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Stat
NATIONAL DEFENSE MIGRATION

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

**SELECT COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING
NATIONAL DEFENSE MIGRATION
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

SEVENTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

PURSUANT TO

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H. Res. 113

A RESOLUTION TO INQUIRE FURTHER INTO THE INTERSTATE
MIGRATION OF CITIZENS, EMPHASIZING THE PRESENT
AND POTENTIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE
MIGRATION CAUSED BY THE NATIONAL
DEFENSE PROGRAM

PART 32

HUNTSVILLE HEARINGS

MAY 7 AND 8, 1942

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Printed for the use of the Select Committee Investigating
National Defense Migration



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**SELECT COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING NATIONAL DEFENSE
MIGRATION**

JOHN H. TOLAN, California, *Chairman*
JOHN J. SPARKMAN, Alabama *Nov 24 1943* **CARL T. CURTIS**, Nebraska
LAURENCE F. ARNOLD, Illinois **GEORGE H. BENDER**, Ohio
ROBERT K. LAMB, *Staff Director*

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NATIONAL DEFENSE MIGRATION

THURSDAY, MAY 7, 1942

MORNING SESSION

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SELECT COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING
NATIONAL DEFENSE MIGRATION,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., May 7, 1942, in the Post Office Building, Huntsville, Ala., Hon. John H. Tolan, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Representatives John H. Tolan, of California; Laurence F. Arnold, of Illinois; and John J. Sparkman, of Alabama.

Also present: John W. Abbott, chief field investigator; Jack B. Burke, field investigator; Francis X. Riley, field investigator; and Ruth B. Abrams, field secretary.

TESTIMONY OF BRIG. GEN. R. C. DITTO, HUNTSVILLE ARSENAL, HUNTSVILLE, ALA., AND LT. COL. CARROLL D. HUDSON, REDSTONE ORDNANCE PLANT, HUNTSVILLE, ALA.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will please come to order. The first witnesses will be Brig. Gen. R. C. Ditto, commanding officer, Huntsville Arsenal, and Lt. Col. Carroll D. Hudson, commanding officer, Redstone Ordnance Plant, Huntsville. I want to say to you gentlemen that we appreciate your coming here this morning. What the committee would like to do is to get a bird's-eye view, for the record, of these projects here. We are a fact-finding committee. I want to introduce the members of the committee. I think you already know Congressman Sparkman who is to my left. He is ranking member of this committee, has been all over the United States with us, and I want to say to you and to the people here that we are very proud of Congressman Sparkman. He is one of the outstanding men in Congress and has performed valuable work with this committee. To my right is Congressman Arnold, of Illinois. He also has performed wonderful work and hasn't missed a meeting or a hearing. And, as chairman of the committee from California, all I can do is bring some of the California sunshine to Alabama.

Now, gentlemen, tell us about this arsenal project here. General, when did you come here yourself?

General DITTO. I came here the last of August, when the project was just getting under way. In fact, no work had then been done on the project.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was your assignment before coming here?

General DITTO. I was officer in charge of the Pittsburg Chemical Warfare Procurement.

The CHAIRMAN. When did actual work start on this project?

General DITTO. About the 1st of September 1941.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the Government purchase the site?

General DITTO. It did.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the extent of the area?

General DITTO. Including Redstone, 32,000 acres at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. About how far is that from Huntsville?

General DITTO. It is about 2½ miles, that is from the nearest point of the arsenal to Huntsville.

The CHAIRMAN. These questions are for the purpose of the record, General. Now you started in September. How has the progress been up to date?

General DITTO. The progress has been very satisfactory. In fact, we are ahead of schedule, well ahead of schedule.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any buildings there?

General DITTO. Quite a number.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the percentage of completion there as it is today?

General DITTO. About 80 percent complete on the original project.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there a number of similar projects like the arsenal here in the United States?

General DITTO. No, sir; there are not. We have only two other arsenals in addition to the Huntsville Arsenal.

The CHAIRMAN. Now as to this question I am about to ask you, General, if there is anything that shouldn't be told, so far as giving any comfort to the enemy, don't say anything about it. But in general what is the Huntsville Arsenal?

General DITTO. It is a manufacturing arsenal for certain basic materials for Chemical Warfare Service.

The CHAIRMAN. And just what they are, we had better leave blank?

General DITTO. I would suggest that.

The CHAIRMAN. What problems, if any, have confronted you in regard to obtaining labor?

General DITTO. I can't say we were confronted with any particular problems. We have always been able to get the required amount of labor, so far as construction is concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any difficulty in obtaining skilled labor?

General DITTO. I think not. I wasn't in close touch with that. That was the problem of the area engineer. But from what he told me, we have had little trouble. There was a short period when there was a difficulty on pay rates. Our rates were lower than those of surrounding projects, but those rates were raised and that solved the difficulty.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the number of your personnel?

General DITTO. The personnel for construction is about 7,000. Ours is about 800 at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean 7,000 construction workers?

General DITTO. Yes, sir; and employees for Chemical Warfare Service, 800 at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a pretty good showing. You had to start from scratch.

General DITTO. Yes, sir; when I came here there wasn't even a mark on the ground.

FARM DISPLACEMENTS

The CHAIRMAN. Tell me about farm displacements in taking the 32,000 acres, whether or not you had any difficulties. First, were any farmers displaced?

General DITTO. I don't recall the exact number of families, but I think in the neighborhood of between 400 and 500. So far as the arsenal authorities are concerned, we had no difficulty about it. Of course, I admit we kept pushing. But the relocation service handled it very well and kept getting these people out, and there wasn't any incident of any kind that occurred in moving these people:

The CHAIRMAN. The relocation service is a separate department?

General DITTO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They take care of that?

General DITTO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They report to you?

General DITTO. No, sir; they just reported to me, so far as that is concerned, on how many were left at a certain time, and how many were to get off at another time, and when they were finally all removed.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they clear through Congress?

General DITTO. I don't know.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is part of the Farm Security Administration.

HOUSING OF WORKERS

The CHAIRMAN. What about housing, General?

General DITTO. We have had a housing problem here, it is true. We managed to accommodate our workers at the top of our peak employment, which was around 12,000 workers on the project, and they were taken care of. How, I don't know. Probably nobody could answer that. It is true we have had lots of complaints about rentals, and on the other hand we had reports of very fair rentals. The rental situation here was no different from any other at like projects throughout the country, in my opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. This committee visited several of these projects in the United States, probably one of the largest being at San Diego. This project at San Diego is about 6 miles from town. They are putting up 3,000 housing units. Of course, there are housing problems.

Do many of your employees live here in Huntsville?

General DITTO. Yes, sir; quite a number. And I will say this, the housing facilities of Huntsville have been considerably expanded by private individuals, and that is the only way, I think, these people could have been accommodated.

The CHAIRMAN. I drove south with Congressman Sparkman and I noticed what looked to me like hundreds of houses going up.

General DITTO. I think those houses are going up under Federal Housing Authority, title 6. We have 703 set up for Huntsville.

The CHAIRMAN. Are any of the employees housed near the arsenal plant or on the reservation?

General DITTO. A very small number. We had a number of houses left and picked out the best and allowed some of our employees to move into them. We also have five married officers quartered out there in houses we repaired and turned over to them. But I would say we haven't more than 35 or 40 families on the reservation at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. The rest are housed in Huntsville?

General DITTO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Huntsville must have increased in population considerably?

General DITTO. There is no question but that it has. Just what number we get direct from Huntsville and what number we get from surrounding towns, I couldn't say.

DEMOUNTABLE HOUSING

The CHAIRMAN. Is any new housing positively contemplated here? A gentleman was telling me about some new demountable houses.

General DITTO. Of that so-called temporary housing, I am anticipating 250 to 300 units of that, but we won't have any definite information as to that until the end of this week.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any opinion as to the advisability of demountable houses?

General DITTO. I think it would be all right. That is what we are considering at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. While we have got to win this war, we have got to think about the post-war period, too. It is a question of a city Huntsville's size absorbing 8,000 or 10,000 permanent homes. And that is a problem throughout the country, as I understand it. I was asking that question because so many people advocate the demountable houses, while others say it is not a good use.

General DITTO. Of course it is true that demountable houses aren't the best houses. We haven't made up our minds whether we are going into it or not, but we are investigating it at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you will agree with me that the tendency of people who have moved here from Nebraska, Oklahoma, and California, and any other place is always to go back home, if conditions are as good there as they are here?

General DITTO. There is no doubt about it.

The CHAIRMAN. This committee is giving considerable attention to the post-war period for that reason.

Colonel, you have heard General Ditto. Is there anything you want to add?

Colonel HUDSON. I think the General has stated the case as I see it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You said you were expecting 250 to 300 of the houses to be announced soon. Now, some of these houses have already been authorized at Redstone?

Colonel HUDSON. That is my understanding.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is the temporary type, too?

Colonel HUDSON. Yes, sir; 300, I understand.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is just outside the ordnance plant?

Colonel HUDSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How many operating employees do you have now?

Colonel HUDSON. I believe it figures a little over 600 at the present time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. General, when you said the project was 80 percent complete, did that include the ordnance plant?

General DITTO. No, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What about the ordnance plant?

Colonel HUDSON. It is substantially completed; I would say in the neighborhood of 95 percent.

TYPES OF LABOR

The CHAIRMAN. I wonder what percentage of the construction labor was white labor and what percentage was colored?

General DITTO. I don't believe I can answer that question very accurately, but I can get the information. We have employed quite a lot of colored labor.

The CHAIRMAN. The colored labor has been mostly unskilled labor; is that correct?

General DITTO. I would say they are. I have observed colored bricklayers at work. That is the only colored skilled labor I have observed.

The CHAIRMAN. Will colored employees be used in the completed project?

General DITTO. Yes, sir; we will have a certain number, and because the manpower situation has changed some of our plans and may change more, we may have to switch to 80 or 90 percent colored.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you anticipate employing women?

General DITTO. Not over 20 percent.

The CHAIRMAN. Will those be white women?

General DITTO. Both white and colored.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I would like to put this question to both you and Colonel Hudson. Have you had any trouble recruiting your supply of operating labor?

General DITTO. I haven't, but we have reached out pretty far and got complaints from industry.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is it the same with you, Colonel?

Colonel HUDSON. Yes, sir; that is the case with me, too.

Mr. SPARKMAN. All of your workers in both plants are Civil Service workers?

General DITTO. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And they do have to qualify through Civil Service tests?

General DITTO. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Has there been any restriction as to area—I know your examinations are advertised in a restricted area—but anybody is eligible from anywhere?

General DITTO. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You do try to get them from as short a radius as possible?

General DITTO. Yes, sir; and we prefer them from right here.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you trained most of these people? I believe training courses were put on in the schools prior to employment?

General DITTO. I know they were, but I don't know that we have benefited materially from them, for the courses as they were conducted last year didn't fit in.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The skills they taught were general, and yours specialized?

General DITTO. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is that true with you, Colonel?

Colonel HUDSON. Yes, sir; that is true, and you might say we trained our men on the job, job training. We hold classes at the plant to give them a little broader knowledge of the problems they have.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What has been the aptitude shown by these people? Have they taken to the training readily?

ADAPTABILITY OF SOUTHERN LABOR

Colonel HUDSON. I would say on the average that is the case. They have adapted themselves very readily.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is that true in your plant, General?

General DITTO. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. It might be interesting to you gentlemen to know that about 3½ years ago I went to the White House and talked to the President about the building of a chemical warfare arsenal. In that discussion—it was when Baker was Chief of the Chemical Warfare Service—the President told me that this area was a good area for another arsenal except for one thing, that we could never supply the labor, that we didn't have skilled labor in here that could operate the plant. I have got a great kick out of some of the reactions we have during these years and during this war program from different officials. It has been recognized finally that, even though our labor may not have been classified as skilled, it was adaptable and there has been no difficulty in this area generally with reference to employment of operating labor.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to say, General, in that regard that if the people at home only realized what the pressure on Congressmen in these days in reference to projects is like, it would be a fine thing. It took Congressman Sparkman about 4 years to get his message over, and he was always there on the job. And I think it has proven a fine thing.

Does the appropriation for the arsenal and ordnance plant come out of the general War Department appropriation?

General DITTO. Part of this money was for expediting procurement; part of it was that, and the other part, as I recall it, was War Department appropriations.

COST OF PLANTS

The CHAIRMAN. What will it cost; that is, both plants, approximately?

General DITTO. At the present time we have set up \$65,000,000, and we will be well within that amount of money. The original arsenal was a \$31,000,000 set-up. And there were, as I recall it, about \$7,000,000 or \$8,000,000 held in reserve, and we haven't touched the reserve to date. Now the additions of Redstone and the main arsenal are going to run well within those figures, too.

The CHAIRMAN. The ordnance is separate?

General DITTO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What will that run, Colonel?

Colonel HUDSON. About \$8,000,000, and that is exclusive of the land.

HIRING OF LABOR

The CHAIRMAN. Tell me, General, how you go about hiring labor. Say, for instance, you want 100 construction men, how do you get them; what are the mechanics of it?

General DITTO. I don't know that I can answer that question very well. As I say, I didn't enter into the construction picture so far as labor is concerned. I don't know what methods the contractors used.

The CHAIRMAN. That was done by the contractors?

General DITTO. Yes, sir; they have their own methods and labor pool and handled skilled labor as well as common labor.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you get men for your plant?

General DITTO. We have civil service; say we have 100 to 150 names on the register, we would go to the register and ask these people if they wanted to come in, and they say yes or no.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you clear through the United States Civil Service Commission in Washington?

General DITTO. No, sir; only if we want someone in the professional class.

The CHAIRMAN. You have your own local board?

General DITTO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, the salaries are fixed by law?

General DITTO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What about construction people, did they have any wage disputes?

General DITTO. As I recall, there was no dispute with the exception of one or two minor incidents.

The CHAIRMAN. Did it retard the work seriously?

General DITTO. No, sir; it didn't. I don't recall whether the trouble was with the plumbers or electricians, but other projects in surrounding areas were paying a higher rate than we were paying, and that was adjusted. Until we got it adjusted that skilled labor didn't want to come in. That was the trouble.

PEAK EMPLOYMENT

Mr. ABBOTT. General Ditto and Colonel Hudson, if you can, please indicate to the committee the approximate employment at peak production at your plants?

General DITTO. At the present time I anticipate there will be 5,000 for the three shifts.

Mr. ABBOTT. What about yours, Colonel?

Colonel HUDSON. I anticipate 3,000.

Mr. ABBOTT. That will make 8,000 all told?

General DITTO. Yes, sir.

Mr. ABBOTT. Do you have any tables or anything that would be useful to the committee's record as to average income or a break-down of income?

General DITTO. I don't know if we have any, but we could probably furnish you a general break-down, as we see it now, within a certain salary range.

Mr. ABBOTT. What I was trying to do was establish the income as between available rentals. And in that connection I was thinking of another city where we were holding a hearing. There were some F. H. A. homes that had been offered for sale and there had been a certain reluctance on the part of the production workers to take them, in that they couldn't be certain that it would last beyond the war. Have you had any experience like that?

General DITTO. I don't think we have got that far on housing. As I understand it, the greater number of the houses will be rented.

AVERAGE RENTALS

Mr. ABBOTT. Do you have any figures on the average rentals?

General DITTO. We can furnish you with the figures. Some Federal Housing Administration houses rent for \$40, some for \$50. I think it is \$40, \$42.50, and \$50.

Mr. ABBOTT. That is for new property?

General DITTO. Yes, sir.

Mr. ABBOTT. Would that be the same with you, Colonel Hudson?

Colonel HUDSON. Yes, sir; you spoke of some figures. We have some figures that may be interesting to the committee indicating the percentage of employees who we expect to be within Huntsville, Ala., that is, residents, against those that are coming in from certain areas from the outside, within a 25-mile radius and a 75-mile radius; and also the percentage of men against women; also the wages available. That can be made available if you want it.

The CHAIRMAN. If I may make this suggestion—it is impossible for you gentlemen to remember those figures specifically, and the committee will have Mr. Abbott contact you if we think we need them for the purpose of the record to compare them against wages received by other workers in different parts of the country.

(The material referred to was received subsequent to the hearing and accepted for the record.)

HEADQUARTERS HUNTSVILLE ARSENAL,
CHEMICAL WARFARE SERVICE,
Huntsville Arsenal, Ala., May 27, 1942.

Hon. JOHN H. TOLAN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. TOLAN: In compliance with request contained in your letter of May 19, 1942, the following information, as far as could be determined, is submitted:

(a) *Total production employment.*—To date there are 180 women and 877 men employed by the Chemical Warfare Service at Huntsville Arsenal, consisting of the following classifications:

Position	Number	Average salary	Position	Number	Average salary
		<i>Per annum</i>			<i>Per day</i>
Clerical.....	127	\$1,440.00	Arsenal learners.....	30	\$3.60
Chemists.....	76	2,600.00	Laborers.....	170	3.84
Laboratory mechanics.....	14	1,440.00	Munitions handler.....	35	4.80
Janitors.....	11	600.00	Female trainees.....	5	5.04
Messengers.....	4	1,080.00	Chemical plant workmen.....	10	5.28
Mimeograph operators.....	1	1,260.00	Chemical plant operators.....	278	6.24
Guards.....	78	1,500.00	Labor foreman.....	10	6.48
Firefighters.....	28	1,500.00	Electricians.....	20	6.72
Truck drivers.....	20	1,200.00	Mechanics.....	20	6.72
Chauffeurs.....	10	1,200.00	Pipe fitters.....	20	6.72
Senior machinery operator.....	1	1,860.00	Equipment oiler.....	1	5.28
Senior radio mechanic technician.....	1	2,000.00	Plumbers.....	8	6.72
			Machinist.....	30	7.20
			Welder.....	5	7.44
			Chemical plant foreman.....	40	8.00
			Munitions handler foreman.....	1	8.00
			Electrician foreman.....	2	8.00
			Electrician helper.....	1	4.80

(b) *Anticipated employment at peak production.*—It is estimated that approximately 5,000 employees will comprise the personnel at this station when in full production.

(c) *Percentage of personnel according to points of origin.*—According to present figures, 85 percent of the personnel employed at Huntsville Arsenal (Chemical Warfare Service) live in the immediate vicinity of Huntsville and 15 percent commute within a radius of from 25 to 75 miles. Employees originate from the following States:

	Percent		Percent
Alabama.....	58.0	South Carolina.....	0.7
Tennessee.....	18.0	Illinois.....	.7
Georgia.....	9.5	Ohio.....	.7
Mississippi.....	1.4	Colorado.....	.7
Florida.....	1.4	Virginia.....	.7
Oklahoma.....	1.4	Maryland.....	.7
New York.....	1.4	Michigan.....	.3
North Carolina.....	.9	Wisconsin.....	.3
Texas.....	.9	Pennsylvania.....	.3
Arkansas.....	.9	Louisiana.....	.3
Missouri.....	.7	Minnesota.....	.3

(d) *Rental chart of homes and apartments in Huntsville area.*—According to statistics furnished this office by the Huntsville Chamber of Commerce, the following rents prevailed prior to the beginning of the construction of the arsenal:

Furnished apartments.....	\$35 to \$45 per month.
Unfurnished apartments.....	\$25 to \$30 per month.
Furnished houses.....	\$35 to \$45 per month.
Unfurnished houses.....	\$22.50 to \$30 per month.

The present average rentals of homes in the Huntsville area are as follows:

Furnished apartments.....	\$60 to \$75 per month.
Unfurnished apartments.....	\$40 to \$50 per month.
Furnished houses.....	\$60 to \$75 per month.
Unfurnished houses.....	\$50 to \$60 per month.

If I can furnish you or the committee any additional information, please let me know.

Very sincerely,

R. C. DITTO,
 Brigadier General, United States Army,
 Commanding.

Average income report as of May 1, 1942

	Number of workers	Average income
Technical.....	35	\$2,510.28
Office.....	105	1,534.47
Skilled.....	60	1,917.99
Semiskilled.....	425	1,341.50
Unskilled.....	58	990.00
Total.....	683	-----

USE OF TRAILERS

Mr. SPARKMAN. How many trailers are being used around here?

General DITTO. On the Farm Security area, I suppose there are 400 trailers. There are a number of private trailer parks.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Would you think there were about 700 or 800 trailers, all told?

General DITTO. I would say at least that, probably 800.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Has there been any trouble with reference to transportation of workers because of rubber shortage?

General DITTO. No, sir; not yet.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Has there been any planning as to that problem?

TRANSPORTATION OF WORKERS

General DITTO. What I am anticipating is getting busses and if we do, we will try to get the workers on the northeast corner of the arsenal grounds and we will move them by bus from that place.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You have a similar arrangement in mind, Colonel?

Colonel HUDSON. Yes, sir. Last month I was asked for a detailed report from Chief of Ordnance, and we submitted that as of the last day of last month. In that report I outlined our investigations on transportation that has to go on rubber and transportation that could be handled by rail. We have rail connections to the plant, of course. And we have included that in our study.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You haven't started any rail transportation yet?

Colonel HUDSON. No, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. To either plant?

General DITTO. No, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do busses operate to the arsenal and ordnance plant?

Colonel HUDSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do most workers come by bus or drive their own cars?

Colonel HUDSON. Most of them drive. There is a bus shortage.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have they started the pooling of their cars?

Colonel HUDSON. Yes, sir; they are all afraid of their tires.

VOLUNTARY SAVINGS PLAN

Mr. SPARKMAN. I have noticed with much interest in the Huntsville Times a report of a voluntary savings plan throughout the city by pay-roll deductions for the purpose of buying war bonds. I have

noticed that is being worked throughout the two plants. It is on a wholly voluntary basis, of course?

General DITTO. Absolutely.

Mr. SPARKMAN. If these workers sign an agreement that a certain percentage of their pay be deducted, you automatically deduct it at the end of each week or each pay period?

General DITTO. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are they coming in pretty well?

General DITTO. We have just got started recently. But, so far as I can see, they are.

Colonel HUDSON. It looks promising.

Mr. SPARKMAN. There has been a great agitation throughout the country and it is something that the country as a whole, and Congress feel that if it could not be worked out, something ought to be done, and that is a kind of enforced savings plan. Of course there are legal and constitutional difficulties connected with it, and it seems to me that if this voluntary plan could be put into effect throughout the country, we could do a lot to stave off inflation and cushion the drop when it comes.

About what deductions do they authorize?

General DITTO. That I don't know. I know of a few cases where people will buy two bonds, \$18.75, that is, a \$25 bond each pay day.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In other words, twice a month?

General DITTO. Yes, sir. I told my bond officers we didn't want any pressure put on any of the people, because we didn't know what other obligations they had to meet, and I felt they were all patriotic and I didn't feel it right to put pressure on them. They are doing very well so far.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, the trouble with compulsory savings is that no two families are alike. What one family can spare doesn't necessarily mean it is what another family could spare.

General DITTO. That is true.

SAVINGS AND LIVING EXPENSES

The CHAIRMAN. This committee tried to explore that. I remember we had a witness on the stand with a wife and six children. I have always had the idea that after all was said and done, that these workers in the United States, who have left their own home State and have gone into another to get a job, should put some of their earnings into savings. I think that will be a real cushion, because nobody knows what will be the situation at the end of this war. And if these workers had \$500 or \$600 or \$1,000 put away to protect them, it would be a splendid thing. But getting back to the witness I was speaking of who had a wife and six children. I was exploring that line with him, and I said, "Are you saving any money?" And he said, "How can I? I am charged \$80 a month rent for a two-room house and out of \$135, how can I save?" The story went all over the United States, and they formed a rent committee and got after the landlord.

About how many rooms are in these houses, General?

General DITTO. That depends. They are not uniform. I can't tell you the range of the rooms. But the \$40 houses will have the

smaller rooms and the smaller number of rooms than the \$50 houses. In the temporary houses we are considering, there is one bedroom and a combination of living and dining room, or two bedrooms. We will have to get some with two bedrooms, of course, to accomodate some of the families. But the two-bedroom houses will be the maximum for these temporary houses.

The CHAIRMAN. I will never forget this man with the wife and six children. We traced him from Oklahoma through the different States until he arrived in California, to see how he got along, what were the State barriers, and what difficulties he went through. So I said to him finally, "In traveling from Oklahoma to California, I would like to know where you slept, the eight of you?" And he said, "We always had a 10 by 14 tent that we slept in." And I said, "I suppose you had the latest sanitary conveniences in that tent." And he said, "No, Mr. Congressman; we had the earliest."

(The following letters were handed the reporter as illustrating the problem and were accepted for the record.)

HUNTSVILLE, ALA.

LIEUTENANT LANE,
Huntsville Arsenal, Huntsville, Ala.

DEAR SIR: I am writing you regarding the position as senior radio technician at the arsenal.

After spending 2 days in Huntsville looking for a suitable place to live, we find that we will be unable to meet the high prices asked. Because of this, I will have to pass up this opportunity to work for you.

Yours,

CHARLES PETERSON.

HEADQUARTERS HUNTSVILLE ARSENAL,
CHEMICAL WARFARE SERVICE,
Huntsville Arsenal, Ala., September 11, 1941.

COMMANDING OFFICER,
Huntsville Arsenal, Ala.

(Through Property Officer).

I hereby submit my resignation as clerk-typist CAF-2 to take effect on September 15, 1941, at close of business.

My reason for doing so is as follows: I have two children for whom I am the sole support, and can find no place to live for myself and children within my means.

EVELYN B. GRAYTON.

[First endorsement]

Property Officer.

HUNTSVILLE ARSENAL, ALA., *September 11, 1942.*

To Commanding Officer, Huntsville Arsenal, Ala.

Recommending approval without prejudice.

Replacement is—is not requested—.

WM. L. VAN HAY.

Approved.

For the Commanding Officer.

J. F. LANE.

Second Lieutenant, CWS, Adjutant.

HEADQUARTERS HUNTSVILLE ARSENAL,
CHEMICAL WARFARE SERVICE,
Huntsville Arsenal, Ala., January 22, 1941.

To COMMANDING OFFICER,
Huntsville Arsenal, Ala.:

I hereby submit my resignation as assistant chemical engineer to take effect on January 22 (close of business 21).

My reason for doing so is as follows: It is impossible to obtain housing in Huntsville.

CLYDE A. BENN.

[First endorsement]

HUNTSVILLE ARSENAL, ALA., January 21, 1942.

To COMMANDING OFFICER,
Huntsville Arsenal, Ala.:

1. Recommending approval.
Replacement is requested.

W. J. UNGETHEUM,
Lieutenant Colonel, Chemical Warfare, Chief of Operations.

Date: January 21, 1942. Approved.
For the Commanding Officer:

J. F. LANE,
First Lieutenant, Chemical Warfare Service, Adjutant.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I would like to ask you this question. You told us the number of employees you would have for three shifts, when you get into peak production. Does that mean continuous operation?

General DITTO. Yes, sir.

HOURS WORKED

Mr. SPARKMAN. How many hours a week do they work?

General DITTO. Seven days a week.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I mean the personnel?

General DITTO. At the present time we are on the 40-hour week, and later we will be required to work 48. We will then work 48 and have a swing shift.

Mr. SPARKMAN. These are all Civil Service employees?

General DITTO. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do they get time and a half for all time over 40 hours per week?

General DITTO. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In other words, the regular workweek is 40 hours and they get regular pay for that, and then time and a half for the other 8 hours?

General DITTO. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. There is no extra time for holidays and Sundays?

General DITTO. No; that is regular work time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That swing shift will give you continuous operation?

General DITTO. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And that is true at your plant?

Colonel HUDSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you having difficulty in getting necessary material in here for these plants?

General DITTO. Yes, sir; some difficulty. Of course, some of our difficulty has been brought about by the Navy. The Navy has taken some of the equipment we wanted.

The CHAIRMAN. Has that slowed you up to any extent?

General DITTO. No; not on the whole.

The CHAIRMAN. You have priority over everything but the Navy?

General DITTO. Not quite. We have some very high priorities and some low priorities. But we have got along very well.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not taking the worst of it?

General DITTO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The Army never does.

We are very grateful to have both of you here this morning.

TESTIMONY OF HUNTSVILLE PANEL

The CHAIRMAN. We will now call the Huntsville civic panel, Mr. A. W. McAllister, Mr. Edward McGregor, Mr. N. M. Payne, Dr. W. C. Hatchett, and Mrs. Walter Humphrey.

Mr. PAYNE. Mayor McAllister is ill and couldn't come down this morning.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is right. He called and said he was ill and Mr. Payne would represent him.

The CHAIRMAN. We have a statement from Mayor McAllister, which we shall place in the record at this point.

(The statement is as follows:)

STATEMENT BY A. W. McALLISTER, MAYOR, CITY OF HUNTSVILLE,
ALA.

REPORT ON THE CITY OF HUNTSVILLE

The City of Huntsville, Ala., is operated under mayor and council form of government. It has a mayor, president of the council, and 2 aldermen from each of 4 wards, making a total of 10 elected officials. These officials were elected in September 1940 and their terms will expire on the first Monday in October 1944.

Attached hereto and made a part of this report is a financial statement of the city of Huntsville.¹ Also attached is a statement of the city's revenue for the last fiscal year and a statement of the anticipated revenue for the current year.

TAX REVENUES

This city has a constitutional tax limit of 15 mills. In addition there is a debt limit of 7 percent of its assessed valuation. Bonds issued for sewers, schools, and those that are payable in whole or in a part from public improvement assessments are not chargeable against this debt limit. There is also excluded from this debt limit temporary loans not exceeding 25 percent of the anticipated general revenue, provided such loans are made in anticipation of the collection of taxes and are payable within 1 year from date of issue.

The city is now levying 14½ mills of its 15-mill limit. The taxes now levied are for the following purposes: 5 mills for general purposes, 5 mills for general bonds and bond interest, 4.25 mills for bonds issued for school buildings, 0.25 mill for bonds issued for sanitary sewers.

There is only one-half mill that is not being levied, and this cannot be levied except by a majority vote of the electors of the city, who must also determine the length of time for which it shall be levied.

The city has increased certain privilege licenses which will bring in additional revenue during the current year. However, in September 1941, the people voted out liquor in Madison County and the city's revenue will be decreased about \$30,000 per year on account of the loss of revenue from this source.

Increased revenue should be received from the city during this year from its waterworks on account of the additional customers now being served. However, it has become necessary for the city to install additional pumping equipment,

¹ Held in committee files.

purchase new meters and meter boxes, which probably will cost more than the increased revenue during this fiscal year, but the city should feel the effect of this increased revenue during its next fiscal year.

No taxes are collected in the police jurisdiction. The city does collect licenses from businesses, from occupations and professions in the police jurisdiction in an amount equivalent to 50 percent of the rates charged in the city limits. These licenses are collected for the purpose of furnishing police and fire protection in the police jurisdiction. Although no records are kept of expenses of this police and fire protection, it is believed that the expense of this protection exceeds the revenue derived from business licenses in the police jurisdiction.

The officials of the city have not made any particular survey of the housing and rent situation. Several branches of the Federal Government have made such survey, we are informed, and the Huntsville Housing Authority has gone into the matter of housing. (See analysis of building permits attached hereto.)

Many houses are being built within the police jurisdiction of the city but very few are being built within the city limits. There is sufficient vacant property within the city to allow the construction of many houses but only a few tracts of land are suitable for mass building.

EXTENSION OF CITY LIMITS

There are no present plans to expand the city limits. The city limits can only be extended upon vote of the people now residing without the city limits who desire to attach themselves to and become a part of the city of Huntsville.

If the city limits were extended, the city would receive additional revenue from ad valorem taxes and business licenses on that part brought within the city and the extension would automatically extend the police jurisdiction. Then the city would receive indirect taxes from automobile tags and insurance premiums from that new addition to the city. Some of the licenses collected by the city are graduated on a population basis but this would not increase the revenue very much. If the city limits are extended the residents affected thereby would expect and should receive the same services now rendered to the residents of Huntsville. As to whether or not extension of the city limits would be an asset from a financial standpoint can only be determined by a careful survey of the territory desiring to be annexed.

HEALTH AND EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

In regard to facilities of health, the city has no separate health department but contributes to the State health department. Madison County also contributes to the State health department so the local health department represents the State, county, and city.

Regarding the schools of the city, they are operated by the city board of education, composed of five members elected by the city council. Mr. C. S. Boswell is chairman of this board and Mr. W. G. Hamm is superintendent of the schools.

City of Huntsville—General fund revenue, fiscal year ended Sept. 30, 1941

Source:		Source—Continued.	
General taxes.....	\$29, 599. 00	Water penalties.....	\$71. 50
A. B. C. store profits..	31, 396. 49	Rents.....	267. 37
Taxes electric system..	24, 000. 00	Pool admissions.....	2, 366. 50
Automobile licenses...	7, 936. 01	Pool concessions.....	1, 126. 20
Water collections.....	89, 144. 37	Plumbers' fees.....	684. 25
Abattoir receipts.....	4, 437. 43	Sundry revenue.....	9, 583. 93
Electrical permits.....	301. 00	Repair shop charges..	1, 758. 15
Cemetery receipts....	5, 114. 10	Sign permits.....	56. 00
Scale receipts.....	92. 50	Cash discount and	
Recorders' court fines..	21, 098. 76	interest.....	959. 92
Privilege licenses.....	54, 937. 63		
Building permits.....	708. 03	Total revenue....	285, 639. 14

City of Huntsville—General Fund Budget for fiscal year ending Sept. 30, 1942

ANTICIPATED REVENUE

Source:		Source—Continued.	
General taxes.....	\$27, 500	Rents.....	\$250
A. B. C. store profits.....	2, 500	Pool admissions.....	3, 000
Taxes electric system.....	24, 000	Pool concessions.....	1, 500
Automobile licenses.....	8, 500	Plumbers fees.....	750
Water collections.....	92, 500	Sundry revenue.....	7, 300
Abattoir receipts.....	5, 000	Repair shop charges.....	1, 800
Electrical permits.....	1, 200	Sign permits.....	100
Cemetery receipts.....	5, 000	Cash discounts and in-	
Scale receipts.....	100	terest.....	750
Recorder's court fines.....	16, 000		
Privilege licenses.....	65, 000	Total anticipated rev-	
Building permits.....	1, 200	enue.....	264, 025
Water penalties.....	75		

Building permits issued Aug. 1, 1941, to Feb. 14, 1942

NEW RESIDENCES

Cost:		Cost—Continued.	
\$100 to \$500.....	33	\$7,000 to \$8,000.....	2
\$500 to \$1,000.....	34	\$9,000.....	1
\$1,000 to \$2,000.....	35		
\$2,000 to \$3,000.....	35	Permits for repairs on resi-	
\$3,000 to \$4,000.....	3	dences.....	135
\$5,000 to \$6,000.....	3		

The CHAIRMAN. Congressman Sparkman will interrogate this panel.

Mr. SPARKMAN. For the benefit of the record, the Huntsville civic panel is composed of Mr. Edward McGregor, chairman, county board of commissioners; Mrs. Walter Humphrey, director, Madison County Department of Public Welfare; Mr. Norris M. Payne, clerk-treasurer, city of Huntsville; and Dr. W. C. Hatchett, Madison County health officer.

Mr. McGregor, I don't know why this habit ever developed, unless somebody was a Presbyterian, but they call on somebody to act as a moderator, and you have been designated moderator for this panel. Although I will have some questions directed to a particular person, I hope you will all feel free to make any suggestions or contributions that you may care to in the course of this investigation. Personally, I think we all get much more out of it, if we make it an informal, round-table talk. So, if anyone of you feel an urge to say something, please feel perfectly free to do so.

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD MCGREGOR, CHAIRMAN, COUNTY BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS, MADISON COUNTY, HUNTSVILLE, ALA.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Edward [Mr. McGregor], I would like to ask you some questions. We shall introduce the statement you have furnished at this point in the record.

(The statement is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF EDWARD MCGREGOR, CHAIRMAN, MADISON COUNTY BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS, HUNTSVILLE, ALA.

REPORT ON MADISON COUNTY, ALA.

The revenue of Madison County, Ala., is derived from several sources. These revenues are allocated and paid into two funds, viz, the general fund and the special building, bridges, and road fund.

The revenues of the general fund result chiefly from a 5-mill ad valorem tax on real estate, personal property, and automobiles; also auto license, privilege license, mortgage taxes, etc. A sales tax fund, derived from our portion of a State sales tax, is earmarked for the extension service, health department, and welfare department. This revenue can be used for no other purpose. Seventy percent of the receipts of the general fund come from ad valorem tax, the remaining 30 percent from other revenues.

The revenue of the special building, bridges, and road fund comes from a 2½-mill ad valorem tax, a 3-cents-per-gallon county gasoline tax, and a part of the State gasoline tax. Ad valorem tax accounts for about 15 percent of the total revenue of this fund and the remaining 85 percent comes from the gas tax receipts.

The acquisition of some 32,000 acres of land by the Huntsville Arsenal reduced the assessment roll by the sum of \$409,080, resulting in a loss to the various county funds as follows:

County general fund.....	\$2, 045. 40
Special building bridges and roads.....	1, 022. 70
County-wide school.....	1, 636. 32
District school.....	1, 227. 24
Total reduction.....	5, 931. 66

However, from a careful study of the tax assessor's records, I am convinced that additional assessments by reason of new buildings being erected and placed in the tax rolls, and increased assessments resulting from property exchanges, will replace any loss resulting from loss of assessments in property acquired by the Huntsville Arsenal.

There has been no general revision upward in the valuation of real estate in Madison County for tax purposes. The tax assessor and the board of equalization agreed that it was impossible to say that the general increase in value of property in Madison County was of a permanent nature, so it was decided to allow present valuations, generally, stand. Since this policy had been adopted, I do not anticipate any appreciable reduction in the receipts from ad valorem tax on real estate, in the near future.

We do anticipate a drastic reduction in ad valorem tax based on automobile values.

We also expect the revenue of the special buildings, bridges, and roads fund to be reduced to the danger point by reason of losses in the gasoline tax.

The general fund receives approximately \$18,000 per year from auto licenses. This will, in all probability, be greatly reduced.

If material and labor were available, a general increase in building and improvements of property would result in some further increase in ad valorem taxes.

We have been called upon to spend large sums of money in the construction of access roads to the Huntsville Arsenal, as well as to maintain other roads used by the employees of the arsenal in going to and from their work. This extra expense has put an additional strain on our resources. When our funds are materially reduced, we will be unable to maintain our present road system properly.

Our health department was forced to ask for an increase in their budget of \$2,000 per year, brought about by increased demand resulting from the construction of the Huntsville Arsenal. We have received recently from them a request for an additional appropriation of \$1,300.

The board of commissioners has no control over educational funds, these being derived from special taxes, and administered by county and city boards of education.

Our health department works under the United States Public Health Service and the State health department, and their revenue comes from these sources, viz: Madison County, State of Alabama, and the United States Public Health Service. We have no control over the health department.

The welfare department is operated by the county welfare board, which is appointed by our county board of commissioners, and operates with a budget largely furnished by the county, a small amount from the city of Huntsville, and matching funds from the State and Federal Governments. The director of the welfare department is reporting in detail with reference to the operation of this department.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Will you give us some idea of the amount of land that Madison County has lost from its tax rolls within recent years, I would say the last 5 years, which include the taking by the Tennessee Valley Authority and the two recent plants?

FIFTY THOUSAND ACRES WITHDRAWN FROM TAXATION

Mr. MCGREGOR. The takings by the Tennessee Valley Authority and Huntsville Arsenal approximate 50,000 acres.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How many acres in the county?

Mr. MCGREGOR. I am not sure.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Four hundred thousand acres, something like that?

Mr. MCGREGOR. Dr. Hatchett says there are 811 square miles.

Mr. SPARKMAN. About 500,000 acres then. Those 50,000 acres taken by the arsenal were some of the very best lands in the county?

Mr. MCGREGOR. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Some of the highest priced land?

Mr. MCGREGOR. I wouldn't say the very highest priced, but some of the most productive.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Can you give me some idea of what that amounts to in tax revenue?

Mr. MCGREGOR. The assessments here are for 60 percent and that doesn't indicate its real value. But on that part taken by the arsenal it was \$409,000. I haven't the exact figures on the Tennessee Valley Authority land.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You mean \$409,000 was the assessed valuation?

Mr. MCGREGOR. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What is the county rate?

Mr. MCGREGOR. It is divided up, the county general tax is 5 mills. that is 50 cents a hundred, and building of bridges 2½ mills or 25 cents, and county schools is 4 mills or 40 cents, and district school is 3 mills or 30 cents.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is that county-wide?

Mr. MCGREGOR. Yes; these taxes are uniform over the county.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Each district of the county has that tax?

Mr. MCGREGOR. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are those the only county taxes?

Mr. MCGREGOR. They are the only ad valorem taxes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. \$1.45?

Mr. MCGREGOR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to say our rate in California is \$4.85. What is it for the State?

Mr. MCGREGOR. That is 65 cents. Do you want that divided?

The CHAIRMAN. No, sir. What is the city tax?

Mr. PAYNE. \$1.45.

Mr. SPARKMAN. These lands taken by the projects were not in the city?

Mr. PAYNE. No, sir; none in the city.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is \$3.55, isn't it?

Mr. MCGREGOR. Yes, sir; and we have a homestead exemption of \$2,000 on State taxes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is where a person lived in the State for a year prior to October 1?

Mr. MCGREGOR. Yes, sir; but that doesn't affect county or city taxes.

COMPENSATION FOR LOSS IN REVENUES

Mr. SPARKMAN. How does the county compensate itself for that loss in revenue?

Mr. MCGREGOR. The only compensation we have is through taxes on new buildings, taxes on improvements to old buildings, and also on exchanges of property, of which we have had a great deal.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How does that affect the loss in revenue?

Mr. MCGREGOR. I think it will just about offset the loss of taxes on the \$409,000 valuation.

Mr. SPARKMAN. These new homes going up, that go on your tax rolls, you think that will be an offset?

Mr. MCGREGOR. I checked the rolls that have not been completed and talked to Mr. Darwin, who is our tax assessor, and we both came to the conclusion that the increase would just about offset the loss.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Of course your operating cost is cut some when that area is taken?

DECREASE IN OPERATING COSTS

Mr. MCGREGOR. We will have some cut in the operating cost on the roads there, but the operating costs on the other roads have increased, and all these housing projects are outside the city limits. So we will have an increase for the maintenance of streets there which will be all out of proportion to the tax revenue.

The CHAIRMAN. The arsenal is outside the city?

Mr. MCGREGOR. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What about your increase in public facilities? You have mentioned maintaining streets and roads in the new housing projects. Are there any other increases in the cost of operation, public health, for instance? Has Dr. Hatchett asked you for an increase in appropriations?

Mr. MCGREGOR. Yes, sir; we were asked for an increased appropriation of \$2,000 and in addition \$1,300 that was in excess of the budget.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And the load has increased on the Department of Public Welfare, I presume?

Mrs. HUMPHREY. Not considerably, not in numbers. The relief has been very inadequate and it still is very inadequate. But, so far as numbers, we haven't had any great increase. We care mostly for unemployable persons, besides children. We don't care for able-bodied persons.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you handle delinquents?

Mrs. HUMPHREY. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Does your general fund have anything to do with the money for the schools?

Mr. MCGREGOR. The school money is collected by the tax collector and turned over directly to the school authorities. The county board of commissioners has nothing to do with the school funds.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The only way you would be called upon for increased facilities would be for appropriations for these various agencies, such as public welfare—and what other agencies?

EXPENSE OF ACCESS ROADS

Mr. MCGREGOR. Where we got hit harder than anywhere else is the increased cost of road maintenance and building of access roads to the arsenal.

Mr. SPARKMAN. They have been building them so far with the access road fund?

Mr. MCGREGOR. I talked to the county engineer about that and asked him approximately what the expense of the access roads they now have in mind would actually cost the county. And he said approximately \$20,000, and then of course we would have the depreciation, the wear and tear, and the cost of maintenance of our road equipment. And we came to the conclusion it would cost the county about \$30,000. That was unanticipated expense.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You do make appropriation to the hospital each year?

Mr. MCGREGOR. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is the hospital city-owned?

Mr. MCGREGOR. No; it is a nonprofit organization.

Mr. SPARKMAN. To which both the city and county contribute?

Mr. MCGREGOR. Yes, sir.

OPERATION OF HOSPITAL

Mr. SPARKMAN. The Federal Government has recently authorized an expansion of the Huntsville Hospital. I believe neither the county nor the city will be called upon for any participation. As I recall it, the only requirement is that you pay off your debts.

Mr. MCGREGOR. I think that is the requirement. But when it comes to that, if the hospital can't run on a 50-bed basis without city and county help, how could it with 100 beds?

Mr. SPARKMAN. You think eventually you will be called on for help for the hospital?

Mr. PAYNE. Yes, sir, I do.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is that your view, too, Edward?

Mr. MCGREGOR. Yes, sir; that is my idea. In fact, that has been mentioned already and the hospital has asked us to give them additional money.

Mr. SPARKMAN. An application for a health center is also being presented. That will be Dr. Hatchett's outfit. Are you anticipating an increased cost in the operation of that?

Mr. MCGREGOR. Dr. Hatchett said they wouldn't call on us for any increased operating costs. We were just called on for an appropriation to his department of an additional \$1,300, but that wouldn't be in way of operating cost.

Mr. PAYNE. I am afraid from the city's standpoint they will call on us for additional appropriation for this emergency. The county and city raised \$4,000—\$2,000 each. I think Dr. Hatchett means if

they leave them that \$4,000, he won't have to call on us any more. But at the time the city raised this \$2,000 they had trailer camps and tents and there were consequently unusual sanitary requirements that had to be taken care of. And that's what you mean, Dr. Hatchett, "if we leave you that \$4,000"?

FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

Dr. HATCHETT. Yes, sir. We can use that money to meet these needs.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you have any suggestions as to whether there should be additional assistance from the Federal Government to Madison County? Do you think these projects we have mentioned have been treated pretty fairly?

Mr. MCGREGOR. When it comes to roads, we shall need plenty of assistance.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The Federal Government doesn't handle any except access and strategic roads.

ADDITIONAL TAX LOSSES

Mr. MCGREGOR. Our general fund, out of which our payments are made, runs \$129,000 a year, and of that amount \$18,000 a year comes from automobile tags, and I anticipate that our revenue from automobile tags is going to be vastly lessened; also that our ad valorem on automobiles will be less next year.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What about the gasoline taxes?

Mr. MCGREGOR. The gasoline tax goes to building bridges and road fund and accounts for 85 percent of our building bridges and road funds.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Has this county pledged its future gasoline tax or its automobile tag tax, for road building?

Mr. MCGREGOR. It was pledged on one bond issue that has been retired.

Mr. SPARKMAN. So you are clear on that now?

Mr. MCGREGOR. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. McGregor, you have been chairman of the board of county commissioners since when?

Mr. MCGREGOR. I took office the 16th of April.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You have served a little less than a month?

Mr. MCGREGOR. Yes, sir.

**TESTIMONY OF NORRIS N. PAYNE, CLERK-TREASURER OF
CITY OF HUNTSVILLE**

Mr. SPARKMAN. Now, Norris [Mr. Payne], I have some questions for you along the same line. The statement from Mayor McAllister shows revenues and expenses that the city has had. That has been made a part of the record and will be printed in full in the record.¹ But I would like to ask you some questions based upon that, for the purpose of the record. I know that while the statement submitted was for Mayor McAllister, you are familiar with it.

¹ See p. 11960.

NO LOSS OF REVENUE

Give us some ideas with reference to the revenue, if any, the city of Huntsville has lost by reason of these projects?

Mr. PAYNE. The city has lost nothing in the way of revenue on account of the Arsenal.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you had any increase in way of revenue by reason of these developments?

Mr. PAYNE. We will have an increase in water revenue on account of additional houses being built in the city and in the police jurisdiction.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you extend your water lines through the police jurisdiction?

Mr. PAYNE. We don't supply Merrimack, Lincoln, or Dallas. We are tied in with the Lincoln and Dallas water in case of an emergency.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you supply water for the arsenal or the ordnance?

Mr. PAYNE. No, sir; we don't. In the last 8 months we have only gained 275 new water customers, but new customers don't mean anything to us for the first 14 or 15 months. I mean that our minimum charge is \$16.20 a year—\$1.50 a month less 10 percent—and it would cost about \$18 to supply a new customer. We have to put in water meters, boxes, and so forth, so on our average customer we don't make any money for some time. There are going to be 190 houses built in the city. Incidentally, 85 percent of this building has been outside the city limits and means nothing to the city in taxes. But there will be 190 houses built in the city and the city will get taxes on them. The city will feel the effect of tax revenue, but it will cost \$7,000 or \$8,000 to give those people water; that is, inside the city. Outside, they build their own lines. So it will take the city 2 or 3 years to realize any profit from that development.

BUILDING PERMITS

Mr. SPARKMAN. I notice in the statement of the mayor there were building permits issued up through February 1942 for 135 residences; that is, in the city and the police jurisdiction. In other words, you have to issue permits if they are in the police jurisdiction?

Mr. PAYNE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The police jurisdiction, under the law of Alabama, extends for 3 miles outside the corporate limits?

Mr. PAYNE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that take in the arsenal?

Mr. PAYNE. Just a little part, not any of the buildings. I have a supplementary statement on building permits since February that I would like to submit. I wonder if this might be put in the record.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Certainly.

City of Huntsville building permits issued Feb. 14 to Apr. 25, 1942

NEW RESIDENCES

Cost:		Cost—Continued.	
\$100 to \$500.....	63	\$7,000 to \$8,000.....	1
\$500 to \$1,000.....	15	\$9,000 and over.....	1
\$1,000 to \$2,000.....	57		
\$2,000 to \$3,000.....	117	Total.....	270
\$3,000 to \$4,000.....	15	Repairs.....	43
\$5,000 to \$6,000.....	1		

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is 270 permits as against 135 last year?

Mr. PAYNE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Just about doubled?

Mr. PAYNE. Yes, sir; this is for 2 months, and that was about 6. There are also 268 permits to be issued in a subdivision near the arsenal. Only 25 have been issued out of that lot, which will about double that figure in the next 60 days.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you had any increase in privilege licenses?

INCREASE IN LICENSE RATES

Mr. PAYNE. We have had a considerable increase in revenue from privilege licenses, but not on account of new businesses. It is on account of the rates. Last year this county was voted dry. The city was getting \$30,000 or \$40,000 a year out of liquor revenue. And when that was taken away the only way to offset that loss was to increase license rates, and we have had about a 20-percent increase over last year.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You mean in total revenue?

Mr. PAYNE. Yes, sir; but it is not from new business. It is from the same old firms.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What unusual demands have been made upon the city for facilities to take care of this new load that you have had on schools, police department, fire department, health service, and so forth?

Mr. PAYNE. We haven't had any unusual demands. We do have a few more policemen, and they work longer hours. Probably we have increased the fire department a little.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Of course, the arsenal has its own fire department; also the ordnance plant?

MAINTENANCE OF SCHOOLS

Mr. PAYNE. Yes, sir. And we had a little trouble there by their hiring our firemen. Now, the school situation is a little different with the city than with the county. The county doesn't appropriate from its general fund to the school system. In other words, the schools collect their taxes and operate as long as they can on that money. The city has always maintained its schools, both colored and white, for 9 months. And this year it is going to take about \$21,000 out of the general fund to carry the schools through 9 months. I believe the State minimum program for schools is 9 months for high schools and 7 months for grammar schools. But we run them both 9 months in the city.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you had any substantial increase in enrollment here in the schools by reason of these projects?

Mr. PAYNE. Some. During good times, so the records show, you have lots of boys quitting high school and going to work, and that is true here. Our high school doesn't show the increase. And during depression times, a boy can't get a job and will stay in school. But the grammar schools are overcrowded.

EFFECT OF AUTOMOBILE RATIONING

Mr. SPARKMAN. I noticed in a statement from Mr. George Brown, county superintendent of education, that he said there was only one place that would need additional facilities, for which he must receive financial assistance from the Federal Government, and he particularly pointed out that as soon as cars and tires wear out and couldn't be replaced, he predicted several hundred construction workers—and now it is being shifted to operating workers—will be forced to live pretty close in the vicinity of Huntsville. Do you anticipate any increased demands by reason of those conditions?

Mr. PAYNE. Yes, sir; in the seventy-second district. Huntsville is the forty-second district, and of course Lincoln and Dallas have a number, and the seventy-second district is between Huntsville and Merrimack and Lincoln and West Huntsville. There is no school in the seventy-second district, and those children have been coming to the city schools for years—always, I suppose, since they quit going to Farley. And down in the Mayfair development—that is down on Whitesburg Pike—that area is also in the seventy-second district. With some 200 or 300 houses there and the 190 houses just inside the city on Fifth Avenue, the road from the hospital to West Huntsville, we have applied for funds for a building in that vicinity.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is pending in the regional office in Atlanta?

Mr. PAYNE. Yes, sir; we think it will require another building to take care of all those 600 or 800 children. It really isn't a city problem, I guess, but the people are so close to us, our school system has been taking care of them. When they first started to do it there were 75 or 80 children. Now the Whitesburg Pike area has developed, as you know, to where there are about 400 children there.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Does the city get revenue from the seventy-second district?

Mr. PAYNE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. If you get the revenue, then the responsibility is on you to take care of these children?

Mr. PAYNE. Yes, sir; the same as from the forty-second district, but those people don't pay any part of this \$20,000.

Mr. SPARKMAN. They pay no city taxes and don't contribute to the part you pay out of the general fund?

Mr. PAYNE. That's right. The city has a 4½-mill school building tax that those people do not pay any part of. The people of the city put up \$40,000 a year to carry on its school program, and the people outside don't pay any of that \$40,000.

HUNTSVILLE HAS SMALL CORPORATE AREA

Mr. SPARKMAN. I think it might be well for the record to show this fact: that the city of Huntsville has a very restricted corporate area. As a matter of fact, there are more people living outside the city and immediately contiguous to it than inside the city.

Mr. PAYNE. That's right. Right now I would say 5,000 more people live in the police jurisdiction than in the city proper. And there will be a good many more. The figure will increase in the next few months.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I believe the 1940 census shows Huntsville's population as 13,000?

Mr. PAYNE. 13,171, and about 15,716 in the police jurisdiction.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How much do you estimate will be the increase in addition to that, in the police jurisdiction?

Mr. PAYNE. 5,000 or 6,000.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Which would give about 35,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Has there been any increase outside the police jurisdiction?

Mr. PAYNE. Yes, sir; but most of it is in the police jurisdiction.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I will ask you the same question I asked Edward [Mr. McGregor]. The city has, of course, put in some applications for Federal grants. Did you put in any for waterworks and sewers?

