

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
CHILDREN'S BUREAU PUBLICATION No. 197

CHILD LABOR
FACTS AND FIGURES

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

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CHILD LABOR

FACTS AND FIGURES



Bureau Publication No. 197

(Revised October 1933)



UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1933

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
CHILDREN'S BUREAU,
Washington, October 15, 1933.

MADAM: I transmit herewith a bulletin entitled "Child Labor—Facts and Figures", which revises and brings up to date the Children's Bureau bulletin previously issued under that title. It is one of a series of publications prepared in the industrial division of the Bureau for distribution in response to requests for brief summaries of information on the various aspects of child labor. The report was written by Jean A. Flexner, assisted by Ella Arvilla Merritt, under the general supervision of Clara M. Beyer. The legal analyses were prepared by Lucy Manning.

GRACE ABBOTT, *Chief.*

HON. FRANCES PERKINS,
Secretary of Labor.

v

This bulletin is intended to present in simplified form the outstanding features of the child-labor problem. It furnishes an approach to the subject, indicates a method of study, and puts into easily available form material from many widely scattered sources. It cannot, however, be regarded as furnishing information which is either complete or final. The legal and statistical matter it contains, for example, is subject to continual revision as new laws are enacted and as the results of further research are made known. The adoption of codes of fair competition under the National Industrial Recovery Act passed in June 1933 is introducing a new method of setting minimum age and other requirements for child labor. About 50 codes, including codes for many of the principal industries, had been approved by the President at the time this bulletin went to press (Nov. 10, 1933), but so recently that it is not possible as yet to measure their effects.

CHILD LABOR

CHAPTER I.—CHILD LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES

The employment of young persons is a social problem whenever and wherever it deprives them of the opportunity for normal development. If children go to work too soon or work under unfavorable conditions, the result is harmful not only to the individual but also to society. The work of children and adolescents for long hours or at tasks beyond their strength is detrimental to normal physical development and often definitely injurious to health. It also deprives them of the schooling and recreation necessary for developing and perpetuating in the individual the fundamental physical, mental, moral, and social capacities of the race.

But the standards of public opinion as to what is necessary for normal development vary from generation to generation. Even today all communities are not agreed as to the age at which children should be permitted to enter regular employment, nor as to the types of work in which they should first be permitted to engage. The problem must be visualized as a changing one, which lessens as higher standards are adopted, regulations improved, and employment restricted, but which increases as new light is shed upon the effects of industrial work on growing boys and girls.

About the opening of the twentieth century it was assumed that most kinds of regular employment were not harmful to children of 14 and 15; that is, that the child-labor problem was practically limited to children under 14.¹ Gradually the concept of 16 as a more desirable minimum age for going to work gained ground. Still later the realization spread that children do not suddenly grow up on their sixteenth birthday—no more than they do on their fourteenth, and that older boys and girls at work also require study, protection, and assistance in making industrial adjustment. Beginning with 1920 the census has given figures for the 16- and 17-year-old wage-earning group, as well as the younger group.

The United States Census of Occupations is the most complete source of information concerning the extent of child labor, yet it does not give a complete picture; in the first place it does not enumerate children younger than 10 who may be gainfully employed. Other investigations have shown that considerable numbers of such children have worked, and still do so, more or less regularly, in

¹ Child Labor in the United States, pp. 8, 9. U.S. Bureau of the Census Bulletin 69. Washington, 1907. This bulletin suggests that at ages 14 and 15 the evils of child labor are not generally regarded as serious; it also suggests that children working on farms do not constitute a child-labor problem.

shops, in tenements on industrial home work, on farms, and in street trades, although the number cannot be estimated with any degree of accuracy. Furthermore, the census is taken at a season of the year when schools are still in session, and agricultural work in many parts of the country is not yet in full swing. Thus each census gives an understatement of the numbers actually employed; in particular the earlier censuses understate the numbers of young children at work.

In 1900, as has been said, child labor was considered the work of children under 14. At that time nearly 800,000 children aged 10 to 13 years, inclusive, were employed (table 1). Between 1900 and 1910 the number of such workers increased by more than 100,000; in 1920 it fell off, and was reduced still further in 1930. However, at this last date more than 200,000 children of the 10 to 13 age group were still at work—24 out of every 1,000 of the same age in the population. Although this is a much better showing than 123 per 1,000 (1910), or 44 per 1,000 (1920), the number is still large. This, moreover, is the average for the United States as a whole; in some States it is very much higher. (See p. 78.)

TABLE 1.—*Children 10 to 17 years old gainfully employed, by age groups, in the United States, 1900 to 1930*

Census year	10 to 13 years		14 and 15 years		16 and 17 years	
	Number	Rate per 1,000 of these ages	Number	Rate per 1,000 of these ages	Number	Rate per 1,000 of these ages
1900.....	790,623	121	959,555	309	(1)	(1)
1910.....	895,976	123	1,094,249	307	(1)	(1)
1920.....	378,063	44	682,795	175	1,712,648	447
1930.....	235,328	24	431,790	92	1,478,841	317

¹ Not reported.

Compiled from Children in Gainful Occupations, United States Census, 1920 and 1930, and from Child Labor in the United States, United States Census, 1900.

If the more generally accepted definition of child labor up to age 16 is used, what is the picture? Many more children aged 14 and 15 have been at work during this entire period than those 10 to 13 years old. Adding the two groups together in 1900, 1,750,000 children worked, 182 per 1,000 in the population of these ages. Probably this was an understatement; in 1910 a more accurate count revealed close to 2,000,000 gainfully employed (184 per 1,000). In 1920 there was a sharp drop; at this time the second Federal Child-Labor Law (see p. 72) was being enforced. A little more than a million were found employed—85 per 1,000. In 1930, when an industrial depression was restricting employment opportunities, there was a further, but not so sharp, drop. There were still 667,118 children under 16—47 per 1,000—employed. If the 1,480,000 young workers of 16 and 17 are added, the total child-labor problem in 1930 embraces more than 2,000,000 boys and girls 10 to 17 years of age, inclusive, or 113 per 1,000 of these ages. This group of workers constitute 4 percent of all persons recorded by the United States

Census Bureau as gainfully occupied. A third of the number are girls, representing 1 in every 13 of the girl population aged 10 to 17, inclusive, and 7 percent of all gainfully occupied females. The boys constitute 1 in every 7 boys aged 10 to 17, inclusive, and 4 percent of the total number of males gainfully employed.²

WORKING CHILDREN UNDER 10 YEARS OF AGE

Although the number of steady year-round workers under 10 years of age is not large, and although statistics for this group are not available, it is known that considerable numbers are intermittently employed in agriculture, in newspaper selling and in other street trades, and in industrial home work. It is certainly undesirable that these young children should spend long hours at exhausting or demoralizing occupations. Some idea of the extent of employment of children under 10 can be gained from special studies made in widely scattered areas. Twenty-four percent of the child workers found on 8 crops in 2 series of studies of children in agriculture made in the early 1920's were younger than 10 years, and the work at which they were employed was often found to involve excessive fatigue and physical strain. The number of children under 10 in street trades has been found to vary in different communities, ranging from 5 percent to 21 percent of all the children under 16 so engaged. Many young boys sell newspapers until late at night and sometimes sleep in the newspaper distributing rooms. The numbers of very young children in industrial home work are difficult to determine, but certain studies have revealed a large proportion under 10; in Newark and six other New Jersey communities in 1925 almost one fourth of 1,131 children were younger than 10 years of age, and in Pennsylvania in 1924 one third of 1,239 children.³

WORKING CHILDREN 10 TO 17 YEARS OF AGE, INCLUSIVE

The last two censuses of occupations, taken in 1920 and 1930, present data on working children of 10 to 17. This report will consider three age groups separately: Children 10 to 13, children of 14 and 15, and boys and girls of 16 and 17 years. This division is made because the numbers working and the occupations, and consequently the problems, are very different for the three age groups. Children under 14 are subject to compulsory school-attendance laws and are prohibited from entering many employments. Children of 14 and 15 are in many States permitted to leave school to go to work, with work certificates, and with some regulation depending on the type of employment. At 16 much of this regulation ceases. The most advanced standards which have been set up in regard to child labor contemplate the total elimination from gainful employment of children under 14; the elimination of children up to 16 during school hours, with careful regulation of employment outside school hours up to age 16; and up to age 18 certification of all children at work,

² Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Population, vol. 5, pp. 10 and 345. U.S. Bureau of the Census. Washington, 1933.

³ Child Labor; report of the subcommittee on child labor of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, pp. 224, 150, 128. Century Co., New York, 1932.

school attendance if child is unemployed, regulation of hours and conditions of work, and prohibition of employment in hazardous occupations. In order to facilitate the planning of programs along these lines, it is convenient to have figures for child employment arranged in these three age groups.

In connection with each age group the geographical and occupational distribution of the workers, together with outstanding changes between 1920 and 1930, are considered. The total number working, and especially the proportion which working children constitute of all children of these ages in the population of a given region or State, shows the extent of the child-labor problem. But the nature of the problem will vary with the kinds of work children do. If they are engaged mainly in agriculture they are scattered over a wide rural area, difficult to reach by inspectors and by certificating and school-attendance officers. If they are mainly in nonagricultural types of work they are in towns and cities, usually somewhat easier to supervise. However, regulation is in itself a complicated process. "Nonagricultural work", although it can conveniently be grouped together for the purpose of contrasting it with farm work, includes a bewildering variety of jobs in factories, stores, commercial offices, homes, restaurants, barber shops, and on streets.

In dealing with so many States covering so large an area as does the United States it is convenient sometimes to speak in terms of regions. The census groups the 48 States and the District of Columbia into nine geographic divisions based partly upon natural boundaries, partly on economic characteristics. Table 2 pictures the number of employed children of each age group in these different divisions. Appendix tables B, C, D, E, and F give information for single States, grouped regionally. (See pp. 79-85.) Some information for working children of 14 and 15 is presented in the form of a bar chart (see p. 10) for the separate States ranked according to the extent of child labor. Child-labor conditions on the whole tend to resemble each other in adjacent States where economic conditions are similar. For this reason, and in the interest of brevity and clarity, the nine geographic divisions into which the United States is divided by the Census Bureau are used in the tables and referred to in the text; where certain States differ markedly from the regional averages attention is called to that fact.

WORKING CHILDREN 10 TO 13, INCLUSIVE

Where and in what occupations are the 235,328 children aged 10 to 13 enumerated by the 1930 census employed?

Geographical distribution

In 1930, 89 percent of the employed children 10 to 13 years of age were in the 16 States and the District of Columbia which the census groups in the three southern geographical divisions⁴ and which contain only 35 percent of all the children of these ages in the population. Nine Southern States account for more than three fourths of the total number—Mississippi (35,424), Alabama (31,565), Georgia

⁴ South Atlantic States: Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, and the District of Columbia; East South Central States: Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi; West South Central States: Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas.

TABLE 2.—Children 10 to 17 years old gainfully employed, by age groups, in the United States and in each geographic division; 1910 1920, and 1930

Geographic division	10 to 13 years						14 and 15 years						16 and 17 years			
	Number			Rate per 1,000 of these ages			Number			Rate per 1,000 of these ages			Number		Rate per 1,000 of these ages	
	1910	1920	1930	1910	1920	1930	1910	1920	1930	1910	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930
United States.....	895, 976	378, 063	235, 328	123	44	24	1, 094, 249	682, 795	431, 790	307	175	92	1, 712, 648	1, 478, 841	447	317
New England.....	4, 390	2, 999	1, 297	10	6	2	59, 549	56, 240	18, 990	268	235	64	135, 633	106, 997	570	369
Middle Atlantic.....	21, 805	8, 896	3, 555	16	5	2	165, 976	122, 645	51, 261	246	167	54	433, 397	351, 673	583	374
East North Central.....	36, 255	14, 562	7, 778	27	9	4	139, 985	86, 239	29, 408	206	119	32	327, 774	231, 245	451	258
West North Central.....	47, 642	12, 859	7, 711	51	13	7	94, 404	45, 047	30, 046	204	96	61	153, 741	132, 536	330	263
South Atlantic.....	308, 347	123, 547	73, 258	277	94	52	254, 899	150, 434	124, 427	475	251	183	257, 391	264, 993	451	387
East South Central.....	253, 490	115, 132	84, 398	329	132	97	188, 400	106, 210	91, 225	500	267	214	160, 070	164, 031	426	378
West South Central.....	211, 694	91, 113	50, 949	261	92	49	160, 979	93, 154	69, 699	409	204	138	156, 212	153, 665	361	297
Mountain.....	8, 201	5, 006	3, 279	43	18	11	13, 987	10, 606	8, 308	152	88	57	32, 722	31, 359	286	220
Pacific.....	4, 152	3, 949	3, 103	16	11	6	16, 070	12, 220	7, 526	121	75	30	55, 708	42, 342	344	166

Compiled from Children in Gainful Occupations, United States Census, 1920 and 1930.

(23,847), Texas (21,370), South Carolina (20,114), North Carolina (19,361), Arkansas (14,817), Louisiana (11,273), Tennessee (11,017). Whereas in the country as a whole 24 per 1,000 children of these ages worked in 1930, in these nine States the proportion of working children ranges from 194 to 44 per 1,000.

All the remaining geographical divisions have a lower ratio of children working than the average for the United States. The group of States with the next highest proportion of their children of these ages at work, the Mountain States, show only 11 per 1,000 employed. Among this group the highest proportions are found in New Mexico, with 18 per 1,000, and in Arizona, with 16 per 1,000. Of the remaining States in other sections of the country, only Missouri has as many as 11 per 1,000 at work. Eight States in the North and East show only 2 per 1,000 employed.

Many States materially reduced the number and proportion of their children under 14 at work between 1920 and 1930. States in which the proportion working was reduced by half or more include all the New England and Middle Atlantic States; Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Nebraska, Kansas, in the North Central States; Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, in the South Atlantic group; Oklahoma, Texas, in the West South Central States; Idaho, Arizona, Utah, in the Mountain States; and California, in the Pacific group. The wide geographical distribution of these States indicates that many factors were at work reducing child labor during the decade.

Occupations of children of 10 to 13, inclusive

The child-labor problem for children under 14 is largely agricultural; more than 200,000 (87 percent) of these children are working on farms. (Table 3; see also appendix table B, p. 79.) Practically all these children working in agriculture are attributed by the census to the southern geographical divisions. The situation would have been different had the census been taken in late spring or summer rather than at the beginning of April. For at this date planting and cultivating are not under way, except in the Southern States; a month or two later many more workers would be employed in other parts of the country. A still larger number would be found at work throughout the country during the harvest season. Although the indications are that throughout the year a higher proportion of children are employed in agriculture in the Southern and Southwestern States than in other parts of the country, the disproportion is not so great as the census makes it appear.

In spite of the high proportion employed in agriculture the number of very young children engaged in other pursuits—30,000—is sufficiently large to require serious consideration. Next to agriculture the principal employment is trade, with 15,000; domestic and personal service employs 7,500, and manufacturing and mechanical industries employ almost 5,000. Very few children in this age group are employed in transportation and communication, in the extraction of minerals, or in forestry and fishing. About 700 are clerical workers.

Forty-six percent of the children 10 to 13, inclusive, engaged in nonagricultural pursuits are found in 16 Southern States and in the District of Columbia; the remaining 54 percent are distributed over 32 States.

A decrease of 90 percent occurred between 1920 and 1930 in the employment of children under 14 in clerical work; decreases of more than 50 percent occurred in the extraction of minerals, in transportation and communication, and in manufacturing and mechanical industries. The decrease in employment in service occupations and in agriculture was only slightly more than a third (34 and 37 percent, respectively). The numbers employed in trade dropped very little (15 percent).

TABLE 3.—Children 10 to 17 years old gainfully employed, by age groups and by main occupational divisions, in the United States, 1920 and 1930, and percent of increase or decrease in 1930 as compared with 1920

Main occupational divisions	10 to 13 years			14 and 15 years			16 and 17 years		
	Number		Per- cent of change	Number		Per- cent of change	Number		Per- cent of change
	1920	1930		1920	1930		1920	1930	
All occupations.....	378, 063	235, 328	-38	682, 795	431, 790	-37	1, 712, 648	1, 478, 841	-14
Agricultural.....	328, 297	205, 563	-37	315, 877	263, 934	-16	469, 132	506, 071	+8
Nonagricultural.....	49, 766	29, 765	-40	366, 918	167, 856	-54	1, 243, 516	972, 770	-22
Forestry and fishing.....	385	222	-42	2, 087	1, 340	-36	8, 137	5, 808	-29
Extraction of minerals.....	647	137	-79	6, 544	1, 047	-84	43, 210	18, 412	-57
Manufacturing and me- chanical industries.....	9, 733	4, 761	-51	175, 919	63, 505	-64	585, 367	397, 985	-32
Transportation and communication.....	1, 899	583	-69	17, 013	8, 134	-52	88, 407	66, 338	-25
Trade.....	17, 333	14, 746	-15	46, 391	34, 869	-25	134, 810	138, 348	+3
Clerical occupations.....	6, 807	703	-90	72, 977	16, 100	-78	240, 133	155, 379	-35
Service occupations.....	12, 962	8, 613	-34	45, 987	42, 861	-7	143, 452	190, 500	+33
Domestic and per- sonal.....	12, 172	7, 501	-38	41, 834	38, 644	-8	112, 536	163, 159	+45
Public service.....	153	143	-7	977	342	-65	10, 927	4, 266	-61
Professional service.....	637	969	(1)	3, 176	3, 875	(1)	19, 989	23, 075	(1)

¹ Percent of change not shown as 1920 and 1930 figures are not comparable because of changes in classifying occupational subgroups.

Compiled from Children in Gainful Occupations, United States Census, 1920 and 1930.

Broad occupational headings, like those just used, mean little until broken down into particular occupations. This has been done in table 4 and appendix table A. (See p. 78.) Table A shows, for example, in what kinds of manufacturing industries children are mainly employed. Of those aged 10 to 13 the largest single group (844) are classified as laborers and helpers in building industries. Other industries employing young children include: Lumber and furniture (646), turpentine farms and distilleries (565), and textiles (484). Factory work of all kinds is indefensible for children under 14 on account of the exposure to machinery, belts, and gears and to noise, vibration, and dust.

Those who work with the child-labor problem are accustomed to grouping children's occupations somewhat differently from the system used by the Census Bureau. The census is intended to show how the productive forces of the Nation are organized. However, the questions which those interested in the child-labor problem chiefly want answered are such questions as: How many children work in occupations which are very dangerous? How many do rough unskilled work? How many are engaged in work which contains either an element of skill or the promise of imparting skill

and opening the child's way to advancement? In order to answer some of these questions the census figures have been regrouped in table 4. This table shows that of the youngest group of working children an insignificant number are employed as apprentices or assistants to workmen in skilled trades (332); hardly any are employed in such occupations as clerical workers, barbers and hairdressers, telephone and telegraph operators. The most important occupational groups are: Street trades, 11,000—including newspaper sellers, bootblacks, canvassers, hucksters, and peddlers; domestic servants, 6,500; unskilled laborers, more than 4,000—between 2,000 and 3,000 being in manufacturing industries; operatives in factories, about 2,000—many of these being exposed to mechanical hazards; telegraph messengers and delivery boys, about 1,700—both occupations involving traffic hazards and injury from motor vehicles; sales persons in stores, 1,400. It is significant that whereas most of these occupations show heavy decreases since 1920 for these young children, there are a few increases in extremely undesirable types of work, for example, some of the laboring groups, canvassers, and delivery boys. Large decreases are shown for apprentices, and for messenger, bundle, and office boys and girls, and telegraph messengers.

WORKING CHILDREN OF 14 AND 15

Geographical distribution

In 1930, 431,790 children of 14 and 15 were gainfully employed, 92 per 1,000 of the population of these ages (table 2 and bar chart; also appendix table C, p. 80). As in the case of the younger children, the States of the South Atlantic, East South Central, and West South Central groups lead, both in the actual numbers working and in the proportion which these constitute of all children in the population. In two of these States (Mississippi and South Carolina) a third of the children of these ages work; in two others (Georgia and Alabama) a little more than a fourth; in North Carolina and Arkansas about a fifth. Three States in these groups (Delaware, West Virginia, and Oklahoma) have a much smaller proportion of children employed than others in the same geographic divisions. One reason for the large numbers still found at work in 1930 in these regions is that a very high proportion work in agriculture, as is true of the younger children, and regulation is difficult in rural districts. Another reason is that widespread unemployment affecting nonagricultural pursuits was in 1930 rendering jobs for children scarce, especially in the North and East, whereas southern cities were not, in 1930, experiencing this job shortage to the same degree.

In spite of unemployment, the New England group of States ranks next with 64 per 1,000 at work; the West North Central States have 61 per 1,000 and the Mountain States 57 per 1,000. The fewest children are found in the East North Central States and the Pacific Coast States, respectively 32 per 1,000 and 30 per 1,000. The ranking of the individual States is shown in the accompanying bar chart. If the figures for separate States are compared with regional figures (table 2, p. 5), it will be seen that, on the whole, adjacent States present a rather similar picture. However, certain exceptions stand out: Oregon, with 50 per 1,000 employed, stands higher

TABLE 4.—*Children 10 to 17 years old gainfully employed in certain types of work in selected industries in the United States, 1920 and 1930, by age groups, and percentage change in 1930 as compared with 1920*

Type of work and industry	10 to 13 years			14 and 15 years			16 and 17 years		
	1920	1930	Percent of change ¹	1920	1930	Percent of change	1920	1930	Percent of change
Apprentices in mechanical trades	1, 219	301	-75	17, 756	3, 870	-78	81, 681	34, 469	-58
Assistants in mechanical trades ²	119	31	-74	1, 831	520	-72	29, 216	19, 282	-34
Operatives in manufacturing and mechanical industries ³	4, 095	1, 947	-52	114, 562	43, 194	-62	325, 548	247, 983	-24
Laborers (in specified industries)	6, 974	4, 139	-41	56, 249	25, 661	-54	199, 087	154, 042	-23
Laborers in manufacturing and mechanical industries ³	4, 573	2, 690	-41	44, 325	17, 991	-59	156, 759	109, 864	-30
Laborers in coal yards, warehouses, etc.	111	58	-48	854	431	-50	3, 559	2, 395	-33
Garage laborers	88	51	-42	799	677	-15	2, 892	4, 143	+43
Street and street-railroad laborers	154	101	-34	932	693	-26	3, 739	5, 922	+58
Steam-railroad laborers	280	80	-71	2, 275	383	-83	14, 907	5, 285	-65
Other transportation laborers	39	19	-51	318	118	-63	1, 392	999	-28
Public-service laborers	92	138	+50	525	314	-40	2, 380	1, 576	-34
Laborers, porters, helpers in stores	931	593	-36	4, 052	3, 551	-12	8, 564	14, 314	+67
Janitors, porters, and laborers in domestic and personal and professional service ⁴	706	409	-42	2, 169	1, 503	-31	4, 895	9, 544	+95
Domestic servants ⁵	10, 252	6, 545	-36	34, 184	33, 584	-2	92, 328	132, 027	+43
Servants and waiters	9, 612	6, 246	-35	31, 974	32, 215	+1	85, 938	126, 581	+47
Launderers and laundresses	503	299	-41	1, 945	1, 369	-30	5, 884	4, 434	-25
Charwomen and cleaners	137			265			506	1, 012	+100
Street traders	13, 861	11, 227	-19	9, 632	12, 618	+31	4, 534	10, 807	+138
Newsboys	12, 923	10, 603	-18	7, 783	11, 180	+44	2, 465	6, 968	+183
Bootblacks	720	305	-58	1, 352	994	-26	1, 358	2, 387	+76
Hucksters and peddlers	98	51	-48	261	245	-6	563	832	+48
Canvassers	120	268	+123	236	199	-16	148	620	+319
Telegraph messengers and delivery boys	1, 085	1, 745	+61	7, 605	9, 845	+29	13, 804	23, 891	+73
Telegraph messengers	347	90	-74	3, 722	3, 307	-11	3, 125	7, 927	+154
Delivery boys (stores, bakeries, laundries)	738	1, 655	+124	3, 883	6, 538	+68	10, 679	15, 964	+49
Chauffeurs and drivers ⁶	528	50	-91	4, 120	1, 315	-68	22, 017	13, 852	-37
Cranemen, derrickmen, hoistmen, and elevator tenders ⁷	43	4	-91	520	175	-66	2, 866	2, 345	-18
Clerical workers ⁸		12		31, 533	6, 358	-80	199, 090	120, 045	-40
Telephone and telegraph operators	154	67	-56	3, 034	566	-81	28, 916	17, 518	-39
Messenger, errand, bundle, and office boys and girls	6, 807	691	-90	41, 221	9, 742	-76	39, 285	34, 748	-12
Sales boys and girls in stores ⁹	2, 350	1, 402	-40	28, 020	11, 961	-57	104, 028	90, 345	-13
Barbers and hairdressers	116	75	-35	810	536	-34	2, 486	4, 704	+89
Theater and circus employees	209	123	-41	995	659	-34	3, 022	4, 888	+62
Actors and showmen	109	91	-17	291	202	-31	1, 487	1, 747	+17
Theatrical attendants and stage hands	100	32	-68	704	457	-35	1, 535	3, 141	+105

¹ Not shown where number of children employed in 1920 was less than 50.

² Includes bakers, carpenters, compositors, linotypers and typesetters, coopers, dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory), dyers, electrotypers, stereotypers, and lithographers, engineers (stationary), fliers, grinders, buffers and polishers (metal), firemen (except locomotive and fire department), foremen and overseers (manufacturing), furnace men, smelter men, heaters, puddlers, etc., oilers of machinery, painters, glaziers, varnishers, enamellers, etc., shoemakers, cobblers (not in factory), tailors and tailoresses, and upholsters.

³ Includes laundries, cleaning, dyeing, and pressing shops.

⁴ Janitors and porters not classified as laborers by census.

⁵ Includes servants in hotels, boarding houses, restaurants, as well as in private homes.

⁶ Includes chauffeurs, truck and tractor drivers, draymen, teamsters, and carriage drivers.

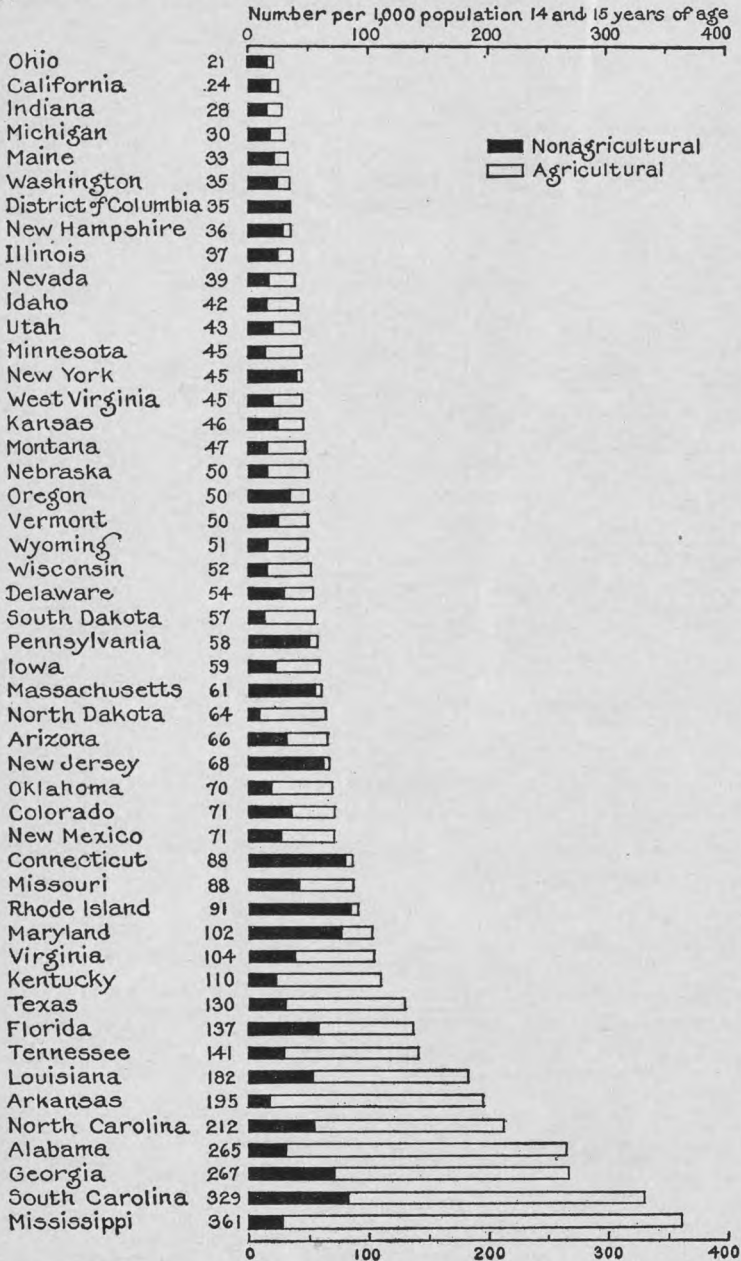
⁷ These workers would be considered with assistants in mechanical trades but are set forth as a group on account of the especially dangerous character of the occupation.

