for what he did not know; another had paid $1 for each adult and 50 cents for each working child in the family; another $1 for every person over 8 years of age; and still another $2 for each working member of the family. Padrones also make a profit on railroad tickets. It is quite customary for them to buy books of trip tickets at a reduction and charge the workers a regular single fare; one farmer who hired more than 200 pickers said that his padrone was requiring each worker to pay even more for his transportation than the price of the regular ticket.

The organization of the group, which sometimes consists of as many as 300 or 400 pickers, is not rigid. There is no contract between the padrone and his workers and seldom between the farmer and the padrone. The families are free to drop out when the work on an individual farm is completed—to return home or to find work elsewhere. Some go out for only one crop and others migrate from section to section as one crop after another ripens. Often the whole gang will return to the city and reorganize between moves. Among the migratory families interviewed in the course of the study only one-fourth had worked on one farm, the rest having moved from three to four times during the season. The history of the migrations of one family from one district of southern New Jersey to another is typical of many. In May they went to Rosenhayn, N. J., to pick strawberries; they left there in June and went to Hammonton, N. J., to pick raspberries and blackberries. From there in September they moved to Rockwood, N. J., to help with the cranberry harvest, returning to Philadelphia in October. They had repeated this program for at least three years.

Many of the workers return to the farms year after year. Among the families included in the study were very few who had come out for the first time, though the number would undoubtedly have been larger had immigration not been so light for several years. Some had been coming every summer for 10 years or more. One woman had worked for the same farmer 20 years, bringing with her first her children and then her grandchildren.

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THE FAMILIES.

The seasonal labor going to the truck farms of southern New Jersey is largely Italian. The fathers in all except 8 of the 254 migratory families included in the study were of Italian birth. Most of them (220) came out from Philadelphia, but a few lived in Camden or in one of the smaller towns of New Jersey. Few were of recent immigration—about 62 per cent had been in the United States 15 years or more and only 3 per cent less than 5 years—but in one-fourth of the families neither parent and in about 30 per cent of the families in which both parents were living only one parent could speak English. The fact that so many of the parents, especially of the mothers, could not speak English and had practically no contact with American ways made the long absences necessitated by migrations for farm work particularly unfortunate for the children. The rate of illiteracy in the families was also high, for in about half of them neither parent could read and write and in another 28 per cent only one parent could do so. About three-tenths were unskilled laborers, most of them working on the railroad or in street cleaning; almost an equal number were factory employees, mechanics, or artisans, or laborers in the building trades; about one-tenth were small storekeepers, junk dealers or other small tradesmen, or janitors, cleaners, watchmen for public buildings, or servants. In the remaining families, the head of the household had had no gainful occupation during the year other than farmwork.

The migratory families are usually ones in which the income is very small, and, like those of many unskilled and semiskilled workers, some live on so narrow a margin that in case of an emergency it is necessary for them to receive financial aid. Thus, of 623 Philadelphia families in the present study,[1] 298 had been known to one or more social agencies in that city, 150 having been registered in 1920 or 1921. One of the 298 families was receiving a pension from the mothers' assistance fund, and 2 others had applied; 224 had received hospital or dispensary care, or aid from the visiting nurses association or other health organization; 17 had come in contact with the juvenile court; 44 had come to the attention of the bureau of compulsory education, which in some cases had given shoes or

[1] Four hundred and three of these families were those represented in the study of School Records of Philadelphia Children Migrating for Seasonal Work, the report of which is given on pp. 42-52.

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clothing in order that the children might attend school, or had reported the family to a relief agency. One hundred and thirty-two of the families had been registered with relief agencies, though not necessarily receiving financial aid. The winter preceding the survey (1920–21) was one of great industrial depression, it will be remembered, and many of the families had suffered from the resulting unemployment. More than one-half the chief breadwinners in the families studied had been out of work at the time the families had left the city, and many had had nothing to do for from 5 to 10 months during the previous year. The increase in the number of men among the farm workers was said by one farmer to be marked.

A not inconsiderable part of the unemployment during the winter months is voluntary, according to statements made by some of the families as well as by Philadelphia social workers who come in contact with the city families from which seasonal farm labor is recruited; many of the men habitually do no work, or only odd jobs, in the winter, looking for support to earnings of the whole family on the truck farms. Undoubtedly the fact that all the children can work tempts some families to go out to the farms; 19 parents in the study said that their reason for going to the country was that the children, who were not allowed to work in the city, could help earn the family living. When they return from the country in the fall, they often pay their rent for the winter months, buy a supply of coal and staple groceries, and depend upon their earnings from odd jobs or upon what the mothers may make "sewing pants or coats"—one-fifth of the mothers in the families included in the study were gainfully employed—or upon the earnings of children old enough to leave school for work, to supply other necessities until the spring crops take the family out again to the farms. Some of the families, according to reports of the social organizations acquainted with them in Philadelphia, live through the latter part of the winter on credit with the understanding that they are going to the country as soon as the season opens and upon their return will be able to pay their debts; if the season on the farm proves to be a poor one the family in such cases is obliged to apply for assistance to one of the relief agencies. Cases similar to that of the family who had spent $80 for food in preparation for its sojourn in the country and had earned only $40 during the season were not uncommon.

While the reason for going to the farms was in most families an economic one, some looked upon their stay in the country as a vacation, some of the men even giving up regular work in the city to go to the farms, and running the risk of a poor season as well as of not being able to find work upon their return to the city. All were not so fortunate as one father who each spring borrowed $50 from his employer to take his family to the country, going back to work at

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his old job each fall when the picking season was over. A few go to the truck farms because they hope getting out of the city will benefit the health of some member of the family who is ill. In this connection it is interesting to note that of 214 families known to Philadelphia social agencies, 22 had one or more members in the family with either active tuberculosis or a history of the disease. One man had refused treatment because he was planning to go out to the truck farms.

The following are accounts of some of the families of the migratory workers who were registered with one or more of the social agencies in Philadelphia. While a few had applied for help although they owned property and had no pressing need, most of the families had reached the end of their resources. Some of them needed help because of illness or unemployment, or because the father's wages were small and the family large; others were in difficulties because the father had died or had deserted. These families may be considered fairly typical of the 214, one-third of the total number included in the study, who had come in contact with one of the Philadelphia social agencies. Such information as that found in the agency records and contained in the accounts of the families given below was not secured for the families that were not known to any of the social organizations. Their economic background probably did not differ widely from that of families who had found it necessary to apply for financial or other help; for the fathers' occupations were similar, the amount of unemployment in both groups was great, and a large majority in each group said that they had come to the country for work because they needed money. It is not possible to say how applicable the story of truancy, of neglect and desertion, or of other delinquency, given in the following accounts may be to families who had never been registered with a social organization; it is probable that the most flagrant of these cases were in those families that had come to the attention of social agencies.

The group of families that were in need of help because of unemployment, low wages, or illness of the chief breadwinner or other members of the family is well represented by the following examples:

A lamplighter's family in which there were six children under 16 years of age were in the habit of going out from Philadelphia for truck-farm work every summer. They usually left the city in April, returning sometimes as late as November. The year before the Children's Bureau inquiry the bureau of compulsory education had found one of the girls working although she was still of compulsory school age. She had not been in school for two years and was considerably retarded as she had been out early for berry picking every year when attending school. The father was fined. A month later the bureau of compulsory education reported the family to a relief agency as the child was being kept out of school to work at home because four members of the family were ill. The relief agency found that the family had a debt of $300 but that they expected to make enough in the country to pay it off.

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A family in which there were six children went out to the truck farms for the first time in 1921, though they had gone to Delaware for work in vegetable canneries the two preceding summers. The father was a laborer at the navy yard, but had had no work for six months and the entire family had gone to the country because they "had to have money." The children left Philadelphia in March; they had entered school the previous December, 57 days late. About the middle of September, 1922, a 4-year-old girl was taken ill with pneumonia, and the mother with three children returned to the city, the father and the three other children remaining in the country. A few weeks later, the father having lost his job in the country and three of the children having come down with typhoid fever, the family applied to the organized charities for help. On November 11, however, the family was found in the country, cutting beet tops. One of the girls had lost 118 days of school, the other 122 days, because of their work on the truck farms.

An Italian family whose father and mother had been in the United States 30 years went from Philadelphia to New Jersey to work on a truck farm, because the father was sick and had no job. He was a baker by trade, but had been out of work 11 months because of illness. The mother had been "sewing coats" at home for eight months before she came to the country. Four children from 8 to 14 years of age were picking cranberries; the oldest had picked for five seasons. During the year previous to the inquiry the family had been referred by the bureau of compulsory education to a relief agency because the only wage earner, Angeline, a 15-year-old daughter who had been working illegally for three years, had been sent back to school and the father was ill. Some $300 was given the family in relief. When school closed Angeline tried to get vacation work, and finally secured a good job in a garment factory. The father also secured work at his trade in Atlantic City. Both the father and Angeline gave up their work to go to the country in August, Angeline because she did not want to go back to school in the fall and planned to remain in the country until she was 16.

The F family in which there were five children under 14 went to Blackwood, N. J., in May, 1921, to pick strawberries and to Pemberton, N. J., in September to pick cranberries, because there were "too many children and no work." The father was over 60 and not very strong; the mother was lame and unable to do much work. A daughter of 17, a perforator in a shoe factory, was the chief support of the family, and she had been out of work for two months during the year preceding the interview. The family had been given assistance by a missionary society in Philadelphia from January to March, 1914, because the father was out of work. From January until the last of March, 1915, relief was given by the same society, the father having been reported out of work since Christmas. In March, 1919, the family again sought relief, this time from the Red Cross, as their son who was their main support had enlisted. The boy returned home, having failed to pass the physical examination for enlistment. In May, 1920, the Red Cross received a letter from the boy, who had finally been sent to camp, asking that he be discharged as his father was dependent on him. On investigation it was found that the mother and children were in New Jersey picking strawberries, where they together made about $3 a day. The boy had been earning $24 a week, half of which he had been giving to the family. The father was earning $15 a week. The boy was discharged. In the country where they had been a little over a month when interviewed this family of 10 lived in two rooms. The mother had been in the United States 25 years but could not speak English.