Mr. PAYNE. Just schools and for the health center.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you feel the Federal Government has treated you fairly with reference to that, or do you have any further suggestion as to that?

Mr. PAYNE. Frankly, I don't know very much about the health center.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I wasn't referring to a health center. I am referring to the program as a whole. In other words, has there been imposed on Huntsville by reason of these projects any undue burden which the Government has not taken care of properly?

Mr. PAYNE. I don't think so.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I wish to introduce into the record at this point two statements relating to the health situation in this county.

(The statements are as follows:)

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH,
Montgomery, March 6, 1942.

The Honorable A. W. McALLISTER,
Mayor of Huntsville, Huntsville, Ala.

DEAR SIR: The possible public health hazards created by the contamination of the water from the Huntsville Spring, which is used as a public supply to serve the population in the Huntsville metropolitan area, and the disposal of the waste into the Huntsville Spring Branch has been brought to my attention.

The following is a tabulation of the bacteriological analyses of samples collected from the spring water that is used for the public supply. As you know, the only treatment that this water receives before it is pumped in the distribution system is chlorination.

Date	Plate count	Gas in lactose broth (<i>B. coli</i> present)	Most probable number per 100 cubic centimeter
Feb. 16, 1940.....	9	3/5 0/1 0/1	8.8
Feb. 22, 1940.....	6	5/5 0/1 1/1	96.0
May 8, 1940.....	4	5/5 1/1 0/1	240.0
Aug. 16, 1940.....	50	5/5 1/1 0/1	240.0
Nov. 21, 1940.....	25	4/5 1/1 0/1	21.0
Average for year, 1940.....			121.0
Feb. 8, 1941.....	4	5/5 0/1 0/1	38.0
May 10, 1941.....	1	5/5 1/1 0/1	240.0
Aug. 9, 1941.....	6	5/5 1/1 0/1	240.0
Nov. 7, 1941.....	8	5/5 0/1 1/1	38.0
Average for year, 1941.....			139.0
Feb. 10, 1939.....	8	1/5 1/1 0/1	4.4
May 7, 1939.....	3	5/5 1/1 1/1	240.0
Aug. 1, 1939.....	15	5/5 1/1 0/1	240.0
Nov. 8, 1939.....	15	5/5 1/1 0/1	240.0
Average for year, 1939.....			181.0

The appearance of the spring water as it discharges from the rocks near the center of town and as it flows through the canal to the drainage canal is very pleasing to the eye and is a sight of which the citizens of Huntsville should be proud. However, the foregoing bacteriological analyses indicate that the water has been contaminated with domestic sewage. You will notice that the plate count or the number of bacteria per cubic centimeter at 37° C. is relatively low. This is taken to mean that very few soil bacteria are present and that very little surface contamination is reaching the supply. The presence of *Bacillus coli* in all of the above samples and the high most probable number (m. p. n.) per 100 cubic centimeters indicate that the spring water is highly contaminated with sewage or discharges from the human body. This contamination cannot be seen by the eye and, therefore, does not detract from the appearance of the water from the spring, but does present a public health problem that the city officials should not lose sight of and should take immediate steps to correct. It is possible that the sewage is leaking from one or more broken sewer lines into cracks or crevices in the limestone rock above the spring. If this is the case (we imagine that it is), they should be repaired and properly sealed. However, there is no assurance that other sewer lines will not be broken or caused to leak when the ground over the underground stream that feeds the spring settles or sinks, as was the case of the cave-in several years ago at the southeast corner of the courthouse square. There are two other instances that you may recall where the city water tasted bad for days. They were shortly after the fires at C. C. Anderson's and J. D. Humphrey's drug stores. It is probable that some medicine or chemicals found their way through the limestone rock into the spring water.

It is our firm belief and conviction that the public water supply should receive purification and filtration prior to chlorination, the only safeguard that the water now receives. The methods and the design of such a plant to assure a safe water's being delivered to the distribution system at all times should be left to qualified consulting engineers familiar in water works design and practices.

The pollution of the Huntsville Spring Branch by the discharge of raw or untreated sewage is evident. Before the construction of the Huntsville Arsenal, which is located on the stream below the sewer outfalls, the land was sparsely settled and the water was not used for domestic purposes. Since this construction has started, the increased population that has connected to the present sewerage system and the contemplated expansion in the Huntsville area will greatly increase the sewage flow and thereby pollute the stream to a greater extent. It has been reported that over 900 houses are now under construction or will be started soon in the Huntsville area. It is well known that a stream can receive a certain amount of sewage without becoming septic or putrefactive. It is possible that this stream may become so polluted that this critical point will be reached and that it will become very objectionable and cause considerable damage to the riparian owner below. This is in addition to the public health aspect which is much greater since the construction of the arsenal where a considerable number of people will be employed. R. C. Ditto, brigadier general, United States Army, commanding officer of the Huntsville Arsenal, has become quite concerned, and rightly so, over the disposal of the raw sewage from Huntsville into the Spring Branch which flows through the property upon which the arsenal is located. He stated the conditions to the Chief, Chemical Warfare Service, Washington, D. C., a copy of which letter was sent to you. We wish to express our desire that the city officials follow his recommendation, which is as follows:

"It is recommended that early action be taken to have the city of Huntsville erect and operate a sewage-treatment plant inasmuch as this seems to be the only solution to the present condition."

Mr. D. S. Abell, chief engineer and director of the Bureau of Sanitation, wrote you on December 3, 1941, a copy of his letter is attached, setting forth the need for expanding and improving the public water supply and the necessity of treating the sewage before it is delivered to the spring branch. He also brought to your attention the possibility of securing some aid for financing these improvements. Since his letter was written, a number of Alabama towns and cities in defense areas have made application to the Defense Public Works Administration for funds and have secured financial aid for the construction of water works and sewerage systems.

In view of the above facts and the need of these improvements for the public health and welfare of your people, I wish to stress and urge you to employ a consulting engineer experienced in design and construction of water and sewage treatment works, and authorize him to make preliminary reports. An applica-

tion embodying his recommendations for the needed improvements should be filed with the Defense Public Works Administration as soon as possible.

We will be pleased to render any aid possible in securing a solution to your water and sewage problems.

Yours very truly,

B. F. AUSTIN, M. D.,
Acting State Health Officer.

Copy to Gen. R. C. Ditto, Dr. W. C. Hatchett, Mr. H. J. Thrasher, Mr. Frank H. Ford, Mr. H. C. Pollard, Mr. L. C. Erwin, Mr. J. R. Maples, Mr. W. H. Collier, Mr. H. B. Bryant, Mr. W. A. Stanley, Mr. W. J. Price, Mr. M. H. Lanier, Mr. S. L. Terry, Mr. G. F. Geron.

MONTGOMERY, ALA.,
December 3, 1942.

HON. A. W. McALLISTER,
Mayor of Huntsville, Huntsville, Ala.

DEAR SIR: You will recall interviews which I had with several officials of the city of Huntsville in company with Mr. L. Cummins, sanitation officer of your county health department, with reference to the advisability of making application to the Defense Public Works Administration for funds with which to construct adequate facilities for treatment of the Huntsville water supply as well as sewage from the city system.

Your attention is called to the enclosed letter from Lt. I. E. Madsen, inquiring as to what steps are being formulated to remedy the undesirable practice of discharging untreated sewage from the city of Huntsville into the Huntsville Spring branch. You are no doubt aware of the efforts being made by this department as well as the Federal Government to improve the conditions of streams by the treatment of sewage. In fact, the War Department at the Huntsville Arsenal is making plans to install facilities for what is termed "the complete treatment of sewage." However, these facilities may be used for only a comparatively short length of time. This bureau has, for a number of years, been concerned over the fact that the only treatment given to the public water supply for which you are responsible is chlorination. As you know, a spring supply through limestone regions may become seriously contaminated without any warning whatsoever; in fact, recently, laboratory analysis indicate that the raw water for your supply shows evidence of contamination. To depend upon chlorination alone, or in fact, any treatment which does not include coagulation and filtration as well as chlorination, would not be considered adequate to treat your water supply.

In view of the above, it is urged that you take steps at once to install facilities for the treatment of water and sewage. Although this has no bearing upon the need for such facilities, it may be possible in the near future for you to obtain funds with which to aid you in the financing of such projects. It is understood that legislation has been introduced in Congress to extend the activities of the Defense Public Works Administration on receiving applications under the original allocation funds. If additional funds are made available, it is urged that you be ready to submit projects, so that the above facilities can be provided in the very near future. So that you will be ready for this possibility, it is recommended that you employ a consulting engineer experienced in the design and construction of water and sewage treatment works and authorize him to make a preliminary report to you on the basis of which financing can be arranged for these needed improvements.

We should be glad to hear from you as to what action has been taken in this matter. If we can aid you in any way, please call upon us.

Yours very truly,

D. S. ABELL,
Chief Engineer and Director, Bureau of Sanitation.

Copies to: Dr. W. C. Hatchett.
First Lt. I. E. Madsen.

TESTIMONY OF DR. W. C. HATCHETT, PUBLIC HEALTH OFFICER MADISON COUNTY, ALA.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Dr. Hatchett, we shall place your very excellent statement in the record at this point.

(The statement is as follows:)

STATEMENT BY W. C. HATCHETT, M. D., COUNTY HEALTH OFFICER, MADISON COUNTY, HUNTSVILLE, ALA.

By an act of the State legislature, the organized medical profession is granted the power to formulate its own constitution. The State medical association constitutes the board of health. Every legal practicing physician of Alabama who is a member of his local medical society is a member of the State board of health. Likewise every member of the Madison County Medical Society is a member of the county board of health.

The members of the county medical society elect five of its members which constitutes the board of censors or the committee of public health, with the chairman of the county commissioners as a member of said board.

The State of Alabama grants the right of this board to promulgate rules and regulations all pertaining to health which has the force and effect of law.

All State, county, and municipal public health laws, all rules and regulations pertaining to health and health conditions are enforced through the county health officer.

The county health officer is elected by the county board of censors acting for the county medical society. This board is responsible for all public health work in the county and no municipality is permitted by law to hire any health personnel except through the board.

The county health officer and his subordinate personnel constitute the county department of public health.

The relationship between the State department of public health and the county department of public health is a supervisory one, participating financially, advisory, and a consultant service.

The health department contemplates no increase in personnel.

The funds for the payment of personnel of the Madison County Health Department are derived from four sources, United States Government, State of Alabama, Madison County, and the city of Huntsville.

The Madison County Tuberculosis Association participates financially in the control of tuberculosis.

The local society for crippled children participates in the transportation and treatment of crippled children.

Budget for State or local health project

STATE: ALABAMA. PROJECT: MADISON COUNTY. BUDGET NO. 75. PERIOD COVERED BY BUDGET: JULY 1, 1941, TO JUNE 30, 1942

Item No.	Item	Annual rate	Amounts budgeted, 12 months	Source of funds				
				State	Local	U. S. Public Health Service		Other agencies
						Title VI	Venereal disease	
	Salaries:							
1	Health officer.....	\$4,200	\$4,200.00	2,700	\$1,500.00			
2	Nurse No. 1.....	1,920	1,920.00					\$1,920 CB
3	Nurse No. 2.....	1,780	1,780.00	1,780				
4	Nurse No. 3.....	1,780	1,780.00					1,780 CB
5	Sanitation officer No. 1.....	2,040	2,040.00		2,040.00			
6	Sanitation officer No. 2.....	1,620	1,620.00		1,620.00			
7	Technician.....	1,500	1,500.00		1,500.00			
8	Clerk.....	1,080	1,080.00			\$1,080		
	Travel:							
9	Health officer.....	540	540.00		540.00			
10	Nurse No. 1.....	480	480.00		480.00			
11	Nurse No. 2.....	480	480.00		480.00			
12	Nurse No. 3.....	480	480.00		480.00			
13	Sanitation officer No. 1.....	480	480.00		480.00			
14	Sanitation officer No. 2.....	480	480.00		480.00			
15	Contingent fund.....		2,412.20		2,412.20			
16	Fees, P. T. physicians, MCH clinics.....		840.00					840 CB
17	Fees, P. T. dentists, MCH clinics.....		260.00					260 CB
	Total.....		22,372.30	4,480	12,012.20	1,080		4,800

Revision of budget for State or local health project

State: Alabama. Project: Madison County. Revision No. 75-A. Period covered by revised budget July 1, 1941 to June 30, 1942

[Jan. 12, 1942]

Item No.	Item	New annual rate	Changes in amounts budgeted	Changes in source of funds				
				State	Local	Title VI	Venereal diseases	Other agencies
	Totals of previously approved budget.....		\$22,372.20	\$4,480	\$12,012.20	\$1,080		\$4,800
2	Salary, nurse No. 1 (increase from \$1,920, effective Oct. 1, 1941).....	\$1,980	45.00	45				
3	Salary, nurse No. 2 (increase from \$1,780, effective Oct. 1, 1941).....	1,840	45.00	45				
4	Salary, nurse No. 3 (increase from \$1,780, effective Oct. 1, 1941).....	2,100	45.00	45				
5	Salary, sanitation officer No. 1 (increase from \$2,040, effective Oct. 1, 1941).....	1,680	45.00		45.00			
6	Salary, sanitation officer No. 2 (increase from \$1,620 effective Oct. 1, 1941).....	1,680	45.00		45.00			
18	Salary, sanitation officer No. 3 (effective Aug. 1, 1941, 2 months at \$1,500; effective Oct. 1, 1941, 9 months, at \$1,800).....	1,800	1,600.00			1,600.00		
19	Travel, sanitation officer No. 3 (effective Aug. 1, 1941).....	480	440.00		440.00			
20	Travel, nurse, U. S. Public Health Service (effective Aug. 2, 1941).....	480	413.33			413.33		
21	Travel, medical officer, U. S. Public Health Service (effective Oct. 1, 1941).....	480	383.33			383.33		
22	Salary, nurse No. 4 (effective Oct. 1, 1941).....	1,500	1,125.00		583.33	541.67		
23	Travel, nurse No. 4 (effective Oct. 1, 1941).....	480	360.00		360.00			
24	Salary, M. and M. inspector (effective Oct. 1, 1941).....	2,000	1,500.00		1,500.00			
25	Travel, M. and M. inspector.....	480	360.00		360.00			
26	Salary, nurse, (paid by U. S. Public Health Service).....							
27	Salary, medical officer (paid by U. S. Public Health Service).....							
	Total of net revisions.....		6,406.66	135	3,333.33	2,938.33		
	Total of revised budget.....		28,778.86	4,615	15,345.53	4,018.33		4,800

State: Alabama. Project: Madison County. Revision No. 75-B. Period covered by revised budget, Feb. 1, 1942 to June 30, 1942

	Totals of previously approved budget.....		\$28,778.86	\$4,615	\$15,345.53	\$4,018.33		\$4,800
18	Salary, sanitation officer, saving, second quarter.....		116.67			116.67		
21	Travel medical officer, saving, second and third quarters (effective Feb. 1, 1942).....		200.00			200.00		
29	Travel U. S. Public Health Service, engineer (effective Feb. 1, 1942).....	\$480	200.00			200.00		
30	Salary, U. S. Public Health Service, engineer (paid by U. S. Public Health Service).....							
	Total of net revisions.....		116.67			116.67		
	Total of revised budget.....		28,662.19	4,615	15,345.53	3,901.66		4,800

Signed for State: B. F. AUSTIN.
MARCH 18, 1942.

The following clinics are conducted under the supervision of the Madison County Health Department.

Chest clinic.—Chest clinic for the purpose of diagnosis of indigent cases of tuberculosis and classify each patient as to treatment. Histories and family records are kept of these patients and follow-up visits are made. Madison County has only four sanatorium beds for tubercular cases. Regular clinics are held each week for patients who receive pneumothorax treatments.

Follow-up visits are made by the nursing staff of the health department, of all positive cases of tuberculosis, for the purpose of instructing the patient and family contacts.

Venereal disease clinic.—In the venereal disease clinic only indigent patients referred to the clinic by family physicians are treated.

Patients are diagnosed and given standard treatments according to the disease. Follow-up visits are made when patients fail to return for treatment. Patients who refuse to return are incarcerated until such time as they are willing to return. Treatment is administered during incarceration.

Maternal clinic.—Usually patients attending this clinic consist of those who are to be delivered by midwives. Patients are examined for the purpose of determining whether patient will be a normal delivery. Records of these patients are kept and their progress recorded at each clinic session. Follow-up visits of instruction are made by the nursing staff.

Child-health clinic.—Indigent patients visit the clinic, diagnosis is made and treatment of minor illness is given.

All severe cases are referred to a physician and if necessary, are sent to the hospital for service on charity.

Dental clinic.—Indigent children of the first grade in the public schools are eligible for the service. These children are serviced through the eighth grade as children from the first grades are taken on each year. In this kind of arrangement all indigent children will eventually receive dental service. Follow-up visits are made by the nursing staff for the purpose of encouraging these patients to return for treatment.

Records are kept of all patients and treatments. There is no connection of the health department with the hospital in the treatment of cases.

Hospitals.—There is one general hospital in Madison County consisting of 70 beds in emergency. Normally the population of Madison County is approximately 65,000. It is estimated that the population at this time is approximately 85,000 to 90,000.

There are no beds for tuberculosis, no isolation wards; only medical, surgery, obstetrics, and other noncontagious cases. Although cases of contagious and infectious diseases needing surgical treatment are admitted and isolated for this service.

Four beds for the treatment of tuberculosis are maintained in the Morgan County Tuberculosis Sanatorium by the Madison County Antituberculosis Association, and two State beds are financed by this association, making a total of six patients treated at same time. Patients needing pneumothorax are transported to the sanatorium for this treatment.

Financial statement.—All revenue for the operation of the Madison County Health Department is kept in the First National Bank, Montgomery, Ala. Vouchers for all salaries and expenses are made out and approved for payment by the local health officer and mailed to the financial secretary, State board of health, Montgomery, Ala. No cash is handled by the department.

Copy of budget and source of funds enclosed. No increase of budget expected for next fiscal year.

Madison County is located about 60 miles from Camp Forrest and is susceptible to invocation of the May Act.

Water supply.—Water supply for the city of Huntsville consists of a large spring emerging from under the city. The water is limestone and considered adequate for the city and surrounding territory for which it serves. The raw water from the spring is highly polluted with *Bacillus coli* and other bacteria. The water supply is chlorinated before it is pumped out to the consumer. Frequent tests are made daily at the health department for the presence of chlorine in the water.

Three of the four industrial centers obtain their water supply from deep wells and purified by chlorination. One from a large spring and is also chlorinated.

The county water supply consists of shallow and deep wells, some with pumps and others serviced by buckets drawn by hand. A number of homes are supplied with springs and cisterns. All springs and many of the wells, especially shallow

and those serviced by buckets, are polluted with *Bacillus coli* and other bacteria. The water is hard and soft, depending on the locality.

Sewerage disposal.—The sewerage disposal of the city of Huntsville constitutes a main sewer with laterals which serves the city proper. No sewer extension is built by the city beyond the city limits. Some private citizens are granted the privilege to build a private line and attach to city service.

The industrial centers maintain a sewer system for their village.

There is no regular sewer system maintained in the county proper. The sewerage disposal in the county consists of individual septic tanks, pit privies, and surface or open privies.

No provisions have been made to extend public sewer systems to any new projects. Individual septic tanks only.

Veneral disease control program.—A free clinic is operated under the supervision of the county and State Departments of public health, for the treatment of all indigent cases of venereal disease. Each new case is interviewed for the purpose of ascertaining his or her source contact and their own contacts. Visits are made to cases who fail to report for regular treatment. After one visit, if they fail to return to the clinic in a reasonable time, he is detained in the county jail for treatment. A citation prepared by the county health officer by authority under section 1106 Alabama Code of 1923, as amended in 1939, is given the sheriff of the county to be served on the person detained in jail under the provisions of section 1103 Code 1923 as amended by General Acts of 1935. No release may be given patient except from the health officer. This same action may be taken on any private patient being treated by a physician with the physicians' consent.

Organized prostitution has been eliminated since the defense area has been established in Madison County. We do not mean to say that prostitution has been eliminated in the city and county altogether, but it has been reduced to private places.

No new laws have been passed by the State, county, city, or county health department relative to venereal disease control since the defense area was established, with exception of one law relative to fines on prostitutes. The fine on these cases was raised from \$10 to \$100. I believe we have adequate law and regulations for the control of this disease.

The venereal disease is rather prevalent, usually running from 1.25 to 4.5 in the white, and high as 18 in the colored race.

Housing conditions.—There has been no epidemic of any nature in Huntsville and Madison County for several years. We had 36 cases of smallpox in 1939 and over 20,000 vaccinations were given during that year. One hundred and ten cases of typhoid fever, mostly rural 1926, and 1941 nine cases. There is no indication of an epidemic of any kind at this time.

The housing condition in some sections of the city and county is in very bad repair and more or less crowded at present, but I do not believe that there is any great danger of disease contagion at present or any future time, if conditions are kept under careful supervision of sanitary inspectors.

TESTIMONY OF DR. W. C. HATCHETT—Resumed

Mr. SPARKMAN. For the benefit of the record, I wish you would state, Dr. Hatchett, the authority the local health departments have under the Constitution and Statutes of the State of Alabama to supervise health regulations in the counties?

AUTHORITY OF LOCAL HEALTH DEPARTMENTS

Dr. HATCHETT. The legislature delegates that authority to the organized medical profession. They have their own constitution. Every regular practicing physician in the State of Alabama is a member of the State board of health. Out of that membership they elect 10 of their members, which constitute the public health committee or State board of censors, with the Governor serving as ex-officio member. And it comes on down to the county. The county set-up is the same

as the State. Every regular doctor who affiliates himself with the county system is a member of the county board of health, and they in turn elect 5 members, which constitutes the local health committee, with the chairman of the county board of commissioners serving as a member, or the probate judge, whichever it may be. In this county it is the chairman of the board of commissioners.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What authority is vested in the health department?

Dr. HATCHETT. The legislature gives this board the right to promulgate rules and regulations which have the force and effect of law. They are to be passed as the needs for them arise.

SOURCES OF FUNDS

Mr. SPARKMAN. What are the sources of your funds?

Dr. HATCHETT. Our funds come from the city, the county, the State, and the Federal Government.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is there any matching system so far as the State and the Federal funds are concerned?

Dr. HATCHETT. No, sir; just plain appropriations.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Depending on the need?

Dr. HATCHETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Doctor, how long have you been in public health work?

Dr. HATCHETT. Twenty years.

Mr. SPARKMAN. As a matter of fact, the public health work in Alabama is recognized as one of the best in the Union and has been for a good many years?

Dr. HATCHETT. That is true.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What is the size of your staff here?

Dr. HATCHETT. I have at the present time one health officer, one secretary, five nurses, four inspectors; two temporary inspectors—making six inspectors—and two laboratory technicians.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How does that compare with the size of the staff set up by public health standards for the country for a county of this size?

CANNOT REACH HIGH STANDARDS SET FOR COUNTRY

Dr. HATCHETT. It is far below the standards.

Mr. SPARKMAN. As a matter of fact, you never reach the standards in any counties, or anywhere?

Dr. HATCHETT. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How are you able to do the work? Do you work longer hours?

Dr. HATCHETT. Yes, sir; we work longer hours and do the best we can.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You never feel your job is perfectly done?

Dr. HATCHETT. Never.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I remember, Dr. Hatchett, a public-health man, Dr. Ruhland, testifying about the hospital facilities in the District of Columbia, and he gave us some very interesting figures as to what the standards were, and then he showed how far below that measurement the District of Columbia came. And I presume that is true. You naturally set your standards very high in the hope you might some day reach them?

Dr. HATCHETT. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. You wouldn't have to set them very high to compete with the District of Columbia. Dr. Ruhland testified that they have over 6,000 outside toilets in Washington, not connected with sewers.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Not only that, but they have some of the worst slum conditions in the United States within a stone's throw of the Capitol.

Dr. HATCHETT. We have some outside toilets in the city of Huntsville, but they have approved sanitary disposals.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How are the people in your employment paid? Are some of them paid from local funds and some from others?

Dr. HATCHETT. All funds are turned over to the county health department in the form of checks, and those checks are deposited to the credit of the State health officer in Montgomery. For salaries and other expenditures vouchers are mailed and the checks issued from Montgomery.

Mr. SPARKMAN. These funds are not earmarked for any particular person or work?

Dr. HATCHETT. That's right. And no cash is handled by the department.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How many clinics do you have?

OPERATION OF CLINICS

Dr. HATCHETT. A venereal disease clinic, a chest clinic, a child health and prenatal clinic, and a dental clinic.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are all of them pretty well attended?

Dr. HATCHETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The people do avail themselves of the opportunities offered?

Dr. HATCHETT. Yes, sir; we abandoned about three prenatal clinics on account of the lack of medical personnel.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You say there is a shortage in medical personnel?

Dr. HATCHETT. Yes, sir; we are, in this county, eight doctors short of what we were a year ago.

VENEREAL DISEASE

Mr. SPARKMAN. You mentioned a venereal disease clinic. Has there been any appreciable increase in venereal diseases in this county?

Dr. HATCHETT. Some.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I wonder if you might give us the percentage?

Dr. HATCHETT. Of course we took blood tests on the first registrants. I think the first group registered October 16, 1940. Out of 4,818 registrants, we had 220 positives. We were running the Kahn test, and with that test there are sometimes errors on account of certain conditions at the time the blood is taken. So we called those 220 back and retested them, and 180 of them proved positive.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you treat the 220?

Dr. HATCHETT. Patients are admitted to the venereal disease clinic by certificate of a practicing physician that the patient is unable to pay the regular fee. They are referred to the clinic for treatment. I think our clinic got about 80 of those cases.

Mr. SPARKMAN. As to those who were not treated at your clinic, is there any compulsion for them to be treated, either by a private physician or in a public clinic?

Dr. HATCHETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How do you enforce that treatment?

Dr. HATCHETT. We have a nurse who is regularly on venereal disease control work, and we try to get them to cooperate voluntarily, and, if not, we force them to do it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. There are a good many soldiers coming in here?

Dr. HATCHETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Camp Forrest is how far away?

Dr. HATCHETT. Sixty miles, I think.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And, of course, a great many persons migrated into this county by reason of the construction work?

Dr. HATCHETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Was there during that time any appreciable increase of venereal disease?

Dr. HATCHETT. I don't think so.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is there any way of checking on the prevalence of venereal disease, except in a casual manner?

Dr. HATCHETT. If we have a new case, the only way we can check on others is through contacts. We try to get out of this patient his probable contacts and his source of contacts, and we do get some that way, and we get his family if he is married; we get them in for a blood test.

HEALTH CENTER

Mr. SPARKMAN. Other than the health center you applied for, have you planned expansion of any other health facilities?

Dr. HATCHETT. No, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you plan any expansion of your personnel beyond its present number?

Dr. HATCHETT. No, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What does your proposed health center consist of?

Dr. HATCHETT. The proposed building is for space for the health personnel and clinic rooms.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You would simply transfer your present personnel and present operations into that new building, is that correct?

Dr. HATCHETT. Yes, sir.

MAY LOSE ADDITIONAL PHYSICIANS

Mr. SPARKMAN. You mentioned a few minutes ago that there had been a decrease of eight doctors in this county in the last year. Is that becoming a problem already?

Dr. HATCHETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Will it become more serious if others are called into active service?

Dr. HATCHETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you anticipate others will be called?

Dr. HATCHETT. There are about three or four in this county who are probably subject to call.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is by reason of their age?

Dr. HATCHETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. They are not Reserve officers?

Dr. HATCHETT. No, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The Government has made a survey of all doctors subject to call in certain age brackets?

Dr. HATCHETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You think there are three or four more in this county that will be called?

Dr. HATCHETT. Yes, sir; I had a letter a few days ago from the State board of health that some representative would be here to go over the situation with me. I would estimate there was 1 doctor for every 6,000 people in this county now.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you have a standard gage for that? If so, what is it?

Dr. HATCHETT. One doctor for every 2,000.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You are already down to 1 doctor for every 6,000?

Dr. HATCHETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You anticipate it will be down even more?

Dr. HATCHETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I doubt if there is anything comparable with that in the United States.

Dr. HATCHETT. And quite a few of our doctors are getting old.

The CHAIRMAN. You exclude yourself, of course?

Dr. HATCHETT. No; including myself. We have now but six doctors in this county below the age of 50.

The CHAIRMAN. I have heard Congressman Sparkman tell about what a wonderfully healthy district he had. And I didn't quite believe it all until I heard the figures now.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Of course, the invigorating climate eliminates a lot of sickness.

Dr. HATCHETT. We haven't had an epidemic in this county for some years.

SHORTAGE OF NURSES

Mr. SPARKMAN. What about your nursing situation? Do you have a sufficient number of nurses in the county?

Dr. HATCHETT. No, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Would it run the same as it does with the doctors?

Dr. HATCHETT. There should be 1 for every 500 people and we have 1 for 2,500.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are the present hospital facilities in need of expansion?

Dr. HATCHETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The arsenal and the ordnance plant have their own hospital facilities, or are planning to and will have them, and will have regular medical and dental detachments?

Dr. HATCHETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That will relieve that some?

Dr. HATCHETT. They will take care of their workers. It won't take care of their families.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. WALTER HUMPHREY, DIRECTOR, MADISON COUNTY DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mrs. Humphrey, the very complete statement you submitted for the department of public welfare has been accepted for our record.

(Statement follows:)

STATEMENT BY MRS. WALTER HUMPHREY, DIRECTOR, DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE, MADISON COUNTY, HUNTSVILLE, ALA.

I. FINANCIAL STATEMENT

(a) *Source of revenue.*—The Madison County Department of Public Welfare receives \$150 a month from the city of Huntsville and \$2,057.58 a month from the county of Madison. The majority of these appropriations come from a general fund.

The responsibility for providing funds to meet the cost of assistance payments to needy individuals and of administration of the county department is shared by the three levels of government on the following percentage basis:

	Federal funds	State funds	Local funds
	Percent	Percent	Percent
Administration:			
General.....	10	45	45
Special child-welfare services.....	40	30	30
Old-age assistance.....	50	25	25
Aid to dependent children.....	50	25	25
Aid to blind.....	50	25	25
General assistance:			
Aid to handicapped.....	0	50	50
Temporary aid.....	0	50	50
Boarding home care.....	0	50	50
Surplus commodities distribution.....	0	0	100
Sponsored projects.....	0	0	100
Other.....	0	0	100

The distribution of administrative costs among the three units of government is tentative and subject to change if it is found not to be equitable.

The only exception to the distribution in the above table occurs in the payments made to the Confederate pensioners who are also eligible for old-age assistance. These payments are made exclusively from State and Federal funds. Provision for these payments is made through a special 1-mill ad valorem tax which provides State funds for Confederate pensions.

(b) From October 1940 until September 1941 an average of 536 families per month received cash grants from public assistance funds. There were approximately 1,386 persons in these 536 families.

During the year's period, a total of 42 families were approved as eligible for assistance, but because of lack of funds, nothing but surplus commodities were issued.

Because of lack of funds, an average of 1,155 families approved per month as eligible for Work Projects Administration received nothing but surplus commodities until assigned to a Work Projects Administration project.

Listed on separate schedule according to months are the number of families assisted according to type of assistance given.

Average monthly grants per family in various categories are as follows:

Old-age assistance.....	\$8. 91	Aid to handicapped.....	\$8. 37
Aid to dependent children.....	10. 32	Temporary aid.....	9. 25
Aid to blind.....	8. 80		

We feel information regarding the number of families given assistance during months of October, November, and December, 1941 and the month of January 1942 is interesting. Particularly the number of families approved as being in need of assistance (aside from Work Projects Administration families), but not given any assistance except surplus commodities because of lack of funds. Usually these aforementioned families were given cash assistance at the withdrawal or reduction of assistance (by reason of death, relatives became able to support, etc.) given other families. However, with the rising costs of living, the acute housing shortage with its subsequent influence on rents of existing housing facilities, we felt it wiser to attempt to give more adequate cash grants to those already receiving public assistance. This prevented giving checks to those already approved and receiving surplus commodities only and excluded those new families which were approved except those having dire emergencies.

There was a 25 percent housing shortage prior to the influx of workers for the construction of the Government arsenal and ordnance plant. No exact figures are known as to the residence of persons employed at the arsenal and ordnance plant but it was learned through the personnel director of these plants that 70 percent came from Huntsville and surrounding radius of from 50 to 70 miles, 10 percent from other cities and towns in Alabama, and 20 percent from other States.

Another factor influencing the housing situation was the removal of 535 families living on property purchased as the site of the arsenal. Of these 535 families, 136 were of the white race and 399 of the Negro race. Most of the families were engaged in some form of agriculture. Eight families were receiving assistance from the department of public welfare and 10 were known to Work Projects Administration either as actively working on projects or certified and waiting to be assigned.

Eighty-five of the white families and 257 of the Negro families moved to other farms. Eight white families and 8 Negro families moved to Farm Security Administration project farms. Seventy-two Negro families were moved to temporary living quarters not erected by Farm Security Administration. Forty white families and 105 Negro families moved into Huntsville area or the surrounding countryside. Most of the employable males of this latter group secured employment as laborers with the arsenal.

This need on the part of the defense workers for living quarters with their accompanying ability to pay whatever rent was demanded, forced many persons known to the department of public welfare to move into small cramped quarters or else to pay their entire public assistance grant for rent to avoid being evicted. Nine families known to department of public welfare were forced to move because arsenal workers either bought or rented the houses and rooms they were occupying. A family of 10 persons was forced to move into 1 room and to date have been unable to find other quarters.

Juvenile delinquency has increased to a great extent. Most cases come from one area where we feel there are a number of contributing factors. This district, known as West Huntsville, is composed of families of low-income groups who occupy poor and crowded housing facilities and generally are unable to provide minimum needs for normal child life. Many children in this area are not attending school. There are few recreational facilities. We found that both parents of many of these delinquents are employed and away from home most of the day and night. At this writing, plans are being formulated for the building of new schools and some additions to existing ones for both city and county systems. The Young Men's Christian Association, as a member agency of the United Service Organizations, has begun plans for a community service program which we feel will be very helpful in meeting the needs of families and children.

A recent survey in regard to preschool children reveals the necessity for nursery schools. A further need is anticipated along these lines when women employees will be taken on at the ordnance plant. At the present time, 40 percent of the employees of the local mills handling defense orders are women.

Few requests for public assistance have come from outsiders. Several religious organizations, we are told, have been approached in instances of stranded defense workers. However, these requests have been few in number.

The health department has increased its staff. Reasons for increase will no doubt be fully reported by the county health officer.

The local hospital has been taxed to its fullest extent and there is grave danger it cannot meet the additional demands of the permanent workers coming to be employed at the arsenal. There has been little increase in requests from indigent outsiders for hospital services. Present hospital facilities serve only a limited number of department of public welfare clients. Requests are made for only most emergent cases as appropriations made by the city and the county only total \$600 per month.

We are anticipating a decrease in county appropriations for public assistance and since State and Federal funds are only given after the first dollar has been out out by the local group, the situation of the low-income groups become alarmingly grave. The purchase of taxable lands by the Federal Government; the change from privately owned and operated power lines to Tennessee Valley Authority and the county making the sale of intoxicants illegal, will result in less revenue and such being the case, less money will be appropriated for public welfare uses.

Schedule showing number of families assisted and total amount of money given monthly, October 1940 to March 1941

Type of assistance	October		November		December		January		February		March	
	Families	Amount given	Families	Amount given	Families	Amount given	Families	Amount given	Families	Amount given	Families	Amount given
Old-age assistance.....	334	\$2,957.50	340	\$3,000.50	340	\$2,993.50	336	\$2,963.50	340	\$3,040.50	330	\$3,004.50
Aid to dependent children.....	138	1,394.00	135	1,381.00	143	1,479.00	146	1,515.00	147	1,528.00	142	1,479.00
Aid to blind.....	9	77.00	9	77.00	7	77.00	9	77.00	9	82.00	9	82.00
Aid to handicapped.....	44	352.00	45	366.00	46	376.00	46	386.00	49	408.00	48	416.00
Temporary aid.....	0	xxx	1	10.00	0	xxx	1	10.00	0	xxx	0	xxx
Monthly total.....	525	4,774.50	530	4,834.50	538	4,925.50	538	4,951.50	545	5,086.50	529	4,975.50
Work Projects Administration families approved—no cash given—only surplus commodities until assigned to project.....	1,995	-----	2,009	-----	1,928	-----	1,582	-----	793	-----	698	-----

Schedule showing number of families assisted and total amount of money given monthly, April 1941 to September 1941

Type of assistance	April		May		June		July		August		September	
	Families	Amount given	Families	Amount given	Families	Amount given	Families	Amount given	Families	Amount given	Families	Amount given
Old-age assistance.....	325	\$2,942.50	325	\$2,910.50	329	\$2,961.50	342	\$3,097.00	348	\$3,145.00	361	\$3,274.00
Aid to dependent children.....	145	1,512.00	140	1,450.00	136	1,438.00	137	1,454.00	137	1,443.00	135	1,416.00
Aid to blind.....	9	82.00	10	88.00	10	88.00	10	88.00	10	88.00	10	88.00
Aid to handicapped.....	47	403.00	50	424.00	51	442.00	53	452.00	53	452.00	52	448.00
Temporary aid.....	0	xxx	0	xxx	1	11.50	1	9.00	1	5.00	1	10.00
Monthly total.....	526	4,939.50	525	4,872.50	527	4,941.00	543	5,100.00	549	5,138.00	558	5,236.00
Work Projects Administration families approved—no cash given—only surplus commodities until assigned to project.....	733	-----	752	-----	818	-----	913	-----	914	-----	736	-----

Schedule showing number of families assisted and total amount of money given monthly, October 1941 to January 1942

Type of assistance	October			November			December			January		
	Families	Amount given	Approved, but no cash	Families	Amount given	Approved, but no cash	Families	Amount given	Approved, but no cash	Families	Amount given	Approved, but no cash
Old-age assistance.....	357	\$3,021	12	352	\$3,024	32	355	\$3,018	40	358	\$3,025	45
Aid to dependent children.....	136	1,423	5	138	1,466	18	137	1,456	17	140	1,527	15
Aid to blind.....	10	88	2	10	86	2	10	86	2	10	86	2
Aid to handicapped.....	50	433	7	55	462	3	53	465	4	56	481	2
Temporary aid.....	1	10	0	2	25	1	5	40	1	3	53	0
Monthly total.....	554	4,975	26	557	5,063	56	560	5,005	64	563	5,172	64
Work Projects Administration families approved—no cash given—only surplus commodities until assigned to project.....	580	-----	-----	483	-----	-----	481	-----	-----	457	-----	-----

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE,
Madison County, Huntsville, Ala., May 4, 1942.

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT

Since making the report to your committee in February, we were able to revise the budget of the last 6 months of the fiscal year which will end September 30. Unexpended balances from the first 6 months' budget were placed in the four categories which receive public assistance checks. The amount of assistance given each client is figured on a percentage basis of the budgetary deficiency. Our checks in the four categories now average:

Category	Amount	Number of cases
Old-age assistance.....	\$9.15	356
Aid to dependent children.....	13.07	133
Aid to blind.....	12.37	11
Aid to handicapped.....	10.43	55

According to our budgetary deficiencies and the amount of each check issued, we now give an all-around average of 34 percent of the actual minimum need for all four categories. We have 57 cases approved and receiving no cash assistance.

The number of cases receiving commodities from the Work Projects Administration awaiting assignment file has been reduced considerably. For the month of April, only 45 cases received these surplus commodities from this group. On April 14, the chief district social worker from Decatur reported to us that there were no men in the awaiting assignment file in Madison County and that there were only 110 women. This group is comprised largely of women who are untrained and whose ability consists mainly along common-labor lines.

Juvenile-delinquency figures continue to rise above those of the same period for last year. There has been only one case involving a child from a migrant family, and we question the fact that he was involved in the real theft of a bicycle.

The housing shortage remains acute. Various estimates stating that about 900 houses were to be built here may be true but up to date only 316 permits have been issued within the police jurisdiction. It is said that it will be late summer and maybe November before the housing problem will be solved more adequately.

Rents have not been reduced to any extent. Some of our clients tell us that their landlords now collect rent on a weekly basis which amounts to another increase for them when there are 5 weeks in a month.

It is the observation of this department that construction workers on this defense job have little or no interest in community life or desire to become a part of it. Recreational facilities made available to them at the service center have not been used. There has been an average of about six couples each week who visited the center. No suggestions were made by others as to what use they would like to make of the center.

The churches report that a small number of the workers have attended church or shown any interest in programs offered. Ministers and social workers have visited frequently in the trailer camps, which now are 12 in number.

We have heard that workers deplore the lack of commercialized amusements in this community. This agency has had few applications for assistance from stranded transient workers.

We understand that the requests for a health center and an addition to the hospital from Lanham bill funds have been approved. These are greatly needed to meet the needs of an increased population.

Bootlegging is widespread and we have had a few children who were involved in such cases because of their working or in relationship to the parent.

Child labor regulations are ignored. Children under age are working in cafes, until 2 and 3 o'clock in the morning. We have known of three under 15 who worked all night. Wages vary from 10 cents an hour with food to \$1 a night. We do not feel that these violations occur simply as deliberate law violations but because there is such a shortage of this kind of cheap adult labor. The Government wage of 50 cents an hour for common labor has caused adults to refuse work for the old prevalent wages.

A forward step has been made for coordinating community services in that the heads of all local agencies working along lines of health, welfare, and character development have organized a committee under Office of Civilian Defense and its

prime functions will be to prevent overlapping and duplication of work, and will point up the needs of the community to the defense council through the health and welfare representative.

The establishment of a defense plant in a small community brings work opportunities to the able-bodied unemployed, but the lot of the unemployable Department of Public Welfare clients along with the children in these homes becomes more alarming and deplorable because the assistance check usually goes for an increased rent which is out of proportion for the inadequate and indecent living quarters which he can afford, and little is left to be spent for food, clothing, medical care, or recreation.

In Alabama, the relief checks are so low that we are compelled to use a percentage basis to compute the amount of assistance from the minimum budgetary deficiency. We are only prolonging starvation and rearing children from a group who will develop malnourished bodies and twisted minds and grow into maladjusted members of society under a democratic form of government which is supposed to meet the needs of a helpless inarticulate group.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. WALTER HUMPHREY—Resumed

MR. SPARKMAN. Mrs. Humphrey, I wonder if you would tell us something about the source of revenue of your department and how these funds are earmarked for different purposes?

SOURCES OF REVENUE

MRS. HUMPHREY. The local funds aren't. We receive our money on a matching basis on the three categories: The old age, aid for the blind, and aid for dependent children. We get \$2,057.58 a month from the county and \$150 from the city, and we take that money and are able to secure matching funds from the State for the three categories; the county, 25 percent, the State, 25 percent, and the Federal Government, 50 percent.

MR. SPARKMAN. You might start this by stating what would be your total operating revenue each month.

MRS. HUMPHREY. Well—I can give you what our annual budget runs. Our budget runs from October 1 to September 30. And last October 1 we took the money that would be available each month and it made \$78,676 for the whole year.

MR. SPARKMAN. Your State, county, and Federal funds?

MRS. HUMPHREY. Yes, sir; on the three categories the State matches us dollar for dollar, and the Federal Government matches that total dollar for dollar.

MR. SPARKMAN. How much direct relief do you engage in?

MRS. HUMPHREY. We get no Federal funds for that; just State and county. In aid to dependent children and neglected children the State matches us dollar for dollar.

MR. SPARKMAN. The Federal Government also matches that?

MRS. HUMPHREY. Yes.

MR. SPARKMAN. What about the part for which you get no matching funds from the Federal Government? Have you got your budget broken down as to the various categories?

MRS. HUMPHREY. No; that is in the statement made in February. We also operate the commodities project, and the expense of operating that is paid by the local funds from the county.

MR. SPARKMAN. The commodities are furnished by the Federal Government?

Mrs. HUMPHREY. Yes, sir. Then, on the question of administration, Mr. Sparkman, with the exception of child welfare, the Federal Government furnishes 10 percent, the county 45 percent, and the State 45 percent, but on child-welfare service the Children's Bureau pays 40 percent, the State 30 percent, and the county 30 percent.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I believe you said a while ago that the developments around here had not greatly affected your program?

INCREASE IN CHILD DELINQUENCY

Mrs. HUMPHREY. I didn't mean that. I was referring to public assistance. Our case load is 30 over last year's on the question of public assistance, but it has affected child delinquency. You will remember Miss Dunn's testimony that in one area child delinquency had increased 500 percent. This was the area to which she referred.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mrs. Humphrey, when you say it increased 500 percent, it isn't so bad; is it? You started from a low level?

Mrs. HUMPHREY. Madison County has had a high rate of juvenile delinquency. It did several years ago, when a great many mothers worked in the cotton mills at night, and returned in the morning and slept until 2 or 3 o'clock in the afternoon. At that time women worked mostly at nights.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is this high rate still prevailing?

Mrs. HUMPHREY. That 500 percent covered a quarter period—September, October, and November 1941, as against September, October, and November 1940. With the exception of the month of February, there has been about a 50- to 60-percent increase over the same periods last year.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In other words, it is still abnormally high?

CROWDED SCHOOLS CONTRIBUTE TO CHILD DELINQUENCY

Mrs. HUMPHREY. Yes, sir. And one thing we could attribute it to is that inadequate school housing out there. That school was built to have about 350 children. Then they had 1,135 enrolled. And this winter at one time there were between 300 and 400 children on the streets. The school authorities didn't make an effort to get them in school. They didn't have room to place them. It has been really a very acute situation in that particular area.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I assume a great many of the children out on the street were children of people who had come in town recently?

Mrs. HUMPHREY. Yes, sir; but some were local children who had been school problems and they took advantage of that situation. The plants were running morning and afternoon shifts. And if you stopped a child on the street and asked why he wasn't in school, he was always on the other shift.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How many people do you have on your active relief rolls?

Mrs. HUMPHREY. In April, 556 public-assistance cases.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How many people do you have certified?

Mrs. HUMPHREY. Fifty-seven approved and not receiving any assistance.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Has the recent migration of workers affected housing conditions of the people on relief?

Mrs. HUMPHREY. Quite acutely. A house that had been renting for \$4 a month—a 2-room house—would jump up to \$8. The check was probably \$10. So you can see that practically nothing was left after paying rent. I know at one time we had a family of 10 living in 1 room and a family of 5 or 6 living in 2 rooms.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Does that still prevail?

Mrs. HUMPHREY. The family of 10 living in 1 room now, I think, have 2 rooms, and the father has secured work at the arsenal. He has been doing common labor there, carrying water, I think. We have removed 9 from the rolls because they have secured jobs at the arsenal at common labor.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Back to this child delinquency, you referred in your written statement to help from the Federal Government to meet that problem?

Mrs. HUMPHREY. Yes, sir; we have a special worker who has been assigned to us by the State department. She is a member of the State staff. Social Security provides a public-welfare worker for counties with a certain percentage of rural population and there are three of those workers in the State of Alabama, and one has been assigned to this county. She also does public child service work and aids in community organization to carry out the work. She has been here since February.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Has it been necessary for any of the people that come here by reason of these projects to come in your department for help?

Mrs. HUMPHREY. We have only had six applications, and we helped two of those. One was a lady who was looking for her husband. The other was a sick man.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You helped them out of your own funds?

Mrs. HUMPHREY. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Without any matching from anyone?

Mrs. HUMPHREY. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Has it been necessary to increase the cash relief that you have been giving to your clients?

USE OF FUNDS

Mrs. HUMPHREY. We have increased it, but not because of an increase in appropriations. At the end of 6 months some of the counties in Alabama did not receive their local funds. The State money had been budgeted and for the various counties that didn't receive their local funds that money was withdrawn, and the other counties were asked to submit a new budget. For this last 6 months, ours was \$44,335. All our money had not been spent, for instance on commodities project, because in the month of April we only had 45 Work Projects Administration cases waiting and drawing commodities, whereas at one time we had 3,000. Because the money appropriated to operate that had not been spent, we took that money and also the money from a reserve fund which we kept, and the State and Federal Government matched it, bringing this budget up.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How much increase did that serve to give the individual?

AMOUNT OF PAYMENTS

Mrs. HUMPHREY. Well, the average check for an old age assistance client in February was \$9.15, and this past month, \$13.07; aid to the blind was \$9.11, in April \$12.33; aid to the handicapped was \$8.58 in February, in April \$10.44.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That would give some relief, about enough to catch up with the increased cost of living?

Mrs. HUMPHREY. No, sir; not enough. We estimate that the dollar is now worth about 70 percent of what it was, that the relief dollar will only buy 70 percent of what it formerly bought.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You were not giving them an increased standard of living; you were simply trying to help them maintain that same standard of living?

Mrs. HUMPHREY. Yes, sir; which is a most inadequate level.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What are the requirements for obtaining those surplus commodities? I believe you say they are available to relief clients?

Mrs. HUMPHREY. Yes, sir; all the department of public welfare clients are eligible and all the men and their families on the waiting Work Projects Administration files are eligible. After a man has worked for the Work Projects Administration for a month he is removed from the commodities list.

MEETING THE CHILD-WELFARE PROBLEM

Mr. SPARKMAN. The increase of workers in this area, and particularly the increase in the women workers at the arsenal and Redstone Ordnance, would probably create new and additional problems of child welfare; what steps have you taken to prepare for this development? You mentioned the 300 or 400 children on the streets; that was particularly true in the West Huntsville area?

Mrs. HUMPHREY. Yes, sir. The State department of education, you know, has made application for three day-nursery schools, and the United Service Organization has taken over the West Huntsville Y. M. C. A., and they will offer a community service program to defense workers and people in West Huntsville. The Work Projects Administration is operating a recreation program in the county. We opened a colored playground on April 15 and we had 1,500 attend the first day. And I might add that we expect to use this special child welfare worker.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you feel that the Federal Government has done about all it could to cooperate with you?

VARIABLE GRANTS

Mrs. HUMPHREY. We would like for the Federal Government not to require the Southern States, at least the poor States, to put up dollar for dollar. You know, Alabama is one of the poorest States in the Union.

The CHAIRMAN. You are absolutely correct about that. There is a difference in capacity to pay in States just as with individual persons. This committee has been fighting for that.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You might be interested to know that in one of our hearings in New England I was asking a witness about variable grants, but we were talking about variable school grants then, and I asked him about it. Dr. Vance of North Carolina had described the South as the "seed bed of the Nation, where reproduction runs as high as 130 percent," whereas in the industrialized Northeast it runs about 80 percent. And to keep a balanced population, people are being siphoned off. And I asked this witness what he thought about variable grants, but with particular reference to schools, and he answered this way:

"Mr. Congressman, if you raised mules and sent them to us, we would pay you for raising them. But if you raise boys and girls and send them to us, we don't pay you anything for bringing them up and educating them."

And I thought it was a very apt illustration.

OLD AGE ASSISTANCE

Mr. ARNOLD. I was just wondering how your aged get along on \$9 a month. I know in my State the average is \$19 or \$20. Still I get complaints whenever I make a tour of my district. How do they get along on \$9 a month?

Mrs. HUMPHREY. We feel that we are just prolonging starvation. Some of these people may have a child who can furnish them with a place to stay, but can't help any more. They don't have balanced diets, adequate clothing, or medical assistance. We see where a large part of the checks are spent for medical assistance and medical supplies. They have the food commodities. But it is a very low standard of living.

Mr. ARNOLD. In other words, they just exist and that sort of existence is not good for this country.

Mrs. HUMPHREY. Yes, sir; and it is the same way with all our other cases. The aid-to-dependent-children cases—we are rearing children on those same inadequate diets and they can't have the normal home life that they should have.

The CHAIRMAN. Just one more question. I understood from General Ditto that they have 7,000 or 8,000 employed now at the arsenal and about 800 at the other plant, but that construction was about 80-percent complete. And the thought occurred to me when the construction is complete the load will increase?

Mrs. HUMPHREY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many permanent employees will there be at the ordnance plant and the arsenal?

Mr. SPARKMAN. General Ditto testified there would be some 5,000 operating employees and Colonel Hudson testified there would be about 3,000 operating employees at the ordnance.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN COUNTY

Mrs. HUMPHREY. This might give you a picture of the unemployment in this county. In January 1940 the Work Projects Administration had over 2,720 men working and awaiting assignment in this county. That has been reduced by these people getting jobs at common labor. But he said this morning that the arsenal is nearly 80-percent complete. And we will have these people coming back.

Mr. PAYNE. We had about 400 Work Projects Administration workers on the streets 18 months ago. Now we have an average of 12 or 14, and our program is practically stopped. In my opinion, when the common labor is through in the construction work, those rolls will go right back up. I may be wrong. They may find employment somewhere else.

Mr. MCGREGOR. Work Projects Administration work in the county has practically disappeared. We have a little Work Projects Administration work in the Fifth District, in Madison, and a little project down towards Whitesburg.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are they using Work Projects Administration labor on paving the airport?

Mr. MCGREGOR. Yes, sir.

Mrs. HUMPHREY. May I make a correction? When I said the county funds were not earmarked—when the appropriation was made 65 percent of the funds were earmarked for old-age assistance.

Mr. SPARKMAN. If there is any correction or any additional statements this panel would like to present, you may do so. Our record will be open for about 10 days.

WELFARE PAYMENT BY CITY

Mr. PAYNE. About this welfare, it seems there is quite a difference between what the city gives, \$150 a month, and what the county gives, \$2,000 a month. I would like to state—and I am sure you know it, John—that it has been the county's burden to take care of the poor, not the city's. But the county does receive from the State a certain portion of the sales tax that has to be used for health, farm extension, and public welfare.

Mr. MCGREGOR. Most of this money comes out of the general fund. Only a small part of our contribution is from the sales tax funds.

Mr. PAYNE. Our \$150 a month might seem a very small appropriation. However, the county has always carried that burden. The reason that the city came in, I think, was they had to have a child welfare worker.

Dr. HATCHETT. I think you failed to ask me if I thought the Federal Government had done all it could. I want to make this statement that if they grant the health center, I will say they have.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I might say that they were so anxious to make the grant that they had me go right to work on it.

We have been in a great many places throughout the United States, and it would be a revelation to you people to see how fortunate you are in the various conditions that have prevailed here. Part of that is due to the fact that you came rather late in the program and things were well under way.

The CHAIRMAN. I think part of it is due to the vigilance of your Congressman.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Thank you for appearing before us this morning.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN B. FINLEY, MIGRANT WORKER, HUNTSVILLE, ALA.

Mr. ARNOLD. For the record, please state your name, address, and occupation.