⁸ Includes stenographers and typists, bookkeepers and cashiers, and clerks (except in stores).

⁹ Includes clerks in stores, sales persons in stores, retail dealers (other than hucksters and peddlers).

Compiled from Children in Gainful Occupations, United States Census, 1920 and 1930.

PROPORTION OF CHILDREN 14 AND 15 YEARS OF AGE ENGAGED IN NON-AGRICULTURAL AND IN AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS IN EACH STATE, 1930¹



¹ Compiled from reports of United States Bureau of the Census.

proportionally in child employment than either Washington or California. In the mountain group, Colorado and New Mexico (each with 71 per 1,000) exceed the regional total of 57 per 1,000. Missouri has a much higher proportion (88 per 1,000) than the average of the other West North Central States (61 per 1,000); Wisconsin, with 52 per 1,000, greatly exceeds the regional average of 32 per 1,000. In New England, Rhode Island with 91 and Connecticut with 88 per 1,000 employed make a much worse showing than the other States in this division. Of the three Middle Atlantic States New York has 45 employed per 1,000 of these ages; Pennsylvania, 58; and New Jersey, 68.

The bar chart clearly shows that, although the highest proportions of children at work occur in agricultural States, some of the States having the lowest proportions of children at work are likewise important agricultural producers; for instance, Ohio, California, Indiana, Michigan, Maine, and Washington. Many of the States in which the dominant type of child employment is non-agricultural have much higher proportions of their 14- and 15-year-old children at work, namely, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. It is only fair to point out, however, that in many of the States making the best showing the number of children employed in agriculture is much greater at certain seasons than in April when the census was taken.

Advances that have been made in State child-labor legislation and in school-attendance laws in recent years have widely affected the employment of 14- and 15-year-old children. Grade standards for employment, regulation of hours, and employment-certificate requirements have operated, both directly and indirectly, to reduce the number of children of these ages at work. Where employment has not been actually prohibited it has been discouraged because many employers, rather than comply with these regulations, hire fewer children under 16. To a considerable extent children in this age group have also been affected by a general reduction in work opportunities.

These several factors brought about a decrease of 37 percent in the number of 14- and 15-year-old children employed as compared with 1920—a decrease which is practically as great as that of children 10 to 13. The greatest drop in employment occurred in the New England, Middle Atlantic, and East North Central States, sections in which most of the children at work are engaged outside agriculture, and which were among the first to feel the effects of the depression. (See appendix table E, p. 82.) Employment of children of these ages in these three geographic divisions fell from 265,124 in 1920 to 99,659 in 1930, 62 percent. The Pacific Coast States experienced a drop of 38 percent, and the West North Central States 31 percent.

The remaining geographical divisions showed less marked reductions—the West South Central dropped 25 percent; the Mountain, 22 percent; the South Atlantic, 17 percent; the East South Central, 14 percent. Most of the States in these regions have a high proportion of boys and girls of these ages at work on farms, employment which is not subject to the same fluctuations as industrial and com-

mercial employment, partly because of the fact that the farmer and his family continue to work their land regardless of the return which they receive on it in any one year. In contrast to the relative stability of agricultural employment, nonagricultural child labor in these same States for the most part decreased sharply. Thus, in the East South Central division (Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi) employment in nonagricultural occupations dropped 40 percent in 1930 as compared with 1920; in agricultural, 8 percent. But, since the children in agriculture far outnumbered the others, the net total decline was only 14 percent. In the West North Central division (Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North and South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas), where about 60 percent of the employed children are on farms, a drop of 49 percent in nonagricultural employment and of 11 percent in agricultural employment, combined produced a net decrease of 31 percent.

A few States show unexpected increases in the number of 14- and 15-year-old children in nonagricultural employment: South Carolina, an increase of 29 percent; Florida, 7 percent; Georgia, 2 percent. In two of these States industrialization is going ahead at a fast pace; the proportions of children now engaged in nonagricultural work are equal to the proportions employed in highly urbanized and industrialized States, such as New Jersey, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts. The 1930 figures constitute a danger signal, pointing out the need for checking this tendency. That growth of cities, commerce, and industry need not, at the present time, bring with it an increase in child labor is shown by the record of other parts of the country. The East North Central and the Pacific Coast States show increases in nonagricultural types of employment, yet the proportions of children of 14 and 15 employed in these sections decreased 80 percent and 62 percent, respectively.

Occupations of 14- and 15-year-old children

As is true of the youngest group of working children, agricultural work accounts for the largest number of 14 and 15 year olds, 263,934 (61 percent) of the total at work. This is, however, not as preponderant a proportion as the 87 percent of children under 14 engaged in agriculture. Large numbers of 14- and 15-year-old children are engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries (64,000), service occupations (43,000), and trade (35,000) (table 3).

The manufacturing industries and trades employing the largest numbers are as follows (see also appendix table A):

Textiles.....	20,141	Lumber and furniture.....	4,144
Cotton.....	10,395	Saw and planing.....	2,685
Knitting.....	3,426	Furniture and other..	1,459
Silk.....	3,540		
Woolen and worsted..	874	Food industries.....	3,933
Other textile.....	1,906	Metal and machinery (in-	
		cludes iron and steel)..	2,956
Clothing.....	8,420	Leather industries.....	2,521
Building industry.....	4,826		

In contrast to the younger children the 14 and 15 year olds are more frequently employed as operatives than as laborers in manufacturing and mechanical industries—43,000 operatives and 18,000 laborers. The laboring jobs are wholly unskilled and even the opera-

tive jobs have little training value because comparatively few factory operatives today are highly skilled craftsmen.

Nonfactory jobs for children of 14 and 15 in some instances may be safer than factory work, but usually they offer little more in the way of advancement and training. Among these children are about 7,500 holding laborers' jobs in stores, office buildings, apartment houses, coal yards, warehouses, garages, and in connection with both steam and electric railroads; 34,000 are domestic servants, mostly in private homes, the majority of these being girls; 12,600 are street traders; almost 10,000 work as telegraph messengers and delivery boys (table 4). Many of the 8,900 messenger, errand, and office boys do work for banks and offices similar to that done by delivery boys for stores and messengers for telegraph companies. Thus about 30,000 boys of 14 and 15 years spend most of their working time going about crowded city streets, exposed to traffic hazards. Of these occupations, involving outdoor work, a number showed increases between 1920 and 1930, contrary to the prevailing trends in the employment of children. Thus street traders of 14 and 15 increased by nearly a third, which reflects in part a tendency to start this kind of work at a later age, since it is matched by a falling off in numbers of younger children; delivery boys increased by 68 percent, and there was an even greater increase among the younger group (124 percent). There was, however, a very large decline in the number of boys employed in messenger, errand, bundle, and office work, from 37,699 in 1920 to less than 9,000 in 1930.⁶

Among the least undesirable positions held by children under 16 may be classed store work and clerical work, and even these may involve bad working conditions (see p. 27). The number of 14- and 15-year-old children in clerical occupations, including bookkeepers, cashiers, and stenographers, has dropped 80 percent since 1920, from more than 31,000 to 6,400, and the number in store work, including sales persons and clerks, 57 percent, or from 28,000 to 12,000. Telephone and telegraph operators are now seldom under 16; whereas in 1920 3,000 were 14 and 15 years of age, there are now less than 600. Even if children are physically unscathed by going to work before 16, they are missing the chance to obtain the education and training which might qualify them for better jobs later in life.

On the whole, the largest decreases in the numbers of 14- and 15-year-old working children between 1920 and 1930 occurred in the same occupational groups as in the case of the children under 14. (See table 3.) Employment in mining decreased by 84 percent; in manufacturing and mechanical trades, by 64 percent; in clerical occupations, by 78 percent; in transportation and communication, by half. However, relatively minor decreases occurred in agriculture, trade, and service occupations—16 percent, 25 percent, and 7 percent, respectively. These last three groups, in 1920, constituted 60 percent of all the employed children of these ages, and in 1930, 79 percent. For this reason the grand total of all 14- and 15-year-old children employed did not decrease as much as the spectacular decreases in certain occupations—employing relatively few

⁶ Comparatively few girls are listed by the census in this type of work, and these are engaged mainly in indoor work. The figures given in the text are for boys only; those given in the tables are for both sexes.

of the working children—would lead one to expect. If the trends of the past decade are projected into the future, it seems probable that the child-labor problem will be centered more and more upon employment in agriculture, trade, and various forms of domestic and personal service.

WORKING BOYS AND GIRLS OF 16 AND 17

Geographical Distribution

The number of 16- and 17-year-old boys and girls working in 1930 was more than three times the number of those 14 and 15 years old—1,478,841. This number constitutes 317 per 1,000 of these ages. The proportions working are more nearly uniform for different parts of the country than is the case with the younger children. (See table 2.) In the South Atlantic States, where the highest proportion is at work, it is 387 per 1,000; in the East South Central States, 378 per 1,000; in the Middle Atlantic States, 374; and in the New England States, 369. The lowest rate prevails on the Pacific coast, where 166 per 1,000 are employed. The highest rate of any State is that of Rhode Island, 544 per 1,000 working, and the lowest that of California, 153 per 1,000. (See appendix table D, p. 81.)

Although a fourth of the States show numerical increases in the number of boys and girls of these ages employed, in only one State, Mississippi, did the proportion employed increase, from 463 per 1,000 children of these ages in 1920 to 473 per 1,000 in 1930. For the country as a whole there was a decrease of 14 percent in numbers employed, while the rate fell from 447 per 1,000 to 317. (See appendix table F, p. 84.)

Occupations of 16- and 17-year-old minors

This older group of boys and girls presents an occupational picture which contrasts with that of the younger group because more avenues of employment are normally open to them, because they are better educated and more mature, and because they are subject to fewer legal restrictions. One third are found in agriculture and two thirds in other pursuits, mainly industrial or commercial (table 3). But this proportion is not equally representative of all parts of the country. In the New England and Middle Atlantic States employment in agriculture is a negligible part of the total—at least in the early spring when the census was taken. In the East North Central States 22 percent are employed on farms; in the Pacific Coast States the proportion on farms is slightly higher. In the South Atlantic, Mountain, and West North Central States almost half are employed in agriculture. On the other hand, in the East and West South Central States—a belt stretching from Kentucky to Arkansas and south to the Gulf—the numbers employed in agriculture far outnumber all other types of employment.

In the United States as a whole manufacturing and mechanical industries, employing about 400,000, rank second to agriculture, followed by service occupations (190,000), clerical work (155,000), trade (140,000), transportation and communication (66,000), and mining (18,000). The boys and girls employed as clerical workers are concentrated in the Middle Atlantic and East North Central States (72 percent of the total number so employed). The other occupational groups are more dispersed, although these same States account

for a large proportion of each group: Service occupations, 43 percent; trade, 49 percent; transportation and communication, 48 percent; manufacturing and mechanical industries, 51 percent. The South Atlantic States have 16 percent of those employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries; 13 percent of those employed in transportation and communication; 12 percent of those engaged in trade; 16 percent of those in service occupations; and 5 percent of all the clerical workers 16 and 17 years of age. The New England States contain 15 percent of all the boys and girls of these ages who work in manufacturing and mechanical industries but contain only relatively small proportions of those engaged in the other non-agricultural occupations. The percent distribution is as follows:

	Manufacturing and mechanical industries	Transportation and communication	Trade	Clerical	Service occupations
United States.....	100	100	100	100	100
New England.....	15	6	8	7	8
Middle Atlantic.....	35	29	28	52	23
East North Central.....	16	19	21	20	20
West North Central.....	5	9	9	7	10
South Atlantic.....	16	13	12	5	16
East South Central.....	5	7	6	2	7
West South Central.....	4	9	9	4	9
Mountain.....	1	3	2	1	3
Pacific.....	2	4	5	3	5

Boys and girls of 16 and 17 have better chances than children younger than 16 to obtain the relatively desirable and better-paying jobs. Thus in manufacturing and mechanical industries the number of operatives greatly exceeds the number of laborers in this age group—248,000 compared to 110,000 (table 4). Only after 16 are appreciable numbers found as apprentices or assistants to skilled trades—34,500 and 19,000 aged 16 and 17. Outside manufacturing the same tendencies appear. There are 120,000 bookkeepers, cashiers, and clerks; 17,500 telephone and telegraph operators; 90,000 sales persons and clerks in stores; very few younger children are found in these occupations. Nevertheless, large younger children are found in these occupations. Nevertheless, large numbers even of these older children are engaged in unskilled or otherwise undesirable occupations; for instance, the 110,000 laborers in the manufacturing industry, already mentioned, and, outside manufacturing, 44,000 laborers, porters, janitors, helpers in stores, warehouses, coal yards, etc., 11,000 in street trades, 24,000 messengers and delivery boys, 127,000 servants and waiters.

For really skilled and responsible positions the minimum age for hiring is usually 18 or over. However, some of 16 and 17 are engaged on work that involves over great responsibility and risk; for instance, 12,000 are chauffeurs and 2,300 are elevator tenders and hoisting engineers, derrick and crane men.

Heavy decreases in the employment of 16- and 17-year olds took place between 1920 and 1930 in all the better classes of occupations. Apprentices and assistants in skilled trades decreased 58 and 34 per-

cent, respectively; clerical workers, 40 percent; telephone and telegraph operators, 39 percent. Increases, sometimes large, appeared in relatively undesirable occupations—laborers; porters in stores; laborers in domestic, personal, and professional services; domestic servants; street trades; telegraph messengers and delivery boys; beauty-parlor employees; and theater and circus attendants. These increases sometimes mark a shifting of age groups within the occupations, a tendency to employ older in preference to younger children. Apparently children of 16 and 17 are more likely to be employed as messenger, bundle, and office boys and girls and in store work than children under 16, although even in the older groups the number decreased somewhat.

Fourteen percent fewer boys and girls of 16 and 17 years were employed in 1930 than in 1920. Thus the drop is less pronounced than among the younger children. The factors tending to reduce employment among the two age groups are not identical, and some difference in the rate of decrease might be expected. The ages 16 and 17 years have not been affected by changes in legislation as much as have the younger children; increased school attendance among the older group of children, while marked, is more likely to be voluntary and part-time, for example, at night schools. Nevertheless, in spite of the difference in the rate of total decrease, and in spite of a different occupational distribution, changes in the employment of older and younger children present certain striking similarities. Thus the broad occupational groups showing increases among the 16- and 17-year old children were agriculture, trade, and domestic and personal service, which show the smallest decreases at the younger ages. It is noteworthy that the older children employed in domestic and personal service increased by 45 percent. The occupations in which the most striking decreases took place among younger children also showed the largest reductions for the older boys and girls. In the extraction of minerals only half as many minors of 16 and 17 were employed in 1930 as in 1920. In manufacturing and mechanical industries the decrease was 32 percent; in clerical work 35 percent.

The total decrease in nonagricultural employment was 22 percent, a decrease in which the majority of States participated. In certain States (North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and Arizona), however, employment outside agriculture increased in the decade.

An increase in agricultural employment of only 8 percent is very significant because of the large numbers involved; in fact it largely offsets the 22 percent decrease in nonagricultural employment and accounts for the fact that total employment fell off by only 14 percent. Most of the principal agricultural States showed increases in farm employment, usually accompanied by sharp decreases in other forms of employment. This was true in all the West North Central States except Kansas; also in Michigan, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. Others showed practically stationary farm employment. Some of the leading industrial States showed striking percentage increases in agricultural employment, although, of course, actual num-

bers involved were small. For example, Massachusetts showed an increase of 60 percent; Rhode Island, 63 percent; Connecticut, 39 percent; New Jersey, 33 percent.

RACE AND NATIVITY OF WORKING CHILDREN

Almost three fourths of the gainfully employed children 10 to 17 years of age, inclusive, in the United States today are native-born white; 2 percent are foreign-born white, 22 percent are Negro, and about 2 percent are of other races, chiefly oriental or Mexican. But, although the native white account for so many of the working children, the Negroes have the highest ratio of children at work—236 per 1,000, compared with 97 of the native white, 171 of the foreign-born white, and 125 of other races. For the 14- and 15-year group the rates are 267 per 1,000 Negro children, compared with 71 per 1,000 native-born white; 53 per 1,000 foreign-born white;⁷ and 128 per 1,000 of other races. Also, the Negroes showed the least decline between 1920 and 1930 in the ratio of working children to all children in the racial group.

In view of the fact that child labor is most prevalent among Negroes and Mexicans, in regions where these races are concentrated the proportion of children working is raised for the whole region. Thus in the West South Central States, where 120,648 children of 10 to 15, inclusive, or 78 per 1,000 children of these ages, are employed, 45 percent of these children are Negro, Mexican, or oriental; the proportion of children of these races who work is 148 per 1,000 for the Negroes and 102 per 1,000 for the Mexicans and orientals. Of the native whites, 58 per 1,000 work (table 5.)

TABLE 5.—Children 10 to 15 years old gainfully employed, by color and nativity, in the United States and in each geographic division; 1930

Geographic divisions	Total		Native white		Foreign-born white		Negro		Other races ¹	
	Number	Rate per 1,000 children these ages	Number	Rate per 1,000 children these ages	Number	Rate per 1,000 children these ages	Number	Rate per 1,000 children these ages	Number	Rate per 1,000 children these ages
United States.....	667, 118	47	407, 300	33	4, 144	22	240, 057	161	15, 617	64
New England.....	20, 287	22	19, 092	22	1, 037	33	147	15	11	(²)
Middle Atlantic.....	54, 816	19	51, 725	19	1, 712	24	1, 354	15	25	13
East North Central.....	37, 186	13	35, 383	13	559	13	1, 143	14	101	15
West North Central.....	38, 657	25	36, 948	25	245	36	1, 107	37	357	31
South Atlantic.....	197, 685	95	93, 591	65	84	21	103, 218	163	792	241
East South Central.....	175, 623	135	85, 858	91	19	(²)	89, 617	255	129	(²)
West South Central.....	120, 648	78	66, 585	58	41	30	43, 311	148	10, 711	102
Mountain.....	11, 587	26	8, 781	22	107	37	66	28	2, 633	55
Pacific.....	10, 629	14	9, 337	14	340	15	94	13	858	13

¹ Includes Chinese, Japanese, Indians, Mexicans, and other races.

² Not shown because total children of these ages was less than 1,000.

Children in Gainful Occupations; U.S. Census, 1930.

⁷ The 1930 census does not subdivide the native white working children into those of native and those of foreign-born or mixed parentage. In 1920 about one third of the native white children who were employed had either one or both parents of foreign birth.

Where child-labor and school-attendance laws are enforced and public opinion is opposed to child labor, the employment of children of all race and nativity groups is reduced. Thus in the Mountain States only 55 per 1,000 children of Mexican or Oriental parentage are employed, compared to 102 per 1,000 in the West South Central States. In the Middle Atlantic States only 15 per 1,000 Negro children work and in the East North Central States only 14 per 1,000, compared with 163 per 1,000 in the South Atlantic States.

Although Negro child labor is mainly concentrated in the South, the southern child-labor problem is by no means limited to Negroes. The white children working in the South outnumber the Negro children, 246,000 to 236,000, although the proportion of white children 10 to 15 is considerably smaller, 69 per 1,000 compared with 185 per 1,000 of the Negro. These white children constitute about 60 percent of all white child workers in the country. Where a high proportion or a large number of Negro children are working, a high proportion of a large number of white children are also employed. The experience of other sections of the country suggests that reduction in child labor among the two races will go hand in hand.

Negro children are concentrated in agriculture and in domestic and personal service. Seventy-three percent of Negroes of 10 to 17, inclusive, gainfully employed are farm hands, compared with 45 percent of the entire working population of these ages and with 38 percent of the native whites. Domestic and personal service gives employment to 13 percent of the Negro children but to only 10 percent of all the working children. Seven percent of the Negro children, compared with 22 percent of children of all races, work in manufacturing and mechanical industries. The following lists shows the industries in which gainfully occupied Negro children 10 to 17 years old are employed:

	Number	Percent distrib- ution
All industries-----	471, 629	100
Agriculture-----	345, 863	73
Forestry and fishing-----	1, 272	(8)
Extraction of minerals-----	1, 511	(8)
Manufacturing and mechanical industries-----	32, 189	7
Transportation and communication-----	7, 454	2
Trade-----	15, 017	3
Public service (not elsewhere classified)-----	690	(8)
Professional service-----	3, 249	1
Domestic and personal service-----	62, 499	13
Clerical occupations-----	1, 885	(8)

CHILD LABOR, SCHOOL ATTENDANCE, AND ILLITERACY

There was a high correlation in 1930, as in 1920, between child labor, particularly in agriculture, and educational backwardness. The sections that have high proportions of children at work also have low proportions attending school and high proportions of illiteracy, both in the age group 10 to 15, inclusive, and for the entire population 10 years of age and over. Table 6 shows these percentages for the nine geographic regions, ranked according to the proportion of their child populations who are employed.

⁸ Less than 1 percent.

TABLE 6.—Percentage of children 10 to 15 years old gainfully employed, attending school, and illiterate, in the United States and in each geographic division; 1930

Geographic division ¹	Percent of all children 10 to 15 gainfully employed		Percent of all children 10 to 15 attending school	Percent of all children 10 to 15 illiterate	Percent of population 10 years and over illiterate
	All occupations	Agriculture			
United States.....	5	3	94	1	4
East South Central.....	14	12	91	3	10
South Atlantic.....	9	7	89	3	8
West South Central.....	8	7	91	3	7
Mountain.....	3	2	96	1	4
West North Central.....	3	2	95	(?)	1
New England.....	2	(?)	96	(?)	4
Middle Atlantic.....	2	(?)	97	(?)	4
Pacific.....	1	(?)	98	(?)	2
East North Central.....	1	1	97	(?)	2

¹ Divisions arranged according to percentage of children 10 to 15 gainfully employed.

² Less than 1 percent.

Compiled from Children in Gainful Occupations and from Composition and Characteristics of the Population, U.S. Census, 1930

SUMMARY: BOYS AND GIRLS 10 TO 17 YEARS OF AGE, INCLUSIVE

About a third of the 2,145,919 boys and girls gainfully employed in 1930 were under 16 years of age, and more than 10 percent were under 14. Between 1920 and 1930 the number of young workers of these ages decreased by 23 percent. The greater part of the decrease occurred among children under 16 years of age, and was at approximately the same rate for those aged 10 to 13 as for those 14 and 15 years of age, as is shown in the following list:

Age group	Percent distribution	
	1920	1930
10 to 17.....	100	100
16 and 17.....	62	69
14 and 15.....	25	20
10 to 13.....	14	11

Seventy percent of the working children between 10 and 16 are engaged in agricultural pursuits. In spite of the difficulties attending regulation in this field, a spectacular decrease in the proportion of children of these ages employed (61 percent between 1910 and 1920), ascribed in part to a change of census date from April 15 in 1910 to January 1 in 1920, was confirmed by the census taken in April 1930, a decrease of 37 percent occurring between 1920 and 1930. The total drop between 1910 and 1930 in the proportion of children of this age group in agricultural occupations was 75 percent. This indicates what progress has already been made through public opinion and by means of raising school-attendance standards in rural districts, and holds out the hope for even more effective regulation in the future. It must be borne in mind, however, that no information is available as to either increase or decrease in the number of children working in beet fields, on truck farms, and in other forms of commercialized agriculture who were not employed in the months in which the last two censuses were taken.

Outside agriculture, in commerce, manufacturing, transportation, clerical, domestic work, and so forth, the proportion of employed children between 10 and 16 showed a decrease of 37 percent from 1910 to 1920 and a greater decrease (58 percent) from 1920 to 1930—a decrease that is due at least in part to curtailment of work opportunities and therefore may not be permanent.

No information is available in the census for minors 16 and 17 years of age previous to 1920. It is not known whether the relatively slight decrease in their employment (14 percent) between 1920 and 1930 was preceded by a decrease between 1910 and 1920. Future employment of this group will depend upon demand for juvenile labor, family needs for minors' earnings, and educational adaptations made by the schools to appeal to young people confronted with the choice between work and school.

At the present time our farms and industries rely only to a small and a decreasing extent upon the labor of young persons. Workers 10 to 17 years of age, inclusive, constitute 4.4 percent of all those gainfully occupied. Children under 16 constitute 4.5 percent of all agricultural workers, 0.5 percent of those in manufacturing, 0.4 percent of clerical workers, 1 percent of those in domestic and personal service.

Minors of 16 and 17 play a somewhat larger but still insignificant role in modern economic life. Like the younger group they are relatively more important in agriculture than in other pursuits. In spite of the fact that a smaller proportion of these older minors are employed in agricultural than in nonagricultural occupations, they constitute 4.8 percent of all agricultural workers and only 2.5 percent of all nonagricultural workers. The almost 400,000 in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits form only 2.8 percent of industry's total personnel. The 155,000 clerical workers constitute about 4 percent of the Nation's clerical force; about 3 percent of all those engaged in domestic and personal service are between 16 and 18 years of age.

It is apparent, therefore, that the portion of the population under 18 years of age could easily be spared from the Nation's productive forces, if it appeared socially desirable for them to engage in other activities or for the jobs to be held by adults.

CHAPTER II.—CHILDREN'S WORK AND WORKING CONDITIONS

If it were possible to take thousands of snapshots, in different parts of the country, of the two million boys and girls under 18 at work, what would they show? A great variety of tasks on farms, in factories, offices, warehouses, on the streets. Would these tasks resemble those on which adults were engaged? Yes, and no. Children are not found doing responsible or highly skilled work, and rarely are they placed in jobs in which they will learn to do such work and gradually advance into it. Adults, also, necessarily perform most of the heavy and dangerous tasks, but many boys and girls will be found at work that exposes them to some of the chief industrial hazards.

How does the work which children now do compare with what they did during the early stages of the industrial revolution? (See pp. 62 and 63.) In general it is lighter work, hours are shorter than they used to be, working conditions for both adults and children have improved, and the children themselves are not permitted to go to work so young. However, the maximum hours that children are legally permitted to work are still very long, and even these standards are frequently violated. The wages paid to children are exceedingly low and are more easily depressed than the wages of adults. During periods of prolonged industrial depression when adult workers can be secured at almost any wage, the demand for child labor shrinks except in the very worst of the "sweated" industries.

MANUFACTURING, TRADE, TRANSPORTATION, AND CLERICAL OCCUPATIONS

The occupations of children in towns and cities depend to a very large extent upon the opportunities opened to them by the economic life of the community—its industrial or commercial activities, the size and type of the establishments, and their hiring policies. Much also depends upon the State child-labor law and on the success of the schools in holding the children.

MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL OCCUPATIONS

No longer do large numbers of children man the factories as they did in the early days of the industrial revolution; in fact, relatively few children younger than 14 work in factories, but many children between 14 and 18 years of age are still so employed.

Comparatively few of these children are engaged either in processes requiring skill or in learning such processes, and their number has steadily diminished. The 1930 census listed about 77,000 learners or apprentices in skilled trades, of whom about 39,000 (50 per cent) were under 18 years of age—most of them 16 or 17. Ten years

ago there were 45 percent more "apprentices", and a much higher proportion of them, 72 percent, were under 18. About 20,000 boys aged 16 and 17 were listed by the 1930 census as pursuing skilled trades—which probably means that they were assistants or helpers if not regular apprentices. The trades that chiefly use apprentices are carpenters, electricians, tinsmiths, plumbers, blacksmiths, boiler-makers, machinists, printers, and bookbinders. The only trades in which any number of girls are apprenticed are the rapidly disappearing trades of dressmaker and milliner.

In general boys and girls under 18 employed in industry work as laborers and semiskilled operatives. In 1930 there were more than 400,000 laborers and operatives in manufacturing industries aged 10 to 17, inclusive. Of these, about 85 percent were 16 and 17 years of age, 14 percent were 14 and 15 years, and 1 percent were under 14 years of age.

Among the manufacturing industries canneries have always been large employers of children, although in recent years young workers have been to some extent displaced by the introduction of more complicated machinery and by legislative regulation. The operation of canneries is highly seasonal, depending upon the ripening of fruit and vegetable crops, or the fishing, oyster, and shrimp seasons. Work may last in one locality for a few weeks or for several months. Much of it is intermittent, with heavy rush periods when a perishable shipment arrives. Many canneries are scattered in rural districts, often isolated and difficult for inspectors to reach. Although some canneries rely mainly on local labor, a great deal of it is migratory, coming from long or short distances and resembling the migratory labor used in agriculture.

Boys and girls under 16 and even under 14 years of age are used on many canning operations, including peeling tomatoes and fruits, snipping beans, inspecting peas, husking, trimming, and sorting corn, and hulling, cleaning, and sorting berries. Standing in front of the moving belt which carries the filled cans to the closing machine, they guide the cans and add ingredients to the contents. Boys do many odd jobs, including carrying pails of vegetables, fruits, or waste, sometimes lifting them on and off tables; they also stack cans, empty and full, label cans, make boxes and crates, and remove cans from the closing machines. Boys and girls seldom operate machines, pack the product, or do either the heavy unskilled or the skilled or supervisory work. But they are brought into close proximity to machines which may be dangerous because either unguarded or imperfectly guarded; the work may involve 10 to 12 hours of continuous standing, on wet, sloppy floors, enveloped by steam from the cooking. Wet floors and dark rickety stairs constitute an accident hazard, particularly to children carrying full pails, or boxes of cans. Hours are often long and irregular, and workers are exposed to infection because they sustain many cuts, bruises, and sores from juices and acids in the course of the work.

Although canneries in some States have been given special concessions under the child-labor laws, this has been due to pressure exerted by the industry, and not to the relative desirability of cannery work for children.

The textile industries have always been important employers of children. (See p. 68.) As late as 1900 children under 16 constituted 25 per cent of the labor force of cotton mills in the South. But increasing complexity and speed of machinery, together with child-labor legislation and public opinion, have tended to displace children in this industry. Now boys are employed mainly as doffers in cotton and silk mills (removing the full bobbins from the spinning frame and replacing them with empty ones); girls under 16 are employed as doffers in the spinning room and as battery hands on the newer type of looms, on which they remove the empty bobbins from the battery and replace them with full bobbins. Formerly many girls under 16 were employed as spinners and some as weavers, but the number has decreased with the introduction of new methods.¹ The stretch-out system, giving each operative more spindles or looms to tend, both requires fast and efficient workers, and by displacing skilled workers, increases the adult labor supply. Both factors tend to eliminate children from these jobs.

Silk mills rely more than cotton mills on girls' labor. Girls of 15, 16, and 17 are employed in considerable numbers in winding, doubling, spinning, reeling, and lacing. (See footnote below.) In silk weaving they are employed in quilling. According to the census in 1900, 10 percent of all silk-mill operatives were under 16; by 1920 this proportion had been reduced to 8 percent; and in 1930, to 3 percent.

The silk-hosiery industry employs a high proportion of women and girls, and in general the workers in the industry are young. Young girls enter the industry as ravelers and turners and wareroom workers, and boys may begin as knitters' helpers and learn to operate knitting machines.

In the garment industries children find employment chiefly on the nonsewing operations—cleaning, finishing, examining, bundling, tagging, carrying bundles to and from operators and pressers, and in stockroom work. Some operate button machines. In corset factories, shirt factories, and in small contract shops making women's or children's clothing, young girls sometimes operate power sewing machines or pressing machines, the former a skilled operation calling for speed and dexterity, the latter, heavy work involving constant standing and exposure to heat and steam.

Children are employed in numerous other industries, including the manufacture of candy and other food products, cigars and tobacco, shoes, lumber, and furniture, and clay, glass, stone, and metal products. In general the work that children under 16 perform in manufacturing industries is the least skilled work; much of it consists in wrapping, boxing, packing, cleaning, and sweeping; carrying work to or away from machines; and miscellaneous work in stock and shipping rooms. In small establishments children may be employed to do odd jobs, a combination of errand boy and general factory helper. Many boys and girls of 16 and 17 years do substantially

¹ Both in cotton and in silk mills operations connected with spinning the thread involve tending frames to which bobbins or skeins are attached. The operative must be alert to detect breakage and must mend the broken threads. The work calls for speed and deftness.

similar work. But more of them than of the younger children have more skilled and responsible jobs, such as inspecting, hand finishing, and machine operating.

The operation of machines, particularly power-driven machines, is a source of great danger to boys and girls employed in industry. Comparatively few of those 14 and 15 years old, but considerable numbers of those 16 and 17, are employed on machines—the number so employed and the risk varying with the type of industry. According to the scattered information available, collected for the White House Conference, machinery caused the largest proportion of accidents to boys and girls of 16 and 17, and the second largest proportion of accidents to those under 16 (table 7). State legislation has made some progress in protecting minors, particularly those under 16, from some of the most dangerous occupations, as is indicated by the fact that minors injured while illegally employ sustain more serious injuries than do those injured in the course of legal employment. However, minors of 16 and 17 years are still inadequately protected from machine hazards; 31 percent of the total accidents to this group being due to machinery, compared to 18 percent for younger workers and 13 percent for workers of all ages.

TABLE 7.—*Causes of industrial accidents to workers of all ages and to boys and girls of specified ages in five States*¹

Cause	Accidents to workers of all ages		Accidents to boys and girls			
			16 and 17 years of age		Under 16 years of age	
	Number	Percent distribution	Number	Percent distribution	Number	Percent distribution
Total.....	278, 810		5, 413		887	
Cause reported.....	277, 702	100	5, 323	100	851	100
Machinery.....	35, 611	13	1, 661	31	153	18
Power driven.....	15, 778	6	1, 052	20	83	10
Other.....	19, 833	7	609	11	70	8
Vehicles.....	27, 884	10	583	11	240	28
Falls.....	46, 077	17	650	12	130	15
Handling objects.....	81, 367	29	1, 113	21	132	16
All others ²	86, 763	31	1, 316	25	196	23
Cause not reported.....	1, 108		90		36	

¹ Figures for California, Illinois, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, for 1-year periods, 1926 to 1929. Compensable cases in Illinois, New Jersey, New York, and Rhode Island; tabulatable cases (that is, those resulting in death, permanent disability, or disability lasting one or more days) in California. See Child Labor; report of the subcommittee on child labor of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, pp. 38-46 (Century Co., New York, 1932).

² Includes explosions, electricity, fires, hot substances; poisonous, corrosive substances; occupational diseases; stepping on or striking against objects; falling objects; hand tools; animals; and miscellaneous causes.

Many of the machines operated by children are power-sewing and textile machinery—types which do not involve great risks for adults but which when managed by children may be the cause of many minor injuries. Girls and boys between 16 and 18 years are fre-

quently, and younger ones are sometimes, employed at machines dangerous even for adults to operate because they require dexterity and a high degree of muscular coordination for safe operation—for instance, punch presses, drills, lathes, and polishers in metal working; saws in woodworking; dough brakes and cracker-making machinery in food, confectionery plants, and bakeries; and cutting and stamping machines in leather working. Accidents occur in connection with oiling and cleaning as well as operating machines. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of young workers are injured every year through such employment, both legal and illegal.

Even when children are hired for relatively safe jobs, their mere presence in a workshop or factory may involve them in accidents, and this is particularly true of the younger group. Curiosity, awkwardness, or rashness may bring them into too close contact with belts and gears and cutting edges. Children have been injured as a result of being asked to tend an unfamiliar machine for a few minutes, or to assist on repair jobs, sometimes while the machinery is in motion, or to bring an elevator up or down a floor or two. Others may be struck by falling objects, flying splinters, or moving machine parts, or injured in the course of lifting and carrying bulky and heavy objects. Handling objects is the second major cause of accidents to minors of 16 and 17, causing 21 percent of the accidents sustained by them, and causing 16 percent of the accidents sustained by children of 14 and 15 years of age. Twelve percent of the accidents to the older group, and 15 percent of the accidents to the younger group, are caused by falls.

In order to judge how many young workers are exposed to industrial hazards, it would be necessary to have much more specific information about their occupations than is now furnished by the census. Most of the workers engaged in manufacturing are classified as operatives or laborers, and the distinction between them is not based wholly on whether the work is done by hand or by machine. Thus it is impossible to separate all those operating machines, and even less possible to enumerate all those engaged on hazardous machines and processes. Similarly in transportation, trade, and other industry groups the occupations specified are not sufficiently detailed or exact for this purpose. Any approximation of the numbers employed in hazardous occupations, based on the census, must, for this reason, be too low. However, using the recommendations of the advisory committee on employment of minors in hazardous occupation (see p. 47) as a guide, the following list has been compiled from the 1930 and 1920 Censuses of Occupations,² to indicate roughly the numbers in hazardous work. Group I shows minors under 18 years of age employed in industries or occupations which were of such a nature that the committee disapproved of any employment connected with them. Group II shows the numbers employed in industries known to include many occupations that the committee wished to see prohibited for minors under 18. The figures for both groups are for the age group 10 to 17, inclusive; very few, however, were under 16.

² Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, vol. 4, Population, Occupations, pp. 482-487. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1923; Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, vol. 5, Population, pp. 352-357.

Occupation or industry	1920	1930
<i>Group I</i>		
Total.....	165, 335	91, 981
Lumbermen, raftsmen, and woodchoppers.....	9, 003	5, 025
Extraction of minerals.....	50, 401	19, 596
Engineers (stationary), cranesmen, hoistmen, etc.....	1, 707	505
Filers, grinders, buffers, and polishers (metal).....	2, 025	974
Firemen (except locomotive and fire department).....	1, 511	434
Furnacemen, smeltersmen, heaters, puddlers, etc.....	2, 474	290
Oilers of machinery.....	1, 384	712
Painters, glaziers, and varnishers.....	3, 721	4, 460
Operatives and laborers (not otherwise specified) in:		
Explosives, ammunition, and fireworks factories.....	1, 054	584
Gas works.....	788	364
Petroleum refineries.....	1, 643	836
Blast furnaces and steel rolling mills.....	15, 055	4, 973
Ship and boat building.....	9, 289	848
Saw and planing mills.....	23, 688	15, 736
Paper and pulp mills.....	7, 821	3, 515
Electric light and power plants.....	1, 493	1, 016
Rubber factories.....	9, 727	3, 875
Laborers in stockyards.....	779	181
Laundry operatives (except laborers and deliverymen).....	9, 753	11, 872
Longshoremen and stevedores.....	802	385
Chauffeurs and truck and tractor drivers.....	8, 323	13, 431
Elevator tenders.....	2, 894	2, 369
<i>Group II</i>		
Total.....	21, 707	14, 574
Operatives and laborers in:		
Paint and varnish factories.....	759	535
Slaughter and packing houses.....	5, 634	3, 530
Brass mills.....	2, 537	994
Copper factories.....	334	160
Gold and silver factories.....	757	434
Lead and zinc factories.....	661	194
Tinware, enamel ware, etc.....	5, 341	3, 332
Other metal factories.....	1, 545	1, 297
Tanneries.....	3, 576	1, 726
Cleaning, dyeing, pressing shop operatives.....	563	2, 372

Altogether more than 100,000 young persons under 18 years of age are engaged in these various types of dangerous work. In 1920 the number so engaged was much larger, 187,000. As the great majority of the risks shown in the list are in manufacturing industries, it is reasonable to assume that a considerable part of the reduction since 1920 is due merely to contraction of employment, which has affected manufacturing more than other lines of work.

Even where the risk of accident in factories is slight, the work may be unfavorable to the best physical and mental development of growing children on account of strained or fatiguing posture, too much standing, or too long hours of sitting, bending over the work, poor lighting, stuffy workrooms, noise and vibration of machinery, and other elements of strain.³ Industry has made great progress in

³ A study of the health of about 2,000 working girls between the ages of 14 and 17 in a New York continuation school emphasized the effects of excessive fatigue and of speeding or working under great pressure, as on piece work in factories or in rush work in department stores, in laying the basis for future hyperthyroidism and neurosis. (Report on Medical and Health Service at West Side Continuation School, by Sophie Rabinoff. Department of Health, New York City. 1931.)

recent years in improving working conditions, for managers are coming to realize that poor conditions mean inefficiency and poor output. Modern, improved working conditions, however, usually are found together with employment policies that weed out the youngest workers, in accordance with either the child-labor laws or the principles of maximum industrial efficiency; conversely, reliance upon the cheapest form of labor often goes hand in hand with backwardness in other respects.

TRADE, TRANSPORTATION, AND CLERICAL OCCUPATIONS

Even more important numerically in the aggregate than that in manufacturing and mechanical industries is the employment afforded to young workers in connection with stores, banks, telephone, telegraph, and telephone systems, and offices of all kinds. Much of this is simple clerical work; much of it consists in running errands and delivering parcels, both indoor and outdoor. Some of it involves selling; some of it is laboring work, practically indistinguishable from laboring jobs in manufacturing. Boys are chiefly employed as telegraph messengers, as deliverymen for stores, bakeries, laundries, as helpers on trucks, as office boys to run outdoor errands, as sales clerks or general helpers in stores, as porters and helpers in stores, warehouses, and office buildings. Girls are employed mainly as bookkeepers and cashiers, stenographers and typists, as clerks and salesgirls and stock girls in stores, as bundle wrappers and indoor messengers, as telephone operators. Telegraph messengers, delivery boys, and helpers on trucks, especially in large cities, are exposed to injury by motor vehicles and to traffic hazards. Vehicles cause the largest proportion of the accidents to children under 16 and the most severe accidents both to the age group under 16 and to the group 16 and 17 years of age. (See table 7.) Boys' work in stores, warehouses, and so forth, is also apt to involve lifting or carrying heavy weights, which may strain heart or muscles or cause hernia or flat-foot. The chief disadvantages which may be connected with the work performed by girls arise out of confinement in poorly lighted or ill-ventilated rooms and on certain jobs long hours of constant standing. Close work at high speed may cause eye strain, excessive fatigue, nervous disorders; postural defects may develop or become aggravated by bad seating arrangements or by too long standing or by monotonous and cramping movements.

Growing children need fresh air, sunlight, recreation, proper exercise, and sleep, and these needs are often interfered with by the conditions under which work must be done, and by the fact that they are at work for many hours each day. A health survey of approximately 400 working children under 16 years of age in New York City, conducted in 1924, found large numbers of children with such defects as bad posture, flat feet, poor eyesight, digestive disturbances. Two thirds of the children were doing office or general-messenger work, one third factory work. Half of the children had some physical defect that was intensified by the requirements of their jobs; more than one fourth of the defects were judged to be directly accentuated by the conditions under which the child worked. For example, 90 percent of the boys and 80 percent of the girls whose posture was defective were likely to have this defect intensified by

their work; 73 percent of the cases of flat-foot among the boys were apt to be aggravated because the children had to be on their feet a great part of the time. One fifth of the girls and two thirds of the boys whose strength was below par, were engaged in work which imposed an undue strain upon them. It was estimated that most of the defects found could have been cured by treatment, yet if they were allowed to continue uncorrected, probably many of these children would ultimately develop more serious and permanent disabilities.⁴

INDUSTRIAL HOME WORK

Thousands of families do industrial home work, which is extensively carried on in many States. Industries using this form of labor include the manufacture of men's, women's, and children's clothing, neckwear, artificial flowers, feathers, trimmings, novelties, stationery, lamp shades, jewelry, lace, dolls, and toys. Style changes and technological changes may reduce the amount of work given out in any one line, but this is usually compensated for by the springing up of new types. The work is performed mainly by married women and young children; in some families fathers, older children, and relatives living with the family may be pressed into service, though to a much less extent than was common 20 or 30 years ago, when entire families worked from early morning until late at night in their own crowded homes as if they had been in factories. Legal regulation and inspection have made progress in certain States in checking the worst abuses. (See p. 50.)

It is impossible to ascertain the exact numbers of children who assist in home work, but the workers themselves often report that they could not earn enough without the children's assistance to make the work worth while. In New Jersey in 1925 the Children's Bureau found that 63 percent of the home workers in the families studied were children under 16 years of age, and 27 percent were the mothers of these children. Home work was a family enterprise, the mother initiating and directing the work. Sixty percent of all the children between the ages of 6 and 14 years of age in these families, and 71 percent of all the 14- and 15-year-old children, worked more or less regularly. Of the 1,063 children who reported time of work during the school year 48 percent worked on school days, after school and in the evening, and 47 percent worked both on school days and on Saturdays. Half the children reporting daily hours of work, worked at least 2 hours, and 26 percent worked 3 hours or more. In addition some of the girls performed work about the house.

Reports for 1931 from the Pennsylvania bureau charged with administering the home-work regulations indicate that the principal home workers, usually the mothers, were assisted by the children in the family, but only to a slight extent by unemployed adults. When there are numerous young children in the family there is always present the temptation to set them to work helping the home worker. The very simplest operations may be given to the youngest members. Children even of preschool age have been found at work where industrial home work is taken in; in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey the younger children were engaged in

⁴The Health of the Working Child. New York State Department of Labor Special Bulletin No. 134. Albany, 1924.

such work as stringing tags, taping underwear, sorting buttons, pulling basting threads, carding hooks and eyes, safety pins, and buttons, and putting cards in envelopes. Somewhat older children can do such work as making artificial flowers and feather ornaments, assembling, pasting, or stringing, and doing simple kinds of sewing, beading, and embroidering. Children are often kept up until late at night at such work, foregoing sleep and playtime. Children are also used to call for and return work to the factories, a job that may involve carrying heavy bundles considerable distances.

STREET TRADES

Important part-time occupations of younger children include selling and delivering newspapers, peddling, and shoe-shining. More than half of the almost 40,000 persons listed by the census as "newsboys" are under 16, and 27 percent are under 14 years old. Many children who engage in this occupation are not reported by the census, because they are younger than 10, or their parents fail to report them as working, or the census enumerator does not regard them as regularly employed, although they may work several hours a day in addition to attending school. Studies made by the Children's Bureau within the last decade in seven cities showed that the average age of street workers was about 12 years; in every city a few children of 6 and 7 were found selling papers and other articles, and many said that they had started at about this age. A study made in New York City in 1931 showed that 17 percent of newsboys selling illegally were under 12 years, the legal minimum age, and a few were between 6 and 10 years of age.⁵

The hours of boy newspaper sellers in the Children's Bureau studies averaged 16 per week,⁶ which, when added to 25 hours of school, makes a 40-hour work week. This average covers a wide range of variation. Several boys were found whose total ran to more than 70 hours a week. On school days many children sold papers from the close of school until 7 or 8 in the evening. Some worked until 10, and a few until exceedingly late hours on certain nights a week. Sometimes boys who sell the late night or early morning editions to theater crowds sleep in the newspaper-distributing rooms. The child who engages in such work is apt to be retarded at school for sheer lack of sleep; his unusual freedom from family restraint, irregular and late hours, and association with all sorts of influences in crowded business sections, cheap restaurants, and newspaper offices expose him to undesirable and even vicious influences. Newsboys have been found to be particularly subject to flat footedness, spinal curvature, and other postural defects which become aggravated by long hours of standing on hard sidewalks, and the carrying of heavy bundles of papers slung over one shoulder.⁷

Newspaper delivering or carrying is not so fatiguing nor so exciting and irregular as newspaper selling. The carrier works in a residential neighborhood, often his own. But morning routes may mean excessively early rising and loss of sleep.

⁵ Shulman, Harry M.: *Newsboys of New York; a study of their legal and illegal working activities during 1931*, p. 28. New York Child Labor Committee, N.Y., 1932.

⁶ *Child Workers on City Streets*, p. 11. U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 188. Washington, 1928.

⁷ Report of the Medical Department of the Burroughs Newsboys Foundation for Year 1931-1932. Boston.

The present depression is believed to have increased the number of child street traders in some cities—especially newspaper sellers, boot-blacks, canvassers, and peddlers. Employers are offering commission selling jobs to young boys, and as a preliminary are coaching them in hard-luck stories which they are told to repeat at every door. This is one of the worst forms of child exploitation connected with the depression.

DOMESTIC SERVICE

Girls under 16 are often hired as nursemaids, or as “mothers’ helpers”—a euphemism for general housework. Some of these children are today being offered board and lodging by families who do not have adequate space and who expect the “helper” to sleep in the kitchen, the corridor, or the cellar—if not to share a room with the younger children of the family. The number of girls of 16 and 17 in domestic service is increasing rapidly (by 45 percent between 1920 and 1930). During the depression they have been brought in as cheap labor, displacing better-paid and better-trained workers.

Hours in domestic service in private homes are unregulated and are known to be in many cases unreasonably long. Hours of women and girls in hotels and restaurants are sometimes but by no means always regulated. The New York State junior employment office reported, in February 1933, that more than three fourths of the domestic-service openings offered such wretched pay and living conditions that the office refused to fill them, although it was literally swamped with applicants for jobs.

WORK IN AGRICULTURE

Agriculture is the most important single source of child employment. There are three main types of child workers in agriculture; the child who works on the home farm; the farm child who works out for hire on a neighbor’s farm, either by himself or as part of the family group; and the migratory child laborer, who moves about with his family following the crops, often having no permanent home. Some children go out daily from cities or towns to work on truck farms. Crops on which child labor is extensively used include cotton, tobacco, beets, truck, berries and other small fruit.

The work of children on the home farm is generally considered a practical method of developing a sense of family responsibility while the child is learning useful skills under healthful open-air conditions. But much of the work performed by children in agriculture presents a very different picture. The growth of large-scale commercialized agriculture has led to the hiring out of thousands of children either as members of the family group or with strangers to work on truck farms, in beet fields, and in gathering fruits and berries, under conditions often as undesirable as any found in industrial employments. Tenant farmers and share-croppers in many parts of the United States where the single cash crop system prevails, are in much the same position as hired laborers. They and their children work excessively long hours, to make the barest of livings. Their children are exposed to all the hardships incident to hired day labor. Children who regularly migrate with their families “following the crops,” lead an unsettled life, lacking in educational opportunities, recreational facilities, and healthful surroundings.

In the regions in which cotton is grown practically all the farm children are set to work in the cotton fields very young. A survey made by the Children's Bureau in Texas showed that 42 percent of the white children in the district studied began field work when they were less than 10 years old; one fourth started work when only 8 years of age.⁸ Negro children commonly started work younger than did the white. Most of the children included in this study worked at least 8 hours a day; many of them worked 12 and 14 hours.

Children under 14 work at practically all the operations connected with cotton growing—from preparing the land for planting to cotton picking. Boys of 11 and 12 were found doing their share of plowing, harrowing, and planting. Later in the season they did hand hoeing and chopping; that is, cutting out superfluous plants with a hoe. Cotton picking lasts from late August or early September to November or December. Children of 8, and even younger, are deft cotton pickers. They can walk between the rows, lugging a big sack to hold the cotton. Older children crawl along dragging the sack after them by a shoulder strap.

In the tobacco regions children are also useful on many operations—hand cultivating, "suckering" the plants, and examining the leaves for worms. At harvest time they assist in picking the leaves; some managers insist small children make better pickers than adults. Children work in housing the tobacco, which involves lifting heavy weights; and in stripping, sorting, and tying the dried leaves. Shade-grown tobacco is grown under a cloth covering, and is picked by young workers crawling between the rows. The atmosphere is close and hot—sometimes the temperature is as high as 98 degrees. In the tobacco sheds girls string the leaves on laths, standing all day at work.

Considerable numbers of children work intensively during certain months in the year in the western and mid-western sugar-beet fields. This is probably the most exhausting work done by children anywhere, because of long hours, strained positions, intense heat, exposure to wet, and the speed required in certain operations. Thinning is done when the plants are still small, by boys and girls crawling down the rows on their hands and knees, working at high speed, for 11 or 12, and sometimes even for 14 and 15, hours a day. The next great pressure occurs during the harvest. Children work at pulling and topping. The topper carries a large knife with which he knocks off the caked dirt and removes the leaves. This process means constant stooping and lifting, and a child, it has been estimated, will handle on the average about 4 tons of beets and dirt a day. A 10-hour day is common during harvesting. In the fall, when the beet tops are drenched with heavy dew and frost, the workers get soaked, with the result of chapped and cracked hands, colds, and rheumatism.

In addition to their work on these special crops, many children both in beet and in cotton-growing districts were found doing a variety of other farm work. For example, both boys and girls take part in threshing and haying, help cultivate various crops, tend stock, and, more rarely, load beet wagons. Some of the boys 12

⁸ Welfare of Children in Cotton-Growing Areas of Texas, p. 7. U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 134. Washington, 1924.

years of age and older do heavier work, such as plowing. Although it is usually the farmers' children who do the miscellaneous farm work, it is not uncommon for the contract laborers' children to do other jobs. In the intervals between the work on the beet crop, for instance, many weed onions, gather potatoes, and hoe beans.⁹ In the cotton regions children also cut wood, hoe and pick corn, cultivate, pitch, load, and haul sorghum, and work on other field crops.

On grain farms the Children's Bureau found that children do a good deal of plowing, harrowing, disking, cultivating, hoeing, and hauling. In general only the older children do the heavier work, but in grain farming in West Virginia and Tennessee young children engaged in almost all the operations. Much of this work is heavy and involves great physical strain for young children; some processes are dangerous.

Considerable numbers of children are injured each year in farm work by machinery, animals, motor vehicles, and other causes. The Children's Bureau, in a study of North Dakota children, found that 104 of 845 children had sustained injuries while at work at some time prior to the inquiry. Fifty-four of these accidents had occurred in occupations connected with animals, and 50 in occupations which involved handling farm machinery. Statistics are too inadequate to permit of any comparisons between accidents in agricultural and nonagricultural pursuits.

The labor of children is used extensively on the onion crop, in truck farming, particularly for weeding, and in picking berries, small fruits, and all sorts of vegetables—lettuce, spinach, asparagus, kale, egg-plant, tomatoes, peas, beans. At harvest time thousands of transient families are hired for this work; a large proportion of the children who hire out in agriculture are migratory workers. Together with their families they follow the crops from South to North and South again. Some families devote several months in the year, others the whole year, to these migrations. The increasing use of the automobile has multiplied the number of migrants. Equipped with an old automobile and a tent many families spend the summer wandering from place to place, the whole family working as casual laborers.