A widowed mother with two children under 16 and an older daughter, who was a cashier in a drug store and the chief support of the family, had been going to the truck farms a number of seasons. The father had been a padrone, supervising a large number of men, and the family had been buying a $2,000 house when he died in 1916.

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According to the records of a relief society to which the family was reported by the school which the children attended, all the debts of the family, including funeral expenses for the father, had been paid off by money which they had earned from berry picking, and they had some money left. The father's employer gave the father's job to the mother and the family continued to go to the country for work on the farms. A few months after the father's death, one of the children died and the family owed $65 on the funeral but reported to the relief agency that they expected to pay off the debt from the proceeds of their berry picking. That same summer the family had to return from the country because one of the children had typhoid fever. They returned to the country in the fall, however, for cranberry picking and though they were living on credit to some extent, they reported that they expected to make enough in the country to pay off most of their debts, which amounted to $350. In 1921 the mother still held her job as padrone.

An Italian who had been in the United States over 30 years was bottler in a brewery. He had had no work for nine months of the year preceding the Children's Bureau inquiry. A 15-year-old son, Joe, who had worked in a silk mill for nine months prior to coming to the country, had been the family's chief support, he being the oldest of seven children. They had come to the country because no one had a job except Joe, and they needed money. While in the country the father worked on the roads on a large, corporation-owned farm and the mother and three of the children did farm work. Joe and the 13-year-old son also worked in the "canning house" for a time. Immediately upon their return to the city Joe was taken ill with pneumonia and was given care by a visiting nurses' association. In 1922 the father was reported as still out of work, and the children were furnished with clothing for school by the bureau of compulsory education.

The driver of an ash wagon, who had been employed steadily during the year of the inquiry, "couldn't make enough to keep the family," so the parents and three children went to Moorestown, N. J., in May, 1921, and to Vincentown, N. J., in August for work on the truck farms. The family had been going out for farm work for five years or more, and in 1916 had been fined because one of the children did not reenter school on their return from the country in December. In 1916 the family applied to a relief society, as there were eight children, the mother was pregnant, and the father was earning only $9 a week. In 1917 the family again applied for help, as the father was earning only $14 a week, the mother was ill, and there were nine children under working age. The house was said by the visitor for the relief agency to be clean and fairly comfortably furnished and the children well dressed. No relief was given inasmuch as it was contrary to the policy of the organization to supplement the wages of able-bodied men.

A naturalized Italian and ex-soldier who had applied to the Red Cross for help in establishing a disability claim, had been out of work for three months during the year previous to the interview with the family. At the time of the interview, in September, 1921, he was employed with a phonograph company, but the family had found it hard to get along on his wages—they needed coal and clothes for the children—so the mother and three children, aged 7, 10, and 11, had come to New Jersey to pick cranberries. All the children worked, but the mother said that she told Tony, the 7-year-old, that when "he picked a peck he might stop for the day."

The S family, in which neither father nor mother could speak English, though they had been in the United States 23 years, had been going out to the truck farms for a number of seasons. In 1915 the family had applied to a relief agency for assistance, as the father was earning only $5 a week as a laborer, and an older daughter, who had given up her job to go berry picking, had been unable to find work on her return from

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the country. When seen in the country by the Children's Bureau agent in 1921 the father had been out of work for a number of months, and the mother had been helping to support the family by peddling greens. They had come to New Jersey to shock corn instead of "going to tomatoes," as they usually did, because their former employers "could get plenty men so won't take children." The parents said that the children "got left down in their grades" because they came to the country to work.

The desertion of the father seemed to be the chief factor in the economic difficulties of these two familes:

In one family in which there were four children under 16 the mother was separated from the stepfather, who drank and was abusive. Although not very strong, she supported the family by farm work and by finishing coats at home. The family had been going out to New Jersey for berry picking for several seasons, and before that had gone out for work in a New Jersey cannery. The 13-year-old boy had not gone with the family to pick raspberries in the spring of 1921, as he was graduating from the eighth grade. He had intended to go to high school, but had stayed in the country so long in the fall, missing some six weeks of school, that he thought he would have to go to a business college instead of high school. The family had received a weekly pension from a relief agency for a year or so after the death of the woman's first husband four years before the bureau agent's interview with her, and in the fall of 1921 the family again applied for aid, saying that work was slack and that the mother was making only $7 a week sewing coats. She reported that the family had made about $150 the previous summer—two children and the mother working—picking raspberries and cranberries; and with this sum she wished to buy her second husband's equity in the house which they were buying. The last report was that the mother was living with the stepfather until they could come to some agreement about the house. She wished at that time to sell it and return to her people in Italy. The family had been registered with 10 social agencies in Philadelphia.

A father, mother, and three children had gone to New Jersey from Philadelphia because the father was out of work and the family could help earn a living in the country. They regularly left the city to pick strawberries and cranberries. The father, a laborer, who had been unemployed eight months during the year preceding the interview, had twice deserted the family. He enlisted in the Army as a single man on one occasion, and the family had received aid from the Red Cross and other organizations. The mother said, "Schools are always hollerin' for children to come to school. We'd like to send them, but we can't unless we have money to buy food to eat and shoes to wear. When we go home and buy coal for the winter, we won't have any money left."

In some of the families, delinquency on the part of the chief breadwinner or of one of the children had brought the family to the attention of the agency.

A family consisting at the time of the Children's Bureau interview of the mother and two children had been going to truck farms for a number of years. The mother had been in the United States 23 years, but spoke no English. She supported her family by taking in washings when she could get such work to do and had brought her children to the country because she needed work. While there she sorted beans in a cannery for three weeks in addition to her work in the fields. The family had been known to social agencies in Philadelphia for a number of years. The father had been a heavy drinker, brutal to his wife and children; and the home was reported as "impossible" by a relief agency, the family being in the habit of sleeping on the floor and never having a decent meal. One of the older sons had been sent to an institution

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for delinquents, and the other had been before the juvenile court. In 1918 immediately following the death of the father the family was reported to a relief agency as in need and given help. In 1920 the mother had applied for a mother's pension, but her application had been rejected.

The J family, in which four children worked in the cranberry bogs, came out to pick berries because the father, a laborer in the navy yard, had been out of work for seven months. This family had a long record with a relief agency and the juvenile court in Philadelphia. In 1909, when the family had been in the United States only a few years, one of the children was found on the streets playing an accordion and begging. Investigation disclosed the fact that the father was buying the house in which they lived and renting out all except two rooms. The family lived in the winter on what they made on the truck farms in the summer.

In 1917 the family was reported to the relief agency as in need, the mother saying that the father gave her only 25 cents a day for food. It was found that the family was receiving $38 from rent of rooms and the father sold oysters in the basement of the house. Neighbors said that the father gave the family very little food and that the mother secured what she could from garbage pails. The case was turned over to the housing committee because of the housing conditions.

In that same year the bureau of compulsory education furnished the children with clothes for school, the father being reported as out of work. In 1918 the 10-year-old boy was arrested for playing an accordion and begging on the streets. He was placed on probation, but on two occasions, in 1920 and 1921, was again found playing on the streets "because his mother sent him." A great deal of trouble between the mother and father over money matters was reported. The boy was placed on probation and a few weeks later went to the country with the family to pick strawberries.

The widowed mother of two boys under 16 years of age supported her family by farm work. Immediately after the death of the father, who had been a tailor, the family had been given assistance by a relief agency until "they went to the country and could not be found again." Early in the year in which the Children's Bureau study was made the mother had applied to another charitable organization for help and had been sent some coal which the mother had returned because, she said, it was "too little." Later in the same year one of the boys was reported as a truant, and a truancy petition was filed for him. He went to the country, however, with his mother and did not appear in court. Two months later the family was back in the city and one of the boys was arrested for stealing shoes. He said that he was willing to work on a farm and was allowed to go to the country in the early autumn with the family.

The N family consisted of the mother and five children under 16. Three years before the inquiry the father had died of concussion of the brain following an accident. He had been a laborer earning $25 a week, and the family received compensation of $12. The mother was said by a relief agency to be continually begging and sending children to the church for help, while refusing to do any work herself. One of the children was feeble-minded and another had a tubercular hip. Every summer the family went out to work on the truck farms, reporting that they had earned in 1917 $100, in 1918 $100, and in 1919 $35. During 1921 Jennie, a feeble-minded girl aged 14, worked at various jobs illegally. On October 10, 1921, the relief agency reported that the family had just returned from the country, that Jennie, then 15, was working in a laundry at $10 a week, and that compensation for the father's accident had been reduced to $11.

A few of the families had applied to an agency for assistance when there was apparently no actual need.

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The mother and two children in a family in which the father had fairly steady work as a laborer and the mother sold fruit went to the country every year. Several years before they were interviewed in New Jersey the 10-year-old girl had sent letters to a newspaper asking for Christmas toys and had twice been found begging on the street for clothes. Investigation had shown that the family was not in need, as the father owned two buildings valued at $3,400 and the parents were self-supporting. During the year covered by the Children's Bureau inquiry the mother had asked the relief agency for assistance at Christmas, giving as a reason that the father had been ill for two weeks. Assistance was refused, as the family had property. The little girl in this family said, when asked if she had been promoted in school, "We go to the country, and then we don't pass."

The family of a cabinetmaker in which there were seven children under 16 years of age went to New Jersey for cranberry picking in the fall of 1921 because they "needed money," the father remaining in Philadelphia and at work. An older boy was not working but was attending law school at the University of Pennsylvania. In 1918 the family had applied to a relief agency for shoes so that the children could go to school, as the father was ill and had been out of work for three months. The visitor for the relief agency reported that the father was receiving money from a mutual-benefit society and that the family was buying a house, in which they had four tenants. The house was clean, the children well dressed, and there was plenty of food. The income was deemed sufficient and no relief was given.

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THE CHILDREN'S WORK.

