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April, 1925

TRUCK-FARM LABOR IN NEW JERSEY, 1922

By

JOSIAH C. FOLSOM, Assistant Agricultural Economist
Bureau of Agricultural Economics

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OBJECT AND METHODS OF THE STUDY

The average farmer is meeting increasing difficulty in securing efficient and sufficient hired labor, often in securing any at all. He is paying higher wages to obtain and keep help, and the recent decline in prices received for many farm products makes it harder or impossible to hire labor at a profit. Furthermore, the attitude of many ambitious, intelligent workingmen toward farm employment has been such as to give the impression that all such preferred other work. The problem is not local but increasingly national in extent.

Consequently farmers are interested in ways and means to obtain capable, reliable hands and to keep them while needed. The farm hands themselves are interested in the kind of work offered, the working conditions, compensation, length of jobs, chances for saving, and advancement. Their attitude toward agriculture as an occupation has an important influence upon the supply of farm labor. To study such problems one previous investigation has been made¹ in a diversified farming section.

The object of the present study was to investigate in a region in which truck farming predominated, the conditions of agricultural

¹ Farm Labor in Massachusetts, 1921, by Josiah C. Folsom, United States Department of Agriculture Bulletin 1220.

employment, best methods of obtaining and keeping a good class of laborers, opportunities for other employment during the dull season, and characteristics of farm laborers and their attitude toward farm life, and their ambitions for the future.

This study was carried on in the truck-farming district of New Jersey in the summer of 1922 by a party of field workers. The investigators began work the last week of June, spending a week or ten days in each county visited, supplementing their canvass by mailing questionnaires to farmers in parts of the county not reached personally. The investigators visited farm operators and their hired workers in selected districts; along the routes traveled the attempt was made to visit every farmer hiring labor, whether or not he was strictly a truck farmer.

Information was gathered and tabulated for general, truck, dairy, potato, and fruit (orchard) farms. Those farms considered as truck farms usually grew a variety of perishable crops throughout the season; the potato farms were truck farms specializing in potatoes. Because their numbers were too small to be representative, poultry and a few miscellaneous farms were tabulated with general farms, and small fruit or berry farms with fruit farms. All farms visited were carried on by farm operators and their families, except four which were corporation enterprises.

The districts visited and the predominant types of agriculture in each (fig. 1) in the order visited were as follows: Gloucester County, truck farming, much of it for Philadelphia markets; Salem County, truck and potato farming, together with some dairying; Cumberland County, truck and potato farming and orcharding; northwestern Atlantic County, truck, small fruit, and peach growing; Bergen and Passaic Counties, truck farming for the markets of New York City and near-by northern New Jersey cities; Monmouth County, truck, especially potato farming.

When the canvass was made in Gloucester County, early truck crops, especially tomatoes, were being gathered, and farm labor demand for the season was at its height. In Salem and Cumberland Counties general farm and trucking work was not demanding labor so strongly, but in the latter county early apple picking was just beginning to call for additional workers. Around Hammon-ton, in Atlantic County, the early peach harvest was in full progress. In Bergen and Passaic Counties general midsummer truck-farm work and marketing were in full swing, employing probably the largest number of workers for the season. In Monmouth County potato digging was general.

Two types of schedules were used in this study, one for employers of farm labor, the other for the employees. To the former, 375 useful replies were obtained; to the latter, 683. Supplementary information was obtained from county agricultural agents, State agricultural and labor officials, employment office managers, and social welfare workers.

AGRICULTURAL SEASONS AND EMPLOYMENT

Only half of the farmers reporting hired help all the year. Nine-tenths of them hired at some time other than at harvest, and all hired in harvest time. The most common number of hired farm

workers on the farms from which hiring was reported at other than harvest was 1; in four-fifths as many cases the number was 2; the

FIG. 1.—Shaded territory indicates that which the investigating party studied. The remainder of each county visited, except Essex, was covered by mailing questionnaires to farmers. Named cities outside the shaded territory were visited to secure further information especially from employment agencies and other officials

average number per farm was 3.4, made high by the inclusion of corporation farms which are large employers. In harvest time the

most common number of workers hired per farm was 3; three-fourths as many farmers hired 2 workers, and practically as many hired 4 workers; the average per farm rose to 10.4. The total number of laborers employed was 3.4 times as great during harvest as for other seasons of the year (Table 1). All types of farms shared nearly equally in the increase of working forces except dairy farms, which necessarily maintain a more constant labor force to care for livestock throughout the year. Practically all the farm employees were hired as laborers.

TABLE 1.—*Number of farms hiring various numbers of employees by season and type of farm*

Season and number of employees	Type of farm					
	General	Truck	Dairy	Potato	Fruit	All farms
AT OTHER THAN HARVEST TIME						
0.....	11	22	0	1	6	40
1.....	53	58	2	8	6	127
2.....	43	42	5	6	7	103
3.....	15	14	2	8	4	43
4.....	3	10	1	0	3	17
5.....	2	8	0	0	5	15
6 to 10.....	3	8	1	1	2	15
11 to 15.....	0	2	1	0	0	3
16 to 20.....	0	1	1	0	0	2
21 to 30.....	1	0	0	0	1	2
31 to 50.....	2	0	0	0	0	2
51 to 100.....	0	0	0	0	1	1
101 to 200.....	0	0	0	0	1	1
Number of farms hiring.....	122	143	13	23	30	331
Number of employees hired.....	329	365	57	50	325	1,126
Average number of employees per farm hiring.....	2.7	2.5	4.4	2.2	10.8	3.4
Most common number of employees per farm hiring.....	1	1	2	-----	-----	1 or 2
AT HARVEST TIME						
1.....	12	17	1	0	1	31
2.....	20	16	2	1	2	41
3.....	23	27	1	3	0	54
4.....	16	18	0	4	1	39
5.....	11	11	2	5	0	29
6 to 10.....	34	37	3	9	7	90
11 to 15.....	8	15	2	1	4	30
16 to 20.....	2	9	0	1	3	15
21 to 25.....	1	5	1	0	4	11
26 to 30.....	1	1	0	0	5	7
31 to 50.....	0	4	0	0	5	9
51 to 100.....	2	1	0	0	1	4
101 to 200.....	0	0	0	0	1	1
201 to 300.....	1	0	0	0	1	2
Number of farms hiring.....	131	161	12	24	35	363
Number of employees hired.....	1,123	1,278	86	153	1,133	3,773
Average number of employees per farm hiring.....	8.6	8.0	7.2	6.4	32.4	10.4
Most common number of employees per farm hiring.....	2 or 3	3	-----	-----	-----	3

Men naturally form the largest proportion of farm employees, but some women and minors are hired by New Jersey farmers for much of the year. (Table 2.)² Some minors, capable of performing the work of adults, were doubtless classed as adults by their employers who often did not know their ages.

² The totals of Tables 1 and 2 are nearly the same, but do not coincide, because of partial returns given, especially in those schedules collected by mail.

Outside of harvest season women and minors seem to be employed most frequently by truck farmers and fruit growers; during harvest the fruit growers hire decidedly the largest number of such per employer, but a larger proportion of truck growers hire these workers, especially women. In harvest time the most frequent use of women and minors is in those truck-crop and fruit districts where farmers offer much work within their strength, demand cheap labor which may be unskilled, and pay largely on a piecework basis. Potato growers have somewhat heavier work to perform at harvesting, and use more boys than women at this period.

Half of the reporting farmers hired season or noncasual help all the year; six out of seven were hiring from March to October, inclusive; practically every farmer kept season help from May to September, inclusive. The dairy farmers visited were the steadiest employers of labor of any class of farmers. Most of them employed help all the year. Their increase of demand for labor from other than harvest-to-harvest time was the lowest of any class of farmers. The percentage of farmers hiring noncasual laborers in each month of the year is shown in Figure 2.

TABLE 2.—Number of farmers hiring and number of casual and noncasual employes hired by season, and type of farm

Season and kind of employees	Type of farm											
	General		Truck		Dairy		Potato		Fruit		All farms	
	Farmers hiring	Employees hired	Farmers hiring	Employees hired	Farmers hiring	Employees hired	Farmers hiring	Employees hired	Farmers hiring	Employees hired	Farmers hiring	Employees hired
AT OTHER THAN HARVEST TIME												
Casual employees:												
Men.....	6	7	8	12	0	0	0	0	2	9	16	28
Women.....	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	3	33	4	35
Minors.....	0	0	1	6	0	0	0	0	2	22	3	28
Total ¹	6	7	9	20	0	0	0	0	4	64	19	91
Noncasual employees:												
Men.....	116	274	138	321	13	49	23	50	29	249	319	943
Women.....	4	4	6	13	2	2	0	0	2	12	14	31
Minors.....	8	9	8	11	3	6	0	0	0	0	19	26
Total ¹	120	² 322	140	345	13	57	23	50	29	261	325	² 1,035
AT HARVEST TIME												
Casual employees:												
Men.....	109	329	110	358	6	27	20	67	31	336	276	1,117
Women.....	33	96	62	182	0	0	5	9	30	278	130	565
Minors.....	21	96	56	304	4	8	12	27	22	259	115	694
Total ¹	119	² 805	140	² 939	8	35	23	103	34	873	324	² 2,755
Noncasual employees:												
Men.....	116	274	138	321	13	49	23	50	29	249	319	943
Women.....	4	4	6	13	2	2	0	0	2	12	14	31
Minors.....	8	9	8	11	3	6	0	0	0	0	19	26
Total ¹	120	² 322	140	345	13	57	23	50	29	261	325	² 1,035

¹ Total numbers of "farmers hiring" are usually not the total of the figures given above those totals, as many farmers were hiring two or more classes of labor.

