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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

JAMES J. DAVIS, Secretary

CHILDREN'S BUREAU

GRACE ABBOTT, Chief

CHILDREN OF PRESCHOOL AGE IN GARY, IND.

PART I. GENERAL CONDITIONS AFFECTING
CHILD WELFARE

BY

ELIZABETH HUGHES

PART II. DIET OF THE CHILDREN

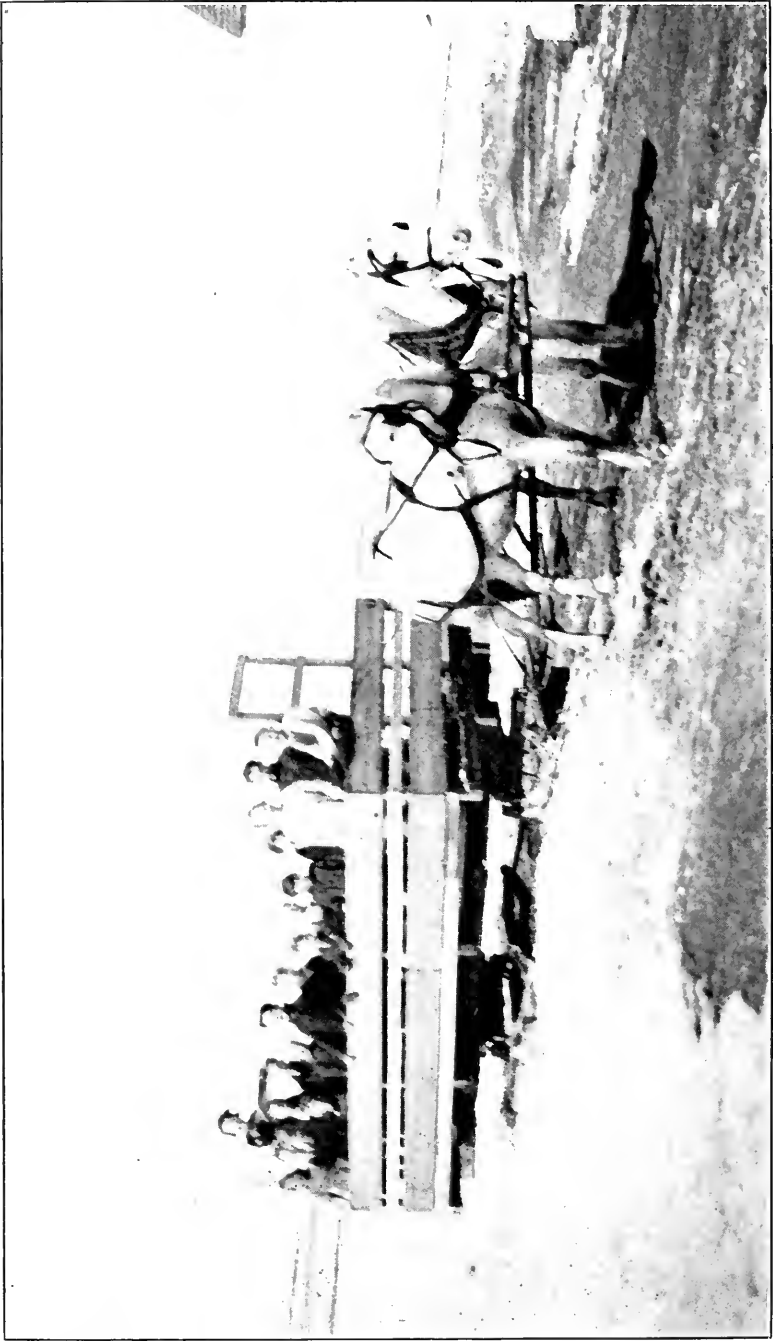
BY

LYDIA ROBERTS

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Bureau Publication No. 122



WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1922



A TYPICAL RURAL SCHOOL BUS.

A State law requires that transportation be furnished for children living more than 2½ miles from rural schools.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

JAMES J. DAVIS, Secretary

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GRACE ABBOTT, Chief

CHILD LABOR IN NORTH DAKOTA

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
CHILDREN'S BUREAU,
Washington, June 27, 1923.

SIR: There is transmitted herewith a report on Child Labor in North Dakota, the investigation for which was planned and carried on under the general supervision of Ellen Nathalie Matthews, director of the industrial division of the Children's Bureau. The information obtained as to rural child labor was analyzed by Ethel M. Springer and that relating to the work of city children by Harriet A. Byrne and Helen M. Dart.

The bureau acknowledges with appreciation the interest and cooperation of the chairman and members of the North Dakota Children's Code Commission, through whose initiative the survey was undertaken. Acknowledgment is made also of the assistance rendered by officials of the State agricultural college, especially by Dr. P. F. Trowbridge, of that institution, who furnished information regarding farm occupations; by officials of the State department of public instruction; and by city and county school superintendents and teachers.

Respectfully submitted.

GRACE ABBOTT, *Chief.*

HON. JAMES J. DAVIS,
Secretary of Labor.

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CHILD LABOR IN NORTH DAKOTA.

INTRODUCTION.

North Dakota is situated on the western edge of the great wheat belt of North America. Fertile plains watered by the Red River of the North and the James River and bearing rich wheat crops lie in the eastern part of the State, and beyond the Missouri River low hills and grazing lands stretch to the western boundary. The State covers a territory greater than the New England States and New Jersey, and the majority of its counties are as large as Rhode Island. Despite the fact that two generations have grown up since the pioneers came to the region it is still sparsely settled. The population of the whole State in 1920, according to the United States census, was 646,872, or only 9.2 persons to the square mile.¹ Over four-fifths of the population (86.4 per cent) were classified as rural.² Only three cities had 10,000 or more inhabitants; three had populations of from 5,000 to 10,000, and six had populations of from 2,500 to 5,000. The percentage of native-born whites at that time for the entire State was 78.6, and of foreign-born whites, 20.3, the percentage of foreign born in the urban population being 18.3 and in the rural population 20.6.³ The prevailing nationalities are the Scandinavian, Russian, Canadian, and German, constituting in 1920 84 per cent of the entire foreign-born population. The Russians who have settled in the southern counties of the State are from the southeastern sections of Russia, but speak German rather than Russian. Scandinavians predominate in the population of the northern and eastern counties, and Canadians are found principally along the northern boundary. Germans are located in the central and southern counties.

The Children's Bureau study of the extent and conditions of child labor in North Dakota is one of several surveys relating to child welfare in the State made by the bureau at the request of the North Dakota State Children's Code Commission. The study covered the largest three cities (Fargo, Grand Forks, and Minot), and six rural counties selected on the advice of members of the commission and other local officials as representative of agricultural conditions in

¹ Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Vol. I, Population, pp. 29, 122.

² All incorporated places having 2,500 inhabitants or more are treated as urban and the remainder of the country as rural. Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Vol. III, Population, p. 9.

³ Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Vol. III, Population, pp. 752-765.

the State as a whole. These were Pembina, in the extreme northeast, where land values are high and potato production extensive; Hettinger in the southwest, where the soil is poorer and less adapted to the cultivation of crops than to stock raising; Pierce and Stutsman, representing the central sections of the State, devoted largely to the cultivation of wheat; Logan County in the south, representing territory in which the percentage of non-English speaking population is high; and Dickey County, in which agricultural and social conditions are fairly typical of those in the southeastern part of the State.

Information as to the extent and kinds of work done by children was obtained by agents of the Children's Bureau through interviews with children in selected rural schools of these six counties. One hundred and thirteen schools were visited. The total number of children enrolled in the schools was 2,674.⁴ Of these, 1,992 between the ages of 6 and 17 were present when the schools were visited and were interviewed in regard to farm work. Detailed information was obtained from all children under 17 years of age who reported that they had during the year previous to the interview lived on a farm and done farm work for at least 12 days of 6 hours or more, or who, while attending school, customarily spent 3 hours or more a day at chores. In addition, a study was made of causes of absence from rural schools, based on reports secured from local teachers through the cooperation of the State superintendent of public instruction and the county superintendents.

The plan of study in the cities varied somewhat from that of the rural inquiry because of the differences in the kinds of work open to city children and the conditions under which they are employed. An inquiry into the extent and kinds of vacation work and employment before and after school was made by bureau agents by means of personal interviews with all children under 16 attending public schools in the three cities. In addition the establishments most likely to employ children were inspected, in order to ascertain the extent of child employment, especially during school hours. A brief inquiry was also made into the methods of administering the laws affecting child labor.

⁴ See p. 29.

WORK OF RURAL CHILDREN.

RURAL LIFE.

Practically all the farming country of North Dakota is laid out in sections 1 mile square, just as it was originally staked off in claims when the land was allotted by the Government to homesteaders. The size of farms, therefore, is ordinarily stated in terms of sections or parts of sections, the quarter section, or 160-acre division, being so usual that the expression is frequently heard: "He owns three and a half quarters," or "He has sold half a quarter." The average acreage per farm in the State as a whole was 466.1 in 1920;¹ for the group of farmers whose children came within the scope of the study the average was 503.3, and more than one-fourth held farms comprising one section (640 acres) or more of land.

A single farmhouse on a section inevitably means isolation. A farmer sometimes builds his house in the corner of his property nearest to other dwellings; but at best this gives him few neighbors, though the sense of isolation is doubtless somewhat lessened by the fact that the flat, treeless country makes it possible to see great distances, and buildings or villages 5 or 6 miles off seem only half as far away. Of the children included in the rural study more than one-half lived 5 miles or more, and almost one-tenth lived 10 miles or more, from town.

The oldest roads in North Dakota are known as "trails," and in the flat prairie country are sometimes merely beaten paths along the section lines, though many of them have been graded and put in good condition. Every county has at least one automobile road leading out from the county seat, but as the roads are comparatively few in number and as most of them run east and west, paralleling the two transcontinental railroads which cross the State, they are inadequate for the needs of the population. Automobile bus lines running east and west have been established between the principal cities, but connections between the north and south are not well developed. Automobiles have become almost indispensable and are owned by families possessing few other conveniences. Rural mail delivery as yet covers only a small portion of the State.

While the plain country does not have the transportation difficulties of a mountain region, it has its own dangers—winds which sweep violently across it, periods of intense dry cold, snowstorms, and

¹ Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Vol. VI, Part 1, Agriculture, Reports for States, the Northern States, p. 615.

occasionally sudden blizzards in which the snow swirls so thickly that it is impossible to see more than a few inches ahead and almost impossible to keep a foothold in the shifting, treacherous drifts. With the first rise in temperature in early spring the melting snows turn the barren fields into lakes, and for two or three weeks the floods make travel impossible. (See illustration facing p. 34.) These conditions make school attendance difficult and at times out of the question. Some of the teachers' registers in rural districts showed that on some days the schools had been closed because neither teacher nor children could reach the building. State officials and men with state-wide interests have adjusted themselves to the distances and to the uncertainties of the weather and are accustomed to make the rounds of the State despite the great sacrifice of time involved. Through business interests, lodges, or farm organizations practically all the important men and women of the State are personally acquainted with one another. "We are like a great family," said one of these men. The ordinary farmer, however, whose annual trip to town with his load of grain is his chief contact with the outside world, lives an isolated existence, and for the women and children who do not make the trips to town life is still more barren. Individuals in nearly every county commented on the lack of recreation for young persons in the rural districts. For many the church is the only center of social life.

Because many rural children live long distances from school the State provides transportation for those living more than $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles away, by furnishing it directly or by giving the family an allowance for this purpose. Nearly one-fifth of the rural children in the study lived more than $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles from school, including 38 children who traveled 4 miles or more each way.

Rural school buildings in North Dakota include some of the most modern types, and almost every school has at least a small school library; some have victrolas or other musical instruments, and some have simple play equipment. (See illustration facing p. 34.) Many buildings, however, are in run-down condition, unattractive, and insanitary. While comparatively few of the schools visited were equipped with inside toilets, the outbuildings containing privies were for the most part substantially built and in fair weather served well enough. Many of them had been neglected at the approach of cold and stormy weather, and consequently doors were frozen open and snow had sifted into the compartments, rendering it difficult and in some instances impossible to use them. The school water supply presented a serious problem. Wells became contaminated during the summer, and the pumps were frozen and broken in the winter. A well adequately protected from cold and contamination is so expensive that in the majority of districts all attempts to pro-



SOD HOUSES, STILL USED FOR DWELLINGS.



PROSPEROUS MODERN FARM.



TYPICAL PRAIRIE FARM BUILDING.

vide water on the school premises had been abandoned. Children brought bottles of water from home, or a pail of water was secured from the nearest farmhouse. At one school a mile away from the nearest water supply the teacher, who lived in the school building during the week, brought a 10-gallon can of water with her on Monday morning, and this water served teacher and eight or nine pupils for all purposes until Friday night.

On account of the great distances and the lack of timber throughout this part of the country, material for building purposes is scarce and expensive, but though the typical "claim shack," a one-room shanty constructed of rough boards and tarred paper, and even sod houses built by the pioneer homesteaders, are still seen, they are rapidly giving place to larger and better houses. The typical farmhouse of to-day is of wood, one or two stories high, and containing from four to six rooms. The average size of the farmhouses in which the rural children of the study lived was six rooms; eight persons constituted the average household. Congestion in some of the houses was very great, as shown by the fact that about one-sixth of the children came from homes in which there were more than two persons per room; 50 children, or 6 per cent of the group studied, lived with households of more than 3 persons per room. The house in which one Russian-German family consisting of 10 persons lived was a primitive building of stone chinked with mud, one story in height, and consisting of three small square rooms arranged in a row. Only one-third of the children lived in dwellings in which there were as many rooms as there were persons; it was not unusual in the small farmhouses for beds or cots to be set up in the kitchen or living room. Although it was customary at the approach of winter to add double doors and windows, to sheath the house below the window sills with tarred paper, and to bank the sides all around with dirt or manure, the extreme cold of winter weather sometimes makes it impossible, even with these precautions, for a family to use all the rooms in the house, and mothers often made up beds for their children on the floor around the kitchen stove. Modern equipment, such as windmills, indoor water supply, telephones, and electric appliances, had been added to the farmhouses as the prosperity of the owners permitted. (See illustration facing p. 4.)

No attempt was made in the present study to ascertain the financial status of the farmers whose children reported working on the farms. Five hundred and ninety-one, or 69.9 per cent of them, were the children of farm owners, and 195, or 23.1 per cent, the children of tenants;² but there appears to be no marked distinction

² According to the census of 1920, 73.3 per cent of the farms of North Dakota were operated by their owners and 25.6 per cent by tenants. Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Vol. VI, Part I, Agriculture, Reports for States, the Northern States, pp. 19, 35, 618.

between the two classes. Tenants may be men of comfortable income, while owners may be men barely able to keep the land which they secured as homesteads. Many farmers in North Dakota are undoubtedly suffering from overspecialization of their crops in wheat, resulting in depleted fertility of the soil. Others have met with financial loss through unfavorable weather conditions which have damaged or destroyed their crops. In some cases, however, mortgages on land and crops have held men to their farms when the prospect seemed utterly discouraging. "Too poor to move" was the plight of some. The undaunted optimism of the men on the farms and of their financial supporters in the towns, however, is a safeguard to the State's development. "These heavy snows mean better crops," the remark of a man whose cattle were dying from starvation, is symbolic of the spirit of the State.

FIELD WORK DONE BY CHILDREN.

Eight hundred and forty-five children reported that they had worked on a farm during the year preceding the inquiry. (See Table I.) About 69 per cent of the workers were boys, and of those under 10 years of age, the boys outnumbered the girls 3 to 1. Children under 10 years of age (124) constituted 15 per cent of the total; those between the ages of 11 and 14 years, inclusive, 62 per cent; while the percentage of children 15 and 16 years of age was 14. The comparatively small proportion of older children is due to the fact that only a small number of children of these ages were attending school when the information was obtained. The working children formed 42.4 per cent of all the children between the ages of 6 and 17 who were seen by the bureau agents in the schools. Proportionately more of the older children than of the younger reported having worked. Of 435 children 6 and 7 years of age, 6.4 per cent, and of 414 children 8 and 9 years of age, 23.2 per cent, had worked; in each higher age group the proportion of working children increased, until of the 14 and 15 year old boys and girls, 74.7 per cent reported that they had worked.

All except 29 of the children who reported farm work had worked in the fields. The various kinds of field work reported by children are shown in Tables III and IV, which show also the numbers of children working and their ages. Certain processes which are the same regardless of the crop are listed as "general processes"; but operations which vary with the kinds of crops have been discussed in connection with the handling of the specific crop.

TABLE I.—*Proportion of children interviewed working on farms, by age.*

Age of children.	Children 6 to 16 years of age.		
	Total interviewed.	Total working.	
		Number.	Per cent.
Total.....	11,992	845	42.4
6 years, under 8.....	435	28	6.4
8 years, under 10.....	414	96	23.2
10 years, under 12.....	420	213	50.7
12 years, under 14.....	393	265	67.4
14 years, under 16.....	273	204	74.7
16 years, under 17.....	57	39	68.4

† Includes only children of same ages as those working.

TABLE II.—*Age of children working on farms, by sex.*

Age of child.	Children 6 to 16 years of age.		
	Total.	Boys.	Girls.
Total.....	845	581	264
6 years, under 7.....	8	5	3
7 years, under 8.....	20	14	6
8 years, under 9.....	38	29	9
9 years, under 10.....	58	46	12
10 years, under 11.....	85	64	21
11 years, under 12.....	128	90	38
12 years, under 13.....	125	75	50
13 years, under 14.....	140	97	43
14 years, under 15.....	123	75	53
15 years, under 16.....	76	53	18
16 years, under 17.....	39	28	11

Generally speaking the kinds of field work reported by the largest numbers of children were the simplest—hauling of all kinds, raking hay, hoeing, and shocking grain. (See Table IV.) As a rule younger children did only the simpler kinds of work. An exception may be noted, however, in the case of plowing, which, though it can not be classed as light work, was reported by almost half the children.

Table VIII shows for each group reporting any specified kind of work the number and percentage of children under 10 years of age. It will be seen that the younger children in large numbers did such work as picking up potatoes, picking and husking corn, shocking grain, and driving header boxes. Boys as young as 6 years and girls of 7 and 8 did some of these kinds of work. While the work of most of the younger children was of a kind that did not require the use of machinery, nor, except in the case of driving a header box, necessitate the handling of horses, some young children did the simpler operations involving the use of farm implements; boys as young as 7 years and girls as young as 10 years reported driving stackers or hay forks, raking hay, and spike harrowing. A few young children also—boys of 8 and girls of from 10 to 12 years of age—used the heavier farm implements such as plows, cultivators, and mowing machines; but no child under 10 had operated a corn planter, a corn binder, or a grain header.

General processes.

Plowing.—Plowing was one of the most common kinds of field work done by the children included in the study. It was continued for greater lengths of time than most other kinds of work and was probably the operation which most interfered with school attendance, inasmuch as many children withdrew early from school in the spring because of spring plowing and many entered late because of fall plowing. More accidents also were reported in connection with the use of plows than in connection with operating or handling any other

kind of farm implement. Nearly one-half the children (361 boys and 54 girls) had done plowing. (See Table IV.) The type of plow most used in North Dakota, according to information furnished by the State agricultural college, is the horse-drawn double-gang plow. The worker lifts the plows from the ground by means of a foot lever and regulates their depth by means of hand levers. A majority of the children had worked with two-share plows and a majority with five or more horses. Although most of them were 12 years of age or over (see Table III) boys only 7 and 8 years of age reported that they had plowed.

TABLE III.—Kinds of field work done by children working on farms, by age.