The migratory families in the study contained 549 working children—253 girls and 296 boys. Of this number 79 per cent were under 14 years of age and 21 per cent were under 10. The proportion of working children under 10 years of age was approximately the same in migratory and in local families. A slightly smaller proportion of the migratory workers than of those in local families were children from 14 to 16, probably because at this age many of the city boys and girls have secured regular employment and stay in the city to work even when their families go to the country. Some of the workers were "old hands" on the farms. Of those who had reached their twelfth birthday, about one-fifth had worked in the fields five summers or more.

TABLE XII.—*Age of migratory children at beginning field work, by age August 31, 1921.*

Age Aug. 31, 1921.	Working children under 16 years of age in migratory families.								
	Total.	Age at beginning field work.							
		Under 6 years.		6 years, under 7.		7 years, under 8.		8 years, under 9.	
		Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Total	549	13	2.4	24	4.4	48	8.7	71	12.9
Under 10 years	117	4	3.4	16	13.7	28	23.9	40	34.2
10 years, under 11	76	1	1.3	3	3.9	4	5.3	11	14.5
11 years, under 12	63	4	6.3	1	1.6	3	4.8	3	4.8
12 years, under 13	83	1	1.2	2	2.4	3	3.6	7	8.4
13 years, under 14	96	2	2.1	1	1.0	4	4.2	6	6.3
14 years, under 15	57			1	1.8	4	7.0	3	5.3
15 years, under 16	54	1	1.9			2	3.7	1	1.9
Not reported	3								

Age Aug. 31, 1921.	Working children under 16 years of age in migratory families.									
	Age at beginning field work.									
	9 years, under 10.		10 years, under 12.		12 years, under 14.		14 years and over.		Not reported.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Total	78	14.2	156	28.4	100	18.2	28	5.1	31	5.6
Under 10 years	25	21.4							4	3.4
10 years, under 11	17	22.4	38	50.0					2	2.6
11 years, under 12	14	22.2	34	54.0					4	6.3
12 years, under 13	10	12.0	34	41.0	23	27.7			3	3.6
13 years, under 14	4	4.2	34	35.4	40	41.7			5	5.2
14 years, under 15	5	8.8	8	14.0	22	38.6	11	19.3	3	5.3
15 years, under 16	3	5.6	8	14.8	14	25.9	17	31.5	8	14.8
Not reported					1				2	

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Kinds of work.

The work of children in migratory families is less varied than that of local workers. Their services are utilized chiefly at harvesting time and consist chiefly of picking cranberries and strawberries. Whatever educational value work on the farm may have for the farm child who engages in a variety of tasks the work done by seasonal workers is unskilled and uneducative in the extreme. Even when children remain on one farm throughout the season they do little work of any kind other than picking. Five boys in the study reported either plowing or cultivating and a few children had helped with planting and transplanting, but the number of children having such variety of work was negligible. Even weeding, work which is commonly done by local children, was reported by less than 10 per cent of the migrating group. Practically all the children, however, large and small, boys and girls, help with picking. About one-fifth of the children had picked tomatoes, one-sixth had picked beans or peas, or had gathered potatoes, and some had helped harvest cantaloupes, cucumbers, and a few other vegetables; but 44 per cent (242) had picked strawberries and 72 per cent (397) cranberries.

TABLE XIII.—*Kinds of field work done by children in migratory families, by age.*

Kinds of field work.	Children under 16 years of age doing each specified kind of field work.												
	Total.		Under 8 yrs.[1]	8 years, under 10.		10 years, under 12.		12 years, under 14.		14 years, under 16.		Not reported.[1]
	Number.	Per cent.		Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	
Total	549	100.0	34	83	100.0	139	100.0	179	100.0	111	100.0	3
General:												
Cultivating	3	0.5	......	......	......	1	0.7	......	......	2	1.8	......
Hoeing	46	8.4	......	2	2.4	5	3.6	20	11.2	19	17.1	......
Weeding	39	7.1	......	4	4.8	9	6.5	18	10.1	8	7.2	......
Thinning	13	2.4	......	......	......	3	2.2	4	2.2	5	4.5	1
Planting	11	2.0	......	......	......	1	.7	6	3.4	4	3.6	......
Transplanting[2]	19	3.5	......	......	......	1	.7	10	5.6	8	7.2	......
Dropping[3]	17	3.1	......	2	2.4	4	2.9	7	3.9	4	3.6	......
Harvesting:												
Picking	536	97.6	33	81	97.6	136	97.8	174	97.2	109	98.2	3
Gathering potatoes, sweet potatoes, beets, turnips, onions	91	16.6	6	15	18.1	23	16.5	28	15.6	19	17.1	......
Cutting asparagus, lettuce, rhubarb, spinach, kale, cabbages, watermelons, cantaloupes, pumpkins, or other crops	55	10.0	1	7	8.4	8	5.8	22	12.3	17	15.3	......
Pulling beets, carrots, onions, radishes, turnips, or other crops	33	6.0	1	5	6.0	8	5.8	14	7.8	5	4.5	......
Husking	18	3.3	1	1	1.2	3	2.2	8	4.5	5	4.5	......
Sorting or bunching	11	2.0	......	1	1.2	1	.7	7	3.9	2	1.8	......
Shocking	7	1.3	......	......	......	1	.7	2	1.1	4	3.6	......
Carrying baskets, hampers, etc	19	3.5	......	3	3.6	3	2.2	9	5.0	4	3.6	......
Other:												
Driving	2	.4	......	......	......	......	......	1	.6	1	.9	......
Loading	2	.4	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	2	1.8	......
Other truck work	52	9.5	......	6	7.2	15	10.8	19	10.6	12	10.8	......
Other field work	29	5.3	2	3	3.6	4	2.9	11	6.1	9	8.1	......

[1] Per cent not shown where base is less than 50.

[2] Includes "setting out."

[3] Includes children who in connection with the planting or transplanting of any crop did dropping only, though the same children may have both dropped and set out in transplanting some other crop.

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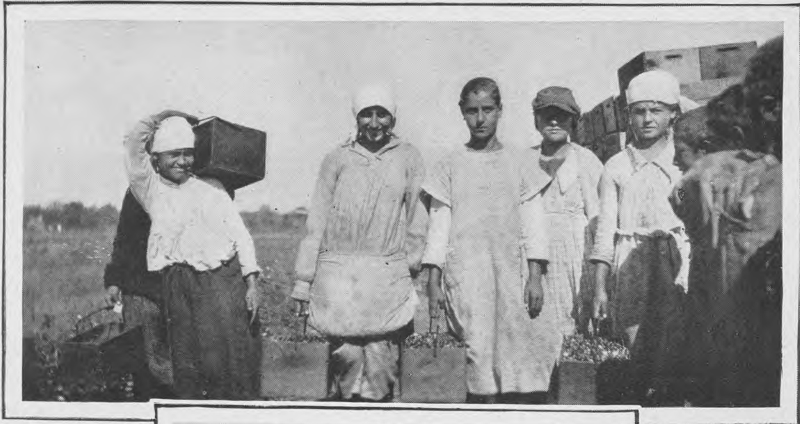

CRANBERRY PICKERS AND CARETAKERS OF YOUNGER CHILDREN WHOSE MOTHERS PICKED.

34—1

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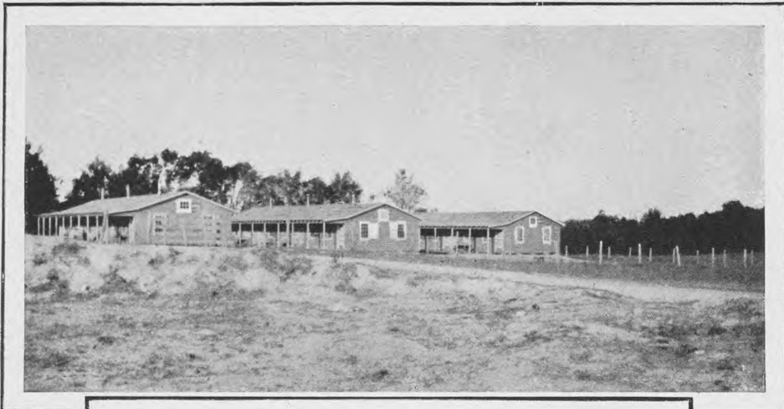

1. HOUSES FOR WORKERS ON A 3,000-ACRE FARM. 2. SHANTY HOUSING 47 PERSONS. 3. COOKING ARRANGEMENTS OF HOUSES SHOWN IN TOP PICTURE.

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Children consider picking cranberries easier work than picking either strawberries or tomatoes. The fruit is not heavy like tomatoes, nor is it necessary to pick one berry at a time as in the case of strawberries. Cranberries grow along slender stems that are inclined to mat rather close to the ground. The worker cups his hands around the base of the plant and, gently drawing the branches through his fingers, shells off the berries. The fruit is picked into wooden boxes having iron bails for handles and varying in size, on the different bogs, from 8 to 12 quarts. Small receptacles, such as tin cans and boxes, are sometimes used by the children but have to be dumped into the regulation boxes before the berries are carried to the packing shed. No skill is required, but it takes practice to work with any speed. As the fruit is small and is concealed by the branches of the plants, it is necessary in order not to lose a great deal of the crop through carelessness to have the pickers well organized and to enforce strict discipline on the bog. The field is staked off in rows about a rod wide and a family or group of about six or seven workers are assigned to each row. The pickers start at one end of the field and work down it together. The hours are generally long, as there is always danger of a frost before the harvest is completed. At the end of the day the pickers are tired and stiff and their fingers are sore. As the season advances the workers complain of the cold; and when frost threatens the bogs are flooded every night to protect the berries, and are still damp when the pickers begin work the next morning. At such times they sometimes come off the bog with their clothes wet to the knees. At the end of the season when danger from frost is imminent cranberry owners resort to "scooping," a much speedier method of harvesting but one considered at the time of the survey not so desirable as picking because the fruit was said to be easily bruised. The scoop is made of wood, pronged and covered with tin at one end. The worker thrusts the prongs through the branches of the plants and with an upward thrust shells off the berries into the scoop. The worker has to stand, bending his body from the waist as he works. The scoop when empty weighs from 7 to 10 pounds and when full holds about 25 pounds of berries. Children, however, generally empty them before they are full. One farmer said that because scooping was such hard work he relieved women and children after half a day, if he had to resort to their help, by permitting them to pick for the remainder of the day. Sixteen children, three of whom were girls, reported scooping.