² Figures for men, women, and minors given above do not add to this total because some employers reported totals without details.

Most New Jersey farmers hire casual workers for general farm work, for operations involved in the starting of crops, such as plant setting, and especially for harvesting. The work is not steady, but usually sufficiently so that migratory casual workers often stay in a locality several months. About one-third of the reporting farmers stated that they kept such workers usually for not over two months; one-fourth kept them a month longer; after that they dropped them rapidly.

Farmers seldom hire casual workers in the winter (see fig. 2). The demand for this type of labor picks up quickly after March, especially on truck farms, but lags a month or two behind on potato

FIG. 2.—Half of the farmers hire some noncasual labor all the year, and practically all do from April to September, inclusive. The demand for casual labor is almost nothing in the winter; it reaches its peak in July and August. (Noncasual labor, 314 reports; casual labor, 304 reports)

and fruit farms. It is at its height in July and August, when about three-fourths of the farmers are hiring casuuls. The peak of demand for casual labor among potato farmers comes largely in August and September.

The total labor demand of 70 farmers in 1921 is indicated in Figure 3. The information from which the graph was made was asked of only part of the farmers visited. It was expected that this information would be representative, but apparently these farmers hired more than the average at all times of the year. However, the illustration probably shows comparative seasonal fluctuations in farm-labor demand of all types of farms visited. The data of Table 1 support this conclusion.

NONAGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT AVAILABLE

One of the great drawbacks that prevents many capable, ambitious wage earners from entering farm work is the seasonal character of the business, involving a long time of slack employment in winter and the frequently coincident difficulty in obtaining other near-by employment. The farmer who can offer steady year-round work can usually get a better class of labor and often at a slightly lower rate of wages than his neighbor who hires only part of the year. This was frequently evident from the character of the workers interviewed and was strikingly illustrated in a section where a large corporation farm was employing many workers. The neighboring farmers, who were operating upon the usual family scale, consistently complained of a shortage of labor so serious as to compel consideration of changes in farming methods, because the large farm

Number of Farmers Hiring Help and Number of Employees Hired, by Quarter-Month Periods

FIG. 3.—This chart shows the comparative seasonal fluctuations in farm labor demand of 70 New Jersey farmers throughout the year

was attracting all available labor. Although the manager of the large farm was paying about 25 cents less per day than others said they would pay for labor, he was offering steady work, largely year round, and was providing living accommodations somewhat above the average for the employees.

The seasonal nature of farm work forces many who engage in it to make part of their living by other means. Employees were asked if they had any regular variations of employment throughout the year, with special reference to nonagricultural work. There seemed to be no general swing to particular work in any locality. Some men depended upon common labor and odd jobs for work. Many men and some women turned to industrial employment. A few, mostly women, entered domestic or other personal service. In southern New Jersey men occasionally became oystermen or deep-sea fishermen from fall to spring. The majority of minors returned to school in September at the beginning of the

school term. During the farming season work on other farms was the most available source of employment, except in Bergen and Passaic Counties, where manufacturing industries predominated. In winter, manufacturing and industrial work offered the chief sources of employment practically everywhere. Doubtless in many cases such opportunities were insufficient for all desiring work. Many of the migratory families found on farms in the summer turn to industrial work and common labor upon their return to the cities in the fall.

The farm workers interviewed were asked what kind of work they expected to seek and where they would hunt for it when they left the jobs on which they were engaged. Many answers were influenced by the fact that it was midsummer when the question was asked, and it is probable that the replies would have been very different at another season. The replies were also influenced by the length of time for which workers expected their jobs to last, by the kind of work the persons expected to seek, and by the wages wanted and offered. Of the 683 workers, practically 1 in 5 expected to be kept indefinitely by his employer and 1 in 7 to seek other farm work for his next job. Thus, 1 in 3 was definitely to continue in agricultural work. One-fourth of the workers did not know what they would do beyond seeking laboring jobs, of whom many would be again employed by farmers. One in 10 expected to engage next in industrial employment, and over a fifth of the employees were minors expecting to return to school sometime in the fall.

BRINGING TOGETHER FARM JOB AND EMPLOYEE

SOURCES OF FARM LABOR

A large majority of farmers found most of their laborers in their own or adjoining localities. Noncasual labor was more largely found locally than was casual labor. Truck farmers, more than any other type of farmer studied, had to go beyond their immediate localities for day labor—to Philadelphia and Camden from Gloucester County and to near-by cities, especially to New York, from Bergen and Passaic Counties.

Migratory farm labor in New Jersey seems to be found mostly east and south of Trenton. Italian families from Philadelphia form the majority of migrants east and south of that city; they are employed largely on truck and berry farms, where there is much work within the strength and ability of women and children. These families migrate to farms in time for asparagus cutting or strawberry picking in the spring and stay in the country often as late as October, the end of the cranberry harvest. Economic necessity compels all members from young to old to work if possible, to which the undernourished appearance of some of the children at times gave eloquent testimony, not only among Italians but also among Poles and other workers of foreign races. Some families spend up to several months in a locality, according to the labor demand; others move from one place to another during the season. Because the work in which they engage is largely piecework, their earnings depend much upon weather and crop conditions. Families are often paid as a unit. Estimates of their earnings per season run up over \$1,000. Housing for Italian families working on the farms is usually meager, yet, poor as it is,

some Philadelphia relief workers consider it decidedly more healthful and desirable in summer than the city homes of these families.

The season's farm work over, the Italians return to their city tenement districts. Prominent among their winter occupations are common labor and home work taken in from factories. Some Italian families seem to do little work winters, partly because many find our winter climate very trying.

The Italians seem to be usually thrifty and saving. Many have saved money and some have bought their homes. Some families can live all winter upon the summer's earnings. Others that have not been so fortunate borrow from friends and at the end of the next summer pay their debts, often only to repeat what amounts to an annual financial cycle. Some poor families, particularly those in

FIG. 4.—Typical Italian farm buildings near Hammonton, N. J. Crop production is carried into the very dooryard. Buildings are frequently unkempt in appearance and their furnishings and conveniences for even the farm family are of barest kind among most farmers of this class

which the husband and father can not earn sufficient for support, are forced to appeal to charities during the winter.

The second generation of Italians are becoming Americanized. Fewer of the mature young people, especially women, will work on farms. They are demanding better living conditions on farms. The young women are insisting that their husbands assume all the burden of family support.

Some parts of New Jersey have resident Italians who are rising from the laborer stage to that of farm operator. Many of these men and their families are farming land which Americans had considered too poor, and are making their living at it. Some of the best farmers around Hammonton are Italians (fig. 4). These people are gradually adopting American standards of life: they are recognizing the value of education for their sons, but are not so quick to see it for their daughters. The women are not compelled to work so much in the fields as formerly. As a whole, they are becoming increasingly assertive socially and politically, especially if educated.

Most of the negroes interviewed in the course of this survey were of a good type, ambitious, bright, and intelligent, though often with little education. They were usually farm bred and in favor among farmers because they are experienced and speak English. Some of these negroes come every spring from States as far south as the Carolinas to work on southern New Jersey farms and return to the South in late fall. Others, now resident in New Jersey, originally came from the South or are of southern extraction.

Monmouth County potato-harvest laborers are to some extent recruited from migratory families and from roving, casually working men. The New Jersey cranberry harvest attracts large numbers of migratory workers in September and October.

USUAL MEANS OF FINDING EMPLOYEES AND JOBS

The majority of farmers reported little or no trouble in obtaining help early in the season of 1922. Near large cities, especially New York, however, there were many complaints that labor, especially experienced labor, was scarce. This applied more to trucking than to other types of farming. In northern New Jersey some of the midsummer farm-labor shortage was attributed to the demand of railroads for men to break the shopmen's strike. On the other hand, men out on strike from Pennsylvania coal mines were found working on farms in that same region. In Monmouth County the potato market was so poor that at the time the canvassers visited the district many farmers had stopped digging the crop; this threw enough farm help out of work to create a surplus of labor. On the whole, however, the supply and demand in farm labor was such that wages had risen sharply from March to July, especially when harvesting began. Increased wages usually attracted new workers or kept on the job laborers already there.

Considerable variation in New Jersey farm-labor supply is due to the demand of near-by industries of all kinds, as well as to crop conditions and markets. Mills and plants in cities and towns and, frequently, rural highway construction all attract labor. That much of the farmer's difficulty in getting labor often lay in his own attitude and practices was shown by the fact that farmers in the same locality gave different reports and opinions of the situation. Farmers naturally wish to hire labor as cheaply as possible, but are often shortsighted enough to turn down capable men because they ask a somewhat higher wage than do less capable ones. The saving in wage is usually offset by losses due to lack of efficiency, but this is often hard for farmers to see.