Kind of field work.	Children 6 to 16 years of age who did each specified kind of field work.											
	Total.	6 years, under 7.	7 years, under 8.	8 years, under 9.	9 years, under 10.	10 years, under 11.	11 years, under 12.	12 years, under 13.	13 years, under 14.	14 years, under 15.	15 years, under 16.	16 years, under 17.
Total.....	845	8	20	38	58	85	128	125	140	128	76	39
General processes:												
Plowing.....	415		1	4	11	38	54	58	80	86	54	29
Disking.....	215			3	4	11	27	26	41	52	34	14
Harrowing (spike).....	347		1	5	14	26	49	46	75	67	42	22
Cultivating (any type).....	263			3	2	14	27	40	54	59	42	22
Hoeing.....	447		6	11	25	43	80	70	97	65	33	17
Hauling.....	487		2	10	19	40	73	85	95	85	51	27
Handling corn crops:												
Corn planting.....	27					1	1	3	5	8	4	5
Cutting corn by hand.....	23				2	3	5	1	4	4	4	1
Driving corn binder.....	33					1	5	1	7	9	6	4
Picking corn.....	201	1	1	6	22	18	25	25	40	33	14	13
Husking corn.....	146	1	2	6	3	16	21	22	25	30	12	8
Handling grain:												
Grain drilling.....	156				1	3	11	24	26	39	31	21
Driving grain binder.....	117			1	1		7	13	24	39	20	12
Shocking.....	418	1	6	14	25	37	69	58	71	77	39	21
Driving header.....	26						1	3	5	4	7	6
Driving header box.....	205	2	3	12	20	23	35	36	33	15	22	4
Loading header box.....	64			1	2	1	10	13	13	16	5	3
Stacking grain.....	53					3	3	10	12	9	9	7
Hauling bundles to threshing machine.....	79			2	3	3	4	7	12	17	19	12
Pitching bundles to threshing machine.....	108			1	2	5	7	8	15	27	27	16
Loading threshed grain.....	68		2	3	5	7	16	8	13	9	3	2
Handling hay or forage:												
Mowing.....	359			4	9	24	51	51	70	70	54	26
Raking.....	435		1	6	18	36	70	67	87	67	41	25
Driving stacker or hay fork.....	105	1	2	2	9	12	22	14	25	15	3	.....
Stacking hay.....	134				5	6	13	17	26	33	21	13
Pitching hay.....	108			1	5	8	12	12	18	25	17	10
Picking up potatoes.....	369	3	8	23	32	51	51	53	53	55	31	9

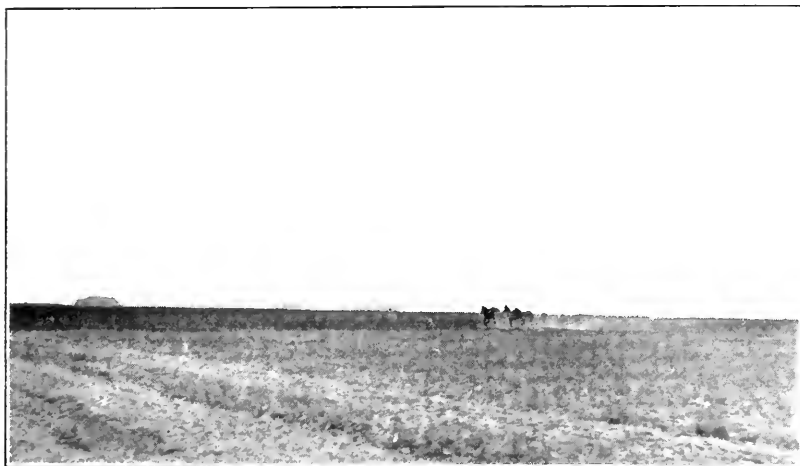
TABLE IV.—*Kinds of field work done by children working on farms, by sex.*

Kind of field work.	Children 6 to 16 years of age who did each specified kind of field work.					
	Total.		Boys.		Girls.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Total.....	845	100.0	581	100.0	264	100.0
General processes:						
Plowing.....	415	49.1	361	62.1	54	20.5
Disking.....	215	25.4	198	34.1	17	6.4
Harrowing (spike).....	347	41.1	312	53.7	35	13.3
Cultivating.....	263	31.1	244	42.0	19	7.2
Hoeing.....	447	52.9	314	54.0	133	50.4
Hauling.....	487	57.6	397	68.3	90	34.1
Handling of corn crops:						
Corn planting.....	27	3.2	25	4.3	2	.8
Cutting corn by hand.....	23	2.7	20	3.4	3	1.1
Driving corn binder.....	33	3.9	32	5.5	1	.4
Picking corn.....	201	23.8	139	23.9	62	23.5
Husking corn.....	146	17.3	111	19.1	35	13.3
Handling grain:						
Grain drilling.....	156	18.5	146	25.1	10	3.8
Driving grain binder.....	117	13.8	110	18.9	7	2.7
Shocking.....	418	49.5	318	54.7	100	37.9
Driving header.....	26	3.1	25	4.3	1	.4
Driving header box.....	205	24.3	131	22.5	74	28.0
Loading header box.....	64	7.6	45	7.7	19	7.2
Stacking grain.....	53	6.3	47	8.1	6	2.3
Hauling bundles to threshing machine.....	79	9.3	73	12.6	6	2.3
Pitching bundles to threshing machine.....	108	12.8	102	17.6	6	2.3
Loading threshed grain.....	68	8.0	54	9.3	14	5.3
Handling hay or forage:						
Mowing.....	359	42.5	317	54.6	42	15.9
Raking.....	418	49.5	331	57.0	87	33.0
Bucking.....	109	12.9	102	17.6	7	2.7
Driving stacker or hay fork.....	105	12.4	84	14.5	21	8.0
Stacking hay.....	134	15.9	114	19.6	20	7.6
Pitching hay.....	108	12.8	85	14.6	23	8.7
Picking up potatoes.....	369	43.7	246	42.3	123	46.6

Fifty boys and five girls reported that they had plowed for one month or more during the year covered by the study, and probably the number would have been larger if more children had been able to state definitely the number of days they had done the work. One boy of 15 had operated a two-share plow drawn by five or six horses for two and one-half months. Another boy, 13 years of age, whose school record showed that he had not entered school until November 14, 23 days after it had opened, said that he had plowed "all the fall till the ground froze." One 13-year-old girl had plowed for four weeks with a two-share plow drawn by five horses, and her sister, 15 years of age, had done the same sort of work for three weeks.

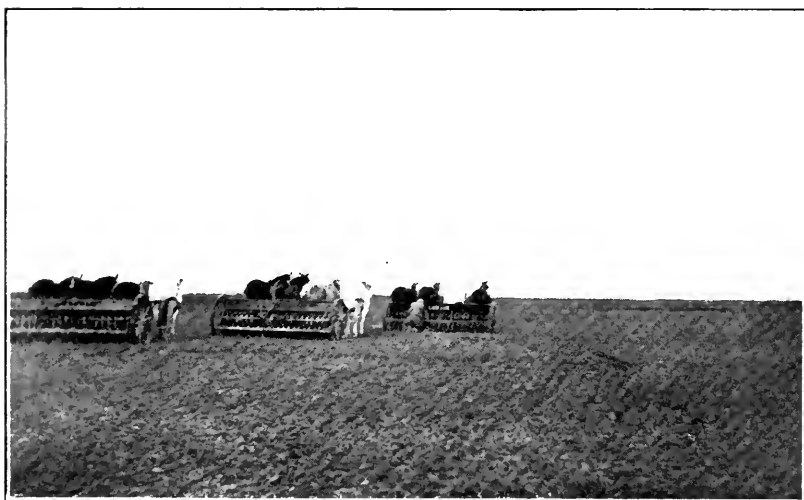
Plowing is dangerous as well as heavy work for children. Many told of being thrown from plows.¹ Short of stature and light in weight, sitting with feet dangling from the saddle of the plow, they have little chance of escaping a fall if the plow jolts over a stone or comes to a sudden stop. In plowing wet lands where the plows clog there is danger that the operator will be cut by disks or run over while

¹ See p. 27.



HARROWING OR "DRAGGING"

One of the most frequently reported kinds of farm work among children included in the study. Note dust stirred up by feet of horses and teeth or spikes of machine.



DRILLING.

Reported by 19 per cent of the children included in the study.



cleaning the shares or moldboards, especially when flies make the horses restive.

TABLE V.—Age and sex of children under 17 years of age plowing, by type of plow used.

Age and sex.	Total working children.	Children plowing.							Children not plowing.	
		Total.	Type of plow used.							
			1-share.	2-share.	3 and 4 share.	5 and 6 share.	Disk plow.	More than one type.		Type of plow not reported.
Total.....	845	415	45	312	11	2	5	19	21	430
Under 10 years.....	124	16	4	11					1	108
10 years, under 15.....	606	316	36	234	10	1	5	12	18	290
15 years and over.....	115	83	5	67	1	1		7	2	32
Boys.....	581	361	36	273	10	2	5	18	17	220
Under 10 years.....	94	16	4	11					1	78
10 years, under 15.....	401	272	28	204	9	1	5	11	14	129
15 years and over.....	86	73	4	58	1	1		7	2	13
Girls.....	264	54	9	39	1			1	4	210
Under 10 years.....	30									30
10 years, under 15.....	205	44	8	30	1			1	4	161
15 years and over.....	29	10	1	9						19

Disking.—Of the group of children studied 215 children (198 boys and 17 girls), or 25 per cent, reported disking or turning the soil by means of disks or circular shares. (See Table IV.) One hundred and eighty-five children, 86 per cent of those who had done any disking, had worked with three or four horses; five boys had driven tractors. Disking is considered by agricultural specialists as more hazardous than plowing because of the fact that ground to be disked is practically always rough, and there is danger that the worker may be thrown under the disks. Although the machines vary in size they are of one type; the driver regulates the depth of the disks by hand levers operated from his seat. Often the disks are weighted and used to roll down freshly broken sods by driving over the field crosswise, work that is dangerous even for an adult.

The ages of the children who had disked ranged from 8 years upward. In spite of the hazards of this work, more than half the children reporting it were under 14 years of age.

Harrowing.—In the districts visited the customary treatment of the ground after plowing is harrowing by means of a spiked "drag" or harrow. More than two-fifths of the children included in the study had harrowed, and all except four had used the spike harrow. While the operator of the spike harrow is ordinarily safe enough, as he rides horseback, or walks, or sits in a seat on a platform or small "rig" behind the harrow, the work involves discomfort, for the worker

is surrounded by a cloud of dust (see illustration facing p. 10); and, if he is walking, the continued tramping over soft ground is exhausting. Hamlin Garland in "A Son of the Middle Border" has thus graphically described his experience as a boy in doing this work: "Dragging is even more wearisome than plowing, in some respects, for you have no handles to assist you and your heels sinking into the soft loam bring such an unwonted strain upon the tendons of your legs that you can scarcely limp home to supper, and it seems that you can not possibly go on another day." When the harrow becomes filled with weeds or rubbish the driver must stop and clean the teeth by lifting the sections of the harrow. In all, 347 children (312 boys and 35 girls) had driven spike harrows, 5.8 per cent of them under 10 years of age. (See Table VI.) The methods of operating were fairly evenly divided between walking and riding; the majority had driven three and four horses.

TABLE VI.—Age of children under 17 years of age doing spike harrowing, by number of horses used.

Age of child.	Total working children.	Children doing spike harrowing.						Children doing no spike harrowing.
		Total.	Number of horses used.				Driving tractor.	
			1 and 2 horses.	3 and 4 horses.	5 horses and over.	Number horses not reported.		
Total.....	845	347	32	217	82	14	2	498
Under 10 years.....	124	20	6	11	.....	3	.....	104
10 years, under 15.....	606	263	23	160	67	11	2	343
15 years and over.....	115	64	3	46	15	.....	.....	51

Cultivating.—Two hundred and sixty-three children reported cultivating as a part of their field work. It is hard work, as the worker's seat is above the row to be cultivated and he must, by swaying his body and pushing with his feet, so guide the two sets of shovels on the cultivator (one on each side of the row) that they will pass near the hills or rows without injuring them. The shovel cultivator is used almost exclusively in North Dakota rather than the disk or spiked-tooth cultivator. One hundred and eighty-two (69 per cent) of the children reporting cultivating had used a one-row cultivator; the others a two-row or other type of implement. (See Table VII.) The so-called Canadian cultivator, found in Pembina County, differs from the ordinary cultivator in being used upon fallow ground, so that from some points of view the work of the 25 children reporting that they used this machine might be classed as harrowing.

The ages of the children who reported cultivating ranged somewhat higher than those of children reporting plowing, disking, or harrowing. Only 2 per cent of the children who had cultivated were under

10 years of age; 17.5 per cent were under 12. (See Tables III and VIII.)

TABLE VII.—*Type of cultivator used, by sex of child.*

Type of cultivator used.	Children under 17 years of age cultivating.		
	Total.	Boys.	Girls.
Total.....	263	244	19
1-row cultivator.....	182	169	13
2-row cultivator.....	30	27	3
Hand cultivator.....	2	2	.....
Canadian cultivator.....	25	22	3
More than one kind.....	7	7	.....
Type not reported.....	17	17	.....

Hoeing.—More than half the children included in the study had hoed. Most of the hoeing was done in connection with the home garden, the care of which, in some instances, was intrusted entirely to the children of the family. (See Table III.) Nearly one-tenth of the children reporting this work were under 10 years of age. (See Table VIII.)

Hauling.—Hauling was likewise one of the tasks which fell frequently to the lot of the younger members of the family. In some cases it meant trips back and forth across the farm, moving hay, straw, or grain; in other instances, longer trips to town with threshed grain, or return trips with loads of "feed." Not infrequently the child who hauled was expected to help with loading or unloading the wagon, pitching, lifting, or shoveling, as the case might be.

Fifty-eight per cent (487) of the children had done hauling, 144, or 29.6 per cent, of them being under 12 years of age. (See Table III.) Fifty of the 252 children who could give definite information as to the number of days they had done the work had hauled for two weeks or more. Of these, seven had hauled for at least one month.

Handling corn crops.

Because relatively little corn is grown in North Dakota, comparatively few children reported handling corn crops. Only 27 had used a corn planter. (See Table IV.) Probably the 30 children who had used two-row cultivators (see p. 12) were cultivating corn, though information on cultivating was not secured by crops. Only 33, including one girl 14 years of age, had used a corn binder. Both the corn binder and the corn planter are complicated machines, and the majority of those who reported using them were 14 years of age or older. A few (23) had cut corn by means of hand tools.

Picking corn was much more frequently reported than any other work in connection with corn crops. The ear of corn is broken off from the stalk by hand, sometimes by loosening the corn from the husk as it is broken off, sometimes by breaking off the unhusked ear,

and is thrown upon the ground, to be gathered later, or tossed into a receptacle or wagon. This is one of the simplest kinds of work on the farm and had been done by 201 of the children, including one boy 6 years and two girls 8 years of age. Fifteen per cent of the children who had picked corn, a relatively high proportion, were under 10 years of age. (See Table VIII.)

Husking corn was reported by only 146 children, not including those who had husked incidentally in connection with chores and feeding stock.

TABLE VIII.—*Proportion of children under 10 years of age doing each specified kind of field work.*

Kind of field work.	Children 6 to 16 years of age.		
	Total.	Under 10 years.	
		Number.	Per cent. ¹
Driving header box.....	205	37	18.0
Picking up potatoes.....	369	66	17.9
Picking corn.....	201	30	14.9
Driving stacker or hay fork.....	105	14	13.3
Shocking.....	418	46	11.0
Hoing.....	447	42	9.4
Husking corn.....	146	12	8.2
Hauling.....	487	31	6.4
Raking hay.....	418	25	6.0
Harrowing.....	347	20	5.8
Pitching hay.....	108	6	5.6
Plowing.....	415	16	3.9
Stacking hay.....	134	5	3.7
Mowing.....	359	13	3.6
Bucking hay.....	109	4	3.7
Disking.....	215	7	3.3
Pitching bundles to threshing machines.....	108	3	2.8
Cultivating.....	263	5	1.9
Driving grain binder.....	117	2	1.7
Grain drilling.....	156	1	.6
Corn planting.....	28		
Driving corn binder.....	34		
Driving header.....	26		

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.

Handling grain.²

North Dakota has a larger acreage in barley and rye than any other State, is surpassed only by Kansas in its wheat acreage, and ranks fifth in the number of its acres devoted to the raising of oats.³ In 1919 according to the United States census, 62 per cent of the improved land of the State was used for raising grain crops.⁴ Hence, it is not surprising that the handling of grain is the field work which figures most largely in the lives of the children. (See Tables III and IV.)

² For the purposes of this report "grain" means oats, wheat, barley, rye, millet if threshed and not used for forage, and flaxseed. Although a few children reported handling seed flax somewhat differently from other grains, on the whole, so far as the children's work is concerned, variations in method were insignificant.

³ Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Vol. VI, Part I, Agriculture, Reports for States, The Northern States, pp. 70, 71.

⁴ Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Vol. VI, Part I, Agriculture, Reports for States, The Northern States, p. 624. The acreage for millet is not reported and is therefore not included in this percentage.

Planting grain.—It was the general impression in the State that very little planting was done by children, and many of the children included in the study said that planting or drilling was "dad's job." Nevertheless, 156 (19 per cent) reported that they had operated grain drills. In handling these machines the operator regulates from his seat, by means of hand levers, the depth at which the seed is to be planted; he watches the drills to see that all work properly, and he fills the seed box from time to time. He is obliged to lift heavy sacks of seed and usually must manage three or four horses. (See illustration facing p. 10.) The great majority of the children who reported drilling were 14 years of age or older, and no child younger than 9 reported drilling during the year of the study. (See Table III.)

Harvesting grain with binder.—Grain is commonly harvested with a binder. The worker controls the machine by means of various levers. He must oil the parts frequently, and if the ground is uneven he may have to regulate the height of the cutter. Running a grain binder is considered by farmers to be rather easy work, especially if another worker drives the machine with a tractor, and it is not considered particularly dangerous unless the ground is rough. Accidents sometimes occur, however, to persons oiling or adjusting the binders, especially when in front of or under the machine.

Grain binders had been operated by 117 children, including nine boys under 12 years of age and two girls of 12, the majority of the children, however, being boys 14 years of age or older. The majority of the children had operated binders driven by four horses; 15 had operated binders driven by tractors, 9 of whom had driven tractors and 6 of whom had controlled the binder while some one else drove.

Shocking.—Following the binders in their progress across the harvest field are the shockers, who stand the bundles together on end to protect the grain from the weather. This is a task frequently given to children. Almost half the children included in the study (418) had done shocking, more than half the boys and an unusually large percentage of the girls. Moreover, the group included a relatively large number of children under 10 years of age—46, or 11 per cent. (See Table VIII.) Of the 288 children who were able to give the number of days they had worked at shocking 132 had worked at least two weeks, 14 of them having shocked regularly for a month or more.

Harvesting grain with header.—Although the machine most commonly used in North Dakota for harvesting grain is the grain binder, in some districts visited grain was harvested by means of headers, the difference between the two machines being slight except for an additional device on the grain binder for bundling. The header was said by experts at the State agricultural college to be too complicated

a machine for a boy under 15 years of age to operate, but of the 25 boys reporting that they had harvested grain with a header 13 were under 15. The only girl reporting the work was 16 years of age. None of the children who had worked on a header during the year covered by the study were under 10. (See Table III.) In driving headers children usually had to manage four horses; none reported working on headers drawn by tractors.