Mr. FINLEY. John B. Finley, 207 West Clinton Street, Huntsville, Ala., chemical plant operator.

Mr. ARNOLD. Are you married?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARNOLD. You have any children?

Mr. FINLEY. Four.

Mr. ARNOLD. State their ages and sex.

Mr. FINLEY. I have two boys, one 15 and one 13, one girl 11, and one boy almost 4.

Mr. ARNOLD. Where do they live?

Mr. FINLEY. Anniston, Ala.

Mr. ARNOLD. How long have you lived in this area?

Mr. FINLEY. Two months.

LIVING ACCOMMODATIONS

Mr. ARNOLD. Will you state for the record the kind of living accommodations you have?

Mr. FINLEY. I am boarding down here with a lady. There are 24 of us, I think, staying at that house. We have a bath tub and a toilet.

Mr. ARNOLD. Just one?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes, sir; and we have two colored girls down there doing the cooking and we all use the same facilities.

Mr. ARNOLD. You room and board there?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARNOLD. How many rooms in that house?

Mr. FINLEY. Six rooms, not counting the kitchen and dining room—and they cook and eat in the same room—7 rooms and a hall.

Mr. ARNOLD. Are there any beds in the kitchen?

Mr. FINLEY. No, sir.

Mr. ARNOLD. How many of you are occupying the same room?

Mr. FINLEY. There is only one in the little room I stay in. It is a small room. I think at one time it was a kitchen or something because there is a sink in it. It is about 10 by 10.

Mr. ARNOLD. Do you have two single beds in it?

Mr. FINLEY. No, sir; one double bed.

Mr. ARNOLD. Do you sleep in shifts?

Mr. FINLEY. No, sir. The fellow that rooms with me sleeps in the double bed with me. He is a friend of mine from Anniston. We room together and sleep together. The other people there, I don't know how they make out, but I know there are five people in one room, five men.

Mr. ARNOLD. What rent do you pay?

Mr. FINLEY. \$10 per week.

Mr. ARNOLD. That is for your room and board?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARNOLD. Is there any trouble about the bathroom facilities; can you get in there?

Mr. FINLEY. There are certain times when you can get in the bathroom—maybe 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning. I don't use the bath. I bathe at the plant.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you work the bathroom facilities on a schedule?

Mr. FINLEY. You just have to take your chances.

Mr. ARNOLD. You don't make much use of the bath there—you bathe at the plant?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARNOLD. Are you a construction worker?

Mr. FINLEY. No; an operator.

Mr. ARNOLD. What kind of work do you do?

Mr. FINLEY. I am a chemical-plant operator. Of course what I do is, I guess, a military secret.

Mr. ARNOLD. Did you have to have some schooling for that job?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes, sir; some training and practical experience. I had some experience.

Mr. ARNOLD. How much do you make?

Mr. FINLEY. \$6.24 per day.

Mr. ARNOLD. How many days a week do you work?

Mr. FINLEY. Five days. I got 6 days last week.

Mr. ARNOLD. You work some weeks 5 days and some weeks 6 days?

Mr. FINLEY. I have worked 5 days all weeks except last week.

Mr. ARNOLD. And you make \$6.24 a day?

Mr. FINLEY. That is less $3\frac{1}{2}$ percent.

Mr. ARNOLD. You make a little over \$30 a week. Are you able to save any money out of that?

Mr. FINLEY. No, sir.

Mr. ARNOLD. Have you bought any War Bonds?

Mr. FINLEY. I bought one a few days ago.

Mr. ARNOLD. Did you buy it out of your salary?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARNOLD. Your family isn't here?

Mr. FINLEY. No, sir; I couldn't find a house. I went to Captain LaMarsh and put in an application for a house.

Mr. ARNOLD. Is that his duty, to try to find houses for the workers?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARNOLD. How much rent do you feel you could pay if you could find one?

Mr. FINLEY. I don't know. They told me it would be 20 percent of what I make, and I think that is pretty reasonable.

Mr. ARNOLD. That would be about \$25 per month?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARNOLD. If you get the house where will it be located?

Mr. FINLEY. The ones they are going to build will be in West Huntsville near the arsenal.

Mr. ARNOLD. Where will your children go to school?

Mr. FINLEY. West Huntsville.

Mr. ARNOLD. That is the school the preceding panel was talking about being overcrowded?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. There is an application, I believe, for an addition to that school.

Mr. ARNOLD. Do you like your work?

Mr. FINLEY. I like it fine.

The CHAIRMAN. You expect to stay, but you don't want to stay on indefinitely, I suppose, without your family?

Mr. FINLEY. No, sir; I would like to get them here as quickly as I could.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Of course, none of this Government housing has even been started. But you do anticipate, when the housing program is put into effect, that you will be able to get a house?

Mr. FINLEY. That is what Captain LaMarsh told me; that it would probably be July or August, but I could get a house, and not to worry.

Mr. ARNOLD. What transportation do you have?

Mr. FINLEY. I ride in with a fellow that works on the shift I do.

Mr. ARNOLD. What does that cost you? You pay some on that?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes, sir; about \$1.50 a week.

Mr. ARNOLD. Do you take your lunch with you?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARNOLD. Is that included in your \$10 a week board bill?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you for coming here. We appreciate it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I would like at this point to offer for the record some correspondence we have had. It includes a letter I wrote to Governor Dixon and his reply; also a letter you wrote to Mr. P. O. Davis. The Governor was very anxious to be here, and told me in Washington he wanted to be here. But he told me the President had summoned him and some of the members of his staff to Washington to discuss war problems and it would be impossible for him to attend these hearings; that is also true of Mr. P. O. Davis. And Mr. Liles is appearing in the place of Mr. P. O. Davis.

(The correspondence referred to is inserted here.)

APRIL 20, 1942.

Hon. FRANK M. DIXON,

Governor of Alabama, Montgomery, Ala.

DEAR FRANK: The committee has completed its work of investigating problems connected with the evacuation of enemy aliens from the west coast. Plans have been arranged to hold the postponed Huntsville hearing on the 7th and 8th of May.

We are taking this opportunity of again extending to you an invitation to appear at the committee's hearings. As mentioned in our previous letter of invitation, we believe that the problems existing now and which the Southeast faces in the post-war economy are of primary interest. Your appearance before the committee would serve to emphasize the need of examining these situations.

Our investigators have told me how courteously they have been treated in Alabama. We want to take this opportunity of thanking you for the many courtesies so far extended them.

If any questions arise with regard to your appearance, you may expect one of the committee's investigators to call on you within the next week.

With all good wishes, I am,

Sincerely,

JOHN J. SPARKMAN.

STATE OF ALABAMA, EXECUTIVE OFFICE,
Montgomery, April 27, 1942.

Hon. JOHN J. SPARKMAN,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR JOHN: Under present plans, I am expecting to be in Washington on May 7 and 8.

As you know, the President has called for a conference of State officials there at that time.

Yours very truly,

FRANK M. DIXON, *Governor.*

APRIL 20, 1942.

Mr. P. O. DAVIS,
*Director, Farm Extension Service,
 Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, Ala.*

DEAR MR. DAVIS: As promised in its wire of February 21, the committee wishes to inform you that the Huntsville hearing originally set for February 24 and 25 has been definitely scheduled for Thursday and Friday, May 7 and 8.

Within the next few days Mr. Francis X. Riley, investigator for the committee, will call on you to arrange for your appearance. At that time he will discuss with you the material you have presented and arrange for the presentation of any additional material which may be necessary to bring your statement up to date.

If there are any questions that arise, you may contact Mr. Riley at the Post Office, Huntsville, Ala.

With all good wishes, I am
 Sincerely,

JOHN H. TOLAN, *Chairman.*

[Telegram]

ATHENS, ALA., May 6, 1942.

FRANCIS X. RILEY,
203 Post Office.

Will appear before committee behalf P. O. Davis Friday morning. Staying Ross Hotel here.

JOHN L. LILES.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN L. LILES, JR., EXTENSION ECONOMIST, AUBURN, ALA.

The CHAIRMAN. For the purpose of the record, Mr. Liles, please state your name, occupation, and address.

Mr. LILES. John L. Liles, Jr., extension economist, Auburn, Ala.

The CHAIRMAN. We are glad to have you with us, although we miss Mr. Davis, who appeared before us in Montgomery nearly 2 years ago. Your statement will be inserted in the record.

STATEMENT BY JOHN L. LILES, JR., EXTENSION ECONOMIST, COOPERATIVE EXTENSION WORK IN AGRICULTURE AND HOME ECONOMICS, AUBURN, ALA.

Insofar as the immediate migration in Alabama is concerned, it is caused by the fact that farmers can make a great deal more money working in defense industries than they can on the farms. No one can blame them for leaving when they can multiply their incomes severalfold. It is not possible with present prices of agricultural products to earn an income from farms comparable to that which can be gained in industrial employment. This migration from farms to cities and towns represents a considerable flow of labor, one which is gaining in volume.

Migration of the type pointed out above has occurred throughout the State, but, of course, not to the same extent in all areas. The movement is greatest in the vicinity of such defense industries as Childersburg, Tri-Cities, Birmingham, Mobile, and now Ozark. There has been a general exodus of farm laborers from the Black Belt of Alabama. Most of those persons leaving the Black Belt have been Negroes, most of whom have gone to industrial centers outside of the State.

The pattern of Alabama agriculture in recent years has been changing to a more diversified farm organization. Indicative of this change are the facts that: (1) The acreage in pasture has increased more than one million acres, 81 percent in the past decade, without any decrease in cropland, thus adding nearly a million acres to our productive set-up; (2) the acreage devoted to hay has increased from 444,000 acres in 1930 to 1,038,000 acres in 1940; (3) the acreage planted to corn has increased from 2,600,000 in 1930 to more than 3,500,000 acres in 1940. During the same period, cattle numbers increased 43 percent and hogs 50 percent.

The above changes in Alabama agriculture are not evenly distributed throughout the State, of course. The increase in corn and hay acreage is pretty well diffused throughout the State. The acreage in pasture is fairly well scattered, but the Black Belt has contributed a great deal in this acreage.

Farmers in Alabama have more and better farm equipment than they have ever had before. The number of tractors has approximately doubled in the last 5 years. The number of small combines and other power equipment has increased greatly, particularly in North Alabama. These gains in equipment should mean that farm labor is much more efficient now than formerly, as measured by man hours or man days per acre, or as measured by the number of acres which one man can efficiently handle.

There has been a general trend from croppers to wage hands. This change was brought about largely by a changing type of agriculture. As the farms here shifted from cash-crop production, largely cotton, to a more diversified organization, it became difficult to pay a laborer with diversified crops and livestock. Many of the laborers asked for this change in classification because they wanted to be paid in terms of cash rather than in eggs, milk, meat and a host of other products raised on diversified farms. Cash payments seemed the only way out. This change in classification, although it shows a decrease in the number of farm operators according to the census, does not necessarily represent a decrease in the number of farm people. In fact, the census shows that the number of people on farms increased slightly from 1935 to 1940, even though the number of farms decreased from 273,000 to 231,000.

The changes in Alabama agriculture which have been pointed out in the preceding paragraphs represent changes in the direction that long time progress is desirable. They place the State in a much more favorable position to meet 1942 production goals than would have been possible without this diversification. In order to meet 1942 and 1943 production goals, however, we have a long, hard road ahead of us. We know that there will be shortages of materials, equipment, and labor. At present the labor shortage is the most acute single farm problem.

The farm labor problem is acute not only because there is a general or relative shortage throughout the State, but because laborers are not available at the time when crops must be seeded. The time limit within which crops must be planted is rather narrow. If labor is not available for this purpose, an entire year is wasted—land, equipment, and products which could have been produced on that acreage. This problem will be very acute in regard to our production of peanuts which must be planted in the very near future.

The 1942 production goals for Alabama are as follows:

Commodity	1942 goal	1941	Increase 1942 over 1941
			<i>Percent</i>
Oats (acres).....	399,000	176,000	127
Peanuts (acres).....	810,462	315,000	157
Cows milked (number).....	399,715	374,000	7
Milk production (gallons).....	172,667,401	152,400,000	13
Hogs (pounds live weight).....	234,171,000	183,155,000	28
Beef cattle (pounds live weight).....	171,883,000	134,600,000	28
Beef cattle (head).....	445,558	322,000	38
Eggs (dozens).....	59,332,865	44,083,000	35
Family gardens (number).....	229,000	206,382	11
Naval stores (units).....	38,900	23,444	66
All tame hay (acres).....	1,203,970	999,000	21
Sweetpotatoes (acres).....	105,000	94,000	12

¹ 1940.

If we are to reach the above goals, and we will reach them, it will require more labor than has been required in recent years because the crops and livestock for which increases have been asked are higher in labor requirements than the crops and livestock formerly grown in the amounts grown by the farm people of Alabama. Inasmuch as the production of these crops and livestock has been termed "essential" to our war effort, it would seem that some provision should be made to assure an adequate labor supply for the production of these crops and livestock.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN L. LILES, JR.—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please tell the committee what the Extension Service has done to assist in the furtherance of the food for victory program?

THE FOOD FOR VICTORY PROGRAM

Mr. LILES. Briefly, the part the Extension Service has in the food for victory program is working with the farmers in an educational way to assist them in producing increased quantities of the things we need for this war. That very briefly is our part, working with the farmers individually and in groups in order that they may have the advantages of the latest technical information.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you adopted a diversified crop program?

Mr. LILES. We have. Of course, the food for victory program itself calls for diversification. This year we have been asked to plant our full allotment of cotton. But the production of meat and milk and eggs are in themselves calls for diversified farming as far as this State is concerned. Particularly is that true in regard to peanuts. We have been asked for an increase from 300,000 acres of peanuts to better than 800,000 acres. So we have taken it on ourselves to become acquainted with the production and harvesting of peanuts. That has been our number one job this year.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have land in Alabama suitable for that increase?

Mr. LILES. Yes, sir; but in order to get that much increase we are having to grow peanuts in places we haven't grown them before, although the land is suitable for the production of peanuts. There were no peanuts grown commercially north of Birmingham until this year. Now as to the suitability of the land, that might be shown by the fact that the highest yield of peanuts was on the experimental station at Belle Mina. We can grow peanuts in north Alabama and we will do it this year.

The CHAIRMAN. I drove south to the Tennessee River with Congressman Sparkman, yesterday, and that land appeared to me to be very fertile, fine-looking land. Have you got a lot more of that kind of land in Alabama?

Mr. LILES. I might put it this way. About 25 percent of the farm people live in what we call north Alabama, the 17 north Alabama counties, and they produce about 40 percent of all the agricultural products of the State. About half, almost half, of the cotton is produced in north Alabama. And by far the best land and the best farmers in the State are in north Alabama. The highest priced land and the highest yields, you will find right here in the Tennessee Valley.

LITTLE WASTE LAND IN STATE

The CHAIRMAN. Have you much waste land in Alabama?

Mr. LILES. There is some. However, when it comes to the word "waste," I think it depends on how it is defined. Much land that would be waste for field crops is excellent for the production of timber. And that is being planted back to pine.

The CHAIRMAN. I meant a total waste.

Mr. LILES. I shouldn't think we had a great deal; no.

The CHAIRMAN. The reason I asked that question—I have made several round-trips from California to Washington by automobile and go through Nevada and Arizona and New Mexico and see millions of

acres with not a thing growing on them—nothing can—so I still think that good, fertile land is something very worth having in this country.

Mr. LILES. To illustrate that point I might say that we have been quite pressed here in Alabama by people on the land. This is an old State. We have about 231,000 farm families operating about 20,000,000 acres. The average is 30 acres of crop land per farm family or 7½ acres per farm person. And with that condition there wouldn't be much waste land.

The CHAIRMAN. Originally this committee was created for the purpose of investigating the migration of destitute citizens between the States, and a year ago last April the life of the committee was extended to study defense migration, and that is what we are primarily concerned with now. Of course the history of this Nation has been one of migration. However, this defense migration has been the greatest migration in the history of the United States. In his testimony last year before the committee Mr. P. O. Davis testified that part of the work of the Extension Service was to conduct a program aimed to check migration at its source.

Mr. LILES. I think what Mr. Davis had reference to was that the basic cause of migration is inequality of opportunity, where one person leaves his environment for a different one because he can better himself, and that, primarily, would mean he could get a better income. We have striven to increase the income of the farmer by greater efficiency in production. However, even with the increased prices for farm production, and even with the increased efficiency in farming in the last year, the wages of defense industries have gone up more, proportionately, than the price of farm products. So the basic problem is still before us.

The CHAIRMAN. Has the Extension Service made a study or formed an opinion as to the farm labor situation in Alabama?

FARM LABOR SITUATION

Mr. LILES. We have. In February of this year we conducted an informal survey among the county agents. We are now working with the State employment service, or the Federal Employment Service as it is now. And there is coordination between the Federal Employment Service in the county and our local county agent in regard to farm labor supply-and-demand situation and in regard to such workers. Together they have made surveys in practically every county in the State. A third survey has been made by the Agricultural Marketing Service, which comes through the county office. We have assisted them. So there are three specific farm labor surveys that have been made thus far this year.

At the present time the Extension Service is cooperating with another agency of the Department of Agriculture in determining how near we will come to reaching our 1942 goals and obtaining information relative to setting our 1943 production goals. I happen to have charge of that in north Alabama at the present time, and part of that work is studying the farm labor question and how much effect it may have on our food-for-victory program, and what can be done about it. So there are four instances in which we have gone into the problem.

CAPITAL AVAILABLE IN POST-WAR PERIOD

The CHAIRMAN. In his testimony last year Mr. Davis stated that the three requirements of successful agriculture were land, labor, and capital, and what the South lacked was capital. Do you believe, as a result of this agricultural revolution, that the South will have sufficient capital to carry on in the post-war period?

Mr. LILES. I should think that you might answer that according to the way you interpret capital. I think capital might be defined not only in terms of monetary capital, but in terms of plant capacity and other physical equipment we might also call capital. So far as ready cash is concerned, I think there will be sufficient cash and credit to carry on after the war. I think we will need a considerable expansion in plant capacity, and so forth. In answer to that question, if I may separate money from physical goods, I would say we would more nearly have the money than the capital equipment.

The CHAIRMAN. With all the food we are shipping to war-torn Europe and the starving nations of Asia, I can't conceive how we can produce too much food; can you?

Mr. LILES. I think in rare instances we might produce too much of one thing for a short while. However, I am not worried about the South producing too much food at any time in the near future, or in the post-war period. I don't think the South will produce as much food and feedstuff as it will consume.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you indicate to the committee what steps you believe the Federal Government can take to assist agriculture in the southeast in the war period?

Mr. LILES. Do you mean in reaching our food-for-victory goals, or in the whole agricultural program?

The CHAIRMAN. In the whole, over-all picture.

MATERIALS AND LABOR NEEDED

Mr. LILES. I think that question could be divided into about two parts, if I may do that. The first is what must be done immediately in order to assist in reaching our food-for-victory goals, and the other is what can be done as to a long-time program. So far as reaching our food-for-victory goals, there are two things which are our greatest handicaps. One is the materials with which to get production. The other is labor. By materials, I mean mainly fertilizer. Most of the commercial fertilizer used in the United States is used in the South. Our production depends on getting adequate fertilizer.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you getting it?

Mr. LILES. We have only a part of what we got last year. To date we have about one-third of the nitrogen, less than that in terms of nitrate of soda, which we use as side dressing. The main shortage has been nitrogen. We will find reduced yields this year; and next year, unless the situation is changed, it will be even worse. So far as farm labor is concerned, that is the second limiting factor at the present time. A great deal of help has left the farm and gone to the cities, to industry, and to the armed forces. We have taken it upon ourselves as a State organization to work through the rural schools in order to use that labor. Most of the schools are at present adopting a 6-day-week program, by which children will go to school and will be let out

in time to help plant the crops. They will hold school in the summer and close in the middle of September for about 8 weeks so the students can help in harvesting the crops. That seems the best thing we can do in regard to farm labor; use family labor. We can't compete with the wages offered by industry, and it seems that a better use of family labor is one thing we can do. There is also a shortage to some extent not only in farm machinery, but also in wire—hog wire, chicken wire—and we are running into shortages in a number of steel products.

Those are the things that are facing us insofar as our victory goals are concerned. Just what the Federal Government can do with regard to that, I don't know. I would offer one suggestion that I think would help the farmers tremendously, and that is, if advance notice could be given to farmers as to whether these materials would be available, and, if so, in what amounts. Obviously a farmer has to plan his operations 6 to 12 months in advance. And it would help him if he could know how much of these materials will be available next year.

DEMAND FOR FERTILIZER

The CHAIRMAN. The demand for fertilizer is far greater in the South than in the North and Middle West and West. Is it because some of these farmers have been row cropping for generation after generation?

Mr. LILES. That is one reason. Then there is a geographical reason, several geographical reasons. One is that this section didn't have the fertility to begin with that the other sections had, with regard to natural fertility. In the second place, our country is rough and rolling, and we lost a great deal by erosion. A third thing is you will find the further south you go in any country—unless you run into unusual circumstances, such as an old lake bed or something of the sort—you have a smaller proportion of nitrogen in the soil. Nitrogen is most important in the production of corn and one of the most important elements in the production of cotton. Thus, we have a number of reasons why we have to use more commercial fertilizer here. Then too, the crops we grow is another reason.

The CHAIRMAN. There really isn't a State in the Union that is comparable to any other State in the Union, and that is a picture I try to keep in mind. They compare us with England. England is smaller in area than the State of Oregon. So, in one sense, we have 48 Nations instead of States. That over-all picture is quite a gigantic one in this country, isn't it?

Mr. LILES. Yes, sir; I have worked in this same work 3 years in Wisconsin and a year and a half in Illinois, so I can appreciate your statement.

DIVERSIFICATION IN THE STATE

Mr. SPARKMAN. I was interested in what you said about diversification of agriculture in the State of Alabama. In your annual report, I believe it was the Extension Service's annual report, there was a table that showed the cotton revenue at \$76,000,000; is that about right for last year?

Mr. LILES. Last year cotton was about that.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And, as I recall, livestock and dairy products ran at about \$38,000,000?

Mr. LILES. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That was the second highest crop. That is quite an advancement for this State, isn't it?

Mr. LILES. It is.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I was particularly interested to notice a few months ago that cotton had fallen to third place in Montgomery County, being preceded, as I recall it, first by dairy products, second by livestock. Do you think that is a pretty general movement throughout the State?

Mr. LILES. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You are satisfied with the progress of diversification?

PROGRESS IN PAST 2 YEARS

Mr. LILES. Not satisfied, but we are encouraged. And I might give you just a little more along that line. As I mentioned a few minutes ago, at the present time we are checking up to see just what we are doing. We have increased production of poultry and eggs and milk, beef cattle and hogs, a great deal in the last 10 years. Our income from livestock and livestock products was the greatest in the history of our State last year. We have made more progress in the last 2 years, I think, than in the history of our State. We have five new cheese plants built within the last 2 years and a number of other things. We are running into some limitations at the present time that are handicapping us somewhat. We had a condensery ready to be built and can't build it; also three cheese plants, and we can't build them. But we are willing to accept whatever the war effort may mean. We are increasing diversification and at the same time we are doing a better job in the production of cotton. We are handling the cotton land better, growing longer staple, doing a better job of ginning. We are trying to carry forward a balanced program.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The whole program has been intensified?

Mr. LILES. Yes, sir.

PEANUT GROWING

Mr. SPARKMAN. With reference to peanut growing, have you had very fine cooperation?

Mr. LILES. We have had the finest in the world. I might give an illustration of it. There is a section in Marshall County, an adjoining county, known as Gunters Mountain. I was surprised to learn that nearly two-thirds of the peanut acreage there was on new land. They went out and cleared new land in order to plant the peanuts. They didn't do that for money, either, for you can't make money clearing new ground to plant peanuts. That is indicative of the spirit of cooperation we have had.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I was interested in looking at the table you have presented showing increased production of 1942 over 1941. It calls for quite a stepping up in production. Are these increases coming from every individual farm?

Mr. LILES. No, sir; not from each individual farm. Let's check on some. So far as peanuts are concerned, the major increase will come in southeast Alabama, in the regular peanut region. The other counties were assigned quotas, and those counties in turn broke it down. The counties north of Birmingham are called on for 8 percent

of their cropland for peanuts this year. As far as eggs are concerned, that is more generally applicable to all farms than any of the other commodities. The first 3 months of this year there was a 22-percent increase. This year we are called on for a 35-percent increase, but a 22-percent increase for the first 3 months, we think, is encouraging. We are called on for a 13-percent increase in milk production.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Will that be with the big herds? For instance, do you expect a man with 50 cows to increase his production that much, or do you try to do that with the little farmers with one or two cows?

MILK PRODUCTION

Mr. LILES. The first part is grade A milk. We are short on grade A milk in the State at the present time because of Army camps and defense projects. We have asked the big people who produce grade A milk to increase production. When it comes to increased milk to go to cheese plants and condenseries, it comes from smaller farmers, say from 7- to 4-cow farmers. The third part of that is this. We have asked all farmers to increase production of milk for family consumption. We don't drink nearly enough milk in this State, even the farmers themselves.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I notice you ask for a 7 percent increase in number of cows milked and a 13-percent increase in milk production?

Mr. LILES. To increase the production of cattle is biologically sound. We feel it isn't advisable to go out of the State and buy the cows. That would only increase the problem of the other States.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How do you obtain a 13 percent increase in milk than?

Mr. LILES. By heavier feeding and improved management; mainly by heavier feeding.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You are getting cooperation from the farmers generally with the whole program?

Mr. LILES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to thank you very much. I think you have given the committee some very valuable information. I wish I knew as much about farming as I think you do.

The committee will recess until 2 o'clock this afternoon.

NATIONAL DEFENSE MIGRATION

THURSDAY, MAY 7, 1942

AFTERNOON SESSION

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SELECT COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING
NATIONAL DEFENSE MIGRATION,
Washington, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will please come to order. Our first witness this afternoon is Mr. Randolph.

TESTIMONY OF WALTER L. RANDOLPH, PRESIDENT, ALABAMA FARM BUREAU FEDERATION, MONTGOMERY, ALA.

Mr. SPARKMAN. For the record will you please state your name; address, and in what capacity you appear as a witness?

Mr. RANDOLPH. I am Walter L. Randolph, president of Alabama Farm Bureau Federation. My address is Shepherd Building, Montgomery, Ala., where we have our headquarters.

Mr. SPARKMAN. As you know, this committee is concerned primarily with the problems developing from the migration caused by the war program. The committee is therefore interested, in this hearing, to learn what opportunities and what problems the war is bringing to the South. You might start by telling us what part your organization is taking in our food-for-victory program.

Mr. RANDOLPH. The Alabama Farm Bureau is striving in every way possible, through county and community organization and educational programs, to encourage farmers to produce food for victory. I think that it is safe to say in this State we will meet those goals set by the Secretary of Agriculture.

INCREASE IN PEANUT PRODUCTION

Of course, the largest increase we are called on here to make is in the acreage of peanuts for oil, and, as I recall the figures, I believe last year we planted in round numbers 300,000 acres of peanuts in this State, both for edible uses and oil purposes. This year we are called on to increase that—I don't recall the exact figures—to in excess of 800,000 acres. That is a considerable increase. Of course that is not easy to do, because it calls on us to have to grow peanuts in areas where peanuts have never been grown on a commercial scale, but only in small patches for home use. But the last I heard of the progress of that program, the goal will come close to being met in this State this year. I have found farmers everywhere enthusiastic about increased production that they are called on for.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Certain portions of the State are more adaptable to the growing of peanuts than others?

Mr. RANDOLPH. Apparently so. But in the past nearly all of the peanuts in the State have been grown in southeast Alabama, and in nine counties principally. But this year there will be some peanuts grown in all the counties of the State.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you experienced any difficulty in getting farmers to shift over from cotton to other types of needed crops?

Mr. RANDOLPH. That is a very important question, but it is somewhat difficult to answer yes or no. I would say this about the general subject you have in mind. For many, many years various people, leading farmers, agricultural colleges, and farm publications have advocated that agriculture in this part of the country be more diversified, and I assume that is what you have in mind. As the members of the committee know, for several years now we have been trying to adjust that program. Our cotton acreage is less now than it normally is and the additional acreage is being used for production of food, soil-building crops, and so on. So I would say we are making considerable progress along the line you mentioned.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Let me ask you this question with reference to peanuts. Now, assuming when this food-for-victory program is over with, and we go back into the controlled program, what is going to happen to these counties that have diverted cotton acreage to peanut acreage? Will they be allowed to grow peanuts?

COTTON ACREAGE NOT DIVERTED TO PEANUTS

Mr. RANDOLPH. My opinion is, Mr. Congressman, there's not a great deal of cotton acreage being diverted to peanuts.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You think they are using extra acreage for that?

Mr. RANDOLPH. I think there might be some diverted on some farms to peanuts, but I think we are getting our peanut acreage from other acreage besides cotton. I think that perhaps we will plant about as much as our allotment in our State this year, maybe a little more than in past years. Now, farmers have consistently planted under their allotments for cotton in this State—about 12 percent under their allotment. And I think that that 12 percent, or whatever it is, might be in peanuts this year.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Aside from land being diverted from cotton, suppose you get these people in the habit of planting peanuts—because after all the planting of crops is more or less a habit—and they develop that habit of growing peanuts and marketing peanuts; when it is all over with, how are they to be taken care of? I realize, of course, that is more or less speculative.

Mr. RANDOLPH. I have tried to answer that question a good many times. I don't think you can consider the growing of peanuts in that light. The Government said we need them to win the war, and we are going to grow them and do the best we can.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I heartily agree, but I am thinking of after this is over.

POST-WAR MARKET

Mr. RANDOLPH. Unless there is a market for these peanuts after this war is over, farmers will not continue to grow them, because they can't make any money out of it. The price would get so low they would discontinue them.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You think economic conditions would probably control it?

Mr. RANDOLPH. Yes, sir; to some extent. But, as you know, in our law we have a very fine peanut section, and, insofar as legislation is concerned, that law, I think, would take care of the situation, and, if it didn't, it could certainly be amended in the light of experience. As to whether there will be a market for these peanuts as oil is a tremendous subject. I am not prepared to discuss it. You are aware, of course, of the fact that the reason we are short on vegetable oil is that we are not getting the customary imports from the Asiatic countries and the Pacific islands. I think someone said that the attack on Pearl Harbor resulted in a decrease of about 2,000,000,000 pounds of oil annually. Now as to whether we continue to cut down on the import of vegetable oil after the war is over, depends on a number of things. First, it depends on who wins the war. We, of course, are determined that we will, and I assume we will. But, if we didn't, that situation wouldn't change so far as imports of oil is concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, we have plenty of crude oil in this country. The Navy has millions of acres of untapped reserves. The trouble is in transportation.

Mr. RANDOLPH. I am speaking of vegetable oil, not petroleum. I am speaking of animal and vegetable oil, and fats, used to a great extent for food. Of course they are used for a lot of other purposes, too.

FARM LABOR SHORTAGE

The CHAIRMAN. You are correct. We imported a great deal of that. Mr. Randolph, is there presently any farm labor shortage?

Mr. RANDOLPH. It is generally reported to me that there is a shortage of farm labor in this State.

The CHAIRMAN. That is more acute in some places than in other places?

Mr. RANDOLPH. Yes, sir. It is more acute where you have defense industries. In fact, I think that is one of the chief phases of this migration problem which you are studying now insofar as this State is concerned—the migration of farmers off the farm to better paying jobs in industry. And there has been a considerable amount of that which has taken place in this State. Of course, it affects the situation right around plants more than anywhere else.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose there is—and there probably will be—a farm labor shortage; where will they get the help, from what sources?

Mr. RANDOLPH. I wish I knew the answer to that question. Some indications of what the labor situation on farms is is given in a publication I have here called Farm Labor Report, issued by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. It says: "The supply of farm labor as a percentage of normal is 59 percent in Alabama."

MEANING OF "NORMAL" LABOR SUPPLY

The CHAIRMAN. What do they mean by "normal"?

Mr. RANDOLPH. You ask what is meant by normal. They say they gained these figures from farmers through questionnaires sent out. And their farm reporters were asked to report the present farm labor supply and demand at current wage rates as a percentage of the

normal supply and demand at this season. The reports thus obtained reflect the individual reporter's appraisal of the current supply and demand situation in his locality in relation to what he believes to be the usual or normal condition. In other words, I believe this part of the Federal establishment that carries on this work has been known as the Division of Crop and Livestock Estimates and comes under the Agricultural Marketing Service now. They send out questionnaires to farmers over the country and this is the result of the replies they got back. When they asked that man what the supply of farm labor is compared to what he considers normal, he gives his own definition of normal. According to the figures for this State, the supply of farm labor is less than normal, whatever normal is.

The CHAIRMAN. What about transportation? Is that going to enter into the farm labor supply?

Mr. RANDOLPH. What type of supply, or, rather, transportation?

The CHAIRMAN. The shortage of transportation on account of curtailment of rubber.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Some, but not as much in this State as in other States.

The CHAIRMAN. Has the Farm Bureau got any ideas about that?

FARM LABOR COMMITTEE

Mr. RANDOLPH. We have thought about that a great deal. We have a farm labor committee in the State, not a Farm Bureau labor committee, but a farm labor committee, made up of representatives of various Federal and State agencies interested in that subject. It seems in this State that there may be a partial solution to the problem that does not involve transportation of workers long distances, with possibly the exception of some areas, fruit and vegetable areas like Baldwin. Baldwin County is something like California.

The CHAIRMAN. Take this district, Madison County, has a survey been made as to the demands for farm labor here through the Farm Bureau?

Mr. RANDOLPH. No; the Farm Bureau is just a voluntary organization. It has no connection with the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't know that you understood my question. Here's the question: Are any surveys being made in this State of the counties as to the necessity for farm labor for the crops?

Mr. RANDOLPH. This committee on farm labor requested that a survey of that nature be made. Just what has been done in that connection I am not in a position to report.

The CHAIRMAN. The trouble is that the farmer makes his application at the last minute?

Mr. RANDOLPH. That is probably true in a great many cases. However there is—and I am sure you know this—the United States Employment Service; they have what they call farm placement men. I am not sure they have one in every county, but they have one in a great many places in the State, and as a result of the work of this particular committee I have been speaking of, we have tried to get that group, together with various people working in agricultural service agencies, in pretty close contact. That principally is the work done along that line.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you think that this war will cause a shifting to new crops in the South?

Mr. RANDOLPH. I should think so. We have been called upon to produce great quantities of milk and eggs and beef cattle and hogs and other food products. Whether that will cause a permanent increase in the production of those products, I don't know. It might. I don't know whether it will or not.

EFFECT OF THE DRAFT ON FARM LABOR

Mr. SPARKMAN. What about the effect of the draft on farm labor?

Mr. RANDOLPH. Well—naturally, Mr. Sparkman, there have been a good many farm boys drafted and in many cases that has resulted in less men to work on farms than otherwise would be the case.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you think you are going to feel it very keenly, or do you think it will just tighten up conditions among those that remain?

Mr. RANDOLPH. It appears, from what farmers tell me as I go about, that probably people leaving the farm for better paying jobs in industry will have and has had probably more effect than the draft. The Selective Service System has been very fine in its attitude about deferring farm boys.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you ever had any cause to complain against the working of the Selective Service as such with reference to farm labor?

FARM BOYS DON'T WANT DEFERMENT

Mr. RANDOLPH. I could hardly say that there is no cause to complain, but I say their attitude from a national and State standpoint has been very fine. A good many of our county organizations have complained to me about the deferment locally. I find that in many of the cases I have looked into, the farm boys didn't want to be deferred. They wanted to fight.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You might be interested to know that about a week or 10 days ago I was at a dinner with quite a group of people from Congress and different departments, and the speaker of the evening was one of the officers of the National Selective Service System down in Washington. After he discussed it somewhat, there was a question period. All of us were asking questions. I asked him about farm deferment, deferment of farm labor, and he made the remark that the difficulty in the Southern States had not been in passing on the question of deferment, but in getting those boys to be willing to accept deferment.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Yes; I find that the case. I am sure there have been cases where farm boys would have probably rendered a greater service to their country if they had stayed on the farm and produced food. It is a tremendous problem to handle all that. And it is very hard to be critical about the manner in which it is handled by the local boards.

Mr. SPARKMAN. It is rather hard, as a matter of fact, to detect ahead of time whether or not there is to be a shortage of farm labor?

Mr. RANDOLPH. It is.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I remember someone said at one of our hearings that in a time of depression maybe six people will do the work on a farm, when in tight times two persons could do it. And I presume that is true.

Mr. RANDOLPH. We have to do our best with those left.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Tolan asked you about diversification in this State, and I know you have followed agriculture in that respect in this State with much interest and for many years you were connected with the Southern Division of the Department of Agriculture. Is it not true that the change in agriculture toward a more diversified program that has occurred in the last few years has been a matter of encouragement?

Mr. RANDOLPH. That is true.

EXPECTS STATE TO MEET FOOD QUOTA

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you feel confident that the quota assigned to this State will be met in the food-for-victory program this year?

Mr. RANDOLPH. Yes; I do. In the case of peanuts the Department of Agriculture issued an "intentions to plant" report which indicates for the country as a whole we might not meet the peanut goal. I didn't see any figures particularly for this State. My impression is that this State will be able to meet its goal. I am not certain of that, because it is a tremendous increase. It is quite possible that farmers who have not had experience growing them will not get as good yields—not only possible, quite probable. I have been planting peanuts on my place 3 years, and we are getting better yields now than when we started.

Mr. ARNOLD. I don't know, Mr. Randolph, whether you have answered all these questions or not. Did you answer a question as to the probable effect of a shortage of transportation on farm labor?

Mr. RANDOLPH. I am not sure I answered it. I talked about it. I would like, before I leave, to say to the committee that I feel that the primary cause of the migration of the farmer from the farm is due to the disparity of income between the farm people and other groups in the population. I also feel that any elimination of that disparity would tend to eliminate a part at least of the migration of the farmer away from the farms to other places.

EXPLANATION OF TABLES

I would like to place in the record these tables, which you probably have already seen. One of them relates to farm prices, prices farmers pay and factory pay rolls per worker for the years 1910 to 1942, using the period of 1910 to 1914 as base of 100. The farm prices in February of this year were 145 percent of what they were in that 5-year pre-war period, and the prices the farmers paid for what they were buying was 147 percent. It doesn't have the figures for February, but for January of this year the factory pay rolls per employed worker were 299 percent of what they were in 1910 to 1914. The other table shows food costs in relation to family income. I am not sure that directly connects with the problems of this committee, but certainly it does indirectly, because it gives some indication of the way in which farmers are furnishing food for the Nation and food for the armed

forces. It gives here nonfarm family income and cost of family food purchases from 1913 to 1941. Now in 1913, '14, '15, and '16 I notice 32 percent of the income of nonfarm families was paid out for food; whereas, in 1941 only 23 percent was, and in February of this year only 22 percent was. I want to call your attention to that fact, because many people seem to think that food is too high and that the farmers are not producing food cheap enough for the public. But the figures seem to bear out the contrary contention.

(Following are the tables referred to:)

(The following tables, compiled by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, were introduced by the witness at this point)

Food costs in relation to family income—nonfarm family income and cost of family food purchases, 1913-41

Year	Family income	Retail cost of all foods	Food cost as percentage of income	Year	Family income	Retail cost of all foods	Food cost as percentage of income
1913.....	1,035	326	32	1929.....	1,968	540	27
1914.....	1,006	334	33	1930.....	1,795	514	29
1915.....	1,022	330	32	1931.....	1,549	424	27
1916.....	1,168	370	32	1932.....	1,210	353	29
1917.....	1,331	477	36	1933.....	1,116	343	31
1918.....	1,513	548	36	1934.....	1,260	382	30
1919.....	1,617	611	38	1935.....	1,343	409	30
1920.....	1,847	688	37	1936.....	1,540	413	27
1921.....	1,593	523	33	1937.....	1,609	429	27
1922.....	1,620	489	30	1938.....	1,478	399	27
1923.....	1,802	506	28	1939.....	1,557	358	25
1924.....	1,822	501	28	1940.....	1,645	394	24
1925.....	1,895	542	29	1941.....	1,888	430	23
1926.....	1,935	560	29	December 1941.....	1,993	461	23
1927.....	1,921	539	28	January 1942.....	2,094	474	23
1928.....	1,935	533	28	February 1942.....	2,133	476	22

Farm prices, prices farmers pay and factory pay rolls per worker—1910-42

[Index numbers]

Year	Farm prices (August 1909 to July 1914=100)	Prices farmers pay (1910-14=100)	1910-14=100 factory payrolls per employed worker ¹	Year	Farm prices (August 1909 to July 1914=100)	Prices farmers pay (1910-14=100)	1910-14=100 factory payrolls per employed worker ¹
1910.....	102	98	100	1927.....	139	153	233
1911.....	95	101	96	1928.....	149	155	235
1912.....	100	100	98	1929.....	146	153	236
1913.....	101	101	103	1930.....	126	145	219
1914.....	101	100	103	1931.....	87	124	196
1915.....	98	105	107	1932.....	65	107	158
1916.....	118	124	121	1933.....	70	109	145
1917.....	175	149	143	1934.....	90	123	170
1918.....	202	176	183	1935.....	108	125	183
1919.....	213	202	208	1936.....	114	124	192
1920.....	211	201	217	1937.....	121	130	213
1921.....	125	152	208	1938.....	95	122	185
1922.....	132	149	202	1939.....	93	121	208
1923.....	142	152	224	1940.....	98	123	222
1924.....	143	152	225	1941.....	122	133	250
1925.....	156	157	229	1942—January.....	149	146	299
1926.....	145	155	232	February.....	145	147	-----

¹ Approximations—transformed from a 1935-39=100 base.

TESTIMONY OF WALTER L. RANDOLPH—Resumed

Mr. ARNOLD. Don't you think—and I am a farmer myself—don't you think the farmers are in the most fortunate position at this time of any group in this country? Take, for instance, a worker in a defense plant who makes \$2,000 a year, has a wife and 3 or 4 children, spends \$600 a year for rent and \$600 for food and pays an income tax on a salary of \$2,000, while the farmer has most of his food without buying it, and probably owns the land and doesn't pay income tax on what he spends on food and rent, if he rents the farm?

RELATIVE POSITION OF FARMER AND INDUSTRIAL WORKER

Mr. RANDOLPH. I would say I could not agree with your statement.

Mr. ARNOLD. You think a man in a defense plant is better off than a farmer today?

Mr. RANDOLPH. I think a man working in industry or a defense plant is certainly better off than the farmer as a group. That was the main point of these figures.

Mr. ARNOLD. But those figures don't take into consideration that the farmer is getting his foodstuff, or most of it, furnished him without having to figure it in his income tax, whereas a worker has to pay income tax on his salary, regardless of what it costs him for food and rent?

Mr. RANDOLPH. That is probably true with the better-off farmer. I am talking about the average. In Alabama in 1940 the average farm income from row crops and livestock was \$390 and in addition to that they received the average Government benefit checks that amounted to \$112 per farm family. I think we have about five people to the farm in this State. That makes the farm income per month per capita \$8. I think that is why farmers migrate. That situation was better in 1941 to some extent, because it was something over \$600 instead of \$500, which would mean \$10 per month per capita. That is a pitifully low income.

The CHAIRMAN. I agree with you that the farmer is entitled to good prices at this time.

FARMER WANTS PARITY PRICE

Mr. RANDOLPH. I would like to say for the information of this committee that the farm group as a whole have not asked for farm prices any higher than parity prices. We are perfectly willing to take a fair price for the products we grow, and that is what we define as a fair price. We resent the attempt to change the present price control act, for it would prevent the farmer from getting parity prices.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What you want is an average of parity?

Mr. RANDOLPH. Yes, sir. The President in his message to Congress asked that Congress amend the Price Control Act so a ceiling would be placed on farm products at 100-percent parity. It is obvious it would be impossible for a farmer to get an average parity price for his products if the ceiling were set at 100 percent of parity, because farm prices fluctuate, and, if that was done, it would fluctuate always below that ceiling, never above it. We asked that Congress be good enough to insert in the present price control bill the provision that the

price ceiling on farm products be fixed at not less than 110 percent parity. We have a floor under a great many farm products at 85 percent of parity price, and it was felt that a fluctuation between 85 percent of parity price as a floor and 110 percent of parity price as a ceiling would give us an opportunity, if marketing conditions justify it, of getting during a marketing season an average of the parity price. We have tried to be fair about it and keep the public interest in mind. And we are considerably disturbed over recent efforts to change that bill which was agreed to by the Secretary of Agriculture, by the Price Administrator, voted by Congress and signed by the President. I am very proud that Congress did treat the farmer fairly on that bill.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You stand for 110 percent parity price in order that farmers might get 100 percent parity price the season through?

Mr. RANDOLPH. Yes, sir; we presented that to Congress. I certainly thank you for the opportunity of appearing.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you for appearing here. I am glad to be here, especially with the distinguished Congressman from Alabama. I might say that the folks in his district and the people of Alabama as a whole are very proud of him.

Mr. Ferris is our next witness.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN P. FERRIS, DIRECTOR, COMMERCE DEPARTMENT, TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

Mr. SPARKMAN. You appeared before us sometime ago in Washington, I believe?¹

Mr. FERRIS. Yes, sir. I am sorry the chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, Mr. David Lilienthal, was unable to appear at this hearing.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Lilienthal called me in Washington and said he wouldn't be able to be here. I might say when the previous hearings were set for Huntsville, Mr. Lilienthal was due to appear, and we were unable to hold the hearings, because we were sent to the west coast to study the Japanese evacuation problem. And I told Mr. Lilienthal that we were the ones running out on him.

MAJOR ACTIVITIES OF TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

At the time of your previous appearance before us, you outlined the five major activities of the Tennessee Valley Authority. First, the activities directed to rebuilding the soil and stimulating agriculture. Second, activities directed toward the encouragement of forestry. Third, activities directed toward aiding enterprise by providing new industrial processes and facts concerning resources of the region and their possible uses. Fourth, activities directed toward establishing mass consumption of electric power. Fifth, activities relating to water control in the interest of flood conditions, navigation, and recreation. Now, I wonder if you might state to us briefly just how the war program has affected those five different parts of your program?

Mr. FERRIS. I think probably the best thing is to start with the first on the list, the soil-building program. As a matter of fact, it was one theme I had prepared for. May I follow my notes on that?

¹ See pp. 3797-3853, part 9, hearings of this committee.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Certainly, and I might say you have supplied us with a very fine and full written statement, and this statement will be printed in full at this point in the record of these hearings.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT PREPARED BY THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY,
SUBMITTED BY JOHN P. FERRIS, DIRECTOR, COMMERCE DEPARTMENT, KNOXVILLE, TENN.

I. GENERAL STATEMENT CONCERNING THE POSITION OF THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AREA AND THE SOUTHEAST AS A WHOLE IN RELATION TO THE MIGRATION PROBLEM

During the decade between the close of the first World War and the beginning of the economic depression in 1929, the Southeast, as the committee knows, was one of the principal regions of migrant origin. As the industrial boom gathered momentum in the manufacturing centers of the East and the Middle East, as the agricultural economy of the South grappled with problems of depleted soil fertility and low farm income, a steady stream of workers flowed northward in search of increased economic opportunities for themselves and their families. This migration, to a large extent, was one not of destitute persons but of productive workers who constituted an economic asset. With the beginning of the depression, the trend was temporarily reversed. As industry shut down and jobs disappeared, people who had left southern farms began to return, adding further to the strain on the farm economy of the region.

Today, with industry again booming as a result of the war production program, the industrial centers are again exerting a pull upon the available labor supply. In the Southeast this has resulted in a movement from the farms to urban communities and to the large construction projects which are now in progress within the region. It has resulted, also, to some extent, in a movement of workers from the region to industrial centers in other areas. The opportunities for employment within the region are such, however, that there has not been any wholesale migration of workers from the region comparable to that which took place in the 1920's. These employment opportunities, however, as will hereafter be pointed out in greater detail, arise largely as a result of expansion in the heavy goods industries, new construction projects, and location within the region of arsenals, ordnance works, and other plants producing for strictly wartime needs. The war production program has not resulted within the southeastern region in any wholesale conversion of peacetime fabricating and processing industry to wartime uses, for the region has never possessed such industry on any large scale. Neither has the war program resulted, to any great extent, in the establishment of that type of industry in the region. And it was largely the lack of such industry which resulted in the Southeast's becoming a region of migrant origin during the 1920's, and which may result in its becoming so again, under similar circumstances, if its economy is not brought into better balance.

Great migrations into already congested industrial areas during periods of great business activity, whether caused by war production or by peacetime booms, are merely symptomatic of an underlying economic condition which has existed in the United States. That condition is one which is characterized by the concentration of large-scale industry and of manufacturing activity in the northeastern section of the country. To the Southeast, the Southwest, and other "outlying" regions is left the task of growing the agricultural products, of digging the minerals, of cutting the lumber, and of furnishing the other raw materials which are required. The job of manufacturing the raw materials into finished goods of high value has been performed almost exclusively in the region north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi, and to an ever-increasing degree by large-scale enterprises rather than by small, diversified industrial units.

It is almost axiomatic that the community or region which depends predominantly on the production of raw materials is a community or region of a lower standard of economic prosperity than is the community or region which is more extensively engaged in the processing and manufacture of raw materials into finished goods. And as long as the best paying function of our economic machinery—the manufacture of finished goods—is concentrated in one region, there will be migrations into that region during periods of peak industrial activity and migrations out of it during periods when the industrial machinery is slowing down.

The concentration of the fabricating industry in the Northeast has been defended on a number of grounds. The argument has been advanced that the region has certain natural advantages which make such concentration a logical development, that the Northeast and it alone has the necessary supply of skilled labor requisite to the manufacturing process, and that in any event economic specialization by particular regions represents a sound type of economic organization.

Unquestionably, particular regions of the country are naturally fitted by reason of differences in climate and other natural conditions to make particular contributions to the flow of national goods and services. California and Florida possess obvious inherent advantages in connection with the raising of citrus fruits. The Tennessee Valley area possesses inherent advantages with respect to the production of cheap electricity. Numerous other examples of the fitness of particular regions for particular types of economic activity might readily be cited.

There is no valid reason, however, why the Southeast or any other region should be disqualified to carry on an important share of the country's processing and manufacturing activities. When great projects have been undertaken in the southeastern region, requiring large numbers of skilled laborers, as in the case of the program of the Tennessee Valley Authority, no difficulty has been experienced in recruiting the necessary labor largely within the region itself. Workers in the region have evidenced a high ability to learn quickly the task of handling powerful machinery, and training programs undertaken by the Authority and other employers in the region have been uniformly successful in imparting necessary aptitudes and skills. Indeed, the existence of a labor supply in the southeastern region requisite to the carrying out of the manufacturing process is established by the extent to which workers from the region have in the past been utilized by industry in the Northeast.

The real impediment to the establishment of fabricating and processing industries in the Southeast is largely one of inertia, that is, the fact that such industry at the present time is concentrated in the Northeast leads to the establishment of new industries in the same region where such industries already exist. The war production program has provided a demonstration of this fact. When the necessity for accelerating and expanding the manufacturing process to produce finished goods needed for war purposes arose, it seemed inevitable to industrialists located in the Northeast that such acceleration and expansion of industry for war should necessarily take place almost exclusively in that region where industry for peace was located. Moreover, the tendency has been to place the task of manufacturing war goods primarily in the hands of large-scale enterprises as primary contractors. Smaller enterprises have had the greatest difficulty in obtaining war orders either as primary contractors or as subcontractors. This condition has tended still further to concentrate the manufacturing process in the Northeast, since it is there that large-scale enterprises are chiefly located. Conversely, in a region such as the Southeast where such manufacturing enterprises as do exist are largely of a small-scale character, the effect is more and more to force the closing down of small manufacturing industries producing peacetime goods instead of to bring about their conversion and expansion for war production. There is great danger, therefore, that the war-production program may lead to an even greater concentration of fabricating and processing industry in the northeastern region than already exists and, correspondingly, to an even greater unbalancing of the economies of primarily raw materials regions than has existed in the past.

Such a result would be highly undesirable from the standpoint both of successful prosecution of the war and of the solution of the multitude of economic problems which necessarily will exist in the post-war world. From a strictly military point of view, concentration of important manufacturing industry within limited areas, especially in areas which are most vulnerable to attack, represents a situation which is dangerous for obvious reasons. From the standpoint of economic problems which are likely to exist after the war is over, a southeastern region which is economically more unbalanced than has heretofore been the case would be apt to present an economic problem even more difficult of solution. The same would be true in the case of other primarily raw materials regions.

The program of the Tennessee Valley Authority during the past 8 years has been one of coordinated regional development designed to widen the economic opportunities of the people of the region. It has sought to accomplish this purpose by developing the natural resources of the region through application to them of the methods of modern technology and science on a democratic basis providing for decentralized administration and cooperation to the fullest possible

extent with existing State, local, and other institutions. The plan has been basically to provide for better utilization of the region's resources and thus to permit development of a better balanced economy. The impact of the war has created new economic conditions and problems for the southeastern region. It has also led to adaptation of the program and activities of the Authority to war-time conditions. The remaining portion of this statement will be devoted to a summary of the effects of the war on the economy of the southeastern region and on the program of the Authority.

II. EFFECTS OF THE WAR AND DEFENSE PRODUCTION UPON THE SOUTHEASTERN REGION

The possible effects of the war and of defense production upon the southeastern region can be the subject, to a large extent, only of generalized conjecture. For one thing, the economy of the Southeast is bound up with the economy of the country as a whole, and what will be the effects of the war upon the national economy no one can now predict with any assurance of accuracy. It is possible, however, to summarize in a general way, and without any attempt at profound or detailed economic analysis, some of the major problems of the Southeast which have resulted from defense production and are discernible at the present time.

A. AGRICULTURE.

Whatever measure of success the Southeast may have in securing a fuller and more balanced development of its resources, and particularly in securing the establishment of fabricating and processing industries within its borders, its economy will almost certainly continue to rest principally upon an agricultural base.

The Tennessee Valley area, like the South as a whole, was settled because of the many potentialities—particularly agricultural—inherent in its natural environment and resources. The first settlers who formed the Watauga Association in what is now eastern Tennessee saw in the valley a variety of climatic topographic and soil conditions which created great opportunity for productive use of its lands. The region also possessed such important advantages as great forest resources, substantial mineral deposits, and many other assets sufficient to permit the establishment of a diversified, balanced, and stable economic system.