Hours of work.

The city children worked on the whole longer hours than the local workers, a working day of from 9 to 10 hours being customary. A report on the hours spent in the field on the last day of work previous to the bureau agent's visit, which it was believed was fairly typical,

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was secured for 427 of the 549 migratory children who had worked. Fifty-nine per cent of the city children, as compared with 34 per cent of the children in resident families, reported that they had worked more than 8 hours. This comparison may be true, however, only for the season of the year in which the study was made. The majority of the migratory laborers had picked cranberries on the day for which the report on hours was secured, and while cranberries can not, perhaps, be called a "rush" crop, the danger that the fruit may be damaged by frost before it can be harvested results in as regular and as long a working day as the weather permits. At the time of the interview about 80 per cent of the migratory families were living in labor camps, where the work was well organized and the hours regulated. Pickers went to the bog when the signal was given by the row boss, usually some time between 7 and 9 a. m., as cranberries can not be picked until the dew is off the ground. With half an hour's intermission for lunch, work continued until late in the afternoon, the hour for stopping varying with the different camps. The hours of the children reporting work on other crops, principally beans, tomatoes, and strawberries, were not so uniform except in one camp. The women and children were often used as a reserve labor supply and their services utilized only irregularly. Sometimes they worked 10 hours a day, it was said, and sometimes less.

The working hours of children under 10 years of age varied widely. Some worked all day and others only a few hours. Some mothers set a definite task for each child to accomplish during the day, to get them used to work, and because "every little bit helped"; others let their children work very irregularly. A report on hours could be obtained therefore for only 60 of the 117 children under the age of 10. Of this number 33, 9 of them being under 8 years of age, had worked more than 8 hours.

Of 261 children from 10 to 13 years of age reporting hours, 155 had worked more than 8 hours, and, of 105 14 years of age and over, about three-fifths had worked that long. The working day was practically the same for girls as for boys.

For 176 of the children in migratory families it was possible to obtain a report on the hours of work for the entire week preceding the interview with the family. Only 15 children had worked less than five days, 70 had worked just five days, and 89 a six-day week. Only eight children reported work on Sunday. Sunday work was infrequent, though it was resorted to if the season was bad and picking interrupted frequently by rains. One hundred and nineteen of the 176 children had worked at least 40 hours during the week, and 28 had worked 50 hours or more. These hours, it must be remembered, are in most cases for work on the cranberry bogs. Earlier in the season, when work was in progress on various truck crops, many families complained that there was not enough work for the women and children, and the father's earnings alone did not pay them for coming out.

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TABLE XIV.—*Hours spent in field work by migratory children on a typical day, by age.*

Hours of field work on typical day.	Working children under 16 years of age in migratory families.							
	Total.		Under 10 years.		10 years, under 11.		11 years, under 12.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total	549	...	117	...	76	...	63	...
Reporting hours worked in field: Total	427	100.0	60	100.0	51	100.0	50	100.0
Less than 4 hours	12	2.8	6	10.0	1	20.0	1	2.0
4 hours, less than 6	79	18.5	7	11.7	13	25.5	5	10.0
6 hours, less than 8	58	13.6	11	18.3	5	9.8	5	10.0
8 hours, less than 9	103	24.1	11	18.3	10	19.6	17	34.0
9 hours, less than 10	124	29.0	18	30.0	14	27.5	17	34.0
10 hours, less than 11	43	10.1	6	10.0	8	15.7	4	8.0
11 hours, less than 12	7	1.6	1	1.7	...	...	1	2.0
12 hours, less than 13	1	.2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hours not reported	122	...	57	...	25	...	13	...

Hours of field work on typical day.	Working children under 16 years of age in migratory families.								
	12 years, under 13.		13 years, under 14.		14 years, under 15.		15 years, under 16.		Age not reported.
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	
Total	83	...	96	...	57	...	54	...	3
Reporting hours worked in field: Total	70	100.0	90	100.0	54	100.0	51	100.0	1
Less than 4 hours	2	2.9	2	2.2	...	...	...	...	...
4 hours, less than 6	16	22.9	19	21.1	10	18.5	9	17.6	...
6 hours, less than 8	12	17.1	10	11.1	6	11.1	9	17.6	...
8 hours, less than 9	14	20.0	22	24.4	14	25.9	15	29.4	...
9 hours, less than 10	18	25.7	25	27.8	18	33.3	13	25.5	1
10 hours, less than 11	6	8.6	10	11.1	6	11.1	3	5.9	...
11 hours, less than 12	2	2.9	1	1.1	...	...	2	3.9	...
12 hours, less than 13	...	...	1	1.1	...	...	...	...	...
Hours not reported	13	...	6	...	3	...	3	...	2

Duration of work.

Since city children's work was restricted to special crops, the season spent in the field was not long in comparison with that of children who lived on farms the year round. Of 401 children who were able to give information regarding the duration of their work 76 per cent had worked less than two months and 30 per cent less than one; none, however, had worked less than 12 days. Nine children were reported to have worked four months or more.

Earnings.

The rates paid imported laborers for their services were the same as for local workers. As the migratory families work as a family

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group, it was difficult to obtain any statement of their earnings as individuals. Only 186 of the 549 children could tell the exact amount earned even on the day preceding the agent's visit. Most of them had worked on piece rates, but because of the variation in the rates and in the amount of work done, for the purpose of comparison their earnings have been reduced to an hourly basis. Although all except 14 of the 186 children were 10 years of age or over, 81 per cent had earned less than 15 cents an hour and 46 per cent less than 10 cents. Only 10 children had earned as much as 20 cents an hour.

Few of the migratory laborers are paid at regular intervals for their work (only 12 per cent of the entire group reported that they received their money regularly each week) and many receive no money until the end of the season. Fully half the families included in the study said that they had received no cash until their work was completed. As they turn in their filled baskets they are given tickets or checks indicating the amount due them, and while some farmers redeem a portion of the checks from time to time upon request, the full amount due is not paid until the season is over. Farmers take this precaution to prevent their workers from leaving at a critical time. One farmer who paid weekly protected himself by holding back one week's wages. Although the checks are accepted as money at the company stores, which several of the camps had, and usually throughout the neighborhood, the practice of withholding part of the wages often works a hardship upon families who have not sufficient cash in hand to carry them through the season. In one camp a company store was run by the padrone, who issued tickets to the workers, for which they paid at the end of the season. Complaints of the high prices charged at the store were frequent, and many of the workers traded there only when their supplies brought from home gave out. The families usually spend several days before they leave the city in baking and preparing food, and take as much food as they can carry with them because they find that supplies in the country are hard to procure or more expensive than provisions bought in town. As one mother said, "If you don't bring your food out from the city you just work for the store."

Through the courtesy of the owners access to the pay rolls of three of the cranberry bogs visited was given Children's Bureau agents. Unfortunately the amount appearing on the pay roll was not in all cases the entire amount earned during the season but only that paid in cash either at the close of the season or from time to time upon request; some of the workers exchanged the tickets with which they were paid when they turned in their baskets of berries or vegetables for produce at company stores or at stores in the neighborhood,

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and it was impossible to ascertain how much they had received in all. Many families, of course, do not cash their tickets until the end of the season, and for these the amount on the pay roll represents the actual amount earned; for other families it is only part of their earnings. Of the 226 families whose earnings were copied from the pay roll the majority had received in cash between $100 and $300 for their season's work—43 per cent between $100 and $200, and 20 per cent between $200 and $300. Eighteen per cent had earned $300 or more. Unfortunately the number of pickers in each family could not be ascertained from the pay rolls, so that it is not possible to state how many persons were represented in the family groups earning these amounts.

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EFFECT OF MIGRATIONS ON SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.

School records of children in the families visited.

The loss of schooling and the inevitable effect that such loss has upon the child's educational progress is one of the most serious evils of the practice of importing family labor to the farms. Although the actual time worked is seldom more than three months, the work extends over a period beginning sometimes as early as March and lasting until after the cranberry harvest in October or November. Not only are the working children themselves affected, but also their brothers and sisters who come out to the country with their families but are either too young to pick or are needed to look after younger children. As a rule no effort is made to send the children to school during their residence in New Jersey. The local school authorities assume no responsibility on the ground that the children are not residents of the State. It is true that the local schools are already full and would have difficulty in adjusting themselves to the sudden influx that opening their doors to the migratory children would cause at the beginning and end of the school term. The farmers are not usually interested in getting the children in school, as they feel that they need the children's work in order to get their crops to market. Parents are for the most part primarily intent upon the money that the children's labor adds to the family income, which would be considerably diminished if the children of the family were compelled to spend part of the day in school. The one farmer in the area studied who was interested in enforcing school attendance was meeting with great difficulties at the time of the survey in making a first attempt to compel the children on his farm to attend school. They would not go to school unless forced to do so and as he employed much migratory labor it took a great deal of time and effort to compel them. Some of the parents, also, resenting the fact that the family's earning capacity was being reduced, were moving back to the city, leaving the farmer to manage as best he could. Their attitude was expressed by one mother who said that it did not pay them to stay out in the country if only the parents could work, and if the children had to go to school "they might as well go to their own."