Grain harvested by means of headers is not bound but is tossed by the machine over a roller into the header box, a rack with one side lower than the other so that it may travel close to the header in a position well under the roller. The header box, drawn by two horses, must proceed at the same rate of speed as the header in order to maintain a position in which it can catch the grain. As soon as one header box is filled, another is driven up to take its place. Driving the header box was reported by almost one-fourth of the children included in the study, including a relatively large number of young children. Twenty-seven of the boys and 10 of the girls were under 10 years of age. (See Table III.) With animals accustomed to the work little skill is required of the driver. Sometimes a child not only controls the horses but loads the box, that is, adjusts or levels the grain as it falls from the header. Loading header boxes was reported by 64 children, 19 of whom were girls. More often the loading is done by an older child or an adult, while a young child holds the reins. In this case the person loading is the one to drive the header box away when filled, and in the interim between the removal of one box or rack and the arrival of the next the small driver sits perched aloft upon the arm of the header. Two children reported that they had been injured by falling from header boxes.⁵

Stacking grain.—Stacking grain was reported by only 6 per cent of the children, 47 boys, ranging in age from 10 to 16 years, and 6 girls of from 12 to 16 years. It is work requiring both strength and skill, for the foundation of the stack must be properly laid and the bundles of grain placed in such a way as to shed water and protect as much of the pile as possible from rain. In every case the children reporting that they had stacked grain had actually set up the stack and properly adjusted the grain as it was pitched. The number does not include any who only led out the horses drawing the fork of stacking machines.⁶

Threshing.—Work done by children during the threshing season included hauling water or straw for engines, hauling bundles to machines, pitching to the threshing machine, loading or leveling with a shovel the threshed grain, hauling grain to granaries or elevators, and unloading grain at elevators or freight trains. (See Table IV.)

⁵ See p. 66.

⁶ See p. 18.

Hauling bundles to the threshing machine, reported by 73 boys and 6 girls, the majority of whom were at least 14 years of age, has been differentiated from other hauling because of the danger involved when the wagon draws close to the machine. Very frequently the person who hauls the bundles also pitches them or feeds them into the machine.

Pitching bundles of grain into the machine is a heavy job, one which requires strength and skill and usually represents continuous work for long hours over a considerable number of days. The worker pitches the bundles to a moving belt which carries them under a set of moving knives that cut the binding twine and spread out the bundles. He works in such close proximity to rapidly moving machinery that he is in danger of being caught by knives, belts, or other parts of the machine. It was said that very few children would be found pitching to threshing machines, but 108, or 13 per cent, of the children studied said that they had done this work. The majority of these children (64.8 per cent) were 14 years of age or older. (See Table III.) Eleven children reported that they had done the work for one month or over and 23, for from two weeks to one month. (See Table IX.)

Loading threshed grain, reported by 54 boys and 14 girls, consists of leveling the grain with a shovel as it pours into a wagon from the thresher. It is a dusty, fatiguing job. Most of the children who reported it were 12 years of age or younger. (See Table III.) Very few had unloaded threshed grain, inasmuch as men were customarily on hand to care for the grain when it reached the cars or elevators.

Not strictly a threshing job but closely associated with the hurry and excitement of the threshing season is the cooking which girls and women do on "cook carts." (See illustration facing p. 26.) The women are a part of the regular threshing crew, many of them sleeping in the carts at night. Nine of the girls included in the study reported that during the previous season they had done this work. Three of them were under 13 years of age. (See Table XIV.)

TABLE IX.—*Length of time worked by children under 17 years of age pitching to threshing machine, by sex of child.*

Duration of pitching to threshing machine.	Children pitching to threshing machine.		
	Total.	Boys.	Girls.
Total.....	108	102	6
Less than 1 week.....	28	27	1
1 week, less than 2.....	13	10	3
2 weeks, less than 1 month.....	23	23	0
1 month and over.....	11	10	1
Duration not reported.....	33	32	1

Handling hay and forage.

Mowing.—Mowing is comparatively simple work, requiring only the control of horses and the manipulation of a lever regulating the height of the cutter bar from the ground. More than one-half of all the boys and about one-sixth of all the girls in the study had mowed hay during the season of 1921, including a few children of both sexes under 10 and a number who were less than 12 years of age. (See Tables III and VIII.) Although the work is simple, it is one of the most dangerous of the farm operations intrusted to children because of the chance that the worker may be thrown in front of the cutters.

Raking or bucking.—Raking is another occupation which was reported frequently. Of the children included in the study, 418 (50 per cent) had done simple raking and 109 (13 per cent) had done bucking. (See Table IV.) Six per cent of the children reporting simple raking, all except one of whom were boys, were under 10 years of age; of those reporting buck raking, 3.7 per cent, all boys, were under 10. (See Table VIII.)

There are two kinds of simple rakes, both drawn by one or two horses, the old-fashioned dump rake, which the worker has to dump with a foot lever at each windrow, and the side-delivery rake that works on the same principle as a street sweeper, drawing the hay to a row at the side. A more complicated machine is the sweep rake, a wide rake with teeth extending in front several feet, near the ground and almost horizontal. The worker sits on a seat at the back. When the rake is full, he throws his body backward from the waist, thereby lifting the teeth of the rake from the ground, so that no more hay will be picked up, and drives the load to the stack. Where the hay is thick, it may be raked entirely with the sweep rake. The buck rake is similar to the sweep rake. Both require two or four horses. Rakes are light and tip easily if they encounter any obstruction. Although raking is generally considered not particularly dangerous, more accidents were reported by the children as occurring while they were at work on rakes than in connection with any other operation except plowing.⁷

Driving stacker or hay fork.—One hundred and five children, over four-fifths of whom were under 14, had driven a stacker or hayfork, an operation called by some of the children "working the slings." (See Tables III and VIII.) The stacker is a stationary machine equipped with fork and pulleys. The child's work consists in riding or leading out the horse or horses drawing a rope by which the hay is hoisted, a man being located on the stack or in the haymow, as a rule, to arrange the hay as it is released by the fork.

⁷ See p. 23.

Stacking hay.—When hay is stacked by hand, the worker stands on the pile and with a fork takes up the hay, which is pitched to the stack by another worker, and distributes it in such a way as to shed rain. Boys 9 years of age and older and girls 11 years of age and older reported stacking hay. One hundred and thirty-four children, 16 per cent of the group studied, had done the work. (See Table III.)

Pitching.—Although it was more difficult to get specific information in regard to pitching grain, since it occurs in connection with other kinds of work, such as loading racks or pitching on or off stacks, 85 boys and 23 girls, or 13 per cent of the entire group, reported that they had pitched grain. (See Table IV.) It is heavy work, though less likely than most operations to continue for any considerable length of time.

Handling potatoes.

Cutting eyes or sprouts, planting, hoeing, spraying, and later digging and picking up potatoes were reported by the children included in the study; but of these various operations only the work of picking up or gathering potatoes was done by a considerable number. Although potatoes are regarded as a coming crop in North Dakota, in 1919 they were raised on only 0.3 per cent of the improved land of the State.⁸ In very few districts was their production sufficiently extensive for the use of machinery.

Three hundred and sixty-nine, or 44 per cent, of the children reported picking up potatoes, including a larger number of those under 10 years of age than reported any other kind of field work. (See Table VIII.) The children pick up and toss into baskets, bags, or wagons the potatoes, which, as a rule, have already been loosened from the soil by light plows or potato diggers. The work involves constant stooping. Potato harvest in a number of communities occurs after the opening of the school session in the fall and means loss of time for many children. In one school visited by bureau agents every child except one had "gone potato picking" for a whole week. The teacher had closed the school, and the one child who was not gathering potatoes had no school to attend.

Other kinds of field work.

Other kinds of field work which 237 children reported included planting and caring for home gardens, gathering vegetables, following corn or other planters to see that they were operating properly, weeding fields which had been gone over by cultivators, laying flax in piles, carrying binder twine, and numerous other jobs.

⁸ Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Vol. VI, Part I, Agriculture, Reports for States, The Northern States, p. 624.

Duration of field work.

From 590 children a report was secured as to the number of months devoted to field work during the year preceding the study. Of these, 207 (35 per cent) had worked less than one month, but 131 (22 per cent) had worked four months or more, either steadily during the summer or an equivalent amount of time at intervals throughout the year. (See Table X.) In the group of children working in the fields for four months or more the number of children of foreign-born fathers was proportionately somewhat larger than the number of children of native-born fathers—25 per cent as compared with 19 per cent. Eight per cent (45) of those reporting the duration of their work had worked for six months or more in the fields, an amount of work which could not fail to infringe upon the minimum period of the school term. Of these, 31 were children of foreign-born fathers, most of them the children of Russian-Germans.

No information as to the daily hours spent by the children in field work was obtained, inasmuch as the study was made at a time when practically no work in the fields was in progress.

TABLE X.—Length of time worked by children under 17 years of age doing field work, by sex of child.

Duration of field work.	Children reporting duration of field work.		
	Total.	Boys.	Girls.
Total.....	1 590	412	178
Less than 1 month.....	207	97	110
1 month, less than 2.....	125	81	44
2 months, less than 3.....	62	52	10
3 months, less than 4.....	63	58	7
4 months, less than 5.....	47	44	3
5 months, under 6.....	39	37	2
6 months and over.....	45	43	2

¹ Excludes 255 children who did not report duration of work.

TABLE XI.—Length of time worked by children under 17 years of age doing field work, by nationality of father.

Nationality of father.	Children reporting duration of field work.		
	Total.	Less than 4 months.	Four months and over.
Total.....	1 590	459	131
Native.....	241	196	45
Foreign born.....	335	252	83
Russian.....	121	83	38
Scandinavian.....	86	70	16
German.....	71	51	20
Canadian.....	23	19	4
Other.....	34	29	5
Nativity not reported.....	14	11	3

Excludes 255 children who did not report duration of work.

FARM WORK OTHER THAN FIELD WORK.

The most important kinds of farm work other than field work which were reported by the children included in the study are listed in Table XII. Of these tasks herding cattle was the most common. Children as young as 6 years, both boys and girls, had herded; 27 per cent were under 10 years of age; and 44 per cent had done the work for one month or more. They are often out on the prairie alone on foot or on horseback for long hours in the heat of the summer without shelter or drink and are in danger of being thrown from horseback or attacked or trampled on by the cattle.

Many boys, and a few girls, reported such work as the construction of barbed-wire fences, digging or drilling holes for posts, hauling and setting up posts, stretching wires, and repairing broken places. (See Table XII.)

TABLE XII.—*Kinds of farm work other than field work, done by children under 17 years of age, by sex of child.*

Kind of farm work other than field work.	Children reporting each specified kind of farm work.		
	Total.	Boys.	Girls.
Herding cattle.....	217	139	78
Work on fences.....	145	137	8
Cleaning seed.....	146	114	32
Butchering.....	91	68	23
Other.....	152	121	31

Sixty-eight boys and 23 girls had done some form of work in connection with butchering. The term includes almost every possible form of assistance rendered by the children at the time of killing stock for meat. Some of them had "scraped" or shaved the hides; some had helped with "cutting up." Some of the girls had made sausages, running the chopped meat into casings. Other children had tended fires, brought water for cauldrons, attended to "scalding," or carried the cut meat away to be stored. One boy who had scraped hides for butchering said it was also his job to "catch the pig."

Cleaning seed for the spring planting had begun about the time the schools were visited by the bureau agents and it was found that many children were being kept at home to assist in the preparation of the seed. Some children turned the crank of the fanning mill;

others fed the mill, emptying sacks of grain into the hopper to be cleaned. Others, by means of a shovel, kept the seed, as it came from the machine, in a pile, while still others put up the cleaned seed in bags. A few had helped to treat the seed with a cleansing solution of formaldehyde used for the prevention of smut, stirring the seed with a shovel. In all, 146 children had helped in some way or other in cleaning seed.

Children also reported that they had cleared fields of stones or of thistles, prepared manure to be used for fuel, taken care of farm machinery, sheared sheep, and done a variety of other jobs.

CHORES AND HOUSEWORK.

Most of the children had routine chores or housework to do. Seven hundred and forty-seven of the 845 children reported daily tasks either indoors or about the barns. (See Table XIII.) As the interviews with the children were held in February, March, and early April, while the weather was still cold, it is probable that less work was reported than would have been at other seasons. A number of children said that more work was required of them in the summer than in the winter. For example, several girls who reported no milking at the time of the inquiry said that they milked during the summer months.

TABLE XIII.—*Kinds of daily work other than farm work, done by children under 17 years of age, by sex of child.*

Kind of daily work	Children reporting daily tasks.		
	Total.	Boys.	Girls.
Total.....	1 747	516	231
Chores.....	596	472	124
Housework.....	244	57	187
Other tasks.....	313	246	67
Chores only.....	261	234	27
Housework only.....	85	7	78
Other tasks only.....	38	31	7

¹ Excludes 98 children not reporting any daily tasks.

Chores consisted of milking, caring for stock, and other work about the barn, such as carrying out manure and cleaning the barn. Of the 596 children reporting chores 124 were girls. (See Table XIII.) Forty-eight per cent (407) milked as part of their daily chores; the majority of them milked five or more cows a day. The group included 105 girls and 302 boys. One 13-year-old boy, who usually milked six cows both morning and evening, said that during threshing he had all the cows on the farm to milk.

Four hundred and eighty-nine children (58 per cent), including one as young as 6 years of age, reported caring for stock. Of these 30 per cent cared for at least 20 head of cattle or horses. Comparatively few girls did this work. Most of the children (391 of the 489) cared for stock both morning and evening, but of those who looked after the animals only once a day more reported doing it in the evening than in the morning.

Two hundred and forty-four children reported such housework as cooking, washing dishes, making beds, sweeping, and caring for younger children. Of these 57 were boys. (See Table XIII.) A 9-year-old boy, for example, built the fires in the morning, swept the floors of a two-room house, and brought in fuel and water; in addition, before he made a 2-mile trip to school, he helped feed stock (5 horses and 12 cows) and chopped wood; in the evening he did the chores and washed dishes.

Many of the children—that is, 313 of the 747 who reported that they had regular duties other than farm work—had done more or less occasional work which could hardly be classed as chores or housework—handling separators and other utensils in connection with dairying, for instance, repairing farm property, such as pens or fences, looking after poultry, and hunting eggs. This sort of work was not necessarily done every day, but rather is typical of the sort of special tasks which might be required any day. Much of it was seasonal; for example, through the winter many children had had considerable work in shoveling and clearing away snow.

Twenty of the 178 children reporting hours worked at home at chores or housework or both for four hours or more a day; 79 worked two hours or more. Hours averaged slightly longer for children of foreign-born parents. These hours of work, it should be remembered, are added to the six and a half or seven hours a day spent at school and to the time spent in getting to and from school over bad roads. One 12-year-old boy said that his chores required an hour in the morning and an hour in the evening. He milked 3 cows morning and night, separated the cream from the milk, cared for the stock (37 head of cattle; 12 horses, 8 calves, and 6 hogs), hauled feed to the barn, and cleaned out the barn. He lived $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles from school. His attendance record showed that he had been absent 48 days for work at home and had been in school only between 50 and 60 per cent of the school term. Older children reported heavier work than this. Thus, two brothers, 14 and 16 years of age, began their chores at 5.30 every morning, each milking 5 cows and together feeding and caring for 40 cows, 18 horses, 7 calves, and 7 pigs, and pitching straw used as bedding. They had the same chores to do at night with additional tasks which kept them occupied until 8.30, at which hour they began to study their lessons.

FARM WORK AWAY FROM HOME.

A fairly large proportion (20 per cent) of the children had worked away from home during the year, either for wages or for their board. (See Table XV.) Contrary to prevalent opinion it appeared to be less customary for the working children of foreign-born parents than for working children of native-born parents to do work away from home, for those reporting it constituted 26.4 per cent of the children of native-born fathers included in the study and only 15 per cent of the children of foreign-born fathers. The larger proportion among children of native fathers may be due in part to the fact that exchanging work with neighbors or relatives, a custom well established in isolated farming areas, was somewhat more prevalent among the native than foreign-born families. Only 22 of the 168 children working on other than the home farm were girls. The children ranged in age from 8 to 16 years, the majority being under 14 years of age. By far the largest number, 107, had been engaged to help with the extra work connected with harvesting; 45 had been employed as general farm helpers; 16 had been hired for other kinds of farm work. (See Table XIV.)

TABLE XIV.—*Kinds of farm work done by children under 17 years of age working away from home, by age and sex.*

Kind of farm work. ¹	Children working away from home, who did each specified kind of farm work.								
	Total.			Boys.			Girls.		
	Total.	Under 13 years.	13 years and over.	Total.	Under 13 years.	13 years and over.	Total.	Under 13 years.	13 years and over.
Total.....	163	62	106	146	53	93	22	9	13
General farm work.....	45	16	29	42	15	27	3	1	2
Harvesting.....	107	38	69	88	30	58	19	8	11
Hauling bundles and feeding threshing machine.....	37	2	35	35	2	33	2	.....	2
Employed on cook cart.....	9	3	6	.....	.....	.....	9	3	6
Hauling.....	24	13	11	24	13	11	.....	.....	.....
Picking up potatoes.....	21	14	7	13	9	4	8	5	3
Other harvesting.....	16	6	10	16	6	10	.....	.....	.....
Other farm work.....	16	8	8	16	8	8	.....	.....	.....
Plowing and harrowing only.....	7	2	5	7	2	5	.....	.....	.....
Herding.....	5	5	.....	5	5	.....	.....	.....	.....
All other.....	4	1	3	4	1	3	.....	.....	.....

¹ Children who had worked for more than one employer are classified by most important job.

Children engaged to do general farm work were usually employed by the month, board being included in their wages. One boy of 11 received board, clothing, and \$6 a month in cash; another boy, 14 years of age, received \$50 a month and maintenance. General farm workers worked all day, doing both field work and chores; and some had been employed for six or seven months. Those employed especially to assist with the harvest were usually paid by the day, the rates varying from about \$1 a day to \$5 or more. Twelve boys, 3 of whom were under 14 years of age, had received \$5 or more a day for hauling bundles and feeding threshing machines, some of them furnishing their own wagon and horses. One 13-year-old and one 14-year-old girl receiving exceptionally high wages were employed on a "cook cart" at \$7 a day, the regular wage for a cook in a threshing gang. A few children were paid on a piece basis. One boy, for example, plowed at the rate of \$2 an acre. Children who picked up potatoes were usually paid from 5 to 7 cents a bushel. Good pickers among the children could gather 60 bushels in a day, and one boy said he had gathered 115 bushels in one day, earning \$8.05 for that day's work.

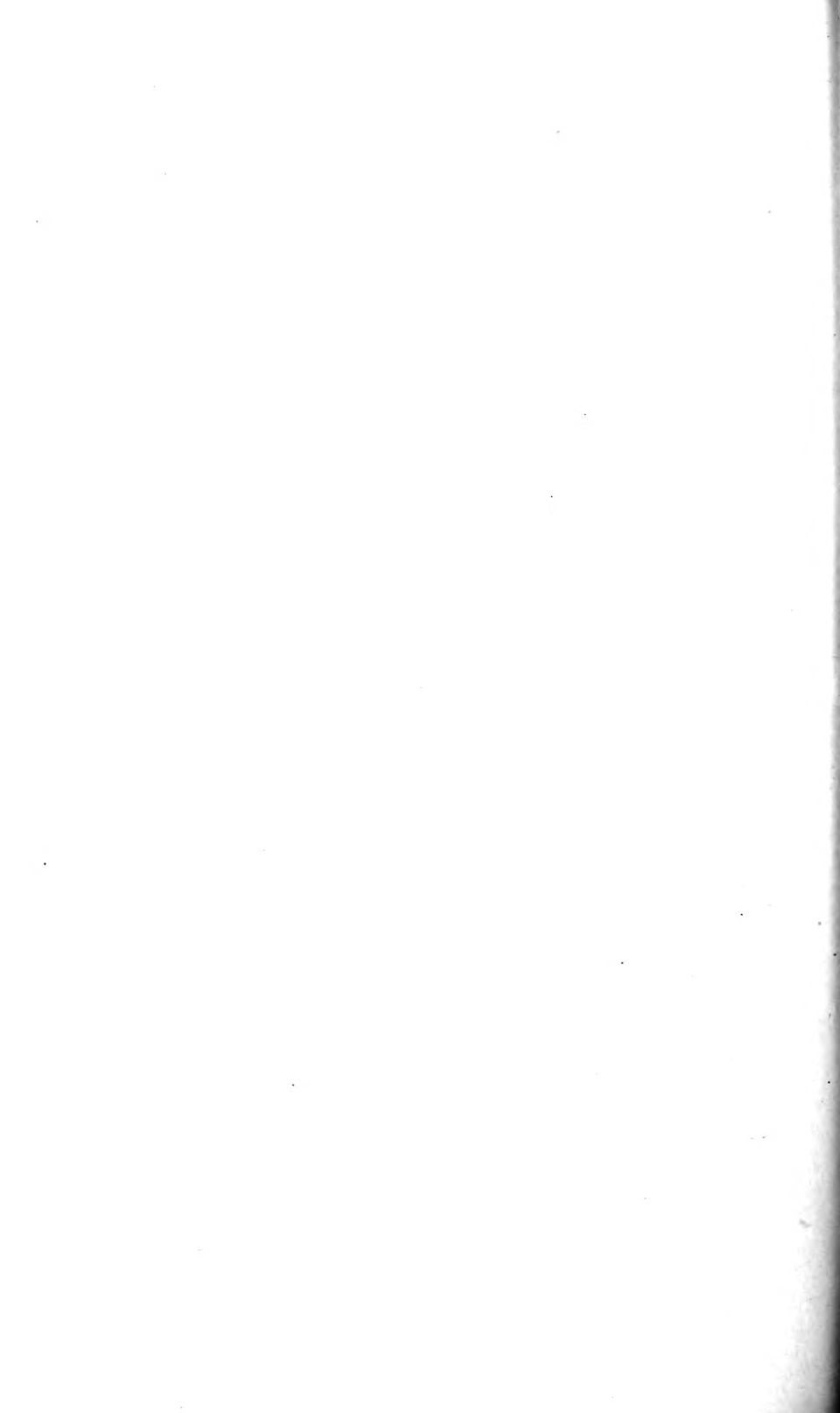
TABLE XV.—Daily wages of children under 17 years of age working away from home, by nativity of father.