Nevertheless, social and economic forces led to the wasting and depletion of many of the region's most valuable resources instead of to their proper development and use. The prevalence through the years of row-crop farming, accompanied as it was by neglect of cover crops and other soil-conserving measures, had particularly disastrous effects. Not only was the fertility of the soil steadily depleted, but in addition the soil lost its ability to retain moisture essential to crop growth. Excessive losses of water, in turn, produced erosion of the soil and added to the extent and destructive character of occasional heavy floods.

The activities of the Tennessee Valley Authority directed to rebuilding the soil and stimulating agriculture have already been described in a statement prepared by it for the committee during its inquiry into the interstate migration of destitute citizens. (See Hearings Before the Select Committee to Investigate the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens, House of Representatives, 76th Cong., 3d sess., pt. 9, pp. 3798-3827.) These activities have centered around the development and production of new types of highly concentrated phosphatic fertilizers, followed by their distribution, with the cooperation of agricultural experiment stations, land-grant colleges, and other agencies, on a basis permitting testing and demonstration of their effects when used in conjunction with and as a part of a system of soil conservation and scientifically planned land use.

To date, agricultural experiment stations have undertaken more than 38,000 experiments with newly developed fertilizers produced by the Authority, through a sequence of stages ranging through laboratory, field, and farm. And at the present time over 27,000 farmers, in the valley States and in other States as well, are engaged in demonstrating the effects of these fertilizers on their own farms. As a result of such test-demonstrations with Authority-produced phosphates, farmers in the Southeast have been making substantial progress in overcoming some of the principal difficulties which have beset them. There has been an extensive shift from a predominantly row-crop type of farming to one in which greater reliance is placed on pastures, meadows, and livestock which form the basis of a diversified farm economy. This has led to the delivery of additional meat and milk products from the farms, thus raising the nutritional standards of the valley population.

Further, the increasing extent to which farmers are growing legumes and other cover crops is providing a vegetative cover which protects against erosion and excessive loss of water. This is illustrated by the results of recent studies of Authority hydraulic engineers who have investigated the effectiveness of vegetative cover in holding soil and water. Two watershed areas in the valley were studied. One was the Potato Creek watershed, lying in a generally denuded area of badly eroded land; and the other was the Turtletown Creek watershed, lying in a generally well covered area. It was found that the surface run-off from the poorly protected Potato Creek area was twice that from the fairly well protected Turtletown Creek area. The peak rate of flow from the Potato Creek area was 5 times as great per square mile as that from the Turtletown Creek area when all storms were considered, and 10 times as great when the 10 largest storms in a 3-year period were considered.

In all of these ways, the past 8 years have been marked by substantial progress in placing the agricultural economy of the Southeast on a sounder and more stable basis. The effect of the war and of the defense program may well be—and there is no blinking the fact—to place in serious jeopardy the gains which have been accomplished.

Existing and anticipated national requirements have forced the Secretary of Agriculture to call upon farmers to produce substantially larger quantities of food, particularly livestock products. In seeking to comply with this request the farmers of the Southeast are seeking to surmount two great difficulties: (1) an increasingly intense shortage of farm labor, and (2) the prospect of a shortage of concentrated phosphatic fertilizers.

1. *The farm labor shortage.*—Almost overnight, the farm labor problem in the Tennessee Valley has changed from one of oversupply to one of overdemand. Enormous construction programs are being undertaken in the Tennessee Valley area, calling for huge concentrations of labor forces with attendant housing and service facilities. In many cases, the construction programs will be followed by operating programs which will require even more labor and even more facilities; in other cases, the completion of construction programs will be the signal for labor to move on or to settle back into their former occupations. Whatever the outcome, there are acute problems of adjustment in the communities near the projects, and more general but even more difficult problems of adjustment facing the region.

The great increase in the demands of the Authority's own construction program, stepped up as it has been due to wartime demands for electric power, exemplifies the general situation. The number of hourly employees employed on Authority projects in December 1941 was 21,326, representing an increase of approximately 100 percent over the number employed in December 1940. A large proportion of these workers have been recruited from an area within a radius of 50 to 75 miles of the various projects, and nearly all of them from within the Tennessee Valley area. A special questionnaire returned by 2,962 workers on the Cherokee project in the spring of 1941 resulted in the following tabulation:

Former residence in Tennessee.....	2,492
Former residence in other Tennessee Valley States.....	297
Former residence elsewhere.....	155
Former residence not specified.....	18

While no comparable figures are available for other projects, the figures are believed to be typical of all of them.

The extent of the demand for construction and industrial labor is further indicated by the following data with respect to a partial list of emergency projects under construction or in operation within the valley area.¹

Wolf Creek ordnance plant, near Milan, Tenn., employed 9,000 at peak of construction and will employ 10,000 in operation.

Rodstone Ordnance Works (arsenal, ordnance, and storage), near Huntsville, Alabama, employing 10,000 to 15,000 at peak of construction, and 6,000 in operation. About 65 percent of workers were recruited from within commuting distance.

Aluminum Co. of America, Alcoa, Tenn., expected to employ 13,000 by June 1942, as compared with 5,200 in February 1940. Workers mostly local.

Camp Forrest, near Tullahoma, Tenn., employed 23,000 in construction at peak in June 1941.

¹ Data are based on labor market reports of the Tennessee Unemployment Compensation Division and on material contained in the Authority's files.

Muscle Shoals, Ala., new Tennessee Valley Authority and other projects employ between 4,500 and 5,000 workers.

Volunteer Ordnance Works, near Chattanooga, Tenn., will employ 12,000 at peak of construction. Majority of workers in operations will be local.

Vultee Aircraft Corporation, Nashville, Tenn., is expected to employ 7,000 in full operation. Most of workers will be locally trained, supplemented by some influx from other aircraft plants.

Tennessee Powder Co., near Memphis, Tenn., employing 3,500 in operations.

Fisher Body Works (Tennessee Division of General Motors), anticipate employment of 5,000 workers in operations by January 1943, as compared with 1,500 workers in February 1942.

Camp Tyson, near Paris, Tenn., employing approximately 8,000 on construction.

Smyrna Air Base, near Nashville, Tenn., will employ an estimated 15,000 at construction peak.

For most of these projects, little statistical information is available on sources of labor supply. From information on certain areas, however, it seems probable that at least one-half of the labor required is being recruited from areas within commuting distance of the various projects, and most of the remainder from within the valley region.

In all probability, agricultural workers have constituted the largest single source of labor supply for these projects. The drain of agricultural workers to construction and industrial jobs is explained in large measure by the intermittent character of farm employment, and the fact that until recently the average daily wage of farm laborers in the area has been only about \$1. Recently, the growing labor shortage has resulted in an increase in farm-labor wages, but the limits fixed by farm prices and farm capital—and, indeed, by the capacity of the valley's soils themselves—necessarily confine adjustments within a narrow range and far below the point where farmers can compete successfully with emergency construction and other projects in the labor market. The trend in average farm wages and the ratio of farm-labor supply to demand is shown below for a 12-year period. The data are for Tennessee only, but are representative of the region as a whole:²

	Day wage rates (with-out board)	Ratio of labor supply to demand		Day wage rates (with-out board)	Ratio of labor supply to demand
January 1930-----	\$1.45	108	January 1937-----	\$1.00	110
1931-----	1.20	165	1938-----	1.00	110
1932-----	.90	192	1939-----	1.00	114
1933-----	.70	184	1940-----	1.01	114
1934-----	.85	147	1941-----	1.07	97
1935-----	.90	134	1942-----	1.37	69
1936-----	.95	122			

The drain on farm labor supply is not wholly caused by employment of farm workers in construction and industrial jobs. A further cause is, of course, the induction of large numbers of farm laborers into the armed services.

The problems resulting from this drain are extremely serious, and appear to be growing increasingly acute. The shortage was present in some degree last year, but relief was afforded by the relatively low rainfall during the crop season, which permitted a greater than usual spread of days available for planting, working, and harvesting crops. This situation is not expected to recur in 1942, and the farm labor shortage will be felt to a much greater extent.

A few months ago, a questionnaire in the form of a "farm work inquiry" was mailed to 7,000 Tennessee farmers by the State office of the Agricultural Marketing Service of the United States Department of Agriculture, as part of a Nation-wide fact-finding survey. Nearly all of the returns received contained some comment on labor scarcity due to competing industrial, construction, and Government projects. Farmers making returns sometimes expressed doubt as to ability to make their crops for the coming season, and some went so far as to predict that their farms will lie idle unless the farm labor situation improves. While

² Material supplied by S. T. Marsh, Tennessee Agricultural Marketing Service, University of Tennessee Department of Agriculture.

the strongest complaints were received from areas in which defense projects are located, returns indicated that the problem is present throughout the State.

2. *Shortage of phosphatic fertilizers.*—Equally alarming for southeastern agriculture as the shortage of farm labor is the shortage of phosphatic fertilizers. As has already been pointed out, the past impoverishment of agriculture in the region was due principally to the prevalence of row crop farming, the effect of which was gradually to destroy the fertility of the soil. The planting of row crops was accompanied by the application of low-grade mixed fertilizers, the effect of which was temporarily to stimulate crop growth but which, since such fertilizers do not replace in the soil the essential plant nutrients which cash crops remove from it, over a period of years merely added to the depletion of soil fertility, erosion, and general wastage of the agricultural resources of the region.

The program of agricultural reclamation sponsored by the Tennessee Valley Authority over the past 8 years has encouraged the widespread planting of cover crops, the application to the land of highly concentrated phosphatic fertilizers, the effect of which is to restore the nutrients essential to soil fertility, and the use of crop rotation and other soil-conserving practices essential to the restoration and preservation of the land resources of the region. The production and distribution of phosphatic fertilizers are essential, of course, to the carrying on of this program. In the past, these fertilizers have been made available in several ways. Triple superphosphate (containing approximately 48 percent phosphoric acid, or P_2O_5) and calcium metaphosphate (containing approximately 63 percent P_2O_5) produced by the Authority at its Muscle Shoals plant by the electric furnace method have been distributed under the test demonstration program in the manner described in detail in the statement prepared by the Authority in connection with its previous appearance before the committee. Large quantities of such fertilizers have also been transferred by the Authority at cost to the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, and distributed to farmers by that agency, in lieu of cash benefits, in connection with its soil-conservation program. In addition, there has been some private commercial production of triple superphosphate, as well as of ordinary superphosphate (15 to 18 percent P_2O_5), principally by a sulfuric acid process.

The war production program has resulted in a serious curtailment of the production and sale of fertilizer materials. The shortage of electric power resulting from the extraordinary requirements of the defense program forced the Authority, in 1941, to curtail its phosphate production for a period of several months. While its Muscle Shoals plant is again operating at capacity, a substantial portion of it is being used to produce elemental phosphorus for war purposes rather than phosphatic fertilizers. Moreover, the war has made it impossible for Great Britain to obtain phosphatic fertilizers from sources on which she formerly depended, and accordingly a substantial portion of such fertilizers now produced by the Authority is being shipped to Britain at the present time. The Authority's plant capacity is being increased by expansion of existing facilities, and a proposal for construction of a new plant at Mobile, Ala., is now pending in Congress. But the increasing need for elemental phosphorus in wartime production of chemicals, together with the increasing need for phosphates on the part of Great Britain, makes it doubtful whether or to what extent this increased plant capacity can be utilized for production of phosphatic fertilizers for distribution within the valley.

The war has exerted a similar effect upon commercial phosphate production. Such production has been almost exclusively by a sulfuric acid process, and the fact that this element is needed in production of war materials has greatly curtailed the amount available for use in the manufacture of fertilizers. Moreover, such phosphate materials as are being commercially produced are going largely into the production of low-grade mixed fertilizers, since the sale of such fertilizers is more profitable than the sale of concentrated phosphatic fertilizers. The shortage of elements necessary in the manufacture of phosphates has been accompanied, however, by a shortage of elements essential to the manufacture of nitrates, since these elements, too, are needed in the production of munitions and other war materials. Hence the manufacture even of mixed fertilizers, which contain varying proportions of nitrogen, phosphorus, and potash, in addition to "filler" materials, has been curtailed.

The dangerous portent of this situation is apparent. Permanently increased agricultural productivity in the Southeast requires growth of cover crops and application of phosphatic fertilizers containing large quantities of essential plant nutrients. Even a temporary production increase, by greater planting of row crops, will require application of large quantities of fertilizers, and of course can be

achieved only at the expense of the fertility of the soil. It seems likely that an effort to increase production by a return to the row crop system will be made by large numbers of southeastern farmers. The farmers' assigned task of increasing their production in the face of shortages both of fertilizers and of labor will, however, be an exceedingly difficult one. And the danger that the soils of the southeast will be seriously damaged in the process is exceedingly grave.

B. FORESTS

Past and present problems with respect to the Tennessee Valley's forest resources parallel, to a large extent, those existing in connection with its agricultural resources. Once the valley possessed 26,000,000 acres of forests. Only one-half of that acreage remains in timber, and that has been seriously depleted over the years as a result of exhaustive cutting and repeated burning. Two-thirds of the present forest area in the valley is in trees smaller than saw-timber size, and even before the national defense emergency the remaining saw timber was being cut at a rate substantially in excess of the annual growth increment.

The war production program is resulting in greatly increased consumption of the forest resources of the Tennessee Valley area, as well as of other regions. The importance of wood in defense production can hardly be exaggerated. Lumber is needed for barracks, boats, bridges, cantonments, gun stocks, hangers, housing, pontoon planking, shipping containers, and wharves. In plywood form, wood goes into the construction of airplanes, air-raid shelters, cantonment interiors, prefabricated houses, ship interiors, and truck bodies. When reduced to pulp, its primary use is in the form of paper, paper boards, or wood wool, which are needed for cartridge wrappers, cartons, insulation materials, and surgical dressings.

Through distillation, wood furnishes charcoal for gas masks and steel production, rosin for shrapnel, turpentine for flame throwers, methanol, acetic acid, acetone, mannitol, scribitor, and other chemicals used in modern national defense industries. Tannic acid is an important extract product. Wood contains a high proportion of alpha-cellulose, which under new methods may be economically extracted for direct nitration into explosives, and for the manufacture of synthetic wood fibers, such as rayon, artificial wool and cotton for clothing, parachutes, and other textiles. New processes of hydrogenation are revealing additional products, particularly types of plastics which may be used for various implements, instrument panels, and parts of modern mechanized equipment. Through methods of hydrolysis, good yields of sugar, glucose, and alcohol are obtained. Cellulose acetate manufactured from alpha-cellulose and acetone, is used for photographic film, shatter-proof glass, and for the manufacture of some of the moulded articles mentioned above. Wood flour is essential in the manufacture of dynamite.

Plants manufacturing such materials now exist in the Tennessee Valley in considerable number. A survey completed by the Authority's Forestry Relations Department during the past year indicated that there were 2,870 sawmills and 145 other forest products plants in the valley, which during the calendar year 1940 processed the equivalent of 1,032,000,000 board feet of timber.

Sawmills in the Tennessee Valley produced 734,000,000 board feet of lumber in 1938, 789,000,000 in 1939 and 828,000,000 in 1940, thus increasing their production by nearly 12 percent in 2 years. In certain sections of the valley this rate of increase has been much greater, and the resulting drain on the remaining saw timber supply correspondingly more serious. Recent field observations indicate that most mills are now operating to capacity. Preliminary figures indicate a further increase in production during 1941 of 14.2 percent for the country as a whole, and of 17.7 percent for the Tennessee Valley area.

The extent to which the forests are being used to meet increased defense and industrial needs indicates the importance of this resource. At the same time, it creates a problem, the seriousness of which becomes evident when present timber growth and drain are compared. Preliminary analysis of the Authority's forest inventory data indicates that the reserve of timber of saw timber size in the valley is in the neighborhood of 10,000,000,000 board feet, or about one-half the amount predicted a few years ago before the survey was made. Roughly, one-fourth of this reserve is pine, and pine saw timber is now being cut approximately two and one-half times faster than new saw timber is growing. Drain does not exceed growth to so great an extent as in the case of hardwoods, but for all saw timber it is expected to approach an overcut of at least 70 percent.

In the case of smaller than saw timber size trees, the problem is less acute. When all species and sizes of trees are combined, present drain exceeds growth only very slightly, although this situation may be changed by increased consumption of material of pulpwood and cordwood sizes. A dozen or more new wood

manufacturing plants have recently begun operations in the valley. The present trend toward increased exploitation is well exemplified by a letter to the Authority from the Extension Service of Mississippi, one sentence of which reads:

"Due to market stimulus caused by defense orders for lumber, the farmers are stripping their woodlands of all growing stock, and in many cases even of seed trees, selling logs as small as 6 inches in diameter and 8 feet long."

Unlike the situation which exists with respect to agriculture, there is no indication that any difficulty will be experienced in increasing the production of wood products within the Tennessee Valley area in accordance with wartime demands. There is every indication, however, that such production will result in extremely serious further depletion of a valuable resource which has already been greatly depleted over a period of many years.

C. MINING

The general effect of the defense production program on the mining industry and mineral development in the Southeast has been to bring about an acceleration and expansion of existing mining operations, together with increased exploration of new and marginal properties.

The need for minerals in the defense production program has naturally resulted in an increase in production of most minerals which the region has produced in the past. This is true in the case of such major mining industries of the Southeast as coal, iron ore, and phosphate, as well as in the case of minor production by small mines of such minerals as mica and barite. An exception, of course, is marble, the quarrying of which has been greatly curtailed as a result of the defense program.

As was the case during the first World War, many marginal deposits are being opened up for production during a period of widespread demand and higher prices. However, the situation in this respect is somewhat more favorable than that which existed in 1918, in that better beneficiation and technical methods are being employed, which may result in maintenance of production from some of these deposits during the post-war period.

Investigations are now under way which may lead to important new mineral developments within the region. The possibilities include new processes for making possible the utilization of common clays in lieu of bauxite in the production of aluminum, use of low-grade ores in the production of manganese, the extraction of magnesium from olivine, and increased production of chromite. Research is being conducted by the Authority in connection with all these possibilities and will be described at a later point in this paper.

D. MANUFACTURING

The effect of the national defense program and the war has been to increase tremendously the extent of manufacturing activities already being conducted in the southeast. This expansion has been particularly great in the case of aluminum. It has also been noteworthy in the case of the chemical, iron and steel, paper and pulp, rayon, woodworking, and airplane industries.

New manufacturing activities begun within the area as a result of the war emergency have consisted largely of munitions plants, arsenals, ordnance plants, and other similar undertakings. Examples are the arsenal at Huntsville, Ala., the Volunteer Ordnance Works at Chattanooga, Tenn., the shell-loading plant at Milan, Tenn.; and the smokeless powder plants at Childersburg, Ala., Radford, Va., and Millington, Tenn.

Plants of this character are likely, of course, to shut down as soon as the war is over. While the effect of their construction may therefore be to stimulate a temporary wartime boom within the area, such plants are unlikely to contribute on any permanent basis to the region's economic well-being.

As has already been pointed out, the area's great economic need is the location within its borders of fabricating and processing industries which can continue in operation during the post-war era. With a few exceptions, notably the vast expansion of the Vultee Airplane Plant at Nashville, Tenn., there has been no move to establish within the region wartime fabricating and processing plants which after the war can be converted to peacetime uses. Aluminum sheets and plates produced by the Aluminum Co. at Alcoa, Tenn., and by the Reynolds Metals Co. at Listerhill, Ala., continue to be transported north for further processing. Manganese continues to leave the region as ore for alloying in the manufacture in other localities of high-grade steel. The same is true of the region's production of many other products. Unless the expansion in the production of raw materials and in the manufacturing of products useful solely for war purposes can be accompanied by

the location within the area of processing and fabricating plants which can be converted to peacetime use, there will exist possibilities for very serious post-war economic dislocations.

E. SUMMARY

In summary, therefore, there is danger that the impact of the war upon the economy of the Southeast may produce very serious results. It seems certain that the demands of wartime production will lead to further depletion of the region's basic agricultural and forestry resources upon which, particularly if there is an economic depression immediately following the war, the region will be forced principally to rely during the post-war period. The permanency of the present expanded activity in the extractive industries and in the capital-goods industries will, of course, depend upon the existence of a heavy demand for the products of such industries following the war. There is little possibility of permanency in the operations of new plants producing strictly for wartime purposes, and there is little present prospect of location within the area on any large scale of new fabrication industries which could be converted to peacetime production after the war is over.

III. IMPACT OF THE WAR EMERGENCY ON THE PROGRAM OF THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

A. IN GENERAL

The Tennessee Valley Authority was established in 1933 as a regional agency for the purpose of dealing with the economic problems of the southeastern region as a whole. Its basic program has been directed toward the widening of economic opportunities for the people of the region. This program has included activities directed to rebuilding soil and stimulating agriculture; activities directed to the encouragement of forestry development; activities designed to aid enterprises by providing new industrial processes and facts concerning the resources of the region and their possible uses; activities in establishing mass consumption pricing policies on the sale of electricity; and activities relating to water control in the interests of flood control, navigation, and recreation. The nature of these various activities and of their respective contributions to the program as a whole was described in the paper filed by the Authority with the committee during its study of the interstate migration of destitute citizens.

Today the Authority's activities are directed primarily to the serving of a different purpose. That purpose is to assist in every possible way in the winning of the war.

Since this war is a total war, its outcome will necessarily depend in large measure upon the application of technical skills in meeting the country's production requirements. The Authority had already gathered together a large force of technicians in carrying out its peacetime program. These assembled technical skills it is now utilizing in carrying on its part in the war effort. The Authority's chemical engineers who developed new processes for the manufacture of phosphatic fertilizers are now applying their skills in the construction and operations of facilities for production of ammonium nitrate, elementary phosphorus, and other chemicals needed in the manufacture of munitions. Its engineers who constructed great dams and hydroelectric projects for the purpose of making the Tennessee River a navigable waterway, controlling floods and producing cheap electricity, are now constructing similar projects designed to produce a vast quantity of electricity essential to the production of aluminum, munitions, and other products necessary to the war program. Research experts who devoted their attention to the development of low-cost furrow seeders, threshers, electric heating equipment for sweetpotato curing and storage, rural community refrigerators, and other types of new farm machinery are now redoubling their efforts, since development and production of such farm machinery are proving to be extremely valuable in obtaining the increased agricultural output which is now required. The Authority's specialists in mineralogy, who formerly devoted much of their attention to developing new processes and uses for such mineral resources of the region as kaolin, sandstone, and marble, are now concentrating their attentions on problems relating to aluminum, manganese, magnesium, and other minerals vital to the war effort.

B. POWER

The national defense program and the war have resulted in enormously increased demands for electric power. Power is required in the Southeast for new Army camps, new powder plants, new shell-loading plants, new arsenals, and other similar activities. In addition, greatly increased amounts of power are needed by a number of existing industries. The need is particularly urgent in the case of the aluminum industry, and the largest aluminum plant in the world is located at Alcoa, Tenn., about 20 miles from Knoxville.

Because power is one of the largest elements entering into the cost of producing aluminum, the industry must rely during normal times largely upon secondary hydroelectric power, the cheapest type. Secondary power is power which is available more than 50 percent of the time, but the supply of which may be interrupted from time to time because of drought or for other reasons. During normal periods when secondary power was available, the Alcoa plant produced at near capacity, and built up large stock piles. During periods when power was cut off by low stream flow, production was cut down and orders were filled from the accumulated reserve which had been built up.

The beginning of the national emergency in 1939 found the aluminum industry with large accumulated stocks which, under pressure of normal demand, would have been ample to carry it over any period of interruption in the supply of secondary power. Unprecedented demands resulting from the defense program completely changed this picture. Stock piles dwindled rapidly, and it became imperative that aluminum plants be kept going at full speed whether secondary power was available or not.

This was the crux of the power problem which faced the Southeast in 1939 and 1940, since these were years of extremely low water when comparatively little secondary power was available. This problem became the problem of Tennessee Valley Authority because the Authority's system represented, and still represents, the only source of power other than the Aluminum Co. of America's own hydroelectric plants which is connected with the Alcoa plant.

In spite of the abnormally low stream flow during 1939 and 1940, the Authority had available at all times more than enough power to meet its contractual obligations. Difficulties arose by reason of the fact that it was called upon not only to meet its contractual requirements, but also to provide increasingly large amounts of power over and above contractual requirements to the Aluminum Co., and in lesser degree to other defense industries. During the month of September 1939, which was the month when Germany invaded Poland, the Authority made the first of these excess power deliveries, amounting to approximately 20,000,000 kilowatt-hours. In April 1940, when Denmark and Norway were invaded, excess deliveries were about 25,000,000 kilowatt-hours. In August 1940, which marked the beginning of Germany's air offensive against Britain, they amounted to about 50,000,000 kilowatt-hours. Between August 1939 and January 1, 1942, Tennessee Valley Authority delivered in all a total of about 2,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours of power to defense industries, in addition to all power supplied under regular contracts.

The Authority was able to meet these emergency demands in spite of 2 years of unprecedented drought, partly by bringing into operation a number of small inefficient generating plants located at various points in the Southeast which had not been operated during normal periods, partly by withdrawing water from storage which under ordinary circumstances would have been retained for use at later periods in the year, and partly by bringing into the area surplus power from other systems. Its ability to bring in surplus power from other areas was greatly enhanced by the fact that it is primarily a hydro system possessing great storage capacity. Most of the surplus power available from other systems was steam-generated energy which, of course, could not be stored and which would have been wasted had not the Authority in effect been able to store it. Ordinary demand for power falls off at night and over week ends, with the result that in many systems some steam capacity is idle and the energy which it might have generated is therefore lost. The Authority was able to take such energy into its system over the established interconnections and use it to supply the demand in its area, at the same time proportionately reducing generation at its hydro plants. Thus the equivalent amount of energy was stored in the form of water in the Tennessee Valley Authority reservoirs for use during peak-load hours of the week to help meet the power demands of defense industries.

The increase in the demand for electricity in the Southeast is continuing.

Location of new defense plants within the distribution areas of municipalities and other Tennessee Valley Authority wholesale power distributors has necessitated an increase in the amount of power furnished to such distributors.

To meet these mounting national defense and war requirements, Congress has authorized and the Authority has rushed to completion a number of new hydro projects and substantial additions to existing plants. On July 1, 1940, the total installed capacity of the Tennessee Valley Authority system, including both hydro and steam plants, was 970,000 kilowatts. By July 1, 1941, this had been increased to 1,064,000 kilowatts. Plants now under construction will bring the total to approximately 2,824,500 kilowatts by April 1945. A substantial portion of the increase will be available by July 1 of this year, when installed capacity will total 1,474,000 kilowatts; and a further large increase will be available early in 1943.

In addition to new construction and installation of additional generating equipment, the Authority has strengthened the ability of its system to provide for national defense needs by additional transmission line construction.

Provision for these additional power facilities is being made on a rush basis for the immediate purpose of permitting full-scale operation of national defense plants whose production is essential to the winning of the war. An indirect result will be the fact that after the war is over there will be available a great supply of power for use by peacetime industries.

C. INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH

In the course of its operations over the past 8½ years, the Authority has assembled a great amount of detailed information on the geographic, economic, and industrial characteristics of the Tennessee Valley area. Its research in these fields has enabled it to supply needed information to other defense agencies, to manufacturers, and to other interested parties. Data on possible plant locations within the valley for the manufacture of explosives, aircraft, and magnesium have been furnished to Government authorities and to private industry. Government defense agencies have been furnished with information on idle existing plant facilities. As an example, the Authority, at the request of Office of Production Management, made a special study for that agency of idle plant capacity within the valley area in the metalworking industries.

In addition, the Authority's own technicians have been engaged in surveying the mineral resources of the area with a view to their use during wartime. One of the results of such work has been the development of the process for production of aluminum from ordinary high-grade white clays. Large quantities of these clays are found in the Southeast and in other sections of the country as well. The present source of aluminum is found in bauxite, a mineral which is found in this country only in limited quantities and which we obtain largely by imports from South America. The importance of a development which can enable us to produce aluminum without having to rely upon the importation of bauxite from abroad is obvious. The new process has been tested on a semicommercial scale at the Authority's chemical engineering laboratory at Muscle Shoals. Information on the new process and on available clay deposits has been furnished to the War Production Board.

Tennessee Valley Authority industrial research has also been carried on in connection with manganese. This mineral is essential in the manufacture of steel and the demand for it has greatly increased, particularly in view of the fact that virtually all of the manganese used in the past has been imported. Scattered deposits of low-grade manganese ore occur in Georgia and other Southeastern States. Research on improved methods of beneficiation of the Georgia ores has recently been completed by the Authority's Commerce Department, in cooperation with the Georgia Division of Mines, Mining, and Geology. A new process has been developed as a result of such research which improves the grade of such ores to meet commercial standards, and is expected to make many of the deposits available for use.

The Authority has also carried on investigations in connection with magnesium. This metal is used in aircraft construction and in the manufacture of incendiary bombs and other defense products, and the demand for it accordingly has been and is soaring. A high percentage of magnesium is contained in olivine, a mineral found in North Carolina and Georgia. A process to extract magnesium from olivine has been developed in the laboratory and tested on a larger scale in a joint research project conducted by the Authority and the Georgia State Engineering Station. These experiments are being pushed at all possible speed in the Authority's chemical laboratory at Muscle Shoals. Should the process prove

practicable, large supplies of magnesium can readily be made available from known olivine deposits.

Chromite is another vital defense mineral in connection with which Tennessee Valley Authority has carried on research. Chromite is the mineral from which chromium is extracted, and is used in hardening steel for production of armor plate, cannon, and other heavy armament. Virtually all of the chromite consumed in the United States has been imported, although during World War days some chromite was mined in North Carolina and on the Pacific coast. Chromite deposits in North Carolina were surveyed by Tennessee Valley Authority geologists in 1935 and again in 1940, in cooperation with the North Carolina Division of Mineral Resources. The purpose of the surveys was to examine known deposits and to locate others in order to facilitate their possible utilization. In the summer of 1941 a chromite mine was opened up at a location north of Asheville, N. C., in an area examined during the surveys and described in a report which was published after their completion.

D. AGRICULTURAL AND CHEMICAL PROGRAM

Coincident with the need for greatly increased production of electric power there is also an immediate, though less well-recognized need, for increased production of phosphates. The need for expansion of manufacturing capacity for phosphates springs from three different sources.

First, there are expanding normal requirements for phosphatic fertilizers. Transportation costs make up a large portion of the total cost of phosphatic fertilizers to the farmer. It is for this reason that highly concentrated fertilizers, shipment of which involves the cost of transporting a minimum amount of filler and other unnecessary ingredients, cost least and can be used most effectively. In the Middle West and the Northeast, in such States as Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois, Maine, New Jersey, and others, there is a serious shortage of so-called high analysis or concentrated forms of phosphatic fertilizer, and the country does not now have sufficient plant capacity to produce such needed concentrates along with phosphorus which is needed in the manufacture of implements of war. As a result, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, when distributing fertilizers in lieu of cash benefits, has had to substitute low-analysis materials. Within the past 6 months the Agricultural Adjustment Administration has not been able to secure even enough ordinary superphosphate. The result from the standpoint of the farmers and of the Nation's interest in the fertility of its soils may be exceedingly grave.

Second, there are the requirements of war food production. American farmers have undertaken the job of producing enough food during 1942 to feed 10,000,000 persons in England. The result is still further to increase the need of farmers for concentrated phosphatic fertilizers.

Third, there are the requirements of Britain's soils. During peacetime England secured phosphates for use on its soils chiefly from Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco. These sources have, of course, been virtually cut off. Commercial sources in the United States have already furnished England a considerable quantity of concentrates, but the amount furnished last year was less than half of what was wanted. Even the amount actually furnished could not have been supplied if the Agricultural Adjustment Administration had not released materials purchased from private industry which were originally intended for distribution within the United States as a part of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration's domestic soil conservation program. England has asked the United States for scores of thousands of tons of concentrated phosphate during 1942 and will need more in years to come. Shipments of phosphate, to the extent that they can be made, will enable Great Britain to increase her own agricultural production, and in this way, serve as a substitute for shipment of a relatively much larger quantity of food-stuffs. The Tennessee Valley Authority has supplied and will continue to supply every ton of concentrated phosphatic material possible, but shipments from all sources are certain to fall far short of England's needs.

The speedy expansion of phosphate and nitrate production facilities is essential to the Nation's war effort. Such facilities will serve a dual purpose, however, in that they will be equally necessary during the post-war period. When peace comes the continuing problem of the Nation's soils will still be with us. Hundreds of thousands of acres of land have, in the past, been rendered unfit for cultivation because of the draining of their phosphorus content. Wartime needs will place a still greater strain upon our soils. The need for application of increased

quantities of phosphate to sustain the soil will be a major problem after the war is over for generations to come, and one the solution of which is basic to the welfare of the Nation. It is certain, therefore, that phosphate producing facilities provided during the war will be needed for peace-time use.

E. OTHER PROGRAMS

1. *Navigation.*—Under the terms of the Tennessee Valley Authority Act, the Tennessee Valley Authority is directed to construct such dams as will provide a 9-foot navigable channel from the mouth of the Tennessee River to Knoxville. This channel has been only partially completed. Nevertheless, as a result even of partial completion of the channel traffic increased from approximately 18,000,000 ton miles in 1932 to about 138,400,000 ton miles in 1941. This traffic consisted principally of petroleum products, forest products, grain, sand and gravel, and miscellaneous commodities.

The effect of the war has been greatly to curtail shipments of such items as automobiles, trucks, and tires. For a time there was also a temporary slowing up in shipments of gasoline and oil because of diversion of boats to the Ohio River. Much new traffic, however, has been added. Coal is beginning to move for the Tennessee Valley Authority's own use at the Sheffield steam generating plant, and docks are being provided for river movements of coal, salt, and other materials to the chemical warfare arsenal at Huntsville, Ala. The use of the Tennessee and other inland waterways for transportation of defense materials is, of course, beneficial to the war effort to the extent that it relieves the strain on the country's railroads and on coastwise shipping. Increased use of the inland waterways for these purposes has been urged recently by President Roosevelt in a letter dated March 25, 1942, addressed to the chairman of the House Committee on Rivers and Harbors, and by Mr. Joseph B. Eastman, of the Office of Defense Transportation.

2. *Defense housing.*—The Authority was requested by the Defense Housing Coordinator to undertake studies of defense housing needs, locations, and sites at points throughout the Tennessee Valley area. Investigations, studies, and reports have been made accordingly. The Authority is continuing to exercise similar functions on request of the National Housing Agency. In addition to the rendition of such studies and reports, the Authority, as agent of the Federal Works Administrator under the Lanham Act, has selected sites, purchased and surveyed land, afforded architectural service, and constructed or let contracts for the construction of defense housing. In the case of approximately 150 houses constructed in the Muscle Shoals area, the Authority proceeded with actual construction on force account. In other cases, it has let contracts for construction by private builders.

3. *Forestry.*—At the request of the War Production Board and the Office of Price Administration, the Authority's Forestry Relations Department has been and is furnishing these agencies with data concerning the types and locations of plants and industries in the valley area engaged in the manufacture of forest products. It has also participated in the making of surveys undertaken by or on request of these agencies in connection with the ship timber, container, and tannic acid industries. The Authority has also furnished technical data necessary to the location within the area of wood using and manufacturing plants which have war orders.

4. *Training Programs.*—As one of the largest single employers of labor in the Southeast, the Authority has a definite interest in the development of a labor supply possessing skills requisite to its needs. By agreement with representatives of organized labor, the Authority carries on an apprentice training program. It also carries on a number of other training programs which are designed to provide an opportunity for its employees to develop to an optimal degree their individual skills and potentialities. During recent months the loss of a large number of personnel to the armed service and the need for training new personnel to take their places has given these training programs an added significance.

The apprenticeship programs were inaugurated jointly by the Tennessee Valley Trades and Labor Council, an organization composed of representatives of the various crafts participating in Tennessee Valley Authority work, and the Tennessee Valley Authority management in 1937. The system of apprenticeship training provides for approximately 4 years of job rotation and related class work. To date 229 apprentices have completed their training in 10 different crafts. Many of them are employed by the Authority as foremen and skilled journeymen, while others are employed in private industry in the southeastern area. Approximately

300 apprentices are now in process of training. In addition, a program has been developed whereby the versatility of journeymen craftsmen is increased through their assignment to specific phases of Authority work which are intended to increase their skills.

Through cooperation between labor and management, a formal training program for operating positions in the Authority's hydro and steam generating plants, including job rotation and related study, has been instituted. This program is intended to develop from the reservoir of untrained employees the highly skilled operators who are essential to operation of these plants. The training program is from 4 to 6 years in length. To date about 75 employees have completed it and 252 more are in various stages of training.

An operating training program has also been initiated to provide necessary trained personnel for operation of the chemical plants at Muscle Shoals. A progressive course of training has been developed under which unskilled laborers are recruited and placed in training to produce the necessary skilled men required to operate the plants. At the present time, some 500 persons are now receiving training under this program.

A number of other miscellaneous training programs of a less formal character have also been developed. These include training programs for rodmen, inspectors of construction, medical aides, public safety officers, clerks, and typists, and occupants of supervisory and skilled positions in reservoir clearance work. There are also a number of apprentices in training for positions in the professional and managerial field. About 1,500 employees are now engaged in training on the job through related study for more responsible work. A majority of these persons have been recruited from applicants and employees having little specialized training, but who have been revealed by examinations and other personnel methods to possess potentialities for the assumption of more responsible work. Almost without exception such persons have been recruited from the area in which the Authority's operations are conducted.

CONCLUSION

Today the farms, the factories, and the industries of the Southeast, in common with those of other regions of the country, are putting forth every effort to achieve a single goal—the winning of the war. The Tennessee Valley Authority is participating in this effort to the limits of its abilities, by rushing to completion great hydroelectric projects designed to produce the vastly increased amounts of power necessary to run the region's aluminum plants and other war industries; by enlarging its existing chemical plants and constructing new ones to help provide phosphates, nitrates, and other needed chemicals; and by utilizing in other ways designed to promote the war effort the technical skills which it had assembled for peacetime purposes. What will be the specific economic problems which will exist after the war is over in the southeastern region and in other areas of the country, no man can now foretell. There is virtually no question, however, but that very grave economic problems will exist. It seems likely that they will, to a large degree, center, in the case of the Southeast, upon the necessity of rebuilding depleted agricultural and forest resources, and upon securing a better balanced economic development by building up fabricating and processing industries within the region. The Authority's power facilities, chemical plants, and technically trained personnel will be available to participate in such a program.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN P. FERRIS—Resumed

Mr. FERRIS. That represented the thinking and data supplied by a number of departments in the Tennessee Valley Authority, and I am glad some of the subjects you questioned me about fall so closely within the fields of my own interest. So if the committee will permit me, I shall not cover all the subject matter in that statement, but rather the parts I am more familiar with.

SOIL REBUILDING PROGRAM

As to the program on rebuilding the soil, if you will permit me, I will use some notes I have on that subject. I would like to say that from the beginning the Authority has devoted a major portion of its

efforts to the solution of agricultural soil fertility, with greatest emphasis on production of new, highly concentrated forms of phosphatic fertilizers, and from the beginning we have been turning out these phosphatic fertilizers. They have been used to energize a farm management program of improved farm land use that has been carried out by a large number of farms. The effect of the war program, in my opinion, has been to increase the seriousness of the soil fertility problem, and even to threaten temporarily the effects of some of the Tennessee Valley Authority's work during the last 8 years. The reasons for that are plain. Mr. Randolph, the previous witness, described several of the reasons better than I could. The first thing is that the farmer has been called upon to increase food production. The goals for food production will make it hard for the farmer to keep from depleting his soils faster than he can build them up. In order to win the war, as we see it, we are going to have to feed our own population and send thousands of tons of food overseas, because we will have to help feed hundreds of millions of people in England, Russia, and many other countries. Secretary Wickard has called on the 7 States in this area, in 1942, to produce 126,000,000 gallons of milk—

MR. SPARKMAN. Is that the increase only?

MR. FERRIS. Yes, sir; for 1942 for the 7 States in the Tennessee Valley. I am just giving typical figures; 860,000 acres of grains. And, as Mr. Randolph has indicated, these increases are being demanded of the farmers when there is a growing labor problem, caused first by the migration of the farm boys and farm labor to the armed services, and, second, to the construction of war projects and war industrial plants, where higher wages prevail. The average day wage for farm labor in Tennessee is \$1.37, without board. A shortage of labor on the farm, as I understand it, means that a farmer omits some laborious tasks, such as terracing, but which are necessary in restoring fertility on depleted soil and in caring for soil generally. The farmers are called on for new crops and more livestock. In this area new crops and livestock are needed to get away from continuous cultivation of row crops. And getting new crops planned, planted, and harvested requires additional labor. Livestock takes more labor than row crops and requires labor the year 'round. If a farmer is short of labor his progress in planting, raising, and harvesting new crops will be slow. The farmers don't have as much time to attend demonstration meetings. County agents don't have as many tires as they did, and don't have as much time to get around on educational work

FERTILIZER SHORTAGE

This call for increased food production comes when there is also a growing fertilizer shortage in nitrates and particularly phosphates. Even with the Tennessee Valley Authority's increased manufacturing plant capacity, there is less available. The production of elemental phosphorus and nitrates for war purposes is taking up a good portion. Furthermore, a portion of the phosphatic fertilizer we are turning out is being shipped to Great Britain. Private industry, using almost exclusively the sulfuric-acid process, will produce less fertilizer as the shortage of acid becomes more acute. The net result of this situation is that the soil that is called upon to produce more will get less fertilizer, with the prospect of reduced fertility of the land at a time

when we think the agriculture of the Southeast is going to have to support more people than it does now. After the war, we believe that many people will come back to the farms from the industrial cities.

The activities of the Tennessee Valley Authority, as I described them to this committee some months ago, we believe will have some very important effects on that situation during the war period and besides will keep up with the pressure that is being put on the soils which I have described.

This program can be intensified so as to constitute a very important contribution to the solution of the post-war agricultural difficulties. Now, what changes in this program have come about? First, let me say that there are several things which have affected the soil program of the Tennessee Valley Authority. Of course, the increased use of electricity on the farm is one of the very important ones. You gentlemen undoubtedly realize in these 7 States there were in 1941 about 8 times as many farms that have electricity as in 1930, 405,000 farms as against 54,000 in 1930. The dairy farms among them—and they are highly specialized farms—find a very important relief from labor shortage in electricity, and it isn't just a luxury. A farmer with 60 cows lost 2 men to a construction camp awhile ago. He got a milking machine and was able to carry on without that labor. On a livestock farm electric pumps pumping water for livestock release 2 man-hours a day. Those illustrations serve to show that electricity is getting the job done. After the war the Tennessee Valley Authority will have increased facilities for production of fertilizer to help catch up some of the loss to the soil that will inevitably be the case. It should be remembered that the availability of this fertilizer to the farmers can be a powerful means of bringing about improvements in agriculture and soil conservation. During the past 8 years this program, in which the fertilizers have been so used, has gone on until it now has an important influence on at least 100,000 farmers, with some 20,000 demonstration farms that are making important progress toward improved farming practices and soil conservation, using these highly concentrated fertilizers. That involves 3,000,000 acres of land, probably one-fifth of our farm land in the Tennessee Valley. That program, which seems so important in helping win the war and after the war, is not confined to the Tennessee Valley. There are demonstration farms using this fertilizer in 30 States, making the grand total some 37,000. The Tennessee Valley Authority is proud that this contribution toward soil conservation is a national one, and not entirely regional.

As to the forestry program, if the committee will bear with me, I would suggest it be taken care of by reference to the written record. I am not prepared to discuss the forestry program. I had the feeling that the committee might be interested in the immediate effects of migration of workers in industry and in the whole industrial picture of the valley, and if it will be permitted, I will refer to that subject.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Go right ahead.

INDUSTRIAL SITUATION IN THE VALLEY

Mr. FERRIS. The industrial situation in the Southeast and in the Tennessee Valley in particular is of course the one that most immediately reflects the migration problem, and is, I presume, the one of

greatest interest to the committee. As background for it, I want to read about 12 lines from Fortune magazine, November 1938, about the nature of the industrial economy of our region, which I shall read into the record.

The industrial picture of the South presents a pattern that seems surprisingly similar to the South's agricultural pattern of cotton and tobacco. It is relatively undiversified and largely dependent on special resources and special advantages. Even when prosperous * * * the situation is still dangerously vulnerable. It is a cash crop industrial system and it tends to keep the South colonial. * * * If it maintained its present pattern, it would always be a tributary, rather than a principal industrial area.

However, prior to this war, there has been a substantial increase in industrial activities. Between 1933 and the end of 1940 a rough check will indicate 190 new concerns employing 120,000 people were established in the Tennessee Valley. About half of those workers were employed in 112 of those establishments, making more than 60 different kinds of products. Since 1935 we have a new electrolysis plant that employs 2,500 people. Existing chemical industries have expanded notably. Twelve new paper mills have been established in the South since 1935. At this point, I would like to emphasize the over-all nature of this industrial expansion program, rather than merely recount figures. A few large enterprises are employing a great number of workers and these workers are drawn almost entirely from the Southeast. The Cherokee Dam project of the Tennessee Valley Authority will illustrate it. Eighty-five percent of the 2,962 workers stated that their former residences were in Tennessee. About 94 percent had previously lived in one of the seven Tennessee Valley States. Less than 6 percent had come from other parts of the country. And in that 6 percent were people that had come from Arkansas, Louisiana, Florida, Texas, and South Carolina. This is very significant, because of the large and increasing number of people employed by the Tennessee Valley Authority, less than 14,000 in 1940, have increased to over 35,000 under our war program at present. Now, general information on other large projects employing large amounts of labor, including private industry, indicates that the most of the workers come from within the valley region. The Huntsville arsenal and the ordnance plant, which is near Huntsville, have, I understand, employed some 13,000 to 14,000 men and will employ some 8,000 in operation, according to published statements. The Aluminum Co. of America, at Alcoa, Tenn., and the Reynolds Metal Co., near Florence, Ala., indicate the same story.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I was through one of those aluminum plants at Listerhill, Ala. It was a rolling mill. They are working now some 2,500 people. They told me that they had imported about 15 people to get started and the rest had been recruited from that area. I was over at the electro-metallurgical plant, which has expanded capacity 500 percent in the last year and a half. The manager told me of the 350 people that worked there, they brought 6 people down here to start that, and the others had been recruited and trained there.

LOCAL LABOR PROVES SATISFACTORY

Mr. FERRIS. It is another very interesting example of the fact that labor available in this area can be trained easily to the most exacting performance. A plant making an extremely difficult product came

here and was hesitating to locate here to make that product—which I shouldn't mention in the record, as it is a war product—and it was afraid that it couldn't be made with local labor. But the head of the company told us that he had no difficulty in getting labor that was perfectly competent to do the work.

EFFECT OF WAR ON INDUSTRIES

Now the result of these big employment projects is, of course, an atmosphere of prosperity. A lot of jobs are available and so we find a very general feeling of economic prosperity. And although they might not be immediately apparent, there are some features that are far from favorable. I have already referred to the difficulties in agriculture and soil fertility. Turning again to the industrial picture and the effect of the T. V. A.'s program upon it, the question immediately arises, how is the war affecting the industries here and how are these industries likely to be affected by the war program.

First, as to the war. During the war, contracts for the construction of new war production plants in the Southeastern States—I am counting the 10 States, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia—were running about 11 percent of the national total. Those same States produced about 11 percent of the Nation's industrial goods in 1939. As far as construction is concerned in the Southeast, it is participating fully in the national program. However, much of this construction on war projects, like air training schools and fields and Army camps, and so on, will have little long-time effect on the underlying economy of the region. Much of the work was in building arsenals and other plants that are unlikely to be converted to peacetime use. They do have an effect on building up a body of industrial manpower. On the other hand, there has been comparatively little participation of southeastern industry in war production. I shall later give my impression of the reasons for this situation. Reliable figures are not available, but there are some signposts that indicate this is true. In connection with airplane manufacture, the figures through February 1942 show one-half of 1 percent of the contracts for making airplanes and airplane parts were in the Southeastern States, although those States furnish 11 percent of the total industrial production. Airplanes involve highly specialized and extremely difficult manufacturing problems, and are perhaps not a fair test. But other figures seem to support it. Only 5 percent of the so-called supply contracts through February of 1942 have been placed in the Southeast.

AIRPLANE PLANTS

Mr. SPARKMAN. As a matter of fact, isn't Vultee, at Nashville, Tenn., about the only airplane plant in this area?

Mr. FERRIS. It is.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The Government is building the Martin bomber plant at Marietta, Ga. And I believe there will be a plant at Memphis. Isn't it just a matter of breaking the ice?

Mr. FERRIS. Unfortunately, Mr. Congressman, I think it is more than that. I think, as you say, there is going to be a considerable increase in this airplane manufacture, but for reasons I want to expound

a little later on, I don't think it will go to anything approaching the section's general participation in industry, which is 11 percent. Of course, airplane production has been more or less localized in certain parts of the United States. I presume there are particular reasons for that. Dr. Galbraith was rather discouraged about any future in aviation development in the Southeast—that is, for the manufacture of airplanes—but his principal reason was that it was too far removed from the machine-tool industry and that until that developed down here, we couldn't hope to do much airplane manufacturing.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is the machine-tool industry principally?

Mr. FERRIS. Detroit, Cincinnati, New York, and New England.

The CHAIRMAN. The expansion of existing plants was the real reason, I think.

Mr. FERRIS. The interesting thing is the effect on the Southeast. The expansion of airplane manufacture; tank manufacture, and the manufacture of other articles of that nature and character is going on where that type of industry is already located, which means that the plants that are susceptible of conversion to peacetime uses are going to be largely somewhere else. The Army camps and arsenals in the South, which could be quickly built here, are for the present doing a fine job of employing labor, but they are almost certain to be unconvertible to peacetime uses later.

The CHAIRMAN. Has labor migrated much from the South to Detroit?

Mr. FERRIS. So far, our figures don't indicate it has been very serious, but it is bound to become serious, we think, because labor has to have jobs. If the plants in this section in which skilled laborers have been working can't get raw materials, the labor is bound to be unemployed very soon. They can't get raw materials unless they get war contracts. Therefore, my argument is that the present percentage of the South's participation in the national war industry will not keep its skilled labor from migrating out of the South. It has done so to a considerable degree, but so far it has not been a hegira. As to the reasons for this situation I have some ideas. I don't know whether the committee would like to have me give them.

Mr. SPARKMAN. We would be glad to have them.

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION IN THE VALLEY

Mr. FERRIS. I think we must start from the fact that most, though by no means all, of the goods needed by the Army and Navy and Maritime Commission are comparatively difficult to manufacture. The South makes some goods of this class that are difficult to manufacture, it is true. But it constitutes a very small part of the total. However, on the optimistic side, many people do not realize some of the things made in the Tennessee Valley—dive bombers, shells, shell castings, ships, barges, oils, plastics. At one extreme you will find the glassware and the fine metal parts of the hypodermic needle made by the Eisele Co. of Nashville; at the other extreme you will find in the plant of a Tennessee Valley company a 6,000-ton bending press for high-pressure boiler drums. You will find tough alloy steels being machined into armament products on highly complicated machinery. It is not necessary to tell you that thousands of skilled

workers in one plant of the valley are turning out more aluminum than any other plant in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you speaking of the region as a whole?

Mr. FERRIS. I had reference to the Tennessee Valley States. I have alternated between speaking of the Tennessee Valley and the Southeast.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The Southeast includes 10 States and the Tennessee Valley includes 7?

Mr. FERRIS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you name them?

Mr. FERRIS. Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee; they are the Tennessee Valley States.

The CHAIRMAN. Name the other three that are not?

Mr. FERRIS. Florida, South Carolina, Louisiana.

WHY SOUTHERN PLANTS HAVE FEW WAR ORDERS

Now to illustrate the lack in this area of the type of manufacturing that is easily capable of participating in the war production. The 1939 census for the Southeast shows no production of ammunition, firearms, gasoline engines, laundry machines, sewing machines, tractors. Only 4 percent of the Nation's agricultural machinery was made in the Southeast, and less than 1 percent of the machine tools. These things and things of the same character are just the kind of things that are made in plants most easily converted to war orders. To convert plants to war work is no easy matter. This is one of the reasons I think that employment on actual war production in the Tennessee Valley and Southeast has been so meager. Many small plants do not have staffs large enough to permit sending men to Washington and to large manufacturing companies in order to get war orders. In many of the Southeastern plants extensive modification of machinery and new machines would be needed. In other cases labor would have to be retrained to higher accuracy on new work, sufficient to meet the standards of inspection for the final product. In making parts of tanks or airplanes, inspectors from the large plant making the entire airplane or tank must travel a thousand miles and visit the small shop that is making a small part of the whole to see if it meets the requirements, and if not to reject it.

AVAILABILITY OF PLANTS

Another reason for the small participation in the manufacture of war production may be some lack of aggressiveness on the part of industrial management in the South, in face of the staggering problem of plant conversion for war production. The United States will spend \$36,000,000,000 in armament. There is no time to build new factories for all of this, but most of it must come from factories already built. Very few in the past have been making war products. To illustrate this, the T. V. A. at the request of the old Office of Production Management visited 115 metal-working factories in the Tennessee Valley and 47 foundries. The managements of these plants were interviewed. About half of them were working one shift. One-third

of them could at that time obtain sufficient labor to work at least another shift. In these 162 plants there were more than 3,000 machine tools. As you know, machine tools constitute one of the most critical bottlenecks of the war effort, and it is impossible to get enough new ones built. These tools were working, therefore, one-third or one-half of the time they might have worked. So, in spite of the difficulties, the conversion of manufacturing plants of the Southeast to war production is an absolute necessity if the region is to make the shift into high-grade manufacturing during the war. And only if this shift is made now, when these orders are available and before the skilled labor has been lost to other areas, will the industry of the Southeast have learned to participate in the type of manufacturing which, after the war, will be convertible most easily to peacetime production. In other words, now is the time for management to acquire the know-how and now is the time to build up a large body of skilled labor, experienced in high-grade manufacturing.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Don't you think the war effort is doing that very thing?

Mr. FERRIS. Yes, sir; up to the extent I have indicated. But the Southeast is not making its pro rata share of the \$36,000,000,000 of war production in its manufacturing plants. This, it seems to me, is a challenge to industrial management of the Southeast. If a manufacturer can assure the War Production Board or the Navy that he can deliver a forged turbine shaft, even though he happens to be in an already overcrowded, industrialized area, the order must of course go to that area—the W. P. B. can do nothing about it—unless some manufacturer in one of the underindustrialized areas like the Southeast can and will undertake to produce the forged turbine shaft and will proceed to prove he can do so within the time limits.