In almost equal percentages of cases farmers obtained laborers by personal search, through or of acquaintances, through farm bureaus, offices of the United States Employment Service, or by engaging those applying for employment (see Table 3). The methods used varied somewhat from place to place and also from one type of farming to another. General farmers seemed to have to hunt for their help more than did the truck farmers to whom many laborers applied for work. Likewise farmers in southern New Jersey were forced to personal search for labor more often

than farmers in other districts who were so situated that they could apply readily to farm bureaus or to public-employment offices. Much Italian labor is hired through the agency of "padrones" or "row bosses," usually at an agreed amount per head. In some cases, at least, the padrones also charge the workers for getting them jobs. They accompany the workers to the jobs and act as field bosses or "row bosses," receiving the same wages as other workers plus a small agreed amount for each one supervised or bossed. The use of padrones was found almost wholly near or to the east and south of Philadelphia. The patronizing of private employment agencies by farmers was found mostly in districts near large cities. Advertising was seldom used.

TABLE 3.—*Farmers' principal methods of obtaining farm labor and employees' actual methods of obtaining jobs held, by percentages of total reports*

Method used	Farmers employ- ing	Laborers		
		All	American born	Foreign born
	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Through or of acquaintances.....	19.5	28.3	28.5	27.8
Through family.....		13.2	15.5	6.7
Laborers apply for work.....	17.8			
Personal search.....	18.2	37.9	37.7	38.3
Solicited by employer.....		8.7	9.3	7.2
Private employment agency.....	4.8	5.3	2.4	13.3
Public employment agency or farm bureau.....	18.5	.6	.8	
Through or solicited by row boss or padrone.....	7.2	3.1	2.0	6.1
Advertisement or answer to advertisement.....	3.4	.4	.6	
Other, various.....	10.6	2.5	3.2	.6
Total reports (100 per cent).....	292	676	496	180

Nearly four-fifths of the farm laborers interviewed reported getting the jobs at which they were working (Table 3) through their own personal search or that of friends or family, or of or through acquaintances. Their infrequent use of employment agencies was largely confined to patronage of private employment agencies by the foreign born.

EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

Employment agencies placing farm help in New Jersey were visited in New York, Philadelphia, and several New Jersey cities. They may be grouped into those of the United States Employment Service and those privately conducted.

The United States Department of Labor, in cooperation with State and local authorities, conducts offices of the United States Employment Service in employment centers of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, where they constitute an important factor in the employment agency business. These offices place all classes of labor and their services are free to the public. From the nature of their localities the placements of the offices are largely industrial, although certain offices place large numbers of farm workers over much of New Jersey. County agricultural agents often maintain close contacts with these offices and forward to them the labor demands of farmers in their districts.

The private employment offices visited handled various classes of labor, some specializing in particular types. All were licensed under similar State laws and usually under the control of State labor officials, so their business practices were rather uniform. Fees charged applicants for employment were regulated or subject to the approval of specified authorities, but there appeared to be no such regulation of those charged applicants for help except in Pennsylvania. Most agencies charge both parties to a placement transaction. Charges for the applicants for farm employment run from \$1 to \$2 usually, and those for the applicants for farm help from \$1 to \$4 per worker placed, more or less according to what the agencies think they can collect. The competition of the United States Employment Service is tending to force a reduction of private agency fees.

New York and New Jersey laws require licensed employment agencies to ask an applicant for work to give, when possible, the names and addresses of former employers or of persons to whom such applicant is known. Farmers seeking help seem to make little use of these references. In time of labor scarcity they are forced to ignore the desirability of investigating them. The visited employment agencies keep no record of a man's successive appearances at their offices or of his performance on jobs which he accepts. Most agency officials depend largely upon their ability to size a man up by his appearance and his story at his first appearance. Furthermore, many men reappear, and the agents often acquire a working knowledge of their reputations and abilities from the men and from their former employers.

A large proportion of the farm hands who patronize employment agencies appear to be an unsettled, roving class, men who for various reasons stay on their jobs only a short time and can not or do not try to get new jobs near their old ones, partly because of their inefficiency. In fact, some employment agency officials consider most farm hands as of this character. That this impression is partly untrue is usually seen when one is in contact with the farm hands actually working in a district. Many of them are residents there and have often been employed in the locality or on the same job for years. Work comes to them, or they are able to get sufficient work near by and do not need to patronize an employment agency.

There was some complaint that officials of private employment agencies encourage men to stay on their jobs only a few weeks, and that they discriminate against men who hold their jobs any length of time by sending them to undesirable jobs when they return to the agencies seeking employment. It is stated that the agencies aim to collect as many fees as possible. Some agencies were said to be charging more than legal fees when sending men to jobs.

To facilitate judgment of an applicant's knowledge of the work desired, an official of the United States Employment Service in New Jersey is working on oral trade tests for many occupations. These trade tests are made up of questions and answers concerning characteristics of the job under consideration. Each question is framed to closely require a certain short, definite answer not likely to be known to an inexperienced person. A perfected system of such tests should materially aid employment officials in the satisfactory placement of workers.

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF FARM EMPLOYEES

Nearly all the farm employees interviewed were working as farm hands. A few (3 per cent) were foremen. Occasional mechanics were found around the machinery of large farms (see Table 4). Half of the workers who were under 21 years of age, and the women, were engaged in light work more or less adapted to their strength and ability. Half of the minors and most of the women were working on truck farms, on such jobs as weeding, hoeing, picking berries, picking up potatoes, and packing produce for market.

TABLE 4.—*Jobs on which farm employees were engaged when interviewed*

Kind of farm work	American born	Foreign born	All employees
Light farm work (minors and women).....	72	11	83
Farm hand.....	370	167	537
Livestock worker (cattle and poultry).....	6	—	6
Teamster.....	21	2	23
Farm mechanic.....	7	—	7
Foreman.....	16	5	21
Miscellaneous.....	5	1	6
Total cases.....	497	186	683

At the time of interview one-third of the workers had been on their jobs not over a month, one-half not over two months, and three-fourths not over six months. Practically one-fifth of the workers had been with the same employer over a year, and 27 of the 677 reporting on this point had been with their employers 10 or more years, including one for 40 and another for 61 years.

Three-fourths of the farm workers had been engaged for the season or year and expected to be kept by their employers until October or later; one-fifth had been hired for only a short time or the duration of certain work.

Practically no persons were working under any definite agreement, oral or written.

One-third of the workers had worked on the same farms previous to the job held when interviewed, nearly half of them within that or the previous season. Two-thirds of the group had got back by asking for the work and through their previous acquaintance with their employer.

About two-thirds of the reporting farmers stated that their employees were experienced in the work for which they were hired; about one-fifth complained of employees' inexperience, and the largest proportion of these complaints came from truck farmers of Bergen and Passaic Counties.

In the judgment of the investigators, three-fourths of the farm employees interviewed were of either average or good efficiency in the farm work in which they were engaged; one-third of them were classed as better than average; one-fourth of the workers were child laborers; and one-eighth of those employed seemed to be fairly good farm workers, but in many cases it seemed plain that they would have been more efficient in other employment. Physical handicap and poor health limited the usefulness of a few. Only 1 worker in 10 was classed as a distinctly poor farm hand. Among the most im-

portant reasons for inferiority were laziness, ignorance, physical handicaps, shiftlessness, and bad habits.

Farmers stated that an important cause of inefficiency among farm laborers is the illegal liquor traffic. Regardless of their personal attitudes toward legal prohibition of the liquor traffic, the existing situation was frequently complained of among farmers and persons acquainted with the labor situation. Occasional petty thieving by farm hands was mentioned, but employers considered them honest as a class.

Employees were reported as usually not leaving their jobs before the farmer was ready to discharge them. Most complaint to the contrary came from truck farmers, and especially from those located near large cities in northern New Jersey where labor turnover seemed the most rapid.

NATIONALITY

In the canvass made by the investigators, 683 farm employees were interviewed; 497 of them were American born, 186 were foreign born. There were 135 negroes, all American born except 1. Seventeen nationalities were represented among the foreign born, of which 73 Italians formed the largest group. There were also 40 Polanders and Russians, 31 Germans and Austrians, 14 British and Canadians. Practically no foreign-born workers were found on dairy farms visited; three-fifths of those interviewed were working on truck farms. Italians made up the foreign born found on fruit farms, but were not found on any potato farms visited. The canvassers met no foreign-born farm hands in Salem County; but the proportion of those to American-born employees grew larger as the party worked north, until in Bergen County it was over 45 per cent. One-fourth of the foreign born interviewed were found in Gloucester County, and one-fifth each in Bergen and Passaic Counties. Practically all the negroes were found in southern New Jersey, where they were working in about equal numbers on truck and general farms. In Gloucester and Salem Counties negroes made up two-fifths of the farm employees interviewed.

American-born whites alone were hired on one-fifth of the farms visited and American-born negroes alone on one-fifteenth. Foreign-born workers alone were hired by a quarter of the farmers and among others by three-fifths of the farmers reporting. The largest proportion of the farmers hiring only native-born whites or negroes were found among the general and truck farmers of southern New Jersey. The largest proportion hiring foreign-born workers alone were in the Hammonton district of Atlantic County and in the trucking section of Bergen and Passaic Counties. Among the foreign-born workers Italians were hired among others on one-third of all farms, exclusively on one-eighth of the farms studied. They were largely employed on the truck farms of Gloucester County and on fruit farms near Hammonton. Next in numerical importance were the Poles, and, after them, Germans. These classes were found largely in the trucking districts of Bergen and Passaic Counties.

Of 167 foreign-born farm workers, 94 had taken no step toward becoming naturalized citizens of this country; some had no intention of remaining in this country and becoming naturalized. Thirty-two

had filed their declarations of intention to become citizens, and some of these had been unable to carry through proceedings for naturalization because of frequent change of residence. The remaining 41 had become naturalized.