Children in migratory families are usually subject to more hardships than other agricultural child workers. These families are often housed in miserably insanitary, crowded shacks, without proper cooking or sanitary facilities, and without privacy; since the camps are seasonal and impermanent, little or no provision is made for taking care of the children too young to work, and only seldom is schooling or recreation provided for any age group. These migrations often interfere with regular school attendance, for some parents must take their children out of school weeks or months before schools close in order to start their travels, returning perhaps a month or two late in the fall. The children of the poorer families who keep on the move, not acquiring residence in any one place, grow up illiterate. Migratory children are often not considered desirable associates for local school children, and few communities are willing to provide separate school facilities.

⁹ Children in Agriculture, p. 13. U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 187. Washington, 1929.

In recent years, west of the Mississippi a high proportion of migrants have been Mexicans, some of whom travel annually from the border as far north as Montana and back again. California, Colorado, Utah, Oregon, and Washington use Mexican migratory labor in great numbers. California is experimenting with State-subsidized traveling schools for migratory children, and Utah is making special efforts to provide school facilities for children in beet fields.

Children who work on their parent's farm, when it well stocked and when diversified agriculture is practiced, may acquire both skill and a fondness for farm work by starting to work young, and learning all the various processes as they grow older. But even under the most favorable conditions it cannot be claimed that such work takes the place of schooling, or that it should be allowed to curtail the school year, and the exposure of the child at times to accidents and serious disablement cannot be overlooked. Insofar as the principal commercial crops are concerned—beets, cotton, onions, tobacco, grain, berries, fruit, and truck—it would be no social loss but a great physical and educational gain to children, whether resident or migratory, if child labor were no longer required for cultivation and harvesting.

WORK IN MINING

Few children under 16 are now employed in the extraction of minerals,¹⁰ but the trapper boy—in both bituminous and anthracite coal mines—was formerly a familiar figure, and young boys were extensively employed as breaker boys in the anthracite collieries.¹¹ It is the trapper boy's duty to sit beside the ventilation doors, in the interior of the mine, opening and shutting the doors as miners and coal cars pass through—a monotonous and none too healthful, or even safe, occupation. Sometimes the trapper boy is called upon to leave his post and help in the dangerous work connected with the handling of mine cars. Breaker boys sit or stand at moving belts or chutes over which the coal passes, and as it passes they pick out the lumps of slate. This occupation involves continuous bending and stretching and lacerations of the hands, and the dusty atmosphere is unhealthful.

Although the number of children under 16 in coal mining has strikingly declined in recent years, attention now centers upon the workers of 16 and 17 years old, of whom there are still 15,000. A study made in Pennsylvania in 1930 showed that many boys of 16 and 17 years of age were doing work connected with the loading and hauling of coal, and thus were exposed to the chief hazards of coal mining, namely being struck by mine cars or falling rock and coal.

Car handling is heavy work and involves great danger of strain in addition to the more obvious accident hazards connected with moving mine cars. * * * The variety of work done by car handlers and other haulage workers includes driving mules, pushing and moving cars by hand, retracking cars which become derailed, spragging cars, coupling cars, roping pulleys, throwing switches, and door tending. The driving of mules or horses which haul mine

¹⁰ In 1930, 1,184 children between 10 and 16 years were employed in or about mines, oil wells and quarries, and 18,412 between 16 and 18 years of age.

¹¹ In 1920, 3,000 boys under 16 were employed in coal mining in Pennsylvania; in 1930 only 280. Pennsylvania is the principal anthracite mining State.

cars, where electric power is not used for hauling, is one of the most common car-handling occupations for boys and one in which a large variety of car-handling operations are done.¹²

One out of every 7 boys under 18 employed in coal mining sustained an injury during the year; 1 in every 5 sustained a severe injury entailing the loss of at least 30 days or causing a partial permanent disability, or death. On the basis of these findings, the Pennsylvania Industrial Board prohibited boys under 18 from working at certain specified hazardous occupations in mines.

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CHAPTER III.—LEGAL REGULATION OF CHILD LABOR

The employment of children is regulated at the present time directly by State child-labor laws, indirectly by compulsory school-attendance laws. Street trades are in some places covered by municipal ordinances instead of by the child-labor law. Most of the time between 1917 and 1922 child labor was to some extent regulated by Federal law. After two such laws were successively declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, an amendment enabling Congress to legislate was launched, but to date has not been ratified by the necessary number of States. (See p. 72.)

The protection that the State child-labor laws extend to children is by no means uniform or comprehensive. It is piece-meal, uneven. In general these laws set up certain standards with which a child must comply before going to work, but all children do not come within the scope of the law. The standards that the child going to work must meet relate to minimum age, amount of education, and physical fitness. These standards vary from State to State, and what is perhaps even more important, the occupations for which these standards are required also vary. In practically all States the child's entrance into factory employment is thus regulated, in most States his entrance into store work, and in many States the regulation extends to other commercial and industrial employments; but only rarely are such standards required of children going to work in agriculture or domestic service, in which very large numbers of young children are employed. The most usual minimum age for the employments specified in the child-labor law is 14, but generally a higher minimum is fixed for entrance into occupations that are considered hazardous.

After the child goes to work the child-labor law generally regulates his hours of work and prohibits night work, but again this may be done only for certain employment, principally factories and stores. These provisions apply to all industrial and commercial occupations more frequently than do the minimum-age standards. Hours and night-work regulations apply usually until the child has reached 16, in some cases 18 years of age. Some States through minimum-wage laws regulate the wages of minors in certain industries, and about half of the States require some continuation of education of the child who goes to work.

These several aspects of the child-labor laws—relating to standards for going to work in specified occupations, conditions of work, and dangerous occupations—and the minimum-wage laws, where these exist, must be studied closely in order to determine just how effective is the protection extended to children in each State. Even good laws, of course, are ineffective unless they include adequate administrative provisions and are thoroughly enforced.

Furthermore, in order to obtain a complete picture of child-labor regulations the school-attendance laws must be studied. These laws

provide that children must attend school from a minimum age, 6, 7, or 8 in different States, up to a maximum age, varying between 14 and 18. Exemptions from compulsory school attendance, applying to different ages, are permitted for many reasons. They are comparatively rare, and are more strictly enforced, under age 14; they become more numerous after age 14, in some States after age 15 or 16. The principal reasons for which children may be excused from school attendance are family poverty, completion of a certain grade, attainment of the age for legal employment, or some combination of these reasons.

The interaction of the school-attendance and child-labor laws in each State is thus important in determining the numbers of children who leave school to go to work. On the whole the two types of law, where well administered, combine to keep children in school and out of regular work up to age 14.¹ Children under 14 who are employed (see pp. 4-8) are employed part-time outside school hours or during vacations; some of them may have been excused from school on poverty permits or because they have completed the necessary grade for exemption from school attendance and are engaged in types of work not prohibited by the child-labor law of the State; and some of them may have left school illegally.

After age 14 it is more common for children to withdraw from school and to enter gainful employment. A number of States permit children to be excused from school attendance to enter the "regulated" occupations provided they obtain the requisite work permits; these permits specify that the child has attained the legal minimum age for this type of work, that he has completed the educational requirement, if there is one, and that he has passed a physical examination, if one is required. In some States, after age 14, children are permitted to withdraw from school to enter occupations for which no permits are required. The relative ease of withdrawing from school depends upon local administration and interpretation as well as upon the actual wording of the school-attendance and child-labor laws. Most States require children, unless specifically excused, to attend school up to 16, 17, or 18 years of age.

To facilitate comparisons among the States, information concerning the main legal standards for the employment of minors up to 16 years of age, and certain more limited provisions applying to the age group between 16 and 18 years, has been compiled in the form of two charts (pp. 56 to 59) for the 48 States and the District of Columbia. There is also a series of maps (pp. 38 to 45) illustrating some of the more important legal standards. However, the laws are so complex that it is exceedingly difficult to reduce them to graphic and easily comparable terms. What is here attempted, in charts, maps, and text, is a broad panorama. To fill in accurately the detail for each State, the complete law of that State should be consulted.²

It is easier and more significant to compare the child-labor laws of the various States with an accepted standard. Such a measuring rod is available for most phases of the law in the recommendations

¹ In a number of States the legal age for going to work during school hours is 15, and in a few States it is 16.

² More detailed information as to the law of any State can be obtained from the Children's Bureau.

States prohibit any gainful employment during school hours, but few apply the minimum-age provision to all employments at all times. Agriculture and domestic service are generally exempted or omitted from the laws; most street trading is not covered by the laws directed at employers of children, because the child who engages in newspaper selling or bootblacking is "self-employed."⁶ Much depends in any State upon the exact wording of the child-labor and school-attendance laws, for where exemptions from school attendance are permitted or where the attendance law is laxly enforced only a specific provision fixing a minimum age for employment will protect young children from undesirable employment. On the other hand, unless such a provision is supplemented by a requirement of school attendance, children may be found who are neither in school nor gainfully employed.

COMPULSORY DAY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE LAWS AFFECTING EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN, 1933.¹



¹Law applies until child reaches the specified age, but every State permits some exemptions, either for certain parts of the State or above certain ages.

Every State now has a school-attendance law that requires school attendance up to age 14 at least; 29 States and the District of Columbia require attendance up to age 16, and 13 up to 17 or 18, but with exemptions for legal employment after 14, 15, or 16. However, even where the age minimum approaches that set up by the White House Conference, it must be borne in mind that these laws are weakened by various exemptions.

In many States children are required not only to attain a fixed age but to complete a certain grade or standard of educational proficiency before they are permitted to leave school or go to work. This standard may be required of a child going to work regardless of occupation, but sometimes only of a child going to work in a regulated occupation. In addition to attaining a fixed age, 30 States and the District of Columbia stipulate completion of a certain grade; in

⁶ See p. 49 for regulations applying to the street trader himself.

doing light tasks in or about the home might be exempted from the child-labor laws, but that as respects other types of work performed by school children between 14 and 16 years of age, they should be subject to all the requirements of the child-labor laws, including the hours and night-work provisions and the employment-certificate requirements.

At present only California and Ohio regulate the amount of work that may be performed by a school child on any one day. School and work combined may not exceed 8 and 9 hours per day, respectively, a limitation applying to children between 14 and 16 years of age.

A number of States lower the minimum age specified in their child-labor laws to permit younger children to work during vacation or outside school hours, such employment being limited sometimes to "nonharmful work" or to particular occupations, as work in stores, canneries, business offices. Furthermore, any child may work outside school hours in whatever occupations are not listed in the laws as prohibited at all times. Limited coverage of child-labor laws thus opens the door to widespread employment when schools are not in session.

In general, school children who work intermittently and part-time are insufficiently protected, mainly because the types of work in which they are apt to engage, such as farming, domestic service, industrial home work, and street trading, are inadequately regulated. Even when the regulations nominally apply, often little attention is paid to certificating school children working outside school hours, or to enforcing the hours and night-work provisions for them. As a result such work is often allowed to take precedence over school attendance. Work outside school hours, whether part-time or in vacation, presents special administrative difficulties not inherent in regulating the employment of children who drop out of school permanently to go to work. (See pp. 49-53, 55.)

Concerning the actual extent of employment while attending school little is known. The 1930 census for the first time gives information on the numbers both working and attending school, but because of differences in the way of educational census and the census of occupations were taken the two sets of figures are not comparable and do not give an accurate picture of school children working part-time. A person was counted as "attending school" if he had attended at any time during the current school year, that is, between September 1929 and April 1930; he was counted as gainfully employed if he customarily worked at some regular employment. A child might have left school permanently prior to April 1 and be regularly employed, or he might be working full time and merely attending continuation school a few hours a week or attending night school. In either case he was enumerated as both working and attending school.

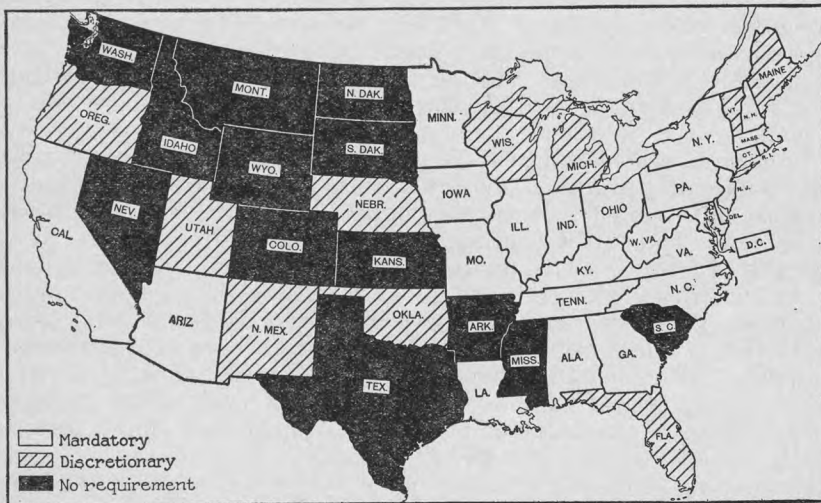
COMPULSORY CONTINUATION SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

The continuation school enables the school system to keep in touch with children who drop out of regular school to go to work; during the first few difficult years of industrial adjustment it serves as a center for the various forms of regulation and supervision of work-

ing minors—for instance, the issuance of certificates and vocational guidance. The courses given in continuation schools are often designed to aid the working child in progressing in his occupation.

Nineteen States require the establishment of continuation schools, under specified conditions, and require children who leave school for employment to attend for a stated number of hours per week. Eight States leave the establishment of schools to the option of local authorities but make attendance compulsory if the schools are set up.⁸ All these States receive funds under the Federal Smith-Hughes Act for promoting vocational education; in addition, other States have schools of this type at which attendance is voluntary, and which receive aid.

LEGAL REQUIREMENTS FOR PHYSICAL EXAMINATIONS OF CHILDREN GOING TO WORK, 1933.



The amount of attendance required varies usually from 4 to 8 hours a week during employment. Attendance is usually counted as part of the child's working hours. Some States require longer periods of attendance during unemployment. Attendance is generally required of children between 14 and 16 years; in some States it is required up to 17 or 18 years of age.

PHYSICAL EXAMINATION REQUIREMENTS

The White House Conference recommended that all children before entering employment should be found to be physically fit for work through an examination by a physician appointed for this purpose and should be periodically reexamined up to the age of 18.

The necessity for frequent physical examinations rests upon the rapid physiological changes that take place during adolescence and on the peculiar susceptibility to harmful influences during this period. Children with remedial defects should be given corrective treatment, should be prevented from going into work that would

⁸ In 2 of these States the local authority is empowered to require attendance.

aggravate those defects, and in some cases should be kept out of work pending correction. It is desirable that the examining physician be acquainted with the nature of specific jobs in order to determine whether they are safe both for the average normal child and for the particular child whom he is examining.

Twenty-three States now require physical examinations of children under 16 years who apply for work certificates; that is, who go to work in regulated employments. One State, New York, requires physical examinations up to age 17, and Ohio and the District of Columbia, up to age 18. Usually reexamination is required upon change of job. In some States practically all children going to work are examined, in others, relatively few—depending on the number of occupations for which certificates are required.

In practice physical examinations are seldom sufficiently thorough to prevent children in poor physical condition from going to work. Moreover, few children obtain the benefit of the medical vocational advice that the physician could give if his work were correlated with the placement of the child in industry.

MAXIMUM HOURS OF WORK

The White House Conference recommended that no minor under 18 years of age should be employed more than 8 hours a day in nonagricultural occupations, or more than 6 days a week, or more than 44 hours a week.⁹ Utah alone practically comes up to this standard. All the States, with one exception—Montana,¹⁰ regulate hours to some extent for minors under 16, but only about a third of the States have any regulation of hours for minors of both sexes between 16 and 18, and these often extend to fewer occupations and permit longer hours than in the case of minors under 16.

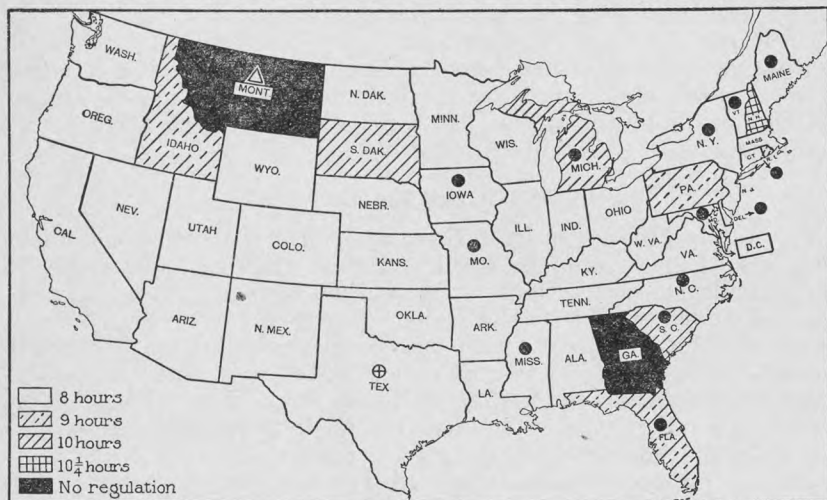
Chart I presents the situation with regard to regulation of hours for children under 16 years of age. Seventeen States and the District of Columbia have fixed a daily maximum of 8 hours for children under 16 in all occupations except agriculture and domestic service; 8, with the same regulation, apply it nominally to farm or domestic work; 12 States have set this limit for factories or for factories and stores and in some cases for other occupations. The remaining States permit longer daily hours. Only 5 States (Mississippi, New Mexico, New York, Utah, and Virginia) fix the weekly limit as low as 44 hours; New Mexico, Utah, and Virginia do so for all commercial and industrial occupations, the others for work in factories, stores, and certain other enumerated establishments. A 48-hour weekly maximum is quite common, a standard which was considered advanced some years ago, but which seems out of date today when the 44-hour week has been established for adults in a number of industries, and when there is agitation for still further reduction in normal hours. One State, Georgia, still has a 60-hour week for children under 16, and even this applies only to cotton and woolen mills; several permit weekly hours of 54.

⁹ In agriculture at work away from the home farm the Conference recommended the same daily maximum for children under 16 when school is not in session, and a maximum of 8 hours for work and school combined on school days. See p. 51.

¹⁰ In Montana a minimum age of 16 for specified employment, including factories, workshops, and mines, makes unnecessary an hour regulation for children under 16 in such employments.

Besides the Utah act, passed in 1933, which practically embodies the standards of the Conference as to hours in non-agricultural occupations, only three laws, those of California, Washington, and the District of Columbia, approach this standard for minors between 16 and 18; these three specify a maximum 8-hour day and 48-hour week for both boys and girls in all occupations except agriculture and domestic service. (See chart II.) All the States except four (Alabama, Florida, Iowa, West Virginia) fix daily or weekly hours for some occupations, but most of these laws apply to girls only; in some cases shorter hours are required for girls than

DAILY HOURS FOR CHILDREN UNDER 16 IN FACTORIES AND STORES, 1933.



△ No child under 16 may be employed at any time in factories.

⊕ In Texas only children under 15 are covered by the law.

● With exemptions. There is no regulation of daily hours in stores in Florida, Maine, South Carolina, and Vermont; in Connecticut the maximum in stores is 9 hours.

for boys, or apply to a greater number of employments. The hours range from 8 per day and 44 per week (Utah) to 11 per day and 60 per week. Some States fix hours in only one or two kinds of employment—work in factories or stores, or both. For this age group, 9 or 10 hours is more common as a daily maximum than 8 hours, and 54 or even 60 hours more common as a weekly maximum than 48. Many of the provisions have numerous exceptions, such as the permission of overtime under certain conditions, that do much to weaken the effectiveness even of the standards they attempt to set up.

PROHIBITION OF NIGHT WORK

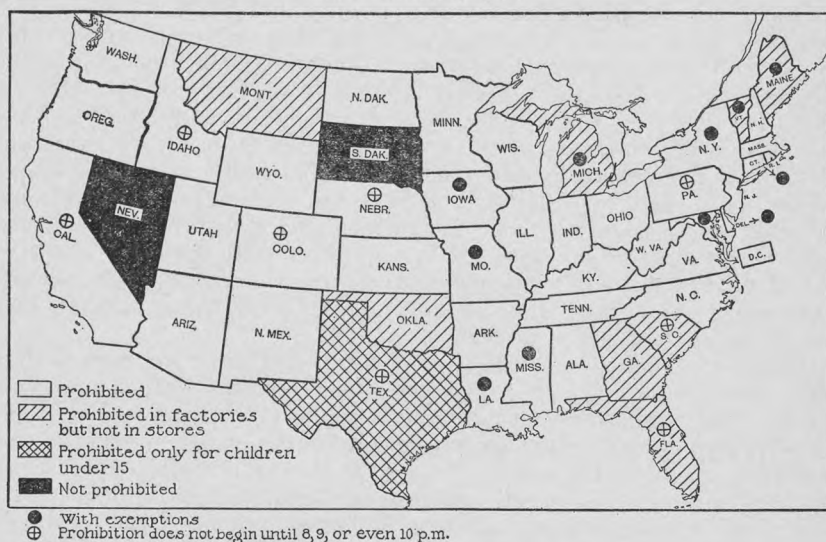
The White House Conference recommended the prohibition of night work for minors up to age 18 in nonagricultural occupations, except that boys between 16 and 18 years of age might be permitted to work up to 10 p.m.

Twenty-seven States and the District of Columbia now prohibit night work for children under 16 in commercial and industrial employment. A few of the laws nominally cover all employment, but generally agriculture and housework are omitted in practice if not

by the language of the law itself. Eighteen additional States have such a prohibition for factories and 10 of these also for stores. Some of these include certain other kinds of establishments. This leaves 3 States (Nevada, South Dakota, and Texas) that regulate night work only up to age 14 or 15, or not at all. The prohibited period generally varies from 11 to 13 hours, usually starting at 6 or 7 p.m. (See chart I.)

Only 9 States and the District of Columbia regulate night work for minors of either sex between 16 and 18 in all commercial and industrial occupations; 21 States and the District of Columbia have such regulations for factories, and not quite so many for stores; more than half of all these regulations are applicable only to girls. (See chart II.)

LEGAL PROHIBITION OF NIGHT WORK FOR CHILDREN UNDER 16 IN FACTORIES AND STORES, 1933.



MINIMUM-WAGE LAWS

Minimum-wage laws are recognized as a method of preventing wages from falling indefinitely in a period of falling prices; such laws may be used to raise the wages of extremely low-paid groups at any time. Minors' wages, never high, are easily depressed; thus there is a constant need for setting minimum-wage rates for minors.

Prior to 1933, 15 States and the District of Columbia at one time or another had on their statute books laws regulating minimum wages for women and minors or for women alone in occupations in which wages were deemed unreasonably low. These laws were upheld by the State supreme courts of Arkansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Oregon,¹¹ Texas, and Washington. But after the United States Supreme Court in 1923 declared the District of Columbia law

¹¹ The question of the constitutionality of the Oregon act reached the Supreme Court of the United States where, by an evenly divided court, the decisions of the Oregon Supreme Court were affirmed. *Stettler v. O'Hara*, *Simpson v. O'Hara*, 243 U.S. 629 (1917).

unconstitutional¹² insofar as it attempted to fix wages for adult women, the laws of Arkansas and Minnesota, together with the Arizona, Kansas, and Wisconsin laws, were declared invalid as regards the provisions affecting adult women.¹³ In only one of these States was the constitutionality of the act as regards minors challenged. In Minnesota, the State supreme court held that the act, insofar as it related to minors, was constitutional. Wisconsin later substituted a somewhat different type of law for women, prohibiting the payment of "oppressive" wages (that is, wages lower than a reasonable and adequate compensation for the services rendered) but left the old provisions in effect for minors. Three States have repealed their laws.¹⁴ One law, that of Colorado, has never been in operation, for lack of an appropriation. The net result of these developments was that prior to 1933 minimum-wage laws were nominally in operation for women and minors in 6 States, for women and minor girls in 1 State, and for minors only in 1 State.¹⁵

Early in 1933 minimum-wage bills applying to women and minors were again introduced into a number of State legislatures in an effort to stem wage deflation. Seven became law (Connecticut, Illinois, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Utah). Most of these bills contained several new features designed to overcome constitutional obstacles to the regulation of women's wages. Whereas in the type of law which had been declared unconstitutional the minimum wage was to be determined solely with reference to the cost of living, the new type of law declares that the wage must be "fairly and reasonably commensurate with the value of the service rendered", and must also be sufficient to meet the minimum cost of living necessary for health.

The laws generally permit a lower minimum wage for minors than for women, because the minor is not self-supporting in the same sense as the adult woman and because he is relatively inexperienced. The laws permit classification of workers as experienced, inexperienced, or learners, and different minimum rates may be ordered for these groups. However, a recent conference of State officials charged with the enforcement of minimum-wage laws recommended the establishment of a single minimum for an industry, this minimum to be paid for unskilled work, and no differentials to be permitted for learners or for minors.

Some of the early minimum-wage laws provided for a single flat minimum rate, fixed in the law itself. South Dakota is the only State in which this type of law is operative at present. In the 14 other States the law creates machinery for setting rates for different employments. Employers, employees, and the general public are usually represented on the wage-fixing body whether that be a commission or a wage board for each industry. The rates are fixed after public hearings have been held and may be altered from time to time by

¹² *Adkins v. Children's Hospital*, 261 U.S. 525.

¹³ *Arizona: Murphy v. Sardell*, 269 U.S. 530 (1925); *Arkansas: Donhaam v. West-Nelson Manufacturing Company*, 273 U.S. 657 (1927); *Kansas: Topeka Laundry Co. v. Court of Industrial Relations*, 237 Pac. 1041 (1925); *Minnesota: Stevenson v. St. Clair*, 201 N.W. 629 (1925); *Wisconsin: Folding Furniture Works v. Industrial Commission*, 300 Fed. 991 (1924).

¹⁴ Nebraska, 1919; Texas, 1921; Utah, 1929.

¹⁵ California, Massachusetts, North Dakota, Oregon, Washington, and Wisconsin—for women and minors of both sexes; South Dakota—for all females over 14; Minnesota—for minors of both sexes.

the same procedure. In 13 States minimum-wage orders are mandatory or may be made mandatory after a certain period,¹⁶ and employers may be prosecuted for violations. In one State, Massachusetts, the orders are merely directory; that is, employers are not liable to prosecution, but the commission may publish the names of those who fail to pay the minimum wage prescribed. The effectiveness of publicity as an enforcement device varies, however, according to the nature of the business. Employers whose products are marketed mainly within the State are the most susceptible to pressure of this sort.

Employments which have been repeatedly the subject of minimum-wage regulation are, in general, those employing a large proportion of women and girls, including canneries, laundries, stores, and manufacturing industries; particular branches of the last that have been separately regulated include clothing, millinery, paper-box, confectionery. In some States minimum-wage commissions are given power to regulate hours and working conditions as well as wages.

REGULATION OF EMPLOYMENT IN HAZARDOUS OCCUPATIONS

PROHIBITION OF EMPLOYMENT IN HAZARDOUS OCCUPATIONS

The principle has long been recognized that a higher age minimum should be set for employment in specially hazardous occupations. The White House Conference drew attention to the fact that existing knowledge concerning industrial hazards was too fragmentary and incomplete to furnish a scientific basis for adequate protective measures. It strongly urged revision of legislation on the basis of careful, comprehensive, and continuing study both of occupations in which minors are engaged and of those in which industrial accidents occur, as well as of possible safeguards in such occupations. Acting on its suggestion the Children's Bureau invited a technical committee to cooperate with it in determining what are hazardous occupations and in formulating standards for the protection of minors against such hazards. In December 1932 this committee issued its first report containing detailed recommendations. It is planned to revise these recommendations from time to time in order to keep abreast of changes in both industrial hazards and safeguards. The committee also approved the White House Conference recommendation that State labor boards, or boards connected with the department enforcing the child-labor law of the State, be empowered to issue and revise rulings prohibiting the employment of minors in occupations in which the hazards are subject to frequent changes.