Daily wages.	Children working away from home.			
	Total.	Native father.	Foreign-born father.	Nativity of father not reported.
Total.....	168	83	77	8
Cash payments.....	103	54	45	4
Less than \$1.....	11	3	8	.....
\$1, less than \$2.....	31	19	12	.....
\$2, less than \$5.....	31	23	8	.....
\$5 and over.....	16	4	12	.....
Piece work.....	14	5	5	4
No pay.....	40	22	18	.....
Amount not reported.....	25	7	14	4

Forty children, 23.8 per cent, of those who had worked away from home had themselves received no pay. In some cases their parents had collected their wages; in others parents had arranged for an exchange of work with other farmers.



COOK CART AND SLEEPING CART OF A THRESHING CREW (IN WINTER QUARTERS).



ACCIDENTS TO CHILDREN ENGAGED IN FARM WORK.¹

Some of the work which children do on and about the farm is physically dangerous. Of the 845 children included in the study, 104 while engaged in farm work had had an accident resulting in some injury. Twelve children stated that they had broken their arms or legs, or had broken bones in other parts of the body; 5 had had dislocations; 8, sprains; 7 had been crushed or badly bruised; 15 had had bad cuts or lacerations; the remainder could not tell specifically the nature of the injury. In this last group were children who could give only such accounts of their injuries as "kicked by cow, could not walk for six weeks;" "fell from header box, wheel went over head, laid up one month;" "fell from plow, wheel ran over leg, took one month to recover;" "fell from horse, unconscious five hours."

The occupations in which children were engaged at the time the accidents occurred may be divided roughly into two groups: Occupations such as herding cattle and caring for stock, which brought the children into close contact with farm animals, and occupations which involved handling farm implements or machinery. As horses and mules are commonly used to operate farm machinery, however, their sudden starting or running away when drawing the machinery was the actual cause of many of the accidents in the latter group.

By far the largest number of accidents occurring while the child was operating or handling farm implements were those in connection with plowing. Again and again children would report that they had been thrown from the machine by a jolt when a plowshare struck a stone. Some children who had been hurt by falls from plows said that since their accidents they had always walked when plowing because they were afraid to ride.

Accidents to children while plowing had caused varying degrees of disability. Three children had been incapacitated for one month. One boy of 7 had broken his arm; a boy of 8 had been run over by a wheel of the plow; a boy of 12 had had his leg so torn that he could not walk for a month. Two children had been incapacitated for two weeks—one, a boy of 12, had cut his knee; the other, a girl of 13 years, had been thrown from the plow when the horses started to run away, her leg catching in the wheel of the plow in such a way that her hip was injured. Three children had been incapacitated for a week.

¹ A complete list of accidents, showing the ages at which they occurred and the occupations at which the children were engaged is given in Appendix, p. 65.

Two of these had been thrown from plows when the implements struck stones; the third, while operating a tractor, had attempted to reach a lever, had missed it, and had fallen in front of the shares. Seven children said they had been "laid up" less than one week; one of these had been knocked unconscious by a fall from the seat of the plow; another had torn his wrist by falling from a plow.

Next to plowing, raking caused the largest number of accidents (namely, 10) to children operating farm machinery. Two of these accidents had occurred to children operating the more complicated rakes or buckers. In 7 cases horses had been instrumental in causing the accident, either by making a misstep or by running away; an 11-year-old boy, for example, had been thrown from a bucker, breaking his arm, when a horse stepped into a hole and upset the machine; another boy had two ribs broken by falling off the raker when the horses started to run away. A boy, 9 years of age, had driven a bucker over a hay pile, upsetting the machine; an 11-year-old boy had put his foot on the brake at a turn, tipping over the machine; a third, a boy of 12, had cut his foot with the rake so seriously that he was lame for three weeks.

Accidents to children handling farm implements other than plows and rakes numbered 21 and included a variety of implements and varying degrees of disability. Fifty accidents had occurred to children engaged in work which did not necessitate the use of farm implements. Fourteen had occurred while the children were herding cattle or horses, 13 while they were doing chores. Twenty-three others had resulted from kicks by animals.

Some of the children interviewed who had no work to report had in previous years been injured and physically incapacitated for further work. One boy formerly accustomed to regular farm labor had lost a leg as the result of an accident received while at work and had not been able to help on his home farm during the year of the study. Occasionally a child loses his life as the result of an accident while engaged in farm work. In a cursory reading of a few of the North Dakota newspapers during the period of the investigation, items about the deaths of four children while doing farm work were noted.

SCHOOLING OF FARM CHILDREN.

Information on the causes of absence among farm children in the six counties studied was secured from a number of representative schools, selected with the advice of the State superintendent of public instruction and county superintendents of schools. Teachers in these schools were asked to make monthly reports of the specific reasons for the absence of their pupils. The records from 162 one-room schools and 18 graded schools attended by considerable numbers of farm children were found to be sufficiently complete and accurate for use. These 180 schools include the 113 which were visited by Children's Bureau agents in interviewing children in regard to their farm work. Thus the children for whom causes of absence were reported include some known to have done considerable farm work (i. e., the group discussed in the preceding sections of this report), some who did little or no farm work (i. e., those attending the 113 schools visited who reported less than 12 days or no farm work), and others in regard to whose work nothing is known.

The numbers of children in these various groups are as follows:

Total enrollment, all schools included in study.....	3,860
Enrollment, schools visited.....	2,674
Children interviewed, reporting farm work.....	845
Children interviewed, reporting little or no farm work....	1,213
Children not interviewed (absent).....	616
Enrollment, schools not visited.....	1,186

The attendance records for 395 of these children, about 10 per cent of the total, showed that they had not resided in the district during all the school term. As transients they constitute one of the problems of school attendance, but inasmuch as they may have had the advantage of attending schools in other districts during the season on which the study is based, their records have been eliminated from the following analysis of school records. The total group upon which the analysis is based therefore numbers 3,465, of whom 1,761 were boys and 1,704 were girls. Twelve per cent or 418 of the children were below compulsory school age;¹ 356, or 10 per cent, were 15 years of age or over. Of the latter group, 225 children 15

¹ The compulsory school attendance law requires attendance at public school of children between 7 and 15 years of age, or until 17 years of age if the child has not completed the eighth grade. The following are exempted: Those receiving equivalent instruction elsewhere; those "actually necessary to the support of the family as determined by the State's attorney, subject to appeal"; those physically or mentally incapacitated; those living at specified distance from school if transportation is not provided; and those who have completed the eighth grade. Compiled Laws of North Dakota, 1913, sec. 1342, as amended by acts of 1917, ch. 206.

and 16 years of age had not completed the eighth grade and were therefore required to attend school under the provisions of the compulsory school attendance law. In all, 2,874 of the children for whom school records were secured came within the provisions of the law.

TABLE XVI.—Grade in which children in selected rural schools were enrolled, by age and sex.

Age and sex.	Children from selected rural schools.													
	Total.	Grade in which enrolled.												
		First and lower.	Second.	Third.	Fourth.	Fifth.	Sixth.	Seventh.	Eighth.	First year high.	Second year high.	Third year high.	Fourth year high.	Not reported.
Total.....	13,465	663	462	365	392	361	374	291	344	67	54	24	8	60
Under 7 years.....	418	342	61	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7
7 years, under 15.....	2,649	309	396	350	381	333	332	241	224	29	13	1	.....	40
15 years, under 17.....	294	3	2	4	8	21	36	44	107	31	23	8	2	5
17 years and over.....	62	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	4	3	11	4	18	15	6	.....
Age not reported.....	42	9	3	3	3	6	2	3	2	3	.....	.....	.....	8
Boys.....	1,761	372	241	186	193	173	183	151	171	31	21	7	3	29
Under 7 years.....	218	187	24	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4
7 years, under 15.....	1,328	182	215	179	185	157	162	121	97	9	4	.....	.....	17
15 years, under 17.....	164	1	2	3	6	14	17	24	65	18	9	1	2	2
17 years and over.....	33	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	3	8	3	8	6	1	.....
Age not reported.....	18	2	.....	1	2	2	.....	3	1	1	.....	.....	.....	6
Girls.....	1,704	291	221	179	199	188	191	140	173	36	33	17	5	31
Under 7 years.....	200	155	37	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3
7 years, under 15.....	1,321	127	181	171	196	176	170	120	127	20	9	1	.....	23
15 years, under 17.....	130	2	.....	1	2	7	19	20	42	13	14	7	.....	3
17 years and over.....	29	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	3	1	10	9	5	.....
Age not reported.....	24	7	3	2	1	4	2	.....	1	2	.....	.....	.....	2

¹ Excludes 395 children who did not live in district entire school year.

Percentage of attendance.

Conditions in the counties selected for special study were fairly typical of the entire State. In the six counties the average length of the school term for the year ended June 30, 1922, was 161 days;² for the State as a whole, the average length of the term for both one-room and graded schools was 164 days and for one-room schools alone 159 days. The percentage of attendance for the same year in these six counties averaged 87.8 for all schools and 85.7 for one-room schools;² while throughout the State the percentage of attendance for all schools was 87, and for one-room schools 86.

Tables XVII and XVIII show in detail the percentages of attendance and the total days' absence for the children for whom school records were secured. More than half the children (52.5 per cent)

² According to unpublished figures furnished by the State department of public instruction.

had missed 20 days or over, that is, one full school month out of the term; nearly one-third (30.3 per cent) had missed 40 days or over; and more than one-sixth (17.7 per cent) had been absent 60 days or over. (See Table XVIII.) More absence was reported for boys than for girls. Thirty-five per cent of the boys and 25 per cent of the girls were absent 40 days or more. All told, the waste in school time for this group of 3,465 children was about 99,000 days. The cost of this wasted time, paid for at the average rate of tuition as estimated by the State department of public instruction, amounts to approximately \$50,000.³

TABLE XVII.—*Per cent of attendance of children in selected rural schools, by sex.*

Per cent of attendance.	Children.		Boys.		Girls.	
	Number.	Cumulative per cent.	Number.	Cumulative per cent.	Number.	Cumulative per cent.
Total.....	3,465	.....	1,761	.....	1,704	.....
Total reporting attendance.....	3,376	100.0	1,719	100.0	1,677	100.0
Less than 30 per cent.....	146	4.3	90	5.2	56	3.3
Less than 40 per cent.....	252	7.4	152	8.8	100	6.0
Less than 50 per cent.....	414	12.2	255	14.8	159	9.5
Less than 60 per cent.....	635	18.7	388	22.6	247	14.7
Less than 70 per cent.....	932	27.4	556	32.3	376	22.4
Less than 80 per cent.....	1,350	39.8	768	44.7	532	31.7
Less than 90 per cent.....	2,041	60.1	1,096	63.8	945	56.4
Less than 100 per cent.....	3,237	95.3	1,646	95.3	1,591	94.9
100 per cent.....	159	4.7	73	4.2	86	5.1
Not reporting attendance.....	69	.....	42	.....	27	.....

TABLE XVIII.—*Total days' absence of children in selected rural schools, by sex.*

Total days' absence. ¹	Children.		Boys.		Girls.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	3,465	100.0	1,761	100.0	1,704	100.0
No absence.....	159	4.6	73	4.1	86	5.0
Less than 5 days.....	360	10.4	155	8.8	205	12.0
5 days, less than 10.....	440	12.7	203	11.5	237	13.9
10 days, less than 20.....	619	17.9	303	17.2	316	18.5
20 days, less than 40.....	770	22.2	376	21.4	394	23.1
40 days, less than 60.....	435	12.6	234	13.3	201	11.8
60 days and over.....	614	17.7	376	21.4	238	14.0
Not reported.....	68	2.0	41	2.3	27	1.6

¹ For all children the median days' absence was 23.1 days, for boys 26.7, and for girls 19.8.

The percentage of attendance for the special group of children who were known to have done little or no farm work was considerably higher than that for the entire group. (See Table XIX.)

³ Unpublished figures for the year ended June 30, 1922, furnished by the North Dakota Department of Public Instruction.

TABLE XIX.—Comparison of per cent of attendance in entire group with per cent of attendance of children reporting little or no farm work.

Per cent of attendance.	Total children.		Children reporting little or no farm work.	
	Number.	Cumulative per cent.	Number.	Cumulative per cent.
Total.....	3,465	.....	1,119	.....
Total reporting attendance.....	3,396	100.0	1,099	100.0
Less than 30 per cent.....	146	4.3	31	2.8
Less than 40 per cent.....	252	7.4	46	4.2
Less than 50 per cent.....	414	12.2	63	5.7
Less than 60 per cent.....	635	18.7	95	8.6
Less than 70 per cent.....	932	27.4	141	12.8
Less than 80 per cent.....	1,350	39.8	219	22.7
Less than 90 per cent.....	2,041	60.1	486	44.2
Less than 100 per cent.....	3,237	95.3	1,019	92.7
100 per cent.....	159	4.7	80	7.3
Not reporting attendance.....	69	.....	20	.....

A comparison of attendance records by nationality is possible only for that group of children included in the farm work study. Among those 845 children it was found that the attendance rate of the children of native-born fathers was higher than that of the children of foreign-born fathers; and that of the foreign born, the children of Scandinavian fathers averaged somewhat higher in attendance than did those whose fathers were of other nationalities. It seems especially unfortunate that children who are handicapped at the beginning of their school life by their ignorance of English, as many of the Russian-German children, for example, are, should lose so much schooling through absence. In some districts of North Dakota, peopled largely by Russian-Germans, English is seldom spoken except in the public schools; children come to school not knowing a word of English and need every day that the schools offer if they are to make ordinary progress.

Reasons for absence.

The most serious factors contributing to absence in the North Dakota rural schools are illness, bad weather and bad roads, and farm and other work at home. (See Table XX.)

TABLE XX.—Reasons for absence of children in selected rural schools, by sex.

Reason for absence.	Children reporting absence for each specified reason.					
	Total.		Boys.		Girls.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Total.....	3,465	100.0	1,761	100.0	1,704	100.0
Illness of child.....	2,005	57.9	959	54.5	1,046	61.4
Illness of other member of family.....	249	7.2	87	4.9	162	9.5
Farm and home work.....	1,649	47.6	931	52.9	718	42.1
Other work.....	57	1.6	31	1.8	26	1.5
Bad weather and bad roads.....	1,839	53.1	913	51.8	926	54.3
Inadequate clothing.....	74	2.1	40	2.3	34	2.0
Truancy.....	28	0.8	19	1.1	9	0.5
Indifference.....	268	7.7	145	8.2	123	7.2
Other reasons.....	825	23.8	377	21.4	448	26.3

Absence due to illness.—Personal illness as a reason for absence was given more frequently than any other, having been reported by 58 per cent of all the children. More girls than boys and more younger children than older had been absent for this reason. (See Table XXI.) Forty-five per cent of the children losing time because of their own illness had lost less than one school week. Two hundred and forty-nine children (7.2 per cent) had been kept at home because of illness of other members of the family. (See Tables XX and XXII.) More girls than boys gave this as a reason for absence; and among the girls the older ones gave it more frequently than the younger, because doubtless they were the ones to be kept at home when extra help was needed with the housework. The number of days lost for this reason was small compared with that due to other causes of absence, the amount of time lost by more than half the 249 children being less than five days each.

TABLE XXI.—Duration of absence of children in selected rural schools, by age and sex.

Age and sex.	Children from selected rural schools.								
	Total.	Reporting no absence due to own illness.		Reporting absence due to own illness—					
		Number.	Per cent. ¹	Total.		Less than 10 days.		10 days and over.	
				Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹
Total.....	3,465	1,460	42.1	2,005	57.9	1,514	43.7	491	14.2
Under 7 years.....	418	150	35.9	268	64.1	180	43.1	88	21.1
7 years, under 10.....	1,037	368	35.5	669	64.5	505	48.7	164	15.8
10 years, under 15.....	1,612	716	44.4	896	55.6	697	43.2	199	12.3
15 years and over.....	356	194	54.5	162	45.5	125	35.1	37	10.4
Age not reported.....	42	32	.....	10	.....	7	.....	3	.....
Boys.....	1,761	802	45.5	959	54.5	741	42.1	218	12.4
Under 7 years.....	218	82	37.6	136	62.4	94	43.1	42	19.3
7 years, under 10.....	534	200	37.5	334	62.5	262	49.1	72	13.5
10 years, under 15.....	794	374	47.1	420	52.9	326	41.1	94	11.8
15 years and over.....	197	132	67.0	65	33.0	56	28.4	9	4.6
Age not reported.....	18	14	.....	4	.....	3	.....	1	.....
Girls.....	1,704	658	38.6	1,046	61.4	773	45.4	273	16.0
Under 7 years.....	200	68	34.0	132	66.0	86	43.0	46	23.0
7 years, under 10.....	503	168	33.4	335	66.6	243	48.3	92	18.3
10 years, under 15.....	818	342	41.8	476	58.2	371	45.4	105	12.8
15 years and over.....	159	62	39.0	97	61.0	69	43.4	28	17.6
Age not reported.....	24	18	.....	6	.....	4	.....	2	.....

¹ Not shown where base is less than 100.

TABLE XXII.—Duration of absence of children in selected rural schools, by reason for absence.