Six hundred and one farm employees reported concerning their parentage. American born of American-born fathers numbered 335 and of foreign-born fathers 141; foreign-born numbered 125, or 20.8 per cent. Many American-born minors³ of foreign-born fathers were so young they were considered by their employers as of the same nationality as their parents.

Over five-sixths of the farm operators considered in this study were native-born, and all were white except a few negroes. Nearly half the foreign-born operators were German, largely engaged in truck farming in Bergen County. Most of the remaining foreign born were Italian fruit growers located near Hammonton. Nationality of farm operators sometimes accounted for their preferences in hiring help.

In southern New Jersey there is a general tendency, rather marked in Gloucester and Salem Counties, to prefer negro labor. In spite of this, Italians in some instances have been forcing out the colored workers by offering to work for lower wages, but once thoroughly established and with competition overcome, the Italians have not hesitated to demand higher pay. The Italians studied were largely employed on the truck farms of Gloucester County and the fruit district of Hammonton to which they often go in family groups. In Bergen County a settlement of German-born farmers preferred German-born employees; otherwise Poles were generally liked there.

Farmers in Salem County were occasionally found to have in their families boys taken at 10 years of age or older from institutions for destitute children, admittedly to use them within their strength and ability to take the place of other labor which was unobtainable. This had been going on for years. The youngsters were apparently well treated and appeared contented.

Fifty-five of the 683 farm employees interviewed were women or girls. These were found most frequently on truck farms, and also on fruit farms in Gloucester and Cumberland Counties. In the former county they were largely Italians from Philadelphia and in the latter mostly native-born residents.

Minors interviewed were 141 in number. Five-sixths of them came from homes near their working places. Half were employed on truck farms, and the rest were scattered among all other types except dairy farms.

The ages of farm employees interviewed ranged from 8 to 73 and averaged 29.6 years. Practically three-fifths of the American born and one-fifth of the foreign born were under 25 years of age. The large number of American-born minors who were working during the summer vacation of public schools accounts in some measure for the lower average age of the American born. It also emphasises the farm demand for cheap harvest labor and the large proportion of the working force which is youthful.

³ In this study minors were considered to be those under 16 years of age unless otherwise specified, as this is the age limit of compulsory education in New Jersey.

MARITAL STATUS AND DEPENDENTS

All except one of the farm employees under 21 years of age were single; of those older, just over half were married (Table 5). Scattering cases of persons widowed, separated from their families, or divorced were met. Those reporting dependents had an average of 3; those of the American born averaged 2.6; of foreign born 3.8; of negroes 2.8.

TRAINING AND EDUCATION

Three-fifths of the farm employees interviewed said they were farm bred; a slightly larger proportion of foreign born than native born so reported.

Farm workers were asked whether or not they could speak, read, and write in English, and, if foreign born, in their mother tongue. Only 4.8 per cent of the American born were unable to read and write English, as compared with 55.9 per cent of the foreign born who could not read or write the language, including 7 per cent who could not speak it. English was the mother tongue of a few of the foreign born; of the others reporting, 37.6 per cent neither read nor wrote their mother tongue.

TABLE 5.—*Marital status and dependents of farm employees by marital status*

Class of employees	Marital status					
	Single	Married	Widowed	Separated from family	Divorced	All employees
American born:						
Under 21 years of age.....	238	0	0	0	0	238
21 years of age or older.....	94	133	18	12	2	259
Foreign born:						
Under 21 years of age.....	23	1	0	0	0	24
21 years of age or older.....	66	85	10	1	0	162
All employees.....	421	219	28	13	2	683
Number reporting dependents:						
American born.....	1	127	5	3	0	136
Foreign born.....	1	63	3	0	0	67
All employees.....	2	190	8	3	0	203
Number of dependents reported:						
American born.....	1	335	10	8	0	354
Foreign born.....	1	245	8	0	0	254
All employees.....	2	580	18	8	0	608
Average number of dependents per case reporting them:						
American born.....	1	2.6	2.0	2.7	0	2.6
Foreign born.....	1	3.9	2.7	0	0	3.8
All employees.....	1	3.1	2.2	2.7	0	3.0

The actual length and kind of schooling received by 678 workers are shown in Figure 5. The cases included those still attending school. Over half the native born had had five or more grades of grammar-school work and one in seven had attended school beyond the grammar grades. One-third of the foreign born had attended

Fig. 5.—Few persons had been to high school and practically none beyond. The foreign born had received much less education than the native born, even if they were considered to have made in their periods of school attendance progress comparable to that expected of children in American schools.

school in their native lands from five to nine years, and some received their education in American schools. It was often plain from their statements that in some countries the terms of public schools were very short and the courses of study limited or that pupils had been able to attend only for short periods in the winter and often at considerable expense and distance from home. Educational progress under such circumstances was usually slow compared with that expected in American schools.

The age of leaving school indicates to some extent the education received. Reports of 416 farm employees showed that over half left school at from 14 to 16 years of age, averaging 15 years. In other words, the average pupil could not have had over a year of high-school work. If the educational progress of those who had left school was to be judged by that of those still in school (Table 6), the average farm worker had left school before completing more than seven grades of grammar school. This supports the finding that over half of those who attended school left before they could reach high school.

The New Jersey State laws require regular school attendance of children between the ages of 7 and 16; but pupils 14 years of age who have completed the fifth grade may obtain work certificates from the local school authorities and be allowed to leave school to go to work, except that attendance of one day a week is required at a continuation school.

TABLE 6.—*Education received by farm employees under 16 years of age*¹

Age	Grades or years of school work completed											Total cases
	Grammar-school grades								High-school years			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	
8 years.....	1	0										1
9 years.....		1	0	2								3
10 years.....		1	3	2	1	1						8
11 years.....		1		3	4	2	3					13
12 years.....		2	2	4	6	3	4	1				22
13 years.....			1	3	4	3	10	9	2			32
14 years.....		1	1	3	4	8	10	5	2	1		35
15 years.....			1	1	3	5	7	3	1	3	2	26
Total.....	1	6	8	18	22	22	34	18	5	4	2	2 140

¹ Bold-faced figures indicate normal grade for age.

² Eleven of these children 14 and 15 years of age had left school; all except 1 had completed the fifth grade and all except 2 had gone further in school.

The actual amount of education which 140 minors of school age had received up to the time of interview is shown in Table 6. It is here assumed that New Jersey children enter school at 6 years of age, as most of them seem to do, and complete one grade of school work each succeeding year. Of 140 cases only 58 were making normal progress or better for their ages. The remaining 58.6 per cent were all backward. The percentage of those backward increased in general with the ages of the children. (See fig. 6.) Thirty-seven per cent were from 2 to 6 years behind their normal grades, averaging 2.9 years. How much of this backwardness is due to practices or necessities of farm work it is impossible to state. It should be noted that six-sevenths of these children had homes in

localities near their working places and were not the children of migratory agricultural workers who often present a difficult problem to school authorities.⁴

Many families of migratory farm workers leave the cities, especially Philadelphia, for truck-farm work in New Jersey in May at about the time strawberry picking begins, or even earlier. Need for the children's earnings, as well as the fact that the parents are leaving home, compels most of them to take their children with them. Whether or not the children begin work at once, they are taken from school and may not be able to return until after the cranberry harvest in October or later. This interruption to school work is serious, both for the educational progress of children and for the work of the school authorities in cities like Philadelphia, where hundreds of children are affected. New Jersey school authorities

School Progress of Children Under 16 Years of Age Working on Farms Compared with Normal

FIG. 6.—The percentage of children not making normal school progress increased somewhat with their ages. At no time was the proportion of backward children less than 33 per cent; in fact 58.6 per cent of all were not making normal progress. Nearly all of these children belonged in New Jersey localities near their working places

naturally look upon migrant families from outside of their State as nonresidents, and little or no effort is made to extend educational facilities to them.

Occasionally New Jersey families become migrant truck-farm workers, but usually for not such long periods of the year as nonresidents. The resulting interruption to the school work of their children seems less serious. While at home they are within the reach of truant officers, who, although making some allowances for family necessities and the agricultural labor situation, try to keep the children in school. When such families leave home to work else-

⁴ Workers of the Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, found that of 869 school children, largely Italians, who left Philadelphia schools to go with their families to truck-farm work in New Jersey, 71 per cent of those between 8 and 16 years of age were from 1 to 6 years below their normal grades. (In this report children were considered to have entered school normally at the ages of 6 or 7 and to have completed a grade of work each succeeding year.) Tenth Annual Report of the Chief, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, Washington, 1922, pp. 13-14.

where the move seems to come in late summer or early autumn. School authorities make little or no effort to follow up such families when out of their home jurisdiction.

To allow school children to help on home farms an occasional rural school in New Jersey makes a practice of opening one or two weeks later in the fall than do most others, and of changing its hours to let out the children early in the afternoon to help in the harvesting of truck crops.

Many children, especially those of migrant families, are forced to work while very young because of family poverty. Taking them from school seriously checks their training for life and makes it practically certain that later they will be seriously handicapped in the struggle for a living for themselves and their families.

Percentages of 683 Farm Employees Who Had Engaged in Each of Certain Occupations

FIG. 7.—Unskilled occupations had predominated in the working lives of farm employees. Practically all had engaged in unskilled agriculture. There had been nearly as great a variety of occupational activity in the three and a half years (January, 1919, to summer of 1922) as in the working lives of the group.

OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY

No minor under 18 years of age claimed to have a trade except occasionally one who referred to some type of agriculture. Disregarding these because they had had insufficient opportunity to learn a trade, it appears that two-thirds of the farm employees interviewed had no trade (Table 7). They were unskilled workers. Some individuals claimed as trades⁵ occupations which they had followed

⁵ The widely varied trades claimed were classified as follows:

- (a) Agriculture: Any type of farm work, nursery work, animal husbandry.
- (b) Fishing: Deep-sea fishing, oystering.
- (c) Mining, quarrying (of coal or stone).
- (d) Manufacturing (nonmetals): Of food, tobacco and textile products, shoes, including mechanical trades in such factories.
- (e) Mechanical industries and construction: Manufacture of metal products, machine shop work, building trades, mechanical trades not essentially connected with another industry.
- (f) Transportation: Highway, rail, water.
- (g) Mercantile trade: Store workers, deliverymen, etc.
- (h) Professional service and engineering.
- (i) Domestic and personal service: Household, hotel and restaurant work, barber, booth/lack, etc.

somewhat regularly but which had required little or no preliminary training or apprenticeship corresponding to that usually preceding engagement in a trade. As would be expected in a highly industrialized section of the country, two-thirds of the trades claimed were connected with industrial occupations, mercantile trade, and transportation.

The average age at which the farm employees interviewed began to earn was 13.6 years for both native and foreign born. Almost half started work at from 12 to 15 years of age. Most of those who started working so young doubtless worked only during the summer vacations of schools, and their ages were higher when they began to work steadily. The average age at beginning such summer work was 10.7 years in the cases of 138 minors interviewed in this study, ranging from 5 years up.

TABLE 7.—*Trades learned or occupations habitually followed by farm employees*

Type of trade	American born		Foreign born		All employees	
	Number 386	Per cent	Number 134	Per cent	Number 520	Per cent
None—all employees considered.....						
None—employees 18 years of age or older only considered.....	211	67.2	116	70.3	327	68.3
Agriculture.....	21	6.7	13	7.9	34	7.1
Fishing.....	2	.6			2	.4
Mining, quarrying.....	2	.6			3	.6
Manufacturing (nonmetals).....	21	6.7	14	8.5	35	7.3
Mechanical industries and construction...	38	12.1	15	9.1	53	11.1
Transportation.....	8	2.6	1	.6	9	1.9
Mercantile trade.....	2	.6	3	1.8	5	1.0
Professional service and engineering.....	5	1.6			5	1.0
Domestic and personal service.....	4	1.3	2	1.2	6	1.3
Total, employees 18 years of age or older only considered.....	314	100.0	165	100.0	479	100.0

The various kinds of work ⁶ in which he had engaged in his lifetime was reported by each farm worker interviewed (Table 8; see also fig. 7). Practically all had engaged in unskilled farm labor; about one in twelve had been in skilled agricultural work; one-fourth had done industrial unskilled work and one-eighth had done industrial skilled work. One man in five had worked as a common laborer. Business of some kind had engaged 1 in 10. American born and foreign born seemed to have had very similar occupational experiences. The adult foreign born apparently had engaged more often in unskilled work. The recent occupational experience of the same persons had been much the same as during

⁶ The method of classification of occupations differs somewhat from that used in discussing trades learned and is as follows:

- (a) Common labor: Nonagricultural unskilled labor (largely nonindustrial).
- (b) Agriculture, unskilled, such as farm hand, teamster, dairyman.
- (c) Agriculture, skilled: Farm operator (as owner or tenant), farm manager; specializing workers, such as skilled orchardists or nursery workers.
- (d) Industrial work, unskilled: Common labor in industrial plants, garages, lumber camps, etc.
- (e) Industrial work, skilled: Trades largely industrial and mechanical.
- (f) Business, clerical: Employee or clerk in trade or offices.
- (g) Business, administrative: Managerial work, either as owner or managing employee in trade or office.
- (h) National service (American or foreign): Army, Navy, municipal, civil.
- (i) Marine: Sea-faring, deep-sea fishing, oystering.
- (j) Domestic and personal service: Housewife, hotel or restaurant workers, barber, bootblack.
- (k) Professional service: Professional athlete, nurse, scientific work.

their whole working life, though with somewhat reduced individual variety.

Two-fifths of the women had engaged in domestic work during their lifetime and one-fourth in industrial work. Many of them were still in their teens, but many others were older and married.

TABLE 8.—*Comparative lifetime and recent occupational history of farm employees—Number of American born and foreign born and women ever engaged in each of certain occupations*

Part of occupational history and class of workers	Occupation										
	Common labor	Agriculture		Industry		Business		National service	Marine	Domestic and personal service	Professional service
		Unskilled	Skilled	Unskilled	Skilled	Clerical	Administrative				
LIFETIME HISTORY											
American born (497 cases):											
Number of persons.....	105	497	42	135	68	54	4	26	18	27	7
Percentage of all cases.....	21.1	100.0	8.5	27.2	13.7	10.9	0.8	5.2	3.6	5.4	1.4
Foreign born (186 cases):											
Number of persons.....	55	185	12	58	33	16	1	9	1	29	0
Percentage of all cases.....	29.6	99.5	6.5	31.2	17.7	8.6	0.5	4.8	0.5	15.6	0
All women (55 cases):											
Number of persons.....	0	55	0	13	2	0	1	0	0	22	0
Percentage of all cases.....	0	100.0	0	23.6	3.6	0	1.8	0	0	40.0	0
All farm employees (783 cases):											
Number of persons.....	160	682	54	193	101	70	5	35	19	56	7
Percentage of all cases.....	23.4	99.9	7.9	28.3	14.8	10.2	0.7	5.1	2.8	8.2	1.0
RECENT HISTORY											
January, 1919, to summer of 1922											
American born (497 cases):											
Number of persons.....	65	480	39	84	45	23	3	13	12	12	4
Percentage of all cases.....	13.1	93.6	7.8	16.9	9.1	5.2	0.6	2.6	2.4	2.4	0.8
Foreign born (186 cases):											
Number of persons.....	38	183	12	30	21	7	1	3	0	9	0
Percentage of all cases.....	20.4	98.4	6.5	16.1	11.3	3.8	0.5	1.6	0	4.8	0
All farm employees (683 cases):											
Number of persons.....	103	663	51	114	66	33	4	16	12	21	4
Percentage of all cases.....	15.1	97.1	7.5	16.7	9.7	4.8	0.6	2.3	1.8	3.1	0.6

TABLE 9.—*Comparative lifetime and recent occupational history of farm employees—Numbers of farm employees ever engaged in certain occupations or groups of occupations in civil life, exclusively and nonexclusively of other occupations*

Occupations in which employees engaged	Lifetime history		Recent history (January, 1919, to summer of 1922)	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Exclusively:				
Agriculture, unskilled.....	261	38.2	366	53.6
Agriculture, skilled.....	1	0.1	15	2.2
Agriculture, both skilled and unskilled.....	24	3.5	22	3.2
Agriculture unskilled and industry unskilled.....	71	10.4	68	10.0
Agriculture unskilled and industry skilled.....	31	4.5	35	5.1
Unskilled work only, any type.....	531	77.7	550	80.5
Skilled work only, any type.....	1	0.1	17	2.5
As well as frequently in others:				
Agriculture and industry (one or both types of each).....	260	38.1	168	24.6
Skilled work, any type.....	152	22.3	117	17.1
Skilled work, any type other than agriculture skilled.....	109	16.0	73	10.7

The numbers of farm workers who had ever in their lifetime, or recently since 1918, engaged in certain occupations or groups of occupations are given in Table 9. (See also fig. 8.) The interplay of labor demands and of occupational opportunities, some of them seasonal and cyclical, keeps many workers shifting more or less in spite of themselves in such a State as New Jersey. Consequently it is

Percentages of 683 Farm Employees Who Had Engaged in Certain Occupations or Groups of Occupations in Civil Life, Exclusively and Nonexclusively of Other Occupations

FIG. 8.—Farm employees, as a whole, are unskilled laborers. Four-fifths of those interviewed in this study had never engaged in skilled, responsible work; two-fifths had done nothing except farm work

noteworthy that even though large numbers of minors of limited experience were included nearly two in five had never engaged in anything except agriculture, also that over half had done no other kind of work since 1918. The dependence of New Jersey agriculture upon other industries for workers and the dependence of agricultural workers upon other employment part of the time are shown by the

fact that nearly half the workers had recently engaged in other than farm work. The caliber of the workers is emphasized by the fact that three-fourths of them had never engaged in skilled or responsible work of any kind.

Previous to the jobs on which they were found and since 1918 three-fifths of the farm workers interviewed had been employed only in the townships in which they were met or in others near by: 1 in 6 had worked elsewhere in New Jersey, and 1 in 10 in the cities of Philadelphia or New York. Only occasional persons had been beyond those limits. The foreign born seemed to have moved about somewhat more than the native born. This movement appears to have consisted partly in the seasonal migratory movement of some of them between cities and farms.

Practically two-thirds of the American-born and half of the foreign-born farm workers gave apparently reliable and complete information concerning the number of jobs of any nature they had held since 1918, including some begun before 1919. Four hundred and nine persons had averaged practically two jobs each. The average time per job, 24.7 months, seems high, but many of this class had had comparatively steady employment. The foreign born had averaged distinctly longer on their jobs than had the native born.