The committee's report dealt with four types of hazards: Work in dangerous places, where the hazards may come from the surroundings; work on dangerous machinery; work involving exposure to injurious substances, such as poisons, gases, dusts, and explosives; and work involving physical strain or exposure. It recommended that children under 16 should not be permitted to work on, or in close proximity to, power-driven machinery of any kind and that minors under 18 be barred from a comprehensive list of occupations involving either general hazards or hazards connected with specified machines or with poisonous substances.

¹⁶ Five of the laws passed in 1933 provide that minimum-wage orders shall be directory during a certain period, but that if repeated violations occur any rate may, after a public hearing, be made mandatory.

The employments involving general hazards from which it was recommended that minors under 18 be entirely barred include: Construction and excavation, shipbuilding, mining, generation of electricity, oil drilling and refining, smelting, and rolling mills. The specified machines which it was urged minors should be prohibited from operating are chiefly those of the stamping or punch-press type, grinding or polishing machines, saws, and other machines having a cutting, crushing, or shearing action. Machines are listed by industry groups, and the industries include paper and paper products, wood and metal working, laundries, and bakeries. Occupations prohibited on the ground of health hazards are those involving exposure to such substances as lead, radium, phosphorus, mercury. A number of other substances are listed which are considered dangerous only if excessive exposure is involved, for instance, carbon dioxide, carbon monoxide, corrosives, tar, turpentine.¹⁷

These recommendations are far in advance of State regulations. The group of 16- and 17-year-old minors is particularly in need of further protection. Moreover there is little uniformity in the State prohibitions. "Occupations prohibited in one State are entirely unregulated in another," says the report of the advisory committee, "and many States have failed to prohibit occupations that are acknowledged to be extremely hazardous."

In five States (Idaho, Mississippi, New Hampshire, South Carolina, South Dakota) there are no prohibitions of the employment of minors in hazardous occupations. Some State laws give comprehensive lists of prohibited employments; others have only a general provision prohibiting employment in any occupation dangerous to life or limb, or injurious to health or morals. Often such a clause follows an enumeration of prohibited employments. A general prohibition presents difficulties of enforcement because it is vague and subject to the uncertainties of judicial interpretation; on the other hand, it is useful in covering unforeseen hazards.

The listing of prohibited occupations in the laws themselves is satisfactory for employments in which the element of danger is general and constant, but it does not permit quick or flexible amendment to deal with rapidly changing techniques and processes. Twenty-seven States and the District of Columbia have made provision for flexibility by authorizing some central agency, such as a State labor or health department or an industrial board, to make rulings in regard to employment of minors in hazardous occupations.¹⁸ The power has not been extensively used in the past, although in certain States, notably New York, Wisconsin, and Pennsylvania, there has been a growing tendency to exercise it and to utilize actual accident experience in making rulings.

Minors under 16, although inadequately protected, are afforded a great deal more protection than those between 16 and 18 years of age. Only in 12 States and the District of Columbia is authority granted to make rulings for persons up to the age of 18. Comparatively

¹⁷ For complete lists of occupations prohibited see Report of Advisory Committee on Employment of Minors in Hazardous Occupations, in *Monthly Labor Review* (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics), vol. 35, no. 6 (December 1932), pp. 1315-1321.

¹⁸ In a few of these States the power given does not apply specifically to hazardous occupations but is an authorization to fix conditions of labor, under which certain hazardous occupations have been prohibited.

few prohibitions have as yet been extended up to this age, either by law or by ruling.

MINORS UNDER THE WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACTS

Closely related to the question of prohibiting the employment of children in dangerous work is the question of the status under workmen's compensation laws of minors who are injured while illegally employed. State laws vary on this point. In some States, compensation is awarded whether employment has been legal or illegal. Eleven exclude the illegally employed minor from this compensation law, on the theory that the employer's liability for an injury to such a minor should be unlimited.¹⁹ In such cases the courts have usually held that the employer's common-law defenses are abrogated,²⁰ thus increasing the probability that the minor will recover damages. Twelve States include illegally employed minors under the compensation laws and provide additional compensation, varying from 50 percent to 200 percent of the usual amount, on the theory that the minor is entitled to a sum somewhat comparable to the amount he would be entitled to recover in a suit for damages, and that a heavy penalty in the form of increased compensation will act as a deterrent to violations of the child-labor law.²¹ The latter is the method recommended by both the White House Conference and the Advisory Committee on the Employment of Minors in Hazardous Occupations. Actually few minors excluded from the compensation acts have been known to sue their employers for damages incurred in the course of illegal employment; and although many cases are settled out of court, some employers escape all liability and make no payments to minors injured while at work in violation of the child-labor law.²² Illegal employment is variously defined by the laws for the purpose of awarding extra compensation; in some States only employment below the minimum age or without an employment certificate is meant, in other States employment in violation of any provision of the child-labor act.

EMPLOYMENTS IN NEED OF SPECIAL TYPES OF REGULATION STREET TRADES

Street work, which gives employment to many young children of school age, as well as to older ones, presents peculiar difficulties; the fact that these children do not work regular hours in particular establishments and the fact that many of them are self-employed complicate the inspection and enforcement problem.

For certain forms of street trading considered especially undesirable for young children, such as newspaper selling, peddling, boot-blacking, and junk collecting, the White House Conference recommended a minimum age of 16 and special legislation to facilitate inspection and enforcement. Other kinds of street work, such

¹⁹ Delaware, Iowa, Louisiana, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, Vermont, West Virginia.

²⁰ That is, the employer is not permitted to avoid liability, as he might at common law, on the ground that the injury was due to the contributory negligence of the employee himself, or to the fault of a fellow worker, or that the employee had assumed the risks of the employment in which he was engaged. (See *The Illegally Employed Minor and the Workmen's Compensation Law*, p. 6. U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 214. Washington, 1932.)

²¹ Alabama, Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Utah, Wisconsin.

²² *The Illegally Employed Minor and the Workmen's Compensation Law*, pp. 24-29.

as newspaper delivering, huckstering, and hand-bill distributing, it recommended should be specifically included under the provisions of the general child-labor laws.

Administrative provisions usually found in good street-trades laws require that a child before receiving a badge should present reliable evidence that he is of legal age, is in good physical condition, and is undertaking the work with the knowledge and approval of his parent and school principal. The street worker should be required to attend school regularly; the badge should be revoked for violation of the law, and in addition penalties should be imposed on the parent and on the employer or person who furnishes papers or other merchandise to be sold.

At present 16 States and the District of Columbia have laws requiring children selling papers or doing other work on the streets to obtain permits or badges. But only 10 of these laws apply to the entire State. Many towns and cities in the United States have local ordinances or police regulations governing street trades, but these vary widely in their terms, and most of them are inadequate. A State law State-wide in application is necessary for effective protection of street traders.

INDUSTRIAL HOME WORK

It has been repeatedly suggested that the only way of dealing effectively with industrial home work is to abolish it. Pending its elimination, the White House Conference recommended strict regulation. All State labor laws, including those regulating the employment of women and children, safety and sanitation, workmen's compensation, and minimum wage, should be made applicable to industrial home work, and penalties for violations should be applicable to the manufacturer for whom the work is done. A system of licensing home workers through the State labor departments was recommended.

Although this type of work is found chiefly in the eastern industrial centers, the results of a survey made for the Association of Governmental Officials in Industry showed that it was carried on to some extent in nearly half the States. Only 8 States, however, regulate the giving out of home work by requiring licenses for home workers²³ and in only 3²⁴ is the issuance of the license conditioned upon observance of the State child-labor law. Such regulation and inspection, particularly in States where especial attention has been paid to the problem, have made some progress in checking the worst abuses. But even in the States with the highest standards, the enforcement difficulties loom large. From the very nature of the employment no staff of inspectors, however numerous, could adequately cope with the problem. The Pennsylvania bureau charged with administering the home-work regulations reported in 1931 that it had found great difficulty in enforcing the standards set up by law, particularly during the business depression when both employers and workers are hard pressed. Violations of the child-labor law were seen in 19 percent of the homes inspected, and violations of the

²³ Indiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin.

²⁴ New York, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin.

women's labor law in 18 percent, representing an increase over the preceding year. The report concludes:

The growing prevalence of violation of the labor laws in industrial home work in the face of persistent study and effort to enforce legal standards of employment for industrial home workers is testimony to the inherent difficulties of enforcing such standards where continuous supervision over workers is lacking. * * * It is seriously questioned whether it is possible for employers to have home work done under really controlled conditions.

DOMESTIC SERVICE

Domestic service in private homes, an important occupation for children both outside school hours and on a full-time basis, is at present one of the least regulated of child employments. Housework is affording children an increasing amount of employment, under more and more undesirable conditions. The child-labor laws of many States specifically exempt domestic service, together with agriculture, from one or more of their provisions. A few States²⁵ require a permit to leave school for work in domestic service, and to obtain such a permit the same standards as to age and education must be complied with as for other types of employment.

AGRICULTURE

Regulation of child labor in agriculture is a comparatively recent development. Even now such regulation as exists is chiefly an indirect result of compulsory school-attendance laws, and its effectiveness varies with the effectiveness of these laws. Direct regulation is obstructed in part by public sentiment, in part by administrative difficulties. The administrative system planned to control child labor in cities, and in industrial and commercial pursuits, is poorly adapted to cope with the problems found when work units are scattered over wide rural areas. The difficulty of inspection is greatest where farms are small and a few workers are employed on each; it is lessened when large gangs of laborers are working intensively on great centrally-owned tracts of land, at certain seasons of the year.

The White House Conference proposed the following standards for children working out for hire, either independently or as members of a family group: Children under 16 should not be permitted to work during school hours; children under 14 should not be hired out for agricultural work at any time, except that those between 12 and 14 might be employed outside school hours at light agricultural tasks a few hours a day during a short season. For children under 16, hours of work should be legally limited to 8 per day when school is not in session, and when school is in session the time in school and in work should not exceed 8 hours per day. It recommended enforcement through a system of work permits, valid for an entire season, to be required of children under 16 years of age, engaging in work away from the home farm. It emphasized the need for increasing school facilities for rural children, lengthening school terms, and requiring more regular attendance.

In practice the length of the school terms, and the strictness with which compulsory school attendance is enforced, vary not only from State to State, but from county to county. In many rural communities enforcement is lax and especially adapted to crop requirements;

²⁵Among them Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania,

sometimes indeed the law itself countenances absence of children for farm work. Children may often be excused from school attendance if their labor is required on the farm; sometimes terms are shortened, or the schools are closed for "crop vacations."

Inadequacy of funds also operates to reduce the amount of schooling afforded rural children. The rural school term in the school year 1925-26 averaged 156 days, being $1\frac{1}{3}$ school months shorter than the term in urban schools, which averaged 183 days. In one-teacher schools the term in 1924 averaged below 140 days in 11 States; in Arkansas only 100 days.

School-attendance laws cannot be well enforced in any rural area until local public opinion has been educated up to the point of placing school attendance ahead of agricultural work, until school funds are adequate for the needs of the district, and until a staff of attendance officers able to cover the territory and to carry out the intent of the law has been provided. In cases of special hardship which develop in connection with the law, satisfactory adjustments may be worked out through scholarships and mothers' aid. The State can render valuable assistance in enforcement through stimulating and coordinating the work of local officers. It is easily seen that basic to progress in this field is improvement in the economic status of the farming communities. For while the rural population is eking out the meagerest of livings it is unable to finance its schools, even with State aid, or to forego using the cheap labor of its children.

Although a number of States appear to regulate agriculture along with other types of work under blanket clauses in their child-labor laws covering "all gainful employments", only a few provide anything approaching effective regulation. The mere absence from the law of a specific exemption for agricultural work means little, for such work may be tacitly ignored in applying the law, or it may be exempted by judicial or administrative decision. Special administrative machinery and special efforts are required to enforce a child-labor law for rural children in agricultural pursuits.

Thirty States and the District of Columbia which prohibit employment below a minimum age at any gainful occupation during school hours, and a few which prohibit such employment at any time, nominally include agriculture. So far as the prohibition affects employment during school hours it reinforces the school-attendance laws; and where both laws are strictly enforced certificates are required for children leaving school for employment in agriculture the same as in other occupations. So far as work outside school hours is concerned there is a strong presumption that it is not enforced for agriculture. Hours of labor in farm work are nominally regulated in some States under a similar blanket clause, in others by some explicit provision which may or may not be enforced.²⁶

In some States children leaving school for work on farms during school hours must obtain employment certificates similar to those required for work in other regulated occupations.²⁷ In Wisconsin the industrial commission was given power in 1925 to regulate through special orders the employment of children in certain types

²⁶ In Nebraska work in beet fields is included along with factories and stores in a list of occupations for which an 8-hour day and a 48-hour week maximum is prescribed.

²⁷ Among these States are Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania.

of industrialized agriculture, including the culture of sugar beets and truck farming. Under this power, rulings have been issued, applying to beet growing, which practically fix a minimum age of 14 for employment during the hours school is in session²⁸; set a maximum 8-hour day and 48-hour week; prohibit night work; and require reports to the industrial commission by manufacturing companies that arrange contracts between growers and families of laborers.

Ohio has fixed a minimum age of 16 for any employment during school hours, and 14 outside school hours. Younger children may be employed outside school hours in "irregular service", including farm work, for not more than 4 hours a day and 24 hours a week, provided that rest and recreation periods are allowed, and provided the work does not involve physical strain.

MIGRATORY CHILD LABOR

Migratory family workers, of whom many are children, constitute an important part of the labor supply in agriculture and in canning operations. Their employment raises problems not only as to minimum age and hours, but as to school attendance, housing, and recreational facilities. The administration of labor laws for migratory workers is complicated by the mobility of the labor force and the remoteness of the work places.

In order to meet the seasonal demands for labor on fruit and vegetable crops and in canneries, migratory families frequently withdraw their children from school before the close of the term, often returning late in the fall after the schools have opened. For example, in southern New Jersey, the Children's Bureau found that three fourths of the migratory children employed on truck farms had missed more than a fifth of the school year; one fourth of the children had missed more than two fifths.²⁹ Even in States with good school laws it is difficult to insure attendance of migratory children. Often the community into which they migrate feels no responsibility for such children, and they are temporarily beyond the reach of their home communities. A few States are making efforts to solve this problem. Some States have made attempts to enroll migratory children in the regular schools, but it is difficult to fit these groups, who may be in the community only a short time, into courses already in progress. California has set up special migratory schools, run in close connection with the regular schools. Pennsylvania in 1931 enacted legislation designed to prevent migratory children of school age from leaving school in their home States and obtaining employment in Pennsylvania during the period when the laws of their own State would require their attendance at school, unless they are qualified for such employment in their own State. As proof of eligibility for employment in Pennsylvania a school and age certificate, issued by the home State authority, must be presented by migratory child workers. Children temporarily residing in Pennsylvania are specifically required to attend school under the laws of that State.

²⁸ This is done by prohibiting employment during school hours of minors under 14 who have not completed the eighth grade.

²⁹ Work of Children on Truck and Small-Fruit Farms in Southern New Jersey, p. 41. U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 132. Washington, 1924.

Labor camps for transient workers engaged either in agriculture or in canning operations have in many places been found to be insanitary and overcrowded. The shacks that house the workers have often been built without regard to any housing standard whatsoever. It has been repeatedly urged that State departments of health or labor should issue regulations governing construction, adequate water supply, sleeping quarters, toilets, garbage and sewage disposal, and that the camps should be regularly inspected by the State.

A few States, for instance California and Pennsylvania, have made progress in improving labor camps, by setting up standards in part through cooperation with employers, and in part through legislation. Most States, however, exercise very little control over these matters.³⁰

ADMINISTRATION OF CHILD-LABOR LAWS

The effectiveness of a child-labor law depends very largely on the machinery provided for enforcement and upon the qualifications and interest of the enforcement officials. Experience has shown that provision should be made for the issuance of employment certificates to all young persons going to work, and for the frequent inspection of all establishments, both to discover violations and to bring home to employers their responsibility for observance of the law. Violations of the law should be punishable not only by fine but by imprisonment; the law should provide a minimum as well as a maximum penalty, which should apply to each violation, and each day's violation should be regarded as a separate offense.

The child-labor laws of the several States all make some provision for inspection and for penalties, and most of them provide for employment certificates but, as in the case of the standards set, there is great variety both in the provisions and in the means for carrying them out.

The employment certificate is the keystone of child-labor law enforcement. Certificates should be required for all minors up to 18 years of age, in all occupations. It is necessary that the certificate be issued for work with a stated employer; that on termination of employment the certificate be returned to the issuing office; and that if the child obtains another job a new certificate be issued. The work of the certificate-issuing office should dovetail with that of the authorities enforcing the school-attendance law. For instance, if a child is missed from school and is found to be employed, the attendance officer should notify the certificating office and should also notify the child's parents that he must obtain a certificate. The certificate, once issued, makes it possible to keep in touch with the working child and helps to enforce the hours and night-work provisions of the child-labor law. It is evidence of compliance with the legal requirements for employment, such as age, physical fitness, educational qualifications, and protects the employer from unintentional violation of the law.

The certificating system lends itself particularly to keeping track of children employed during school hours, since two agencies, the certificating office and the school-attendance office, are interested in accounting for all children of compulsory school-attendance age when

³⁰ Farm and Village Housing; report of the committee on farm and village housing of the President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership, p. 208. National Capital Press, Washington, 1932.

school is in session. For children attending school and working outside school hours, on the other hand, there is no violation of the attendance law to call attention to the fact that the children are working. If these children fail to obtain certificates, this is discovered only through inspection of work places. Under such circumstances the certificate cannot be relied upon as a device for keeping track of working children and their conditions of work, since it is an object of, rather than an aid to, inspection.

To insure uniform enforcement of high standards the issuance of certificates should be supervised by State authority. The central agency should prescribe the forms to be used, issue instructions, receive duplicates of certificates issued, and check up on the methods of issuance used by local officers and on their interpretations of the law.

Forty-four States and the District of Columbia require employment certificates for children employed in regulated occupations; that is, in factories, usually in stores, and sometimes in numerous other occupations. Generally they are required for children up to 16 years of age; in a few States, up to 17 or 18 years. Certificates are usually issued by local school authorities, but in some States they are issued by representatives of the State education or labor department. The extent and thoroughness of supervision exercised by the States over the local officers vary widely. The United States Children's Bureau has cooperated with a large number of State and local agencies in obtaining comparable reports of certificates issued in different localities, and in this connection has assisted in standardizing the procedure of issuing certificates. Reports from the cooperating offices are compiled and published annually, thus giving a picture of the trend of child employment in the regulated occupations.³¹

CHILD LABOR AND THE NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION

The adoption of codes of fair competition under the National Industrial Recovery Act has offered a new method of regulating child labor. These codes, set up by joint agreement of employers, are for an emergency period, but their duration may be extended, and in any case their requirements will no doubt influence both industrial practice and legislative standards. About 60 codes have been signed by the President and are now in effect³², including many important manufacturing and mining industries and most of the retail dealers. These codes prohibit the employment of children under 16, with the exception of the general retail code, which permits children between 14 and 16 to work part time outside school hours; 18 has been fixed in a number of dangerous industries or for certain hazardous processes. Where these codes fix a higher age requirement than that of a State law they have the effect of raising the standard for the particular industry; but where the State law has the higher standard, it is controlling.

The codes still pending for the most part propose to fix a minimum age of 16, and in some cases a higher age minimum for dangerous occupations. The President's Reemployment Agreement, which is

³¹Annual Reports of the Chief, U.S. Children's Bureau; Trend of Child Labor in the United States, in Monthly Labor Review (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics), vol. 35, no. 6 (December 1932), pp. 1322-1336.

³²Oct. 25, 1933. Further information as to the regulation of child employment under the N.R.A. may be obtained from the Children's Bureau as new codes are adopted or old ones modified.

CHART I.—REGULATION OF EMPLOYMENT OF MINORS UNDER 16

[This chart is merely a guide to the most important standards for the employment of children under 16, the many exemptions permitted, such as those fixing lower standards for work outside school hours and during vacation, not being indicated. The chart does not include agriculture and domestic service, which are usually not covered by child-labor laws, or street trades and theatrical or other public exhibitions, which are usually covered by special regulations. A regulation specified for "factory" or "store" may apply also to other places of employment such as laundries, restaurants, etc.]

State	Minimum age				Daily hours			Weekly hours			Night work prohibited			Grade requirement for obtaining an employment certificate during school hours
	All occupations	Factories	Stores	All occupations during school hours only	All occupations	Factories	Stores	All occupations	Factories	Stores	All occupations	Factories	Stores	
Alabama.....	14	14	14	14	8	8	8	48	48	48	<i>p.m. a.m.</i> 7 to 6	<i>p.m. a.m.</i> 7 to 6	<i>p.m. a.m.</i> 7 to 6	7th.
Arizona.....		14	14	14	8	8	8	48	48	48	7 to 7	7 to 7	7 to 7	5th.
Arkansas.....	14	14	14	14	8	8	8	48	48	48	7 to 6	7 to 6	7 to 6	4th.
California.....		14	14	15	8	8	8	48	48	48	10 to 5	10 to 6	10 to 5	8th at 14; 7th at 15.
Colorado.....		14	14	14	8	8	8	48	48	48	After 8.	After 8.	After 8.	None.
Connecticut.....		14	14	14		8	9		48	52		6 to 6	6 to 6	6th (with exemptions).
Delaware.....	14	14	14	14	8	8	8	48	48	48	7 to 6	7 to 6	7 to 6	8th (with exemptions).
District of Columbia.....	14	14	14	14	8	8	8	48	48	48	7 to 7	7 to 7	7 to 7	8th.
Florida.....		14	12				9			54		8 to 5		None.
Georgia.....		14							160			7 to 6		None.
Idaho.....		14	14	14	9	9	9	54	54	54	9 to 6	9 to 6	9 to 6	None.
Illinois.....		14	14		8	8	8	48	48	48	7 to 7	7 to 7	7 to 7	8th.
Indiana.....	14	14	14	14	8	8	8	48	48	48	7 to 6	7 to 6	7 to 6	8th.
Iowa.....		14	14			8	8		48	48		6 to 7	6 to 7	6th.
Kansas.....		14	14	14		8	8		48	48		6 to 7	6 to 7	8th.
Kentucky.....		14	14	14		8	8		48	48		6 to 7	6 to 7	8th.
Louisiana.....	14	14	14	14	8	8	8	48	48	48	7 to 6	7 to 6	7 to 6	5th.
Maine.....		14		15		8		(G) 54	54	54		6 to 6:30		In New Orleans, 6th or 8 years' attendance.
Maryland.....		14	14	14		8	8		48	48		7 to 7	7 to 7	8th.
Massachusetts.....	14	14	14	14	8	8	8	48	48	48	6 to 6:30	6 to 6:30	6 to 6:30	6th in Baltimore; 7th outside.
														6th.

Michigan	14	14	15	10	10	54	54	6 to 6	6th.	
Minnesota	14	14	8	8	48	48	7 to 7	7 to 7	8th.	
Mississippi	14	14	8	8	44	44	7 to 6	7 to 6	None.	
Missouri	14	14	14	8	8	48	48	7 to 7	7 to 7	6th.
Montana		16	14	16 min. age.	16 min. age.			16 min. age.	8th.	
Nebraska	14	14	14	8	8	48	48	8 to 6	8th (with exemptions).	
Nevada			14	8	8	48	48		None.	
New Hampshire	14	14	10 $\frac{1}{4}$	10 $\frac{1}{4}$	10 $\frac{1}{4}$	54	54	7 to 6:30	7 to 6:30	7 to 6:30
New Jersey	14	14	14	8	8	48	48	7 to 7	7 to 7	7 to 7
New Mexico			14	8	8	44	44	7 to 7	7 to 7	7 to 7
New York	14	14	14	8	8	44	44	5 to 8	6 to 8	8th at 14; 6th at 15.
North Carolina	14	14		8	8	48	48	7 to 6	7 to 6	None.
North Dakota	14	14	14	8	8	48	48	7 to 7	7 to 7	8th, or 9 years' attendance.
Ohio	14	14	16	8	8	48	48	6 to 7	6 to 7	16 minimum age.
Oklahoma	14		8	8	48	48	6 to 7	6 to 7	None.	
Oregon	14	14	14	8	8	48	48	6 to 7	6 to 7	8th.
Pennsylvania	14	14	14	9	9	51	51	8 to 6	8 to 6	6th.
Rhode Island	14	14	15	9	9	48	48	7 to 6	7 to 6	7 to 6
South Carolina	14			10	10	55	55	8 to 6	8 to 6	8th, or 8 years' attendance.
South Dakota	14	14	10	10	10	54	54			None.
Tennessee	14	14	14	8	8	48	48	7 to 6	7 to 6	After 7 (under 14).
Texas	15			8 (under 15)	8 (under 15)	48 (under 15)	48 (under 15)	10 to 5 (under 15)	10 to 5 (under 15)	7 to 6 (under 15)
Utah	16	16	16	8	8	44	44	6 to 7	6 to 7	6 to 7
Vermont	14			8	8	48	48	7 to 6	7 to 6	16 minimum age.
Virginia	14	14	14	8	8	44	44	6 to 7	6 to 7	6 to 7
Washington	14	14	14	8	8	48	48	7 to 6	7 to 6	7 to 6
West Virginia	14	14	14	8	8	48	48	7 to 6	7 to 6	7 to 6
Wisconsin	14	14	16	8	8	48	48	6 to 7	6 to 7	6 to 7
Wyoming				8	8	48	48	7 to 7	7 to 7	7 to 7

(G) applies to girls only.

¹ Cotton and woolen factories only.

● Canneries are exempted.