Reason for absence.	Children in selected rural schools—																	
	Total.		Reporting no absence for each specified reason.		Reporting absence for each specified reason.													
					Total.		Less than 5 days.		5 days, less than 10.		10 days, less than 20.		20 days, less than 40.		40 days, less than 60.		60 days and over.	
					Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Illness of child.....	3,465	1,460	42.1	2,005	57.9	915	26.4	599	17.3	341	9.8	120	3.5	18	0.5	12	0.3	
Illness of other member of family.....	3,465	3,216	92.8	249	7.2	131	3.8	59	1.7	31	0.9	20	0.6	6	0.2	2	0.1	
Farm and home work.....	3,465	1,816	52.4	1,649	47.6	443	12.8	268	7.7	316	9.1	346	10.0	142	4.1	134	3.9	
Other work.....	3,465	3,408	98.4	57	1.6	40	1.2	9	0.3	4	0.1	3	0.1	.....	.....	1	(¹)
Bad weather and bad roads.....	3,465	1,626	46.9	1,839	53.1	937	27.0	474	13.7	277	8.0	119	3.4	19	0.5	13	0.4	
Inadequate clothing.....	3,465	3,391	97.9	74	2.1	35	1.0	13	0.4	18	0.5	6	0.2	2	0.1	.....	.....
Truancy.....	3,465	3,437	99.2	28	0.8	18	0.5	3	0.1	5	0.1	1	(¹)	1	(¹)	.....	.....
Indifference.....	3,465	3,197	92.3	268	7.7	65	1.9	52	1.5	52	1.5	56	1.6	30	0.9	13	0.4	
Other reasons.....	3,465	2,640	76.2	825	23.8	549	15.8	88	2.5	71	2.0	56	1.6	20	0.6	41	1.2	

¹ Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

Absence due to bad weather or bad roads.—Much of the nonattendance in the rural schools of North Dakota is due to blizzards, deep snow, extreme cold, and the wet roads of the spring "break up." Next to illness, bad weather and bad conditions of the roads were the reasons most frequently given for absence from school. More than half the children said that inclement weather or the bad condition of roads kept them away from school. (See Table XX.) However, only 4 per cent of the children had missed 20 days (one school month) or more for this reason, and almost half had lost less than one school week. (See Table XXII.)

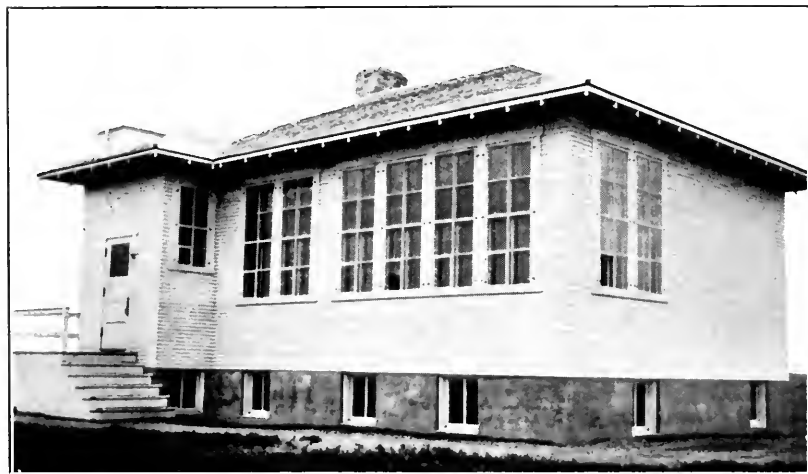
Good roads make attendance at school possible even in bad weather, as is indicated by the fact that in the county having the best roads a smaller proportion of absences than in the other counties was attributed to bad weather or bad roads. Possibly the unusually heavy snows of the winter covered by the study had resulted in a larger proportion of absence due to bad weather and poor conditions of the roads than occurs in normal years.

Absence due to work.—Farm work and other work at home which farm children do results in a serious loss of schooling for many children. One thousand six hundred and forty-nine children, or 48 per cent of those for whom records were secured, were absent more or less for farm work and other work at home,⁴ including 931, or 53 per cent, of the boys, and 718, or 42 per cent, of the girls. (See Table

⁴ No distinction was made between farm work and other work at home by teachers reporting causes of absence.



OLD TYPE OF NORTH DAKOTA RURAL SCHOOLHOUSE (CLOSED BECAUSE OF FLOODS).



NEW TYPE OF RURAL SCHOOLHOUSE.



XXIII.) More older than younger children stayed out of school on account of work. Of those under 7 years of age, 13 per cent, and of those between 7 and 10 years, 31 per cent, had been kept at home for work; but in the group of children between 10 and 15 years of age the percentage reporting absence for farm or home work was 62, and in the group 15 years of age or over it was 76. Of the boys 10 years of age and over 73 per cent and of the girls in the same age group 56 per cent had been absent for work at home.

The amount of school time lost for farm or other work at home was very great. Among the children 10 years of age and over, 41 per cent of all the boys and 17 per cent of all the girls had stayed out of school one school month or more in order to work. Seven hundred and thirty, or almost half the children (46.5 per cent) who entered school late in the fall, did so because of farm or home work; 43.8 per cent of those withdrawing before the close of the term in the spring gave work as their excuse. Of the children entering late because of work, 38 per cent missed one month or more at the beginning of the fall term; and of those withdrawing early to work 59 per cent cut short their attendance at the close of the term one month or more.

Of the children of compulsory school-attendance age, that is, between the ages of 7 and 17, only those could legally have been excused from school for work who had completed the eighth grade or "were actually necessary to the support of the family as determined by the State's attorney."⁵ A strict interpretation of the child labor law also would prohibit during school hours the employment on farms of children under 14 years of age. The law regarding employment while school is in session⁶ applies to "any business or service whatsoever," making no exemption in favor of parents employing their own children. It may be urged that boys and girls working for their own parents and receiving no wages are not employed but the same arguments can not be applied in defense of the employment of children by others than their parents, and 90 of the children under 14 included in the study were employed away from the home farm, though it is not known how many of them were employed during school hours.

In connection with the serious inroads into school attendance made by farm work and other work at home it is well to remember that one of the principal reasons for shortening school terms in rural districts is the urgency of farm work. Children living in districts offering but a short school term may have satisfactory records

⁵ See p. 29, footnote 1.

⁶ Compiled laws, North Dakota, 1913, sec. 1404. The child labor law of North Dakota passed in 1923 (see p. 42), provides that no person shall employ any child under 14 years of age in any business or service whatever during any part of the term during which the public schools of the district in which the child resides are in session.

of attendance only because they are legally permitted to be out of school and at work during months which should furnish opportunities for education.

TABLE XXIII.—Duration of absence of children in selected rural schools due to farm and home work, by age and sex.

Age and sex.	Children in selected rural schools—								
	Total.	Reporting no absence due to farm and home work.		Reporting absence due to farm and home work.					
		Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Total.		Less than 20 days.		20 days and over.	
				Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.	Num-ber.	Per-cent.
Total.....	3,465	1,816	52.4	1,649	47.6	1,027	29.6	622	18.0
Under 7 years.....	418	364	87.1	54	12.9	51	12.2	3	.7
7 years, under 10.....	1,037	715	68.9	322	31.1	277	26.7	45	4.3
10 years, under 15.....	1,612	620	38.5	992	61.5	604	37.5	388	24.1
15 years and over.....	356	84	23.6	272	76.4	92	25.8	180	50.5
Age not reported.....	42	33	.....	9	.....	3	.....	6	.....
Boys.....	1,761	830	47.1	931	52.9	491	27.9	440	25.0
Under 7 years.....	218	190	87.2	28	12.8	26	11.9	2	.9
7 years, under 10.....	534	357	66.9	177	33.1	148	27.7	29	5.4
10 years, under 15.....	794	238	30.0	556	70.0	279	35.1	277	34.9
15 years and over.....	197	33	16.8	164	83.2	36	18.3	128	65.0
Age not reported.....	18	12	.....	6	.....	2	.....	4	.....
Girls.....	1,704	986	57.9	718	42.1	536	31.5	182	10.7
Under 7 years.....	200	174	87.0	26	13.0	25	12.5	1	.5
7 years, under 10.....	503	358	71.2	145	28.8	129	25.6	16	3.2
10 years, under 15.....	818	382	46.7	436	53.3	325	39.7	111	13.6
15 years and over.....	159	51	32.1	108	67.9	56	35.2	52	32.7
Age not reported.....	24	21	.....	3	.....	1	.....	2	.....

Other reasons.—Among other reasons for absence were lack of adequate clothing, truancy, and parental indifference, none of which caused extensive absences as compared with illness, bad weather, bad roads, or work. (See Table XXII.) A few children had been absent because of events of importance in the child's family, such as weddings or funerals, or family excursions. Church days or days set aside for religious instruction were not infrequently reported as breaking into school attendance. Younger children were often obliged to remain at home if for any reason older brothers and sisters were unable to attend. Occasionally a child was absent because the school bus had failed to stop for him.

Retardation.

Measured by the standard adopted by the United States Bureau of Education ⁷ two-fifths (39.6 per cent) of the children included in

⁷ According to this standard children are retarded who enter the first grade at 8 years of age or over, the second grade at 9 years or over, and so on.

the study of causes of nonattendance were retarded, nearly one-half of them being two years or more below the grade which was normal for their age. This is about the same percentage of retarded children as was found in studies made by the Children's Bureau of children in beet-growing districts in Colorado and Michigan; of approximately 1,300 children in the Michigan rural schools included in the study, 39.2, and of about 3,000 children in the Colorado rural schools, 38.5 per cent were retarded.⁸ The proportion of retarded children in the North Dakota rural schools included in the study is much higher than the average percentage of retardation (26.3) among city children of the same ages in 80 cities of the United States.⁹

Among children who reported farm work the proportion retarded (42.7 per cent) was much higher than that (24.9 per cent) among children who were known to do little or no farm work. (See Table XXIV.)

TABLE XXIV.—*Comparison of retardation among children engaged in farm work with retardation among those reporting little or no farm work.*

Retardation.	Children 8 to 16 years of age interviewed in regard to work on farms—					
	Total.		Engaged in farm work.		Reporting little or no farm work.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	1,424	100.0	740	100.0	684	100.0
Retarded.....	486	34.1	316	42.7	170	24.9
1 year.....	284	19.9	173	23.4	111	16.2
2 years.....	117	8.2	79	10.7	38	5.6
3 years and over.....	85	6.0	64	8.6	21	3.1
Normal.....	767	53.9	368	49.7	399	58.3
Advanced.....	148	10.4	52	7.0	96	14.0
Not reported.....	23	1.6	4	0.5	19	2.8
Boys.....	702	100.0	507	100.0	195	100.0
Retarded.....	273	38.9	219	43.2	54	27.7
1 year.....	160	22.8	125	24.7	35	17.9
2 years.....	57	8.1	48	9.5	9	4.6
3 years and over.....	56	8.0	46	9.1	10	5.1
Normal.....	363	51.7	250	49.3	113	57.9
Advanced.....	59	8.4	36	7.1	23	11.8
Not reported.....	7	1.0	2	0.4	5	2.6
Girls.....	722	100.0	233	100.0	489	100.0
Retarded.....	213	29.5	97	41.6	116	23.7
1 year.....	124	17.2	45	20.6	79	15.5
2 years.....	60	8.3	31	13.3	29	5.9
3 years and over.....	29	4.0	18	7.7	11	2.2
Normal.....	404	56.0	118	50.6	286	58.5
Advanced.....	89	12.3	16	6.9	73	14.9
Not reported.....	16	2.2	2	0.9	14	2.9

⁸ Child Labor and the Work of Mothers in the Beet Fields of Colorado and Michigan. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 115, pp. 50, 105.

⁹ The percentage of retardation among city children of each age in 80 cities was computed from unpublished figures for 1917-18 furnished by the United States Bureau of Education.

In the group of children reporting their fathers' nationality, that is, the children included in the study of farm workers, the proportion of retarded children was higher among those of foreign-born fathers than among those of native fathers, being particularly high (62 per cent) among children of Russian-German parentage, but as low (34 per cent) among children of Scandinavian parentage as among children of native parents.

Proportionately more boys than girls were retarded. Forty-five per cent of all the boys for whom school records were secured as compared with 34 per cent of the girls were retarded one or more years. The only group of girls included in the study among whom the extent of retardation was at all comparable to that found among the boys was the group of 233 girls who reported farm work during the year covered by the study. Among the children who had done farm work 43 per cent of the boys were retarded and 42 per cent of the girls. (See Table XXIV.)

SUMMARY.

Of 845 children between 6 and 17 years of age who had done farm work during the year covered by the study, all except 29 had worked in the fields. Seventy-one per cent of the children were under 14 years of age. The youngest children did such work as picking up potatoes, picking and husking corn, shocking grain, and driving header boxes. Eight-year-old boys and girls of from 10 to 12 years of age, however, used some of the heavier farm implements such as plows, cultivators, and mowing machines. Children under 10 years of age constituted 17.9 per cent of the children picking up potatoes while of those using a plow 3.9 per cent were under 10 years of age.

Of 590 children reporting the duration of their field work 22 per cent had worked four months or more during the year previous to the inquiry. This amount of work meant, of necessity, fewer days of school attendance than are provided in the average school term in North Dakota; for many children it meant considerably fewer days than the school term in spite of the fact that school terms in rural districts are sometimes shortened to accommodate farm workers.

The most important kind of farm work other than field work which was done was herding cattle, reported by 217, or 25.7 per cent of the children. Boys and girls as young as 6 years had herded. More than one-fourth of those who had herded were under 10 years of age.

Chores, including milking, caring for stock, and cleaning barns, were reported by four-fifths of the boys and by nearly half the girls. A few of those reporting had worked four or more hours a day at chores or housework while attending school.

One-fifth of the children (168, or 19.9 per cent) had worked away from home during the year previous to the interview, most of them having been engaged to help in harvesting. Most of these children had received pay, though in a few instances their parents had arranged for an exchange of work with neighbors or relatives.

One hundred and four children had been injured while engaged in farm work. Fifty of the accidents had occurred while the children were herding cattle, feeding and watering stock, milking, cleaning barns, or doing other jobs which brought them in close contact with farm animals. Fifty-four accidents—about two-fifths of them in connection with plowing—had occurred while the children were operating farm implements.

In a study of the school records of 3,465 rural children in the 6 counties included in the study, the most important causes of absence from school were found to be illness, bad weather and bad roads, and work on farms or other work at home. The actual amount of school time lost by the children for farm or home work was larger than for any other cause. Among children 10 years of age and over, 41 per cent of the boys and 17 per cent of the girls had lost one school month or more. Forty-two per cent of the 2,776 school children who were under 14 years of age, and 59 per cent of those who were between the ages of 10 and 14, had stayed out of school for farm or home work, contrary to the State child labor law,¹ which prohibits all employment during school hours of children under 14 years of age. Two-fifths of the 2,541 children who were between the ages of 8 and 17, were retarded one or more years; that is, they were one or more years below the grade considered normal for their ages. Boys left school at an earlier age than girls and in greater numbers and were more retarded in their school work, but the percentage of retardation for girls reporting farm work was the same as for boys reporting such work.

¹See p. 35, footnote 6.

EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN IN FARGO, GRAND FORKS, AND MINOT.

Although the urban¹ population of North Dakota constitutes only 14 per cent² of the total population of the State, so that the great majority of the children live in rural communities, the fact that towns are growing rapidly and developing industrially gives point to a survey of child-labor conditions in the larger North Dakota cities. Fargo, Grand Forks, and Minot are the only cities in the State with a population of 10,000 or more; that of Fargo is 21,961, that of Grand Forks 14,010, and that of Minot 10,476.³ Fargo is the third largest distributing point for farm machinery in the United States, and on account of its location and its excellent transportation facilities the rapid growth of the past 10 years seems likely to continue. In Grand Forks a new State flour mill is being erected at a cost of over \$2,000,000. Minot has had the most rapid rise of all three cities, having increased its population 69.3 per cent during the past 10 years. On account of an increase in potato growing throughout the State and a lack of facilities for storing and transporting the crop a starch factory is being erected in the city which will handle 1,000 bushels of potatoes and turn out 10,000 pounds of starch daily.

¹ All incorporated places having 2,500 or more inhabitants are classed as urban.

² Compiled from Fourteenth Census of United States, 1920, Vol. III, p. 752.

³ Fourteenth Census of United States, 1920, Vol. III, p. 762.

INSPECTIONS OF CHILD-EMPLOYING ESTABLISHMENTS.

The principal establishments in these three cities likely to employ children, including grocery and dry goods stores, drug stores, dry cleaning firms, florists' shops, laundries, telegraph offices, and theaters, were visited by an agent of the Children's Bureau in May, 1922, for the purpose of ascertaining the extent of child employment. Of the 46 establishments visited 16 employed no children under 16 years of age. In the remaining 30 establishments 37 children were found to be working. Of these, 15 were employed in grocery stores and 8 in other kinds of stores; of the remaining 14 children, 8 were employed by telegraph companies as messenger boys. Twenty-seven of the children worked only on Saturdays or before or after school, a large proportion of all the working children being still in school.

While the number of children at work was small, the proportion found to be illegally employed was very large. According to the State child labor law in effect at the time of the study¹ no child under 14 might be employed in "any business or service" during school hours, and no child under 14 might engage in certain specified occupations at any time. Hours of work were restricted for children between 14 and 16 to 8 a day or 48 a week, and work before 7 a. m. or after 7 p. m. was prohibited for children under 16. Of the 37 children found at work none had employment certificates, though certificates were required by law for the occupations in which 27 of the children were engaged. At least 30 of the total number of working children were employed in violation of one or more other provisions of the State child labor law. Thus 16 children under 14 years of age were employed in violation of the minimum-age provision of the law. There were also 18 violations of the hours and 19 of the night-work provision. Delivery boys employed in grocery stores after school and on Saturdays almost invariably worked over 8 hours. A small group of high-school boys and girls were beginning to be employed in the theaters. They had first appeared on the stage on amateur night, but at the time of the survey some were on call by the managers. They reported at 7 p. m., and usually stayed until 10 p. m. Ushering in the motion-picture houses was also becoming a common occupation for both boys and girls. The evening performance kept them on duty until 9.30 p. m. Violations of the law in one respect or another were found in 30 of the 46 establish-

¹ Compiled Laws, North Dakota, 1913, secs. 1404-1414. The North Dakota child labor law passed in 1923 made no change in the minimum age, hours, or night work provisions of the law. For changes in administrative provisions, see p. 63.

ments visited. Few employers, according to their own statements, were aware of its provisions.

While the child labor law laid down standards which were higher than those in effect in many States no State agency was made responsible for its enforcement,² nor had any system of factory inspection been developed in the State up to the time of the study. The local school authorities, as a result of the employment-certificate provision, were in a position to insist that at least the age, educational, and certificate requirements of the law should be met, but up to the time of the Children's Bureau inquiry they appeared not to have recognized the importance of this provision and the need of its enforcement. In the three cities included in the study, only one official responsible for issuing certificates was found who even knew of the existence of the certificate law.

² See p. 63.

SCHOOL CHILDREN REPORTING EMPLOYMENT.

A study of work done by children attending the public schools of Fargo, Grand Forks, and Minot was made in April and May, 1922. Through the cooperation of school officials the names of all children under 16 years of age who had worked for pay at any time since the close of school in June, 1921, were secured from teachers. In this manner the names of about 3,100 children were obtained, all of whom, except a few who were absent at the time of the inquiry, were interviewed at school by agents of the Children's Bureau. Detailed information about their work was obtained from all of these who were under 16 years of age on May 1, 1922, and who had worked 12 days or more during the period of 46 weeks from June 10, 1921, to May 1, 1922. No effort was made to include children attending parochial schools, business colleges, or other private schools, so that the number of school children reporting employment does not include every child in the three cities who had been employed during the period, though it probably represents the great majority.

Number and age.

The total number of public-school children under 16 years of age reporting gainful employment of 12 days or more during the period covered by the study was 1,730. Of these 716 were in Fargo, 509 in Grand Forks, and 505 in Minot.

Information regarding the proportion of school children of different ages reporting gainful employment was available only for Grand Forks, where the working group was 3 per cent of the total number under 8, 17 per cent of those aged 8 and 9, 26 per cent of the 10 and 11 year old group, 37 per cent of those 12 and 13 years of age, and 22 per cent of those aged 14 and 15. The smaller proportion reporting gainful employment in the group of children over 14 years of age is undoubtedly due to the fact that children who have completed the eighth grade may leave school¹ and therefore would not be included in this group of school children.

Proportionately three times as many boys as girls reported having been employed. Table I shows the ages of the children who had worked. Only about one-fifth were 14 years of age or older. Relatively fewer younger girls than boys had worked. For instance, 16 per cent of the girls as compared with 21 per cent of the boys were under 10 years of age.

¹ For details of the compulsory school attendance law, see p. 29, footnote 1.