Sixty-six of the 409 persons were holding their first jobs, all begun since 1918 and usually begun in 1922. Nearly all of this class were under 21 years of age. Eighty-nine persons had been working on the same jobs since 1918 or earlier; 20 of these were still on their first jobs, and had averaged over 11 years on them. Two hundred and seventy persons could give only a partial list of their jobs since 1918. On such jobs as they did report they had averaged 9.2 months. The true average would be decidedly lower, because many persons had held so many short jobs they could not attempt to enumerate them. Most of this class were evidently day laborers who had had a succession of seasonal jobs within a locality or who could expect little permanent employment. The foreign-born workers of this group evidenced less stability of employment than the native born.

Six out of seven of the farm workers interviewed reported that since 1918 they had not been out of work when they wanted it. These, of course, included minors, most of whom were attending school a large part of the year and some women who devoted themselves to home duties most of the year. Ninety-three persons reported 118 instances of unemployment, over half of which occurred in 1921. Eighty-five of them gave the average amount of time idle as 7.6 months, or about 2 months a year. About three-fifths of the periods of idleness were from 3 to 5 months each. Most of the workers spent their idle time in or near the places where they had been employed.

Laborer's reasons for leaving their jobs are often colored to conceal real reasons, especially if they were at fault leading to discharge. In three-fourths of the cases they reported that they were thrown out of work by the close of the season, referring especially to agriculture; and that the jobs for which they were engaged were finished, or that work was slack, referring largely to industrial work. The last reason was the most common and applied principally to 1921, a year of national industrial depression. In fact, over half

the instances of loss of work occurred in that year. Workers reported leaving of their own accord and for such reasons as offers of better pay elsewhere or for a change much less often than they were thrown out of work. Dissatisfaction with working conditions was seldom mentioned.

EARNINGS AND SAVINGS

Information was asked of the farm employees as to their cash earnings in 1921 from all sources and from agriculture, and the amounts from their earnings which they furnished their families in that year (Table 10). The replies given were largely estimates and took no account of perquisites, which, in many instances, may have been of decided value; as, for instance, in the cases of persons boarded by their employers. About a third of the farm employees, when interviewed, were receiving board in addition to cash payments.

The work at which these earnings had been made was in three cases out of five farm work only; one-fourth as many more had engaged in other work also. The work other than agriculture was largely common labor or industrial work.

TABLE 10.—Cash earnings in 1921 of farm employees interviewed in 1922

Cash earnings and persons earning or sharing	American born	Foreign born	All employees
From all sources:			
All laborers—			
Number reporting.....	361	133	494
Average.....	\$566.68	\$686.88	\$599.04
Heads of families—			
Number reporting.....	117	51	168
Average.....	\$797.21	\$785.76	\$793.73
Heads of families and their dependents—			
Number of families reporting.....	106	45	151
Total number family members.....	392	201	593
Average per family.....	\$854.31	\$813.98	\$842.29
Average per family member.....	\$231.01	\$182.23	\$214.48
Percentage of all employees who reported less than—			
\$100.....	13.0	3.0	10.3
\$300.....	30.7	18.0	27.3
\$500.....	48.2	36.8	45.1
\$700.....	64.3	60.9	63.4
\$1,000.....	84.8	77.4	82.8
\$1,500.....	95.0	93.2	94.5
From agriculture:			
Number reporting.....	303	91	394
Average.....	\$446.30	\$500.91	\$458.91
Furnished families (for their support):			
Number reporting.....	185	56	241
Average.....	\$552.85	\$620.50	\$568.57
Range of earnings (from all sources, from agriculture, furnished families) ..	\$15 to \$4,000	\$40 to \$3,000	\$15 to \$4,000

The average amount of money received from all sources by all workers reporting averaged just under \$600 for the year. The foreign born earned on the average \$120 more than the native-born worker. This is accounted for by the fact that so large a proportion of the native born were very young or in school and earned but little. Most of the foreign born were adults working steadily. The minors were largely included among those earning less than \$300. Those under 20 years of age earned an average of about three-sevenths as much as did those older, and it is probable that a smaller

proportion of them received perquisites. If those under 20 years of age in 1921 are eliminated from consideration, the earnings of American born and foreign born are about the same, averaging for all about \$730 for the year.

The earnings of heads of families averaged about \$790, or about \$60 more than for all over 20 years of age. Individual dependents often add materially to family earnings, although the average sum added thereby was approximately only \$50 per family. The cash earnings by the working members provided an average of \$214.48 for the expenses of every member of those families from which complete receipts were obtained. For families in which the heads were foreign born cash earnings ran only four-fifths as high as for those of the American born, because the average earnings of dependents were smaller and the families averaged nearly one person larger.

Such limited earnings, despite any probable additional value of perquisites, necessitate the strictest economy in family expenditures. There can be left little or no money for family comforts, recreation, or advancement, according to reasonable American standards of life. Such economic disadvantages force families of such low earning power to put their women and children to work to supplement the earnings of the father.

The remunerative work in which the wives of the farm workers interviewed had engaged in 1921 was in nearly half the cases domestic or personal service. Nearly as many had done farm work, and a few industrial work. The occupations of the children were slightly more varied; about half were in farm work and a quarter each in industrial work or domestic and personal service. Practically all wives were considered wholly dependent upon their husbands for support, even though occasionally earning; three wives of American born were partially self-supporting. Three-fourths of the workers' children were wholly dependent upon their parents for support. A slightly larger percentage of the children of foreign-born than of native-born workers were found to be earning something. They were usually forced to work by the family need for more money than the father could earn.

Considerable difficulty was found in getting estimates of the earnings of workers' dependents. The earnings, especially of younger children and wives, were frequently pooled with those of the family when farmers paid them off, and thus were unknown. In the cases of 58 dependents reported, the average amount earned by each from all sources was \$218.19. The wives earned an average of \$183.45, about half of it in farm work; the children earned \$252.93, nearly all in agriculture. Most of these earnings were turned into the family funds.

Farm employees were asked if they had bank accounts, life insurance, and title to real estate. Values or amounts were not asked. (Table 11.) Three persons in 10 who reported had no savings whatever. Half had life insurance, the most commonly reported form of savings; two-thirds of the interviewed children of the ages 8 to 15 had been insured by their parents. One-third of the workers had bank accounts, usually savings accounts. One in 10 held title to real estate. The real estate owned varied in character from city dwellings in Pennsylvania or New Jersey to cheap farm lands in Southern

States. In about half the instances at least gardens were grown on the land, but in most such cases there seemed to be no opportunity for producing any large part of the family food needs. About one person in four had two or more types of savings. A somewhat larger proportion of American born than of foreign born had saved.

TABLE 11.—*Savings and property of farm employees*

Kind of savings	American born	Foreign born	All laborers
None.....	129	76	205
Bank accounts.....	55	24	79
Life insurance.....	170	32	202
Real estate.....	8	11	19
Bank accounts and life insurance.....	89	18	107
Bank accounts and real estate.....	10	3	13
Life insurance and real estate.....	10	10	20
Bank accounts, life insurance, and real estate.....	16	7	23
Total.....	487	181	668

PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

Two-thirds of the farm employees manifested a general liking for farm work, half of whom gave no reasons for it other than that they liked the work. Others gave such reasons as preference for outdoor life, healthfulness of the work, and cheaper living expenses in the country. One-fifth of the workers had little or no liking for farm work, giving reasons such as that it was too hard and dirty, that employment in it was unsteady in winter, that its pay was low, and that it held no future for an ambitious person. Some had distinct preferences for other work. Some workers expressed a qualified liking for farm work. For some it was a preferred summer occupation, and a few had found that it and other occupations made good combinations for earning a living.

Two-thirds of those interviewed had no ambition to rent or own and operate a farm. An occasional employee liked agricultural work and intended to stay in it, but considered he had a good reason for not caring to own, such as the seeming impossibility of saving sufficient capital with which to begin farm operations. One man of apparent intelligence very definitely preferred to remain a farm hand rather than to incur a farm operator's risks. A few persons were found who hoped to achieve tenure to the extent of renting farm land. One person in 12 who reported hoped to become a farm tenant and to use that stage of tenure as a stepping stone to actual farm ownership. Twice as many hoped to become owners without first becoming tenants.

In most of the cases of persons hoping to become farm owners, the expectations were to reach the goal by saving money with which to acquire title. Only seldom did anyone hope to borrow the money with which to start. Occasionally a person claimed to have on hand sufficient money or already owned land with which to start farming when a favorable opportunity presented itself.

One-third of those interviewed, and old enough to have some idea of what they preferred to do for a living, stated they intended to

stay in agricultural work, most of them (especially the foreign born) to keep on as farm hands. Nearly one-third of the group intended to leave farm work, most of them either to return to work in which they had previously been engaged or to enter industrial employment. Almost as many had no idea whether they would stick to agriculture for a living or not. Many of this group were youngsters still in school and whose principal interests still lay in finishing their education. The adults were willing to go wherever wages and working conditions most attracted them.

FARM WORKING CONDITIONS

The working day for employees considered in this study averaged 10.2 hours in summer, 8.1 hours in winter. Working days on dairy farms averaged the longest both in summer and in winter. For summer work the 10-hour day was required on practically half the farms. The 9, 11, and 12 hour days were about equally common, each being reported by about one-eighth of the farms. In Salem County as many farmers were requiring in the summer days of 11 or 12 hours as of 10 hours. On over half of the reporting farms the work day in winter was 8 or 9 hours. On the others it varied greatly.