CHART II.—HOURS OF LABOR REGULATIONS AFFECTING MINORS BETWEEN 16 AND 18

[Applicable either: (1) To all occupations except work in agriculture and domestic service; or (2) to work in factories or stores (regulation here listed may apply also to other occupations). Exemptions not noted except in case of canneries]

State	Daily hours			Weekly hours			Night work prohibited		
	All occupations except agriculture and domestic service	Factories	Stores	All occupations except agriculture and domestic service	Factories	Stores	All occupations except agriculture and domestic service	Factories	Stores
Alabama.....							<i>p.m. a.m.</i>	<i>p.m. a.m.</i>	<i>p.m. a.m.</i>
Arizona.....	(G) 8	(G) 8	(G) 8	(G) 48	(G) 48	(G) 48	(G) 7 to 7	(G) 7 to 7	(G) 7 to 7
Arkansas.....	10	(G) 9	(G) 9	54	(G) 54	(G) 54	10 to 6	(G) 9 to 7	(G) 9 to 7
California.....	8	8	8	48	48	48	10 to 5	10 to 6	10 to 5
Colorado.....		(G) 8	(G) 8						
Connecticut.....		(G) 10	(G) 9		(G) 55	(G) 52		(G) 10 to 6	(G) 10 to 6
Delaware.....		● (G) 10			● (G) 55			● (G) 10 to 6	
District of Columbia.....	8	8	8	48	48	48	{(G) 7 to 7 {(B) 10 to 6	{(G) 7 to 7 {(B) 10 to 6	{(G) 7 to 7 {(B) 10 to 6
Florida.....									
Georgia.....					1 60				
Idaho.....		● (G) 9	(G) 9						
Illinois.....		(G) 10	(G) 10						
Indiana.....	(G) 8	(G) 8	(G) 8	(G) 48	(G) 48	(G) 48	(G) 7 to 6	(G) 7 to 6	(G) 7 to 6
Iowa.....									
Kansas.....		9	9		49½	54		9 to 6	After 9 p.m.
Kentucky.....	(G) 10	(G) 10	(G) 10	(G) 60	(G) 60	(G) 60			
Louisiana.....	(G) 9	(G) 9	(G) 9	(G) 54	(G) 54	(G) 54	(G) 7 to 6	(G) 7 to 6	(G) 7 to 6
Maine.....		● (G) 9			● (G) 54	(G) 54			
Maryland.....		● (G) 10			● (G) 60				
Massachusetts.....		9	9		48	48		* 10 to 5	10 to 5
Michigan.....		● 10	10		● 54	54		● (G) 6 to 6	
Minnesota.....				● (G) 54	● (G) 54	(G) 54			
Mississippi.....	(G) 10	● 10	(G) 10	(G) 60	(G) 60	(G) 60			

CHILD LABOR

Missouri.....		● (G) 9	(G) 9		● (G) 54	(G) 54			
Montana.....		(G) 8	(G) 8						
Nebraska.....		(G) 9	(G) 9		(G) 54	(G) 54		(G) 12:30 to 6 a.m.	(G) 12:30 to 6 a.m.
Nevada.....	(G) 8	(G) 8	(G) 8	(G) 48	(G) 48	(G) 48			
New Hampshire.....	10¼	10¼	10¼	54	54	54			
New Jersey.....		● (G) 10	(G) 10		● (G) 54	(G) 54		● (G) 10 to 6	
New Mexico.....		(G) 8	8		(G) 48	48			
New York.....		{ (B) 9 (G) 8	{ (B) 9 (G) 8		{ ● (B) 54 (G) 48	{ (B) 54 (G) 48		{ (B) 12 to 6 (G) 9 to 6	{ (B) 12 to 6 (G) 10 to 7
North Carolina.....		● (G) 11	(G) 10		● (G) 55	(G) 55		(G) 9 to 6	
North Dakota.....		(G) 8½	(G) 8½		(G) 48	(G) 48			(G) After 9 p.m.
Ohio.....		{ (B) 10 (G) 8	{ (B) 10 (G) 8		{ (B) 54 (G) 48	{ (B) 54 (G) 48		{ (B) 10 to 6 (G) 6 to 7	{ (B) 10 to 6 (G) 6 to 7
Oklahoma.....		(G) 9	(G) 9		(G) 54	(G) 54		(G) 6 to 7	
Oregon.....	{ (B) 10 (G) 9	{ (B) 10 (G) 9	{ (B) 10 (G) 9	{ (B) 60 (G) 48	{ (B) 60 (G) 48	{ (B) 60 (G) 48	{ (G) After 6 p.m.	{ (G) After 6 p.m.	{ (G) After 6 p.m.
Pennsylvania.....	● (G) 10	● (G) 10	(G) 10	● (G) 54	● (G) 54	(G) 54	(G) 9 to 6	(G) 9 to 6	(G) 9 to 6
Rhode Island.....		(G) 10	(G) 10		(G) 54	(G) 54			
South Carolina.....		1 10	(G) 12		1 55	(G) 60			After 10 p.m.
South Dakota.....	(G) 10	(G) 10	(G) 10	(G) 54	(G) 54	(G) 54			
Tennessee.....	● (G) 10½	● (G) 10½	(G) 10½	● (G) 57	● (G) 57	(G) 57			
Texas.....	(G) 9	(G) 9	(G) 9	(G) 54	(G) 54	(G) 54			
Utah.....	● 8	● 8	8	● 44	● 44	44	(G) 6 to 7	(G) 6 to 7	(G) 6 to 7
Vermont.....		10½			56				
Virginia.....		● (G) 10	(G) 10		● (G) 60	(G) 60			
Washington.....	8	8	8	48	48	48	7 to 6	7 to 6	7 to 6
West Virginia.....									
Wisconsin.....		(G) 9	(G) 9		(G) 50	(G) 50		● (G) 6 to 6	
Wyoming.....		(G) 8	(G) 8		(G) 48	(G) 48			

(B) Applies to boys only; (G) applies to girls only.

¹ Law applies in Georgia and South Carolina to cotton or woolen factories only.

● Cannery exemption.

* After 6 p.m. in textiles and leather manufacturing. The prohibited period in factories for females is 10 p.m. to 6 a.m.

signed by employers pending the adoption of codes for their industries, permits the employment of children between 14 and 16 in part-time work outside school hours, but not in manufacturing or mechanical industries.

Through these codes a real beginning has been made in restricting child labor. Much, however, remains to be done, particularly in securing a more complete coverage of dangerous occupations by the higher age standards. Furthermore, certain forms of child employment—e.g., in street trades, domestic service, and commercialized agriculture—will be difficult to regulate under the National Recovery Administration because the act places the main emphasis upon trade and industry groups. Some method of extending the benefits of the act to these workers, however, may be found.

CONCLUSIONS

Regulation of child labor is most common in manufacturing establishments and in the extraction of minerals, followed next by stores and other business places. On the other hand, agriculture, domestic service, and street trades are subject to little, if any, regulation.

Although the classification of occupations used by the Census Bureau and by the child-labor laws do not coincide, it is possible to make a very rough calculation of the number and proportion of gainfully occupied children under 16 years who worked in regulated and unregulated occupations in 1920 and 1930. Comparatively few children of 10 to 13 years of age (only 10 percent in each year) worked in regulated occupations, because regulations applying to children under 14 tend to prevent employment, at least during school hours. The proportion of children 14 and 15 years old working in regulated occupations was approximately 50 percent in 1920 and 30 percent in 1930. This means that an increasing proportion of the children who still go to work are employed in occupations that are mainly outside the protection of the child-labor laws—in 1930, 70 percent of the 14- and 15-year-old working children. Child labor is not decreasing as rapidly in the unregulated as in the regulated occupations.

As pointed out, nearly all the child-labor laws cover only a partial list of occupations. If legislation is to have a further significant effect, more attention must be paid to those occupations that have hitherto been mainly exempt from regulation, in which a very high proportion of the children now at work are engaged.

Present needs in improving child-labor legislation may be summed up as follows:

- (1) To make the laws more comprehensive as to the employments covered;
- (2) to raise the minimum age standard for general employment;
- (3) to raise the age to which regulatory provisions apply;
- (4) to revise downward the maximum hours permitted by law;
- (5) to extend to minors increased protection against occupational hazards;
- (6) to improve administrative machinery;
- (7) to improve the coordination between child-labor and school-attendance laws.

CHAPTER IV.—A BRIEF HISTORY OF CHILD LABOR

From ancient times and in all lands the work of children has been an integral part of the work of the world. The kind of work performed by children at different periods has been determined in part by their strength and ability, and in part by the technical equipment of different societies together with the varying need for skilled or unskilled labor. Some societies, which have set a high value on good workmanship, have required periods of prolonged training during youth; others, with a less exacting standard and different needs, have permitted employment at a relatively young age on unskilled work. Only comparatively recently has a new concept begun to influence the upbringing of children—the concept of childhood as a period for the development of personality through education and play. Along with this has come a new concern for the child's health. As these ideas have gained a wide acceptance they have modified traditional attitudes on child labor. Thus, depending on a combination of social attitudes and the current economic and industrial organization, the lot of children has varied considerably through history.

THE MIDDLE AGES TO THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

To start back no further than medieval Europe: The children of serfs, who formed the great majority of the medieval population, were set to work in the fields at an early age. They received no education, no training, and had no opportunities for advancement, save that a few could become artisans attached to the medieval estates, such as cobblers, armorers, bakers, millers, carpenters, or masons. Children continued to labor in the fields from sunrise to sunset right down to our own times, their standard of living varying with the prosperity or decline of the peasant class, and their conditions of work remaining much the same. Agricultural laborers were among the last groups to benefit from social reform movements.

With the rise of towns new opportunities opened up to that portion of medieval society so fortunate as to have access to them. Around the year 1400 about 10 percent of the population of western Europe lived in towns, and the number increased in the succeeding centuries. Medieval artisans were distinctly better off than the peasant class; from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries the towns throughout Europe abounded in small workshops in which master craftsmen worked side by side with a few apprentices and journeymen, leaving marvelous examples of their skill in glass, ivory, the precious metals, steel, bronze, leather, and parchment. Their textiles, particularly woolen cloths, although more perishable, were also famous. It was the ambition of the townsmen to have their sons apprenticed to masters who would teach them a skilled trade. The apprentice was indentured usually at about the age of 14 years, for

a period of from 2 to 7 years, depending upon trade and local custom. His parent or guardian paid a small fee in return for which the master boarded, clothed, and fed him, and personally taught him the use of the tools of the trade. Although the apprentices did not enjoy the freedom of modern youth, worked the same long hours as the adults (that is, from sunrise to sunset), received neither pay nor spending money, and were sometimes subjected to harsh discipline, they were trained to take their place in the society about them. If the master belonged to one of the craft guilds, which existed in the principal trades in most medieval towns, the number of his apprentices, their treatment and training, and sometimes their dress and conduct, were regulated by the guild. After completing his term of service the apprentice submitted to a test of skill and if passed by a jury of guildsmen, was admitted to practice his trade independently and might become a master and a guildsman in his turn.

At first the guilds were open and democratic about admitting new members, and their regulations served mainly to preserve good workmanship. But later they became oligarchic and selfishly restrictive; entrance was made difficult and expensive; competition of nonguildsmen was suppressed. At the close of the Middle Ages (fifteenth century) the apprentice, unless he was the son of a rich man or a guild member, could look forward only to becoming a journeyman, working for wages; he was often compelled to spend many of his best years roving from place to place in search of work.

In the later Middle Ages and in the beginnings of the modern period, a town proletariat grew up, having neither property nor trade training, working for day wages in the least skilled and meanest occupations, or employed in the great cloth-making establishments which mark the beginnings of modern large-scale industry. In England as rich landlords enclosed for their own profit common land, which had once been for the use of the whole village, the displaced peasant class, the yeomen, who were impoverished by this process, flocked to the towns.

Increasing numbers of paupers, in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, led in England to a modification of the apprenticeship system which, persisting into the modern industrial era, lent itself to frightful abuses. When the children of poor parents fell a charge on the parish it was customary to bind them out to whatever masters would take them. Usually they worked for poor men, in relatively unskilled and badly paid trades that were not organized into guilds. These pauper apprentices acquired neither skill nor standing in the community. A system of trade training had been debased into a system of poor relief.

THE COMING OF INDUSTRIALISM

By the end of the eighteenth century England was in the midst of a social and economic upheaval. Old institutions were decaying, among them the guilds with the apprenticeship system; new theories were coming into vogue—"laissez faire", "freedom of contract", "freedom of trade". Freed from restraints and regulations, individuals began to pile up fortunes in land and in commerce. With the aid of capital thus accumulated in mobile form, an intensive

utilization of natural resources and of human labor began, such as was never dreamed of in the ancient and medieval world. Mechanical inventions followed one after another throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, completing the wreck of the older economy. Machine-tending required no 7-year apprenticeships. Hand-workers who had to compete with machines could not lavish the care and skill upon their products that the thirteenth-century craftsmen had done.

The young workers, at the end of the eighteenth century, were caught in a whirlpool of new forces. They were the worst sufferers from the social dislocations and the technological changes of the period. They suffered from the pauperization of rural laborers, for particularly in the south of England, the standard of living declined steadily from about 1760 onwards, reaching unprecedented depths of misery by the end of the Napoleonic wars; neither agriculture nor industry offered the security to which the medieval apprentice or the child of the seventeenth-century yeoman could look forward. The quest for profits was playing havoc with earlier traditions of social responsibility and training of the young. Neither employers nor parents, nor any other authority, interfered to prevent the massing of young children as wage-earners in factories, workshops, or mines. The new inventions set up processes that were simple enough for children to learn but at the same time were dangerous. The development of competitive industries drove employers to cut costs to the bone, and consequently stimulated the employment of cheap child labor in preference to adults. At no other period of history have children displaced adults to the extent they did during the heyday of the industrial revolution in England.

The factories in which cotton was spun and woven have long been looked upon as the symbol of the new order, and as the seat of the worst abuses. This is erroneous. Exploitation of cheap labor, and particularly of child labor, went on in other fields, such as agriculture, mines, and domestic industries, probably more extensively and certainly for a longer period of time than in the textile mills. But the factories startled people. They were new and conspicuous. And for a time what went on behind their walls was appalling. Children, many of them less than 10 years of age, were imported from the poor-houses of London in gangs to tend the new machines in the north of England mill centers. The parish overseers paid the mill owners a sum for each pauper child that they took as an apprentice. Nobody noticed how high the sickness or death rate might be among such workers, for the supply of children in the London slums was apparently inexhaustible. Fourteen hours was a normal working day, machinery was unguarded, supervision was brutal. The condition of these children aroused the first agitation for modern factory legislation. In 1802 Sir Robert Peel was instrumental in having a factory act passed by Parliament, but the act failed to improve conditions because it lacked the machinery for enforcement. It took decades of misery, of parliamentary investigations, of reform agitation, and of experimentation with a technique of regulation, before the English working children were assured a minimum of rest, protection, and education.

The story of the awakening of public opinion to the evils of child labor in England in the nineteenth century is dramatic and signifi-

cant. It cannot be told in detail here. The spotlight of investigation was turned first on one and then another pocket of wretchedness and exploitation. It was soon discovered that pauper apprentices were not the only sufferers. Resident parents sent their children to work in the mills, for equally long hours and under the same conditions. Often the parents had no choice; the mill-owners demanded that the whole family work. One result of the regulation of pauper apprentices in 1802 was to stimulate the employment of children who were not bound apprentices and, therefore, not subject to the act. In 1819, partly through the efforts of Robert Owen, an act regulating all child labor in cotton mills was passed, which, although below Owen's proposed standards, prohibited the employment of children under 9 years and limited the hours for children under 16 years to 12 a day.

These acts, however, still left untouched the condition of children in woolen and worsted, silk, and lace mills, and other establishments where the same abuses existed. Beginning in 1833 Lord Ashley, later the seventh earl of Shaftesbury, began his long career of pleading the case of these and other unfortunate child workers before Parliament. He was instrumental in starting parliamentary investigations of conditions in factories, workshops, and mines and obtained the passage of several legislative landmarks. The first of these, the Factory Act of 1833, applied to all textile mills. It somewhat raised the standards set by the earlier act and instituted the first rudimentary system of factory inspection. In 1844 hours of children were again shortened, a "half-time" system of education for factory children was provided, children were forbidden employment on dangerous machines, and inspection was improved, but, on the other hand, the minimum age for part-time employment was reduced to 8 years.

One of Shaftesbury's committees in 1842 discovered that conditions far worse than those in mills, involving child labor, existed in the coal mines. These conditions had prevailed for probably a century, unnoticed because hidden away in the depths of the earth. Girls and women, and boys under 10, were accordingly prohibited from working in mine pits, and inspectors were appointed to enforce the law.

In 1843 still another report on the employment of children disclosed conditions, described as even worse than those in Lancashire factories, in industries using the hand methods that had been used in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, thus indicating a probability that these conditions were of long standing. The small-metal trades, which include the manufacture of nails, needles, and pins, the manufacture of hosiery, straw plaiting, fustian cutting, carpet weaving, ribbon weaving, lace making, and tobacco manufacturing were what would now be called "sweated" industries. They were carried on for the most part by small-scale employers whose workshops, tucked away in garrets and alleys, afforded insanitary and precarious employment. Parish apprentices were used, as were the children of parents who themselves worked and bound their children out in order to repay debts. In some of these trades children of 3, 4, and 5 years worked for long hours at simple, monotonous, and cramping operations. Potteries, calico-printing plants, bleach

and dye works, and match and cartridge works were also notorious for their employment of young children. Yet progress in dealing with these conditions was slow; reports made in 1863 read much the same as those made 20 years earlier, for during the intervening period legislation did not touch employments outside the textile industries. In 1864 and 1867, however, new industries were brought within the ambit of the law, and gradually standards relating to minimum age, hours, and night work were raised as well as made more inclusive.

The later developments in British child-labor legislation are also complicated because of the varied and piecemeal methods used to meet the problem. Separate acts, specifying different minimum ages, continued to regulate different kinds of employment. Thus the minimum age for all factory and workshop employment became 11 years in 1893 and 12 years in 1902, while the age for boys working underground in mines was fixed somewhat higher by the mines acts. All girls and women had been prohibited in such mine work since 1843. The factory acts also regulated education by requiring children employed in factories and workshops to attend school half-time up to age 14, or 13 if the child had obtained the required educational certificate. This "half-time" system continued in effect until 1918, although in the seventies an attack on child labor was begun from a different direction, namely through the education acts. These dealt both with compulsory school attendance and with minimum age for employment, thus supplementing the factory and mines acts. The Education Act of 1876 prohibited children under 10 from any employment. Generally, however, the education acts took the form of empowering local authorities to make regulations requiring school attendance up to a certain age. In any locality in which the authority did not see fit to use this power school attendance remained voluntary—except insofar as half-time attendance was required under the factory acts.

The Elementary Education Acts of 1870 and 1876 permitted local authorities to make school attendance compulsory for children between the ages of 5 and 13 years but required such authorities to exempt children of 10 and over who could meet a standard of education fixed by the local authorities. Children under 10 were prohibited employment, and the employment of children between 10 and 14 who had not complied with certain educational requirements was forbidden unless they came under the half-time provisions of the factory acts, in which case they divided their time between work and school. In 1900 the age up to which attendance might be required by the local authorities was raised to 14. An act passed in 1903 prohibited the employment of children in lifting weights or in any dangerous or unhealthful occupation; it also permitted local authorities to prohibit the employment of children under 14 in any or all gainful employment outside factories, workshops, and mines, and to regulate their hours of work. Local authorities were, however, slow to make use of these powers.

In 1918 the Fisher Education Act, passed under the stimulus of the abnormal war situation, inaugurated several new and important policies. It abolished the half-time education system in factories and workshops and established for the first time a national standard for compulsory education, requiring attendance to 14 years. At the same time, it continued the tradition of local option by per-

mitting local authorities to raise the compulsory school attendance age to 15 if they so desired. The employment of any child under 12 years of age was prohibited. Fourteen was made the minimum age for employment in factories, workshops, mines, and quarries. In 1920, in order to conform to the International Draft Convention, adopted in Washington, a 14-year minimum was set for general industrial employment.¹ The 1918 act permitted a limited amount of employment to school children between the ages of 12 and 14, but prohibited their work at night. Another section of the Fisher Act provided for continuation schools for employed children between 14 and 16 years of age and ultimately to 18 years of age. This provision, however, was never fully put into operation. A number of voluntary continuation schools were set up, many of them initiated by employers in cooperation with local education authorities, and in a few places compulsory continuation schools were operated for a year or two. The idea of a comprehensive system was scrapped with the wave of economy necessitated by the depression beginning in 1921.

The Education Act of 1921 consolidated into a single act most of the existing laws relating to education and certain of those relating to the employment of children and young persons. This act has been further amended in certain respects by an act passed in 1932,² the main provisions of which deal with delinquency and dependency. The minimum age for street trading is raised from 14 to 16, and may be extended by local action to 18. Local authorities are empowered to regulate employment up to 18 in certain occupations now unregulated, but this section cannot come into operation without the consent of Parliament.

This brief review of English legislation on the subject of child labor reveals certain interesting lines of development, particularly since 1876. A great deal of latitude has been allowed local authorities in setting standards. Legislation first confined itself to setting up a very limited number of minimum national standards and suggested further fields in which local authorities were empowered to act within limits defined by law. Gradually the national minimum standards have been both extended and raised, while local authorities have continued to exercise the power to set higher standards within a prescribed range.

Since England was the first country to undergo industrialization, and was followed after some lapse of time by the countries of western Europe, by America, and ultimately by the Far East, it might be supposed that the lesson of British experience would have sufficed to warn these later comers into the industrial field against potential abuses. Undoubtedly the process of bringing the new order under some sort of social control was shortened, and the British laws served as models for reformers in other countries, but nevertheless children in practically all countries had to pass through a period of exploita-

¹ Employment of Women, Young Persons, and Children Act, 10 and 11, Geo. V, ch. 65.

² The Children and Young Persons Act of 1932, 20 and 21, Geo. V, ch. 21. Since this report was written, the Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, 23 Geo. V, ch. 12, was passed, consolidating the provisions of the Children and Young Persons Act, 1932, and earlier acts, but making no substantive changes. The effective date of the act, with the exception of the section authorizing local authorities to make bylaws respecting the employment of young persons between 14 and 18 in certain occupations not now regulated by statute, has been set for Nov. 1, 1933.

tion and exposure to all sorts of hardships and hazards before the need for their protection was realized and necessary machinery set up. This is partly because the wide publicity given to the worst conditions in England induced a complacency in other countries over their less lurid but still wretched conditions. It would be a long story to recount for the separate countries, but many similarities to British experience crop up. The rise of modern industry with its simplified routine processes opened the way for large-scale exploitation of child labor. The introduction of cotton factories, employing large numbers of children, stimulated the first reform agitation—in Germany, in France, in the United States, and in the Orient. People then discovered, as they had in England, that the textile mills were not the only or the worst exploiters of children; they were only the newest and most conspicuous. They also proved everywhere the easiest to control, because they could be located readily by inspectors, and usually the large mills were the most profitable and could best afford to dispense with cheap and inefficient labor. When improved steam-driven machinery was introduced, after the first slow-moving models, adult machine tenders necessarily displaced children on many, though by no means on all, operations. Far more difficult was it to locate and to check the overworking of young children by small, poverty-stricken employers, in home workshops and on farms.

Prussia, and later the German Empire, may be considered the pioneers of social legislation on the continent. In some respects their laws were more comprehensive than British legislation. In 1839, 20 years after the exploitation of children in Rhenish textile factories had first begun to attract attention, the first actual regulations were issued, setting an age limit for employment of 9 years. However, for children between 9 and 16 years a 10-hour day was fixed, whereas England had not advanced beyond the 12-hour day. Also, night work and Sunday work were prohibited, and a certificate showing 3 years of school attendance was required as a prerequisite of employment. The act apparently applied to all employment, not only to textile mills. In 1845 a 10-year age limit and a 9-hour day for children under 16 years were enacted. Regulation of employment in agriculture and domestic service lagged, as in other countries. Children working in domestic service and agriculture were exempted from a new and comprehensive law enacted in 1903. Yet, at this very time, as a survey of school children revealed, about 2,000,000 children worked in agriculture, and nearly half a million were under 10 years of age, not including a very large group of children who worked for their own parents without pay.³ In 1903 a beginning was made in regulating the hours of children employed by their own parents in industrial home work, and in 1911 and 1919 the home-work law was strengthened.

EARLY CHILD LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES

In the United States the founder of the cotton industry, Samuel Slater, employed nine children between 7 and 12 years of age to tend his first experimental cotton mill at Pawtucket, R.I., in 1790.

³ "Child Labor in German Agriculture During the Last Twenty Years". Book review in *International Labor Review*, vol. 13, no. 5 (May 1926), pp. 717-728.

From that day children have been an important part of the labor force in our textile industries. At first the employment of children in mills, far from arousing protests, was hailed as an opportunity profitable both for them and for the community. In Colonial times children had enjoyed little leisure or play time—the Puritan tradition against idleness was too strong. Massachusetts had legislated at intervals since 1640 concerning the compulsory useful employment of children, whether their parents were poor or well to do. The same attitude prevailed among the Friends in Pennsylvania. The moral precept was reinforced by a commercial incentive. Woman and child labor were a valuable asset to the colonies in their efforts to become self-sufficient in the manufacture of textiles and articles of clothing, even in the pre-revolutionary and pre-industrial era. From Virginia, New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts come accounts that young children were set to spinning and carding in the homes “in swarms,” or were assembled in spinning schools and factories. Hamilton, in his famous report on manufactures (1791), argued that to promote the manufacturing industry would render women and children more useful “and the latter more early useful” than had hitherto been the case.⁴ In the first mechanized stages of the cotton industry, children from the age of 8 years were extensively used both in operations performed in the mill and in home workshops. When the bales of cotton were opened children too small to work in the factory spread the cotton on a whipping machine and beat it with sticks. Picking and beating remained a hand operation until 1820. The first spinning machines were so simple to operate that they were tended exclusively by children under adult supervision. By putting all the machinery into one room a single man could oversee the work of 100 children. As the industry outgrew the local supply of children, mills advertised for families with 5 or 6 children to come and settle near the mill.

The introduction of the power loom, however, brought something of a change. Young children no longer sufficed. The Boston Manufacturing Co. in 1813 introduced both power-loom operating and a new labor system at Waltham. The sponsors of this enterprise wished to avoid a mill village population accustomed to nothing but mill work from an early age. They deliberately recruited young women from the farms and boarded them in company boarding houses under the charge of respectable matrons. It became the vogue for girls to work in the mills for a few years to earn their dowries. The new power looms were operated exclusively by girls and women, who soon displaced children at the spinning frames also. Their labor, although more expensive, proved a great deal more efficient. The mills of Lowell thus acquired the reputation of being free of child labor. It must be borne in mind, however, that in those days girls of 15 and over were considered “young women.” In the first half of the nineteenth century “child labor” commonly meant the labor of children under 14 certainly, and probably under 12. Even so, a not inconsiderable number of young children continued in the mills at doffing and miscellaneous occupations. It was common for children to go to work at 10, 11, or even 8 years of age.

⁴ Report of the Secretary of the Treasury (Alexander Hamilton) on the Subject of Manufactures, Fifth of December 1791, pp. 29–30. Philadelphia, Jan. 1, 1824.

In mills that used "family labor," notably those in Rhode Island, the proportion of child workers was higher than in the neighboring States. In 1820, according to the *Digest of Manufactures*, "children" (age not defined) constituted 43 percent of the labor force of textile mills in Massachusetts, 47 percent in Connecticut, and 55 percent in Rhode Island. By 1832 the percentage had been very greatly reduced in Massachusetts and Connecticut, and even in Rhode Island it had been reduced to 41 percent. In New York at the time "children" constituted about 8 percent of the mill forces.⁵

GROWTH OF CHILD-LABOR LEGISLATION IN THE UNITED STATES

The first aspect of child labor to attract public attention in the United States was the interference with education by long hours of work. Interest in universal compulsory education dates back to seventeenth-century Massachusetts and Connecticut. The high ideals of the early settlers in the matter of education, embodied in a remarkable Massachusetts law of 1647, fell into neglect under their eighteenth-century successors but were never entirely lost sight of. Even the first mill-owners, like Slater, felt impelled, by a vague pressure of public opinion, to provide elementary literary, together with moral and religious, instruction for their young operatives, in Sunday schools or night schools. No one seems to have questioned a child's ability to learn his letters after working a 12-hour day or longer. In 1825 a committee of the Massachusetts legislature, at the suggestion of the Governor, investigated the educational-industrial problem of child labor. The committee found that 2 or 3 months a year was allotted to schooling in some places, sometimes at the expense of the companies, but that on the whole school facilities were inadequate. Yet it did not recommend legislative action nor comment upon the health hazard to young children working 12 or 13 hours a day, 6 days a week. The provision of school facilities for mill children continued to be left very largely to the initiative and generosity of the companies.

The first workingmen's associations in the early thirties protested against the long hours of children in the mills, on the ground that such hours were injurious to the health and the education of future citizens. They collected estimates as to the extent of child employment and memorialized Congress to regulate it. Their impassioned denunciation probably helped to secure the Massachusetts law of 1836 providing that children under 15 employed in manufacturing establishments had to attend school at least 3 months in the year. In 1842 the daily hours of children under 12 were limited to 10 a day in Massachusetts; in Connecticut this provision was applied to children under 14. Conditions in Rhode Island—where more children were employed—were still unregulated as late as 1853, when a legislative committee found 1,857 children under 15 working 12 hours a day and 11 to 12 months in the year. Of these children, 59 were under 9, and 621 were between 9 and 12. An act followed that both restricted hours of labor to 11 a day and set an educational requirement for working children. After 1850 a number of States began to pro-

⁵ Report on Condition of Women and Child Wage-earners in the United States, vol. 6, pp. 52-53. Senate Document No. 645. Washington, 1910.

hibit altogether the employment of children under certain ages in manufacturing industries. These several types of laws were gradually adopted by one State after another, with varying requirements as to age, hours, and methods of enforcement. On the whole the laws were largely ineffective because inadequately framed and enforced, and because the standards, low as they seem by modern comparisons, did not command general support, either from parents or from employers. It was customary, and had always been so, for children to work long hours on farms and in homes, as soon as they were able, and since working-class families felt they could ill spare even the meager earnings of the youngest members, and did not appreciate the relation between the low wages of children and of their parents, child labor continued, in violation of the laws and in the numerous fields not covered by law, throughout the century.