To ascertain just how serious were the inroads made upon school attendance by their migration for work on the truck farms, an effort was made to secure the attendance records for the preceding school

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year for the 528 children included in the study who had been in school. Owing to the difficulty of tracing the foreign names and the meagreness of the information given by some families, records were obtained for only 294 children. Three-fourths of these had been present less than 80 per cent and a little over one-fourth had attended less than 60 per cent of the school term. Twenty-nine children had been in school less than half the term. This means that some of the children spent a very short time in school. The schools attended by the children were in session from 181 to 194 days, but one-third of the children had been present less than 120 days during the year, and more than one-tenth had had less than 100 days' schooling. Information as to the amount of absence due solely to migrations to farms was obtained for 261 children. These records show even more strikingly than those secured for the entire group how seriously farm work cuts into schooling. Only 33 of these children had remained in school until the close of the term and had enrolled as soon as school opened in the fall. One-half of the number had lost eight or more weeks because of their sojourn in New Jersey, and about 29 per cent had lost 12 or more weeks for the same cause. The average number of days' absence from school reported for the group was 59, the average for farm work alone being 43. This average is much higher than that for children living on the truck farms, who reported losing on an average 20 days for farm work.

Under these conditions it is not surprising to find that a large proportion of the children in the migratory families had failed to reach the grades considered normal for their years.[1] Although school progress is affected by so many different factors that it is impossible to determine with certainty which may have been the most influential one, it seems likely that irregularity of school attendance so marked as that found among the children of migratory workers, including absence at the most critical period of the school year, is for this group the most important cause of retardation. In fact the records of these children show a direct relation between retardation and the percentage of attendance, the proportion of retarded pupils usually growing larger as the percentage of attendance becomes smaller. Of 505 children between 8 and 16 years of age included in the study, almost three-fourths were in a grade below the one normal for their age, one-third being from three to six years below such grade. If these children had been retarded no more than the average for city children as calculated by the United States Bureau of Education, 29 per cent instead of 74 per cent would have been below the standard grade for their years. The result of nonpromotion year after year is that the 14-year-old child, who may usually leave school for work, has

[1] For the basis upon which retardation has been calculated, see p. 20.

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often acquired little more than the ability to read and write. Of 91 children 14 years of age and over included in the study whose grade was reported, only 23 had reached a grade higher than the fifth.

TABLE XV.—*Progress in school of migratory working children between 8 and 16 years of age, by age.*

Progress in school.	Migratory working children between 8 and 16 years of age attending school.									
	Total.		8 years, under 10.		10 years, under 12.		12 years, under 14.		14 years, under 16.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total	[1] 505	100.0	82	100.0	139	100.0	179	100.0	102	100.0
Retarded	372	73.7	35	42.7	94	67.6	154	86.0	89	87.3
1 year	121	24.0	25	30.5	40	28.8	44	24.6	12	11.8
2 years	115	22.8	10	12.2	46	33.1	37	20.7	22	21.6
3 years	136	26.9	......	....	8	5.8	73	40.8	55	53.9
Normal	91	18.0	42	51.2	32	23.0	15	8.4	2	2.0
Advanced	4	.8	2	2.4	1	.7	1	.6	......	....
Progress not reported	[1] 38	7.5	3	3.7	12	8.6	9	5.0	11	10.8

[1] Includes 3 children for whom age was not reported.

TABLE XVI.—*Retardation of children in migratory families in the New Jersey group as compared with average retardation among city children.*

Age.	Children between 8 and 16 years of age attending school.			Average rate of retardation.[1]
	Total.	Retarded.		
		Actual number.	Expected number.	
Total	505	372	144	[2] 28.5
8 years, under 9	34	10	4	10.5
9 years, under 10	48	25	7	15.5
10 years, under 11	86	51	16	21.6
11 years, under 12	63	43	17	26.9
12 years, under 13	83	69	27	32.4
13 years, under 14	96	85	35	36.5
14 years, under 15	56	50	21	37.8
15 years, under 16	46	39	17	37.3
Not reported	3	....	....	....

[1] Except the figure for all ages, the figures are average rates of retardation for each age among 1,429,000 pupils in 80 cities. Unpublished figures furnished by courtesy of the United States Bureau of Education.
[2] The average per cent of retardation in this group of children if the rates for each age in the 80 cities had prevailed in the group.

School records of Philadelphia children migrating for seasonal farm work.

In order to ascertain in more detail the effect of seasonal farm work upon the school attendance and the school progress of city school children who go out to the truck farms, a study of the records of children leaving or staying out of Philadelphia schools to engage in truck farming was undertaken by the Children's Bureau in November, 1921. Through the courtesy of school officials and of the chief of

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the bureau of compulsory education, copies were secured of attendance and scholarship records for 1,298 children in different parts of the city who had left school in the spring of 1921 because of their families' removal to the country. This number does not represent all of those leaving the city for work on farms. The reports of absentees were compiled several weeks before the close of school, and information concerning the number that left after the compilation was made was not obtained. Moreover, certain public schools known to have lost many pupils for farm work were not represented in the returns, though every district supervisor except one submitted records of some absentees. The principal of one large parochial school not included in the returns also said, when later interviewed, that about one-third of the entire school, or more than 300 children, had gone out to farms in May and June, before the close of the term. It was the opinion of the attendance department that the actual number of children leaving town each spring because of farm work undertaken by either themselves or their parents, was between 2,500 and 3,000.

While the migrations of school children were greatest in May when the strawberry crop was harvested, a number of children were reported by the attendance department to have left the city for farm work as early as February and March. Less than 50 of the 1,298 children for whom records were secured, even though they had left the city for early spring work had returned and reentered school before its close, the third week of June.

As practically three-fourths of the spring withdrawals were found to have occurred in one district, where the population was almost wholly Italian, eight schools in this district—six public and two parochial—where the percentage of absence in the spring and fall was very high, were chosen for special study. The attendance records of all children enrolled in these eight schools during the year 1920–21 were examined by an agent of the bureau after the close of the session in June and copies were made of the records of all children under 16 who had entered late in the fall and withdrawn early in the spring, or who had been absent for two weeks or more consecutively, in either the fall or the spring. Records of beginners who had entered school for the first time during the second term and of children who had been enrolled in other schools for a part of the year were excluded. In November, when the majority of migratory families had returned to the city, each one of these eight schools was visited and as many as possible of the children whose attendance records had been secured were interviewed. Detailed information was obtained only from those children who said that their absence from school had been due to farm work engaged in by themselves or other members of their families. The dates of entry and withdrawals previously secured from the school records were checked carefully with the children's

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statements as to when they had returned from the country and when they had gone out in the spring, in order to ascertain as accurately as possible the number of days of absence due to seasonal farm work. Many children, especially younger ones, did not themselves work but were absent from school because they were obliged to go with their parents and older brothers and sisters. One hundred and seventy-six of the children who were reported to have gone to the country in the spring or summer from the six public schools were not in attendance at the time of the survey and hence could not be interviewed. Whether they were still in the country or had delayed entering school upon their return to the city could not be learned.

In the eight schools visited 869 children in 512 families were interviewed who had been absent in the fall of 1920 or in the spring of 1921 or both because of seasonal farm work. These children represented 9.2 per cent of the enrollment in their schools. (See Table XVII.) Figures given by the school principals showed that the 616 children for whom schedule information was secured in the six public schools represented only a little more than three-fourths of the number who had actually gone to the country from those schools, and that the 253 in the two parochial schools represented only about one-third of their pupils who had gone to the country; so that had it been practicable to interview every child in the eight schools who had been absent during the year for work on farms, the study would probably have included nearly 1,500, or about 16 per cent of the total enrollment.

TABLE XVII.—*Proportion of children in selected Philadelphia schools absent on account of farm work.*

Schools.	Average enrollment.	Children interviewed who had been absent from school on account of farm work.[1]	
		Number.	Per cent of average enrollment.
Total	9,449	869	9.2
Public [2]	7,119	616	8.7
I	667	117	17.5
II	773	113	14.6
III	1,065	63	5.9
IV	759	124	16.3
V	1,888	144	7.6
VI	1,967	55	2.8
Parochial [3]	2,330	253	10.9
I	1,330	121	9.1
II	1,000	132	13.2

[1] Includes both children who did farm work themselves and those absent because of farm work performed by other members of the family.
[2] Report of the Bureau of Compulsory Education for the year ending June 30, 1921, p. 62. Philadelphia, 1922.
[3] Information furnished by the principals of the schools.

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Of the 869 children included in the study nearly one-half (47 per cent) were in the country and away from school both in the spring and in the fall. The number of children absent only in the spring was greater than the number absent only in the fall—321 as compared with 140. This difference is partly accounted for by the fact that many children who went out for fall work had not returned at the time of the survey in November and were therefore not included in the number who were interviewed.

The families of 52 per cent of the children who moved to the country in the spring went for berry picking only; and those of 42.5 per cent went for general truck farming, which consisted of work on a variety of crops, such as asparagus, tomatoes, peas, beans, other vegetables or fruits, and frequently strawberries, blackberries, or raspberries in addition. The general truck workers usually went earlier and stayed longer than the berry pickers who, when they did no other kind of farm work, left the city about the middle of May and returned after the season was over, in June or July. Of the children whose families went only for berry picking 13.7 per cent had lost 30 days or more of school, whereas 26.5 per cent, or twice as many, of the children whose families engaged in general truck-farm work had lost as many days. During the last two weeks of May a general exodus from the schools to the berry fields took place, and 269, or 71 per cent, of the children who went out only for berry picking left town at that time.

TABLE XVIII.—*Season of children's absence from school on account of farm work; Philadelphia.*

Season of absence from school.	Children absent from school on account of farm work.[1]	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total	869	100.0
Spring only	321	36.9
Fall only	140	16.1
Both spring and fall	408	47.0

[1] Includes both children who did farm work themselves and those absent because of farm work performed by other members of the family.

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Table XIX.—*Duration of children's absence from school on account of farm work in the spring of 1921, by reason for first move to a farming community in 1921; Philadelphia.*

Duration of spring absence for farm work.	Children absent from school on account of farm work in the spring of 1921.[1]							
	Total.		Reason for first move to a farming community in 1921.					
			Berry picking only.		Truck farming.		Other.[2]	Not reported.[2]
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.		
Total	[3] 729	100.0	379	100.0	310	100.0	25	15
Less than 10 days	8	1.1	3	.8	2	.6	3	......
10 days, less than 20	124	17.0	50	13.2	62	20.0	7	5
20 days, less than 30	437	59.9	269	71.0	159	51.3	4	5
30 days, less than 40	87	11.9	37	9.8	43	13.9	4	3
40 days, less than 50	29	4.0	11	2.9	16	5.2	2	......
50 days, less than 60	15	2.1	2	.5	11	3.5	......	2
60 days, less than 70	16	2.2	2	.5	12	3.9	2	......
Not reported	13	1.8	5	1.3	5	1.6	3	......