As I indicated earlier the new industries that are coming within the area as a result of the war program have consisted primarily of arsenal, shell-loading, smokeless powder plants, and others whose operation will almost certainly come to complete cessation after the war. Very conspicuous among the T. V. A.'s new power customers are electro-metallurgical plants which use enormous amounts of electric power, but a small amount of labor, extracting ferro-silicon and aluminum. In general, such manufacturing seems likely to reduce its operations very substantially after the war. Most of the fabrication of the raw materials of this area will be done elsewhere, and fabrication, of course, employs a larger amount of labor. This entire situation merely reflects an intensification of the tendency of industry to grow where it already is. That is what happened in the First World War, and it wasn't until 1927 that the percentage of the Nation's manufacturing which took place in the Southeastern States again reached its prewar levels. Industry in the Northeast and other industrialized sections tends to expand, particularly in wartime, even though such areas may be overindustrialized. This expansion in already industrialized areas takes place, we find, even though the labor isn't there and even when materials cannot be obtained to take care of housing.

Mr. ARNOLD. Do you think the question of housing might even be affected by the transportation of workers?

Mr. FERRIS. This question of housing is becoming very critical due to shortage of materials—of plumbing and hardware. It should be noted that workers who live in the Southeast who go to the Middle

West or Northeast had houses when they lived in this area, but they may need new houses built for them when they crowd in already overcrowded areas. The present situation is full of danger, it seems to me, to the economy of the Southeast for reasons which are obvious from the facts I have given.

The manufacturing industries in this area will not be in as good position to convert to peace-time production as in other areas. Hence a large proportion of workers will be forced by necessity to either return to the overburdened farm lands of the Southeast or remain in the over-crowded industrial areas of the Northeast and Middle West. Already a considerable number of skilled workers, which the Southeast will sorely need as a basis for industrial development after the war, are contributing to the building of permanent industries in other sections. However, this proportion is far less than it was in the twenties, as I have indicated earlier.

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY STIMULATES INDUSTRIAL PROGRAMS

Now as to the effect of the T. V. A. activities on these underlying problems which I have taken the liberty of outlining. We think right now during the war our organization is assisting to an immeasurable degree in solving them. It has given a general stimulus to industry all along the line. That is true not only in the industries of the Southeast but in industries elsewhere.

Electrical appliances which have been sold in huge quantities in the Southeast are made 97 percent in other areas, so that the employment that went into the making of these electrical appliances was stimulated. One of the aspects of the Tennessee Valley Authority program which is perhaps helping and will increasingly help after the war is the training of workers. We have trained, as a result of this huge construction program, very large numbers of Southern workers who are now disciplined and have acquired many skills in different degrees, and the training of that body of labor after the war will be a mitigating factor, at least, in the situation.

As to power supply—we have a large and assured power supply to furnish the basis for industrial development generally, and it is a practical certainty it will furnish the basis for continuing electro-metallurgical manufacturing. And, while a large proportion of the products of these large power-using industries are and will continue to be shipped elsewhere for fabrication, there is no question but that the existence of industries making raw materials does encourage the development of fabricating. For instance, the aluminum company at Listerhill now also rolls aluminum sheets, which does require the employment of a large amount of labor, and we also see it at the steel plants in Birmingham, which no longer make only pig iron. Fabricating is undoubtedly stimulated by the presence of raw material in Birmingham.

As to the extent of the power program—you might want in the record the fact that the Authority's power system consisted at the middle of 1940 of 938,000 installed kilowatts of capacity. This figure has since increased to 1,291,500 kilowatts, some 38 percent higher than at the time of the fall of France. Now we are engaged in an even more accelerated construction program, and when the new hydro and steam plants we are now constructing are completed, we will more than double the capacity we had at the middle of 1940.

INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH

Now a second line of activity to which Congressman Sparkman referred was the encouraging of new business enterprises by uncovering industrial opportunities based on the unused raw materials of the region. This is accomplished in our program by industrial research, which we feel to be one of the essentials for the industrial developments of the future. Industrial research is helping to win the war and also to lay the basis for new industries. Industry these days comes out of the laboratories. And the industrial development of the Northeast has supported a vast program of industrial research, which in turn has furnished the basis for many industries in that area—radios, automobiles, stainless steel—almost every kind of manufactured product you can name. We in the South need much more of it along with other things, such as industrial “know how” and more skilled labor. If more industrial research had been undertaken years ago, the Tennessee Valley States would be in better position now to shift to the manufacture of some of the things which are in demand during the war. The Tennessee Valley Authority’s industrial research program should help to do here what has been accomplished already elsewhere. Examples of some of the work done along these lines which may help win the war include the development of a process for improving the quality of low-grade manganese ores in Georgia so it can qualify under the purchasing requirements of the Metals Reserve Company and the steel corporations that use it. Private companies are getting ready to put it into actual production. The Authority has been working for 8 years to make kaolin-type clay available for the production of aluminum.

EFFECT OF DEVELOPMENT OF RIVER CHANNEL

A final contribution of the Authority is the enlargement of economic opportunity which lies in the development of the river channel, which is perhaps the most modern in the world, and I think it is going to have a tremendous effect in the development of the Southeast, both during and after the war. Even now, 3 years before the river channel is complete, important shipments are assisting in our war efforts, shipments of pig iron, soda ash, coal, wheat, and gasoline. The great importance of this is indicated by the Office of Defense Transportation’s order forbidding use of tank cars for gasoline shipments of under 100 miles without special permission, thus encouraging use of navigable waterways and local truck connections. There can be no doubt that river transportation is now needed to the utmost. It seems highly probable that increased use will be made during the war of the system of inland waterways, both because of the economy of water shipment and particularly because it will relieve pressure on railroads and trucks.

Incidentally, this isn’t a matter of hope for the future, but an actuality of the present. In 1941, traffic on the Tennessee River had reached the extent of 107,000,000 ton-miles. After the war the commercial development of the Tennessee Valley region is certain to be most favorably affected by navigation on the Tennessee River and its connection with 5,700 miles of inland waterways. Low-cost water transportation, wherever it has existed, has been a great stimulus to

business development. Most of America's largest cities are served by low-cost water transportation.

I think an illustration of that is the fact that the fringe counties around the outside of the United States and along the Great Lakes—I believe there are 324 of them—have only 9 percent of the area of the country but in 1930 had more than 36 percent of the population, and over half the income from manufacturing is located there. I don't think anyone can say low-cost transportation has not been an important stimulus to commercial development.

The Tennessee Valley Authority's activities, while they are now primarily directed toward winning the war, should be of definite value in helping the Southeastern region solve its post-war problems. Though for the first 7 years of its history its organization and activities were shaped mostly for peacetime purposes, it has turned out, I think that the methods used, which were devised for peacetime purposes, have been easily redirected to helping win the war. Certainly it will be found, I think, that the Tennessee Valley Authority will have no difficulty in adapting its plans to a third situation and problems, those of the post-war period.

I do not wish to minimize the seriousness of the economic problems which will undoubtedly be produced by the events which have been described. These events have been intensified by the war, and they deeply affect both the present and future of industry. Neither do I wish to imply that the efforts of the Tennessee Valley Authority will automatically provide a solution to the problems created. They are serious, and unless some of the present trends are reversed, heroic measures will be necessary to solve them after the war.

I regret I have not felt myself competent to comment on all five subjects which Congressman Sparkman noted at the beginning of my testimony. I think I explained the reason. The written statement which was filed covers the material of interest to a number of the departments of the Authority, and I have restricted myself to the matters that are closest to my own field of interest.

Mr. ARNOLD. I think Mr. Ferris covered all the inquiry very thoroughly.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to say that it was a very valuable contribution. If you have anything further, we will have the record open for 10 days. We appreciate your appearing before us. Our hearings will be resumed tomorrow morning.

NATIONAL DEFENSE MIGRATION

FRIDAY, MAY 8, 1942

MORNING SESSION

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SELECT COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING
NATIONAL DEFENSE MIGRATION,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., May 8, 1942, in the Post Office Building, Huntsville, Ala., Hon. John H. Tolan, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Representatives John H. Tolan, of California; Laurence F. Arnold, of Illinois; John J. Sparkman, of Alabama.

Also present: John W. Abbott, chief field investigator; Jack B. Burke, field investigator; Francis X. Riley, field investigator; and Ruth B. Abrams, field secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will please come to order. Mr. E. S. Morgan will be our first witness.

TESTIMONY OF E. S. MORGAN, DIRECTOR, REGION 5, FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION, MONTGOMERY, ALA.

Mr. ARNOLD. You are regional director of Farm Security Administration?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir; for region 5, comprising the States of South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, and Alabama.

Mr. ARNOLD. How long have you held that position?

Mr. MORGAN. Three and a half years.

Mr. ARNOLD. At this point, I will introduce into the record the very excellent statement that you have furnished us.

(The statement follows:)

STATEMENT BY E. S. MORGAN, DIRECTOR, REGION V, FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION, U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, MONTGOMERY, ALA.

DISPLACEMENT OF FARM FAMILIES CAUSED BY NATIONAL DEFENSE ACTIVITIES IN ALABAMA, GEORGIA, SOUTH CAROLINA, AND FLORIDA

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INTRODUCTION

Any consideration of the problem of "defense" displacement of farm families in the four southeastern States of Alabama, Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina (comprises region 5 of the Farm Security Administration) must take into account that the situation as it affects this region is not emergent, not just the result of unusual circumstances, but part and parcel of chronic conditions. The dislocations and their impacts herein described are the results of historic forces merely sped or accentuated by the defense program. Efforts at amelioration, therefore, should not be regarded as of special nature, but as part of a long-range development and strengthening of human, social, and economic values.

While approximately 4,700 families, representing some 20,000 persons, have been forced from their farms and homes in Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and Florida directly because of national defense and war activities, many times more than this number have been compelled to leave farms in despair and in thousands of cases without definite prospects, without anything more than the pressure of a desperate need; or, in more recent cases, they have hastened from farms voluntarily to work at jobs created by the day's national necessity. In short, displacement is caused by agricultural competitive factors or so-called natural economic forces, not alone by war.

These thousands were moved to seize opportunity which they could not find in scanty acres, or impoverished land, under dispiriting conditions of existence in flimsy houses and primitive surroundings.

The "defense evacuees" are but a copy of the others. They are no less insecure. Their insecurity is reflected by their bewilderment, their helplessness, their hardships when payment for their humble homes is delayed even for the briefest of periods. They—and their uncertainties—are the product of low standards and depressed conditions long endured, which brought them to the point where, when emergency befell, they were without resources to do anything about it. Their plight is not the result of a cataclysm but of an accumulation of ills.

For decades before 1941, when the defense effort began, a process of displacement by natural and economic forces was in operation. There was a marked decline of population in many rural counties in the 1920-30 period of the great migration. The most recent report of the Census Bureau shows that this process continues. In the State of Alabama, for example, there were 273,455 farms in 1935, only 231,746 in 1940. While the number of full owners declined in this period only from 81,624 to 80,303, the number of tenants and croppers declined from 244,221 to 177,594.

Obviously, from the record of decline in the total number of farms, it follows that the decline in number of tenants and croppers does not mean that more of the latter groups rose to land ownership; it indicates, rather, that they descended in the scale from farm operators to day laborers or were forced from the land entirely, driven to seek employment on Work Projects Administration or to subsist precariously amid the unskilled or semiskilled hordes on the fringes of our cities. Analyzing population changes in the last decade, one student of the subject stated:¹

"The urban increase in the South (14.8 percent) was nearly three times as rapid as the national urban increase. The rural and town increase in the South was somewhat slower than the national average. This meant a net gain of over 1,000,000 people in southern cities by migration from rural areas."

¹T. J. Woolfer, Jr., in *Social Forces* (March 1941).

This author added: "The agricultural system of certain sections could not adequately support the 1930 population and an adjustment would have required an actual decrease in farm residents or a radical change in the system."

The reasons for this migration are now generally known. They include: changes in types of farming, dwindling world markets, dwindling land resources, increase in the use of machinery, displacement of tenants, croppers, and laborers through restriction of cropland under control programs, growing inability of the small individual farmer to compete with larger operators in marketing or otherwise traditional ruinous private credit systems. Then there was a multitude of other factors related to temperament, health, disintegration of families as younger members foreswore farm life, weaned from their feeling for the land.

It is significant that in one county in Georgia the number of full farm owners declined in the last 5 years from 493 to 467 and the number of tenants from 884 to 629. The implications of this record should be plain when it is noted that while the number of farms declined in this county, the average size of farms increased from 75.1 to 81.6 acres (the average increase for Georgia as a whole was from 101 to 109.6 acres). This shows the trend toward larger individual ownership and therefore away from the family-type, small-operator farm. The larger the holdings, the more disturbed and less stable will become the rank and file of rural workers, the greater the incentive to mechanized farming; and the less need of human labor. Such changes impair the idea of a numerous, sturdy, and productive rural population, the dream of independence on the land as man's natural estate. Thus, by not too great an effort we may discern a menace to democracy.

THE IMPACT OF NATIONAL DEFENSE ON THE RURAL REHABILITATION PROGRAM OF THE FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION AND ON FARM LABOR SUPPLY

Despite the fortuitous element in defense dislocation, it seems necessary therefore, when one approaches a program of treatment, to consider the general and historic problem of farm displacement along with the special problem of the moment. Below is recited the broad findings of a study of new impacts on the program of the Farm Security Administration which was made for purposes of this investigation:

1. There is a direct relationship between effective farm rehabilitation programs and stability.
2. While some dislocation of the rehabilitation program has occurred, a survey on the comparative movement of Farm Security Administration and non-Farm Security Administration farm families to village, town, or city for off-farm employment revealed that national defense stimulated industrial activities are pulling off the farm proportionately larger numbers of non-Farm Security Administration farm families than those under the supervision and guidance of the Farm Security Administration. How many will return, and to what prospects or opportunity is an open and serious question.
3. Good land areas, most stable people.
4. The stress of war upon populations, upon goals of planning and of action, upon all our thinking and being, has increased obligations, both of service and administration, of the rural planning and resettlement program of Farm Security. Essentially dedicated to rehabilitation of rural people depressed by circumstances both social and economic, Farm Security Administration finds that new conditions affecting people make automatic claims.
5. It is necessary to continue in this field of service an agency of flexible program and authorization—which, while wide in scope, is directed to the single end of serving need of people beset by remediable conditions.
6. There is a shortage of surplus farm labor, but programs leading to better utilization of farm labor may avert any great disaster to the public welfare on this point. Many people are too prone to regard the farm labor problem in simple mathematical terms rather than as a problem to be attacked by a radical program if there are to be any substantial and enduring adjustments.
7. Farm wages are competing violently with urban standards, and the necessity of narrowing the gap between them is becoming more evident.
8. Evolution has caught up with plantation paternalism, marked as it was by absolute dependence of "my hands" on their landlord, and with \$10 to \$15 a month labor.
9. As small tenants move off, landlords (discouraged or displeased by the trend) turn to machinery, to new types of farming or land usage. New production quotas seem to accelerate this development in spots.
10. Increase of land sale and rental values are likely to be matters of great importance.

11. Restoration of wasted, abandoned, and submarginal land must become a matter of broad programs and national concern.

The Farm Security Administration study referred to above was made on the basis of questionnaires (see Appendix for copies of questionnaire employed) directed to the supervisors in charge of county or unit offices in the Rural Rehabilitation program to managers of rural planning projects and to managers of relocation areas. Questionnaires were sent to 248 county or unit (combination of counties) supervisors in region 5. Responses were obtained from 141 of these, fortunately so well distributed as to form an accurate guide to conclusions.

SPECIFIC FINDINGS

1. Farm abandonment and the land problem reports received from the region's field offices showed that approximately 7,500 members of borrower families had found work on defense projects or in private industry which has been stimulated by defense activities. The number must be approximated, because the movement is fluid and because the questionnaire asked information about all members of the family, not only the borrower.

Of those who found work, about 4,500 were heads of families, 3,000 were other members of the farmsteads. The majority went to work on defense projects—camp construction, munition plants, etc., which could not be expected to endure or to establish the basis of solid future connections. It was significant that 70 percent of the work involved called for unskilled labor; otherwise it is likely that most of the small farmers would have been unable to qualify for the employment.

Rural rehabilitation supervisors of the Farm Security Administration reported that 690 borrowers had abandoned farm and home plans entirely. This is less than one in 100 borrowers, a proportion which is not sufficient to cause concern in itself. The reports showed 169 of these in 37 South Carolina counties, 253 in 35 Alabama counties, 253 in 62 Georgia counties, and 15 in 7 Florida counties.¹

However, more than half the family heads who went away to work were reported as having left their farm plans to be maintained by younger members of the families, a fact which was considered in the majority of cases as likely to have the effect of decreasing efficiency of operation, or reducing the possibility of winter cover crops and of preparation for the 1942 crop year. However, it was reported that most of those who went away to work were sincere in their professions of desire to return to farming when the windfall of defense employment disappears. As an illustration of this condition may be cited the South Carolina report, which showed that of 1,217 family heads going away, 565 left the farm work to others in their households in the 37 counties reporting.

MIGRATION AND OFF-FARM EMPLOYMENT

The impact of the national defense program on farm security activities is of paramount interest. The National Rehabilitation Activities Report for September shows that in this region (region 5) the highest percentage of non-Farm Security Administration families in the Nation moved from farms to villages, towns or cities during the months of June, July, and August. On the other hand, in region 5, the lowest percentage of standard Farm Security Administration borrowers moved to urban areas during the same period.

Let us examine the migration and off-farm employment situation for this region by States, the data summarized for months of April through October 1941. Less than five-tenths of 1 percent of our standard borrowers in the region moved from their farm to urban areas during this period. Alabama with fifty-three hundredths of 1 percent was highest, with thirty-four hundredths of 1 percent for South Carolina as the lowest. (See table A.)

TABLE A.—*Farm Security Administration borrowers that moved to villages, towns, or cities, April through October 1941*

Region and States	Average case load	Number moved	Percent moved	Number paid-up	Percent paid-up
Region.....	98,244	465	0.473	46	9.89
Alabama.....	37,667	201	.534	20	9.95
Florida.....	13,435	68	.506	6	8.82
Georgia.....	31,512	143	.454	13	9.09
South Carolina.....	15,630	53	.339	7	13.20

¹ The response from Florida was smaller than elsewhere, which is not important in view of the fact that defense construction has been less in this State than elsewhere in the region.

Over one and five-tenths families per hundred reported of non-Farm Security Administration borrowers living on farms adjoining farms of Farm Security Administration borrowers moved to urban areas. This was also highest in Alabama with over two and four-tenths per hundred reporting. (See table B:)

TABLE B.—Number of occupants of farms adjoining Farm Security Administration borrowers that moved to villages, towns, or cities, April through October 1941

Region and States	Number of farms reported	Number moving	Percent moved
Region.....	18, 590	282	1. 51
Alabama.....	3, 770	91	2. 41
Florida.....	3, 040	28	. 92
Georgia.....	8, 990	140	1. 56
South Carolina.....	2, 770	23	. 83

TABLE C.—Borrower families with 1 or more members moving to villages, towns, or cities, and borrower families with 1 or more members obtaining off-farm employment, period, April through October 1941

Region and States	Number reporting	Moving to towns		Obtaining off-farm employment	
		Number moved	Percent	Number	Percent
Region.....	170, 613	2, 014	1. 2	20, 672	12. 1
Alabama.....	65, 163	854	1. 3	6, 238	9. 5
Florida.....	15, 405	170	1. 1	1, 604	10. 4
Georgia.....	51, 608	635	1. 2	6, 341	12. 2
South Carolina.....	38, 437	355	. 9	6, 489	16. 8

Borrower families with one or more members migrating to town is shown in table C. One and two-tenths per hundred families for the region with one and three-tenths in Alabama and only nine-tenths of 1 percent in South Carolina.

Twelve and one-tenth families per hundred visited by county supervisors reported one or more members of the family obtaining employment off the farm keeping their residence with the farm family.

Sixteen and eight-tenths of each hundred families in South Carolina reported one or more family members employed off the farm but residing with the farm family (see table C).

FARM AND HOME PLANS COMPLETED AND LOAN DOCKETS SUBMITTED TO REGIONAL OFFICE

Table 4 of this report gives the number of plans completed with new and old borrowers and also dockets submitted on new and old borrowers, by States and districts. Is the progress of this planning work moving ahead of last season? Cumulative figures will be attached to the monthly report for November.

RECLASSIFICATION OF CASE LOAD

Table 2 of this report gives the status of the classification of the case loads by districts. You will note an increase in nonstandard cases due to transfer of Corporation only cases from standard to nonstandard classification. Regional report No. 5 to be released about November 25 will also show the number classified into the collection only group.

Another section of the questionnaire opened up a wide range of problems. Seeking information on sale and rental prices of land under the new impacts, it ran head-on into the entire land problem, which is a thing of many elements. The findings revealed the need of programs far broader than anything yet undertaken. Generally noted was a tendency toward increase of market price of land and rentals. While not universally so, the burden of observation and experience was that

farm rents already had increased materially and were going up. Several reported increases of 25 to 50 percent. This seems to be a natural result of a situation into which has entered the factors of parity, guaranteed prices for many products, general increase of prices and costs, new production goals which encourage crops for which hitherto there have been limits (for example, peanuts), the pressure of public land-acquisition programs, and increasing demand for land.

Nobody is particularly to blame for this inflationary land movement. The position of the landowner himself in the Southeast has been for years generally none too secure. For years he had seen, what with one circumstance or another, the value of his land dwindling; and now that forces are in play which open a prospect of better returns, either natural or artificial, his inclination is obvious.

IMPACTS ON SYSTEM

Rise in prices of land, rentals, and farm commodity prices has resulted in changes in farm tenure arrangements. For one, the cash-rent system may be reduced as to the small farmer (although this observation is to be qualified, as explained in footnote 1). As one county supervisor put it, "Why should the landlord take \$100 in cash when he may sharecrop and get \$150?"¹ For another, there was a burden of opinion that the accumulating success of such efforts as those of the Farm Security Administration to improve the terms of leases (a 10-year lease was set as the goal last spring) may be halted, more or less temporarily. Being aware of present and impending changes in the agricultural economy, landowners have become increasingly loath to rent land on long-term leases; on the other hand, tenants are reluctant to be bound until they see which way the tide will turn. However, a strong minority of landowners feels that with labor becoming scarcer and with farm machinery probably becoming more difficult to obtain, it is advisable to seek security through dependable leases, particularly since Farm Security Administration (in effect) is in the deal.

Some expressed fear that, if the trend continued, the tenant-purchase program may be effected, because of statutory limits on land purchases of the Farm Security Administration. This brings up the question of feasibility and of the wisdom of rigid limits of this sort.

However, these considerations seem less significant as to long-range programs than another which was revealed in answers to the questionnaire. With rare exceptions the county supervisors reported a difficulty in getting good land for Farm Security Administration borrowers—a difficulty which is not the result of immediate circumstances, but of old conditions. Estimates indicate that as many as 200 applications for Farm Security Administration assistance had to be rejected in the last few years because suitable land was not available.

This may have been due to any one of a number of circumstances. The applicant may have come along too late in the year, at a time when all good land was spoken for. Or, as is certainly the case here and there, landowners may resist the program, particularly when borrowers are wage hands who want to improve their status and become independent operators. Such landowners maintain that this reduces the necessary labor supply. Another possible factor in the apparent scarcity of suitable land is the client's own personal or economic limitation in trading for a location, a result probably of his long adverse experiences.

But by and large, it appears that there is actually a deficiency of good land, and that this is a matter of paramount concern in connection with any program which seeks to establish security on the land, to end the steady decimation of a secure and independent rural population, and to maintain a national balance free of haphazard and hopeless migrations and conflicts.

When to this prevailing condition is added to new trends toward larger ownership, toward greater use of machines as accustomed labor supply dwindles and as more and more landowners forswear accustomed methods of operation, it is plain that the inevitable problem of adjusting man to land after this extraordinary period becomes more impelling. Whither may the thousands turn for opportunity on the land?

It appears that there exists a national, social obligation to undertake a program of rehabilitation and reclamation of the land—a program to be pressed on a large regional or national basis, rather than through wasteful and inapt efforts of single individuals. Such a plan undoubtedly calls for public subsidies and, indeed, it

¹ One change which is to be feared is increase in rent, in cases where the landlord prefers to retain the cash rent system. Rising farm prices and the prospect of larger returns from the land are conducive to demand for higher rent. In case of the low-income farmer, who is benefited less than his substantial neighbor by such devices as parity and higher prices, this may hold a menace, as making it less possible for him to get desirable land at a price he can afford to pay out of his small operations.

seems logical. The small farmer, certainly in the Southeast, requiring the utmost of his few acres to make a living, is unable to afford rotation, rest, or unproductive resuscitation of his land. If he borrows money, even from the Farm Security Administration he is supposed to live on his land and to repay his obligation. What is the alternative to his plight? What are the alternatives if we deny him participation in a program because available land is unsuitable now, although it might serve him fruitfully in the future?

For answers we quote the responses of county supervisors to inquiries on this point. Said one:

"I feel that worn-out, steep, submarginal land may be reclaimed if some satisfactory arrangements could be worked out to cover the first 3 years of unproductive return. * * * I would like to take two families, amortize loans over sufficient period with no payment for the first 5 years' and give it a try."

Another: "About half the county is at the present time of low earning power; too low to pay off a debt and permit the family to live. Most of this land could be made productive by soil building. In my opinion the soil-conservation program is building back some of this land, but should it become necessary in the future for many additional families to go back on the land, I think this could be accomplished only by greatly increased governmental subsidies for soil building and for buildings and repairs."

Here is something to note. Here stands out in bright light the prospect of a great task of national scope that may well be the core of a program of reconstruction and social implementation after the war, if not to be affected immediately.

SECONDARY DISPLACEMENT

The questionnaire also included this query: "Have you any examples of poorer families being displaced as others, moving from defense areas, obtain land for a new start?"

This question was posed in accord with the announced interest of this congressional committee in the matter of "secondary displacement." On this point, answers from the field, unfortunately were disappointing. It must be pointed out, however, although a related condition is seen in the report, previously described, that many applicants for assistance through the regular Farm Security Administration program could not be accepted because good land was not available.

Generally speaking the information at this stage cannot be altogether statistical. In large part, it is qualitative, circumstantial, and personal. The most adequate data concerning the problem of secondary farm displacement are in the section of this report devoted to the case histories of men and women whose lives have been touched not only by the new but also by the historic forces converging upon the land and its dwellers.

This mass of testimony shows clearly the impact of conditions and events upon human lives. These stories are of bewildered tenants and wage hands torn loose from their moorings of dependence on landlords and employers, of workers now perforce on industrial pay rolls who yet tell of a yearning to go back to the land from which they were forced, of women and men restive in trailer camps and furnished rooms, thinking of space that once they knew. Many are without hope of realizing their dreams, others feel they would not return to land thin and cramped, now that dollars jingle, however briefly, in their pockets.

We submit that the evidence of "secondary displacement" is there, and that in the appendix of this report are illuminating revelations, dependable and accurate.

FARM LABOR SUPPLY

Long before the defense program bore down upon the rural Southeast, there were complaints of labor shortage. The outcry was raised in the 1920's of the great migration from the deep South. The villain of the story has taken various shapes: the boll weevil, the Work Projects Administration and other public welfare programs which have been progressively developed to help the groups in America so long condemned to low standards. Now it is "defense."

There is much to be said about farm labor in the Southeast, and much to be suggested as to programs of development.

The farm labor problem in this region should be regarded in the light of two general needed developments:

1. Proper utilization.

2. Improvement of conditions of work and living, which includes status, security, and reward beyond and inadequate day-by-day wage.

As to the first, many evils of the so-called labor problem are inherent in the historic system of farming in this region. A vast potential supply of labor is unused because under the old "10-and-20" system—10 acres of cotton, 20 of corn—there is no call upon two-thirds of the working capacity of the farmer. A tradition of idleness has grown up that is devastating as to human, social and economic values.

The Farm Security Administration has undertaken to vary and to enrich the farming programs of its borrowers. Indeed, this has been the aim of every intelligent agency, public and private, at work in the field of southern agriculture.

The question should not be dismissed without a glance at results of a study conducted in region 5, showing the comparative utilization of labor under (a) the historic system, which utilizes only 198 man-days of labor out of 565.3 per year available in the average small farm family, (b) a modified system (cotton slightly reduced, a partial subsistence program added), which utilizes 276 man-days of the 565.3, (c) a well-developed system of complete subsistence combined with cash crops, which makes possible utilization of 435 man-days.

Incidental values of the rounded subsistence and cash-crop program are shown in the fact that, besides providing a better living, it brings income in every month of the year, while the old system brings income in only a single month of the cotton harvest, making necessary borrowings and credit, with resultant further diminution of the meager returns.

Summary of the study and illustrative charts are given below, showing that not only exploitation and neglect but also poor utilization are problems to be solved:

HOW MUCH OF THE LABOR AVAILABLE IN THE FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION FAMILIES IS USED EACH MONTH OF THE YEAR?

As additional crops and livestock are added to farm plans, the available family labor is used more efficiently. According to recent studies by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, the average farm family, not using hired labor, has an average of 4.3 workers, or 3.6 man-equivalent workers per family. This figure is arrived at by simple average of the number of persons per family by sex in each class, considering the time that youngsters of school age are ordinarily not in school. Considering weather conditions and various seasons of the year, this family could work a maximum of about 565 man-workdays of 10 hours each day on all commercial and subsistence crops and the care of subsistence livestock, as follows:

Month	Days suitable for field work	Man-days available for working crops and care of livestock by average family	Man-days labor required for three selected farm plans		
			Plan No. 1	Plan No. 2	Plan No. 3
January.....	5.2	17.3	6	4	20
February.....	6.9	21.3	10	6	32
March.....	10.9	30.7	22	24	46
April.....	15.0	40.3	28	46	48
May.....	17.7	59.6	32	46	48
June.....	19.2	73.4	30	34	45
July.....	20.5	78.0	8	4	18
August.....	20.7	72.1	4	28	40
September.....	20.2	57.6	17	40	48
October.....	19.0	52.9	24	30	48
November.....	14.3	38.7	13	10	28
December.....	7.8	23.4	4	4	14
Total.....	177.4	565.3	198	276	435

Can families provide themselves with productive work on the farm during what are ordinarily, under a one-crop farming system, considered "slack" labor seasons? This appears to be an even more important factor to consider in farm and home planning now that the defense program is drawing members of many Farm Security Administration families for off-farm industrial employment and military training.

Improvement in methods of utilizing labor might well be recommended to large producers as well as to the individual small farmer. It is urged that seasonal peaks and emergencies might be diminished, certainly in the Florida truck areas, by more

extended schedules of planting so that maturity of crops will not come all at once to create a mad bidding for labor to be used in a brief concentrated period and then dismissed.

However, there remains the great problem of farm labor seen in light of employment standards and customs, as well as of utilization.

Our questionnaire asked: Is it a real shortage? Is it a shortage merely of surplus labor (which obviously works to the benefit of the employer in any field of activity)? Is it a shortage which might be overcome if better wages and more security on the job were offered?

Significant was the number of responses (the majority) to the effect that the shortage was one of surplus labor. Significant, too, was the affirmative answer to the last question: Could the trouble be mended with better pay and more security? (NOTE.—Most of the responses to questionnaires were made before America's active participation in the war.)

However, the deponents usually hastened to point out that rural employers in this region could not afford to pay more, that returns from farming under the historic economy did not justify or, indeed, allow more than the conventional \$10 to \$15 monthly contract wage, the 40-cent to \$1 daily wage under temporary arrangements.

Perhaps this is true. Perhaps the resentment of employers at having to pay occasionally \$1.25 to \$1.50 per day because of crop emergency is understandable. At any rate, it but points to the fact that improvement in the condition of "farm labor" implies, as one great necessity, improvement in the total structure of agriculture in this region, in its stability, completeness, self-containment. In the Southeast, at least, the labor problem is part of the general agricultural problem—including, as we have shown, the type of farming.

What is "farm labor"? Is it an integral part of the agricultural economy and organization for the farm and the region? Or is it an undefined and impersonal factor, hardly to be regarded in human image, to be utilized a few months of the year for planting, cultivating, and harvesting, then callously abandoned to subsist as best it may through the more numerous months of inactivity?

Will there ever be a solution of the "farm labor" problem until the rural wage worker is (1) invested with a status, respectable and responsible, (2) given a security for 12 months' living, whether a wage hand or a land owner, (3) assured of occupation whether upon a plot for his own subsistence or on "public works" (housing construction, a reclamation program, rural industry, projects allied with forestry and utilization of forest projects, etc.), (4) included in a social-welfare program, (5) embraced in a broader and more definitive employment service, (6) given a place to live and conditions under which living is tolerable, (7) in case of the migratory worker, given safe and adequate means of shelter, transportation, freedom from physical and moral contaminations?

In short, they must acquire all the rights and the responsibilities now largely possessed by other wage workers before they may be relied upon as an adequate labor force in agriculture.

It seems that this problem reveals the necessity of legislation, of planning, of continued service through agencies designed to improve the condition of the insecure humblest in the scale. Farm labor in the Southeast has always been insecure. Lately it has become unstable to a progressively larger degree because only lately has it caught a glimpse of alternatives to its condition. Whether this glimpse strikes upon reality or upon a mirage, we should not say here; the fact remains that it includes vistas which in the past generations were not discernible, and which when they appeared brought allurements not to be withstood. And so at last insecurity has borne the inevitable fruit of undependability and irresponsibility.

CONCLUSIONS

Interesting were other observations described in responses to our questionnaire, among them the following:

1. The families or family heads who moved from farms or who found work and left the "young 'uns" behind to carry on with the farm and home plans are rarely the best clients. They range in rough classification from "average" to "worst," with more of the latter.

2. Rare was the supervisor who expected the increased earning of Farm Security Administration borrowers from defense projects or private industry to be saved for farm operations, for debt payment or for a rainy day. More than 90 percent of the supervisors reporting said the windfall money is being spent as fast as it is received—for second-hand automobiles, radios, luxury foods, or just

plain living. There is a clear explanation for this—they have had so little, have developed so many desires. For another thing, the increased cost of living when they move to town, or when they have to travel a long distance back and forth, or when they neglect home food production and must turn to store-bought food, takes a large part of their new income. However, some hope was expressed that after the first flush of new prosperity there would be better practices.

3. Whether it was wishful thinking or not, most supervisors said they believed the borrowers who went away to find work were sincere in saying they wanted to go back to farming. At any rate, it was suggested that loans based on agreements to provide own living should be made, if there was a chance of holding the families on the farms. It is interesting that many supervisors said they encouraged the family heads to take the outside work, hoping that at least some of the extra money would go into debt payment and improvement of standards.

4. Reports varied as to more or fewer loan applications. This seems to depend on location, proximity of works projects, quality of land, and permanence of the employment enterprises. Generally the hope was expressed that the families back home would carry on subsistence programs, and thus hold the land pending the return of the wage earner to farming.

A PROGRAM FOR LIVING

It must be obvious from all which has been stated that the stronger is built a condition of independence and self-sufficiency, the greater will be security of existence in the Southeast—for farmers small and large, for farm laborers, for the general social and economic structure which must be protected from the impact of dispossessed, restless, impoverished, and unskilled masses creating a core of instability for all standards.

Results of the Department of Agriculture's recent effort to this end give evidence that the desired condition can be created. The part of the Farm Security Administration particularly has brought results encouraging for the future.

It has grown to be a habit in the South to dismiss from any calculations of civic, social, and economic responsibility that broad segment of people, white and black, comprising the "ragged-edge" patch farmers and laborers. These have been regarded, too long and by too many of us, as irresponsible and beyond rehabilitation.

However, these people, the borrowers and clients of Farm Security, have come forward in the last 6 or 8 months of the Nation's emergency to show a potentiality of redemption and independence, a sense of loyalty and a latent energy that renews faith in the American stock—and demonstrates the value of guidance and assistance; in other words, the value of a definite program instead of laissez faire and letting nature take its course.

The failure of the average small southern farmer to provide an adequate home living for himself and his family is an old story. It is the outcome of the traditional type of farming. It has involved the necessity of buying food—many a time on credit, with its additional high cost, because there is no cash—or of doing without. It resulted in a reduction of living standards, of outlook, and of health.

About 9 months ago the word went out that more food must be produced. The Department of Agriculture pointed out that we must feed our allies overseas, overcoming the enemy blockade; that we must produce more food for use of soldiers and the enlarged industrial army; that we must produce more food for building a stronger Nation generally, overcoming the handicaps of poor nutrition against which low-income families have labored and which were reflected in the alarmingly high percentage of men rejected for military service.

The Farm Security Administration in region 5, along with other agencies of the Department, accepted this commission. It launched last May a food for defense campaign, designed to reach thousands of low-income farmers who previously had little or no tradition of food production on an adequate scale.

A total of \$4,610,710.23 was lent to 52,649 families, embracing approximately 300,000 persons—an average of \$87.57 per family—to start operations by acquiring chickens, cows, and hogs, livestock, equipment for their care and feed to carry them along. Now, home production of food has been preached for generations, but we all know how far short the South has fallen from satisfactory response—how money equivalent of the cotton crop has been spent outside its borders for food. The region has been inhibited, in this respect, by many things, including tradition, habit and necessity.

Could these inhibitions be overcome, we feel that the food for defense program, and its larger development, the food for freedom program, have proved that they can and are being overcome.

Two new incentives were provided—two incentives never before available to the low-income farmer. One was the spur of appeal to help the Nation in an emergency. The other was the offer of practical assistance.

Each family was asked to add 50 baby chicks to its flock and to take in addition one of three alternatives: Two more milk cows, one brood sow, or 50 more chicks. As to the chickens, the 52,649 families asked for and got 5,000,000 baby chicks in May. Because of indifference, custom, difficulty of marketing, etc., many thousands of these families had no experience with chickens as source of income. Most of them—and, we confess, some of us also—were dubious about the hardiness and chance of existence of "May chicks."

However, more than 85 percent of the chicks were raised, because the borrowers got good stock, were given the means to get good equipment and feed, were taught how to use brooders and were carefully directed otherwise. In course of several weeks, time came to cull the flocks, to save pullets for egg production. Cockerels to the number of nearly 1,800,000 were sold as fryers, the little farmer learning about advantages of group selling in reaching large markets and keeping prices stable. No longer was it necessary for the little fellow to go through the discouraging experience of carrying a handful of chickens to town and there trying vainly to compete with organized markets. The sale of fryers brought an aggregate of \$750,000—cash income they never had before. The pullets remained as a permanent investment for eggs and larger flocks. And, the most important thing, most of the families asked to turn the new income back into more chickens.

The same sort of experience followed investment of food for defense loans in 20,000 milk cows and 20,000 brood sows.

Today, with food production goals increased beyond anything contemplated last summer, the borrowers of Farm Security already are launched substantially in the greater national effort, sustained by profitable experience and new incentives.

They are taking in stride the new goals; and today, with the pullets laying, with milk production and pork production increased, there are to be seen in this region commercial egg routes and milk routes going to the small farms to collect the products of the new venture. It is estimated that a daily income of \$20,000 to \$25,000 has been added to the cash available to Farm Security borrowers—and it has been proved that rehabilitation can be accomplished when it is sought in the spirit as well as the physical substance—that a program will work, and that food can be produced on the small farm to profit and benefit.

The end result of this program is better living, aside from cash profit. How the increased food production and the proper instruction in its use will work to improve the health of the small producer—for his first aim is to feed himself, before going to market with his surplus—may be seen in the results of a study which showed that the proportion of men rejected for the draft in Farm Security families was 33 percent lower than the total percentage in the area. This is evidence of the value of organized programs of better subsistence.

AS SEEN FROM THE FIELD

For illustration of all these points, there follows a number of incidental and illustrative quotations from the supervisors' reports. Conflicting opinions are given on some points, but this fact adds to the vitality of the debate and at the same time shows the variety of conditions and complexity of the problem.

ALABAMA

Cleburne County.—Personal contact (where possible) may have more effect in getting the men working away from home to return to their homes and farming. Following a good subsistence farming program will be a hard problem to get defense workers to follow. If working on defense projects, a loan for farming operations might be made with the family taking care of their cash living. Very few families will save money to help them with their farm operations after the war. The majority live from day to day and do not seem to think of what will happen tomorrow. Interest in selling land at this time is overpowering that of "tying the land down." This is the main thing being evidenced in our efforts to obtain 10-year leases in Cleburne County.

Sumter County.—We are not making any loan unless the family has labor enough to continue, then the amount loaned for farm operating expense is reduced and is taken care of by members working away. If the man is working away from home there is very little work he will do at home other than that which seems necessary,

such as planting and cultivation. He does not have time for other things. In most cases they will pay enough to hold on to land. The better more industrious young families are leaving and I am afraid if they get a taste of big money they will stay away from the dilapidated conditions they have known until they have to come back. Tenure improvements, land improvements, and building improvements are badly needed to make farming for these families more attractive.

Montgomery County.—We should attempt to get long-term leases for county at large; improve homes and outbuildings; better water supply and sanitary surroundings; screen homes; follow Agricultural Adjustment Administration program in all places.

Dale County.—Make smaller loans due to increased income from outside sources, increased farm prices, better crops and more subsistence food made. There is a shortage of good farming land in Dale County and if the proposed Army camp is located, there will be approximately 275 to 300 families who will have to be relocated and a large percentage of these will have to be transferred to other counties. The farmers who have found outside employment on defense projects and private enterprises have not abandoned their farms and farm work. It is only temporary employment and they will return to their farms in the next 2 months to resume farming operations for another year.

Tallapoosa County.—If families are willing and want to do subsistence farming we plan to leave chattels. We would make no loans. We are expecting this to seriously jeopardize our tenure program both from the tenant and from the landlord's standpoint. Conditions at present are so uncertain that both tenant and landlord are not willing to enter into long-time agreement.

Mobile County.—Families will not save money to finance farming operations after the war, except with few exceptions. Some will buy a few bonds. Most of their earnings will be absorbed for better living and more or less extravagant spending. Close and careful supervision may result in wiser use of money and more savings. New conditions will almost nullify our new 10-year improvement lease program in this county. I suggest small loans, supporting necessary food production as well as ample feed production for increased production of poultry and livestock products.

Etowah County.—* * * Not so much the loss of labor, but the increased amount of tenants and landowners doing a part-time farming is the reason for family type farms being broken up into small tracts * * * living on land that would be considered submarginal if it was put to proper use. Such things as this can be corrected only when we are able to get the folks better tied to the land they are going to work and make them see where they can profit by building up this land * * * Where a man is working out we do not expect to make him any loan for cash living expenses, but in some cases will have to make loans for farm operating expenses, especially fertilizer * * * I believe that subsistence crops will suffer most * * * In most cases the family will not save money to finance their farming operations after the war. They are spending their income about as fast as they receive it at the present time. It is much harder to get a part-time farmer to improve the land and pasture than it is a fellow that is not doing anything except farming * * * I believe new conditions will have considerable effect on our tenure program, as I have already found that landlords are rather unsettled and undecided about future conditions and, therefore, do not wish to tie their land up in a long-time lease. Tenants are also more unsettled and are not overanxious to borrow money to put on another place and expect to be tied to this place for at least 10 years.

Butler County.—I feel that the new conditions will tend to bring about shorter-term leases and fewer improvements to houses and outbuildings by landlords. In my opinion, generally there will be less desire for land improvement and development on the part of landowners.

St. Clair County.—* * * When emergency defense work stops we expect workers to flood back to the farm and make land hard to get. Many landlords resent tenants doing much work off the farm and if rent is not very good, will cancel lease. We have been approached a good many times by farmers who wanted to borrow only a small amount of money for the purchase of cows and chickens. Production credit is unable to furnish very small loans and Farm Security Administration cannot finance them and take a second lien on the crop. If we could in some way be enabled to make these loans from \$20 to \$100 without writing the entire farm plan for these farmers we could boost farm production.

Chilton County.—Defense workers are purchasing automobiles, paying old debts, and spending for recreation.

The share rent will become more popular as the price of farm commodities rise. Good land will be easier to secure due to the fact that lots of farmers will be gone to public works.

Conecuh County.—A client leaves his farm and goes to Mobile to accept employment, leaving his wife and children in charge of the farm. The wife and children cannot manage the farm as it should be and thus low yield and unprofitable operation results.

Clay County.—Owners are changing over to crops that do not require so much labor. An example of these crops is more oats, wheat, corn, etc., to replace the cotton crop. They are also raising more livestock.

Coffee County.—We doubt if these families generally will save enough money to pay their Farm Security Administration obligations to finance them after the emergency. Most of those leaving, however, are in good position so far as the Farm Security Administration debt is concerned, the majority having paid up. We would suggest no loans to any family whose head may be away working at defense or private industries, with possible exception of fertilizers * * * our idea to demand them to live on funds from employment in defense or private industries.

Calhoun County.—The effect of this employment on the financial conditions of a family is that it is increasing their standard of living at the present time. They are "living up" their incomes and there will be need of Farm Security Administration assistance as soon as work is over. The effect new conditions are tending to have on tenure program is to reduce the number of tenants and increase the number of farm laborers. For example, large landowners are having to turn to use of more farm machinery and to livestock in order to replace the present shortage of labor. They will have too much invested in this machinery and livestock to quit it when increase work is over and labor returns to farms. Therefore, he will only hire these laborers during rush seasons.

Talladega County.—Landlords attitude toward tenants is not very good as lots of tenants have left the farm and secured defense jobs and landlords received very little in return.

Fayette County.—Having to operate farm, will necessitate older children having to lose a lot of needed time at school * * * real shortage of labor in county, resulting in more labor-saving farm machinery being used next year * * * evidenced by buying some now. We feel there will be little necessity for following up families as majority of them have already planned to return to farms and make a crop next year. Land development and improvement is at a higher stage now than ever before. * * *

Covington County.—Younger members of family do not take very much interest in farm operations. School attendance will decrease due to fact that mother will keep children home to help carry on farm operations. There is a real shortage of labor * * * Landlord will be willing to give more long-time leases than ever before * * * great opportunity to improve tenure * * * a great deal of expense and loss of time will exist when client returns to farm as well as a small chance of locating a farm.

Tuscaloosa County.—The number of applications is not more than half the number to this date each of the 2 past years. Causes are defense industries and more liberal local finance resulting from better prices. Amount of loans will decrease because of better prices. Food for defense program is expected to reduce cost of cash expense for living needed formerly in loans and/or grants.

Lowndes County.—In 1940 the Farm Security was assisting 18 tenant farmers on one large tract of land. A greater portion of this farm had been changed to livestock farming the latter part of 1939. In December and January of 1940 and 1941 a number of these tenants were told by the landlord to move as he was going to need the land they were farming for livestock. The most of them moved with the exception of 3 families. Five of those that moved from this farm voluntarily liquidated all chattels as they had no desire to farm elsewhere, because they had lived on this farm all their lives. Four moved to an adjoining county and we have been informed that they are most unhappy and dissatisfied in their new surroundings. Two abandoned their farm and chattels to get jobs on defense projects. The remaining 4 moved to other farms in the vicinity. We do not believe many of these tenants would have continued with this landlord anyway as he showed no consideration or interest in them other than collecting rents. In November 1941 we had another tenant to leave as this landlord had taken his choice corn and hay lands for pasture. At present we have only 2 of the original 18 clients on this farm and these 2 have advised us they are planning to obtain farms elsewhere.

FLORIDA

Hillsborough County.—One reason for the shortage of migrant labor in this section is the lack of adequate housing. In the past many families lived in tents, but we understand this practice has been stopped * * *. We believe effort should be made to establish migrant camps here. * * *. Many of the farmers who have gone to outside employment did so solely because they felt they could make more money. They are really farmers, and if farming could be made profitable, then those in outside employment would quickly return to farming * * *. We have always had trouble getting long time leases * * * more trouble now than in the past.

Madison County.—New conditions will make it difficult to obtain long-term leases and landlords will not make improvements, and rent will be advanced. Suggest that clients working away from farm be asked to execute a renewal note, and that amount due for the coming year be collected when crops are sold, or some disposition made of the account, either by repossession or by some other means that will force client to make his full payment and thus keep his account current as long as he continues to work away.

Orange County.—Clients in this area have gone to defense projects * * * believe 90 percent will return * * * I do not anticipate any change nor do I anticipate any need for change in Federal Security Administration program * * *. In practically all cases we are planning to increase production by slightly more acreage where possible.

GEORGIA

Barley County.—It is a definite fact that if these projects continue up into the coming farming year that it will affect farming conditions in this county in that there will be less farming going on although I think the majority of the people that are working there that are on farms will make some arrangements for the farm work to be carried on, although it probably will be less efficient in some cases. There probably will be several who quit farming * * * will come back when this work is over.

Brantley County.—On the average these families will not save much for future farming operations, but are buying clothes and household goods. It seems that most of the people realize that present conditions are temporary and as soon as war is over tenure will be normal. At present, rent is higher and many landlords complain that they hesitate to rent on shares because they have no assurance that renter will not leave home for a public works job.

Harris and Talbot Counties.—Due to short crops for several years and lack of income, houses are going down and land going up. After the defense work and high salary jobs are cut out, it is going to be a lot of trouble for this shiftless labor group to find suitable housing, etc., on farms as they have in the past.

Hart County.—With reference to farm families on Farm Security Administration program with the head of family working away from home, I suggest that we work out a plan with the family with all farm and home operations being financed from money he will get from defense project or private industry. I think we should do everything possible to try to carry on these farm and home operations and should not be too hasty in recommending repossession. If this is done we will be that far ahead of the game when he will finally be our responsibility again. These families will follow a good subsistence program with close supervision. Majority will not save money. Some will improve land and pasture, but majority will neglect this. Due to shortage in housing facilities and increased prices in rents it is my belief that most of these will pay enough rent to cause land owners to let them hold on the land if and when they return to farming.

Appling County.—I don't think the defense work has been of but very little benefit to farm families in this section. The cost of living while they are at work, union dues, transportation, etc., take up most of their profit. Several have made statement * * * they would have been as well off at home and looked after their crops better * * * land is, and will be, hard to get on long-term lease. I think this is due to increased prices in farm products and not to defense.

Bleckley and Pulaski Counties.—The head of family leaving home to work on defense projects or some other industry has necessitated children of school age to remain at home to help farm operations. Families off farm now—and will be off in 1942—will not pay enough rent to the landlord for him to hold the land for them until they return to farming. These new conditions will make it more difficult to obtain long term leases and the rental rates will be higher.

Banks County.—As a result of our observations, new conditions from an economic standpoint will cause an increase in rent and especially next year it is felt

that a large percentage of standing rent contracts will be canceled and will call for higher rents than before.

Carroll County.—Unsettled conditions and the tendency toward inflation make it exceedingly difficult to rent land for a long period of years.

Chattahoochee County.—It is almost impossible to hold on to families who find employment at defense work, or at other public employment. With the purchase of 50,000 acres of farm land for military reservation decreasing the cultivable land in this section, because of so many new jobs opening up in the vicinity of Columbus, it is next to impossible to find suitable land and houses for farmers. Nevertheless, we are making farm plans with about 50 families in Muscogee County, and we are including in these farm plans, poultry production, truck farming, and in several instances, livestock growing. I do not think many, if any, will save enough money to help them finance farm operations after the war, and I think that there will be several hundred stranded farm families who know no other trade who will be left in Columbus and in near vicinity after defense work. These families will have to be taken care of by some Government agency.

Cherokee County.—In our opinion it will be more difficult to get long-term leases because landlords will be constantly on the lookout for full-time farmers in order to get more rent.

Colquitt County.—Considerable land is being purchased by landlords to add to their holdings and also many tenants who are in better financial condition. This is taking many of these farms out of range of our program.

Fannin and Gilmer Counties.—Since men now working on defense programs are planning to farm next year, we expect to make plans for farming operations as usual. We do not believe that defense work will materially affect Farm Security Administration program here.

Fulton County.—I do not think new conditions are helping our tenure program, as many absent landlords feel they may now have a chance to sell their land. I had one instance in which the landlord was practically ready to sign a 10-year lease and admitted it was a good thing but finally refused on grounds that he might have an opportunity to sell the farm to one of the many city people who are buying up farms. If greater agricultural production is needed this can be accomplished only by greater agricultural earnings either by Government subsidies or increased prices.

Heard County.—The new conditions will have a tendency to make our land-tenure program more difficult.

Lincoln County.—We do not think new conditions will materially change our tenure program. We think conditions are temporary, farmers on defense jobs will return to farms in short time, unless conditions change materially.

Paulding County.—We plan, in every case where possible, to work up farm and home plans and place all cash living expenses under the "We can pay column." These new conditions may cause some families to hesitate in making long-term leases. They think they may be able to take advantage of increased employment opportunities.

Polk County.—The greater majority of clients who have gone to public works are not true farmers, but have been farming through necessity rather than through preference. Those who return to farms will return because they will be unable to find future employment at public works. This type of client is not only making the poorest repayment record, but are also making the poorest subsistence record.

Rabun County.—The new conditions will naturally improve tenancy, due to fact that good tenants will be able to secure long-time rental agreements, and bad tenants will become day laborers on farms, which should be incentive to all tenants to display an interest in keeping farms in good condition and at sometime be eligible for leases.

Walton County.—Increased prices have caused landlords to want to work their own land. This will make it almost impossible to get long leases. Our families are being influenced also by increased prices. They are wanting to expand their farming operations far above their ability to work the land or finance the operations.

Worth County.—New conditions practically demolish tenure program. How can you expect to get farms at \$100 rent when the landlord can sharecrop it and make \$150?

Crisp and Dooly Counties.—Money being earned is spent from pay day to pay day. Under prevailing conditions will be difficult job to obtain long-time leases * * * Through educational program, try to get families to realize that high wages at defense projects are only temporary, that they will be better off in long run if they remain on farm and raise plenty. Also prospects are bright right

now for high income from "money crops" which will be opportunity for many to pay off what they owe Farm Security Administration and get in position to carry on operations with their own resources.

Chandler and Evans Counties.—Definite increase in wage scale and shortage of farm labor * * * Very few of them will save much, if any, money from outside work * * * New conditions will cause more tractors to be bought and reduce chance of renting good farms.

Mitchell County.—There are few farms in this county that will not produce enough cash crops for a living—but could make good living if they were equipped for livestock raising. These families will not save enough for farming operations after defense work is over, but most of them are catching up on old debts * * * present trend of conditions is making shortage of farms for rent and is increasing price of farms for sale.