Following the Civil War great strides were made in the growth of industries, cities, and means of transportation and communication. Although the East, which had a head start, made the most rapid progress, all parts of the country were affected in some degree. One result was to create a host of new opportunities for the employment of children, not only in industrial work but also in such typical child employments as messenger and store work, street trades, and simple clerical work. A startling rise took place in the numbers and proportion of working children. At the same time immigrants poured into the New England mill towns, at first Irish, French Canadians, Poles, and others, and were forced to work for less pay and under worse conditions than the native workers who could, in turn, move up into better jobs. The children of the immigrants often went to work at 7 or 8 years of age, with the result that many of them grew up illiterate. Even by 1866 conditions were so bad that agitation in Massachusetts led to a new and rather drastic law, by which children under 10 were barred from factory employment, an 8-hour day was required for those between 10 and 14 years, and 6 months annual schooling was made compulsory. Pressure from manufacturers, however, soon procured the lowering of this educational standard, and the insertion of a clause which provided that only the employer who "knowingly" violated the act could be penalized. In 1874 the long-continued 10-hour agitation finally bore fruit in Massachusetts in a law limiting hours for women and for minors under 18 to 10 a day and 60 a week in textile factories.

In the eighties the introduction of labor-saving devices made the employment of young untrained workers possible in other manufacturing industries. Complaints were heard from skilled craftsmen in the cigar-making and wood-working trades concerning the disorganization of conditions in those trades by the competition of cheap child labor. Home work in tenements was a feature not only of the cigar trade but of the ready-made garment industries, which began to flourish from the nineties on.

The decades of the eighties and nineties mark the emergence of a social consciousness of the modern child-labor problem in the United States. There are many indications of a growing awareness: In 1870 the U.S. Census Bureau began to collect information concerning occupations for persons 11 years of age and over instead of 15 years

and over as in earlier censuses.⁶ In 1881 the first convention of the American Federation of Labor adopted a plank calling for complete abolition by the States of the employment of children under 14, in any capacity. In 1883, at hearings before a Senate committee on the subject of relations between capital and labor, a few workingmen in their testimony called attention to the over-working of young boys and girls in department stores, as messengers and cash girls, and to the mere pittance paid, \$2 or \$1.50 a week and even less. Other testimony related to newsboys and bootblacks; this was apparently the first time that public opinion was directed to these important child-employing occupations. In 1890 a prize was offered for the best essay on child labor. Two winning essays were published, one indicting child labor on the grounds of injustice to the child and high ultimate social costs, the other on the grounds of economic inefficiency and harmful competition with adult wages. In the years following the founding of Hull House the welfare of children, their work, their leisure, and their home conditions became the special province of the settlement-house residents. About the beginning of the twentieth century national organizations appeared to supplement local efforts at reform, the National Consumers' League in 1899 and the National Child Labor Committee in 1904.

Stimulated by a vigorous, if limited, public opinion, many improvements were made, in a piecemeal fashion, in State regulation of the employment of children. Measured by modern standards the laws and means of enforcement even in relatively advanced States were still inadequate, but at least a process of experimentation and slow improvement had begun. Here and there State factory inspectors were appointed. Partly under the influence of restrictive legislation the employment of children showed a decline for the first time between 1880 and 1890. About 1900 a few child-labor laws began to prohibit the employment of children at unhealthful occupations and on dangerous machines, sometimes listing machines or occupations.

In 1907 the National Government took cognizance of the problem in a comprehensive investigation into the condition of woman and child wage earners, conducted by the Bureau of Labor in the Department of Commerce and Labor. The report of this investigation disclosed that 20 percent of the operatives in the textile industry in the South; 23 percent in the silk industry in Pennsylvania; and 10 percent in the glass industry, which was widely distributed, were children under 16.⁷ It was generally customary for industrial workers to set their children to work as soon as the legal minimum age was reached, commonly between 12 and 14 years of age. Between 84 and 96 percent of the children of 14 and 15 in families connected with the textile, silk, or glass industries were at work. The report also indicated that juvenile delinquency was more frequent among working children than among nonworking children.⁸ It brought together

⁶ Child Labor in the United States, p. 7. U.S. Bureau of the Census Bull. No. 69. Washington 1907.

⁷ Summary of the Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage Earners in the United States, pp. 38, 118, 171. U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Bull. No. 175. Washington, 1916.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 274

a mass of facts about children—their health, living conditions, occupations, and reasons for leaving school. In 1912 the Federal Children's Bureau was established and directed by Congress to investigate and report upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children, including all phases of child employment.

Years of protracted effort to secure a Federal child-labor law culminated in the passage of the Keating-Owen bill by Congress in September 1916. This bill prohibited the shipment in interstate or foreign commerce of goods produced in mines, quarries, factories, canneries, or workshops in which children were employed in violation of specified age and hour standards. The law was administered by the United States Children's Bureau between September 1, 1917, and June 3, 1918, when it was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in a 5 to 4 decision.⁹ Both sides of the court cited precedents in which Congress had used its power over interstate commerce for police purposes, but the majority drew a distinction between a prohibition of shipment of articles in themselves injurious, and a prohibition affecting articles in themselves harmless as a means of regulating the conditions under which they were produced.

An attempt was then made to meet the objections of the Supreme Court by levying a tax of 10 percent on the annual net profits of any establishment employing child labor in violation of the standard. But on May 15, 1922, this child labor tax law, which had been in operation since April 25, 1919, was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, with only one dissenting voice, on the ground that it was not a valid exercise of the taxing power of Congress and that its real objects were too remote from its avowed objects.¹⁰

Next the advocates of child-labor reform tried another avenue for achieving Federal control—a constitutional amendment. In the early summer of 1924, by joint resolution of Congress, an amendment giving Congress power to "limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under 18 years of age" was started on its round of the State legislatures for ratification. Up to August 1933, 15 States had ratified—Arkansas, Arizona, California, Wisconsin, Montana, Colorado, Oregon, Washington, North Dakota, Michigan, Ohio, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Oklahoma, and Illinois.

INTERNATIONAL REGULATION OF CHILD LABOR

A hopeful beginning of a semiofficial international movement for coordinating efforts to deal with child labor and other labor problems was interrupted in 1914 by the World War. (Early in the twentieth century the International Association for Labor Legislation had set up a labor office at Basel, partly subsidized by governments, to collect statistics and publish reports. It was also instrumental in organizing an international conference at Berne in 1906, to which a number of European governments sent delegates. This conference recommended the prohibition of employment of women and girls at night. In 1913 another conference proposed to extend this prohibition to all young persons—that is, to include boys. The International Secretariat of Trade Union Centres, including (in

⁹ *Hammer v. Dagenhart*, 247 U.S. 251.

¹⁰ *Bailey v. Drexel Furniture Co.* 259 U.S. 20.

1913) the national federations of trade unions of 19 countries, maintained friendly relations with the international labor office, and took some interest in promoting legislation for young persons.) All these growing international ties and movements were broken up by the war. Moreover, in all the warring European countries standards of labor protection were relaxed in order to promote intensive production. For children the effects were particularly serious. Their education and training were neglected in order to swell the ranks of industrial recruits to take the places of soldiers. The labor of women and children was called for in the fields as well as in the war industries. In England it was estimated in 1918 that 600,000 children had prematurely withdrawn from school to enter industry. Hours were lengthened, processes speeded up, and employment in hazardous occupations was no longer forbidden. Schools were in part disorganized, especially on the continent near the war zones, by drafting teachers and commandeering school buildings for barracks and hospitals.

By the end of the war a reaction was setting in against the reckless use of child labor. The strengthening of workers' organizations helped to arouse public sentiment for raising pre-war standards in regard to the employment, education, and industrial training of the young. The wastage of human resources by the war made it imperative for the stricken countries to pay greater attention to the health and education of the coming generations. France became alarmed lest she should not be able to recruit enough skilled workers to replace those killed or maimed, and lest her specialized industries might have to rely upon foreign labor. England became aware of the deficiencies in her system of education, and developed a keen interest in technical education and in new types of curricula. The Fisher Education Act (1918) was hailed as a landmark because it required compulsory school attendance of all children up to age 14 and proposed to set up an entirely new system of compulsory continuation schools for children over 14 years of age and because it, for the first time, regulated the employment of children in all gainful occupations.

The regulation of child labor received a strong impetus, along with other types of labor legislation, from the founding of the International Labour Organization, an adjunct of the League of Nations. Each year since 1919, when the first conference met in Washington, the General Conference, composed of representatives of governments and of the chief employers' and workers' organizations of the member States, has met in Geneva. The conferences draft conventions embodying standards for labor legislation, which are submitted to the member States for ratification. A State that ratifies is pledged to bring its national legislation at least up to the minimum standard set in the convention. The International Labour Office, located at Geneva close to the headquarters of the League, acts as the permanent secretariat of the conference. It is charged with maintaining official contacts with the member governments and with the organizations of workers and employers, thus both facilitating and following up the work of the conference. It also collects and publishes a mass of information through special inquiries and through regularly established channels of communica-

tion. The office has published information concerning child labor and child-labor legislation in the various countries, and has compiled comparisons of national laws on the subject.

✓A number of the international conventions relate to the employment of minors, either exclusively or inclusively with adults. They provide for an 8-hour day and a 48-hour week (all workers); minimum age of 14 for employment in industry, for regular employment in agriculture, and for employment at sea; prohibition of night work by young persons under 18; prohibition of employment of children and women in painting work involving use of white lead; minimum age of 18 for employment as trimmers and stokers; medical examination for young persons between 14 and 18 employed at sea; fixing of minimum wages in trades in which existing wage rates are exceptionally low, particularly home-working trades (all workers). ✓In April 1932, a new convention concerning the age for admission of children to nonindustrial employment was drafted. It provides that children over 12, but still of compulsory school-attendance age, may be employed only at light work outside school hours, for not more than 2 hours a day on either school days or holidays; it prohibits work that is harmful to health or normal development or that may prejudice school attendance or the capacity to benefit from instruction. It recommends that a higher age than 12 be established for street trading. Types of employment which are thought of as permissible but subject to regulation are: Running errands, distributing newspapers, odd jobs in connection with sports, and picking and selling flowers and fruits. It is interesting to note that these conventions are making some provision for the great child-employing occupations so long left unregulated—agriculture, industrial home work, and street trades.

The conventions applying specifically to children and young persons have been ratified by from 13 to 25 countries, but sometimes the ratification of important industrial countries is missing because their legislation does not come up to the standards set in the conventions; sometimes legislation is adopted subsequent to ratification. The 8-hour day and 48-hour week convention and the minimum-wage convention, which apply to all workers, have been ratified by 15 and by 9 countries, respectively. The convention setting 14 as a minimum age for employment in industrial undertakings without exemptions has been ratified by 20 countries. Among these are Great Britain, Belgium, Netherlands, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. France, Germany, Italy, Sweden, and Austria, however, are not in the list, chiefly because they have exemptions permitting employment in case of poverty or upon completion of an educational requirement. The convention concerning prohibition of night work in industry has been ratified by 25 countries, including Great Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands, Austria, Poland, France, and Italy.¹¹

A few countries of Latin America enacted their first modern child-labor laws about the time of the World War. However, the main development occurred several years later, probably as a result of the activities of the International Labour Organization. Between 1924

¹¹ The Progress of Ratifications, January 1933. International Labour Office Chart. Geneva, 1933.

and 1932 half of the Latin-American states enacted their first child-labor laws.¹²

The compulsory school-attendance laws in foreign countries, on the whole, tend to keep children in school (where adequate school facilities exist) up to the age of 14, although many countries excuse younger children from school for various reasons, such as family necessity, distance from school, and attaining a certain degree of proficiency. Employment outside school hours is generally permitted, and to some extent regulated, beginning at the age of 12. Children under 12 may generally be employed by their own parents.

Apparently few attempts have been made in other countries to regulate the hours of children and young persons apart from those of adults, the fact that both work in the same establishments being cited as a deterrent. Although the hours of adult workers are more generally regulated abroad than in the United States, and, therefore, a large number of countries limit their young workers to an 8-hour day and a 48-hour week, the fact remains that in about 20 countries young persons under 18 are permitted to work more than 8 hours a day. These include Italy, France, Denmark, Hungary, Sweden, Great Britain, and certain Provinces in Canada and in Australia.

For the United States comparisons with the conventions are particularly difficult because of our Federal form of Government. The different stages of economic development in different sections of the country contribute still further to lack of uniformity. A majority of the States, however, have conformed to the standard set in the hours convention, so far as children under 16 are concerned; a number of States have exceeded the standard in regard to minimum age for employment in industry, although more than a dozen fall short of this standard in some respect; few of the States regulate employment in agriculture. As to night work, although all but 2 States have legislated upon the subject, only 2 fully meet the standards set up in the convention; the age limit may be only 16, instead of 18, or it may apply only to girls up to age 18, or the night period may be shorter than the 11 hours specified in the convention. At least a dozen States have failed to regulate the employment of minors in processes involving the use of white lead. Fourteen States at the present time have wage boards with power to establish minimum wage rates for minors.¹³

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¹² Argentina, 1924; Brazil, 1927; Chili, 1924; Colombia, 1927; Costa Rica, 1932; Ecuador, 1928; Guatamala, 1926; Mexico, Federal Constitution, 1917; first Federal law, 1931; Peru, 1918; Venezuela, 1928.

¹³ Cheyney, Alice S.: *International Labor Standards and American Legislation*. Geneva Special Studies, vol. 2, no. 8 (August 1931). Geneva Research Information Committee.

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APPENDIX—TABLES

TABLE A.—Children 10 to 17 years old employed in specified manufacturing and mechanical industries in the United States, 1920 and 1930, and percentage change 1930 as compared with 1920

Occupation and industry	10 to 13 years			14 and 15 years			16 and 17 years		
	1920 ¹	1930	Percent of change ²	1920 ¹	1930	Percent of change	1920 ¹	1930	Percent of change
Total.....	9,733	4,761	-51	175,919	63,505	-64	585,367	397,985	-32
Artisans ³	119	31	-74	1,831	520	-72	29,751	19,437	-35
Apprentices.....	1,219	301	-75	17,756	3,870	-78	81,681	34,469	-58
Building and hand trades.....	574	170	-70	6,406	1,563	-76	47,925	17,987	-62
Dressmakers and milliners.....	171	45	-74	1,818	303	-83	1,781	1,556	-13
Printers and bookbinders.....	118	36	-69	2,953	594	-80	6,352	3,879	-39
Others ⁴	356	50	-86	6,579	1,410	-79	25,623	11,047	-57
Operatives and laborers:									
Building industry.....	1,224	844	-31	6,252	4,826	-23	24,833	30,589	+23
Chemical and allied industries.....	148	83	-44	2,510	1,155	-54	10,439	9,379	-10
Cigar and tobacco factories.....	295	91	-69	4,643	1,480	-68	14,971	8,377	-44
Clay, glass, and stone industries.....	274	54	-80	4,694	940	-80	15,078	8,619	-43
Clothing industries.....	412	230	-44	11,345	8,420	-26	33,376	36,550	+10
Candy factories.....	76	13	-83	3,812	629	-83	9,882	5,286	-47
Other food and allied industries.....	564	378	-33	6,075	3,304	-46	21,732	19,845	-9
Electrical machinery and supply factories.....	61	33	-46	1,831	558	-70	9,751	10,172	+4
Iron and steel, machinery, and vehicle industries.....	630	240	-62	12,274	2,050	-83	66,268	26,535	-60
Other metal industries.....	89	40	-55	3,677	906	-75	12,677	8,481	-33
Shoe factories.....	131	76	-42	7,414	2,106	-72	20,965	16,433	-22
Other leather industries (including tanneries).....	51	19	-63	1,826	415	-77	5,737	3,309	-42
Saw and planing mills.....	887	496	-44	4,931	2,685	-46	17,870	12,555	-30
Other lumber and furniture industries.....	302	150	-50	4,465	1,459	-67	13,911	9,609	-31
Paper and pulp mills.....	50	28	-44	1,223	255	-79	6,548	3,232	-51
Paper-box factories.....	26	7	-----	1,764	265	-85	4,153	1,673	-60
Other paper, printing, and allied industries.....	161	78	-52	3,862	868	-78	12,384	8,594	-31
Rubber factories.....	48	31	-----	2,058	290	-86	7,621	3,554	-53
Textile industries.....	1,386	484	-65	53,263	20,141	-62	109,115	82,617	-24
Cotton mills.....	622	236	-62	21,253	10,395	-51	40,726	31,898	-22
Knitting mills.....	183	71	-61	7,808	3,426	-56	17,484	16,381	-6
Silk mills.....	215	56	-74	9,808	3,540	-64	20,939	15,999	-24
Woolen and worsted mills.....	99	40	-60	6,978	874	-87	13,113	6,416	-51
Other textile mills.....	267	81	-70	7,416	1,906	-74	16,853	11,923	-29
Turpentine farms and distilleries.....	396	565	+43	607	1,166	+92	1,034	1,968	+90
Other manufacturing and mechanical occupations ⁵	1,184	489	-59	17,806	5,197	-71	55,590	36,702	-34

¹ Classifications as reported in 1920 changed to agree as nearly as possible with the 1930 classifications.

² Not shown where number of children employed in 1920 was less than 50.

³ Includes bakers, carpenters, compositors, linotypers, typesetters, coopers, dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory), dyers, electrotypers, stereotypers, lithographers, engineers (stationary), cranimen, hoistmen, derrickmen, filers, grinders, buffers, polishers (metal), firemen (except locomotives and fire department), foremen and overseers, furnacemen, smeltermen, heaters, puddlers, etc., oilers of machinery, painters, glaziers, varnishers, enamellers, etc., shoemakers and cobblers (not in factory), tailors and tailoresses, upholsterers, paper hangers, and milliners and millinery dealers.

⁴ Includes jewelers, watchmakers, goldsmiths' and silversmiths' apprentices, and other apprentices in manufacturing.

⁵ Includes operatives and laborers in broom and brush factories, button factories, electric light and power plants, straw factories, other and miscellaneous manufacturing industries, other not specified manufacturing industries, and not specified industries and services.

Compiled from Children in Gainful Occupations, U. S. Census, 1920 and 1930.

TABLE B.—Children 10 to 13 years of age gainfully occupied, by State; 1930

Division and State	Children 10 to 13 years of age						
	Total	Engaged in gainful occupations					
		Total		Agricultural		Nonagricultural	
		Number	Rate per 1,000	Number	Rate per 1,000	Number	Rate per 1,000
United States.....	9,622,492	235,328	24	205,563	21	29,765	3
New England.....	611,555	1,297	2	284	(1)	1,013	2
Maine.....	59,490	91	2	24	(1)	67	1
New Hampshire.....	33,681	57	2	11	(1)	46	1
Vermont.....	26,970	80	3	35	1	45	2
Massachusetts.....	310,231	690	2	174	1	516	2
Rhode Island.....	52,295	88	2	8	(1)	80	2
Connecticut.....	128,888	291	2	32	(1)	259	2
Middle Atlantic.....	1,966,400	3,555	2	706	(1)	2,849	1
New York.....	866,636	1,448	2	198	(1)	1,250	1
New Jersey.....	308,886	542	2	68	(1)	474	2
Pennsylvania.....	790,878	1,565	2	440	1	1,125	1
East North Central.....	1,868,246	7,778	4	2,089	1	5,689	3
Ohio.....	491,444	2,458	5	398	1	2,060	4
Indiana.....	237,488	1,325	6	451	2	874	4
Illinois.....	544,832	1,758	3	537	1	1,221	2
Michigan.....	366,108	1,384	4	268	1	1,116	3
Wisconsin.....	228,374	853	4	435	2	418	2
West North Central.....	1,028,411	7,711	7	4,797	5	2,914	3
Minnesota.....	202,584	1,095	5	702	3	393	2
Iowa.....	187,938	1,231	7	533	3	698	4
Missouri.....	259,268	2,898	11	2,201	8	697	3
North Dakota.....	63,788	575	9	503	8	72	1
South Dakota.....	60,530	308	7	281	5	117	2
Nebraska.....	109,382	623	6	232	2	391	4
Kansas.....	144,921	891	6	345	2	546	4
South Atlantic.....	1,408,539	73,258	52	66,104	47	7,154	5
Delaware.....	18,298	78	4	62	3	16	1
Maryland.....	123,070	559	5	203	2	356	3
District of Columbia.....	26,381	176	7			176	7
Virginia.....	216,211	4,020	19	3,240	15	780	4
West Virginia.....	155,443	775	5	517	3	258	2
North Carolina.....	305,775	19,361	63	18,549	61	812	3
South Carolina.....	178,082	20,114	113	18,818	106	1,296	7
Georgia.....	270,790	23,847	88	21,425	79	2,422	9
Florida.....	114,489	4,328	38	3,290	29	1,038	9
East South Central.....	872,341	84,398	97	81,406	93	2,992	3
Kentucky.....	223,534	6,392	29	5,893	26	499	2
Tennessee.....	224,205	11,017	49	10,248	46	769	3
Alabama.....	242,061	31,565	130	30,579	126	986	4
Mississippi.....	182,541	35,424	194	34,686	190	738	4
West South Central.....	1,041,641	50,949	49	47,394	45	3,555	3
Arkansas.....	169,621	14,817	87	14,423	85	394	2
Louisiana.....	182,876	11,273	62	10,339	57	934	5
Oklahoma.....	207,823	3,489	17	2,909	14	580	3
Texas.....	481,321	21,370	44	19,723	41	1,647	3
Mountain.....	308,056	3,279	11	2,285	7	994	3
Montana.....	45,366	306	7	197	4	109	2
Idaho.....	39,973	237	6	120	3	117	3
Wyoming.....	17,482	189	11	146	8	43	2
Colorado.....	79,522	980	12	654	8	326	4
New Mexico.....	37,356	672	18	565	15	107	3
Arizona.....	34,721	553	16	422	12	131	4
Utah.....	47,919	305	6	161	3	144	3
Nevada.....	5,717	37	6	20	3	17	3
Pacific.....	517,303	3,103	6	498	1	2,605	5
Washington.....	110,694	720	7	140	1	580	5
Oregon.....	66,146	675	10	122	2	553	8
California.....	340,463	1,708	5	236	1	1,472	4

¹ Less than 1 per 1,000.

Compiled from Children in Gainful Occupations, U. S. Census, 1930.

TABLE C.—Children 14 and 15 years of age gainfully occupied, by State; 1930

Division and State	Children 14 and 15 years of age						
	Total	Engaged in gainful occupations					
		Total		Agricultural		Nonagricultural	
		Number	Rate per 1,000	Number	Rate per 1,000	Number	Rate per 1,000
United States.....	4, 678, 084	431, 790	92	263, 934	56	167, 856	36
New England.....	294, 870	18, 990	64	1, 990	7	17, 000	58
Maine.....	28, 663	941	33	297	10	644	22
New Hampshire.....	16, 248	583	36	92	6	491	30
Vermont.....	13, 075	661	50	326	25	325	25
Massachusetts.....	151, 181	9, 184	61	727	5	8, 457	56
Rhode Island.....	24, 578	2, 229	91	117	5	2, 112	86
Connecticut.....	61, 125	5, 402	88	431	7	4, 971	81
Middle Atlantic.....	950, 223	51, 261	54	5, 038	5	46, 223	49
New York.....	421, 279	19, 016	45	1, 616	4	17, 400	41
New Jersey.....	147, 841	9, 992	68	638	4	9, 354	63
Pennsylvania.....	381, 103	22, 253	58	2, 784	7	19, 469	51
East North Central.....	915, 264	29, 408	32	11, 915	13	17, 493	19
Ohio.....	238, 043	5, 010	21	1, 257	5	3, 753	16
Indiana.....	116, 421	3, 222	28	1, 381	12	1, 841	16
Illinois.....	271, 359	10, 062	37	3, 194	12	6, 868	25
Michigan.....	174, 782	5, 191	30	1, 941	11	3, 250	19
Wisconsin.....	114, 659	5, 923	52	4, 142	36	1, 781	16
West North Central.....	505, 951	30, 946	61	18, 716	37	12, 230	24
Minnesota.....	100, 499	4, 515	45	2, 988	30	1, 527	15
Iowa.....	93, 178	5, 510	59	3, 477	37	2, 033	22
Missouri.....	129, 202	11, 398	88	5, 967	46	5, 431	42
North Dakota.....	31, 391	2, 024	64	1, 700	54	324	10
South Dakota.....	28, 823	1, 655	57	1, 292	45	363	13
Nebraska.....	52, 994	2, 633	50	1, 776	34	857	16
Kansas.....	69, 864	3, 211	46	1, 516	22	1, 695	24
South Atlantic.....	680, 219	124, 427	183	85, 891	126	38, 536	57
Delaware.....	8, 422	455	54	209	25	246	29
Maryland.....	57, 996	5, 928	102	1, 426	25	4, 502	78
District of Columbia.....	12, 734	447	35	2	(1)	445	35
Virginia.....	103, 858	10, 826	104	6, 864	66	3, 962	38
West Virginia.....	72, 232	3, 263	45	1, 763	24	1, 500	21
North Carolina.....	148, 797	31, 610	212	23, 587	159	8, 023	54
South Carolina.....	86, 505	28, 425	329	21, 283	246	7, 142	83
Georgia.....	133, 987	35, 837	267	26, 370	197	9, 467	71
Florida.....	55, 688	7, 636	137	4, 387	79	3, 249	58
East South Central.....	425, 609	91, 225	214	79, 576	187	11, 649	27
Kentucky.....	107, 676	11, 857	110	9, 506	88	2, 351	22
Tennessee.....	108, 379	15, 269	141	12, 118	112	3, 151	29
Alabama.....	120, 097	31, 837	265	28, 070	234	3, 767	31
Mississippi.....	89, 457	32, 262	361	29, 882	334	2, 380	27
West South Central.....	505, 821	69, 699	138	54, 379	108	15, 320	30
Arkansas.....	82, 204	16, 002	195	14, 565	177	1, 437	17
Louisiana.....	87, 631	15, 923	182	11, 246	128	4, 677	53
Oklahoma.....	99, 476	6, 922	70	4, 998	50	1, 924	19
Texas.....	236, 510	30, 852	130	23, 570	100	7, 282	31
Mountain.....	145, 475	8, 308	57	4, 652	32	3, 656	25
Montana.....	21, 523	1, 016	47	643	30	373	17
Idaho.....	18, 927	799	42	494	26	305	16
Wyoming.....	8, 202	415	51	275	34	140	17
Colorado.....	38, 161	2, 711	71	1, 397	37	1, 314	34
New Mexico.....	17, 478	1, 244	71	769	44	475	27
Arizona.....	15, 976	1, 061	66	542	34	519	32
Utah.....	22, 456	955	43	474	21	481	21
Nevada.....	2, 752	107	39	58	21	49	18
Pacific.....	254, 652	7, 526	30	1, 777	7	5, 749	23
Washington.....	55, 300	1, 941	35	493	9	1, 448	26
Oregon.....	32, 988	1, 654	50	475	14	1, 179	36
California.....	166, 364	3, 931	24	809	5	3, 122	19

1 Less than 1 per 1,000.

Compiled from Children in Gainful Occupations, U. S. Census, 1930.