TABLE I.—Age of school children under 16 years of age reporting gainful employment, by sex.

Age.	Both sexes.		Boys.		Girls.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	1,730	100.0	1,311	100.0	419	100.0
6 years, under 8.....	63	3.6	52	4.0	11	2.6
8 years, under 10.....	281	16.2	227	17.3	54	12.9
10 years, under 12.....	490	28.3	352	26.8	138	32.9
12 years, under 14.....	562	32.5	420	32.0	142	33.9
14 years, under 16.....	327	18.9	253	19.3	74	17.7
Not reported.....	7	.4	7	.5	.....	.....

Grade in school.

Table II shows the school grade of the children reporting employment. Nearly 90 per cent were in the elementary grades, more than one-third of these being in the seventh and eighth.

TABLE II.—Grade attended by children under 16 years of age reporting gainful employment, by sex.

Grade attended.	Both sexes.		Boys.		Girls.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	1,730	100.0	1,311	100.0	419	100.0
First.....	7	0.4	6	0.5	1	0.2
Second.....	67	3.9	62	4.7	5	1.2
Third.....	135	7.8	109	8.3	26	6.2
Fourth.....	219	12.7	171	13.0	48	11.5
Fifth.....	262	15.1	191	14.6	71	16.9
Sixth.....	278	16.1	194	14.8	84	20.0
Seventh.....	299	17.3	227	17.3	72	17.2
Eighth.....	261	15.1	189	14.4	72	17.2
High school.....	199	11.5	160	12.2	39	9.3
First year.....	136	7.9	109	8.3	27	6.4
Second year.....	58	3.4	46	3.5	12	2.9
Third year.....	5	0.3	5	0.4	.....	.....
Grade not reported.....	3	0.2	2	0.2	1	0.2

Of the children 8 to 15 years old, 276, or 17 per cent, were retarded² in school, a few (22) being retarded three years or more. Proportionately more of the children doing agricultural work than of those engaged in any other occupations were retarded. This was not due, as might perhaps be expected, to the presence in the group of agricultural workers of a larger proportion of older children than in the other working groups. The fact that children doing agricultural work were late in entering school, and exceptionally irregular in attendance,³ doubtless made it more difficult for them to make a

² See p. 36, footnote 7.³ See p. 35.

grade every year. Practically no difference in respect to their school progress was shown by children who had worked only during the summer vacation and by those who had had employment before and after school and on Saturdays. In Grand Forks, the only one of the cities from which comparable data for all children were secured, the percentage of retardation was higher in most age groups for the working children than for those who did not work.

TABLE III.—*Comparison of retardation among working children and nonworking children between 8 and 16 years of age in Grand Forks, by age.*

Age.	All children.			Working children.			Nonworking children.		
	Total.	Retarded.		Total.	Retarded.		Total.	Retarded.	
		Num-ber.	Per cent.		Num-ber.	Per cent. ¹		Num-ber.	Per cent.
Total.....	1,920	270	14.1	489	97	19.8	1,431	173	12.1
8 years, under 9.....	283	12	4.2	30	1	.....	253	11	4.3
9 years, under 10.....	246	15	6.1	60	4	6.7	186	11	5.9
10 years, under 11.....	247	25	10.1	41	2	.....	206	23	11.2
11 years, under 12.....	237	34	14.3	86	16	18.6	151	18	11.9
12 years, under 13.....	225	42	18.7	74	10	13.5	151	32	21.2
13 years, under 14.....	237	40	16.9	98	21	21.4	139	19	13.7
14 years, under 15.....	241	57	23.7	79	29	36.7	162	28	17.3
15 years, under 16.....	204	45	22.1	21	14	.....	183	31	16.9

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.

² Excludes 5 children for whom age was not reported.

Almost one-third of the entire group of working children had received a grade of only fair or poor, that is, a percentage below 78, in their studies during the school year covered by the survey. Unfortunately no figures showing the school standing of all the children enrolled in school to which this proportion should be compared are available. It is significant, however, that among children doing agricultural work 38 per cent had received a grade below 78; and also that only 5 per cent of the agricultural workers, as compared with 12 per cent of all the children, were graded as excellent (i. e., having a percentage of from 92 to 100).

Nativity and occupation of fathers.

It would appear that in these North Dakota cities children of foreign parentage are more likely to work while attending school than the children of the native born. Thus, while somewhat more than half (56 per cent) of the working children had native white fathers, native whites constituted 71 per cent of the entire adult population of the three cities; and while more than one-third (36 per cent) of the working children were of foreign-born parentage, foreign whites comprised only 28 per cent of the total adult population of the three cities.⁴ The majority of the foreign-born fathers

⁴ Fourteenth Census of the United States, Vol. III, p. 756. Adult includes all persons 21 years of age and over

were Scandinavian but about one-sixth were Canadian, usually English, and about one-twelfth were Jews.

Most (87 per cent) of the working children had fathers alive and at work. Only 2 per cent had a stepfather or foster father; only 6 per cent were supported by their mothers. In a few cases an older brother or sister or other relative acted as head of the family. Three children supported themselves entirely; one of these was an orphan girl, one a boy whose father was ill, and one a boy whose father was dead. About one-fourth of the chief breadwinners in the families of the children included in the study were engaged in retail trade, chiefly as owners or managers of stores or clerks, or were real estate or insurance agents, or commercial travelers; another one-fourth were occupied in the manufacturing or mechanical industries, the great majority as skilled workmen, a few as owners or managers of factories, or contractors. The remaining one-half worked at various occupations, as Table IV indicates, excepting 43 for whom no occupation was reported. Of these, 22—most of them farmers and ministers—were retired, 11 others had private sources of income other than earnings, 4 were receiving mothers' pensions, and 2 were receiving compensation for injuries.

TABLE IV.—*Occupation of chief breadwinner in families of school children under 16 years of age reporting gainful employment.*

Occupation of chief breadwinner.	School children under 16 years of age reporting gainful employment.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total	1,730	100.0
Trade	448	25.9
Manufacturing and mechanical	438	25.3
Transportation	186	10.8
Personal and domestic service	155	9.0
Laborers in all industries	144	8.0
Professional service	108	6.2
All other ¹	170	9.8
No occupation	43	2.5
Not reported	38	2.2

¹ Clerical occupations, public service, and agriculture.

Children's occupations and conditions of work.

Number and kinds of positions held.—Eight hundred and twenty-three children, or 48 per cent, had held only one position (exclusive of errands and odd jobs) during the period covered by the survey; the remainder had held two or more positions. The largest number reported had worked in street trades, which included selling and delivering papers and magazines, distributing handbills, selling vegetables, fish, or some other commodity, and carrying posters advertising amusement attractions; and the next largest number

had engaged in domestic or personal service. Agricultural pursuits, in which children were gainfully employed on farms or gardens, were also reported by a large number of children. Some of these children had done general farm work, including cultivating land and planting and harvesting crops, while others had done some special kind of work, chiefly picking up potatoes or weeding out mustard plants from wheat fields, work which was locally known as picking mustard.

TABLE V.—Occupation as of April 30, 1922, of school children under 16 years of age reporting gainful employment, by sex.

Occupation as of April 30, 1922.	Both sexes.		Boys.		Girls.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	1,730	.....	1,311	.....	419	.....
Having positions.....	671	100.0	524	100.0	147	100.0
Farm work.....	3	0.4	3	0.6	.....	.....
Work in mercantile establishment.....	60	8.9	53	10.1	7	4.8
Delivery.....	45	6.7	43	8.2	2	1.4
Selling.....	11	1.6	7	1.3	4	2.7
Other.....	4	0.6	3	0.6	1	0.7
Street trades.....	379	56.5	374	71.4	5	3.4
Selling papers.....	¹ 254	37.9	254	48.5	.....	.....
Delivering papers only.....	84	12.5	83	15.8	1	0.7
Other.....	41	6.1	37	7.1	4	2.7
Personal and domestic service.....	156	23.2	37	7.1	119	81.0
Housework.....	² 21	3.1	.....	.....	21	14.3
Care of children only.....	96	14.3	2	0.4	94	63.9
Other.....	39	5.8	35	6.7	4	2.7
Errands and odd jobs.....	37	5.5	24	4.6	13	8.8
All other work.....	36	5.4	33	6.3	3	2.0
Having no position.....	1,059	.....	787	.....	272	.....

¹ Includes 13 children who both sold and delivered papers.

² Includes 6 children who both did housework and cared for children.

Six hundred and seventy-one, or about two-fifths of the children reported as working during the year, had employment on April 30, 1922, the last day of the period covered by the survey. These children probably represent fairly the proportion of public school children of their ages working at any one time during the school year, although the occupations no doubt change somewhat with the seasons, and many more children work during school vacations. Table V shows the occupations in which the children were engaged on this date. Two hundred and fifty-two (38 per cent) of the 671 reporting present occupation worked less than two hours a day; 200 (nearly 30 per cent), from two to three hours daily; while 98 (15 per cent) spent three or more hours a day at work. Twelve children working on Saturdays reported a working-day of eight hours or longer. More than three-fourths of those who had a posi-

tion on the specified date were receiving an amount ranging from \$1 to \$5 a week; one-fourth were earning less than \$1. The median earnings for the group as a whole were \$1.86.

TABLE VI.—Principal occupation of school children under 16 years of age reporting gainful employment, by sex.

Principal occupation.	Both sexes.		Boys.		Girls.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	1,730	100.0	1,311	100.0	419	100.0
Farm work.....	256	14.8	247	18.8	9	2.1
Work in mercantile establishments.....	147	8.5	133	10.1	14	3.3
Street trades.....	657	38.0	641	48.9	16	3.8
Personal and domestic service.....	501	29.0	155	11.8	346	82.6
Manufacturing and mechanical and trade not otherwise specified.....	37	2.1	36	2.7	1	0.2
Messenger service.....	7	0.4	7	0.5	—	—
Errands and odd jobs.....	58	3.4	38	2.9	20	4.8
All other work.....	67	3.9	54	4.1	13	3.1

Inasmuch as many children had held more than one position during the year it was necessary, in order to discuss the conditions of work, to select for each of these children what seemed to be the most important occupation in which he had engaged. This occupation is referred to as the "principal occupation" in the following discussion of conditions of employment, hours, earnings, etc. Tables VI and VII show the number of children reporting their principal employment in the various occupational groups. Since conditions of employment were shown to be very similar in all three cities no attempt has been made to present the facts for each of the cities separately.

TABLE VII.—Principal occupation of school children under 16 years of age reporting gainful employment, by time of year employed in principal occupation.

Principal occupation.	School children under 16 years of age reporting gainful employment.						
	Total.	Time of year employed in principal occupation.					
		During summer only.		During school year only.		During both summer and school year.	
		Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹
Total.....	1,730	615	35.5	473	27.3	641	37.1
Farm work.....	256	219	85.5	10	3.9	27	10.5
Work in mercantile establishments.....	147	45	30.6	41	27.9	61	41.5
Street trades.....	657	131	19.9	235	35.8	291	44.3
Personal and domestic service.....	501	158	31.5	139	27.7	203	40.5
Manufacturing and mechanical and trade, not otherwise specified.....	37	26	—	7	—	4	—
Messenger service.....	7	2	—	3	—	2	—
Errands and odd jobs.....	58	8	13.8	18	31.0	32	55.2
All other work.....	67	26	38.8	20	29.9	21	31.3

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.

² Includes 1 child for whom time of employment was not reported.

Street trades.—By far the greatest number of the children who had been employed had engaged in some sort of street work. Of the 657

children reporting street work as their principal occupation only 16 were girls.

All except 42 of these children had sold or delivered newspapers or magazines. The 42 children who distributed handbills, sold fish or vegetables, carried posters advertising motion-picture attractions, or sold crocheted articles or hosiery, worked only occasionally. The 50 who had sold or delivered magazines worked only a few hours one or two days a week; only 1 boy had done this work as much as 46 weeks (the period covered by the survey), and more than one-half had worked less than 13 weeks. Many of the children who sold or delivered newspapers, on the other hand, comprising the great majority of those doing street work, worked several hours a day throughout the school year as well as during the summer vacation. Thirty per cent of the sellers and 9 per cent of the carriers were under 10 years of age; 59 per cent of the former and 37 per cent of the latter were under 12. Only 42 sellers and 34 carriers were 14 or 15 years of age. Street trading is not included in the occupations in which children under 14 are prohibited from working by the State child labor law, and none of the three cities had any ordinance regulating it. The circulation manager of one of the Grand Forks papers stated that he had refused to give papers to some very young children who had applied. In Fargo the policewoman, realizing the necessity of some supervision of newsboys, had fixed the minimum age for newspaper street work at 12 years. This age restriction had been in force for three or four years. For a year the practice had been in force of issuing a permit to each child who secured newspapers directly from the company, but no badge was given. The only proof of age required for this permit was that secured from school records. However, these attempts at supervision had not reached all the newsboys, for many children under 12 years of age secured their papers from older boys.

TABLE VIII.—*Age of school children under 16 years of age engaged in street trades.*

Age.	Children under 16 years of age engaged in street trades. ¹					
	Total.	Selling papers only.	Selling and delivering papers.	Delivering papers only.	Selling or delivering magazines.	Other street trades.
Total.....	657	412	18	135	50	42
6 years, under 7.....	9	6	.....	.....	3	.....
7 years, under 8.....	36	25	1	1	6	3
8 years, under 9.....	59	39	1	4	9	6
9 years, under 10.....	78	57	.....	7	7	7
10 years, under 11.....	80	49	.....	12	12	7
11 years, under 12.....	116	71	4	27	6	8
12 years, under 13.....	102	66	3	23	3	7
13 years, under 14.....	98	58	7	29	2	2
14 years, under 15.....	63	36	2	22	1	2
15 years, under 16.....	14	4	.....	10	.....	.....
Not reported.....	2	1	.....	.....	1	.....

¹ Principal occupation.

Children undertaking the work of selling or delivering papers usually kept at it for some time. About one-fifth of both sellers and carriers had worked throughout the period of 46 weeks covered by the inquiry; 63 per cent of the former and 70 per cent of the latter had worked at least 13 weeks. Most of the children sold their papers or completed their routes within two hours, carriers working a somewhat shorter time than sellers. Only 31 per cent of the children delivering newspapers, as compared with 50 per cent of those who sold them, had worked two hours or more a day. Forty-two children, most of whom sold Sunday papers, reported that they worked 3, 4, or 5 or more hours a day. Few sellers and fewer carriers worked after 7 p. m.

About 11 per cent of the boys selling papers and 14 per cent of those having paper routes worked on Sunday. Eleven sellers, four carriers, and one boy who both sold and delivered, worked only on Sundays. In addition to the Sunday edition of local papers, boys sold out-of-town papers (which usually arrived Saturday morning) on Saturdays and Sundays. One 15-year-old boy had sold Fargo, Minneapolis, and St. Paul papers every Sunday throughout the 46-week period covered by the study, working from 5 a. m. until noon. Another boy, 13 years of age, sold papers on Sunday mornings from half past 6 until 10.

Carriers were paid, according to the number of papers they delivered, from \$2 to \$2.50 a week in Minot, from \$7 to \$10 a month in Grand Forks, and from \$5 to \$5.50 every two weeks in Fargo. In Fargo many of the boys hired some one to help them on their routes, paying him from 30 cents to \$1.25 a week, depending on the age of the assistant, and, to some extent, on his demands. In many cases younger brothers anxious to earn a little money often did the greater part of the work for the smaller part of the earnings. Thus, an 8-year-old boy delivered papers every day from 4 to 5.30 p. m. for 5 cents a day. Morning routes commanded better compensation than afternoon delivery; in Fargo boys carrying the morning paper received \$4 a week.

Sellers' earnings were usually small—about one-fourth of those reporting earnings made less than \$1 a week, and the majority (over two-thirds) made less than \$2.50. Only 15 per cent of the carriers had earned less than \$1 and only one-half less than \$2.50. A few sellers made from \$5 to \$10. A 14-year-old boy in Fargo was typical of this group. His weekly earnings during the summer were \$10.50 (\$6 for the morning paper and \$4.50 for the evening), and during the school year, \$5 (\$2 for the morning and \$3 for the evening). His hours during the summer were from 6 to 10 in the morning and from 3 to 6 in the afternoon, while during the school year he worked from 6 to 8.30 in the morning before school and from 4 to 6 in the afternoon.

He had been selling for more than four years. He said, "It's hard to sell now, because there are so many boys. They're going to quit some who haven't been selling one year."

Although the time spent at the work was short, and few boys worked after 7 o'clock in the evening, certain aspects of newspaper selling make it unsuitable work for young children. Standing on street corners even for as much as two hours in the extreme cold of the North Dakota winters is likely to prove physically taxing; street cars and automobiles on crowded streets are a special source of danger to the young and heedless; contact with the over-stimulating life of the street is generally believed to result in undesirable precocity and impatience with discipline and ordinary routine even when street activities are confined to daylight hours, while such contact after dark is likely to be even less desirable for young children. Almost one-third of the sellers, it will be remembered, were under 10 years of age.

TABLE IX.—Duration of principal occupation of school children under 16 years of age engaged in street trades.

Duration of principal occupation.	Children under 16 years of age engaged in street trades					
	Total.	Selling papers only.	Selling and delivering papers.	Delivering papers only.	Selling or delivering magazines.	Other street trades.
Total.....	657	412	18	135	50	42
Less than 2 weeks.....	4	3	.....	.....	1	.....
2 weeks, less than 6.....	119	78	3	16	12	10
6 weeks, less than 13.....	90	46	2	18	15	9
13 weeks.....	49	28	3	11	1	6
Over 13 weeks, less than 33.....	113	77	2	26	3	5
33 weeks.....	46	35	2	8	1	.....
Over 33 weeks.....	178	120	5	50	1	.....
Not reported.....	58	25	1	6	16	13

TABLE X.—Daily hours in principal occupation of school children under 16 years of age engaged in street trades.

Daily hours in principal occupation.	Children under 16 years of age engaged in street trades.					
	Total.	Selling papers only.	Selling and delivering papers.	Delivering papers only.	Selling or delivering magazines.	Other street trades.
Total.....	657	412	18	135	50	42
Total reporting.....	610	405	18	134	24	29
Less than 2 hours.....	320	197	13	91	14	5
2 hours, less than 4.....	258	192	4	40	9	13
4 hours, less than 8.....	32	16	1	3	1	11
Not reported.....	47	7	.....	1	26	13

While boys working on routes were less subject to certain of these dangers than sellers, their work involved some hardships. Those who served morning paper routes were obliged to start out very early in order to insure the arrival of the paper at all houses before the head of the household left for the day. In Fargo they were supposed to report at 4.30, though many did not arrive until between 5 and 6; in Grand Forks the route boys started out between half-past 4 and half-past 5 a. m. Over one-fourth of the 153 boys who delivered papers delivered morning papers before 7 o'clock. It is very likely that at least the younger children delivering morning papers were not getting sufficient sleep for their proper development. One 8-year-old child going to school all day had delivered papers from 5 to 5.30 six mornings a week for at least 46 weeks; in order to have had the amount of sleep needed by a child of his age he would have had to go to bed at 5 o'clock in the afternoon. The State child labor law prohibits employment in any occupation before 7 in the morning or after 7 at night, the penalty to be paid by the employer; while children selling or delivering newspapers are popularly supposed to be in business for themselves, the latter, as a matter of fact, are quite as much employed as children hired for other kinds of work.

The heavy weights carried by boys serving paper routes were also somewhat of a hardship. Those who delivered the afternoon paper in Fargo carried from 100 to 125 papers, a weight of from 25 to 30 pounds.⁵ A circulation manager in Grand Forks reported that the weight of the heaviest load carried was about 20 pounds, the average being 15. In Minot the route carrier's load was from 10 to 15 pounds. Hand wagons, used by newspaper deliverers in many cities, were not in general use.