Bullock County.—It is the opinion of Farm Security Administration personnel that these families being employed off from home will have a tendency to decrease attendance of school children. Due to fact that borrower is not at home the work he ordinarily does will have to be done by some member of family. * * * In many cases, this will result in taking older boy out of school. * * * Families being employed on defense projects will have very little bearing on decreasing the needs for future Farm Security Administration assistance * * * this increased fluctuating income has a tendency to create a spending standard that cannot be maintained when these families are forced to return to work on farm. In many cases they purchase second-hand automobiles (which are liabilities in most cases), radios and equipment they could do without. Tractors in this county are going to bring about very acute problem for low-income farm families as land they have been renting is being taken over by mechanized farming. * * * We have observed and firmly believe that more down-to-earth, sound and practical supervision is the future to Farm Security Administration, through understanding between Farm Security Administration and borrower as to aims of program. We are sold on long-term lease with improvements to be made between landlords and tenants. We feel more emphasis should be placed in livestock. * * * Under present change that is now in force it appears that tenant farmers will have a harder time in renting land than in past due to mechanized farming.

Barrow County.—New conditions have made it impossible to secure long-term leases with a flexible clause. This is due mainly because the older landlords still remember the effect of the last World War on farm products and want to be in a position to take advantage of every increase in farm products. Then, too, they expect grain prices to soar within the next year or so. In this event several more families would be displaced by additional tractors and harvesters. I do not believe the average family would save money to help finance farm after the war. Land values have definitely increased * * *. Landlords are definitely trying to raise rent * * *.

Pickens, Peach, and Houston Counties.—We have a shortage of farm labor in Pickens County, but I think it is a shortage of surplus labor which might be overcome to a great extent if better wages and more security on the job were offered. A few employers are willing to pay more if necessary to get workers. I have observed that farmers generally are realizing the seriousness of the present crisis and the need for more food, etc., and therefore are pledging themselves to put forth a greater effort. Most of these defense jobs are temporary and defense workers will in time come back to the farm. A fairly large number of these families will dispose of their farm belongings when leaving the farm. I think that we as agricultural workers and farmers should pledge ourselves to do the best and most thorough job we have ever done * * *. Interviews disclosed that 500 persons are eligible to receive loans but who are not associated with this program. They agreed that the difficulty of finding farms was the major obstacle * * *. In Peach County in 1930 there were 785 farms, but now only 433, although there is now more land in farms than in 1930 * * *. This had resulted in the dispossession of a great number of tenant farmers and sharecroppers.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Lancaster County.—This county, being situated as it is, has not been affected with farm to farm movement. It has been affected mostly by heads of families commuting day by day to jobs that are available in nearby towns. Therefore, they have been in touch with farming operations, inasmuch as they have been at home at night and on week ends. There will be more difficulty in future in working out a good tenure program with tenant and landlord.

Charleston County.—We believe our Farm Security Administration clients in Charleston as a whole are sincere in their intentions to try to increase production of those items for home consumption and if possible some of those items that are needed to be increased on food-for-defense program, to be sold. Owing to the very unfavorable season in 1941 and poor prices of truck some of the heads or members of client families have secured temporary work to supplement small farm income. Their intention is to return to farms in time to begin operations for 1942.

Lexington County.—On account of a number of clients working away from their farms and leaving farming operations to other members of their families the general attitude of landlords is to refuse to sign long-time leases.

Saluda County.—(The following comment is interesting and significant, because the county has a remarkably developed plan of group activities. Does it show that a proper farm and rehabilitation program is the solution?)

The tenure program in this county will remain about the same as the trend is for the farmers to stick to their farms. I feel that it is the duty of Farm Security Administration to impress upon these farmers the importance of sticking to their farms, of spending their money wisely, also our food-for-defense program. * * * These topics come up at group meetings. * * * these farmers feel that the farm furnishes more security to their families.

Greenwood County.—I would suggest that the Government purchase land as a tenant-security program, improve housing and lease farms to tenants with options to buy.

Georgetown County.—New conditions make landlords more interested in giving longer leases to good families. Most of the borrowers in Georgetown County who are working are employed in pulpwood cutting or as laborers on the construction of a highway. Most are on a temporary basis and have been obtained with the idea of earning money for subsistence during winter months since crops were so short during 1941—no surplus left for winter. Farmers, as a whole, are deeply conscious of the greater need of food production and security offered by life on farm. Those who own land or can secure suitable arrangements have no desire to leave.

McCormick County.—Suggest that if farm prices could be adjusted where young people would be attracted to the farm instead of away from the farm we would not have any trouble getting an abundance of farm produce. Also that a good farmer is a highly specialized producer and should receive for his produce an income comparing with other specialists.

Chester County.—Believe we are going to have a much better tenure program in the future, changing from standard rent basis to a share basis. In our group meetings, and at every opportunity, we are telling these people of the present conditions and what the future is going to bring to the farmer. When cuts are made in mill workers the first to feel it are older men and less experienced ones, therefore the farmer will be out if he does not have a well producing farm to go back to.

Aiken County.—Increased employment will tend to draw these people away from the farm at present and after the crisis, there will be a "back to the farm" movement and no land available. We are exerting every possible effort to show these families now employed off the farm that it will be to their advantage in the long run to remain tied to the farm and carry on farming operations more efficiently than ever before in order that they will be prepared for the readjustments that will have to be made after the war.

Orangeburg County.—Through interrogation and otherwise, we have arrived at the conclusion that majority of landowners will be disinclined to enter into long time lease agreements pending termination of the war, unless certain exceptions are written in, which exceptions would largely interrupt or prevent full materialization of objectives sought after.

Beaufort County.—I have talked to a great number of low-income farmers who are working on Parris Island, and I have also seen their farms, and I find they are not planting gardens or subsistence crops as in the past. I have also noticed increase of second-hand automobiles purchased by many of the defense workers, and I know many were sold under high-pressure salesmanship. I would like to suggest that some way be found to make these low-income farmers realize what will happen after the defense projects are over.

Hampton County.—To build up land, have a payment set up in soil-building practices for ditching and draining land.

Clarendon County.—It is our opinion that majority of farmers leaving farm to accept public works jobs will be more in need of Farm Security Administration

assistance when jobs are finished * * * Opinion of prominent landowners in this county that there will be some increase in farm lands due to advanced prices in cotton and tobacco. There is an inclination on part of lowest income families to accept job at public works rather than earn living farming. Judging from past experience with clients some of lowest of group merely want to use our program as a stop-gap until they can get some job other than farming. The client, who is carrying out his farming policies and obligations as he agreed to do, prefers farming as means of livelihood rather than a public works job. It is our belief that these families who have quit farming to accept defense jobs will certainly have to farm when defense work is over. In some communities in this county, especially in areas where poor crops here have resulted due to crop disaster, lots of farm laborers are flocking to defense centers. Especially is this true among colored tenants. In lots of cases landowners cannot compete or offer the tenant what he can earn at present on defense projects or Work Projects Administration. We believe if landowner or small farmer has a larger earning capacity that he would be able and willing to pay better wages and be more secure and better satisfied than having a job doing public works. Prevailing wage rates vary in different communities. Price paid to contract hands ranges from \$2 to \$3 per week with meal and meat furnished; also certain amount of land is furnished tenant for 7 months. After the contract is out day laborers are paid anywhere from 50 cents to \$1 a day depending on ability of landowner to pay. In good many instances the loss of labor * * * is doing away with lots of family farm homes. There just isn't enough land to go around for all tenants and when a farm family leaves the farm there is nothing left to do but for landowner to consolidate this farm with his own and farm it with power machinery. Prices received by families for agricultural commodities will govern largely the effect of our present tenure system. When prices are high, there is tendency on part of large landowners to farm land for themselves and to eliminate small farmers.

Oconee County.—Landlord will demand standing rent * * * land prices are rising because of speculation. Food and chattels are higher thereby making loans of a greater amount. Landlords are demanding higher rents because of higher prices.

Union County.—The effect of client heads leaving the farm for other employment and letting wives and young members operate same has resulted in farm failures * * * spend all funds which they made in the mill and are not in much better condition than a year ago * * * new conditions will increase rentals.

Lee County.—The loss of labor is breaking down family-type farm concept to a certain extent * * * but after defense work is over we expect to see a back-to-the-farm movement, especially among younger people, providing prices are in line with operating expenses.

Newberry County.—The policy of Farm Security Administration to pay rent out of first income is having a good effect on landlords since we had a crop failure and where landlords had to waive rent to people borrowing money from other lending agencies, the landlords have received no rent this year. Most landlords who have been working the land with sharecroppers are now making every effort to hold those croppers in same status for another year, hoping to work out some of the cropper's debt.

Richland County.—Land values have increased 20 percent as evidenced by higher rents and higher option prices for farms to be purchased. * * * They wish to hold on to farm because they feel insecure in their defense jobs, but if their employment continues at currently prevailing rate, they will stay on the jobs * * * the tendency * * * of longer leases, is becoming popular as the difficulty of securing labor increases and the landlords and tenants both see advantage to them of a long-time lease.

Jasper County.—We have a better chance now, due to world conditions, to get these low-income farmers to cooperate, "live-at-home," produce more livestock, etc., than we have ever had as they are anxious to do something for their country and they have a more receptive attitude toward new farming practices and are making every effort for the Nation. Therefore, I think it necessary that we make every effort possible to put our program over with these people now so that when war is over they will have learned to produce things at home which, in this county, they have never done before such as poultry, eggs, hogs, milk wheat for flour, etc., and it is going to be vitally necessary for their health and maybe existence.

THE IMPACT OF NATIONAL DEFENSE ON THE RURAL PLANNING AND RESETTLEMENT PROGRAM OF THE FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

The foregoing discussion has embraced the rural rehabilitation program of the Farm Security Administration in region 5—this is, the program of assistance to individual farmers. Another division of Farm Security Administration activities is its rural planning or resettlement program, under which rural communities have been organized with planned, coordinated production and operation at 19 localities in the four States. These planned communities are providing a means of studying how best to establish good farmers on good land. Because of their unified nature, they are building practical research into the fields of cooperative farming, adult education, rural life improvement, development of new and more effectual methods of production and marketing, etc. A questionnaire somewhat similar to that directed to county supervisors went out to the rural-project managers. Following is a summary of the findings:

1. Generally, dwellers in rural-planning communities seem affected in less degree than individual farmers by the lure of defense employment. This is attributed to the security created by sound planning and community organization.

2. The departure of family heads to seek outside employment varied in proportion to the proximity of large defense projects. When these projects are close at hand, more persons leave to seize the windfall of cash wages. For example, 110 family heads were reported as having left Ashwood Plantation, which is close to the defense work at Sumter and Columbia, S. C., Wilmington, N. C., and Augusta, Ga. But only 26 family heads went from Piedmont Homesteads and Briar Patch Farms in north central Georgia, only one from Wolf Creek Farms near Cair, in south Georgia. In almost every case, other members of the family remained behind to carry on. The Ashwood report bore this comment:

"Some families have boys large enough to carry on the farm work, but those who do not have this help, we are trying to get the heads of the families to stay on the farm at least part of the time. We are contacting them at night and on Sundays to make farm plans and discuss other business."

3. Like the county supervisors, most of the managers reporting were pessimistic as to the likelihood that the extra money earned will be saved to pay Farm Security Administration obligations or to finance operations after the emergency. Distances to be traveled to the scene of employment require acquisition of automobiles; and there is, besides, a tendency to spend money for food, clothing, and other things for which unsatisfied appetites had been acquired.

TENANT PURCHASE PROGRAM

One of the most hopeful enterprises in agricultural stabilization is the tenant purchase program under the Bankhead-Jones Act, which is administered by the Farm Security Administration. In the 4 States, 5,416 landless farmers have been helped to land ownership and about 2,300 more will be added to this number in the coming year.

It is noteworthy that the program seems temporarily affected in spots (as to the number of applications for loans), not affected at all in other locations. The factor seems to be proximity to cities and large defense sites. The following observations from region 5's tenant purchase section throws some light on developments:

"At the Tenant Purchase Appraisal School held in Athens, Ga., in September last, the question was asked and a canvass was made of all assistant tenant purchase specialists representing the entire region as to the effect of the war and economic conditions on land prices. The reports were by no means uniform. It seems that in the areas where the largest activity has taken place, it is generally conceded that land prices are higher. On the other hand, we are buying a large subdivision tract in Georgia not far from Moultrie. We are getting a number of tracts for subdivision in the Albany area. We are also getting subdivisions satisfactorily in the other areas of the State. We have been offered tracts in and near the Spartanburg development. The prices in some instances seem rather high and in other instances they were about as usual. I believe individual farm prices have advanced, generally speaking, but I doubt if the larger plantations have advanced accordingly. Certainly there has been no uniformity. The

feeling of vendors generally as to the kind of crop they have on the farms apparently has more to do with it than does the economic situation, and the war industry and national defense.

"To illustrate, South Carolina where crops are hardest hit appears to be least affected by increased prices than in Alabama where the prices are poor.

"The tenant purchase program is more seriously affected by increased cost of construction than any other single factor. Our average is about \$200 to \$400 more than it was 2 years ago, and our average loans, in our judgment, will run about \$300 to \$400 higher than they did for the fiscal year 1940-41. We have had reports from appraisers that on this account they were having to throw out good farms that could be purchased economically but they would not support the building program and the prices therefor, that even now reach \$2,500 or more, for a set of buildings on a tenant purchase farm.

"The defense program in connection with tenant purchase is affecting old borrowers in the following ways:

"(a) Favorably, in that prices for farm products are higher and they are paying off their loans and making satisfactory payments under the variable payment plan in getting ahead of schedule in many instances. This, however, is not by any means uniformly true on account of the spot crop situation this year, and even with higher prices, the man who has little or nothing to sell does not profit very materially from the higher prices. With anything like normal crops, payments are being made very very favorably, according to reports received from the field.

"(b) A few borrowers are being affected unfavorably in the following ways: A few borrowers are leaving tenant purchase farms and going to other industries, even though they had been selected on the basis of desiring most completely to remain on the farm and pay for it over a long period of time. This is more marked in the new encumbrances than in the old borrowers.

"The national defense program is affecting old borrowers in this way: In certain instances farms purchased the first year, and some since the first year, the oldest son in the family has gone into the Army and maybe more than one son has gone into the Army, and they find it necessary to have someone to help handle the farm under these circumstances. There is quite a demand on the part of certain borrowers affected in this manner, to purchase tractors and specific requests have been made in some places where this situation seems to be acute.

"This appears to be caused by the farm labor situation apparently brought on by the national defense program.

"It is needless to say the land development on these old farms is likewise affected in that wire fencing and other needed farm tools are not easily obtained. Bailing wire for hay for tenant purchase farms, of course, has been a problem, but seems to have been solved lately. On the whole the increased prices that the tenant purchase borrowers are receiving have certainly increased the old borrowers' opportunities and made such borrower cognizant of his chance to pay for his farm or at least get ahead of schedule."

MIGRATION PROBLEMS OF FARM FAMILIES CAUSED BY GOVERNMENT ACQUISITION OF FARM LAND FOR DEFENSE

The preceding discussion was concerned with the indirect effects of national defense primarily on Farm Security Administration borrower farm families. The discussion in this section of the report relates to the direct impact of one phase of the national defense program on certain farm communities and farm families. The direct displacement of farm families and the resulting relocation problems created by Government acquisition of farm land are reviewed.

The Department of Agriculture commissioned the Farm Security Administration to undertake a relocation program for farm families when expanding necessities of national defense brought about acquisition by the Government of approximately 710,000 acres of land in the 3 States of Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. This land was necessary to expand existing Army posts, to establish new Army training centers, and to locate defense industry.

The areas in which land was acquired by the Army or for defense industries, with the number of families living in them, and the acreage involved are as follows:

	Number of families	Number of acres
Alabama:		
Fort McClellan, near Anniston.....	403	36,640
Munitions loading plant—Childersburg.....	210	28,000
Seibert Arsenal—Huntsville.....	492	40,000
Basic Flying School—Tuskegee.....	23	3,000
Georgia:		
Camp Stewart—Hinesville.....	1,500	360,000
Fort Benning—Columbus.....	352	40,000
Camp Gordon—Augusta.....	270	55,000
Basic Flying Field—Macon.....	(1)	3,000
South Carolina:		
Santee-Cooper—Moncks Corner.....	841	100,000
Camp Jackson—Columbia.....	205	26,000
Camp Croft—Spartanburg.....	295	17,000
Basic Flying School—Sumter.....	60	3,000

¹ No survey.

On this land lived, in more or less insecurity, between 4,600 and 4,700 families comprising some 25,000 persons. An organized plan of relocation was devised—first, to assist the families to move; second, to help sustain them in the period between moving and restoration to normal life; third, to help them plan for an even better existence with higher standards. It was obvious that without this assistance to people ignorant, fearful, and penniless, there would have been havoc in thousands of cases. It was equally obvious that with this assistance it was possible to stay a new migration, to tie the displaced thousands to the land with which alone they are familiar, to save them chaos, to direct them to stability, and to crystallize methods of doing the job which might serve in other situations easily to be foreseen in the post-war period. In short, to help these defense migrants start a new kind of farming in a new way, an end which is of enormous importance to the small farmer of the Southeast. The program, however, assumes an importance far beyond the number of people directly affected.

In the process of relocating displaced families who desired to stay on land and who were unable to make arrangements of their own, the Farm Security Administration set up in each of the 3 States a Relocation Corporation.¹ The 3 corporations have acquired or have under option at this writing a total of 128,975 acres of land as follows:

THE ALABAMA RELOCATION CORPORATION

A total of 1,128 families were displaced by military requirements in Alabama as of December 1, 1941. The Alabama Relocation Corporation has acquired 34,134 acres of land at the total option consideration of \$668,472. The average per acre cost is \$19.20. This land is acquired for relocation purposes of the families originally displaced and such families residing on the land when acquired, who desire to remain. This corporation has expended \$190,947.72 for construction (houses, barns, etc.) and \$24,442 for land development.

HINESVILLE (GEORGIA) RELOCATION CORPORATION

The new Georgia Army training centers and expansion of existing camps displaced 2,122 families from the immediate vicinities of the tracts requisitioned. The Hinesville Relocation Corporation, as of December 1, 1941, has acquired or optioned 68,994 acres at an option consideration of \$819,156, or at an average cost of \$11.87 per acre. These lands are required for the 2,122 families originally displaced from defense areas and some secondary displacements as well as families residing on the land when acquired who desire to remain. The Georgia Corporation has spent \$556,877 for construction and \$47,217 for land development.

PALMETTO FARMS (SOUTH CAROLINA) RELOCATION CORPORATION

This corporation handling the work in South Carolina, assists families from the Santee-Cooper Power Development, as well as from vacated lands required for military camps and training purposes. Palmetto Farms Relocation Corporation, as of December 1, 1941, has acquired or has optioned 25,847 acres at an option consideration of \$439,071. The average land cost per acre is \$16.99.

¹ In Florida, which also is part of this region, this necessity has not yet arisen.

These lands were required to provide 1,401 families from the above listed areas as well as secondary displacements of families residing on lands purchased. The corporation has expended \$354,820 for construction and \$30,780 for land development.

LAND ACQUISITION

It was obvious that the relocation of displaced families on a sound basis could be achieved only through acquisition and development of tracts of land sufficiently large and well-disposed to make possible planning and development of profitable and varied forms of operation. As noted the three relocation corporations have purchased 128,975 acres of land scattered through the area (see map—exhibits).

This land was assembled by purchase of numerous parcels. In the case of original army land acquisition, many hundreds of small owners, mostly absentee owners, represented the sellers; on the other hand, old plantation holders and financial institutions were the sellers when it came to acquiring land for relocation of the displaced families. For example, in the acquisition of a typical area of relocation land in Terrell County, Ga., where 17 tracts were bought to make up 11,680 acres, a cotton oil company, a large bank in Atlanta, the Federal land bank, and life insurance companies were among sellers.

Land purchases by the relocation corporation are made on the old-time basis of "willing buyer-willing seller." Prices are determined by the use value and the capacity of the tracts to support not only the families brought in from defense areas but also those living on the lands who want to remain. While much of the land acquired came from owners in distress or nearly so, no advantage was taken of their situation. A fair price was given, based on local conditions, standards, and use values.

Where crops were standing or involved, owners and tenants were allowed to complete their operations. Outstanding rental agreements were adjusted and allowances were made for improvements. The values were established by appraisers who averaged 10 years or more of experience with the Federal land bank or comparable institutions, plus general experience in this field in connection with the Farm Security Administration program. This made possible sound purchases and minimized the paying of inflated prices. Speed in making investigation of title and payment was a large consideration. Exhibits appended to the report show a list of land purchases made by the three relocation corporations. Also, appended are case histories of families displaced by Government acquisition of the farm land on which they resided.

In selection of land for option the relocation corporations rest on the fertility of the soils, the capacity of the land to support the necessary number of families, and the interests of families living on the land at time of purchase or lease. The relocation corporations were developed with a view of retaining as far as possible all the features of private operation and ownership. The corporations are of an emergency character and, as far as the Farm Security Administration is concerned, to a large extent temporary in nature. They are intended to be self-liquidating, looking to ultimate private ownership of individual farm units.

Corporation surveys the need and estimates the costs in its territory. It obtains money for relocation work from the Farm Security Administration, which in turn obtains Reconstruction Finance Corporation funds. This money is held available for loans. As a tract is obtained and improved, a mortgage is placed on it as security; the unexpended amount of the loan remains on deposit until it is required. Every safeguard is provided for the Government's interest.

Until the investment is liquidated, the relocation corporation dissolved, and a state of private ownership resumed, the corporation assumes all duties of landlord, forms cooperative associations, and engages in various enterprises required to afford a means of proper existence for the families involved. It seeks to reduce or to avoid secondary displacement of families in the area over which it has control by considering carefully the needs and desires of families on the land which it buys. After interview, those families found capable of fitting into the new economy devised for the lands are retained where they are. Others who may have qualifications to fit other forms of operation planned or already in effect elsewhere, are aided to find other locations. It was found, for example, that on a tract of 11,680 acres acquired for relocation in Terrell County, Ga., 43 of the 88 families living on this land probably will be kept there.

Problems developed at the start. Process of acquiring land for the Army was smooth and well-ordered in some areas, less well-organized in others, with consequent disturbance and inconvenience or lack of them suffered by tenants and

owners. In the Childersburg area,¹ for example, there have been more than occasional resort to litigation. There was not settled policy as to payment for crops which were destroyed or left unharvested when farmers were forced to move in midsummer. There were numerous cases of slowness in payment, forcing those who desired to buy land elsewhere to resort to time payments and the necessity of paying interest when, with their purchase checks in hand, they might have avoided this charge.

A steady improvement was noted as the program proceeded. A recent memorandum of the War Department sets out a careful procedure to be followed to take care of all claims—those of renters, tenants, and sharecroppers, as well as owners, as to crops unharvested at the same time. All the delays in payment, however, are not attributable to the faulty machinery of purchase. Often they were due to congestion of record rooms in court houses where suddenly it was necessary to examine an extraordinary number of titles; often, to an inadequate number of title examiners. Ignorance, suspicion, or resentment of the sellers occasionally heightened the trouble. It was found now and then that owners, having paid off mortgages years ago, had not been aware of the necessity of having the record of debt canceled. Many humble owners are naturally adverse to signing papers, and sale agreements occasionally were hard to get. Anybody aware of the habits, temperaments, fears, and congenital suspicions of the uneducated small farmer will understand how all these factors contributed to difficulties. Naturally, the task of workers commissioned to do the relocation job was made heavier by all these considerations, and the immediate necessities of the displaced families were increased.

Early in the emergency—the latter part of 1940—it was recognized that there would be many families requiring help, and preliminary studies were made from offices set up in the first of the affected areas to learn the extent of the need and the nature of practical relocation enterprises. Later, when the distress of these families became evident, the relocation organizations were set up by Farm Security Administration and set to work. An extensive organization was unnecessary. The flexible nature of the farm security program made possible the assignment of employees already in the ranks and experienced in the general plan and philosophy of rehabilitation. The relocation staff, thus recruited, set to work classifying the families to be moved, as a guide to action. Broadly, these groups were classified as follows:

1. Families which could make their own plans and which required no assistance other than advisory services.
2. Families which located farm lands outside of the area and which required only financial assistance in transporting possessions.
3. Families which required relocation assistance, transportation grants and limited subsistence aid to make the new start.
4. Families which required complete assistance, and which appeared acceptable for rehabilitation services.
5. Families which did not qualify as agricultural workers and which required some economy affording wages in addition to subsistence farming.
6. Families which desired to follow public works, employed or seeking employment at construction of the project.
7. A few individuals and families handicapped or certified as relief cases only.

Most families were found to be on the lowest existence levels with hand to mouth expectancies and experiences. To enable the most impoverished of these to move, it was necessary to make 3,071 grants for a total of \$152,321, or an average of \$50.60.

It was found necessary to make plans under which these relocated families could make an adequate living—a living, indeed, more satisfactory than that which had brought them to the condition of helplessness.

The family which worked at odd jobs, tilling a few acres in a haphazard manner, and augmenting earnings through scouring the woods for sassafras roots, picking dallas grass seed, trapping coons and skunks, snaring fish in baskets, and poaching on game reservations, etc., could not be dumped into another community with the expectation that the resourcefulness of the family would enable it to get by. Families displaced were of varying qualifications, and could not be aided in a standardized manner.

The "born farmers" of the relocated thousands stuck stubbornly to the land, and were aided in doing so by the offices of the Farm Security Administration. The programs are built to conform to their needs and experiences, and vary from individual grants and Rural Rehabilitation loans to establishment of cooperative

¹ See Appendix, case histories.

farms. The idea is to place them as much as possible in climes and on terrain with which they are familiar, preferably not too distant from their old homes, from centers of trade and custom, from political and social institutions, with which they are familiar.

Examples of land acquired and relocation prospects in region V are appended to this report, describing operations in special areas. How a cooperative general farm was set up on an old plantation in South Carolina for displaced families of Santee-Cooper; how an interesting and significant experiment in group rehabilitation was undertaken in the Hinesville-Hazelhurst area; how efforts are made to fit displaced individuals of the Fort Benning area into nearby farms.

In all cases the standard services of Farm Security Administration are applied to the task—group medical care, sanitation, community and cooperative services, including membership in purchasing and marketing associations, development of farm and home plans designed to give a better balance between subsistence and cash crops than the families generally knew before, direction in home living and food preservation, development of new cash crops and financial help, as well as instruction in utilizing new materials and new methods. A device which Farm Security Administration has found of great promise in relocating displaced families, and which may be used in solving defense migration, is the leasing cooperative.

The development of the tracts in itself offers means of giving employment to the new settlers outside of their farming operations.

Generally speaking the farm plans involved change from the old usually worn-out economies with emphasis on livestock, soil conservation, forestry practices, and development of new cash crops. Examples of plans worked out for resettling displaced families follow:

TERRELL-LEE PLAN, GEORGIA

A total of 12,485 acres of land comprising 13 tracts of land in Terrell County and 6 tracts of land in Lee County, have been acquired to provide the development of 145 to 150 economic farm units for families principally displaced by the expansion of Fort Benning.

The farms will average 65 to 100 acres in size and will have all improvements such as dwellings, barns, poultry, and smoke houses, sanitary units, and good water supply. Garden and chicken runs will be fenced.

Each unit will have a permanent pasture and combination woods pasture where supplemental incomes may be secured from forestry operations. Forty acres of developed and terraced croplands will provide cotton, corn, peanuts, as well as subsistence crops and feed crops for a supplemental livestock program for each family.

Forty-three of the families originally residing on the lands will remain, and approximately 100 families from the lands vacated near Fort Benning will be established on the other units.

Forty-five families, originally residing on the land will move to other areas, 27 of these will continue public works, and reside in the neighboring villages; 11 have arrangements with other farm operators in the area; and 3 families receiving public welfare support will move to other dwellings. Four families will move with the former operators of the farms.

WATEREE PLANTATIONS, SOUTH CAROLINA

Another illustration is found in relocation plans for a tract in Richland County, comprised of 5 contiguous farms and set up as a cooperative enterprise (Wateree Plantations, Inc.) for approximately 50 Negro families.

Development will provide buildings costing approximately \$122,000 and equipment, supplies, etc., bringing the total investment to \$250,000.

Fifteen of the thirty-three families on the land when purchased will remain and participate in the new economy; approximately 35 families displaced from the Santee-Cooper power development will complete the family relocations.

Of the 33 families originally on the land, 15 were renters, 7 sharecroppers, 9 day laborers, and 2 public welfare cases. Four of the laborers, 2 sharecroppers will go with the former operators of these lands. Ten families will be established on 2-horse farms in other tracts owned by the corporation nearby. Two families will be accepted by the welfare facility and will be established elsewhere.

The Wateree Plantation, Inc., will purchase and own the livestock, machinery, and equipment and will meet all operating expenses. The resident-members will receive wages totaling about \$300 per annum per family in addition to proceeds

they may obtain from their subsistence units, with necessary dwellings, out-buildings, poultry houses, gardens, etc. With seasonable work in the community undertakings and leased forests the families should have employment for 300 days each year.

With a diversified farm program under supervision, the members of this group will learn better farming methods and how to live as citizens and participating members of an enterprise which is planned to lead to private farm and home ownership.

APPENDIX C. REVIEW OF LAND AREAS ACQUIRED BY THE GOVERNMENT FOR DEFENSE, ETC.

From all appearances the 40,000 acres of land taken for the Seibert arsenal project (a chemical munitions plant) was above the average farming land in this rich, high-cotton-producing Tennessee Valley section. In the middle of it were two small communities of Negro landowners—family groups owning up to 1,000 acres. "Pond Beat" and "Sand Flat" have been known throughout Alabama as rather lonely examples of successful Negro community life and of prospering, continuous farming, with property passed from father to son. Children from these Negro families (see case histories, appendix) have helped to build up Alabama State Normal (Negro college just outside Huntsville), and have formed the bulk of a small but very stable Negro middle-class group in Huntsville, supporting themselves as school teachers, small businessmen, waiters in the Russell Erskine Hotel, etc.

Save for these communities, the 40,000 acres was one of very large farms, many of them operated by people living in town, or by their managers. Tractors and day laborers were fast displacing the old renter or sharecropper system.

In a county where 32.6 percent of the farmers are Negro (1940 census) this could hardly be a typical section, for nearly three-fourths of the families found in this area were Negro. In other respects it highlights the agricultural trends that have been taking place in Madison County in the past 10 years.

Briefly, these trends are:

1. Displacement of mules and tenants by tractors and day laborers.

Total farmers in county

1930	7, 178
1935	7, 034
1940	5, 187

or a net decrease of 1,991 farmers, approximately 28 percent.¹

No figures on the increased number of tractors are immediately available but county agent, Farm Security supervisor, and merchants in Huntsville tell of a great increase.

(Of the 477 families included in the tabular report from the area, 344 were making their living from agriculture. Of this number the heads of 131 families, or 30 percent, were classed as farm laborers. This does not give the complete story, for many older children of tenants or small owners were day hands.)

2. The decrease in number of farmers in Madison County is much greater among the Negroes than among the whites.

	White farmers in county	Colored farmers in county
1940	3, 524	1, 663
1934	4, 639	2, 395
1930	4, 406	2, 772
Net	882	1, 109

In 1930 Negroes operated 38.6 percent of the farms. In 1940 they operated 32.6 percent of the farms. How many of these went to town, and how many simply became day laborers it is difficult to determine.

¹ The Tennessee Valley Authority development took several thousand acres out of production in 1935.

3. Farms in Madison County are getting larger, and more land is being put into pastures.

	Size of farms		ad in allowable pasture
1940.....	81.8	1939.....	37,579
1935.....	60.1	1934.....	30,615
1930.....	54.0	1929.....	21,900

4. As to percentage of land operated by tenants, the following figures are, perhaps, a clearer statement of the shift to day labor than to ownership.

	Full owners	Percent of tenancy	Number of farms
1940.....	1,363	63.3	5,187
1935.....	1,543	71.9	7,034
1930.....	1,301	75.6	7,178

Increase, full owners, 62.
Decrease, number of farms, 2,991.

Note, now, the following table of figures on families on this 40,000-acre tract. This project obviously has displaced a large body of people who have little or nothing to live on, who are almost totally unsuited to urban life, who have nothing to offer in the labor market there except muscles used to tedious work and stomachs used to doing without.

Survey classification, Huntsville, Aug. 15, 1941

	White	Negro
Classification as to status:		
1. Owner.....	19	61
2. Farm manager.....	7	0
3. Share renter.....	17	33
4. Cash renter.....	8	33
5. Farm laborer.....	28	103
6. Share cropper.....	23	110
7. Squatter.....	4	6
8. Other.....	11	5
9. Unemployed.....	4	5
Classification as to occupation:		
1. Farming.....	78	241
2. Farm labor.....	28	103
3. Public works.....	0	2
4. Other.....	11	5
5. Unemployed.....	4	5
Classification as to financial means:		
1. Tenant purchase ¹		
2. Rural rehabilitation ²		
3. Public welfare.....	3	6
4. Own arrangements.....	107	305

¹ Total, 9.

² Total, 17.

NOTE.—Twenty-nine families surveyed after this classification was made are not included in these figures.

For most of these families making a living has been particularly difficult. The four-bits-an-hour paid common laborers in the construction job seem like great riches to them. Even the \$1.50 to \$2 a day many of them are getting as extra help around the coal yards, factories, and stores of booming Huntsville seems too good to be true. Of the approximately 120 families moved to date, more than a third of them have moved to town, and the supervisors expect that an even larger percentage will follow them. Still others have rented houses in the county but not farm land, because the heavy migration of construction workers to Huntsville has made it difficult to find houses.

When the big construction job got under way this summer Mr. Lynn, Farm Security Administration supervisor for Madison County, held meetings with all the 508 rehabilitation borrowers and 77 tenant-purchase borrowers to talk the

situation over. He pointed out the temporary nature of the work and told them they must complete their crops for the next year if they hoped ever to get help from the Farm Security again. Farm Security did want them to get as much benefit from the extra work as possible, so long as their regular farming operations were not disturbed, and would do everything it could to help them get employment.

Less than a dozen of those actively working with the Farm Security program "turned in their mules" before crop season was over, though many crops were worked with "short hands", women, younger children, etc. Several crops were destroyed by construction work before they could be harvested.

As for people living in the area taken, Farm Security's labor relation specialist, Tom Elder, made arrangements with the contractors and the unions, having agreements with them to employ one person out of each family, on recommendation from the Farm Security office, leaving the others to finish up the crop and make arrangements for moving. By mid November more than 350 of the approximately 500 families forced to move had one member working on the job.

Higher farm prices, Lynn said, are threatening to displace as many tenant farmers as has the defense plant. Community cooperative organization has been discouraged because so many of the borrowers report that they are having to move. A good many have not been able to find land for next year. Large scale farmers who have been renting out most of their land to croppers on a "cotton rent" basis are now planning to work the land themselves, using tractors and day laborers. With the construction job offering an immediate solution to the problem of getting something to eat, a good many of these farmers are showing no eagerness to try fighting it out again on the poorer, back-hill acres they must move to.

Workers who have come into Madison County for work on the construction job are competing with farmers for houses. Often, Lynn said, a man is able to rent just the house for more than he formerly got for the house and farm. Some larger tracts of land are available for rent but are of little help to the average tenant because there are no houses on the land.

Farm Security has tried to help this situation in two ways:

1. By securing, through the Alabama Relocation Corporation, a number of large farms in Madison and adjoining counties and subdividing them and building houses so displaced families may find a permanent home.

2. On the edge of the condemned area 19 prefabricated houses have been set up. These were filled almost immediately after they were completed, early in the fall, with Negro families from the area. As these families find places to move, others move in. The difficulty is that many more houses are needed, Lynn said.

New applications for regular rehabilitation assistance are coming from some people who are moving out of the area. Lynn expects many more of these to come in after the work is over.

"Most of them have had some white man—a landlord or a merchant—in that section whom they had known all their lives to look after them. Now they are going to have to find someone else to look to, and I expect it will be the Government."

There has been a great deal of interest among tenants in Madison County in the tenant-purchase program. Tenants see how many of their group are being displaced by tractors, or are being forced to pay higher cash rents, Lynn said. Most of the white tenant population have land-owning relatives in the hills of southeast Tennessee or the northern part of the county and the desire is still strong in them. Among the Negroes the examples set by Negro farmers in "Palm Beat" have stimulated interest. The program has been slowed down, and in the next year or so it may have to be halted because of the rising price of good land. Many eligible applicants (there were more than 500 during the first few months of 1941) have become discouraged because land prices have gone up so much they can find land within the Tarver amendment limits only in odd corners of the county far from their home communities.

Some of the larger farm operators in the arsenal area are buying or leasing land elsewhere and taking their tenants with them. For example, T. R. Ivey, who owned between three and four hundred acres in the area (a place he bought when Tennessee Valley Authority took his land 6 years ago) thinks he can take care of his two tenant families. He is renting about 700 acres and plans to use tractors almost exclusively. What will happen to the people now farming this rented place it was not possible to discover. Here we get a glimpse of the problem, yet in calculable, of "secondary displacement."

Sam Harris, a tenant-purchase committeeman who owned considerable land in the area, has bought a 772-acre farm from Fleming S. Thornton, a larger-scale

farming corporation in Huntsville. Harris paid \$50 an acre for the place, almost twice as much, according to report, as what it could have been bought for 4 years ago. Harris plans to keep all five wage hands' families on this land and to work it with his three tractors. One of the tenants on the place is moving to a farm he is buying through the tenant-purchase program very shortly. Another family is moving to town.

In this case, then, only one family is being displaced, but the landlord is not able to take care of any of his former hands.

Nine tenant-purchase borrowers lived in the area taken over, one white and eight colored. Five of the negro families are being relocated on a 315-acre tract bought for this purpose early in the fall. The land has been operated for the past several years by a renter, who worked it with a tractor and four families of wage hands, making enough cotton to establish a base of over 300 pounds to the acre and an allotment of 82 acres. Over 300 of the 315 acres are in cultivation. This operator has rented a large place in Jackson County and says he is going to take the four families with him. One (of the displaced tenant-purchase families) has already moved onto the farm, and is living in the house formerly occupied by the white operator.

TALLADEGA COUNTY, ALA. (CHILDERSBURG BAG-LOADING PLANT)

Late in November of 1940 information was given out that some 27,000 acres of land in Talladega County bordering the Coosa River north and west of the small town of Childersburg (515 population in the 1940 census) were to be taken as site for a powder plant. The location was tentatively outlined in January and agricultural agencies, both Farm Security and Extension workers, were set to work warning people to vacate this property.

Because no certain information as to the location of boundaries could be obtained, the actual work of relocations did not get under way until the last of January and February. By the time Farm Security had made its original survey (see report below) a good number of families had moved, both from the area finally taken and from land around it. After this survey had been made, and after 80-odd families had been moved from land finally not included in the area, an accurate boundary line was established. While no official confirmation was made of the original territory marked out on maps used in the area, all indications pointed so clearly to its being taken that farmers in this territory decided to move while there was still time to find a new place, and to make another crop.

The section of land finally taken was one containing much river land. Some of this 14,000 acres was good farm land, ideal for large farm operations. Most of it was poor, carelessly operated by Negro tenants, or lying out. Of the farm operators, almost 30 percent were receiving Farm Security aid.

The following table gives population analysis in the 27,000 acres originally staked out. When the final area was chosen, 210 rather than 321 families were displaced. However, this table shows in a general way the situation in the whole area:

	White	Colored	Farm Security Administration (white)	Farm Security Administration (colored)
Owners.....	32	60	1	9
50-50 sharecropper.....	7	36	0	1
Cotton rent.....	6	31	5	23
One-fourth share.....	10	26	4	13
Standing rent.....	17	35	2	13
Farm laborers.....	5	39	0	5
Squatters.....	3	3	0	0
Work Projects Administration.....	0	2	0	0
Merchants.....	2	0	0	0
Unclassified.....	5	2	0	0
Total.....	87	234	12	64

Total, 321 families; Farm Security Administration, 76 families; 73 percent negroes; 27 percent white.

The survey revealed that the area contains very few owners who will be financially able to relocate without some assistance. The number of cash renters, sharecroppers, and cotton renters, constitute the largest group in this area.

The 1940 census report furnishes a broader idea of the situation. From it comes basis for the following analysis:

1. Number of farms has decreased, due in part, to the switch to tractors and day labor.

	All	White operators	Negro operators
1940.....	3,232	1,955	1,277
1935.....	4,255	2,480	1,775
1930.....	4,003	2,091	1,912

771 or reduction of 13 percent.

This decrease has been greater among Negroes than whites. In 1930 Negroes made up 48 percent of all farm operators; in 1940, 39.2 percent.

2. Following figures on tenancy reflect the above-mentioned trend:

	Number of owners	Percent of tenancy	Total number of farms
1940.....	903	65.2	3,232
1935.....	1,125	68.6	4,255
1930.....	856	72.8	4,003

3. Farms are getting larger and more land is being put into pastures.

	Size of farms	Acres in pasture
1940.....	90.0	22,403
1935.....	72.7	14,201
1930.....	66.3	9,395

Note these things: While 39.2 percent of Talladega County's total number of farm operators are colored, 72.3 percent of the farm operators in this section were colored. Note also the comparatively large number of Negro landowners. In the county 22.3 percent of the Negro operators are landowners. In this section almost 32 percent were landowners.

In other words, about one-fifth of all Negro farm owners in Talladega County were in this section. Their holdings were small. The bulk of the land was owned in large tracts either by white resident operators or absentees.

The comparatively small number of nonfarm workers is significant, especially since so many of these displaced families have gotten their first taste of "public works money" at the powder plant. Will they want to go back to this kind of marginal living again?

This was a section of old plantation holdings that had gradually (with some notable exceptions) been abandoned or partially abandoned by the old families who held on to them. In it, along the river and in the low places, were a few very small communities of Negro landowners who supplemented their farming income with fishing, hunting, and working for white men who came to enjoy these sports.

The average of all grants for moving totaled \$37.50, which again reveals how little these people had to move.

Here, then, is a group of dislocated people who know almost nothing except farming, and of that the cruder kind. About 30 percent were receiving aid from Farm Security already. Some few of these were making a new beginning and, where they could get some of the better land, were succeeding on a very moderate scale. Some few were making a fair living from the game and sportsmen, whom the very desolation of the place had brought to the area. Only a few are going to make alone the readjustments life in a new place will call for.

Of general conditions touching on the Farm Security Administration program there, E. E. Wilson, county supervisor for Talladega County, reported orally on November 19:

Farm Security Administration case load for the county is 220, of which 131 (68 percent) are Negroes—an unusually high percentage, considering the fact that

well over half the farming population is white. Few applications for next year have come in. The county supervisor expects many to come in during the next few weeks, because the powder plant job is "turning off" men at the rate of 300 to 600 a week. The full tide of applications will not come, he said, until late February, when many farmers (especially Negroes) who have had their first taste of public works wealth will suddenly realize there is little hope of getting more such work and will want to farm again. Farm Security will, he said, get more than its share of these people because they have broken their relations with their old landlords, sometimes without ceremony, and in the middle of crop season, and will not be able—or will not want to—go back again.

About 90 percent of the Farm Security Administration borrowers have gotten at least a few weeks of work on the project. He knew of only two who had paid back loans with defense-earned money (one paid \$150, another \$250). The rest have wasted some of the money. But not as much as people think. We've had practically a crop failure in here for the past 3 years. These people have gone without, all that time. They've had other debts and they've had to buy clothes and something to eat and some of the other people they've owed (furnish merchants) have put the kind of pressure on them we can't.

Co-op organization has been very slow. Out of 20 proposed neighborhood organizations, only 9 have been formed. At some places as many as three meetings have been held, with but two or three couples present.

FORT M'CLELLAN, ALA. (ANNISTON AREA)

The first part of the relocation job here, in which 403 families are involved, has been carried out.

The 36,640 acres in Calhoun County taken for the enlargement of Fort McClellan and for the building of an ammunition dump have been cleared. These families have found somewhere to go, even though temporary in many cases.

Calhoun is an industrial county. Iron pipe shops, ca tting works, chemical plants, textile mills, and a great number of smaller manufacturing establishments are found in Anniston, its county seat and principal town. Even before the defense program started it was a growing town. Most of the new workers in its industries came from nearby farming sections. Many of them remained there, commuting to town while the old folks kept the farm going. Others simply rented their land or let it lie out. A number of the landless families moved in close to town and rented small houses on the city's outskirts.

When the defense boom started in Anniston—increased production in the factories; a big construction job on the Fort McClellan extension; an ammunition dump to be built; many thousands of soldiers to entertain and hundreds of officers and their families to provide houses for—this trend was accelerated.

Part of this migration was voluntary, for crops have been poor in this valley for the past few years. Part of it was encouraged by a sharp trend to large-scale farming, with tractors and day laborers substituting for mules and coppers. This has been especially true in certain sections. Most of the land taken in the area formed a section of small semi-independent farmers, many of whom has lost their land.

Our study of 342 families living in the area originally surveyed showed only 102 had title to any land. Most of these farms were heavily mortgaged. In addition there were the usual group of relief, squatter, "marginal" families found around cities. Probably not more than half the group depended entirely on farming for a living. On the other hand, well over three-fourths of them depended on farming or gardening for at least a part of their living.

In general, then, this area reflects the conditions found in most Piedmont farming sections in the southeast near industrial centers and where small farms have been the predominant pattern.

A preliminary survey on 342 families shows the following:

	Total	White	Negro		Total	White	Negro
Landowners.....	102	87	15	Squatters.....	23	11	12
Renters:				Relief:			
Cash.....	42	32	10	Work Projects Admin-	22	11	11
Share rent.....	46	38	8	Other relief.....	8	6	2
Sharecroppers, halves.....	32	16	16	Unclassified.....	16	10	6
Farm laborers.....	14	7	7				
Industrial workers.....	37	27	10	Total.....	342	245	97

Something of the problems involved in enforced migration of a group so varied in make-up, standards, and resources was stated by H. K. Payne, who was in charge of the relocation activity at this point, in a report of January 25, 1941 (at the beginning of the undertaking). He said:

"Less than one-third of this group are landowners and most of these have farms that are heavily mortgaged, which leaves them with very little equity in the place. The Soil Conservation is doing the appraising work and is negotiating for the land; however, it is my understanding that they are not paying these people anything except for the actual market value of the farm. No provision is made for losses caused by the forced move; however, some of these better farmers are finding farms which they can purchase or lease somewhere within a radius of 40 or 50 miles. Strange as it may seem, this sometimes complicates the problem, as these better farmers displace other tenants who are now occupying the farms they are leasing and purchasing. The displaced farmers fall in the same group as those sharecroppers and renters who are occupying the land comprising the defense area."

Reconsider these figures, now, in the light of general agricultural trends in Calhoun County during the 1930-40 decade.

	Number of farms	White	Colored	Size of farms
				<i>Acres</i>
1940.....	2,707	2,466	281	85.3
1935.....	3,289	2,889	400	74.5
1930.....	3,070	2,609	461	69.9

Decrease 363, or 12 percent less. Decrease 183, or 7 percent less (white); 180, or 39 percent less (colored). Increase 15.1 (size of farms).

Farms are becoming fewer and larger. The decrease is coming most rapidly in the Negro group. In 1930 they made up 15 percent of all farm operators. In 1940 they made up 10.4 percent. A good many of these may have gone into the farm-labor group.

	Full owners	Tenancy percentage	Full white owners	Full colored owners
1940.....	1,035	56.5	977	58
1935.....	1,071	62.5	985	86
1930.....	1,927	63.1		

¹ Increase 109.

NOTE.—55 percent of the whites and 75 percent of the colored farmers were tenants in 1940.

There has been an increase in the number of farm owners, despite the decrease in farms over the 10-year period.

It has been difficult to determine just what has happened to all these families, but the following tabulation, made on September 6, 1941, gives an idea of trends:

Families who have moved to rented houses with no land attached.....	205
Families who have moved to purchased houses with no land attached.....	23
Total	228
Number who have purchased farms.....	58
Number who have leased farms.....	109
Total	167

Eight families have moved to corporation farms.

In other words, more than 56 percent of the total group did not move where they could make a crop or a garden during the 1941 season.

Since that time 29 additional families have found places on farms operated by the Alabama Relocation Corporation, and 63 more family units are being set up for still others (a total of 100). These latter units will take care of some farmers from the group who have temporary homes and work in or around Anniston. How they have fared, and will fare during the transition, can be judged only hazily from case histories (see appendix). It is certain that:

1. They have had to compete with defense workers migrating from other places for houses, both in Anniston and in the county around.

2. They are having to spend most of their new income—if they are fortunate enough to get jobs on defense projects—to meet the higher living costs.

3. Land prices have risen so that few of the owners have been able to buy houses or farms equal to those they had before.

4. Less than half those who made their living from agriculture are engaged in that work this year. With little or no training for any other kind of work, they will almost certainly be looking for aid in getting back to the farm when their temporary jobs on defense construction work are over.

5. No doubt a good many of the younger people will be able to make successful adjustment to city life and will find opportunities to gain skill in industrial work.

Most of the farms set up so far by the relocation corporation call for small-scale dairying, the growing of truck crops, poultry, and other things besides cotton. Already it has been found that many of the farmers who have come to it for aid are not able, or are most reluctant to change over from their old style cotton, corn, and victuals style of farming. For example, all except 2 of a group of 20 farmers who made crops on the "Brick Store Farm," a large unit being developed as a dairy farm, are going to move this fall because they aren't able to fit into the program of farming this will call for. Some of these families were on the land when the relocation corporation bought it. Others had been tenants in the condemned area. All had been cotton and corn farmers.

Some of them don't have the amount of labor in their families the full farm program of this set-up calls for. Some aren't physically able to carry it on. Some are just unwilling to try. Yet a return to the old style of farming is not only economically unsound and wasteful of resources, but also would not serve the good purpose of stimulating more intelligent farming methods that it is hoped these corporation farms will. Some of the 20 families have gone out and found themselves "crops." The majority will move to other farms set up by the corporation where the growing of feed, truck, and chickens will supplement cotton production, and a more general change in cropping practices will be attempted.

HINESVILLE, GA. (CAMP STEWART AREA)

Relocation work in the Hinesville area has been going on for well over a year now. Though rumor had been current for several months, no map of the area to be taken was published until January. This outlined 215,000 acres in a "first priority" to be taken immediately, and additional land, to form a total area of 360,000 acres, for ultimate occupancy. Since that time a good many changes have been made in lines, but the area has remained about the same size. All families living in the first priority have been moved, and a good many of the others—a total of about 1,000 families. Approximately 500 more families have been given notice to move by January 1942.

The 360,000 acres spread over five counties—one-half of Liberty, a large slice of Long, and parts of Bryan, Tattall, and Chatham. Though there were good farming sections running through the area, and on its edges, the bulk of the land was in swamps, piney woods, wilderness or turpentine groves, all of it serving as open range for scrub cattle and razorback hogs. Much of it was owned in large tracts by turpentine operators or lumber companies.

The inhabitants were of several groups, evenly divided between the races. About half of the white group were small owners. While their total acreage often was higher than would be classed as "small" for Georgia, as a whole, the small amount of cleared land and the low productivity put them in this class. They made a reasonably good living on cotton, tobacco and cattle kept on open range. The other half of the whites were renters, sharecroppers or squatters, most of them doing a little farming but getting the bulk of their living from work in turpentine, sawmilling, hunting, running cattle on open range, and illicit distilling.

There were as many resident landowners among the Negroes as among the whites. Like so many Negroes along the South Carolina low country and in the Georgia coastal counties, some of these worked land that had been in their families since Reconstruction. Often no will had been made out, and the 15 or 20 acres would belong to two dozen heirs, scattered from Savannah to Detroit. A few Negro family leaders hold as much as 100 acres, and had several families of relatives working around them. This group, as well as the landless half of the Negroes, made most of their living by combining subsistence farming with sawmilling, turpentine, keeping cattle on open range, and doing day work for larger operators.

It had not been hard to make some kind of a living in this country—with 240 acres per family there could be game and fish for all. The open range made raising hogs for home use and scrawny beef cattle enough to sell for shoes and clothes a relatively simple matter. It was a marginal, almost wild kind of life for some. They lived in shacks back so far in the forest that several hundred families were missed in the original survey, though local folk did most of the work.

But things were closing in on the people of this area even before the bombing base was announced. Lumber work was getting scarce, and turpentine work was less plentiful, (both have since been spurred by defense prices). More of the land was being bought up by pulp paper companies. Fire, lands posted for hunting preserves by groups from Savannah, and the cutting over of large sections reduced the chances of making extra money by hunting or raising cattle on open range. The small owners, both white and Negroes, clung to their land. For the latter group the alternative was to join gangs of turpentine workers, travel with them, and live in their villages. Practically the only escape was to be "sold" (for the amount of the debt) to some other turpentine operator. Thus, landownership—just a place to live and make a garden—was often synonymous with freedom.

In the Federal Emergency Relief Administration relief days a great deal of money was distributed in these counties, most of it in the form of grants. Attempts to start farming programs failed, and when the first priority area was surveyed in 1941, only 4 of the 713 families interviewed were Farm Security borrowers. In the whole area the total will not be more than 20.

"The reason for this," explained L. R. Payne, assistant relocation supervisor who has been in Hinesville since the beginning of the work, "is that our program has not until recently been studied with a view of serving the unique needs of this area, which lacks the familiar elements of agriculture as it is known elsewhere."

Thinking along this line has been worked into three projects being developed by the Hinesville Relocation Corporation. At Hazlehurst (see interview in appendix) an 18,000 acre tract of timber and turpentine is being developed into a project for 120 families. Here they will have, besides small acreages of cotton and tobacco, extra income from turpentine, and tended forests, along with poultry and hog raising. At Vidalia, Farm Security has helped a number of small farmers to set up a cooperative turpentine still, so they can make gum farming a regular source of income. In other parts of this coastal region attempts are being made to help turpentine workers develop subsistence patches, and to help small operators make gum farming a part of their regular plans of work.

Following are the results of an original survey of the 215,000 first priority area, listing 173 families. Note the large number of farm laborers and miscellaneous workers.

	White	Colored
Owner operator.....	158	140
Cash renter.....	22	18
Share cropper.....	41	34
Farm laborer.....	68	75
Miscellaneous.....	78	51
Total.....	367	318

Number of families to be relocated, 713.

Unclassified, 28.

To date, 1,116 of the estimated 1,500 families in the entire area have been interviewed. Of these 925 have actually moved, 887 of them paying moving expenses with small grants furnished through Federal Security Administration's relocation office.

Of this group 51 moved to corporation farms immediately (others moved there after going somewhere else); 126 purchased farms; 256 leased farms; 491 made other arrangements, that is, they moved to town or rented houses without land out in the country.