TABLE D.—Children 16 and 17 years of age gainfully occupied, by State; 1930

Division and State	Children 16 and 17 years of age						
	Total	Engaged in gainful occupations					
		Total		Agricultural		Nonagricultural	
		Number	Rate per 1,000	Number	Rate per 1,000	Number	Rate per 1,000
United States.....	4,663,137	1,478,841	317	506,071	109	972,770	209
New England.....	289,691	106,997	369	7,416	26	99,581	344
Maine.....	27,916	7,109	255	1,376	49	5,733	205
New Hampshire.....	15,769	5,212	331	557	35	4,655	295
Vermont.....	12,753	3,763	295	1,515	119	2,248	176
Massachusetts.....	147,627	50,650	343	2,157	15	48,493	328
Rhode Island.....	25,396	13,827	544	363	14	13,464	530
Connecticut.....	60,230	26,436	439	1,448	24	24,988	415
Middle Atlantic.....	941,157	351,673	374	21,924	23	329,749	350
New York.....	420,052	153,895	366	8,736	21	145,159	346
New Jersey.....	147,629	65,245	442	2,426	16	62,819	426
Pennsylvania.....	373,476	132,533	355	10,762	29	121,771	326
East North Central.....	894,650	231,245	258	51,821	58	179,424	201
Ohio.....	230,795	50,629	219	8,388	36	42,241	183
Indiana.....	114,727	26,857	234	7,838	68	19,019	166
Illinois.....	272,342	83,960	308	12,484	46	71,476	262
Michigan.....	167,197	41,392	248	9,929	59	31,463	188
Wisconsin.....	109,589	28,407	259	13,182	120	15,225	139
West North Central.....	504,400	132,536	263	61,873	123	70,663	140
Minnesota.....	97,256	25,535	263	12,129	125	13,406	138
Iowa.....	90,661	21,495	237	10,989	121	10,506	116
Missouri.....	132,487	43,310	327	14,575	110	28,735	217
North Dakota.....	30,712	7,437	242	5,736	187	1,701	55
South Dakota.....	28,163	6,425	228	4,670	166	1,755	62
Nebraska.....	53,785	13,029	242	7,105	132	5,924	110
Kansas.....	71,336	15,305	215	6,669	93	8,636	121
South Atlantic.....	684,991	264,993	387	131,665	192	133,328	195
Delaware.....	8,569	2,947	344	738	86	2,209	258
Maryland.....	58,840	24,169	411	4,279	73	19,890	338
District of Columbia.....	13,365	3,232	242	17	1	3,215	241
Virginia.....	104,501	33,795	323	14,671	140	19,124	183
West Virginia.....	72,195	16,669	231	5,492	76	11,177	155
North Carolina.....	148,633	60,926	410	35,287	237	25,639	172
South Carolina.....	86,710	43,908	506	27,680	319	16,228	187
Georgia.....	136,036	61,724	454	36,654	269	25,070	184
Florida.....	56,142	17,623	314	6,847	122	10,776	192
East South Central.....	433,828	164,031	378	111,511	257	52,520	121
Kentucky.....	105,622	30,747	291	17,363	164	13,384	127
Tennessee.....	112,960	36,632	324	20,520	182	16,112	143
Alabama.....	123,494	53,265	431	37,099	300	16,166	131
Mississippi.....	91,752	43,387	473	36,529	398	6,858	75
West South Central.....	516,653	153,665	297	95,468	185	58,197	113
Arkansas.....	82,395	26,499	322	20,885	253	5,614	68
Louisiana.....	87,624	32,259	368	17,434	199	14,825	169
Oklahoma.....	102,189	21,385	209	12,959	127	8,426	82
Texas.....	244,445	73,522	301	44,190	181	29,332	120
Mountain.....	142,218	31,359	220	14,286	100	17,073	120
Montana.....	20,468	4,351	213	2,240	109	2,111	103
Idaho.....	18,231	3,588	197	1,998	110	1,590	87
Wyoming.....	8,014	1,684	210	911	114	773	96
Colorado.....	38,285	9,624	251	4,044	106	5,580	146
New Mexico.....	17,396	4,004	230	2,049	118	1,955	112
Arizona.....	16,064	3,981	248	1,580	98	2,401	149
Utah.....	21,072	3,678	175	1,295	61	2,383	113
Nevada.....	2,688	449	167	169	63	280	104
Pacific.....	255,549	42,342	166	10,107	40	32,235	126
Washington.....	55,021	9,585	174	2,226	40	7,359	134
Oregon.....	33,525	7,201	215	2,048	61	5,153	154
California.....	167,003	25,556	153	5,833	35	19,723	118

Compiled from Children in Gainful Occupations, U.S. Census, 1930.

TABLE E.—Children 14 and 15 years old employed in each main occupational change in agricultural and nonagricultural

Divisions and States	All occupation groups			Agricultural occupations			Nonagricultural occupations		
	1920	1930	Per- cent of change	1920	1930	Per- cent of change ²	1920	1930	Per- cent of change
United States.....	682,795	431,790	-37	315,877	263,934	-16	366,918	167,856	-54
1 New England.....	56,240	18,990	-66	2,405	1,990	-17	53,835	17,000	-68
2 Maine.....	2,252	941	-58	531	297	-44	1,721	644	-63
3 New Hampshire.....	1,332	583	-56	157	92	-41	1,175	491	-58
4 Vermont.....	1,070	651	-39	412	326	-21	658	325	-51
5 Massachusetts.....	32,292	9,184	-72	698	727	+4	31,694	8,457	-73
6 Rhode Island.....	8,383	2,229	-73	107	117	+9	8,276	2,112	-74
7 Connecticut.....	10,911	5,402	-50	500	431	-14	10,411	4,971	-52
8 Middle Atlantic.....	122,645	51,261	-58	6,759	5,038	-25	115,886	46,223	-60
9 New York.....	47,024	19,016	-60	1,959	1,616	-18	45,065	17,400	-61
10 New Jersey.....	24,796	9,992	-60	755	638	-15	24,041	9,354	-61
11 Pennsylvania.....	50,825	22,253	-56	4,045	2,784	-31	46,780	19,469	-58
12 East North Central.....	86,239	29,408	-66	18,315	11,915	-35	67,924	17,493	-74
13 Ohio.....	14,498	5,010	-65	2,910	1,257	-57	11,588	3,753	-68
14 Indiana.....	13,964	3,222	-77	3,688	1,381	-63	10,276	1,841	-82
15 Illinois.....	33,299	10,062	-70	4,482	3,194	-29	28,817	6,868	-76
16 Michigan.....	10,496	5,191	-51	2,674	1,941	-27	7,822	3,250	-58
17 Wisconsin.....	13,982	5,923	-58	4,561	4,142	-9	9,421	1,781	-81
18 West North Central.....	45,047	30,946	-31	21,000	18,716	-11	24,047	12,230	-49
19 Minnesota.....	6,504	4,515	-31	3,526	2,988	-15	2,978	1,527	-49
20 Iowa.....	7,154	5,510	-23	3,283	3,477	+6	3,871	2,033	-47
21 Missouri.....	18,264	11,398	-38	6,423	5,967	-7	11,841	5,431	-54
22 North Dakota.....	1,845	2,024	+10	1,489	1,700	+14	356	324	-9
23 South Dakota.....	1,904	1,655	-13	1,413	1,292	-9	491	363	-26
24 Nebraska.....	4,014	2,633	-34	2,304	1,776	-23	1,710	857	-50
25 Kansas.....	5,362	3,211	-40	2,562	1,516	-41	2,800	1,695	-39
26 South Atlantic.....	150,434	124,427	-17	100,656	85,891	-15	49,778	38,536	-23
27 Delaware.....	1,167	455	-61	259	209	-19	908	246	-73
28 Maryland.....	10,532	5,928	-44	2,156	1,426	-34	8,376	4,502	-46
29 Dist. of Columbia.....	1,612	447	-72	5	2	-60	1,607	445	-72
30 Virginia.....	16,889	10,826	-36	8,772	6,864	-22	8,117	3,962	-51
31 West Virginia.....	5,431	3,263	-40	2,590	1,763	-32	2,841	1,500	-47
32 North Carolina.....	33,487	31,610	-6	23,369	23,587	+1	10,118	8,023	-21
33 South Carolina.....	30,992	28,425	-8	25,458	21,283	-16	5,534	7,142	+29
34 Georgia.....	43,937	35,837	-18	34,697	26,370	-24	9,240	9,467	+2
35 Florida.....	6,387	7,636	+20	3,350	4,387	+31	3,037	3,249	+7
36 East South Central.....	106,210	91,225	-14	86,815	79,576	-8	19,395	11,649	-40
37 Kentucky.....	16,930	11,587	-30	12,065	9,506	-21	4,865	2,351	-52
38 Tennessee.....	21,667	15,269	-30	15,629	12,118	-22	6,038	3,151	-48
39 Alabama.....	36,801	31,837	-13	31,539	28,070	-11	5,252	3,767	-28
40 Mississippi.....	30,812	32,262	+5	27,572	29,882	+8	3,240	2,380	-27
41 West South Central.....	93,154	69,699	-25	72,266	54,379	-25	20,888	15,320	-27
42 Arkansas.....	21,801	16,002	-27	19,825	14,565	-27	1,976	1,437	-27
43 Louisiana.....	19,188	15,923	-17	12,067	11,246	-7	7,121	4,677	-34
44 Oklahoma.....	11,852	6,922	-42	9,399	4,998	-47	2,453	1,924	-22
45 Texas.....	40,313	30,852	-23	30,975	23,570	-24	9,338	7,282	-22
46 Mountain.....	10,606	8,308	-22	5,217	4,652	-11	5,389	3,656	-32
47 Montana.....	1,059	1,016	-4	473	643	+36	586	373	-36
48 Idaho.....	1,111	799	-28	700	494	-29	411	305	-26
49 Wyoming.....	466	415	-11	216	275	+27	250	140	-44
50 Colorado.....	3,395	2,711	-20	1,218	1,397	+15	2,177	1,314	-40
51 New Mexico.....	1,374	1,244	-9	820	769	-6	554	475	-14
52 Arizona.....	1,443	1,061	-26	861	542	-37	582	519	-11
53 Utah.....	1,623	955	-41	897	474	-47	726	481	-34
54 Nevada.....	135	107	-21	32	58	+81	103	49	+52
55 Pacific.....	12,220	7,526	-38	2,444	1,777	-27	9,776	5,749	-41
56 Washington.....	3,545	1,941	-45	670	493	-26	2,875	1,448	-50
57 Oregon.....	1,788	1,654	-7	469	475	+1	1,319	1,179	-11
58 California.....	6,887	3,931	-43	1,305	809	-38	5,582	3,122	-44

¹ Domestic and personal, public, and professional.² Not shown where number of children employed in 1920 was less than 50.

Compiled from Children in Gainful Occupations, U.S. Census, 1920 and 1930.

group in each geographic division and State in 1920 and 1930, and percentage occupations in 1930 as compared with 1920

Manufacturing and mechanical industries		Transportation and communication		Trade		Clerical occupations		Service occupations ¹		Forestry and fishing and extraction of minerals		
1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930	
175,919	63,505	17,013	8,134	46,391	34,869	72,977	16,100	45,987	42,861	8,631	2,387	
38,902	9,062	1,037	593	4,160	2,318	6,622	1,504	2,878	3,426	236	97	1
801	168	80	28	197	98	90	24	404	286	149	40	2
806	290	29	9	106	60	77	12	139	118	18	2	3
256	91	27	20	111	44	37	9	198	155	29	6	4
23,369	4,601	634	333	2,203	1,122	4,109	796	1,245	1,567	34	38	5
6,896	1,356	90	52	372	286	718	165	195	249	5	4	6
6,774	2,556	177	151	1,171	708	1,591	498	697	1,051	1	7	7
59,305	21,203	3,529	1,841	11,786	6,309	29,742	8,692	8,178	7,859	3,346	319	8
17,161	5,342	1,687	916	5,100	2,794	18,512	5,893	2,553	2,435	52	20	9
15,229	4,800	659	323	1,973	1,314	4,932	1,115	1,220	1,792	28	10	10
26,915	11,061	1,183	602	4,713	2,201	6,298	1,684	4,405	3,632	3,266	289	11
28,566	3,406	2,828	840	11,039	6,044	16,160	1,493	8,224	5,622	1,107	88	12
4,558	404	555	130	2,373	1,750	2,092	185	1,679	1,264	331	20	13
4,528	275	595	67	1,991	840	1,441	72	1,500	578	221	9	14
11,073	1,834	944	432	3,943	1,691	10,056	1,023	2,572	1,863	229	25	15
2,997	603	469	120	1,644	1,224	1,263	148	1,246	1,132	203	23	16
5,410	290	265	91	1,088	539	1,308	65	1,227	785	123	11	17
7,375	2,569	1,754	700	4,625	3,602	5,280	1,319	4,566	3,910	447	130	18
606	151	198	60	689	532	648	89	772	680	65	15	19
1,003	364	346	103	918	726	592	94	956	730	56	16	20
4,550	1,601	640	327	1,763	1,108	3,229	1,010	1,447	1,298	212	87	21
40	26	36	19	65	52	36	9	174	217	5	1	22
107	54	48	21	102	96	45	10	185	180	4	2	23
428	113	182	41	371	364	302	28	424	311	3	3	24
641	260	304	129	717	724	428	79	608	494	102	9	25
24,360	18,726	2,907	1,739	5,276	5,850	6,609	1,316	9,391	10,219	1,235	686	26
391	104	52	15	99	36	227	17	135	73	4	1	27
3,644	1,923	359	195	1,058	645	2,018	699	1,213	976	84	64	28
185	56	119	36	282	157	637	45	384	151	-----	-----	29
3,285	1,428	566	252	998	668	936	90	2,061	1,375	271	149	30
1,015	407	248	92	323	262	184	28	605	595	466	116	31
7,177	5,208	466	254	614	873	523	83	1,190	1,535	158	70	32
3,560	4,456	280	252	410	721	298	56	955	1,607	31	50	33
3,920	4,002	617	426	1,042	1,850	1,388	234	2,167	2,863	106	92	34
1,183	1,142	210	217	450	638	398	64	681	1,044	115	144	35
7,341	3,506	1,500	760	2,572	2,547	1,994	346	4,790	4,080	1,198	410	36
1,521	527	358	135	747	541	715	138	1,040	864	484	146	37
2,517	1,119	456	209	783	674	584	82	1,392	957	306	110	38
2,020	1,112	374	226	677	862	442	83	1,410	1,380	329	104	39
1,283	748	312	190	365	470	253	43	948	879	79	50	40
5,926	3,495	2,176	1,184	3,370	4,338	3,573	911	5,171	4,927	672	465	41
706	386	212	111	279	367	190	28	497	465	92	80	42
2,293	1,147	437	276	996	1,077	1,436	424	1,793	1,526	166	227	43
586	352	333	127	473	737	280	70	580	580	201	58	44
2,341	1,610	1,194	670	1,622	2,157	1,667	389	2,301	2,356	213	100	45
1,270	722	592	260	1,097	1,090	988	231	1,254	1,248	188	105	46
87	56	64	36	155	101	101	32	162	139	17	9	47
92	61	63	19	76	99	42	7	119	107	19	12	48
50	18	51	17	37	47	34	5	55	50	23	3	49
552	272	184	84	446	391	526	122	412	419	57	26	50
124	119	77	33	65	75	43	8	201	207	44	33	51
162	114	83	35	129	151	59	25	133	183	16	11	52
189	76	54	31	168	204	167	30	141	129	7	11	53
14	6	16	5	21	22	16	2	31	14	5	-----	54
2,874	816	690	217	2,466	2,771	2,009	288	1,535	1,570	202	87	55
983	256	248	85	676	619	438	57	417	397	113	34	56
317	162	70	38	423	578	243	63	224	307	42	31	57
1,574	398	372	94	1,367	1,574	1,328	168	894	866	47	22	58

TABLE F.—Children 16 and 17 years old employed in each main occupational change in agricultural and nonagricultural

Divisions and States	All occupation groups			Agricultural occupations			Nonagricultural occupations		
	1920	1930	Percent of change	1920	1930	Percent of change ²	1920	1930	Percent of change
United States.....	1,712,648	1,478,841	-14	469,132	506,071	+8	1,243,516	972,770	-22
1 New England.....	135,633	106,997	-21	6,025	7,416	+23	129,608	99,581	-23
2 Maine.....	10,217	7,109	-30	1,474	1,376	-7	8,743	5,733	-34
3 New Hampshire.....	7,481	5,212	-30	538	557	+4	6,943	4,655	-33
4 Vermont.....	4,842	3,763	-22	1,401	1,515	+8	3,441	2,248	-35
5 Massachusetts.....	70,722	50,650	-28	1,349	2,157	+60	69,373	48,493	-30
6 Rhode Island.....	15,216	13,827	-9	223	363	+63	14,993	13,464	-10
7 Connecticut.....	27,155	20,436	-3	1,040	1,448	+39	26,115	24,988	-4
8 Middle Atlantic.....	433,397	351,673	-19	19,420	21,924	+13	413,977	329,749	-20
9 New York.....	198,609	153,895	-23	8,615	8,736	+1	189,994	145,159	-24
10 New Jersey.....	64,864	65,245	+6	1,828	2,426	+33	63,036	62,819	(³)
11 Pennsylvania.....	169,924	132,533	-22	8,977	10,762	+20	160,947	121,771	-24
12 E. N. Central.....	327,774	231,245	-29	52,995	51,821	-2	274,779	179,424	-35
13 Ohio.....	78,593	50,629	-36	9,544	8,388	-12	69,049	42,241	-39
14 Indiana.....	43,879	26,857	-39	9,788	7,838	-20	34,091	19,019	-44
15 Illinois.....	109,944	83,960	-24	13,230	12,484	-6	96,714	71,476	-26
16 Michigan.....	54,660	41,392	-24	8,700	9,929	+14	45,960	31,463	-32
17 Wisconsin.....	40,698	28,407	-30	11,733	13,182	+12	28,965	15,225	-47
18 W. N. Central.....	153,741	132,536	-14	57,222	61,873	+8	96,519	70,663	-27
19 Minnesota.....	31,460	25,535	-19	11,571	12,129	+5	19,889	13,406	-33
20 Iowa.....	26,475	21,495	-19	10,272	10,989	+7	16,203	10,506	-35
21 Missouri.....	50,211	43,310	-14	14,218	14,575	+3	35,993	28,735	-20
22 North Dakota.....	6,123	7,437	+21	4,030	5,736	+42	2,093	1,701	-19
23 South Dakota.....	6,402	6,425	(³)	3,975	4,670	+17	2,427	1,755	-28
24 Nebraska.....	14,216	13,029	-8	6,301	7,105	+13	7,915	5,924	-25
25 Kansas.....	18,854	15,305	-19	6,855	6,669	-3	11,999	8,636	-28
26 South Atlantic.....	257,391	264,993	+3	119,799	131,665	+10	137,592	133,328	-3
27 Delaware.....	3,600	2,947	-18	628	738	+18	2,972	2,209	-26
28 Maryland.....	28,942	24,169	-16	4,349	4,279	-2	24,593	19,890	-19
29 Dist. of Col.....	6,166	3,232	-48	19	17	-	6,147	3,215	-48
30 Virginia.....	36,897	33,795	-8	13,591	14,671	+8	23,306	19,124	-18
31 West Virginia.....	20,112	16,669	-17	4,727	5,492	+16	15,385	11,177	-27
32 North Carolina.....	48,935	60,926	+25	26,611	35,287	+33	22,324	25,639	+15
33 South Carolina.....	39,006	43,908	+13	26,980	27,680	+3	12,026	16,228	+35
34 Georgia.....	59,083	61,724	+4	37,848	36,654	-3	21,235	25,070	+18
35 Florida.....	14,650	17,623	+20	5,046	6,847	+36	9,604	10,776	+12
36 E. S. Central.....	160,070	164,031	+2	99,744	111,511	+12	60,326	52,520	-13
37 Kentucky.....	35,802	30,747	-14	17,817	17,363	-3	17,985	13,384	-26
38 Tennessee.....	37,743	36,632	-3	20,005	20,520	+3	17,738	16,112	-9
39 Alabama.....	49,691	53,265	+7	32,908	37,099	+13	16,783	16,166	-4
40 Mississippi.....	36,834	44,387	+18	29,014	36,529	+26	7,820	6,858	-12
41 W. S. Central.....	156,212	153,665	-2	93,351	95,468	+2	62,861	58,197	-7
42 Arkansas.....	29,932	26,499	-11	22,965	20,885	-9	6,967	5,614	-19
43 Louisiana.....	32,250	32,259	(³)	15,863	17,434	+10	16,387	14,825	-10
44 Oklahoma.....	24,041	21,385	-11	13,901	12,959	-7	10,140	8,426	-17
45 Texas.....	69,989	73,522	+5	40,622	44,190	+9	29,367	29,332	(³)
46 Mountain.....	32,722	31,359	-4	11,788	14,286	+21	20,934	17,073	-18
47 Montana.....	4,372	4,351	(³)	1,556	2,240	+44	2,816	2,111	-25
48 Idaho.....	3,900	3,588	-8	1,855	1,998	+8	2,045	1,590	-22
49 Wyoming.....	1,753	1,684	-4	558	911	+63	1,195	773	-35
50 Colorado.....	10,467	9,624	-8	2,955	4,044	+37	7,512	5,580	-26
51 New Mexico.....	3,661	4,004	+9	1,702	2,049	+20	1,959	1,955	(³)
52 Arizona.....	3,332	3,981	+19	1,316	1,580	+20	2,016	2,401	+19
53 Utah.....	4,721	3,678	-22	1,708	1,295	-24	3,013	2,383	-21
54 Nevada.....	516	449	-13	138	169	+22	378	280	-26
55 Pacific.....	55,708	42,342	-24	8,788	10,107	+15	46,920	32,235	-31
56 Washington.....	13,976	9,585	-31	2,139	2,226	+4	11,837	7,359	-38
57 Oregon.....	7,618	7,201	-5	1,649	2,048	+24	5,969	5,153	-14
58 California.....	34,114	25,556	-25	5,000	5,833	+17	29,114	19,723	-32

¹ Domestic and personal, public, and professional.² Not shown where number of children employed in 1920 was less than 50.³ Less than 1 percent.

Compiled from Children in Gainful Occupations, U.S. Census, 1920 and 1930.

group in each geographic division and State in 1920 and 1930, and percentage occupations in 1930 as compared with 1920

Manufacturing and mechanical industries		Transportation and communication		Trade		Clerical occupations		Service occupations ¹		Forestry and fishing and extraction of minerals	
1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930	1920	1930
585,367	397,985	88,407	66,338	134,810	138,348	240,133	155,379	143,452	190,500	51,347	24,220
85,800	57,738	4,186	4,185	10,911	11,203	18,723	11,394	8,003	14,484	1,085	577
5,421	2,973	397	390	661	515	402	283	1,229	1,359	633	213
5,180	3,114	195	156	450	430	413	181	556	720	149	54
1,860	875	180	162	319	263	194	106	718	771	170	71
45,745	27,515	2,271	2,089	6,495	5,793	11,134	6,207	3,630	6,713	98	176
11,071	9,137	336	376	861	1,269	1,489	1,313	1,230	1,343	6	26
16,523	14,124	807	1,012	2,125	2,933	5,091	3,304	1,540	3,578	29	37
203,660	137,674	22,958	19,373	39,531	39,408	101,578	80,378	28,376	44,671	17,874	8,245
82,671	47,445	11,218	10,582	19,855	17,833	63,676	50,858	12,158	18,243	416	198
36,333	30,000	3,700	3,491	4,907	7,228	14,622	14,761	3,350	7,260	124	79
84,656	60,229	8,040	5,300	14,769	14,347	23,280	14,759	12,868	19,168	17,334	7,968
127,530	65,483	17,706	12,776	31,785	28,695	59,062	31,380	28,917	39,023	9,779	2,067
34,385	14,781	4,373	2,709	8,164	7,599	12,804	5,613	6,722	10,728	2,601	811
17,471	7,675	2,430	1,260	3,990	3,397	4,596	2,040	3,955	4,468	1,649	179
38,108	27,086	5,843	5,220	11,738	9,616	28,987	17,855	8,464	11,060	3,574	639
22,513	10,085	3,473	2,587	5,139	6,148	8,396	4,089	5,112	8,235	1,327	319
15,053	5,856	1,587	1,000	2,754	1,935	4,279	1,783	4,664	4,532	628	119
33,458	21,802	10,626	5,901	14,255	12,389	18,359	10,297	17,168	19,415	2,653	859
6,434	3,621	1,970	1,011	3,078	2,161	3,959	1,834	3,972	4,612	476	167
5,750	3,048	2,007	1,004	2,509	1,999	2,406	1,024	3,029	3,267	502	180
14,421	10,781	2,969	1,954	4,859	4,472	8,398	5,852	4,520	5,326	826	350
299	240	317	155	332	208	198	91	907	997	40	10
599	372	357	174	380	329	229	87	828	787	34	6
2,375	1,437	1,130	597	1,202	1,214	1,434	639	1,764	2,029	10	8
3,580	2,303	1,876	1,006	1,895	2,006	1,735	770	2,148	2,413	765	138
65,844	64,729	11,026	8,929	13,027	16,979	16,017	7,993	23,934	29,570	7,744	5,188
1,466	1,106	217	96	300	304	639	293	348	401	2	9
11,459	9,100	1,751	1,168	2,700	2,899	4,952	3,105	3,227	3,267	504	351
961	553	586	229	798	1,684	2,250	688	1,551	1,060	1	29
9,678	8,501	2,140	1,539	2,353	2,388	2,517	1,048	5,366	4,842	1,252	806
5,438	3,720	1,394	940	1,154	1,166	858	400	1,787	2,317	4,754	2,634
15,599	16,629	1,326	1,320	1,490	2,499	959	506	2,488	4,301	462	384
7,272	9,948	754	875	859	1,435	547	242	2,494	3,552	100	176
9,819	11,802	1,860	1,706	2,182	3,431	2,405	1,127	4,721	6,641	248	363
4,152	3,370	998	1,056	1,191	2,173	890	524	1,952	3,189	421	464
25,681	21,522	5,780	4,692	6,548	7,703	5,695	2,854	10,721	12,597	5,901	3,672
6,504	4,174	1,608	1,242	2,217	2,017	2,424	1,296	2,461	2,825	2,771	1,830
8,081	7,473	1,751	1,382	2,016	2,296	1,637	761	3,081	3,490	1,172	710
7,733	6,912	1,468	1,303	1,542	2,384	1,186	621	3,154	4,024	1,700	922
3,363	2,443	953	765	773	1,006	448	176	2,025	2,258	258	210
20,085	15,987	8,618	6,090	8,725	11,978	8,973	5,492	13,307	16,852	3,153	1,798
2,646	1,793	899	553	865	988	644	266	1,515	1,704	398	310
6,230	4,805	1,570	1,172	2,105	2,757	2,465	1,899	3,480	4,127	537	565
2,577	1,903	1,735	916	1,357	1,963	1,239	552	2,008	2,630	1,229	462
8,632	7,986	4,414	3,449	4,398	6,270	4,625	2,775	6,309	8,391	989	461
5,744	4,225	2,963	1,944	3,108	3,270	3,040	1,566	4,412	5,170	1,667	898
559	451	412	308	465	331	440	187	676	697	264	137
598	481	321	174	298	280	199	79	465	453	164	123
304	147	214	108	113	132	145	55	259	257	160	74
2,140	1,373	909	538	1,174	1,148	1,271	740	1,388	1,548	630	233
497	549	325	268	222	233	156	52	554	719	205	134
572	603	353	268	337	548	211	169	432	728	111	85
970	575	362	239	451	535	557	257	561	677	112	100
104	46	67	41	48	63	61	27	77	91	21	12
17,565	9,345	4,544	2,448	6,920	6,723	8,686	4,085	7,714	8,718	1,491	916
4,780	2,532	1,324	620	1,614	1,297	1,574	605	1,789	1,888	756	417
2,276	1,670	568	364	844	1,025	958	505	974	1,284	349	305
10,509	5,143	2,652	1,464	4,462	4,401	6,154	2,975	4,951	5,546	386	194