[1] Includes both children who did farm work themselves and those absent because of farm work performed by other members of the family.
[2] Per cent distribution not shown when base is less than 50.
[3] Of the 869 children studied 140 were absent in the fall only.

Table XX.—*Duration of children's absence from school on account of farm work in the fall of 1920, by reason for last move to a farming community in 1920; Philadelphia.*

Duration of fall absence for farm work.	Children absent from school on account of farm work in the fall of 1920.[1]										
	Total.		Reason for last move to a farming community in 1920.								
			Truck farming.		Cranberry picking only.		Work in canneries.		Other.[2]	Not reported.[2]
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.		
Total	[3] 548	100.0	266	100.0	181	100.0	50	100.0	30	21
Less than 10 days	38	6.9	16	6.0	12	6.6	3	6.0	4	3
10 days, less than 20	151	27.6	79	29.7	33	18.2	19	38.0	13	7
20 days, less than 30	120	21.9	45	16.9	55	30.4	11	22.0	4	5
30 days, less than 40	118	21.5	43	16.2	58	32.0	5	10.0	7	5
40 days, less than 50	71	13.0	53	19.9	10	5.5	8	16.0	......	......
50 days, less than 60	36	6.6	23	8.6	7	3.9	4	8.0	2	......
60 days, less than 70	3	.5	3	1.1	......	......	......	......	......	......
Not reported	11	2.0	4	1.5	6	3.3	......	......	......	1

[1] Includes both children who did farm work themselves and those absent because of farm work performed by other members of the family.
[2] Per cent distribution not shown where base is less than 50.
[3] Of the 869 children studied 321 were absent in the spring only.

Cranberry picking alone was responsible for the absence of 33 per cent of the 548 children who were away from school in the fall of 1920 on account of farm work. While some other children were kept from school during cranberry season for work in the bogs, it was not for

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this reason only that their families had moved to a particular farming community. Nearly one-half (48.5 per cent) of the absentees had gone out primarily for work on truck farms. Some of these truck workers migrated in the spring or summer and remained in the country the entire farming season to do various kinds of work, while others went out in the fall to help harvest numerous late crops, including cranberries. Fruit and vegetable canneries offered considerable employment in the fall, especially to the mothers; while only a few children in the present study worked in canneries, 50 were kept out of school in the fall because they were with their mothers who had left the city on account of such employment.

The great majority (77.7 per cent) of the 869 children for whom information was obtained were between 8 and 14 years of age—within the age of compulsory school attendance. Only 91 under 8 years were interviewed, since many young children who went to the farms had not yet been enrolled in the schools. The number between 14 and 16 was also relatively small, for children of migratory families belong to the group who usually leave school as soon as they can be legally employed and do not return. Another possible reason for the smaller proportion of children in the higher age groups may be the growing dislike that they were reported to have for farm work and their ready acceptance of city jobs in preference during the summer vacation.

Seven hundred and twenty-eight children (83.8 per cent of the number interviewed) reported having done some farm work while in the country. Those who had not worked were for the most part under 10 years of age. The kinds of farm work in which the children of different ages had engaged are shown in Table XXII.

TABLE XXI.—*Age of children absent from school on account of farm work, year 1920-21,[1] by sex; Philadelphia.*

Age.	Children absent from school for farm work, year 1920-21.[1]					
	Total.		Boys.		Girls.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total	869	100.0	464	100.0	405	100.0
5 years, under 6	4	.5	3	.6	1	.2
6 years, under 7	22	2.5	11	2.4	11	1.7
7 years, under 8	65	7.5	37	8.0	28	6.9
8 years, under 9	104	12.0	54	11.6	50	12.3
9 years, under 10	118	13.6	62	13.4	56	13.8
10 years, under 11	106	12.2	65	14.0	41	10.1
11 years, under 12	118	13.6	59	12.7	59	14.6
12 years, under 13	122	14.0	61	13.1	61	15.1
13 years, under 14	107	12.3	55	11.9	52	12.8
14 years, under 15	56	6.4	29	6.2	27	6.7
15 years, under 16	32	3.7	20	4.3	12	3.0
Age not reported	15	1.7	8	1.7	7	1.7

[1] Includes both children who did farm work themselves and those absent because of farm work performed by other members of the family.

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TABLE XXII.—*Kinds of farm work done by children absent from school on account of farm work, by age; Philadelphia.*

Kind of farm work.	Children doing each specified kind of farm work.						
	Total.		5 years, under 6.	6 years, under 7.	7 years, under 8.	8 years, under 9.	9 years, under 10.
	Number.	Per cent.					
Total	[1] 728	100.0	2	8	28	73	96
General:							
Cultivating	13	1.8					
Hoeing	91	12.5					4
Weeding	107	14.7			3	4	7
Thinning	8	1.1					
Hand planting	32	4.4				2	3
Transplanting [2]	30	4.1					1
Dropping [3]	51	7.0			2	2	6
Harvesting:							
Picking beans or peas	254	34.9		1	11	21	37
Picking eggplant, cantaloupes, cucumbers, tomatoes, or peppers	208	28.6		2	6	17	22
Picking strawberries	503	69.1	2	4	23	51	60
Picking cranberries	260	35.7		2	12	29	38
Scooping cranberries	7	1.0					1
Picking blackberries, raspberries, or huckleberries	252	34.6	1	2	11	27	36
Picking watermelons	9	1.2					
Picking up or digging potatoes, or sweet potatoes	180	24.7	1	2	4	18	22
Pulling beets, carrots, onions, or radishes	38	5.2			1	1	3
Husking corn	47	6.5				2	5
Shocking corn	30	4.1			1		2
Cutting asparagus	28	3.8				1	2
Cutting rhubarb	2	.3					
Cutting head lettuce	4	.5					
Sorting or bunching	22	3.0					1
Packing or crating	4	.5				1	
Carrying baskets, hampers, etc	93	12.8		2	3	10	12
Other:							
Drawing or hauling	11	1.5					
Loading	10	1.4					
Other farm work	188	25.8		1	4	11	21

Kind of farm work.	Children doing each specified kind of farm work.						
	10 years, under 11.	11 years, under 12.	12 years, under 13.	13 years, under 14.	14 years, under 15.	15 years, under 16.	Age not reported.
Total	94	109	120	101	55	32	10
General:							
Cultivating	1	1		6	2	3	
Hoeing	8	14	14	25	10	12	4
Weeding	18	18	20	17	9	8	3
Thinning		2	2	2	1	1	
Hand planting	1	9	6	4	3	4	
Transplanting [2]	2	3	9	9	4	2	
Dropping [3]	6	7	14	6	4	1	3
Harvesting:							
Picking beans or peas	29	36	44	40	15	15	5
Picking eggplant, cantaloupes, cucumbers, tomatoes, or peppers	31	26	32	37	20	11	4
Picking strawberries	67	73	86	63	45	22	7
Picking cranberries	34	36	48	29	18	10	4
Scooping cranberries	2		1		2	1	
Picking blackberries, raspberries, or huckleberries	30	37	42	31	20	13	2
Picking watermelons			3	3	1	2	

[1] Excludes 141 children who did no farm work themselves but were absent from school because of work performed by other members of the family.
[2] Includes "setting out."
[3] Includes children who in connection with the planting or transplanting of any crop did dropping only, though the same children may have both dropped and set out in transplanting some other crop.

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TABLE XXII.—*Kinds of farm work done by children absent from school on account of farm work, by age; Philadelphia*—Continued.

Kind of farm work.	Children doing each specified kind of farm work						
	10 years, under 11.	11 years, under 12.	12 years, under 13.	13 years, under 14.	14 years, under 15.	15 years, under 16.	Age not reported.
Harvesting—Continued.							
Picking up or digging potatoes, or sweet potatoes	20	29	27	34	13	7	3
Pulling beets, carrots, onions, or radishes	3	12	2	7	2	5	2
Husking corn	4	8	8	10	5	3	2
Shocking corn	2	6	6	4	4	4	1
Cutting asparagus	2	6	7	5	2	3	....
Cutting rhubarb	1	....	....	1	....	....	....
Cutting head lettuce	1	1	....	1	....	1	....
Sorting or bunching	2	6	4	6	....	2	1
Packing or crating	....	....	....	2	....	1	....
Carrying baskets, hampers, etc	18	16	14	9	4	2	3
Other:							
Drawing or hauling	1	2	1	2	2	3	....
Loading	1	2	2	2	1	2	....
Other farm work	22	31	35	29	14	15	5

The majority of children return to school by the 1st of November, as the picking of cranberries, the last crop of the season, is usually over at that time. A few workers come back as late as December. Although some children reenter school as soon as they return to the city, many are kept at home for a while on various pretexts—"to clean house," for example, or "to get some clothes." The attendance officers are on the watch for these laggards and occasionally find some who are illegally employed but more who are merely truant. It is not an easy task to follow up the cases of removals to other parts of the city after the country sojourn, and many children escape the officers in this way for several days or even weeks.

Although the Philadelphia school authorities make every effort to enforce the attendance laws for these children, they have, of course, no power to do so outside the city limits. Moreover, the great majority of the Philadelphia families who go out for work on truck farms move not only out of the jurisdiction of the city school officials but also out of that of the State of Pennsylvania. Studies of other migratory workers made by the Children's Bureau in different parts of the country, as well as that of the workers migrating to New Jersey, indicate that the communities to which these workers move seldom consider that they have any responsibility for the education of children of compulsory school age brought in to assist in cultivating their soil or harvesting their crops.