A more accurate indication of the movements of these people can be gained from the following table of figures derived from individual family records in the relocation office. No moving grant checks are given until the parties have actually moved. The final addresses here were given as the places to which the people wanted their checks mailed.

A total of 860 of the 925 families who had actually moved through December 5, 1941, were included in this tabulation:

Of the 442 white families—

- 150 found some place to move to in the same county;
- 110 moved to one of five adjoining counties;
- 68 moved to Savannah, or its outskirts;
- 1 moved to Brunswick;
- 59 moved to other counties in Georgia;
- 45 moved to relocation projects;
- 9 moved out of State—5 to Florida, 3 to North Carolina, 1 to South Carolina.

Of the 418 Negro families—

- 123 found some place to move to in the same county;
- 161 moved to one of five adjoining counties;
- 57 moved to Savannah, or its outskirts;
- 11 moved to Brunswick;
- 52 moved to other counties in Georgia;
- 10 moved to relocation projects;
- 4 moved out of State—3 to Florida, 1 to Washington, D. C.

Many of these moves were temporary. Mr. Payne explained that a great number of these people had been scarcely 50 miles away from home in their lives. They were frightened at the thought of going outside their home county, or section. Later, when they found living or working conditions in the new places unsatisfactory, they moved farther on. This will happen more frequently, he said, when defense work around Hinesville has been completed. A good number of the families coming to the relocation farms first moved somewhere else.

The following figures, taken from the same records as the above, show what these families arranged for their first move. The records tabulate 1,077 of the 1,116 families interviewed through December 5. Of this group of 1,077, 584 were white and 493 Negro.

Of the 584 white families, 248 were landowners and this is what happened to them: 94 became owners again; 29 became tenants; 2 became sharecroppers; 60 became laborers; 6 moved to corporation farms; 57 have not moved.

Of the 86 tenants, 2 became owners; 26 tenants; 4 sharecroppers; 29 laborers; 9 moved to corporation farms; 16 have not moved.

Of 106 sharecroppers, 3 became owners; 3 became tenants; 19 became sharecroppers; 27 laborers; 12 moved to corporation farms; 42 have not moved.

Of 144 laborers, one became owner; 6 tenants; 5 sharecroppers; 101 laborers; 17 moved to corporation farms; 14 have not moved.

Of the 493 Negro families, 149 were landowners, and of these 30 became owners again; 42 tenants; 12 sharecroppers; 45 laborers; none moved to corporation farms; 20 have not moved.

Of 51 Negro tenants, none became owners; 14 tenants; 6 sharecroppers; 16 laborers; one moved to corporation farms; 14 have not moved.

Of 110 Negro sharecroppers, 2 became owners; 11 tenants; 25 sharecroppers; 29 laborers; none moved to corporation farms; 33 have not moved.

Of 183 Negro laborers, one became an owner; 12 tenants; 6 sharecroppers; 144 laborers; 10 moved to corporation farms and 10 have not moved.

FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION RELOCATION PROJECTS FOR DEFENSE DISPLACED FARM FAMILIES IN GEORGIA

To help relocate tenants, laborers and farm owners with little equity, who were moved from the Hinesville area, Farm Security Administration, through the Hinesville Relocation Corporation, has bought an 18,000-acre tract of land in Jeff Davis County, near Hazlehurst, three tracts in Wheeler (the adjoining) County totaling 8,000 acres and about the same acreage in Screven County. (The Screven County tract will also take care of some farmers displaced by defense projects around Augusta.) These three projects, to be operated through a single office will care, according to present plans for subdivision and development, for a total of about 120 families. Additional land has been optioned.

The project at Hazlehurst was begun in February 1941. Sixty-nine pre-fabricated houses were erected within 2 weeks to care for displaced families with no shelter whatever, and these houses have served as residences for the families who have developed the project. Sixteen additional prefabricated houses were put up on the Wheeler project.

Originally the land acquired near Hazlehurst was a huge turpentine tract, cropped on a lease basis by a single operator who had a small camp for the dozen

or so families who worked regularly for him. These families have been moved by the operator to other tracts he is working. The three Wheeler County tracts were also largely devoted to turpentine production, on each of which were a number of small "patch" farmers (tenants). They were given a chance to enter the developing venture, and most of them have done so.

Of the 141 families living on property owned by the Relocation Corporation in Jeff Davis and Wheeler Counties, 59 moved directly from the condemned area near Hinesville and a number of others moved somewhere else and then came to the project. Twenty-two were regular Farm Security clients.

For almost a year the entire group has been engaged in clearing land, building fences, cutting fire lanes, clearing out turpentine forests, building roads and, within the last 6 months, building the bars and houses that will be a part of permanent family units. This work is being done on an hourly basis.

About 2 dozen of the families arrived early enough in the spring to make some kind of a crop, and others planted spring gardens. For the bulk of the families a community garden was set out and has been tended by the old people on the project who are not able to join crews doing such heavy work as clearing land and fence building.

According to C. B. Earnest, the project manager, 9 families have left for jobs in other places. Forty-four families, most of them former turpentine workers and wage laborers, are planning to leave the project for jobs in private industry as soon as the wage work on the project is over. Ninety-seven of the 141 now living on the land have stated that they want to operate farms, and applications for farms have been received from 30 additional families. Mr. Earnest expects that many more applications will come in from farmers, both from those who have been displaced by the area and from others, as soon as the construction jobs around Hinesville are finished.

For the Hazlehurst project the cropping plan is as follows: 1,008 acres were cleared when the property was bought and 1,600 acres have been cleared since that time. Ninety miles of fence have been erected. More land will be cleared. More than two-thirds of the land, however, will be left in pines, and will be operated for both turpentine and timber. It has been estimated that there are 1½ million feet of marketable black-pine timber on the project land.

The cleared land is being divided into 2-horse units. Each will have enough land to allow for a large garden, a 9-acre hog pasture, fenced so as to make possible three-way rotation of grazing; a chicken run, a small permanent pasture and land enough to grow small acreages of cotton and tobacco, some truck and enough feed to supply all home needs. Each farmer will have a minimum of 2 brood sows. Starting with 2 good milk cows each, they will use high quality sires and save calves to build eventually small herds averaging 10 milk cows per farm. This will give them, finally, income from both milk and calves. Starting with flocks averaging 35 layers, it is hoped each farmer will have 100 producing hens by the end of the third year.

Allotments of both cotton and tobacco are very low here. Reasons: (1) Most of the land has just been cleared so there is not crop history on which to establish a base; (2) both Jeff Davis and Wheeler Counties were late comers in Georgia's move to produce tobacco and thus had small acreages when the quota system was voted into effect. (Tobacco has been the chief money crop for many of the farmers who moved from the Hinesville area.)

Most of these people formerly were tenants. Allotments they worked at Hinesville went with the land, and could not be transferred to the new locations. But the project farmers will be able to plant as many acres of peanuts as they choose, and about as much truck as they will want to until farms are more completely developed.

A typical unit will have a house with three bed rooms (a closet in each), a kitchen with a dining bay, a living room, a small entrance porch on the front and a screened work porch at the back. In the kitchen will be a sink and drain, with connections for running water. In addition there is being put up on each farm an outdoor sanitary unit, a smokehouse, a 20- by 20-foot poultry house (100-layer capacity), and a 40- by 29- by 8-foot barn.

For 18 of the units turpentine will take the place of cash crop farming. A farmer on one of these units will have a garden and will get some money from hogs, cattle, and chickens. But his main source of income will be from 2,000 to 3,000 turpentine "faces", which will provide him with work and a living about 8 months in the year. So far, all turpentine work has been done on an hourly basis of 25 cents, and most of it by Negroes who had been turpentine workers in the Hinesville area. It is expected that most of the turpentine units will be occupied by Negroes.

At present there are 23 Negro families on the Hazlehurst project. They live in 2 groups of houses quite separated from the rest. All families on the Wheeler County tracts are white.

The project has almost accidentally produced a sizable flock of young laying hens that may serve to give the new farmers a start. Last spring Cherry Lake Farms (Farm Security Administration community in Florida) had 1,300 sexed baby chicks it could not take care of, so sent them to Hazlehurst. An epidemic killed about 200 but the rest have developed well and now are in 30-percent production. The eggs are being sold through a local dealer to the Jacksonville, Fla., market at a net wholesale price of 40 cents for No. 1's and 35 cents for pullet eggs.

The Altamaha eighth-grade grammar school is located in the middle of the project. It has a new building with a good auditorium and should serve as a useful and easily accessible community center. A trick of fortune has given it experienced teachers. When a law was passed in Hazlehurst 2 years ago forbidding married women to teach in the city's schools, these women were hired by the county system.

Though children from the project make up only a small part of the total enrollment, their parents have been the main supporters of a money-raising campaign to buy dishes and other utensils for lack of which the school had never been able to have a hot-lunch program. This has helped to create a favorable attitude among the neighbors.

There are two churches on land surrounded by the project, Baptist and Methodist, both with part-time preachers. Many families from the project have joined these, and a few have joined congregations in Hazlehurst. One prefabricated building has been turned into a community clubhouse, and the project now has a Home Demonstration Club and a Young People's Club, both of which have regular weekly meetings.

Special attention has been given the newcomers to the project by some prominent Jeff Davis County folks who recognize this as a relatively large group of new voters. Other "substantial" citizens of the county who were regarding the project negatively at first have become its supporters through the efforts of the local bank president. He has made it his special chore to explain to all that the Relocation Corporation is a private organization and pays its full share of taxes.

Frequent small meetings have been held with groups of the farmers during the past 2 months to explain to them details of how the new units will be assigned, and what those who occupy them will be expected to do. This is being done before any plans for occupancy are made by either party. Judging from casual interviews, these farmers seem to be unusually well informed on the general principles and requirements of the Farm Security program.

It is planned to tie the project work as closely as possible with that of the local Farm Security program in Jeff Davis County. Though a small county, Jeff Davis has an active rehabilitation case load of 162 families and has 13 tenant purchase borrowers.

Groups of farmers on the project are making plans to apply for community and cooperative service loans for the purchase of mowers and rakes, peanut pickers, and other heavy equipment. No community association has yet been formed.

FORT JACKSON (COLUMBIA, S. C.)

In South Carolina 26,000 acres were acquired for extension of the Army reservation at Fort Jackson, near Columbia, necessitating the moving of 205 families.

The composition of these families varies considerably from that of dwellers in the tracts in Alabama and Georgia previously described. Only about one-fourth of the number lived entirely on farm income. In most of the others, small farming or "patch" operations were carried on by members of households, while one or more members had jobs in town. The families supported partly by Work Projects Administration or Civilian Conservation Corps help were numerous.

There was little dislocation here. While investigators found that a large percentage of the families disliked the idea of moving, the process of land acquisition had been smooth, ample notice had been given, and the inhabitants were accustomed to the experience of a neighboring Army camp, Fort Jackson having been a settled establishment since the last war, though dwindling in the period of peace.

However, in view of the depressed economic condition of the families, it was necessary to make grants for moving expenses—221 grants have been made totaling \$6,387.

The expanding camp has provided occupation for as many as wanted to find work at day labor. It was necessary to move comparatively few to farms elsewhere. Less than 10 percent have purchased farms elsewhere, but all 205 families have been relocated, in town or nearby, by their own effort or with help.

CAMP CROFT (SPARTANBURG, S. C.)

To build an Infantry replacement center near Spartanburg, S. C., Camp Croft was established, and 17,000 acres of land acquired. On this tract lived 295 families.

The Farm Security Administration undertook early in the process to move its 15 borrower families to other farm lands, and this was completed last February. The movement of other families proceeded less expeditiously.

The tract acquired was made up of old farm land, which supported generally no more than a passable farm economy. It was necessary to make through Farm Security Administration 282 grants to help the moving, totaling \$9,714. At this writing, the entire former population has been relocated. Good farming land in the vicinity is scarce.

Sixteen families moved into prefabricated houses erected on Palmetto Farms (an enterprise of the Relocation Corporation, near Pacolet, S. C.). Most of those moved to farm land, preferring this to remaining near the camp and city and finding construction work, are farming on small patches which offer little more than the opportunity of subsistence farming.

SANTEE-COOPER (S. C.) (FLOOD AREA, DAM PROJECT)

Relocation problems in the Santee-Cooper area are unique among the group herein described, both because of the nature of the project and the composition of the families involved. Next to the Hinesville area, the Santee-Cooper flood area embraced the largest number of families to be moved—841—for the most part Negroes living on small tracts, as owners or squatters, which they had occupied in a remote section for generations. So remote, indeed, was the habitations of many, that a kind of tribal custom had developed among them. Their enforced moving was accompanied by a large degree of bewilderment and helplessness on the part of the little farmers.

Comprising few off-the-farm laborers, the group had grown up in a generally agrarian tradition, and amid standards extremely low.

The Farm Security Administration was obliged to make 432 grants for moving in this area, totaling \$40,277—an average considerably higher than the grant necessary in other areas.

Out of the enforced movement of this group came the greatest demand for farm land, the greatest tax upon the resources of the Palmetto Relocation Corporation, which handles the South Carolina program. One of the noteworthy ventures to which it gave rise was establishment of a community general farm in Richland County, near Columbia, on land which was bought from one of the landed estates of the locality, the property of the Hamer family.

While accommodating only 40 families, the program followed in this undertaking is watched as a likely model. Each will have a subsistence unit for home living and will work on the main farm, receiving compensation from the farm's profits on the basis of labor applied. There will be central pastures. Each family will be housed, with a general sanitation system, water supply, poultry unit, fencing, etc. Loans will be made for improvement and operation to be liquidated over 40 years, with the result of private ownership.

FORT BENNING (ALABAMA AND GEORGIA, NEAR COLUMBUS)

A tract of 40,000 acres was acquired for extension of the great military center at Fort Benning, Ga. Bought in Russell County, Ala., across the Chattahoochee River, and in Muscogee County, Ga., it was obtained for maneuver purposes and to give room for parachute training. In this tract lived 352 families, most of whom were laborers on farms and in urban centers. The largest proportion was colored.

Indicative of the family composition is the analysis of one segment of the tract on which 92 families lived:

	White	Negro
Farm owner.....	0	2
Cash renter.....	4	19
Farm laborer.....	1	35
Miscellaneous (public works, domestic labor, relief, etc.).....	2	29
Total.....	7	85

Relocation work is not yet complete in this area. The Farm Security made grants totaling \$4,604 to aid in moving 207 cases. Many of the inhabitants moved to nearby urban centers—Columbus, Phenix City, and Girard—to subsist by labor (mostly unskilled) on construction projects. Those who stuck to farming were enabled to find locations on farms on the fringe of the area, as renters, wage hands, and Farm Security Administration clients.

SMALLER AREAS

Relocation work is in progress on tracts acquired for a flying field near Sumter, S. C. (3,000 acres), a flying field near Tuskegee, Ala. (3,000 acres), and a triangular training camp near Augusta, Ga., the largest of the new acquisitions, embracing 55,000 acres.

This latter tract, in the heart of the widely publicized "Tobacco Road" section, was sparsely settled. Of 270 families included, relocation plans have been made to date (December 15) for only 118. Grants for moving, totaling \$4,604, were made by Farm Security Administration in 138 cases.

TRIANGULAR DIVISION CAMP (OZARK, ALA.)

Early in January 1942 the Army began construction of a triangular division cantonment near Ozark, Ala., using as a site 35,000 acres in the Pea River project already cleared of inhabitants by Federal submarginal land programs in 1934-35, and acquiring 30,000 additional acres of adjoining farmland in Dale County and 3,000 acres in Coffee County. All except 28 of the 296 families being displaced are full-time farmers.

Many factors have joined to make the immediate job of relocation here less difficult than in other areas of Alabama. Expanding shipbuilding and allied industries in Gulf coast towns offering "permanent" employment have drained the area, leaving many openings for tenants and day hands. Ozark being in the center of Alabama's leading peanut-producing section, the almost doubled acreage called by the "Food for Victory" campaign has greatly increased demand for farm labor, according to Dale County's Agricultural Agent, W. D. Thomason.¹

In addition, techniques worked out in other sections by Farm Security relocation staffmen have been applied directly here. Called on the job January 5, they were able to report that by January 27, 111 of the 296 families had actually been evacuated and, of the 185 families still in the area, 70 definitely had places to move. The fact that January is "moving month" in this section sped this work, too.

As to the availability of land for evacuees, Daniel Hollis, Jr., assistant in charge of relocation here wrote:

"It is not likely that land need be acquired in this section for the resettlement project for this year. However, in order to effect a permanent rehabilitation and resettlement of these displaced families it is highly likely that such a project should be put into operation for next year, in order to restore and retain the present status of displaced families."

Chief agricultural worries in the area are centered now on the possibility that "union pay" work on the cantonment will draw so many farm laborers from all over this peanut section that it will be impossible for farmers to meet Victory production goals. Construction began the middle of January and must be completed in 120 days, or by May 20. The anticipated peak pay roll will number 18,000, of whom half will be unskilled workers and the rough construction will make it possible for partially skilled mechanics to fill another fourth of the jobs.

The problem of finding living accommodations for workers on the construction job has already become acute, and local agents of the Employment Service report that it is seriously interfering with their recruiting as well as with actual performance of workers. Salaried officials are commuting 18 miles to Enterprise. Unskilled laborers from the surrounding farms bunch together and ride in on old tires. By March 1 United States Employment Service officials expect these to be crowding up with several thousand unskilled workers who have already set up bunks in every empty dwelling, barn or shanty within walking distance of the job.

Bunkhouse, cabin, and trailer-camp accommodations usually built by private individuals near such jobs are—and will be—scarce here because of the short work season guaranteed and the relatively low wages paid. (Unskilled labor gets 40 cents an hour, or \$16 when they make a full week.)

¹ Thomason reports that the use of small tractors for peanut cultivation has almost doubled in the past year. Since these machines are still available, he expects this trend to continue.

On February 2, representatives of the Army, Extension Service, Farm Security and United States Employment Service met in Ozark. They decided to—

1. Carry on an educational campaign among the farmers, pointing out the brief period work will be available and urge them to put in their crops and then make as much time on the cantonment as this will allow.

2. Appeal to the farm women to fill the breach; ask authorities to make high school children available during planting season; help farmers schedule their operations to better utilize what labor they have.

3. The Employment Service agreed to "refuse to certify" applicants living outside commuting distances if they have been regularly employed in farm work during the previous year.

4. On request from the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad, they mapped a route for shuttle trains to collect workers from a 50-mile radius, thus spreading labor drain. (Outlying points on the proposed routes: Dothan, Abbeville, Troy, and Elba.)

5. While the trains will give some relief, they determined to get some public agency to set up temporary housing. They suggested that the relatively mild climate and the temporary nature of the work would make most practicable the use of such temporary shelters as are provided by tent platform camps developed by Farm Security engineers to house migratory farm laborers.

HENDERSON AIR FIELD (SEBRING, FLA.)

New relocation projects are continuously developing. Late in January the Army began acquisition of 118,000 acres in central Florida for a bombing field. It is located in swampy grazing area near Sebring, 15 miles east of Avon Park.

A total of 18 families, all white, live in this area, most of them small cattlemen running stock on open range. One family operates a fishing resort on Arbuckle Creek and 2 own houses and lots on the lakes. All of these families have been contacted and a survey made of each family.

By February 3, four families had already moved, and the 14 remaining were working out plans with local Farm Security supervisors to find new homes and ranges. It is possible that several families will become clients of the Dixie Cattlemen's Association, at Okeechobee, which is being developed with Farm Security assistance by a number of small cattlemen.

APPENDIX D. LAND PURCHASES

PALMETTO FARMS, INC.

(South Carolina)

County	Acreage	Purchase price	County	Acreage	Purchase price
Berkley	700	\$7,200.00	Richland	4,547.70	\$123,855.00
Sumter	464.5	11,500.00	Calhoun	3,326.86	74,000.00
Allendale and Barnwell ..	2,819	29,000.00	Allendale	2,359.50	39,437.00
Spartanburg	147.84	5,913.00	Barnwell	2,339.80	46,381.00
Orangeburg	1,936.50	27,260.00			

HINESVILLE RELOCATION CORPORATION

(Georgia)

Lee	5,719.14	\$69,500.00	Jeff Davis	18,076.62	\$178,850.00
Terrell	7,572.06	96,356.00	Wheeler and Laurens	1,215	16,600.00
Jefferson	1,035	8,100.00	Screven	4,282.40	64,110.00
Laurens	1,298.50	13,000.00	Wheeler	4,505.19	80,265.00
Johnson	7,294	84,400.00			

ALABAMA RELOCATION CORPORATION

Madison	5,141.01	\$159,725.00	Talladega	13,663.50	\$237,227.50
Calhoun	7,267.12	173,570.00			

PREFACE

Here is the story of what happens to people—to individuals and to groups—under the impact of forces beyond themselves, harried by the new forces abroad in the land, shaken from old customs, occupations, communities. It is the testimony of men and women driven into a new migration from the land by necessities of national defense.

Farm migration and displacement of farm people in the South, it is to be noted, is not a new thing, born of the national emergency. It is merely an accentuation of historic trends. Many of the displaced farmers who either went to town or rented houses and small patches in the country from which they are going to day work, eventually would have drifted into this anyhow. From the accumulation of the case histories may be drawn evidence to support the impersonal presentation of the facts found in the text of the report.

These stories, all added up, should show that the situation under study is, peculiarly in the Southeast, deeply involved in human and social relations, in traditions, customs, unique husbandry, and historic conflicts.

CASE HISTORIES

THE PLANTATION DISINTEGRATES—TALLADEGA COUNTY (CHILDERSBURG AREA)

(Alpine and Plantersville are two of the oldest agricultural settlements in this section of Alabama, and a few of the original slave-holding families remain on the land, working it with tenants who are the children of slaves on these same plantations. The following group of interviews is concerned with dislocations of the peculiarly Old South landlord-tenant relations on the paternal side. There is a special helplessness and bewilderment to be seen among tenants of this sort cut loose from historic moorings.)

Case I

Mr. Arnett owns 142½ acres. He and his wife have a good many children.

When the area was announced they had bought a place—the Winn place between here and Talladega.

They paid \$500 down, with the understanding that this amount was to go as rent for the first year if, for any reason, they did not take it. They moved their two Negro tenants, all their feed, stock, and tools, and three outbuildings. Then they had to move these back. But they operated both farms this summer. This was hard, since labor was scarce. The new farm was 230 acres, 85 of it in cultivation. They tried only corn, oats, and hay there.

Counting money for repairs and all, they put \$100 on the new place. It had a "big house" and two tenant houses on it. They have rented the big place for \$25 a month to powder-plant people for 7 months (through December when it will go back to the owners)—making \$175. One tenant house they have rented for \$5 a month to Negro plant workers—\$35 total. The other tenant house they have been getting \$10 a month from for 2 months. Count this \$30 in all, they said. So a total of \$240 from rents. Counting in value of crops and all, they figured they lost \$200 on the deal, not counting labor.

The Negro tenants got \$20 each from Farm Security Administration for moving. "And they used our mules and wagons and did it on our time," Mrs. Arnett said, a little put out. "Of course, we could have got something if we had gone in there and told a story but I'm not one to do a thing like that * * * I didn't think it was right of them getting it, either, and we could have busted it up, I guess. But we know better than to do thataway, with labor as hard to get as it is." She laughed at herself, good naturedly.

"I never thought I'd come to pet niggers as I have this last year. We've taken a lot of foolishness off them and not said anything. * * *"

Both she and Mr. Arnett began to laugh and he told about a neighbor who had been "very strict with his hands." When the powder plant come they all went off and left him, and even those who weren't working would not go pick his cotton. "It's there in the field now, and he can't hire anybody to touch it, not from round here."

One Negro family is still with the Arnetts, but working at the powder plant part of the time. A second—one they kept praising as "the best farmer you ever saw—he's not just a good worker, he knows how to farm * * * he's been on this place all his life * * * born right around here * * *"—had decided to work in the powder plant full time. So they wouldn't lose him for good, they rented a house for him just across the road (rather poor looking shack)

from Mrs. Arnett's brother. The Negro pays them rent but says he does not plan to farm so long as he can get other work. He thinks he can get work inside the plant when it opens, she said.

To replace this family the Arnetts got another Negro couple * * * "They look like they're crazy anyway," she said, "I guess that's why nobody would hire them. But they're good workers, as good as you'll find anywhere." What will happen when all three families want to come back with them—they did not know.

Mr. Arnett said he didn't blame any Negro for not wanting to farm here. They had a crop failure for 3 years. Last year they made four bales on 16 acres and this year they made five. His tenants work on halves.

Case II

On Mr. H. H. Cook's "small place" just below the crossroads at Plantersville are two houses. One is very near the road, a one-storied, six-room house built in a U, with a porch across the front. At one time, probably only a few years ago, it was a respectable residence, plastered inside, and well appointed, if a bit shabby. Now three Negro families from Mr. Cook's old farm live here.

The front door, most of its side panes covered with cardboard, was barred.

The well in the narrow yard formed by the two wings of the house was "dry." It was the only thing around in that condition. Rain leaked down inside the two rooms where Eddie Garrett, his wife, and two little girls live. Eddie was "out hunting." The rest of the family sat around the open fire in the larger room. Eddie has been working at the powder plant since July and signs of his new wealth were about; a battery radio, a sewing machine, some bright knitted caps for the children, and some oranges. Garrett's wife, a small, neat, quiet-spoken girl was reading a copy of Good Housekeeping (bright advertisement pages from Vogue and The Saturday Evening Post helped hide spots on the wall where the plaster had fallen from the laths).

She and Eddie moved from Mr. H. H. Cook's place the last day of February.

Until July her husband worked as a day hand for H. H. Cook and his brother, C. C., since July he has been working on the powder plant job. She did not know what they are going to do when the area job is over. For 8 years they have been working for Mr. H. H. Cook and both were "born and raised" on the place.

The house, she said, is better than the one they lived in before, and seemed surprised at my questions about how many lived there (3 families, 11 people, in 6 rooms). Each of the couples pays \$1.50 a week for the house. (It was surmised from general conversation that they had been paying this only since they started working at the plant.) She has a few chickens—12 laying hens, all that is left of her farming. There is no garden.

The men make \$4 a day on the powder-plant job, she said. This is "mighty good to what they been getting a-farming." They didn't get "enough to live on, hardly" when her husband was farming.

Later Eddie came in. He is working for 50 cents an hour digging ditches for the pipe line laying. He doesn't expect to get work much longer, "the way they keep turning them off up there." He hasn't planned anything beyond that, but he was very definite in stating that he did not expect to go back to farming so long as there was any chance to get more "public work." He has worked for H. H. Cook as a day or month wage hand for the past 7 or 8 years, leaving him only for a week or two at a time to pick up a few days work on nearby farms. The pay: \$10 a month, and a house, during planting, chopping, and gathering time; 75 cents a day for any work done during lay by time, or during the winter months. He was better off than most on the Cook place, he said—with special pride in the fact that he was a favorite, plainly exhibited. He "milked by the month" for Mr. Cook and, on special occasions, acted as "butler boy around the house."

When probed about next year, and what he might be doing he finally said, "I can't hardly say. I ain't gonna farm if I can reach out and get something else." What this might be he seemed to have not the faintest idea.

He hasn't been able to save anything, he said, because "I had a big debt in front of me." (Remember the new radio, the new clothes, and the sewing machine.) This money was, and is, owed to Mr. Cook. Mr. Cook took him down to the union last July and got him the job. (He confirmed story that they didn't get money for moving. Told that they moved "too quick.")

"If I hadn't got on I'd sho' be back in the woods 'til yet," Garrett said. He "draws" \$25, or about that, every pay day. He gives "the biggest part of that

to Mr. Cook, excusing what I keeps out for groceries * * *." He thinks he is about out of debt now.

Garrett said, finally, "If it looks like it's gonna wrap me up in debt again, I ain't gonna farm * * * I knows that."

THEY MOVE TO TOWN—HUNTSVILLE AREA (SEIBERT ARSENAL)

Case III

Henry and Lola Joiner have lived around "Palm Beat" in the arsenal area, all their lives. Both came from landowning families and they had always wanted to buy a place of their own. Last January they moved from their old rented place near Palm Beat to an old house on a farm they were buying through the tenant-purchase program. When their new house was finished in May they moved into it. In September they were forced to move back to the old house on their farm because, Lola explained, "the building men told us they wanted to use our new house for an office." However, no use was made of the house. In November they moved a fourth time, to this house on the new tract they are buying with four other tenant-purchase borrowers.

They were able to gather about 75 percent of their crop on the old place—the first and only crop they got a chance to make there. The remainder was destroyed when a right-of-way was cut. So far, the wife said, they have heard nothing about getting paid for this.

The husband has been working at the arsenal job since September. The wife and her two sons, 13 and 16 years of age, did all the harvesting.

Lola is a Barney, one of the leading Negro landowner families in the Palm Beat community destroyed by the arsenal development. Her mother owned about 400 acres, and the whole family group (some 9 households in all) owned around 1,000 acres. Some of this was mortgaged. They have received no money for it, so far. Already they have bargained for about half this number of acres in another part of the county and have taken over a house in town. This dwelling is being used by several of the children who attend Alabama State Normal College and others who are working at the Russell Erskine Hotel in Huntsville. She is sure they plan to keep on farming. Certainly she does.

"All my family likes to work. We likes to plow and we likes to hoe and we likes to spread our arms out and grab hold of something * * *."

Other farmers taking over this tract will be moving into shacks left by the former operator's day hands. Since all the latter are still in the houses working on the arsenal job, some suffering is bound to take place here, for the area was cleared in January.

Case IV

All except two of the nine tenant-purchase farmers moved from the area will be farming in the spring of 1942, either on rented places or ones optioned to buy through the Bankhead-Jones program. The two have not been able to locate places for crops and, unless one can be found, will have to do what day work they can find until land can be found.

Williams, one of the nine, does not want to try buying a farm again. The buildings on his new place were all completed. He had worked on them himself. Then he and his family were forced to move. He moved to another part of the same community, hoping to be able to gather his crops, but was moved twice again and most of his crop was destroyed in the early clearing. He was not able to harvest one ear of corn or pick one boll of cotton. Now is he living in a rented house outside of town.

Robert has received no money for his destroyed crops and had difficulty getting work on the arsenal job. His three head of work stock, several cows and hogs have cost him a great deal to feed. He plans to farm again, he told Mr. Lynn, but does not want to try buying.

"He put a great deal of work on that farm last winter and spring and he feels mighty discouraged about it now," Mr. Lynn said. "Getting moved so many times like that he seems to feel somebody's got something against him. He told me he guessed they never meant for him to own a place."

COMMON LABOR (HUNTSVILLE)

Fully 200 white men, most of them in overalls with big numbered union buttons pinned on conspicuously, were scrouged up on a couple of narrow porches around the rough pine common laborers' union headquarters, "waiting for a call." An equal number of Negroes were squeezed under the narrow eaves and along an

alley in the back. It was drizzling rain, mid-afternoon and spirits were low. One man, a farmer in his late thirties, started telling about it.

Case V

"It's a joke," he said. He had signed up with the union in August and every few days since then had come down from his farm in Morgan County, 30 miles away, to see if there was anything doing. He had not found a single day of work, so far. "They're giving the jobs to men who come from away off. They can come from these other jobs and get right on and us living around here can't get on at all."

Sure, he was going to make a crop next year. He was down here hoping to make enough money so he wouldn't have to go in debt for it next spring. But now he'll be glad if he makes enough days to pay back all the money he's spent on transportation—30 miles each way.

Case VI

Carney Glover lives in the northern part of Madison County, almost on the Tennessee line. He has been farming for the past 5 years on a third and fourth basis as a Farm Security Administration rehabilitation borrower. Since October 4, when he joined up with the union, he has been coming the 20 miles to town and 20 miles back again looking for work. He wanted to know why it was they didn't hire the farmers the way they promised to, now that crop season was over?

"Yes; I'm making another crop next year. I want to get so I won't have to keep going in debt on my crops what I'm after," he said.

Some person who had gotten work on the powder plant offered his landlord as much for the use of the house as he was paying in rent (averaged on cotton third) for the house and land, so he, Glover, has had to move. He found another place in the same section which he is renting on the third and fourth basis.

Case VII

Virgil Turner came 18 miles down from Hurricane Creek almost every morning from August 15 when he signed up with the union, until November 24 without getting work. Now he is making, as he put it, "more money in less time" than he has ever made in his life. For the last year or so, until the first of August, he was working on Work Projects Administration. After being cut off, on days he did not come to Huntsville he found work around the neighborhood at \$1 a day for straight farm work, hay baling, etc., and \$1.50 a day (average) for picking cotton.

Turner used to farm and wants to go back to it, if he can get his hands on some stock and some good land. Since the tractors have come along, he said, a man working on shares can't get land.

"The big fellows, they get all this Government rent money and pay for their tractors and the little work they hire with that," he said. "All they make on crops, hit's plum clear."

Six dollars a month is what Turner pays for his house out in the country. It is better than the average tenant house, he said. He didn't know whether or not the rent would be increased, but suspected it would. Several people had been around looking at it.

Case VIII

W. A. Bishop has rented a 120-acre farm near New Market in Madison County, 70 acres of it in cultivation, from his brother-in-law for the past several years. He has been working on the job for the past 3 weeks and this is his first experience doing "public work". He is a common laborer.

He does not plan to operate the farm next year, because he has no "plow hands" in his family and doesn't think he can hire any at reasonable prices. This fall, for example, he had to pay \$1 a day for harvest hands and \$1 a hundred for cotton pickers. "And you can't get a nigger to cut wood."

Something else is bothering Bishop. People around in his community are raising rents from a third and fourth arrangement to straight thirds. He is afraid this will happen to his place. He does hope to stay on in the same house and commute to work, but doesn't know whether his brother-in-law will be able to rent the land without the house.

CANTRELL'S BUNK HOUSE

BEDS 50 cents night

Hot water showers

L. J. Cantrell, Mgr.

This sign hung over a small frame building, a converted neighborhood store on the outskirts of Huntsville. Inside were a dozen men sitting on homemade stools and benches around a pot-bellied stove. Twenty-eight iron cots covered with Army blankets lined down the building and in adjoining long room were 24 other beds, spaced about 18 inches part. In the rear was a tin-floored shower cubicle with two jets and two metal sinks. Toilet facilities were outside pits.

Mr. Cantrell, it seemed, is from McMinnville, Tenn. He had a similar bunk-house at Tullahoma and at Milan, Tenn., when the defense jobs were going there. A good many of the patrons are from around McMinnville and have lived with him while working on the other jobs. The place was bare, reasonably clean. Weekly rates are \$3. They have averaged 10 or 12 customers a night for the past month.

Case IX

This is the sixth week H. L. Brown had squatted in that dark hall and he was getting a little out of patience. For 4 weeks he commuted the 38 miles each way from where his wife and family live with the in-laws in Launeck Cove.

Until recently Brown was a farmer. Now he works as an ironmaker * * *.

"If I can get on * * *,"

He worked on the Milan, Tenn. job from the 29th of July to the last part of October. There he and his wife and two children lived in a converted smoke house, for which they paid \$5.50 a week. It was furnished with one double bed and a half bed, a small stove and some utensils.

"It wasn't bad, once we got used to it."

Here in Huntsville, Brown and his brother have found a boarding place about which they are very pleased. They pay \$8 a week and get meals and a room to themselves. The only trouble is that neither of them likes to be away from their families.

Case X

W. M. Jennings, now rooming with another worker came to the Huntsville job from Childersburg the last of October. His family lives near Gadsden, 78 miles away. For 4 weeks he traveled this distance back and forth every day—156 miles. It took too much out of him, he said, so he moved in with Annis and now goes to see his family on week-ends.

"I couldn't find a place any closer we could live," he explained. He has a wife and two children.

Immediately before coming to Huntsville, Jennings worked on the Childersburg job and lived in Birmingham, 38 miles away. Commuting was easy here, after they put on the special train, he said. For \$40 a month they got a two-room apartment with bath and kitchenette. "It was just all right. Now, if I could get a place like that here I wouldn't kick."

Before going to Childersburg, Jennings worked at Camp Blanding and lived in Jacksonville, 48 miles away. This meant 96 miles traveled every day, but he could find no "fittin' place" any closer to the job. There they found a couple of furnished rooms for \$10 a week.

"If I don't find some place where I can bring my family over here, my wife's gonna quit me and my kids are going to get so they don't know me * * *." Jennings wanted to get one of those Government trailers, too.

Case XI

The first year of married life for the Harley F. Leonards has been one of shuttling around from boarding house to furnished apartment to auto court and back to boarding house again. October of 1940 Harley left Columbus, Ga., his home, to work as a plumber on a defense job at Tallahassee, Fla. He found a furnished apartment there for \$37.50 and there they spent their honeymoon. He had been living in a single room, paying \$5 a week for it.

His next job was on Camp Gordon in Atlanta after being without work for several weeks. Here they found a boarding house where they got excellent food and a clean room for \$14 a week.

When the Camp Gordon job was over they traveled for 2 weeks without work again. He got work for 1 week in Charleston, S. C., and then was without it for 3 months.

"That's what happens to the big wages we make," Leonard said. "Most folks don't know how much it costs to travel around like this * * *."

"If you don't save at least half what you make," his wife put in, "you'll be having to beg as soon as the job gives out."

In July he got work near Anniston on the Fort McClellan job and they lived in a furnished apartment, paying \$45 a month.

When they came to Huntsville, the 1st of November, they stayed at a hotel for 4 days, then found a boarding place, where they paid \$20 a week for the two of them.

"The only place I've seen that I'd really enjoy living in here is priced at \$85 a month—and it's nothing in the world but a furnished upstairs of a house," Mrs. Leonard said. She wasn't complaining, though. She was too much excited at the prospect of moving into one of the trailers.

Case XII. Lester England Sells Out

Lester England owns between 1,500 and 2,000 acres of farm land in the northern neck of Talladega County, near the Fort McClellan extension, and operates a country store and furnishing establishment in the old bank building at Lincoln. His trade has been, for the most part, "with my own folks." The defense work has played havoc with his farming operations, he said.

"The trouble is, one nigger'll get a job and the whole crowd of them will live off that one and won't raise a hand to do anything * * *. All the men that's fit to work have gone to these defense jobs and all you've got left is the old folks and the children * * *. The Government's paying them four times what they're worth. We never paid them more than \$1 a day around here and now they're making \$4. It's running them plum crazy. They'll buy automobiles and radios and won't work for hell. I've got over 100 shacks on my places and this summer I've had to go somewhere else to get hands. They'll sit back in them little shacks, five of six of them up together like pigs, and that radio'll be bustin' out 'til you can't hear nothing, and they wouldn't work for hell * * *. You know, most niggers won't work 'til they're hungry * * *. If the Government'd pay them about half what they're getting they'd get more work done * * *."

This defense money disease is infecting the "good ones," too.

"I had one fellow on my place, been here 10 years. He got a job on this defense and he up and quit—moved out. He'll be sorry he did that when all this shuts down. There's going to be a many a hungry nigger in this county about that time * * *."

For the past several years England has been working most of his land himself. He has three tractors. The rest he rented out on "the fourth." Things have changed around here a great deal in the past 2 decades. Up until 1921, he said, farming was simple. You would give a hand a mule in the spring, tell him to plant cotton, and he planted it. When the boll weevil came a tenant had to start making his own feed. This complicated farming and he shifted from share-cropping to working his land on a fourth-rent basis, helping his men buy their stock through his store. When the cotton program was started "it shut some of the families off."

This summer England operated about 500 acres himself, with tractors and wage hands "* * *" and 100 acres I always made a crop on didn't get a plow stuck in it because I couldn't get the labor." Another 300 acres he operated with half tenants, to whom he furnishes stock, equipment, and supervision. The rest, in scattered tracts, was rented for cropping to people paying fourth rent. A good many of these did not work their crops, though, or worked with very little. They got jobs on the construction work, instead.

"I almost always make 100 bales of cotton. This time I didn't make more than 40. Couldn't get the hands. I still got a bale in the fields I can't get picked * * *. Had to pay up to \$1.50 a hundred for that I did get in * * *." Until late in November he was having to pay 10 cents a bale to have his hay pressed and stored.

All the twenty-odd houses on England's land are filled. Several are occupied by defense workers, both Negro and white, who are paying \$5 a month rent. "The rest are living at my expense * * *" (meaning they are not paying any cash rent).

"It's going to be a bad time around here when this stuff's over, and they ain't going to have nothing to run on. Here they're turning off a bunch of them up there at Fort McClellan, and do they look for another job? Hell, no. They're after that social security. I thought that was supposed to be for the next depression. * * *

England is getting out of it all. The defense project wages have given him a chance to collect some of the money owed him at the store. He has optioned 1,100 acres of his land to the relocation corporation, and plans to sell most of his tractors, mules, and equipment. He will still keep about 500 acres to operate himself, but does not expect to move any of his tenants there who aren't on the place already. This he will work with day hands. He assumed the relocation corporation would take care of the 20 houses full of tenants.

England thought the relocation corporation work a good thing. "I figure the Government's going to cut this land up into 40-acre farms and tell them they can root or starve."

Case XIII

Robert Moody, a colored farmer 47 years of age, had lived for the past 5 years with his wife, three daughters and a son on a 212-acre place (most of it open range) he was trying to buy, located in Bryan County, near Pembroke.

"I had it almost paid for," he reported, "when the man that had the note started pushing me. I went to see a fellow and see would he let me have the money. He say he'd take it up and pay me the difference, but he wouldn't let me have it to pay out. I knowed this here area was coming and I begged him, but he wouldn't, so I leave him have it."

Moody thought he owed about \$600 on his place, including taxes. He received from the man who took the farm \$70 in cash. He did not know how much he had paid on the place ("most a thousand dollars if I ain't mistaken") nor how much the Government is paying its present owner.

Robert and his family have moved to Bullock County, where they are renting a one-horse farm—26 acres of land, a house, and some open range for his cattle. He worked on the area for 2 months this fall ("it caught me up a little on my debts"). He has not moved to strange territory.

"The man I stay with married the daughter of the man I used to stay with," he grinned.

Moody had been running a 2-horse farm before and, according to several white men around the courthouse, was accounted a substantial farmer. He listed for moving: 1 mule, 3 beef cows, 11 hogs, 18 goats, 20 chickens, 900 bundles of fodder, 40 bushels of corn, and furniture enough for a 4-room house. He moved 25 miles and received a grant of \$50.

Case XIV

Sam Howard is a man in his early forties, powerfully built, a broad-jawed, intelligent appearing Negro. He is a farmer, a trucker and, with his brother, contracts for and builds small residences. This Sunday morning he was driving up the road in his pick-up truck.

Sam operated a 100-acre farm that originally belonged to his father. After his father's death he bought out five brothers and sisters, who were scattered from Brunswick to Baltimore, and farmed the place with one brother who remained on the old place. He grew cotton, some tobacco and, of late, had gone into the truck-farming business, peddling his own stuff to local markets.

When he first heard about the area and the fact that it might possibly get his place he scrambled out and found himself more land—85 acres with a house on it, 10 miles from his old home. For this he promised to pay \$2,000, and had enough cash on hand to meet all except \$300 of the bill. Some of this money has come from the few weeks' work he got on the area and from extra carpenter work he and his brother have done during the last year or so, since carpenters have been hard to find.

The old place has not been appraised. "They give us until January 1st to get out," he said, "but I'm not going to leave until they come look at what I've got. A man'd be a fool to go off and leave it. If it'd burn down I wouldn't have any way in the world to prove what I had * * *."

A great many people are looking for land, he said, both Negroes and whites. The trouble is that land has gone "way out of sight." Many of his Negro friends have bargained for places, and are paying a great deal too much for them. "If the Government (defense) work shuts down in about a year they'll lose it."

Case XV

D. L. Purcell worked a small tract next to M. W. Glissen that belongs to his wife. When the condemnation was rumored he started looking around. He found land had doubled in price. The reasons:

1. "Folks knowed there'd be a big demand for farms when we had to clear out * * *."
2. "Prices for farm stuff are about double what they was last year this time. It looks like farming's coming back. It's natural a man would think more of his land * * *."

Purcell, too, wondered if he wouldn't be able to make another crop here. His cousin, E. L. Purcell, had a turpentine tract near the town of Willie (center of the area). When the order came to pull up stakes a year ago, E. L. closed up business. Then they didn't take the place until late in July. This means he missed almost a whole season.

"We don't know anything," Purcell kept insisting. "All we hear's what some other fellow says he thinks * * *." He thought the least the Government could do was to tell them something for certain.

"A man farming in this country ought to know right now if he's going to farm next year * * *."

SUPPLEMENTAL STATEMENT BY E. S. MORGAN, DIRECTOR,
REGION 5, FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION, UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

MONTGOMERY, ALA., May 1942.

A number of factors have changed since preparation of our original statement for this committee describing displacement of farm families in the Southeastern States and programs for their service undertaken by the Farm Security Administration.

Preparation of our exhibits was begun before Pearl Harbor. The word, the national thinking, has changed from defense to war. New appraisals and programs have been projected. The national effort has been accelerated and many plans have been transformed from their original design. This supplementary statement is made necessary to explain the changes wrought in several details of the original report.

However, these changes are indeed but changes in details and in method. The fundamental story remains unaltered, the fundamental thesis is the same; namely, that the conditions for which we seek means of alleviation are not new, not the result of upheavals due to the war or to pre-war concerns. And because they involve forces which are the same in kind, if not in degree, as those with which our sociologists, economists, and other observers of the southern scene have long been aware, the truth is no less evident that we must look to programs of long and enduring effect. The goals are: 1, stabilization; 2, rehabilitation. In short, none of the conclusions described in the original statement have been altered.

Your committee is aware of the uncertainties which at this moment beset the relocation program. This program has been placed in the hands of the Farm Security Administration, as the action agency principally endowed with function and authorization to bring about human adjustments in the farm field. A question as to method was posed by the Comptroller General early in March, and pending its settlement, the program has not been developed greatly beyond the stage described in the original report to this committee.

Other incidental changes have occurred because of factors which include: (1) Reorganization and centralization of housing programs; (2) limitation of expenditures for construction; (3) revision of plans for land acquisition by the Army. Adjustment to these changes may be made without substantial revision of the program as originally conceived.

In spite of the changing picture and changing regulations, the experience of the Farm Security Administration in the field under discussion continues to be invoked for service in connection with war migrations. An illustration may be recited as follows:

BROOKLEY FIELD (MOBILE, ALA.)

A 300-unit trailer camp and a dormitory accommodating 490 single men are being built by the Farm Security Administration at Mobile, Ala., to house skilled mechanics employed at Brookley Field, southeastern Air Corps maintenance and repair depot for Army planes.

The housing shortage in Mobile is already acute, and the population of the town has nearly doubled. Single rooms rent for \$25 or \$30 a month, and apartments average \$60 or \$70, but there are none available.

Acting as agents for the Federal Public Housing Authority, part of the stop-gap defense housing program, the Farm Security Administration received funds for the Mobile project from the urgent defense appropriations account, authorized to erect temporary shelters for workers in national defense activities.

Construction on the camp was begun May 4 and it is expected to be ready for use by July 1.

Rental rates for the 100 Government-owned and 200 private-owned trailers will be \$7 a week for the standard type, including lights, water, and janitor service, and \$8 a week for the expandable family type. Dormitory rates will be from \$3.50 to \$5 a week for a double room, and from \$5 to \$7 a week for a private room, including linen, blankets, and other similar hotel services. All applications must be certified by the personnel officer of Brookley Field, as well as the camp manager.

TRIANGULAR DIVISION CAMP (OZARK, ALA.)

Another illustration of the adaptation of the Farm Security program to meet changing conditions is to be found at Ozark, Ala., where a triangular division camp was projected. As described in the original volume presented to this committee, approximately 70,000 acres had been surveyed, on which lived 296 families to be moved. The plans were revised, and only 40,000 acres were utilized. The number of families to be moved was reduced to 216.

Of these 216 families, 155 have already moved, and plans have been made for 31 more, leaving 30 yet to be relocated. In the group of 155 families who have actually moved, 63 made their own arrangements for funds and 92 received rural rehabilitation grants.

Fourteen families who moved out of this defense area bought farms, 99 leased farms, 39 leased houses, and 3 bought houses.

Ninety families had to move by February 24 from the 10,000-acre construction area in Dale County.

These families, classified by type of farming or occupation, before and after relocation are as follows:

Before relocation:		After relocation:	
Rented on halves.....	30	Rent on halves.....	31
Owners.....	28	Owners.....	10
Squatters.....	6	Squatters.....	2
Laborers.....	6	Laborers.....	4
Cash renters.....	13	Cash renters.....	24
Share renter.....	1	Share renters.....	0
Worked at sawmill.....	1	Work at sawmill.....	0
Worked for Work Projects Administration or other public agencies.....	4	Work for Work Projects Administration.....	2
Live with children.....	1	Live with children.....	1
		Purchased houses.....	3
		Have public work.....	13

Sixty-five other families were relocated by March 28. These were divided into—

Before relocation:		After relocation:	
Owners.....	11	Owner.....	2
Halves.....	22	Halves.....	32
Public work.....	7	Public work.....	8
Work Projects Administration.....	1	Work Projects Administration.....	1
Day laborer.....	5	Day laborer.....	4
Cash renter.....	19	Cash renter.....	18

Thirty families are yet to be relocated.

PROGRESS OF FOOD PRODUCTION PROGRAM

In renewing the original discussion, the progress of Farm Security's food production program should be related. This program involves a material, measurable contribution of Farm Security to the Nation's war effort, outside of its value in social and economic improvement of borrower-participants and its value in creating new sources of cash income, new means of emancipation from the stifling one-crop system of southern tradition, new outlook and standards of living.

In the original report there is an extended description (p. 16—A Program for Living) of the accelerated activity in food production by low-income farmers of the southeast through the Farm Security Administration food for defense program. This program has been enlarged, its goals twice revised, since it started less than a year ago. A measure of its present expectations may be seen from this recent report of results from the original food for defense program (from the Montgomery Advertiser and press service dispatches of April 30):

"Small farmers in the Southeast have increased their egg production in the past year from a negligible amount, sold or traded by the dozen to 'rolling stores,' to a major farm enterprise producing 500,000 dozen weekly.

"In reports completed yesterday, farm management specialists of the Farm Security Administration estimated that 56,000 small farmers cooperating with the program in Alabama, Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina, were now getting an average of more than 800,000 eggs a day from chickens raised in the food for defense program initiated last spring. At an average of only 23 cents a dozen, they pointed out that this meant \$15,000 value in food for home use and in cash sales for these low-income farmers daily.

"Results of last year's program definitely point to poultry as a permanent enterprise in this region,' said Hubert R. Bailey, regional chief of the cooperative division. 'The prospect is bright for the South's becoming a major national source of supply.' "

This accomplishment in only one of several phases of the war food production program shows plainly the possibilities of a new day in southern farming which have been pointed through the Farm Security plan of credit, expert direction and supervision of small farmers who otherwise have no access to these things.

ENLARGEMENT OF GOALS

Since the cow-hog-hen program of the food for defense program of 1941 was set into motion, the Farm Security Administration has enlarged the food production goals of its participating families by 300 percent in the case of cane and sorghum, 100 percent in year-round gardens, 100 percent in rice and wheat production for home use, 200 percent in peanut production, and increases no less impressive as to other commodities.

It has been demonstrated that the widest field for increase in food production lies in the small farms. The Atlanta Journal of April 1 points out:

"Consider the work of the Federal Security Administration in fortifying the productive capacity of farmers who, without such assistance and guidance, could not hold their own, much less contribute to the Nation's emergency needs.

"Their problem merges into that of a much larger group of low-income farmers who heretofore have not grown enough foodstuffs to supply their own wants. It is from this group, in the opinion of able observers, that most of the increase in food production so urgently needed for our armed forces and for our Allies must come. The large producer already has been working to capacity, and now the labor shortage and the difficulty of acquiring more machinery bar him from any great increase in his output. But if the rank and file of low-income farmers, numbering around 1,700,000, could turn their food-producing possibilities to maximum account, the result would be exceedingly important. Indeed, the Department of Agriculture estimates that they could provide 35 percent of the needed pork and lard, 40 percent of the eggs and 16 percent of the milk. These proportions might well mark the difference between success and failure in one of the most vital aspects of our war effort. Surely, there could be no better expenditure of time and means than in aiding such farmers to realize their opportunity and their patriotic hope of serving the country through increased food production.

"The same principle applies to the lowest income group, with whom the Farm Security Administration is concerned. These farmers, with the help of the Farm Security Administration, are becoming self-reliant and creative factors in the common weal. Once impoverished and distressed, they are now on the way to permanent security. They are steadily repaying the Government loans through which they got a new start in life; \$200,000,000 of the total \$574,000,000 thus lent during the last 5 years has been returned to the Federal Treasury, while 122,000 borrowers have repaid their loans in full. Evidently, the Farm Security Administration is doing a work of great consequence to the national welfare and to the war effort."

MARKETING SYSTEM

One of the most effective implements with which the Farm Security Administration has undertaken to attack this problem of greater food production, greater self-sufficiency—and in the end, greater independence and democratic participation—by the small farmer, is a workable marketing system.

We may report advances toward this goal since the main report was written. These have been made principally through the organization of some 3,600 community groups in the 4 States of Farm Security Administration's region 5—which include some 60,000 families, 300,000 persons, who have been drawn together for common planning, for discernment of common goals, and for convenience in assembly and distribution of products to market. The problem of finding this market thus has been simplified and it was made easier to adopt the admirable machinery set up by the Agricultural Marketing Administration. In group action as fostered by the Farm Security Administration, the position of the small farmer has been strengthened a hundredfold.

10-YEAR LEASE PROGRAM

Several incidental observations in the original report are to be qualified. One of these touches upon the 10-year lease program of the Farm Security Administration.

At first it was feared that increase in land and commodity values might have the effect of deterring landowners from entering into long-term leases (see pp. 7 and 8, main statement). However, the picture is changing within itself. There is the prospect now of stabilization of prices. The sky is no longer the limit. Agriculture is in the national service, and the necessities of the hour have as of April 28 put an end to the speculative element.

For another thing, it has been proved that much land and many habitations have fallen into a state of decline so great that few can overlook the need of restoring them as soon as possible, if the values are not to be lost entirely.

Consequently, the effort to obtain 10-year leases is winning recognition and a degree of support that is gratifying. To make the longer tenure serve a constructive purpose, it was undertaken to write into each lease certain agreements of mutual obligation to make improvements—tenants to be compensated for improvements which they apply, landlords to make other improvements (being secured in benefits from this outlay by the assurance of occupancy and productive labor).