"Daylight saving," the summer advancement of local time one hour ahead of standard time, was general in the largely industrial northern part of the State, but in the predominantly agricultural sections to the south the use of standard time prevailed. "Daylight saving" is disliked by farmers because it so frequently necessitates working at a disadvantage in the wet of the early forenoon and losing one of the late afternoon hours most valuable of any in the day for much work. Even in northern New Jersey farmers in many rural localities were working their help on standard time in spite of the difficulties with those who preferred to work on "daylight saving" time as did nonagricultural workers in the vicinity.

The six-day week was the rule among farmers reporting. A few farmers granted their employees Saturday afternoon off. Regardless of the time worked by day or season hands, pieceworkers were often willing to work much longer on week days and also on Sunday in order to increase their earnings. On the other hand, on many days there was little or no chance to work because of weather or crop conditions.

About one-third of the New Jersey farmers ordinarily expect no help from their employees on Sunday; half of them expect some employees to do chores; a few need help preparing loads for Monday market. Much the same is true of holiday work expected. Some farmers and some farm hands, more usually the foreign born, pay little attention to American holidays, especially when farm work is crowding.

WAGES

Farmers in some districts in 1921 and 1922 attempted to stabilize farm-wage rates by setting a scale of wages through the county boards of agriculture before the farming season opened. The following is a copy of the wage recommendations of the Gloucester County Board of Agriculture in 1922:

The following recommendations are the outcome of the sectional meetings held for the purpose of discussing this question. Farmers are urged to use them as a basis in hiring help, as they did last year. These recommendations apply to Italians and other help.

Hour wage: Men, 20 cents per hour; women, 15 cents per hour.

Potatoes: Not to exceed 2 cents per basket.⁷

Tomatoes, can house: Not to exceed 2 cents per basket.

Early tomatoes: Not to exceed 3½ cents per basket in field.

Early tomatoes: Bag end of crop, 2½ cents per basket.

Cut asparagus: Not to exceed 35 cents per crate.

Cut and bunch asparagus: Not to exceed 65 cents per crate.

Peppers: Not to exceed 2½ cents per basket or hamper.

Pick strawberries: Not to exceed 2 cents per quart.

Crating and supervision: Not to exceed ½ cent added to above.

Top onions: Not to exceed 3 cents per basket in the field.

Bunch scallions: Not to exceed 25 cents per 100 bunches.

Beans and large peas: Not to exceed 12½ cents per basket.

Early peas: Not to exceed 15 cents per basket.

Single men by the month: \$25 and board.

Married men by week: \$10 to \$12 and house rent free.

This scale was intended to be what the farmers considered a fair wage for each type of work, and it was hoped that employers would insist upon workers accepting the rates set. The scale furnished a basis for bargaining at the first of the season, but in 1922 the farmers soon found the expected labor supply was not forthcoming at these rates. By July wages had risen in all cases and in some piecework labor actual payments were over double those set in the wage scale. Moreover, some farmers were found employing workers whose rates of pay had not been set, and which would doubtless not be set until toward the end of the season.

For work at other than harvest season, men's day wages averaged \$2.58 without board; \$2.50 was the wage most commonly paid. The few wage rates reported for women and minors averaged about \$1 less. Farmers boarded very few casual male farm hands at this time, and no women or minors.

During harvest (see Table 12) men's day wages without board went up 60 cents to an average of \$3.18; the most common rates were \$2.50 or \$3. Many farmers boarded help at harvest time. The most common day-wage rates with board were \$3, but some reporting farmers paid less, bringing the average down to \$2.50. There was an increase of wages at harvest time for women and minors: farmers then occasionally boarded these workers. These reports were in general supported by those of the employees themselves.

TABLE 12.—*Day wages at harvest, with and without board, for men, women, and minors on farms in New Jersey, 1922, as reported by employing farmers*

Class of employees	Type of farm					
	General	Truck	Dairy	Fruit	Potato	All farms
Men without board:						
Number of reports.....	53	59	5	27	4	148
Average wage.....	\$3.28	\$3.05	\$3.40	\$2.67	\$6.93	\$3.18
Most common wage.....	\$3.00	\$3.00	\$3.00	\$2.50	-----	\$2.50 or \$3.00
Men with board:						
Number of reports.....	45	17	2	1	0	65
Average wage.....	\$2.64	\$2.04	\$3.00	\$3.00	-----	\$2.50
Most common wage.....	-----	\$3.00	-----	-----	-----	\$3.00

⁷ Basket equals five-eighths bushel.

TABLE 12.—*Day wages at harvest, with and without board, etc.*—Continued

Class of employees	Type of farm					
	General	Truck	Dairy	Fruit	Potato	All farms
Women without board:						
Number of reports.....	15	38	0	19	1	73
Average wage.....	\$2.58	\$2.68		\$2.23	\$6.00	\$2.59
Most common wage.....		\$2.50		\$2.00		\$2.00 or \$2.50
Women with board: ¹						
Number of reports.....	7	3	0	1	0	11
Average wage.....	\$2.13	\$2.33		\$2.00		\$2.17
Minors without board:						
Number of reports.....	9	43	2	11	2	67
Average wage.....	\$1.59	\$1.85	\$1.34	\$1.60	\$5.75	\$1.88
Most common wage.....						\$1.50
Minors with board: ¹						
Number of reports.....	6	2	0	1	0	9
Average wage.....	\$1.38	\$0.92		\$1.50		\$1.29

¹ Figures for most common wage can not be given because of the small number of cases reported.

Many pieceworkers, including adults, at times earned much less than average day wages, in some cases as low as \$1 per day.

The farmer's method of reckoning and payment of wages to casual labor was usually by the day or piecework. Each of these methods was used exclusively by one-fourth of the farmers reporting. Two-fifths of farmers used one of these methods together with some other method, such as by the hour, week, or month, but the last was seldom used. The method used varied somewhat with the type of farm, kind of work, and district. Alone, or with another method, piecework payment was the most common method employed on truck and potato farms. In fact it was used on all of the potato farms. Day rates were the rule on general farms and hour rates on fruit farms, but piecework rates were common on both. Piecework and hour rates were frequently necessary because of the irregularity of work. Migratory families working on piecework were often paid as a whole. Payment was made to the head of the family, or, sometimes in the case of Italians, through the padrone.

Regardless of the method their employers used in figuring it, three-fifths of the employees who gave information upon the subject stated they received their pay weekly; one-fifth were paid monthly. A few were paid daily, every two weeks or twice a month, on request or at the end of the job or season for which they were engaged. This last method applied especially to pieceworkers in harvest.

The practices of determining payments and of paying farm workers at the end of the season sometimes cause trouble. Farmers and employees occasionally do not or can not agree on the amounts the latter have earned; or at the end of a season of poor financial returns, the farmers may actually have difficulty in raising the money necessary to pay off their help. It sometimes takes the intervention of a third party to straighten matters out, especially if the workers are more or less illiterate foreign born.

Noncasual wage rates by the month for male farm hands averaged \$67.26 without board. The most common rate reported was \$65 per month. Wage rates with board for the same workers averaged \$41.38

per month; rates of \$30 or \$40 were equally common and together made up a third of the reports. In southern New Jersey both wage rates tended to drop below the State average. No decided differences in wage rates were shown between different types of farms.

Payment of wages to noncasual hands was usually by the month, though often by the week. Occasionally in harvest season a farmer had to change the usual method to a piecework basis to make the employee's wages equal to those paid casual workers.

The wages of foremen were usually quoted without board and the average rate was \$97.40 per month; with board, \$72.54 was the average. In half the cases actual wages were lower than the average, often decidedly so. Perquisites given were frequently of considerable additional value.

An occasional farmer was found to be paying a bonus or making other inducements of value to encourage greater efficiency or to hold his workers. Sometimes this took the form of an extra cash payment ranging from \$50 to \$100 at the end of the season or year to those who remained on the job. The practice of paying a higher wage rate to the more efficient workers was occasionally reported. Payment of wages upon a piecework basis was sometimes made for the same purpose. Occasionally a bonus system based upon a percentage of farm profits was reported.

PERQUISITES

The majority of hired farm workers received no perquisites in addition to their wages. Those received varied considerably, according to type of laborers employed, kind of farm upon which they were working, and local custom. Local American laborers sometimes received perquisites denied foreign-born or casual workers. On the other hand, as they were often at a distance from home the casual workers had to have rough shelters and limited privileges. General farmers could often supply a variety of farm products to their employees in contrast to specializing farmers, who could frequently supply much less.

Few reporting farmers in the districts studied gave perquisites to day laborers; car fares or transportation constituted most of those reported. Some farmers gave one or two meals daily.

The interviewed farm employees included both day hands and month hands. The latter received perquisites more frequently than did the former. As a whole, almost half of the workers reported that they received perquisites, three out of five of whom received board and room; laundry work as done in the farm home was included half the time that rooms were provided by employers. In Gloucester and Monmouth Counties the giving of a room without board was not uncommon, applying mostly to harvest labor and to foreign-born labor in particular.

One-fourth of the farmers reporting upon the item gave rent of some house (fig. 9) or shack (fig. 10) to employees and valued this privilege at an average of \$13.43 monthly. The range of such values from \$3 to \$50 indicates the wide variety of these accommodations. Values were decidedly below the average in southern New Jersey and were highest near New York City.

About one farmer in six gave fuel as a perquisite to some employees. Where a value was placed on it the average was \$5.67 per month.