The average attendance for the 869 children included in the study was between 70 and 75 per cent of the school year, although a large number (354, or 40.7 per cent) attended less than 70 per cent; 152 (17.5 per cent) attended less than 60 per cent; and 6.6 per cent were present less than half the school year. (Table XXIII.)

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TABLE XXIII.—*Per cent attendance at school of children absent from school on account of farm work,[1] by age; Philadelphia.*

Per cent attendance at school.	Children absent from school on account of farm work.[1]									
	Total.		5 years, under 6.[2]	6 years, under 7.[2]	7 years, under 8.		8 years, under 9.		9 years, under 10.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.			Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total	869	100.0	4	22	65	100.0	104	100.0	118	100.0
Less than 25	1	1	1	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
25, less than 50	56	6.4	......	1	3	4.6	5	4.8	7	5.9
50, less than 55	40	4.6	1	1	3	4.6	4	3.8	8	6.8
55, less than 60	55	6.3	......	2	6	9.2	4	3.8	5	4.2
60, less than 65	101	11.6	1	3	6	9.2	11	10.6	13	11.0
65, less than 70	101	11.6	......	4	7	10.8	15	14.4	8	6.8
70, less than 75	105	12.1	1	2	11	16.9	12	11.5	16	13.6
75, less than 80	141	16.2	......	2	6	9.2	17	16.3	18	15.3
80, less than 85	139	16.0	......	3	16	24.6	19	18.3	23	19.5
85, less than 90	79	9.1	......	4	6	9.2	11	10.6	14	11.9
90, less than 95	21	2.4	......	......	1	1.5	2	1.9	4	3.4
Not reported	30	3.5	......	......	......	......	4	3.8	2	1.7

Per cent attendance at school.	Children absent from school on account of farm work.[1]											
	10 years, under 11.		11 years, under 12.		12 years, under 13.		13 years, under 14.		14 years, under 15.		15 years, under 16.[2]	Age not reported.[2]
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.		
Total	106	100.0	118	100.0	122	100.0	107	100.0	56	100.0	32	15
Less than 25	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
25, less than 50	6	5.7	8	6.8	7	5.7	10	9.3	3	5.4	5	1
50, less than 55	3	2.8	8	6.8	1	.8	6	5.6	2	3.6	2	1
55, less than 60	10	9.4	4	3.4	10	8.2	8	7.5	3	5.4	1	2
60, less than 65	10	9.4	14	11.9	9	7.4	19	17.8	7	12.5	5	3
65, less than 70	10	9.4	9	7.6	15	12.3	14	13.1	13	23.2	4	2
70, less than 75	10	9.4	12	10.2	13	10.7	11	10.3	11	19.6	4	2
75, less than 80	24	22.6	26	22.0	22	18.0	13	12.1	4	7.1	7	2
80, less than 85	18	17.0	21	17.8	21	17.2	11	10.3	5	8.9	2	......
85, less than 90	9	8.5	9	7.6	12	9.8	10	9.3	3	5.4	1	......
90, less than 95	2	1.9	3	2.5	5	4.1	3	2.8	1	1.8	......	......
Not reported	4	3.8	4	3.4	7	5.7	2	1.9	4	7.1	1	2

[1] Includes both children who did farm work themselves and those absent because of farm work performed by other members of the family.
[2] Per cent distribution not shown where base is less than 50.

In only 23 per cent of the cases did absence due to farm work constitute all or nearly all the children's total absences. The average absence for farm work was between 15 and 20 per cent of the school year, while the average total absence was between 25 and 30 per cent. An analysis of the attendance records shows that the average per cent of absence for that part of the year when the children were in the city was the same (10.4) as the average per cent of absence for all children in the public elementary schools of the same district

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for the entire year.[2] The amount of absence for field work increased somewhat with the age of the child, probably on account of the greater usefulness of the older children on the farms.

The school progress of the absentees is naturally seriously affected. At the end of June, 1921, only 69.9 per cent of the children included in the study were promoted as compared with 80.4 per cent of all public elementary school children of the same district, in which the character of the population was analogous to that of the group studied. From Table XXIV it will be seen that the per cent of promotions rises markedly with increased attendance, from 50 per cent of those present less than one-half of the year to 78.5 per cent of those present from 85 to 90 per cent of the time.

TABLE XXIV.—*Promotion of children absent from school on account of farm work,[a] by per cent attendance; Philadelphia.*

Per cent attendance at school.	Children absent from school on account of farm work.[a]				
	Total.	Promoted June, 1921.		Not promoted June, 1921.	
		Number.	Per cent.[b]	Number.	Per cent.[b]
Total	[c] 869	607	69.9	246	28.3
Less than 25	1			1	
25, less than 50	56	28	50.0	26	46.4
50, less than 55	40	21		18	
55, less than 60	55	39	70.9	14	25.5
60, less than 65	101	72	71.3	26	25.7
65, less than 70	101	71	70.3	29	28.7
70, less than 75	105	72	68.6	31	29.5
75, less than 80	141	93	66.0	46	32.6
80, less than 85	139	104	74.8	34	24.5
85, less than 90	79	62	78.5	17	21.5
90, less than 95	21	18		3	
Not reported	30	27		1	

[a] Includes both children who did farm work themselves and those absent because of farm work performed by other members of the family.
[b] Not shown where base is less than 50.
[c] Includes 3 children transferred from regular to special class, 2 retained in special class, 4 transferred from kindergarten to first grade, and 7 not reported.

In the two parochial schools included in the survey much larger proportions of the children (81.8 and 98.5 per cent, respectively) were promoted than in the six public schools, where the average fell to 61.4. In one public school the percentage was as low as 44.4. Differences in promotion policy may account for this striking difference in the percentages of promotions.

No figures could be obtained that would make possible exact comparison between the school progress of the migratory children and those who did not go to the country for farm work.[3] One principal who kept separate attendance and promotion records of children who

[2] Report of the Bureau of Compulsory Education for the year ending June 30, 1921, p. 62. Philadelphia, 1922.

[3] Two methods of accounting for children who leave the city before the end of the term are permitted teachers, dropping them from the roll completely or reporting them as lawfully absent. As some schools use one method and some the other the figures are not comparable.

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entered school on time and of those who came in late from farms gave the following report on midwinter promotions:

		Per cent. promoted.
Number enrolled,	794	84.1
Entered on time,	628	87.9
Entered late from country	166	74.7

As a result of long absences and consequent nonpromotions unusually large numbers of children were retarded in the district where spring and fall migrations were heavy.[4] In the eight schools studied 71.2 per cent of the 763 children of the survey who were between 8 and 16 years of age were below normal grades for their ages; 26.3 per cent were retarded one year, 22.5 per cent two years, 14.7 per cent three years, and 7.6 per cent from four to six years. A steady increase in the percentage of retardation is noted from the lowest to the highest age group, 23.1 per cent of the children between 8 and 9 years being retarded, while 94.6 per cent of those between 14 and 15 were retarded. One-fourth of this latter group were four years or more below grades normal for their ages.

TABLE XXV.—*Progress in school of children between 8 and 16 years of age absent from school on account of farm work,[2] by age; Philadelphia.*

Age.	Children between 8 and 16 years of age absent from school on account of farm work.[a]										
	Total.	Retarded.									
		Total.		1 year.		2 years.		3 years.		4-6 years.	
		Number.	Per cent.[b]	Number.	Per cent.[b]	Number.	Per cent.[b]	Number.	Per cent.[b]	Number.	Per cent.[b]
Total	763	543	71.2	201	26.3	172	22.5	112	14.7	58	7.6
8 years, under 9	104	24	23.1	24	23.1						
9 years, under 10	118	61	51.7	49	41.5	12	10.2				
10 years, under 11	106	69	65.1	42	39.6	23	21.7	4	3.8		
11 years, under 12	118	104	88.1	37	31.4	40	33.9	26	22.0	1	.8
12 years, under 13	122	106	86.9	21	17.2	45	36.9	32	26.2	8	6.6
13 years, under 14	107	98	91.6	18	16.2	29	27.1	28	26.2	23	21.5
14 years, under 15	56	53	94.6	8	14.3	21	37.5	10	17.9	14	25.0
15 years, under 16	32	28		2		2		12		12	

Age.	Children between 8 and 16 years of age absent from school on account of farm work.[a]							
	Normal.		Advanced.		In special class.		Not reported.	
	Number.	Per cent.[b]	Number.	Per cent.[b]	Number.	Per cent.[b]	Number.	Per cent.[b]
Total	207	27.1	2	0.3	6	0.8	5	0.7
8 years, under 9	77	74.0	2	1.9			1	1.0
9 years, under 10	57	48.3						
10 years, under 11	35	33.0			2	1.9		
11 years, under 12	13	11.0					1	.8
12 years, under 13	14	11.5			2	1.6		
13 years, under 14	9	8.4						
14 years, under 15	2	3.6			1	1.8		
15 years, under 16					1		3	

[a] Includes both children who did farm work themselves and those absent because of farm work performed by other members of the family.
[b] Not shown where base is less than 50.

[4] For the basis upon which retardation is calculated, see p. 20.

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HOUSING THE WORKERS.

In addition to the effect of seasonal farm work upon the school progress of children in migratory families another aspect of the importation of labor for work on farms deserves serious consideration, namely, the conditions under which the families live while in the country. The workers visited were generally housed in labor camps. Of the 254 families included in the study 201 were living in camps; the remainder were scattered about on various small farms, one or two families to a farm.

The comparatively few families on small farms lived, as a rule, in old, abandoned buildings, often too tumble-down for other use. As far as space was concerned the people in these houses probably fared better than those living in the camps, but frequently their houses were not in good repair and offered but slight protection against rain. The camps visited varied in size from only a rude building or two, housing half a dozen families, to large, well-organized settlements, small villages in themselves, some of them housing 300 or 400 pickers. The living quarters were of two types, either one-story houses in a row of five or six, one or two rooms deep (see illustration facing p. 35), or large two-story, barnlike structures divided into small rooms upstairs and down and housing many families. The condition of the buildings varied with the different camps. The majority visited were in good repair, often painted or shingled outside, though unfinished inside, but several were ramshackle buildings much in need of repair, without windows, and extremely dirty.