Personal and domestic service.—Just as street work was done almost exclusively by boys, so housework and the care of children were generally girls' jobs. Only four boys had done such work, but most of the girls (80 per cent) reported it as their principal work. By far the greater number (301) had cared for children; 67 had done housework. About half were under 12 years of age, 12 per cent were under 10, the median age of girls doing housework being 13.2 years and that of girls taking care of children being 11.9 years.

⁵ Weighed by the Children's Bureau agents.

TABLE XI.—Age of school children under 16 years of age engaged in personal and domestic service.

Age.	Children under 16 years of age engaged in personal and domestic work. ¹					
	Total.	House-work only.	House-work and care of children.	Care of children only.	Caddy.	Other personal and domestic work.
Total.....	501	37	32	271	74	87
6 years, under 7.....	2	.....	.....	1	.....	1
7 years, under 8.....	9	.....	1	5	1	2
8 years, under 9.....	28	.....	.....	17	3	8
9 years, under 10.....	54	3	3	20	10	18
10 years, under 11.....	71	4	1	41	10	15
11 years, under 12.....	97	3	5	57	20	12
12 years, under 13.....	77	5	5	49	9	9
13 years, under 14.....	82	8	10	46	11	7
14 years, under 15.....	64	12	4	28	8	12
15 years, under 16.....	16	2	3	7	1	3
Not reported.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....

¹ Principal occupation

About three-fifths of the children reporting duration of work had worked 6 weeks or longer but only 90 (about one-fourth) as much as 13 weeks, and only 16 had had employment throughout the 46 weeks covered in the survey. Most of the girls who cared for children were employed a few hours once or twice a week, usually by neighbors or relatives. The "work" often involved nothing beyond playing with a baby while the mother went shopping or out to an entertainment. In many cases, however, it meant that young children hired to care for a baby were kept up until a very late hour waiting for the return of the baby's parents from a dance or the theater; 26 per cent of the girls who cared for children and reported hour of beginning had begun their work at 7 p. m. or later and 84 had finished after 7 or had remained all night with their charges. In a few cases also young children had worked very long hours for little remuneration. One girl of 10 years had cared for children from 8 in the morning until 6 at night, with only one hour free at noon. For this work she was paid \$4 for three weeks' work, or \$1.33 a week. Another girl 11 years of age had worked from 8 in the morning until 8.30 at night caring for children and doing housework with no cessation except a possible few minutes at meal time. This child had worked through the whole vacation period for \$8; that is, for 62 cents a week. One child, a girl aged 13 years, had worked at 10 different times taking care of children from 7 at night until 2.30 in the morning. A child of 12 had worked throughout the summer from 9.30 in the morning till 10.30 at night caring for children, for which she was paid \$1 a week. Twelve and one-half hours, from 7 a. m. till 7.30 p. m., was the time another 11-year-old girl who cared for a 2-year-old child worked for three weeks. She had no time free even during her meals.

TABLE XII.—Duration of principal occupation of school children under 16 years of age engaged in personal and domestic work.

Duration of principal occupation.	Children under 16 years of age engaged in personal and domestic work.					
	Total.	House-work only.	House-work and care of children.	Care of children only.	Caddy.	Other personal and domestic work.
Total.....	501	37	32	271	74	87
Less than 2 weeks.....	11	1	.....	5	2	3
2 weeks, less than 6.....	134	14	13	66	16	25
6 weeks, less than 13.....	90	6	7	46	22	9
13 weeks.....	29	2	2	15	5	5
Over 13 weeks, less than 33.....	60	1	3	42	4	10
33 weeks.....	3	1	1	1	.....	4
Over 33 weeks.....	26	9	3	10	.....	4
Not reported.....	148	3	3	86	25	31

While in most instances the housework reported was not very laborious, there were a few girls who had done housework during the summer or who were working for board and room while going to school, whose work was long and arduous. A crippled girl 15 years of age had worked at housework throughout the period of the survey. During the summer months she had worked 9 hours a day, receiving \$14 a month and board; during the school year she worked before school for 1½ hours, after school for 3½ hours, and on Saturday and Sunday for \$10 a month and board. Another girl, 14 years of age, supporting herself, had worked 10 weeks during the summer from 7 a. m. till 8 p. m. for \$3 a week and board and room. During the school year she worked two and three-quarter hours a day for board and room. Seventeen children doing housework reported ending their work after 7 p. m., and three reported beginning before 7 a. m. Twenty had worked more than 8 hours; 14 at least 10 hours a day. In all these cases, as in the case of girls taking care of children at night, the hours of labor provisions of the State child labor law were being violated.

TABLE XIII.—Daily hours in principal occupation of school children under 16 years of age engaged in domestic and personal service.

Daily hours in principal occupation.	Children under 16 years of age engaged in domestic and personal service.					
	Total.	House-work only.	House-work and care of children.	Care of children only.	Caddy.	Other personal and domestic service.
Total.....	501	37	32	271	74	87
Total reporting.....	284	31	25	137	51	40
Less than 2 hours.....	54	5	2	21	4	22
2 hours, less than 4.....	100	9	4	70	7	10
4 hours, less than 8.....	73	8	7	33	20	5
8 hours and over.....	57	9	12	13	20	3
Not reported.....	217	6	7	134	23	47

Another form of personal and domestic service commonly reported was caddying. Seventy-four boys stated that this had been their principal occupation during the period of the survey. They were, in general, not quite so young as newsboys, but about one-fifth were under 10 years of age. Only nine were 14 or older. Most of the work is in the summer, but the golf season extends into the fall and begins in the spring two or three months before the end of the school term. Only 14 boys, however, had worked on school days; 14 others had worked on Saturdays or on Saturdays and Sundays, and 46 had worked only during vacation. Although 15 boys reported working more than eight hours, most of them had had a shorter working-day. All except 18 of the boys had worked over a period of at least six weeks.

Caddying, while giving children a great deal of exercise in the open air, entails the carrying of quite a heavy load. The weight carried varies with the size of bag and number of sticks contained in it, but an average weight reported was 20 pounds. When the distance walked and the weight carried are both considered, it is believed that many children, especially younger ones, can become fatigued by one round of a golf course. Many children did more than one round.

The only other kind of personal and domestic service reported by any considerable number of children was janitor service. It consisted of caring for furnaces, hauling away ashes, chopping wood, shoveling snow, caring for lawns, and washing windows. A few children reported regular jobs of caring for furnaces, lawns, or walks, but for most of them such work meant only a job here and there. Eighty-seven children (77 boys and 10 girls) or only about 5 per cent of those working reported such work as their principal occupation.

Agricultural work.—Two hundred and fifty-six children reported their principal occupation as agricultural, a fact which is not surprising when it is remembered that North Dakota is primarily an agricultural State and the cities chiefly trading centers for the surrounding farming population. All except nine of the children reporting agricultural work were boys. One-third were under 12 years of age, 12 per cent under 10. All except 37 had worked during the summer only, but 17 (7 per cent of the total number of children for whom farm work was the principal occupation) had stayed out of school to do farm work. Some of these were children who had left school before the end of the term or who had entered late on account of doing farm work; others had stayed out of school after they had entered, to do some specific work, chiefly picking up potatoes. Over one-fourth had worked at least 13 weeks.

Much of the work consisted of relatively simple tasks, such as weeding gardens, picking up or gathering potatoes, weeding mustard plants out of wheat fields, or shocking grain. Many of the children who reported farm work, however, had done work involving the use of horses or tractors in cultivating the land and in planting and harvesting crops.⁶ Among these operations were plowing, disking, harrowing and drilling, operating a corn or grain binder or a hay mower, and threshing. The use of horses or tractors in the farm work which they had done was reported by many boys, a number of whom were under 10 years of age. Herding cattle and herding sheep were reported by some of the children. Some herded on horseback, others walked. A few of these children were under 10 years of age. Children herding cattle often had to go long distances from their homes, spending long hours alone, and returning late in the evening.

Weekly earnings averaged considerably higher (\$5.19) than for any other occupation, inasmuch as farm work was usually full-time work rather than because the rate of pay was higher. Board and room were usually included in the farm worker's wage.

Hours for children doing agricultural work were very long—only 5 per cent of those reporting hours had worked less than 2 hours a day; 132 had worked more than 8 hours, and 79 children, or two-fifths, of the total number of farm workers reporting the length of their working day had worked at least 10 hours. Thirty-nine children had begun work before 7 o'clock in the morning and 11 had continued their work after 7 p. m. One boy, 12 years of age, who had done general farm work throughout the summer, reported working from 4 in the morning until 5 at night with little time off for meals, since he carried breakfast and lunch to the field with him. For these long hours the child received \$2.31 a week and board. Another boy, 14 years of age, reported doing general farm work from 6 a. m. till noon, from 1.30 p. m. to 9 p. m. (13½ hours a day) for 12 weeks. His wages were \$2.08 a week and board. A 12-year-old boy had worked for two weeks herding cattle, from 6.30 in the morning until 8 at night, with several intermissions, the daily hours which he worked totaling eight. For this work he was paid 50 cents a week and board.

⁶ See pp. 3-13.

TABLE XIV.—Age and sex of school children under 16 years of age engaged in mercantile work.

Age and sex.	Children under 16 years of age engaged in mercantile work. ¹				
	Total.	Delivery only.	Delivery and other.	Selling.	Other only
Total.....	147	83	22	25	17
7 years, under 10.....	11	7	2	1	1
10 years, under 12.....	27	19	4	2	2
12 years, under 14.....	55	28	10	12	5
14 years, under 16.....	52	27	6	10	9
Not reported.....	2	2			
Boys.....	133	81	21	16	15
7 years, under 10.....	9	7	1		1
10 years, under 12.....	24	18	4	1	1
12 years, under 14.....	50	27	10	8	5
14 years, under 16.....	48	27	6	7	8
Not reported.....	2	2			
Girls.....	14	2	1	9	2
7 years, under 10.....	2		1	1	
10 years, under 12.....	3	1		1	1
12 years, under 14.....	5	1		4	
14 years, under 16.....	4			3	1

¹ Principal occupation.

It would appear that the State child labor law includes agricultural employment under its maximum-hours provision, since it specifies "all gainful occupations," but like most laws of this kind it fails to function in the case of children hiring out for farm labor.

Mercantile occupations.—Many children worked in groceries, meat markets, drug stores, and 5 and 10 cent stores. Most of them sold or delivered merchandise, but some cleaned store, kept stock in order, or were general helpers, doing whatever work was needed. One hundred and forty-seven children (133 boys and 14 girls) reported such work as their principal occupation. They were as a rule somewhat older than children reporting other kinds of work. One-third of them were 14 years of age or older; only 8 per cent were less than 10. Half of them had worked at least 13 weeks. While 62 children, or about two-fifths of all who had been employed in stores, had worked only during vacation or on Saturday, many worked both on Saturday and on school days. Twelve children had worked regularly 6 days a week throughout the 46 weeks covered in the survey. One 13-year-old boy had worked for three weeks during school hours. One-fifth of those reporting hours had worked more than 8 hours a day. Contrary to the child labor law, 1 child began his work before 7 in the morning and 20 worked after 7 in the evening.

TABLE XV.—Daily hours in principal occupation of school children under 16 years of age engaged in mercantile work.

Daily hours in principal occupation.	Children under 16 years of age engaged in mercantile work.				
	Total.	Delivery only.	Delivery and other.	Selling.	Other only.
Total.....	147	83	22	25	17
Total reporting.....	130	77	17	20	16
Less than 2 hours.....	15	11	3	.....	1
2 hours, less than 4.....	50	34	5	5	6
4 hours, less than 8.....	26	17	2	7	.....
8 hours and over.....	39	15	7	8	9
Not reported.....	17	6	5	5	1

As might be expected from the regularity of the work, children working in stores earned more than those in street work or in domestic or personal service. Ten children had earned \$7.50 or more a week. Median earnings were slightly over \$4 a week.

The following are some examples of conditions of work in mercantile establishments: One 14-year-old boy had worked as clerk in a drug store throughout the school term. On school days he worked on an average 5½ hours after school, on Saturday 11 hours, and on Sunday 6 hours, receiving \$8 a week. Another 14-year-old boy had worked all summer delivering groceries from 8.30 in the morning until 6.20 at night with one hour off at noon. His wages were \$10 a week. A 13-year-old boy had worked eight and one-half hours daily during the summer vacation and for three and three-fourths hours daily throughout the school year delivering for a dry-cleaning establishment. This work was illegal, since the North Dakota child labor law prohibits the employment of children under 14 in the transmission of merchandise.

Other occupations.—A number of children had worked as carpenters' or painters' helpers, deliverers, or assistants in printing establishments, tailoring shops, bakeries, or brickyards, deliverers of milk, and can and bottle washers in ice-cream factories. Thirty-seven children had done one of the above-named kinds of work at some time during the year as their principal occupation. Of these only one was a girl. Four children reporting this work were under 10 years of age; 15 were 14 years of age or over. All except 11 of the 37 children had worked only during summer vacation. Hours were, therefore, longer than for most of the jobs reported by the children. More than one-half of those reporting their daily hours had worked at least an 8-hour day. Six children had worked either before 7 a. m. or after 7 p. m. As in mercantile occupations, earnings were fairly high; although 12 children had received less than \$5 a week, 13 had

earned at least \$10. That the work was often unsuitable or contrary to law or both is illustrated by the following examples: A boy 14 years of age washed cans and bottles for an ice-cream company for two hours after school every school day and nine hours on Saturday throughout the school term, work for which he received \$5 a week. Another 14-year-old boy worked in a printing shop. There he melted metal every day all summer from 8 a. m. to 12 and from 1 to 5 p. m. A boy 14 years of age had hauled coal from 6 a. m. to 12 and from 12.30 to 4 p. m. for eight weeks during the summer. A 13-year-old girl wrapped bread in a bakery. She had worked every night from 7.30 to 9 p. m., not only in the four months of the summer vacation, but after school and on Sunday.

TABLE XVI.—*Daily hours in principal occupation of school children under 16 years of age engaged in "other work."*

Daily hours in principal occupation.	Children under 16 years of age engaged in "other work."				
	Total.	Manufacturing and mechanical occupations and trade n.o.s. ¹	Messenger service.	Errands and odd jobs.	All other work.
Total.....	169	37	7	58	67
Total reporting.....	123	33	7	23	60
Less than 2 hours.....	30	3	.....	19	8
2 hours, less than 4.....	31	7	1	2	21
4 hours, less than 8.....	18	4	4	1	9
8 hours and over.....	44	19	2	1	22
Not reported.....	46	4	.....	35	7

¹ Not otherwise specified.

Messenger service was reported by 7 boys, 3 of whom were under 14 and 3 of whom had worked after 7 p. m. Fifty-eight children reported doing errands and odd jobs as their principal occupation—about 3 per cent of the total number. Sixty-seven children had had jobs as ticket sellers, ushers, garage helpers, musicians, actors,⁷ or bell hops. About two-fifths of these had worked only in the summer time, but 36 had worked during the school year and on school days. Twenty-two had worked at least eight hours a day. Children who were engaged to play at dances or who appeared in the theaters or worked as ushers often worked late at night; 24, or more than two-fifths of those reporting hours, had worked after 7 o'clock. This kind of work appeared to be of shorter duration than many of the jobs which children held—only about one-third had worked at least 13 weeks.

⁷ The 1923 law provides that for work in theaters, concert halls, and places of amusement children under 16 must obtain a special permit from the judge of the juvenile court, juvenile-court commission, or board of child welfare.

TABLE XVII.—Principal occupation of school children under 16 years of age reporting gainful employment, by weekly earnings in principal occupation.

Principal occupation.	Children under 16 years of age reporting gainful employment.								
	Total.	Weekly earnings.							
		Less than \$2.50.	\$2.50, less than \$5.	\$5, less than \$10.	\$10 and over.	No cash.	Cash and board.	Fluctuating.	Not reported.
Total.....	1,730	636	287	136	63	10	51	114	433
Farm work.....	256	23	31	42	17	6	43	19	75
Work in mercantile establishments.....	147	28	28	31	5	2	.....	24	29
Street trades.....	657	357	160	24	.....	.....	.....	44	72
Personal and domestic service.....	501	185	51	16	7	1	8	22	211
Manufacturing and mechanical and trade, n. o. s.....	37	8	4	3	13	.....	.....	.....	7
Messenger service.....	7	1	.....	2	3	.....	.....	.....	1
Errands and odd jobs.....	58	28	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	27
All other work.....	67	6	10	18	18	1	.....	3	11

Disposition of earnings.

The majority of the children earned less than \$5 a week, though a few had earnings sufficiently large to make a real difference in the family income. Only 313 of the 1,730, however, had contributed any of their earnings to the family, and only 281 had used all their money to help support themselves; 522 others had used some of their earnings for self-support. It is probable that most of these had helped to buy their clothes. About 30 per cent were working only for spending money or to have money in the bank. A slightly larger number of children were spending their money entirely on such things as amusements and candy than were contributing all their earnings to the family. Relatively fewer children of native white than of foreign parents contributed the entire amount earned to their families, the proportions being 6 and 9 per cent, respectively; and fewer of the former (15 per cent) than of the latter (18 per cent) used their money entirely to help buy necessities for themselves. Even in the less prosperous families the children's earnings were not, for the most part, used in meeting family expenses; only 15 per cent of the children whose fathers were laborers used all their money, and only 15 per cent used part of it for this purpose.

TABLE XVIII.—*Proportion of school children under 16 years of age reporting gainful employment that worked before 7 a. m. or after 7 p. m.*

Principal occupation.	Children under 16 years of age reporting gainful employment.				
	Total.	Working before 7 a. m.		Working after 7 p. m.	
		Number.	Per cent. ¹	Number.	Per cent. ¹
Total.....	1,730	106	6.1	2172	9.9
Farm work.....	256	39	15.2	11	4.3
Work in mercantile establishments.....	147	1	0.7	20	13.6
Street trades.....	657	58	8.8	15	2.3
Personal and domestic service.....	501	4	0.8	94	18.8
Manufacturing and mechanical and trade n. o. s.....	37	3	.....	3	.....
Messenger service.....	7	.....	.....	3	.....
Errands and odd jobs.....	58	1	1.7	2	3.4
All other work.....	67	.....	.....	24	35.8

¹ Not shown where base is less than 50.² Excludes 14 children who stayed at place of employment all night.

Violations of the State child labor law.

Many of the children had worked in violation of one or more of the provisions of the State child labor law in effect at the time of the study.⁸ Of the 1,396 children under 14 years of age, 117, or 8 per cent, reported their principal employment in occupations specifically prohibited for children under 14.⁹ Of the 327 who were 14 or over, 67 were engaged in occupations for which employment certificates were required,¹⁰ but none had a certificate. In fact up to the time of the survey no employment certificates had been issued in any of the three cities. Contrary to law,¹¹ also, 15 children under 14 years of age had worked at their principal occupation during school hours.