Milk was given less frequently as a perquisite. Its value as estimated by the farmers reflected local conditions. In southern New Jersey, more distant from large consuming centers, its farm value was not over half that near New York. The average value from all reports was \$4.10 per month.

The average monthly value of fruit and vegetables given employees was reported as \$5.06. Many farmers gave their workers considerable quantities of their products to say nothing of what the workers frequently took for themselves. Many migratory hands get most of their food in this way while living on the farms.

FIG. 9.—Unusually good class of modern cottage for noncasual farm employees. One farmer had built two of these dwellings for his American year-round help as a means of holding a good class of labor. These farm homes and their surroundings were equal to those of many farm operators' homes in that part of the State. Each was occupied by a single family.

The remaining perquisites reported were varied in nature and value.

LIVING CONDITIONS

Occasionally farmers gave their men what they needed of the farms' products to prepare their own meals. Over half of the farmers reporting upon the subject boarded part or all their noncasual single farm hands in their own homes and provided them with sleeping quarters which varied from decent rooms in farm houses to the most meager accommodations in farm shacks or outbuildings. Casual laborers get poor accommodations more often than noncasuals. Occasionally the character of laborers hired for casual work such as potato picking in Monmouth County is such that some farmers will not allow them to stay on the farms overnight. They are then forced

to hunt shelter even in box cars on more or less distant railroad sidings. Sanitary accommodations were available to the farm hands on two-thirds of farms reporting on the matter. Half of these were separate from farm family accommodations. Farmers in southern New Jersey reported providing each type of accommodation more commonly than those in northern New Jersey.

Very few farmers reported providing shelter or other accommodations for families forming part of casual and occasionally of non-casual farm labor. Almost no farmers boarded those families. On the other hand, such families were likely to take for themselves what they needed of the farm crops. Sleeping quarters for them were usually in farm outbuildings or shacks which afforded the most meager accommodations. Into them one or more families, usually foreign born, with their children, were crowded with little or no

FIG. 10.—Shack occupied by an Italian couple employed as casual farm hands. This shack was used by a married Italian couple of an intelligent and well-Americanized type. Cooking was done on the old range under the shelter. The place was neat and clean. If it had not been that ill health prevented the husband's working at his usual occupation, this couple would never have left the city. This place offered them little inducement to remain on the farm.

chance for privacy and comfort (fig. 11). In some cases only a board set on edge marked off family spaces on the floor where straw and rough bedding were laid, whereas in other cases rough curtains were used. Old bedsteads were occasionally furnished. Some farmers had special shacks for such labor, others cleared out parts of barns or tool sheds which were used for other purposes most of the year.

Little protection is needed against heat or cold most of the time these workers are on the farms. Usually there was no protection against flies or mosquitoes, which are often very troublesome. Cooking facilities, often inadequate for the number using them, were sometimes afforded by old ranges set under the sheds or rough shelters or even in the open. At other times the workers had to construct rough open-air fireplaces from materials they could pick up. Water was frequently obtained from wells near the buildings, near which

the workers washed themselves and their clothing and dishes, and near which waste water was thrown. Sanitary facilities such as privies were sometimes conspicuous by their absence, and when found were usually primitive and inconveniently located with reference to the buildings the workers occupied.

Some employees were beginning to resent the necessity of using such limited accommodations, and some farmers recognized that better quarters were desirable and provided them (fig. 12) for foreign-born casual labor as well as for noncasual Americans.

For the families of married men living on the farms where they were employed, farmers not infrequently reported providing frame houses or cottages. These varied in type from old to comparatively new. Some were in poor repair. Conveniences furnished varied greatly. Some of the houses had been turned over to the farm hands by their employers who had built new and better houses for them-

FIG. 11.—Shack occupied by several families of migratory Italian farm hands. Several families were living in this small 1-room shack on the edge of an orchard. Cooking was done outdoors on a piece of sheet iron over a crude arch of stones which shows in the center and beyond the brush pile. (The man in the center was one of the party making the study.)

selves. In a few cases farmers had built dwellings as a means of securing and holding a good type of noncasual labor. (See fig. 9.)

Most farmers who provided their workers with houses gave them also garden space or such of farm products as were needed. The privilege of keeping small livestock, or a cow or a horse, or garage space; was occasionally granted.

RECREATION AND SOCIAL STANDING

The opportunity to get away from the farm to neighbors, town, church, or school, to find change of surroundings or to trade, is a matter of consideration for the contentment of farm employees as well as for the farm operator. Farm hands often let such consideration determine whether or not they will take a job, especially if their families are to accompany them. The average distance of the farms in this study from town or usual trading center was 1.9 miles;

from church 1.4 miles; and from school 1.1 miles; from nearest neighbor, 0.14 mile. Half the farms lay within 1.5 miles of town, 1 mile of church and school, and practically all within a quarter of a mile of a neighbor.

Nearly half of the farms lay on or near the routes of regular public conveyances, such as electric railroads or motor busses. Persons on the remaining farms were dependent upon their own means of travel. Occasionally farm employees had vehicles of their own, but in most cases the only way they could get about was to wait until they could ride with their employers or with some one else.

Over half of the farms were within easy reach of town or city public amusements. Most of these forms of recreation and sport, however, are typically American and to some extent are not available

FIG. 12.—New summer cabins of improved type for migratory Italian farm hands. A farmer, recognizing the need for decent quarters for the families of Italians working for him in summer, was erecting these cabins, each intended for a single family. Each structure was to be 14 by 39 feet and to contain three rooms with board floors. These cabins would furnish accommodations decidedly better than were usually provided for migratory labor

to the foreign born, because of the barriers of language differences and lack of inclination or ability to take part in them. There was no form of recreation for farm employees available within easy reach of a fourth of the farms. Sometimes there were not even others of their class with whom to associate. In southern New Jersey, community baseball clubs furnished frequent opportunity for diversion for all classes of American born.

Half of the farmers pass on to their farm hands part or all of the reading matter they take, especially daily papers; but this source of diversion is not used by those unable to read English or by a few who take no interest in reading.

The social position of most farm hands in the families of their employers and in the communities in which they worked was usually respectable, especially if they were residents. Very seldom was it

considered poor. Class distinction was frequently made, based upon such fundamentals as color, nationality, or the fact that workers were transients.

Class distinctions in the southern New Jersey farm family seem less marked than in that of the northern part of the State. In the former section farm help shares the family life much more than in the latter, partly owing to the necessity of boarding labor which could not otherwise be secured and kept at a distance from home. This characteristic was reflected in the family attitude toward children taken from charitable institutions. The southern New Jersey family usually referred to these children as "ours" or "one of us"; only questioning brought out their true status. In northern New Jersey, on the other hand, the distinction was commonly noted as a matter of course.

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT OF THE FARM LABOR SITUATION

Demand was found among New Jersey farmers for more and cheaper labor, which generally means lower standards of living and intelligence. However, intelligence is becoming more and more needful in farm operations. In the increasing use of machinery and need for care in producing and preparing perishable farm products for market, for instance, there is less and less opportunity for ignorant, unskilled workers.

Some farmers complained that the labor obtainable for agriculture is the scum of all labor; they added that if they could get a better class of help they would be willing to pay higher wages for it. It has been demonstrated in practice that if farmers generally would adopt a policy of differentiating wage rates in accordance with relative efficiency, they could attract a more desirable class of help. Furthermore, a better class of laborers could be attracted by offering steadier employment. A good man, especially a married man, needs steady work and assured pay. Married men, as a class, make the most dependable of workers.

Farmers who can use labor only part of the year are likely to be hardest pressed for help when they need it and to get only a poor class of labor. Other things being equal, the farmer who diversifies and can employ his laborers all the year can more easily secure and hold an efficient class of workers. With added crops and livestock some farmers might be able to provide year-round work for their help to mutual advantage.

As an element of the noncasual workers' compensation, the farmers should in more cases be prepared to give living accommodations. Single men might be given board and room. Payment to employees of a bonus or some other reward for workmanship or steadiness above the average is worthy of more general use.

For casual migratory labor many farmers could at reasonable expense provide new or alter existing structures to afford more acceptable quarters (fig. 12). These should provide decent privacy and greater comfort and convenience. At least minimum facilities for comfort and cleanliness, such as screening of openings against flies and mosquitoes, a serviceable cookstove under cover (and in large

camps more than one), provision for disposal of camp wastes, adequate and safe toilet facilities, should be provided.

Provision of a dwelling for year-round employees should be more widely recognized by farmers as a means of attracting and holding steady labor. Such a structure must be reasonably well built and conveniently arranged for the woman of the family. A wife dissatisfied with her home can do much to make her husband discontented with his job. (See fig. 9.)

There should be means of enforcing school attendance of children of farm workers, a difficult problem in connection with children of migratory families. Public financial aid to destitute families to enable them to keep their children in school might be advisable.

In the placing of at least noncasual labor, there is much need for a generally used method to bring together farm jobs and men well fitted for them, to the end that the employer may be better satisfied with his employee, the employee better satisfied with and more efficient on his job, and labor turnover lower. The development and use of trade tests as a means of determining in advance something of an applicant's fitness for his work would seem to be of decided advantage for these purposes. These tests would have to be varied to suit practices in different localities and types of agriculture.

Public employment offices are potentially better agents for fitting job and workers than private agencies by the very nature of their purposes and activities.

The same public agencies might also act as agents to disseminate practical advice and information as to means of improving working conditions on farms.

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March 24, 1925

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