Cooking was generally done outside the shacks on improvised fireplaces or in cookhouses provided by the farmer. One of the best of these was a frame building approximately 12 by 15 by 10 feet with a brick stove in the center of the room which extended its entire length. Around three walls 3 feet above the floor was a wooden extension about 2½ feet wide, which served as a dining table on rainy days. Many cookhouses had only open hearths covered with sheets of metal for stoves. The families brought with them only their bedding and dishes. Beds, straw for mattresses, and sometimes stoves were furnished by the farmer. Beds were generally built-in wooden bunks, sometimes one over another to save space. The space underneath the lowest bed, about 2 feet above the floor, was also often used for sleeping.

No camps provided with only one large room for all the pickers and their families, such as are found in some of the truck-farming districts of Maryland,[5] were seen in the New Jersey areas included in the study, though it was said that there were one or two camps of this

[5] See Child Labor on Maryland Truck Farms, Children's Bureau Publication No. 123, p. 25.

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description in the State. Each family in the camps visited had a certain amount of privacy in having a separate room or rooms with separate entrances either from outside or from a hallway.

Even in the best camps, however, congestion was great. The rooms were generally small; in one camp, very good in other respects, they were only about 42 square feet in size, and very few contained more than 100 square feet. A family seldom had more than three rooms; over one-fourth (28.7 per cent) had only one and about half had only two. In these few small rooms large families were crowded. Fifty-five per cent of the families were living with three or more persons per room and 27 per cent with four or more. Twenty-four families were living with six or more persons per room. Seven shanties, each measuring approximately 20 by 30 by 18 feet and containing 19 rooms, each accommodated from 11 to 16 families. One 20-room shanty of about 19,200 cubic feet housed 8 families and 10 single men, a total of 59 persons, 22 adults and 37 children. The recommendations made by the commission enforcing the labor-camp sanitation law of California, one of several States in which attempts to regulate housing for migratory workers have been made, specify 500 cubic feet as the amount of air space to be provided per person in camp sleeping quarters.[6] According to this standard, even though no allowance for hallways is made, each person in the shanty referred to above had only about 60 per cent of the requisite air space, and the shanty was overcrowded to the extent of about 21 persons.

TABLE XXVI.—*Average number of persons per room in migratory families in New Jersey.*

Average number of persons per room.	Migratory families.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total	254	100.0
Less than 1	1	0.4
1, less than 2	33	13.0
2, less than 3	77	30.3
3, less than 5	105	41.3
5, less than 7	17	6.7
7, less than 10	13	5.1
10 and over	5	2.0
Not reported	3	1.2

[6] Advisory Pamphlet on Camp Sanitation and Housing (Revised, 1919), Commission on Immigration and Housing of California, p. 17. Sacramento, 1920.

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TABLE XXVII.—*Average number of persons per room in families in Philadelphia school study.*

Average number of persons per room.	Families in Philadelphia school study.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total	512	100.0
Less than 1	32	6.3
1, less than 2	258	50.4
2, less than 3	135	26.4
3, less than 4	50	9.8
4, less than 5	6	1.2
5 and over	4	0.8
Not reported	27	5.3

The farmers often seek to excuse conditions by contending that their pickers are just as comfortably housed as they are in their city dwellings and that they use the shanties only for sleeping. While many of them no doubt when at home live under such conditions of overcrowding as are common in the poorer sections of large cities, such congestion as that in the camp barracks is seldom found even in the most crowded slums. A study some years ago[7] of typical housing conditions in Jewish, Italian, and Negro quarters of Philadelphia, for example, revealed the fact that in 21 per cent of the families there were more than two persons per room, proportionately less than one-third as many as the migratory families included in the present study who were overcrowded to this extent. A study of room congestion made by the Children's Bureau in connection with the study of Philadelphia school children migrating to farms[8] showed also that of 485 of these migratory families, 12 per cent, were crowded when in their Philadelphia homes to the extent of three or more persons per room, proportionately only about one-fifth as many as the migratory families who were living three or more persons per room in the New Jersey area studied. Although most of the workers occupy the camp houses only from four to eight weeks and spend most of their waking hours out of doors, living quarters as overcrowded as were most of those provided for migratory families in the areas studied are undesirable for growing children. The mothers' assistance fund of Philadelphia would not grant mothers' pensions to families migrating to the truck farms on the ground that the crowded conditions in the country were bad for the children.

Room congestion in the camps was often intensified by lack of closets and cupboards and by clothes hanging on walls and dishes

[7] Craig, Frank A.: A Study of the Housing and Social Conditions in Selected Districts of Philadelphia: Eleventh Report of the Henry Phipps Institute, p. 64. University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1915.
[8] See pp. 42-52.

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and food everywhere; neatness in such small quarters was out of the question. Cleanliness was demanded in only a few camps. In these the requirement was that rooms must be scrubbed once a week, offenders being fined. Garbage in one camp was fed to hogs and in another burned, but in most it was thrown out about the camp. Waste water was disposed of in the same way. Few of the buildings were screened, but some of the families had improvised screens by stretching cheesecloth over the windows.

None of the camps had plumbing, but all had privies, their kind and condition varying in the different camps. Often the padrone was held responsible for their condition, in which case they were usually well cared for, but otherwise nobody felt any responsibility for their cleanliness, and they were filthy. There were not always a sufficient number of privies; one camp housing about 300 pickers, at the height of the season had only three toilets; another with a population of 59 had only two. The water was considered good in all except one of the camps, where it was obtained from a dug well which had been polluted by dead animals. In the field, however, drinking water was a problem; some farmers had it sent to the workers, but on other farms the workers themselves had to carry it to the field or drink ditch water, which, though possibly pure at the source, could easily have become contaminated by the time it reached them.

In several of the larger camps a nurse was provided who was at the camp and on call at all times. All cases of sickness were immediately isolated and a doctor summoned.

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SUMMARY.

Most of the children who work on the truck and small-fruit farms of southern New Jersey are Italian or of Italian parentage. Some live on or near the farms where they work, but during busy seasons others come with their families from Philadelphia and near-by New Jersey cities. Of 994 children reported as working on the farms in the districts included in the study somewhat more than one-half were migratory workers. The remainder were the children of small-farm owners or tenants in the neighborhood or of laborers on the larger farms, or were village children in the vicinity engaged as farm laborers. Half the local children interviewed worked for wages. Farmers' children, and to some extent other local children, do a variety of general farm work; but migratory children and most of those in the locality who are hired for farm work are hired only for picking fruits and vegetables. Migratory workers come into the area chiefly to pick cranberries and strawberries.

The need for some legal restriction on the age at which children may be employed on the farms and for some limitation of their hours of work would seem to be indicated by the facts revealed in the study. About three-fourths, both of the local and of the migratory workers, were under 14 years of age; 43 per cent of the former and 47 per cent of the latter were under 12; and one-fifth of those in each group were under 10. A notable proportion—27 per cent—of the local children reporting on the length of their working day worked more than 8 hours a day, including 23 per cent of the children working on home farms and 34 per cent of the others. Of the migratory workers, also, 41 per cent of those reporting worked more than 8 hours a day.

Farm work caused much absence from school. Two-thirds of the farmers' children included in the study had been absent from school for farm work 20 days on the average. Migratory workers suffered a still greater loss of schooling. Of the children in migratory families found in the area for whom school records were available, one-half had lost 8 or more weeks from school, and 29 per cent had lost at least 12 weeks, on account of their migrations. The average absence for farm work among these children was 43 days. In a supplementary study of the effect of migrations on school attendance it was found that among 869 Philadelphia school children leaving the city for farm work the average absence for this cause was between 15 per cent and 20 per cent of the school year. The majority of the children working on the farms had failed to reach the average grade for their years: 57 per cent of the local and 74 per cent of the migratory workers interviewed in the New Jersey districts were retarded in school. Of the

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Philadelphia migratory workers included in the supplementary study, 71 per cent were retarded. A comparison of the school progress of the migratory workers in Philadelphia schools and other children in the same schools, whose social and economic background was probably similar to that of the migratory families, indicated a close relation between irregular attendance and slow school progress.

Although the compulsory school-attendance law of New Jersey does not exempt children from attendance for farm work, the enforcement is in the hands of local attendance officers, and experience has indicated that in order to insure effective enforcement of school-attendance laws in most rural communities county or State supervision is essential. The enforcement of school-attendance laws in respect to the children who go to southern New Jersey for seasonal farm work is especially difficult. The school authorities in Philadelphia, the city from which most of the workers go, are powerless as soon as the children leave the city, and the local officials in the farming communities do not assume responsibility for the education of the children temporarily under their jurisdiction. Inasmuch as the workers cross State boundaries Federal action may be found to be necessary in dealing with the situation.

The housing of migratory labor also presents a problem. The accommodations offered the workers on the truck and small-fruit farms visited in southern New Jersey were in some respects superior to those provided in other districts where the Children's Bureau has investigated the housing of seasonal agricultural laborers.[1] Most of the buildings were in good repair, and some privacy was assured by the fact that each family had at least one room to itself with a separate entrance; in a few of the camps sanitary conditions were good, and in one or two a nurse was employed to enforce sanitary regulations and to isolate and care for persons who became ill. In most of the camps, however, no provision was made for the disposal of garbage or of waste water; and in some toilet accommodations were inadequate and privies were insanitary. Even in the best camps rooms were small and room congestion was very great. In over one-half the migratory families interviewed there were at least three, and in over one-fourth at least four persons per room. Several States, notably California and New York, have State regulations in regard to the housing of seasonal farm laborers. In the absence of any such State supervision the character of the accommodations provided naturally varies with the attitude and resources of the individual farmer.

[1] See Child Labor and the Work of Mothers in the Beet Fields of Colorado and Michigan, U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 115, pp. 65–69, 115–119; Child Labor on Maryland Truck Farms, U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 123, pp. 25–29; and Child Labor and the Work of Mothers on Norfolk Truck Farms, U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 130, pp. 3–6.

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