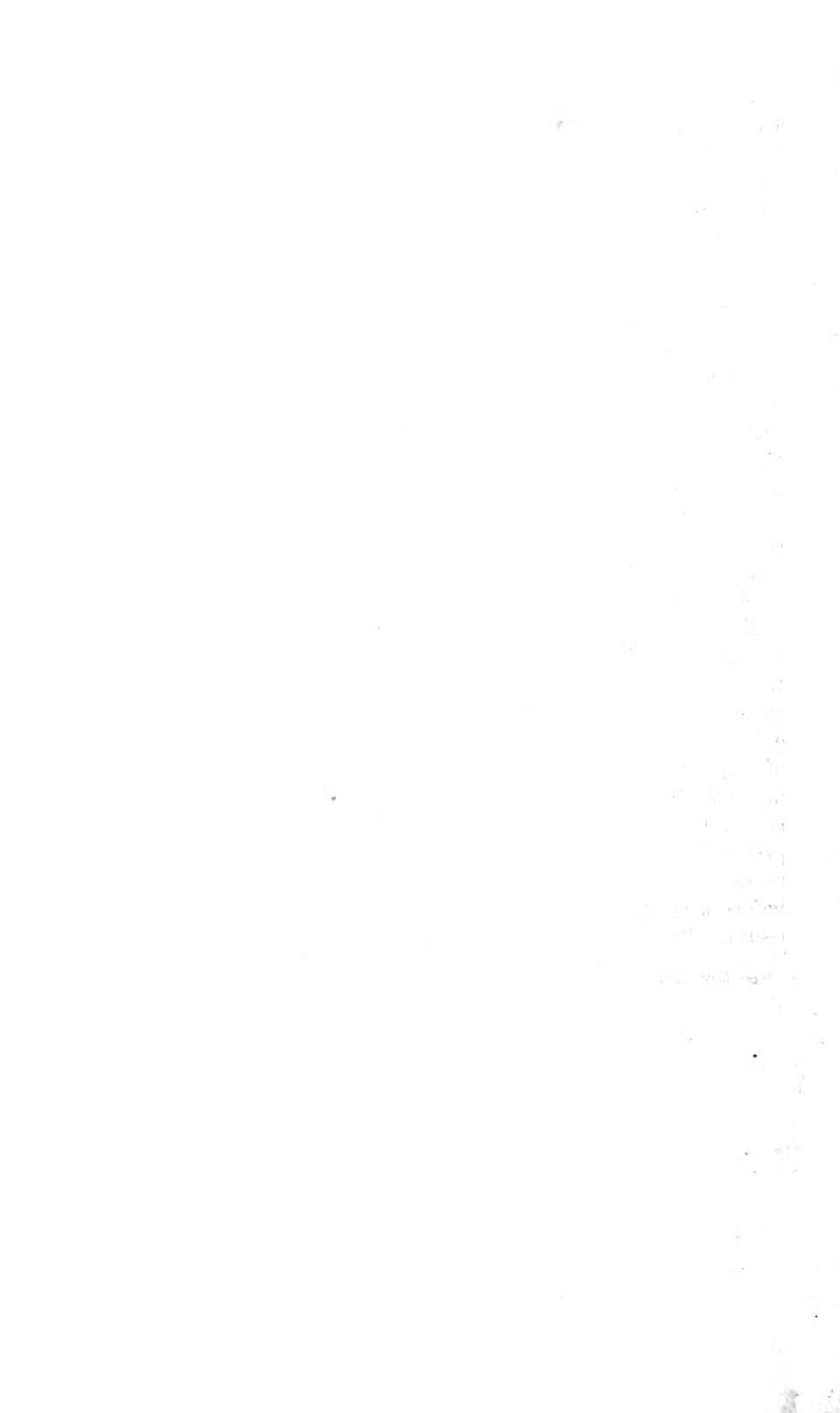
In addition to the violations of the law in regard to the age of employment, the certificating provision, and employment during school hours, there were many violations of the hours of labor clause, which specified that no child under 16 might be employed more than 8 hours a day or 48 hours a week, or before 7 a. m. or after 7 p. m. in any gainful occupation whatever.¹² Of the total number of working children, 237, or 14 per cent, had worked at their principal occupation more than eight hours a day. One hundred and thirty-two of these were children doing agricultural work, and 47 were those who had engaged in some form of domestic or personal service; but 58 (25 per cent) of the hour violations occurred in occupations which are

⁸ For changes made by the child labor law of 1923 see pp. 42, 60, 63.⁹ Compiled Laws, North Dakota, 1913, sec. 1404.¹⁰ Compiled Laws, North Dakota, 1913, sec. 1405.¹¹ Compiled Laws, North Dakota, 1913, sec. 1404.¹² Compiled Laws, North Dakota, 1913, sec. 1410.

not only subject, as a rule, to stricter legal regulation than the other two classes of employment, but are also much more easily regulated. One hundred and six children had worked before 7 in the morning, and 172 after 7 at night. Table XVIII shows in what groups of occupations this work occurred. All of these children were working in violation of the law, with the possible exception of 14 newspaper sellers and peddlers in business on their own account who had worked after 7 p. m. The greatest offenders against the early morning regulations were route carriers employed by the newspapers; a strict interpretation of the law would penalize their employers just as it did others, since no class of occupations was exempt from the hours provision. A number of the children working after 7 o'clock in the evening were employed as musicians for dances, as motion-picture machine operators, as ushers or performers on the stage—types of work which appear to be growing more and more popular among school children.¹³ A very flagrant case of violating the night-work provision of the child labor law was that of a 15-year-old boy who cleaned railroad coaches from 12 midnight until 8 in the morning throughout the 46 weeks covered by the study.

The State child labor law of 1923 may be expected to decrease the number of violations, since it provides more adequate administrative measures than the child labor law in effect at the time of the study. For the first time a State agency is made responsible for the enforcement of the law, and the provisions relating to the issuance of employment certificates have been strengthened. Under the 1923 law it is the duty of the State board of administration to enforce the act and to exercise general supervision over its administration, to prepare and distribute blanks for use in carrying out the act, and to revoke certificates. The law also requires a promise of employment before a certificate is issued and the return of the certificate to the issuing office, both important administrative provisions.

¹³ See footnote 1, page 60, footnote 7.



APPENDIX.—ACCIDENTS AS REPORTED BY 104 OF THE 845 CHILDREN WHO HAD WORKED ON FARMS DURING 1921.

A.—Accidents occurring while operating implements.

No.	Sex.	Age.	Age at time of injury.	Occupation.	Cause and nature of injury.	Extent of disability.
1	Male....	10	7	Plowing.....	Fell from machine; broke arm.....	Lame 1 month.
2	...do.....	12	12	...do.....	Plow hit stone; fell from machine; dislocated ankle.	Lame 1 week.
3	Female..	14	13	...do.....	Horse ran away; leg caught in wheel; hip injured.	Lame 2 weeks.
4	Male....	14	12	...do.....	Reached for lever and missed it, fell from tractor, between share and land wheel; bruised and sprained wrist.	Laid up 1 week.
5	...do.....	13	12	...do.....	Fell from plow just behind horses, cut knee.	Lame 2 weeks.
6	...do.....	12	(1)	...do.....	Plow hit stone; thrown from plow; cut cheek.	Not reported.
7	...do.....	16	12	...do.....	Plow hit rock; fell from machine; scraped leg.	Lame 1 month.
8	...do.....	11	10	...do.....	Plow hit rock; thrown, and skinned whole side.	Laid up 1 week.
9	...do.....	9	9	...do.....	Fell from plow; skinned wrist.....	Did not stop work.
10	...do.....	13	13	...do.....	Plow hit stone; fell and smashed finger.	Not reported.
11	...do.....	9	8	...do.....	Fell from plow; machine ran over leg.	Lame 1 month.
12	...do.....	13	13	...do.....	Fell into plow; hurt foot.....	Lame 2 days.
13	...do.....	14	13	...do.....	Horses ran away; fell from machine; knocked unconscious.	Ill 1 day.
14	...do.....	16	15	...do.....	Plow struck rock; thrown from plow and hurt leg.	Lame ½ day.
15	...do.....	16	14	...do.....	Plow struck rock; thrown from machine and fell on neck.	Stiff neck 2 days.
16	...do.....	16	15	...do.....	Plow hit stone; thrown from machine and hurt knee.	Lame a few days.
17	...do.....	13	10	...do.....	Plow hit stone; fell from machine; plow ran over shoulder.	Laid up 3 days.
18	...do.....	14	14	...do.....	Plow hit stone; hurt leg.....	Lame 2 days.
19	...do.....	11	(1)	...do.....	Fell from plow; hurt arm.....	Not reported.
20	...do.....	11	(1)	...do.....	Fell from plow backward; hurt hand.	Do.
21	...do.....	12	(1)	...do.....	Wheel went over shoulder.....	Not hurt badly.
22	...do.....	13	(1)	...do.....	Plow jolted; thrown; foot caught in wheel; nearly broke it.	Not reported.
23	...do.....	16	(1)	...do.....	Plow hit stone; fell on head.....	Not serious.
24	...do.....	14	8	Disking.....	Foot cut on disk.....	Did not stop work.
25	...do.....	12	8	Drilling.....	Smashed foot.....	Laid up 1 week.
26	...do.....	16	15	Cultivating.....	Cut fingers; was cut several times	Not reported.
27	...do.....	15	15	Mowing.....	Horses ran away; fell from machine and hurt hip.	1 day couldn't walk.
28	...do.....	12	11	Raking.....	Wheel caught in wire; horse ran away; boy fell off and broke 2 ribs.	Lame 4 days.
29	...do.....	15	11	Bucking.....	Horse stepped in hole; buckler tipped over and threw boy; broke arm.	Didn't work any more that summer.
30	...do.....	10	9	...do.....	Buckler tipped in going over hay pile; boy fell and sprained arm.	Arm in sling 7 days.
31	...do.....	14	12	Raking hay.....	Foot cut by rake.....	Lame 3 weeks.
32	Female..	13	(1)	Raking.....	Ran rake into ditch; girl fell between rake and horses; skinned leg.	Not reported.
33	Male....	11	11	...do.....	Horses ran away; machine bruised leg.	Not reported.
34	...do.....	13	12	...do.....	Duck flew up and frightened horses; ran away; boy fell and jammed leg.	2 weeks could not walk.
35	...do.....	13	13	...do.....	Horse, trotting, struck hole; hurt ribs.	Not reported.

¹ Not reported.

A.—Accidents occurring while operating implements.—Continued.

No.	Sex.	Age.	Age at time of injury.	Occupation.	Cause and nature of injury.	Extent of disability.
36	Male	8	8	Raking	Horses started too soon; caught foot in rake.	Laid up 2 days.
37	do	11	11	do	Put foot on brake, tipping machine; injured leg.	Not reported.
38	do	14	12	Loading hay	Fell out of rack.	1½ weeks.
39	Female	9	7	do	Slipped in hay; fork ran through leg.	Laid up 3 weeks.
40	Male	11	11	Stacking hay	Broke arm.	Not reported.
41	do	15	(1)	do	Fell off stack; fork went through leg.	Do.
42	do	12	12	Driving binder	Leg caught in wheel; sprained.	Hurt 1 hour.
43	do	13	(1)	Driving header box.	Header box tipped over; dislocated arm.	Not reported.
44	Female	7	6	do	Header box went into hole; fell off; wheel went over head.	Sick 1 month.
45	Male	11	11	Hauling	Rough road; fell off wagon and wheel went over him; broke 2 ribs.	1 month.
46	do	12	9	do	Fell from wagon; broke arm.	Not reported.
47	do	11	9	do	Twisted leg in wagon wheel; badly hurt.	Do.
48	Female	15	14	do	Horses started; fell off wagon; hurt side.	4 days.
49	Male	9	9	Hoeing	Cut toe with hoe.	No disability.
50	Female	13	(1)	Turning grindstone.	Hand caught in grindstone.	Not reported.
51	Male	13	13	Building fence	Hurt finger.	Do.
52	do	11	11	Not reported	Frightened by cattle; tripped, fell under wheel of mowing machine and injured eye.	Do.
53	do	11	(1)	do	Barefooted; fell on scythe; cut leg.	Not serious.
54	do	11	10	do	Hand caught in pulley; tore flesh.	Laid up 1 month.

B.—Accidents occurring while handling animals.

55	Male	6	5	Herding cattle	Horse fell; boy fell from horse; broke arm.	In sling 6 months.
56	do	15	13	do	Thrown from horse; broke leg.	Not reported.
57	do	14	12	do	Horse tripped in hole; fell off horse; broke collar bone.	1 month.
58	do	14	(1)	do	Horse fell on boy; broke ankle.	Not reported.
59	do	13	10	do	Fell off horse; arm out of joint.	1 week.
60	do	16	14	do	Horse rolled on foot; sprained ankle.	Lame 10 days.
61	do	10	10	do	Horse fell; sprained thumb.	Kept on working.
62	do	12	9	do	Horse bucked; nearly broke arm.	Not sick.
63	do	12	10	Herding horses	Saddle came off; fell from horse; hurt arm.	1 week.
64	Female	13	13	Herding cattle	Fell from horse; hurt hip.	½ day.
65	Male	12	10	do	Kicked by horse; feet hurt.	3 days.
66	do	11	11	Herding horses	Thrown off horse; head and side hurt.	2 weeks.
67	do	10	10	Herding cattle	Thrown from horse.	2-3 days.
68	do	14	13	do	Horse fell on child; hurt leg; not seriously.	Not reported.
69	Female	12	6	Watering mule	Fell off mule; broke arm.	1½ months.
70	Male	12	8	Driving colt	Colt kicked arm.	2 weeks.
71	do	14	14	Breaking colt	Thrown from pony; sprained ankle.	1 week.
72	do	8	8	Cleaning barn	Kicked by cow; wrist bruised.	Not much hurt.
73	do	15	14	Driving bull away from hay.	Got wire in hand.	1½ weeks.
74	Female	15	15	Milking	Kicked by cow.	Could not walk for 6 weeks.
75	Male	8	7	Going for horses	Kicked in head by horse.	3 weeks.
76	do	14	14	Bringing cattle home.	Horse fell; boy thrown and hurt ankle.	2-3 weeks.
77	do	13	13	Feeding horse	Horse kicked; part of body not reported.	Laid up 1 week.
78	do	10	10	do	do	Not reported.
79	do	9	9	Tying cows in barn.	Kicked; part of body not reported.	Not much hurt.
80	do	9	9	Leading horse	Horse got tangled in rope; boy fell from horse; hurt back.	Lame several days.
81	do	11	11	Hitching horse	Kicked; part of body not reported.	Not reported.
82	do	12	11	Not reported	Horse kicked; broke ribs.	4 weeks.

1 Not reported.

B.—Accidents occurring while handling animals—Continued.

No.	Sex.	Age.	Age at time of injury.	Occupation.	Cause and nature of injury.	Extent of disability.
83	Female...	12	(1)	Not reported....	Horse fell on leg; sprained foot....	Not reported.
84	..do.....	13	12	.....do.....	Kicked by horse while driving; part of body not reported.	1 month.
85	..do.....	11	11	.....do.....	Fell from horse and kicked by horse.	Lame 3 weeks.
86	..do.....	14	7	.....do.....	Horse kicked forehead; large scar.	In bed 3 weeks.
87	..do.....	11	11	.....do.....	Kicked by colt; part of body not reported.	Lame 1 week.
88	..do.....	13	13	.....do.....	Horse frightened by cows; kicked boy; part of body not reported.	Lame 2 days.
89	..do.....	13	12	.....do.....	Boy hit horse with stick; kicked in head.	In bed two days.
90	..do.....	12	10	.....do.....	Kicked by horse; part of body not reported.	2 or 3 days.
91	..do.....	12	10	.....do.....	Kicked by horse; boy fainted....	Ill 1 day.
92	..do.....	14	14	.....do.....	Kicked by horse; hurt leg.....	Lame 1 day.
93	..do.....	16	16	.....do.....	Horse ran away; boy hit in mouth; knocked out tooth.	½ day.
94	..do.....	11	7	.....do.....	Boy fell from horse.....	Unconscious 5 hours.
95	..do.....	9	6	.....do.....	Kicked by horse; part of body not reported.	Not reported.
96	..do.....	9	7	.....do.....	Horse stepped on wrist.....	Do.
97	..do.....	8	8	.....do.....	Kicked by horse; ankle hurt.....	Do.
98	..do.....	14	12	.....do.....	Kicked by horse; part of body not reported.	Do.
99	..do.....	10	(1)	.....do.....	.....do.....	Not serious.
100	..do.....	10	(1)	.....do.....	Fell from horse.....	Not hurt much.
101	..do.....	11	(1)	.....do.....	Horse kicked face, just below eye..	Not reported.
102	..do.....	12	(1)	.....do.....	Horse kicked shoulder.....	Do.
103	..do.....	13	(1)	.....do.....	Horse bucked; stamped on foot....	Do.
104	..do.....	14	(1)	.....do.....	Horse maddened by bite from another horse; kicked boy in stomach	No bad results.

¹ Not reported.

SUMMARY.

A. Accidents occurring while operating implements.....	54
While plowing.....	23
While raking or bucking.....	10
While operating other implements.....	21
B. Accidents occurring while handling animals.....	50
Herding cattle or horses.....	14
Doing chores.....	1
Exact nature of work not stated.....	2



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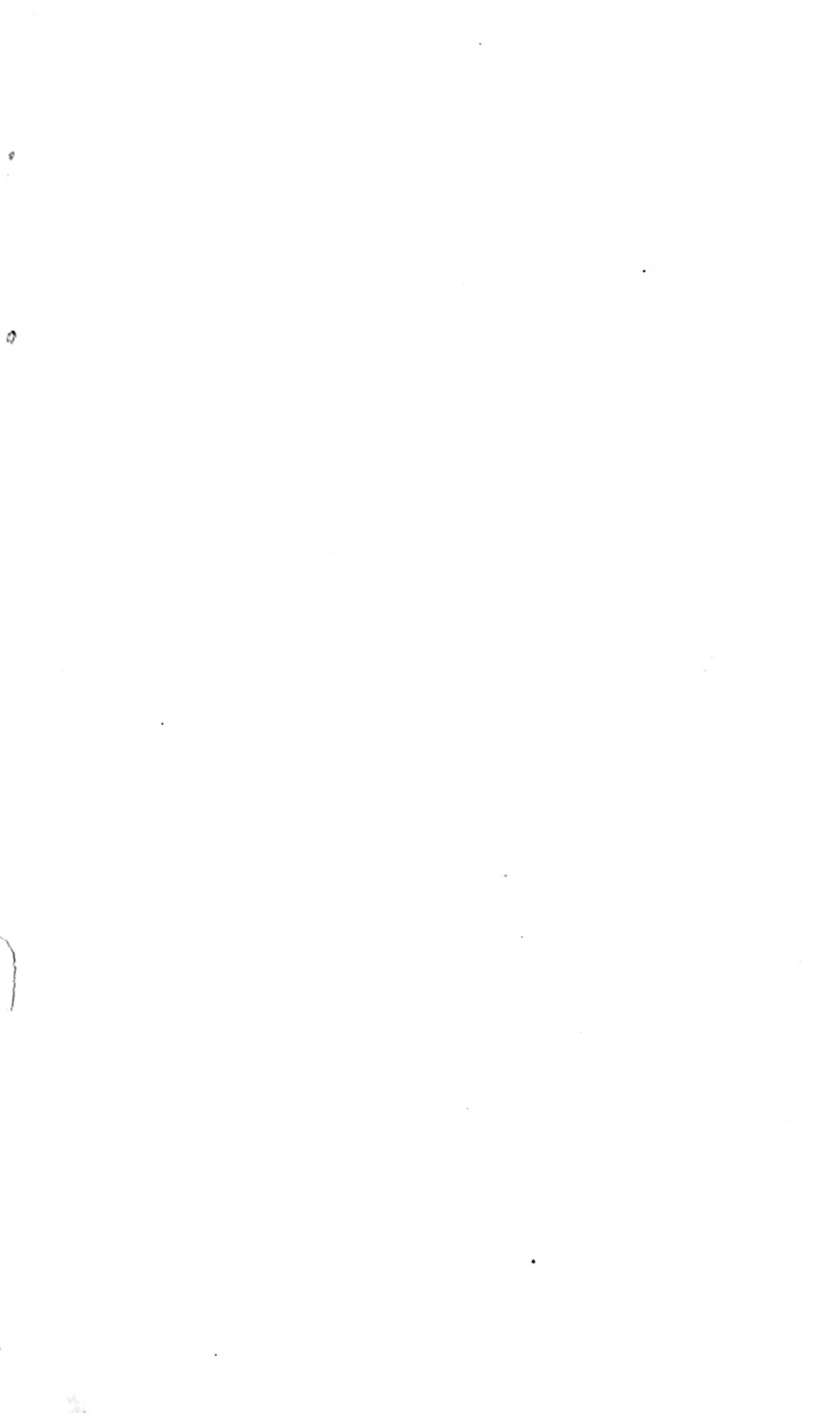
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