Approximately 700 10-year leases will be signed in the region this year. An example of their operation may be seen in 148 that were consummated in Alabama. The figures show that 69 provided for planting kudzu; 59 provided for poultry houses; 113 made provisions for fencing; 123 for sanitary improvement; 114 planned to improve dwellings; 116 planned to improve barns; 118 for water improvement; 89 for terracing (under agreements usually where the landlord furnishes the seed and the fertilizer, and the tenant furnishes the work); 111 provided for pasture improvement—seeding permanent pastures.

Worthy of note in the above analysis is the fact that so many clients plan to plant or improve pastures and to put up fencing, which means that they are going into the livestock business.

We have said a good bit about 10-year leases, because that is the period of time we have been working on—but what we mean is a period of tenure long enough so that the people will be interested in doing things and the landlord in having them done. The program was begun last summer. We have made a fine beginning, and supervision will see that the enterprises are carried through right.

Pertinent to a discussion of the complete aims of the Farm Security Administration in the field of stabilization and rehabilitation, to which both this agency and your committee are dedicated, seems to be the following bit of documentary evidence. It comes from a report by an Farm Security Administration home management supervisor in Coffee County, Ala.:

"Out of a house that leaked, had no screens, no outbuildings, and that was very open, the Norris family moved into a ceiled house, screened, with more rooms and plenty of outbuildings. Mrs. Norris did not keep a very clean house, but since she moved, her house is very clean. She said the other day, 'Since I have moved, I have better heart to keep my house clean. When you have nothing to work for, you just don't care.'"

I ask your indulgence to repeat: When you have nothing to work for, you just don't care.

When you have nothing to fight for, when you are without hope, you might find it hard to distinguish between Roosevelt and Hitler, between God and Mammon, between the dominion of the spirit and the fleshpots of the Pharaohs.

TESTIMONY OF E. S. MORGAN—Resumed

Mr. ARNOLD. When you appeared before the committee in Montgomery in 1940 we were studying migration of the destitute. We had undertaken to learn what factors were at work causing people to leave their farms. We were subsequently called on to investigate defense migration in the Southeast. Do you think there are the same factors at work causing such migration that were in force in 1940?

MIGRATION A CONTINUING PROBLEM IN THE SOUTH

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir; definitely. Migration after all is nothing new with us in the South. For instance, from 1920 to 1930 more than 3,000,000 people moved from the South to other areas. There has been a constant migration from the South, and conditions like these through which we are passing at the present time just simply accelerate the movement. We have found, as a result of a survey of these four States, that it has a direct relation to the security of the people on the farms. The ones who are insecure are the ones who migrate.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, migration of destitute citizens is caused by many factors, but the chief one is, as you say, a lack of economic security. But there are a good many other factors.

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir; and this present situation is just one more factor.

Mr. ARNOLD. Of course this committee, from its investigations all over the country, strongly believes in the work that has been done and should now be done by the Farm Security Administration. We feel that that Administration can do more to keep these people on the farm than any other agency of the Government.

What has the low income farm group been able to contribute to the food-for-victory program?

FOOD-FOR-VICTORY PROGRAM

Mr. MORGAN. Of course Farm Security, especially in this particular region, is especially proud of the contribution that has already been made by that low-income group. Last spring when the Secretary of Agriculture attempted to strengthen the prices of certain basic commodities that were needed for our Allies, we put on a drive immediately with the borrowers in this region to increase their production of those items. For instance, we urged some 78,000 borrowers that we have in these four States to enlarge their production—we made loans to them to put in more chickens, more hogs, and more cows. Some fifty-odd-thousand of those families bought 5,000,000 baby chicks, 20,000 brood sows, and 20,000 cows. And as a result of that drive, projected last year with this particular group, there has been a tremendous increase in the production of eggs and of chickens and of milk and of pigs. And it shows to us very clearly that that is the group that has really got to make the largest contribution to the increased production of food, because it, after all, is the available farm labor supply—in that group is your largest reserve of farm labor.

UTILIZATION OF LOW-INCOME GROUP

A study of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics shows that the average farm family has about 565 man-days of labor. The average farmer in the South with 10 acres of cotton and 20 acres of corn, as we used to say, requires 198 man days of that labor. So, there is your reserve of surplus labor, and it is the only reservoir of surplus labor we have. And the only way we are going to get near the food production called for is to so design our program to utilize those additional man-days. I think definitely that the greater percentage of the production of food for the winning of this war has got to be done by the low-income group. The large operator is already operating his farm pretty close to its maximum efficiency. There is no surplus of day labor that he can draw on if he did have additional acres to plant. There is no additional machinery he could get, as they did in the last World War, where they could buy more tractors and turn over more land. Therefore, I think this is the group that must produce the food.

Mr. ARNOLD. The large raiser of livestock hasn't many surplus days or man-hours to greatly increase his herd?

Mr. MORGAN. That is right.

Mr. ARNOLD. It is very interesting to have those figures on man-days available on that group of farms.

Mr. MORGAN. In the statement I have filed is a chart showing those man-days available by months. We show that for a farm plan requiring 10 acres of cotton, 20 acres of corn, 5 acres of oats, and 5 acres of hay, only 198 man-days of the 565 available are used. If you change the plan just a little whereby there would be 6 acres of cotton, 3 acres of tobacco, 20 acres of corn, 5 acres of hay, and 5 acres of oats and subsistence for the workstock, you would be able to utilize 276 days of the 565. Then, with a still more broadened plan, for 7 acres of cotton, 2 acres of tobacco, 5 acres of peanuts, 15 acres of corn and beans, 5 acres of oats, 5 acres of soybeans, 100 hens, and 4 cows, you can utilize 435 of that 565 man-days of labor available.

Mr. ARNOLD. Those 78,000 clients necessarily had to have additional loans, the ones who increased production?

BABY-CHICK PROGRAM

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir; we made fifty-odd-thousand of these loans at an average of something over \$80 per family. We said to these families: "First, we insist you buy 50 additional baby chicks. Then in addition to that, we insist that you either buy a brood sow or 2 dairy cows, or, if conditions are such that you couldn't handle a brood sow or 2 dairy cows, get another 50 chickens," which would make 100 chickens. The trouble in that program was we started in April. They bought those baby chicks, 5,000,000 of them, in May. May is late for chickens in the South. There is an old saying that May chickens are about half dead when they are hatched. There were people who said, "You are putting these chickens out with a group of people that won't take care of them." And yet actually less than 15 percent of those chickens were lost, more than 85 percent of them were raised.

Then of course the thing that we immediately faced, and which we must face in any movement of this kind, was that 90 days after

those baby chicks were bought, there were some 2,000,000 cocks that had to be sold. They started moving off at 17, 18, and 19 cents a pound, and then after a few weeks the price began to drop down, down to about 13 or 14 cents. We learned a lot of lessons. We found out, for instance, the big buyers of chickens and eggs knew more about what we had out there to sell than we knew ourselves. Anyway, the price started down, and we said: "We won't let these people sacrifice this stuff, because they have gone out into this thing so whole-heartedly, with such patriotism, eager to help do something for their country. We will simply take these chickens and put them in cold storage and hold them until they bring a satisfactory price." And we moved 40,000 of those chickens into storage, and the price was soon back up to 19 cents a pound. So that is not only teaching people to do something they never did before, but it is also teaching a lot of us a lot about marketing, which must necessarily go with a change in products.

Mr. ARNOLD. That is very interesting. What do you believe the demands of the war program will do toward assisting low-income farmers to rehabilitate themselves and become self-sufficient? Of course, what you have just outlined is a great thing toward that end.

Mr. MORGAN. That's right. Of course, we have a long way to go. The 1940 census showed that 49½ percent of all the farmers in America produced less than \$600 worth of farm products, not cash, but cash trade, and consumption, 65 percent of all the farmers in this region, or 73 percent, Mr. Sparkman, in Alabama, produced less than \$600 worth per year for sale, for trade, and for home consumption. The war production program is going to help point the way to a more diversified program and to more income. But then it has still a long way to go.

The CHAIRMAN. It does indicate that the Government can depend on the little fellow?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It might be interesting for you to know, if you don't know it, that there are about 165,000 manufacturing plants in the United States, large and small. 97 percent of those factories employ less than 250 men. One-third of them employ 20 or less. That is a little outside of what we are talking about, but it does show, as your testimony indicates, we still depend on the little fellow.

Mr. ARNOLD. The demands of the war production will aid your borrowers in getting their loans in better shape?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARNOLD. The committee will appreciate your opinion and any figures you may have that would reflect the farm labor situation in the Southeastern States.

Mr. MORGAN. That is what we have been talking about, in a way. But this whole thing is tied into that question of farm labor supply.

Mr. ARNOLD. Do you have need in your area for an enlarged number of seasonal workers?

SHORTAGE OF SURPLUS LABOR

Mr. MORGAN. There is, of course, quite a bit of seasonal employment in Florida. But other than in Florida, most of our employment here is the labor that is on the farm doing the farming work through-

out the year. That isn't true, however, in Baldwin County in Alabama. This survey we have recently made points out this: That so many people talk about a shortage of labor when they are not always talking about a shortage of labor; they are talking about a shortage of surplus labor. There are people operating seasonal crops that feel there is a tremendous labor shortage unless there is a reserve that they can reach out and get and use when they want it and then lay it down and it will stay there somehow until they want it again.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What you mean is failure to utilize available labor to the fullest capacity?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARNOLD. Did you read this item in this morning's paper from Bridgeton, N. J.?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir.

Mr. ARNOLD. I will read it to you:

The Federal Government pledged all possible help Thursday in an effort to halt the spoilage of millions of dollars' worth of war crops as a result of a harvest-time farm-labor shortage in South Jersey.

Termining the situation "a Bataan on the farm front," Regional Director J. H. Wood, of the Farm Security Administration said "Someone, presumably the Farm Placement Bureau, may have to transport migratory workers from the South * * * and we may be able to finance that movement."

Hundreds of acres of asparagus, needed by the Army and Navy, already have gone to waste. Some growers are canceling contracts to grow tomatoes, a lend-lease commodity.

A dirt road scraper was sent out Wednesday over the beds of Kenneth Roberts, president of the Cumberland County Asparagus Growers Association, to cut down overgrown and valueless stalks. Roberts estimated his loss at \$185 a day and expressed belief his experience was typical.

Some families—including women, aged folks, and high-school pupils—are working until 2 and 3 a. m. sorting and bundling stalks they pick by day.

The labor shortage was attributed by Wood to the draft, high wages in defense industries, tire rationing, and impending gasoline restrictions.

Wood said it may be a hint of what may develop in other northeastern agricultural districts dependent upon migratory labor.

"There will be many other battles on the farm front throughout the Nation this year," he added. "With proper supervision we may win most of them."

Wood said the Farm Security Administration would "expedite" the construction of three migratory labor camps already being built in the south Jersey area.

Mr. MORGAN. I presume Mr. Wood had in mind the migrant labor that is at present employed in vegetable fields in south Florida. Mr. Wood is thoroughly familiar with the South and the possibilities of getting labor. For 4 years he was assistant regional director in this region.

But I would say that there is no surplus farm labor in the South at the present time, other than those that are working in the vegetable areas in Florida, that could be so moved.

Mr. ARNOLD. It would look serious?

Mr. MORGAN. It is serious, and in that connection I want to say there are several of those migratory camps. They are operating them in Jersey, and this winter when the vegetable season comes in south Florida, we will use those same mobile camps in south Florida.

Mr. SPARKMAN. When you say there is no surplus farm labor available down here, you don't mean, of course, that there isn't any labor available which ordinarily migrates through the East and Northeast and all over. That is still available?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir; but not as much as there has been. They are in Florida now, and the growing season in Florida is about over and

they are moving away from there. The growers in Florida say they are short of labor, but a rather close study by the Farm Labor Placement showed there was sufficient migrant labor to take care of the seasonal work, but not that reservoir of surplus labor. It is like wanting to have a nice surplus in the bank as an extra reservoir. And, of course, that is a great deal harder on the laborers than it is on the dollars in the banks. But there wasn't as much migrant labor in south Florida this winter as there has been in years previous.

Mr. ARNOLD. Getting back to the farmers leaving the farms—what type farmer is migrating? Is it the head of the family who is taking his family with him? Or is it the young male members of the family? Do you think it will be only temporary or will it be permanent?

THE MIGRANTS ARE THE INSECURE

Mr. MORGAN. It goes back to the thing I mentioned in the beginning, about the question of security. It is the very insecure families who are moving, attracted by defense jobs, and who move around places like the arsenal here. There are a great many more where some member of the family is going off to work and the others of the family are staying, trying to carry on and hold the farm together. That is especially true if they have some interest in the farm. We have found that not as many of the people on our loan program are leaving the farm and going to defense work as of their neighbors who are not on our program. There are several reasons for that. One reason is we have concentrated on trying to improve the tenure of the tenant farmer in the South. Several years ago we made it a policy that we would not make a rehabilitation loan unless a man had a written lease—something almost unheard of in the South. From there, we began working on to 3- to 5-year leases. Today a lot of our borrowers are making 10-year leases with the landlord. Those longer-term leases carry with them certain responsibilities of the landlord to the farm and the tenant to the farm. Those people with longer-term leases are not picking up and leaving the farm and moving to these congested areas. There may be some member of the family moving, going off and getting work and coming back. I have submitted in my report some figures which show very definitely that the movement has a direct relation to the type of tenure or security that the tenants have back home.

Mr. ARNOLD. Do those figures show whether the average size farm in Alabama will be materially changed during the war period?

Mr. MORGAN. It has been materially changed in the last 10 years before the war, and those tendencies are still at work.

Mr. ARNOLD. Has the Farm Security relocation program been able to return to the land the people affected by the Government purchasing program?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes and no. We have undertaken to help each one of those families find some solution for their problem when they were displaced. I was talking to a gentleman here in the room this morning, and he was telling me in this particular area here he had three families living in one house. He had to get them off the area and couldn't find farms for them for the moment; so he actually has three families living in one house.

DISPLACED FARM FAMILIES

We have felt in this problem of relocation that we had a responsibility, given to us by the Congress, to aid destitute farm families—and certainly that type folks are destitute who have been displaced and have left their home and everything as a result of the taking of these areas. So we have moved in, and while we have to make temporary arrangements in many places, we don't think we have done all the job, and we are going to continue to work with them until we get them adjusted.

Some of those families, of course, have gone into defense work, and in other cases it has been necessary for us to purchase quite a bit of land in order to relocate those people. That is not just as simple as it sounds. When you have in an area less than 30 acres of land per farm family, and 500 families there must be moved, the chances are if you went out and bought a tract of land that would take care of 500 families you would move 500 families off that land to make room for the other 500. What you have to do in cases of that kind is find tracts not completely saturated with farmers, bearing in mind the problem of those people already on the land. I think we have done all it was possible to do in that particular thing, and it is still a tremendously big job. There are some 5,000 families that have been displaced in the fifth region, 25,000 people completely uprooted and taken away from their homes and, in some cases, as in this county, from some of the best land in the whole county; and with a real scarcity of good land you can see the problem it presents.

Mr. ARNOLD. Do you have figures reporting farm income for this past year as against farm income for 1940?

INCREASED INCOME FOR LOAN CLIENTS

Mr. MORGAN. I don't have that. I have before me something showing the increase in income for those people that are on our program. But that doesn't reflect the farmers as a whole.

We naturally think a great deal of this increase is a result of supervision and guidance in farm practices and changing these farm plans, as shown in those three examples I gave you awhile ago, rather than an over-all increase. Of course the gross increase this past year has been just what the increase in the commodity prices was, because there was practically no difference in the amount of production last year. I think there will be a considerable increase in 1942 in the low-income group, certainly with our borrowers, because of, for instance, in this region, the increase in peanuts. Our borrowers have increased more than 100 percent their acreage in peanuts, and then there is this chicken production and things of that kind. But, while there has been an increase in gross income as a result of the increase in prices, there has been some increase in net income. I think that is borne out by the fact that last year in this region our collections were about \$4,000,000. This year they were \$9,000,000. That shows that they are getting more in cash.

The CHAIRMAN. You have about 70,000 loans?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir; about 100,000 loans.

The CHAIRMAN. 100,000 loans at \$80—

REHABILITATION LOANS

Mr. MORGAN. They are not all the same amount. We have about \$100,000,000 in loans of all types. We have loaned \$65,000,000 to rehabilitate the borrowers since the inception of the program. Of that \$32,000,000, or approximately half, has matured.

Mr. ARNOLD. How long has that program been in force?

Mr. MORGAN. In 1935.

Mr. ARNOLD. The appropriation was \$125,000,000 last year?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir; of which we used about twelve to fourteen, almost fourteen, million dollars in this region. But a great many of our loans are based on a 5-year repayment schedule and a great many have not matured. \$32,000,000 of the \$65,000,000 have matured, and these people have paid \$29,000,000 of that to the United States Treasury.

The CHAIRMAN. That means that about 82 percent of these loans were repaid.

Mr. ARNOLD. That showing will get better?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir; some better. We have one thing in our records which you can, of course, appreciate, and that is that our unpaid maturities are carried on our records. We have no way of forgiving a debt to the Government; that can only be done by the Congress. So we have to carry our unpaid maturities, and that over a period of years amounts to quite a bit of money. I don't know as that makes a great deal of difference, but there ought to be some way of retiring the losses, such as a commercial establishment has.

Mr. ARNOLD. What way do you have of recovering if he has some livestock?

Mr. MORGAN. We, of course, repossess the chattels if nobody in the family can carry it. But any time you do that—well, you know what happens when you try to liquidate a bank. You know a going concern is a different thing. And, after all, the basis of this whole thing is character loan, too, because we are lending this money to people who can't get help anywhere else. I think it is a very encouraging showing.

Mr. ARNOLD. Will you give the committee a brief outline of Farm Security work in providing defense housing? What is the story in the Huntsville area?

DEFENSE HOUSING PROGRAM

Mr. MORGAN. As the defense program developed, due to our experience in housing as a result of our tenant purchase program and other building programs in connection with projects, and also in the operation of these community projects after they had been built, the Housing Coordinator requested us in certain areas to provide housing for the defense workers. There has not been as much of that in region 5 as in some other sections of the country. We were requested to put in a trailer camp in Huntsville to help meet the situation here.

And we are operating a trailer camp here on the outskirts of the city with about 400 trailers. That work was done with defense money that was allocated to us by the Housing Coordinator. And we have been recently requested to build some trailers and dormitories in Mobile, and the contract is being let for that. That is the extent of our defense work in housing in this area.

REQUISITIONING OF MIGRATORY-LABOR CAMPS

One thing that we are very much concerned about is that in south Florida, at Homestead, 40 miles south of Miami, an area where conditions are frightful, we have just completed two migratory camps, and the Army has moved about 1,000 soldiers into one, and the Pan American Airways has taken over the other. Of course, we want to help in any way we can in our war effort, but with all the funds available and all the priorities the War Department has, I just hate to see those people living like they have to, instead of in those houses.

I don't know how much further that will go on in our migratory program, whether they will see fit to requisition other camps or not. If they do, it will certainly have a bad effect on our mobile labor force.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Arnold is very interested in that problem. But it might interest you to know that while this committee has traveled 70,000 miles, from north to south, from east to west, there is one agency in the Federal Government concerning which we never heard a single word of criticism, and that is the Farm Security Administration. Our record constitutes 7 or 8 million words, and you can search it in vain for any criticism of the Farm Security Administration.

I am of the opinion that one of the finest things in this country today is the rehabilitation loan program. Now, as you say, those loans are given to people who can't go to the bank and get them. Last year we were going to recommend \$150,000,000 for those loans, and we got back and found it had been cut to \$100,000,000—\$25,000,000 less than in 1940. We never let up. We went to the President and to the Senate and, as you know, we got it restored. Now that is one of the solutions, a partial solution of migration of citizens—that keeps them home.

I noticed the President the other day in a message wanted to raise it \$25,000,000 more. We say the point is simply this: That in this all-out war we cannot forget the morale of our own people. That is, you cannot divorce civilian morale from Army and Navy morale.

FOOD FOR VICTORY LOANS AVERAGE \$80

What I would like to know from you—you say the average loan is \$80?

Mr. MORGAN. That is just for this food for victory.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you get that formula—did you get it from Washington, that you should loan \$80 for chickens and so on?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir; we had made our farm plans, our normal loans for the operation of the farm. This was something over and above our normal operation. You see in December, January, February, and March we had made our normal loans, and it was after that that these food for victory loans were made and they averaged about

\$80 apiece. Our rehabilitation loans probably average about \$400. I had occasion recently to tabulate our loans in this region, and 94 percent of them were less than \$1,000.

The CHAIRMAN. What interest do they pay?

Mr. MORGAN. Five percent. Speaking of morale—I know this is a rather voluminous statement that is filed with the committee, but I would like especially to call your attention to some 40 or 50 case statements at the end reporting what the people say about this, about everything, about their dislocation problems, about their reactions to the whole thing. Some of it is critical. Some of it is good.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I haven't been able to find it.

Mr. MORGAN. Here it is. That copy isn't set up right. On page 12080, Mr. Sparkman, you will find the Huntsville area, and you will find names that you know, no doubt, people telling their story about what has happened in this district here.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I notice you talk about Palm Beat. I thought it was Pond Beat.

Mr. MORGAN. My guess is you're right, but that is the human story, right in those records there.

The CHAIRMAN. We are glad to have it.

RELOCATION PROGRAM

Mr. SPARKMAN. With reference to this relocation, now to what extent are you still carrying on that work, following the ruling of the General Accounting Office?

Mr. MORGAN. Actually we stopped everything except to the extent of money that had already been advanced to relocation corporations. We didn't have enough money in the banks to finish the construction that had already been started. But with that, plus the money we had in the old Rural Rehabilitation Corporations that were set up under the Relief Act back in relief days before there was even a Resettlement Administration, we could actually liquidate without calling on the Treasury for more money; so we have gone ahead and marked time on that. I am very hopeful, however, Mr. Congressman, that there is a bright day ahead.

Mr. SPARKMAN. It is absolutely necessary that some governmental agency function in that field?

FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION TOOK RESPONSIBILITY FOR DISPLACED FAMILIES

Mr. MORGAN. Absolutely. I guess that for the sake of having everybody see the need of that, if the Farm Security Administration had just sat down and said it was no responsibility of ours, and all these people had been dumped off these areas and with all the disturbance that would have been created as a result of it, then somebody would have said, "Somebody just must do something about it." But instead of that, we moved in there. We felt "here are displaced farm families—here's what Congress has given us a mandate to do." And we moved in and did it, and as a result not much notice was taken of it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Just recently, following a study made by this committee of the enemy alien situation on the west coast, there was

set up a relocation authority for the purpose of settling these Japanese. You think, if there is a duty on our country to resettle the Japanese, that certainly we should resettle our own people who are moved out from war plant areas?

Mr. MORGAN. Absolutely. I think it is tragic for so many of these families, because of the spirit with which they have met the thing. They said, "If this is what I must do to contribute to the war effort, all right." But certainly the Government should do everything it could to make the shock as little as possible.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Let me ask you something about the increased food production for the war. It is your opinion that most of it must be done by the small farmer. And we believe that. As a matter of fact, this committee, as a committee, went before the Appropriations Committee when appropriations were being considered for the Farm Security Administration, and we urged that that not be cut, and our argument was that the increase in food production must be made by the small farmer, that the farmer with 100 cows can't double his herd, but that the farmer with 1 cow can add another cow. Of course that bears out the statement you made of full utilization of available labor.

I was impressed recently with a letter that came into your office and was reproduced in the Huntsville Times, and I placed it in the Congressional Record. It was written by a woman client of the Farm Security Administration, and, as I recall, the editorial heading was, "I have Pearl Harbor Rote in my Heart," and it showed the increase in food production made on that little farm.

Mr. MORGAN. I want to add that this woman has a bedridden husband. She has operated that farm herself. She has supported her family largely through the production of vegetables, canning them, and selling them on the curb market at Tuscaloosa. And the post-script to that letter said: "I will even cook one meal a day for my family and give the other two to Uncle Sam."

Mr. SPARKMAN. You say the average land available per farm family is 30 acres of tillable land in Alabama?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I have noticed around in this country, in connection with land with which I am more familiar, that a good bit of the land that hasn't been farmed for many years is being put into cultivation. Is there much of that?

POST-WAR LAND PROGRAMS

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir; but it doesn't make a very large increase in the total number of acres. And I want to say, too, that the thing we are talking about here is just a forerunner of what we have got to be thinking about as a post-war proposition. We are certainly going to have a movement back to the land after the war and a tremendous problem there. The land you are talking about may be a little corner there or a little further up on the mountain side there, and all those acres have to be brought in. There must be some kind of program for reclamation of worn-out lands, of partially worn-out lands and eroded lands. And I am glad to say that people are thinking more seriously of that today than they did in the last World War. I hope when that

time comes we will be able to face those facts, but it is going to be a tremendous problem after the war.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I wonder if you could give us the number of farm-tenant purchasers in this county in the program to date?

Mr. MORGAN. I think Mr. Lynn could answer that question for you.

Mr. LYNN. (in audience). One hundred and sixteen.

Mr. SPARKMAN. This has been one of the biggest programs in the whole set-up?

Mr. MORGAN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, the post-war shock of this present war will be so much greater than the last war, won't it?

Mr. MORGAN. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much for the very valuable statement you have given us.

TESTIMONY OF H. L. MITCHELL, GENERAL SECRETARY, SOUTHERN TENANT FARMERS UNION, MEMPHIS, TENN.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Mitchell, I have read with interest the statement which you have submitted, and we will incorporate it into the record at this point.

STATEMENT BY H. L. MITCHELL, GENERAL SECRETARY, SOUTHERN TENANT FARMERS UNION, MEMPHIS, TENN.

MANPOWER ON THE LAND

On August 15, 1940, I appeared at a hearing held by the Committee on Interstate Migration at Montgomery, Ala. In my statement I referred to the Tennessee River Valley as a place where the displacement of farm labor was acute. I mentioned a conversation I had with a young farm boy here in Huntsville who told me he wanted to farm but could not get land because some 20 men owned all the land in the county and were farming it with tractors.

Since that time, the Southern Tenant Farmers Union of which I am general secretary has built a strong organization in this State. We now have upward of 3,000 members organized in 6 counties in northern Alabama. The Alabama district council of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union is working closely with the American Federation of Labor on the problems created by the coming of war industries.

In early 1940, when I was in this section of Alabama, there were thousands of farm people who had lost their place on the land and for whom there was no place in the few industries then operating in the Tennessee Valley. Work Projects Administration work was about all that was available. Today there is a need for labor in the new industrial plants now in operation or in the process of construction. Several thousand farmers have found work either permanently in the new industries and service trades or temporarily on construction jobs. Many small farmers, tenants, and sharecroppers who have a crop are also working on these jobs part time in town. Many of these farmers live on small hill farms near the river valley. Farm operation on the richer lands along the river is practically the same as reported to me by the young would-be farmer in Huntsville nearly 2 years ago. The large plantations are being worked by tractors and hired day labor though there are a few sharecroppers still employed.

That there now exists a shortage of labor for the peak seasons of employment on the farms of this area as well as other sections of the South where war industries are in operation or in the process of construction is evident. However, all over the South the cry is being raised that we face a serious shortage of farm labor and that production goals under the Food for Freedom program are endangered.

What has happened is that surplus labor normally available for farm work at low rates of pay is disappearing. The Army has taken many of the younger men and others have found places in the war industries. The owners of the large

cotton plantations who operate their farms with tractors and other improved machinery are accustomed to sending trucks into the towns and cities for cotton choppers and cotton pickers when extra labor is needed. These industrialized farm operators know that in order to get their crops cultivated and harvested they will have to pay a higher wage in wartime.

I would not recommend that we draft women and children from the towns and cities for farm work until we have mobilized the resources of the farmers we already have on the land. Here in Alabama the Black Belt section has largely gone in for livestock raising and there are thousands of exsharecropper families left without crops. Most of these farm families are Negroes and there would be much to overcome in the migration of this excess farm population to areas where there is employment. One of the chief factors would be the desire of the Black Belt landlords to keep these people available as a source of cheap labor when needed. However it would be a healthy thing if some of these aristocrats on the worn out plantations down there had to go to work and earn their own living for a change. There are other sections of the South where the excess farm population ought to be encouraged to leave permanently.

It must be understood that I do not recommend forcible removal of people but I know that if fair and reasonable wages and other conditions of employment are good these farm people would go where work is available if they were given proper direction.

MINIMUM WAGE

Of first importance in maintaining production of any type is the guaranty of a fair wage to labor. About a year ago the Southern Tenant Farmers Union caused to be introduced in Congress a bill to provide minimum wages for farm labor and to regulate other conditions of employment as a condition for securing agricultural benefit payments. This measure is based on provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, sugar section. Hearings have been held by the Senate Education and Labor Committee and the measure is still pending. The bill provides a means of setting wage rates for farm labor after the holding of public hearings in the various regions of the United States. The bill is similar to a law enacted by the British Parliament during the last war to meet the need for increasing farm production. In each English county a wage board sets the minimum rates for employment on the land. It has worked exceedingly well during the present war especially since England has established a landworkers army composed partly of young people from the industrial areas. The immediate enactment of a federal law to put a bottom under farm labor wages in America is of paramount importance in meeting the present emergency for we too may have to set up our own American army of farm laborers.

Also there is in the South a huge reserve of manpower whose services as producers can be better utilized. There are over 2,000,000 farm families who if they had the opportunity to do so could raise a large part of the food crops that are needed to feed the men in the armed services and those employed in the war industries. These families most of whom do not own the land upon which they live constitute America's greatest potential resources for agricultural production.

These families, small farm owners as well as tenants and sharecroppers need both equipment and supervision to bring their productive capacity up to the extent that is needed today. The agency of Government charged with the responsibility for mobilizing the resources of this large group of people is the Farm Security Administration. Despite an outstanding record of achievement in the past few years, this agency's program may be drastically curtailed by Congress at a time when it should be extended.

INVESTIGATION ASKED

Chiefly responsible for the attempt to destroy the effectiveness of this agency is an organization, that maintains a powerful lobby in Washington, purporting to represent the interests of over 168,000 organized farmers in the 11 Southern States.

We have just completed a survey of this organization and its methods of maintaining membership in the States of Alabama, Arkansas, and Mississippi. Our findings recently made public are contained in a report and a brief of affidavits and statements made by 100 farmers in these States which have been submitted to the Secretary of Agriculture with a request for an official investigation of the activities of the American Farm Bureau in the South.

ATTITUDE OF PLANTATION OWNERS

Further it is my belief that if a report were made by the Department of Agriculture on the participation by farmers in the Food for Freedom program it would be found that the low-income farm groups are the ones most willing to produce the needed food crops. Most of the larger plantations are geared to the production of cotton and have discouraged even the raising of gardens in the past.

Over in eastern Arkansas I know that many of the plantation owners are not participating in the program for increasing food production. A sharecropper on one of these plantations made the following statement to one of our field organizers.

That about the first of the year he was called on by a lady from the county Agricultural Adjustment Administration office and urged to sign up to raise 5 acres of peanuts under the program being sponsored by the Department of Agriculture. That he agreed to raise the peanuts provided his landlord would allow him anything out of the proceeds but that his landlord came to his house a few days later and told him that he would not permit anything but cotton and corn to be raised on his land and that he must notify the county official that no peanuts would be raised. Further the landlord said to the tenant that he didn't intend to have a damn thing to do with the Government program unless he was forced to do so and that if the sharecropper wanted to cooperate to get off the place and work for the Government and that the land would be worked by day labor in cotton and corn. The cropper also said that he did not have a garden and that the landlord refused to allow him to raise even sorghum for his own use. I am sure that there are thousands of other sharecroppers and tenants on cotton plantations all over the South who have had the same experience as the man in eastern Arkansas.

FARM LABOR NEEDS

In conclusion, I would like to recommend to the committee that Congress enact a law immediately to provide minimum wages and to regulate other conditions of employment on the land. That a survey be made of the farm labor needs both for regular employment on the farm and the peak seasonal needs in each locality, that in making such a survey that a distinction be made between industrialized farms and those owned by small farmers. That we set about supplying these needs by registering all farm people in each community distinguishing between those who are willing to move and those who are only available for employment locally. That these farm people be the basis of a volunteer American army of farm laborers and then where there is a demonstrated need for people from the towns and cities to go into the fields to cultivate and harvest crops that young workers out of schools and colleges as well as older persons be registered to supplement the work of farm laborers at wages set under a Federal minimum wage law.

Further, the Department of Agriculture be required to make public the names of landowners in each county who are refusing to cooperate in the program of increasing production of needed food crops.

TESTIMONY OF H. L. MITCHELL—Resumed

Mr. SPARKMAN. You appeared before us in our Montgomery hearings in 1940, when we were studying primarily the migration of destitute citizens from State to State, and at that time the study was primarily concerned with agricultural workers who were migrating. Since then we have been given the mandate to study the same problem, but with greater emphasis on the impact of the war program on shifting population. You testified at the hearings at Montgomery that there were several economic factors at work causing increased migration of people, and that you were primarily concerned with migration of farm people. Do you believe the war effort in any way has affected the type and volume of that migration?

Mr. MITCHELL. I think it has increased it considerably. However, there are certain areas in some sections of the South which are possibly sources of more migration.

CHANGE IN TYPE OF MIGRATION

Mr. SPARKMAN. Has there been any change in the type of this migration, which you say has been stepped up by the war program? Are those who are moving from State to State doing work on war plants, or are they still doing agricultural work?

Mr. MITCHELL. A large number of farm people are going into the areas where there are war industries.

Mr. SPARKMAN. There is a shift now from farming to war industries?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes, sir; and seeking of employment on farms in other areas.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you think the war program will have a permanent effect on the size of farms and the type of tenure in the Southeast?

CHANGES IN SIZE OF FARMS

Mr. MITCHELL. I think that it will increase the tendency toward larger holdings of land.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Just why do you believe that? Are the small land owners selling their farms?

Mr. MITCHELL. No; I don't think that is true, any more than the ordinary trend. But I think that these larger holdings will perhaps continue as they are, and the ordinary trend will go along as it is.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is there a definite trend toward larger holdings? I was of the opinion it was the other way around.

Mr. MITCHELL. In some areas perhaps it is. But it has been my observation that in areas, particularly where the richer land is located, it is towards increase of the size of these units.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In those more fertile areas the holdings, historically, have always been large?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. They were settled that way and there have been no sales for generations?

Mr. MITCHELL. I think there have been quite a lot of sales. I am thinking of the Mississippi Valley region, where large tracts are coming under the ownership of individuals or of companies and corporations that farm them.

The CHAIRMAN. I think there is no question about that in Iowa and Illinois and California—absentee owners holding thousands of acres.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I know it is true throughout those States, and I am simply questioning as to whether it is true here in this particular area. I suppose the census gives a good insight into that.

Mr. MITCHELL. I don't recall the census figures on farm ownership of any particular county in Alabama. I think they are quite revealing, however.

Mr. SPARKMAN. We have asked all witnesses who have appeared before us to testify with reference to a certain problem about which we hear a great deal. I think a great part is in anticipation yet, but it is something with which we are concerned, and that is the anticipated or threatened labor shortage on the farms.

Mr. MITCHELL. I think, of course, in some areas, such as this defense area here, there is a present shortage of labor, especially for the peak season.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you hear Mr. Morgan's testimony?
Mr. MITCHELL. Yes, sir.

SHORTAGE OF SURPLUS LABOR

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you hear his explanation about the common understanding of labor shortage, that it wasn't really an actual shortage they were talking about, but it was a lack of a surplus?

Mr. MITCHELL. I think that this is exactly the way it is all over the South, that there is a shortage of surplus labor, labor that is normally available for peak and seasonal work that the larger owners are accustomed to employing. For instance, at cotton-picking time, the larger owners go into towns and cities to load their trucks with workers and bring them out into the fields. And I think they are going to have more difficulty in finding that surplus labor, since the younger people have either gotten jobs in industry or have been drafted. That surplus labor is going to be more difficult to find.

Mr. SPARKMAN. It becomes very largely a matter of utilizing to the fullest capacity the present available labor?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes, sir; and I think it could be much better utilized, particularly small farmers, tenants, and farm workers. I think if their full capacity for production were used, or better utilized, we could reach many of the national agricultural production goals.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is a very strong argument for every inducement being given to the small farmer?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. We must look to the small operating unit for the major portion of the increase in food production?

Mr. MITCHELL. That is true. I think if they were given the means and supervision, such as the Farm Security Administration supplies, that they would be put in a position where they could really produce the crops that are needed during the war emergency. Most of those people are accustomed only to raising cotton and corn, and there are needs for other food crops, peanuts and things of that sort. These people can produce the crops.

MOBILIZATION OF FARM LABOR FORCE

Mr. SPARKMAN. There are a great many people who are beginning to talk about the need eventually of drafting labor, drafting everybody, a universal mobilization of manpower for all purposes. Do you believe that we may come to the point where it may become necessary that we have a mobilized farm labor force, or where it may become necessary for us to draft people to do farm work?

Mr. MITCHELL. I think, of course, that will depend upon how long the war lasts. But it may well be possible that we will have to at least set up some sort of a volunteer farm labor force to meet the needs, such as in south Jersey, according to the statement that was read from the newspaper this morning, transferring people where there is no employment to areas where they are needed. I think we ought first to know what are the needs in each locality and the manpower that is available there. I think we ought to distinguish between the needs of the industrialized farm and the small farm. My reason for saying

that is that the industrialized farm needs more workers at peak seasons. And if the labor on small farms were registered—and there has always been kind of swapping about of labor with them—these fellows might actually swap out their labor and continue their production without employing extra hired workers.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In your statement you make the point that in some areas sharecroppers are not allowed to participate fully in the food-for-victory program. I wonder just how general your observations have been and whether or not you have any authentic proof that you might submit for the records.

LANDOWNERS OPPOSING FOOD-PRODUCTION PROGRAM

Mr. MITCHELL. I have heard of that, particularly in the large plantation area in eastern Arkansas. There have been reports that certain landowners were not cooperating in any way in the increased food-production program. And recently over in eastern Arkansas a man told one of our people he signed up to raise 5 acres of peanuts and his landlord refused to allow him to do so, and told him if he wanted to take part in the food-for-victory program to get off his land, that he was going to raise cotton and corn and do as he always did. I have that statement in the form of an affidavit, and I would like to present it to the committee for its records.

(Said statement is as follows.)

AFFIDAVIT

STATE OF ARKANSAS,
County of St. Francis:

Personally appeared before the undersigned notary public of and for the State and county Gus Robinson and who, being duly sworn and under oath, makes the following statement.

My name is Gus Robinson. I am making a sharecrop on the farm owned by Mr. Avery Bryant, of Forrest City, Ark. About the first of the year I was called on by a lady of the county Agricultural Adjustment Administration office and urged to sign up to raise 5 acres of peanuts under the food-for-victory program being sponsored by the United States Department of Agriculture. I agreed to raise the peanuts and told the officials I would do so if Mr. Avery would allow me anything out of the proceeds. A few days later Mr. Avery came to my home and told me that he would not permit me to raise anything but cotton and corn on his land and that I must notify the county officials that no peanuts would be raised. He said at the time that he didn't have a damn thing to do with the Government program and did not intend to have anything to do with it unless he was forced to do so. And that if I wanted to cooperate to go on and work for the Government and he would take day labor and raise his cotton and corn. We do not have a garden and he refuses to allow us to raise sorghum or anything else for our own use.

GUS ROBINSON.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 25 day of April 1942.

[SEAL]

J. F. HYND, *Notary Public.*

My commission expires May 19, 1945.

Mr. SPARKMAN. We are glad to have it. That is quite a striking case, but during all of our farm program we have found noncooperators. I wonder if you would be willing to say that such a condition as that prevails generally to such an extent that it might be called typical? Or is it exceptional?

Mr. MITCHELL. I think it is more typical. However, I have no way of knowing the whole area. I know in certain areas it is typical.

And I think the way it could be found out would be for the committee to check with the Department of Agriculture. They know who, in each locality, is participating and who is not.

PARTICIPATION IN ALABAMA

Mr. SPARKMAN. I have on my own accord been talking around since I have been home to find out how the program is progressing, and I find through here they are having no particular difficulty in getting full participation. In fact, I believe they have made it part probably of the Alabama 5-year plan; I am not sure of that. I asked a couple of Negro tenants if they were planting peanuts, and one said he had to plant 100 pounds of seed; the other said he had to plant $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres. Another one with whom I talked said he wanted to cooperate with the program. So apparently it depends largely on the way it has been put on?

Mr. MITCHELL. I think it depends, too, on the sections. Perhaps in this area—I am not very familiar with it—but perhaps you have had more experience in raising food crops than they have had on the Mississippi Delta.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I am sure there is a great difference as between areas.

Mr. MITCHELL. The ordinary plantation there raises cotton. They don't raise food products even, as this man said, for their own use. He doesn't even have his garden. I know that has been true in the past.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you had occasion to observe the Farm Security Administration program with reference to its rehabilitation work and farm tenure work?

THREATENED CURTAILMENT OF TENANT PURCHASE PROGRAM

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes, sir. We have always been highly in favor of the Farm Security Administration's program, both parts of it, the farm tenant purchase and rehabilitation. The rehabilitation program is larger and reaches many more people, and we regret that the tenant purchase angle of it couldn't be larger. We are concerned, too, with the fact this program is being curtailed—

Mr. SPARKMAN (interposing). Threatened to be.

Mr. MITCHELL (continuing). In Congress, because we think this is the time when it ought to be extended. Recently, I might say, we made a survey of an organization, which is, I believe, chiefly responsible for the present action toward curtailing this agency. Our findings have recently been made public and it is quite interesting to see an organization which represents 168,000 farmers, most of whom are low-income people, attack and seek to stop the work of this agency, which has benefited even the people who are the majority members.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you any suggestions as to how the low-income farmer can participate more actively in the Government's war program?

Mr. MITCHELL. Well, if they had better supervision and that includes the small land-owning farmer, as well as the tenant, and arranged to furnish the equipment necessary, for instance, loans to

buy chickens, hogs, and cows—and there are thousands of families that have neither—that would greatly increase production now.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Mitchell. We have your statement, and it will appear in the record.

TESTIMONY OF J. T. FLAGG, PRESIDENT, GARDNER-WARRING MILL, FLORENCE, ALA., AND C. S. HAMMILL, PERSONNEL MANAGER, REYNOLDS METALS CO., LISTERHILL, ALA.

Mr. ARNOLD. You gentlemen are both from Florence, Ala.?

Mr. HAMMILL. I am from Sheffield.

Mr. ARNOLD. Mr. Hammill, your company is engaged in obtaining aluminum from the primary ores?

Mr. HAMMILL. The Reynolds plant is, and the Reynolds Alloys rolls aluminum sheets. We have the virgin element production units, as well as the rolling processes.

Mr. ARNOLD. The Reynolds Metals Co. operates the Reynolds Alloys Co.?

Mr. HAMMILL. No; that is a defense operation, gentlemen. It is an affiliate of Reynolds Metals. They have a different board of directors.

Mr. ARNOLD. Were your plants financed by public or private funds?

Mr. HAMMILL. The Reynolds Metals has a mortgage guaranteed by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and the Reynolds Alloys as plant 465, defense plant appropriation 465.

Mr. ARNOLD. From what source do you obtain power?

Mr. HAMMILL. The Tennessee Valley Authority.

Mr. ARNOLD. Is there plenty of power in that area?

Mr. HAMMILL. So far as I know. That is out of my particular field.

LABOR FORCE

Mr. ARNOLD. What percentage of your working force is skilled and what percentage unskilled?

Mr. HAMMILL. The working force at Reynolds Metals Co. is approximately 20 percent skilled, 40 percent semiskilled, and 40 percent unskilled. With Reynolds Alloys it is approximately 20 percent skilled, 70 percent semiskilled, and 10 percent unskilled. When I say semiskilled I mean the crews operating the rolling process in the mills, and some of these, the top men of that crew, are highly skilled.

Mr. ARNOLD. Is it permissible for you to tell us how many employees you have, or should that remain out of the record?

Mr. HAMMILL. I have figures for the two plants. I haven't broken them down. It is 3,242 hourly workers, and 427 salaried people for the two plants.

Mr. ARNOLD. From what source are you obtaining your labor?

Mr. HAMMILL. Our skilled men for maintenance work come to us through our closed-shop agreement with the American Federation of Labor. For our production job we hired them at the gate or by applications.

Mr. ARNOLD. What percentage of your labor force is local?

Mr. HAMMILL. You mean within the Muscle Shoals area?

Mr. ARNOLD. Yes, sir; or from the general area?

Mr. HAMMILL. Of the total 3,242 of hourly people, 2,562 are from Alabama, 226 from Mississippi, adjoining counties to Alabama, and 317 from Tennessee, which has adjoining counties right above Lauderdale County. The balance of these others come from 29 other States with Kentucky having 19. By far the largest percentage—80 to 85 percent—of our people are local.

Mr. ARNOLD. Are you experiencing difficulty in obtaining trained workers, or do your own training programs take care of that?

Mr. HAMMILL. Our training program has to take care of our needs, because there is no other source to get trained aluminum workers.

Mr. ARNOLD. Do you have difficulty in obtaining stenographic or clerical personnel?

Mr. HAMMILL. Yes; for really qualified stenographers we have had difficulty. However, we have taken a number of girls who have recently graduated from business school and have developed them so that our situation isn't nearly so acute as it was 2 or 3 months ago.

HOUSING SHORTAGE

Mr. ARNOLD. What is the situation there in regard to housing for your employees?

Mr. HAMMILL. Very acute. We expect some relief from the present housing program under way in Sheffield and in Florence, which when completed will mean approximately 600 new units to be distributed in that area. We can use at least 450 houses right now.

The CHAIRMAN. Where are they living now?

Mr. HAMMILL. A good many are living quite a distance from the plant, in Mississippi and Tennessee and in neighboring counties around Colbert County. Their transportation problem is becoming very acute, and it is a question with some of those people as to whether or not they will be able to continue working for us. If we had homes near Sheffield we could take care of them, I think, with local transportation facilities. We have found where there are crowded conditions—families living together—it is very unhealthy, unsanitary and unsatisfactory, particularly where there are small children.

Mr. SPARKMAN. There has been quite a bit of housing built already?

Mr. HAMMILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How many units have been built, can you tell me offhand, just approximately?

Mr. HAMMILL. When I went to Listerhill in 1941, an estimate had already been made by the Tennessee Valley Authority, and they arrived at the figure of 500, 250 to be built for private use and 250 by Federal Housing Authority through the Tennessee Valley Authority. That survey was made based on Tennessee Valley Authority needs of their new nitrate plant, expansion of the Electro-Metallurgical Co., and our original plant which called for 400 employees. Of those 250 houses the Tennessee Valley Authority was to build, we were to get 90 or 100 and the rest was to go to the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Electro-Metallurgical Co. But at a little later date, in February of 1941, this rolling mill came into being and was being built, and we increased our production of forged aluminum by building three more production rooms where there had been but one, an increase from 20,000,000 to 40,000,000 pounds a year, and an increase in pay rolls from probably originally 400 to over 3,000, and it will increase

over that so we will have probably 3,800 people where we first thought of 400.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Wasn't it 600 houses that were built, T. V. A. 250, and private industry 350?

Mr. HAMMILL. I think it was.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Was there another housing unit that came in?

Mr. HAMMILL. Yes, sir; there is a building program being completed now that will put in that area an additional 450 to 600 houses.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I believe there is one of 560 units and another of 340. There are really two projects being built there. Now, is private housing proceeding fairly well?

Mr. HAMMILL. In Florence it is proceeding very well.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You will need 500 or 1,000 additional houses for the whole area, not just your housing?

Mr. HAMMILL. I don't think so after these present houses are built. I think they will be adequate to take care of the present strain.

TRANSPORTATION OF WORKERS

Mr. ARNOLD. You believe, in view of the rubber shortage, housing is the solution, or would you be in favor of the bill Congressman Downey is advocating to requisition the cars of pleasure drivers to meet the situation?

Mr. HAMMILL. That is a tough question. I feel this way about it. The armed forces, agriculture, and the defense industries are the three points we now have to concentrate on. Everything else has to go by the board. If it means that, it is all right with us. We will do it. Frankly, I think it would be more satisfactory if we could put the workers nearer to the plants.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In connection with that, I believe you told me the other day you had been conducting some surveys as to the tire and transportation situation?

Mr. HAMMILL. We have a committee in the Muscle Shoals area that consists of a representative from each of the three chambers of commerce and Mr. Flagg and myself and representatives of the other defense industries. Each plant has made a survey of its employees as to where they live, whether or not they live on bus routes, and if they use those busses, or if they use their own cars, and, if so, do they carry people with them or ride by themselves or ride with somebody else. The returns of that survey are inconclusive. The statistical data has not been correlated yet. We will post that on a master map as quickly as possible. However, I had an advanced release from the Office of War Transportation to the effect that the Governor in each State is now charged with responsibility of the program, and it is turned over in Alabama to the Automotive Advisory Committee—or something like that—it is put into their hands and they act with each community of 10,000 or more people which is to have a representative or administrator appointed by the mayor. That seems to be the gist of the master plan. I have written to the Governor and asked him to either tell us what we are to do or to guide us. As yet, I haven't heard from him. We are working as hard as we can on the transportation problem.

Mr. SPARKMAN. This is on a different subject. It was partially touched on a while ago with reference to the utilization of local labor.

I was impressed with the statement you made to me when I was with you in your plant, and I have taken occasion to brag on it a good many times. I believe you told me when you came in you only brought 15 workmen with you, 15 people to serve as a nucleus, and the rest of the people were recruited locally?

Mr. HAMMILL. Yes, sir.

LOCAL WORKERS HAVE PROVED SATISFACTORY

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you found them satisfactory workmen?

Mr. HAMMILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Has there been any difficulty in training them, or were they readily adaptable?

Mr. HAMMILL. Apparently they were readily adaptable. Of course, we haven't yet hit our maximum because we haven't the aluminum coming in. I don't know whether they will adapt themselves to that as well. We have some jobs that take very efficient men to fill. We have a boy about 19 who has been on the tender machine about 9 months. That is a difficult operation and he has done all right so far. I don't know if he can hold it when we hit maximum. I don't know if he can maintain that pace.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Could you say with the training and practice he has had he had measured up to your expectation?

Mr. HAMMILL. Yes, sir. And so far as their ability to grasp the details and processes, we have been very satisfied with them. As a matter of fact, it is amazing what some of those boys have done.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I have asked the question many times about the availability of surplus farm labor in the South. I remember a personnel manager for Lockheed Air Corporation testified before us in Los Angeles and told us about their efforts to recruit labor. He said the finest labor that they could find came from the agricultural sections of the Middle West. I asked him why he didn't come down into the South. Well—always there seemed to be a feeling that southern labor was unskilled and apparently it couldn't become skilled. We find that opposition on many sides. I was delighted with the testimony of General Ditto and Colonel Hudson that they had no difficulty obtaining skilled labor here. I went down to the White House in the winter of 1938, and I had a conversation with the President in the effort to locate a chemical warfare arsenal in this area. Frankly, at that time I was studying the possible utilization of plant No. 1 at Muscle Shoals for it. The Chemical Warfare Service wanted one, and the objection that the President raised and the Secretary of War raised and the Chief of Staff raised was the lack of skilled labor in this area. I remember at a subsequent hearing a similar question was put before them, and I remember that the answer was for a long time they had considered the labor in the South unskilled. And I remember I said, "That is a fallacy. We have learned that the boy who has come up on the farm tinkering with tractors, mowing machines, or cultivators is the finest potential skilled labor in all the country; that, while he may not have learned to operate a precision machine, he has learned to use his hands."

I was over in the Gadsden shell forging and machining plant last fall right after it had opened. They had made their first run of shells, and the man showing us through showed us all these shells, and he

said, "You know, the remarkable thing about this is that of the first run every single shell was good. There wasn't a faulty one in the bunch." And he said, "Congressman Sparkman, you will get a kick out of knowing when that run was made there wasn't a damn Yankee under the roof." And I asked him where he got his labor. And he said, "Out of the cotton fields of Alabama." I am glad to hear what you say about local labor.

Mr. ARNOLD. Mr. Flagg, is your company entirely on war work?

Mr. FLAGG. Ninety-five percent.

Mr. ARNOLD. Approximately how many persons are employed in your plant?

Mr. FLAGG. Approximately 950.

Mr. ARNOLD. What percentage are women?

Mr. FLAGG. Ninety percent.

Mr. ARNOLD. White or colored, or both?

Mr. FLAGG. All white.

Mr. ARNOLD. From what sources do you draw your labor?

DISTANCES TRAVELED BY WORKERS

Mr. FLAGG. In a survey we made on the 10th of February, 725 lived in Florence, 14 in Sheffield, 3 in Tuscumbia, 113 on farms, and 60 in other localities, such as little subdivisions that are outlying from Florence, and we have some that come from as far as St. Joe, Tenn., and 7 or 8 from Rogersville, Ala., and 1 that comes from as far as Pulaski, Tenn.

Mr. ARNOLD. Those who live in the Tri-Cities, do they have to travel by automobile to your plant or use some other form of transportation?

Mr. FLAGG. We had at that time 223 that owned their own cars; 293 walked to work; 43 were taking the bus; the balance were riding with those that owned their own cars. I was about to forget—56 come in taxicabs.

Mr. ARNOLD. Individually, or do they double up?

Mr. FLAGG. They double up. It looks like a can of sardines opening up when the taxi comes up.

Mr. ARNOLD. How about the private cars?

Mr. FLAGG. Two hundred and ninety-two rode with somebody else.

Mr. ARNOLD. Do they fill both seats, or come by themselves?

Mr. FLAGG. They fill them up. They have arrangements whereby they share gasoline expenses and so on. Maybe one person drives his car for a week, and picks up a bunch of people and they all pay a nickel a day to the person owning that car, and they swap around. We have been advocating this sort of driving.

Mr. ARNOLD. I think both of you gentlemen are perhaps ahead of Washington in the thought you have given to this impending tire shortage.

THE ALABAMA PLAN

Mr. FLAGG. I think the State of Alabama is ahead of the rest of the country on this problem. It has become known as the Alabama plan. The Associated Industries of Alabama has a very active committee headed by Mr. Rushton in Birmingham. We have already held one meeting in Florence. Mr. Hammill attended that

meeting. I happen to be on the committee. Mr. Rushton, by the way, appeared before some committee in Washington, explaining the Alabama plan.

Mr. ARNOLD. Of course this committee realizes—I am sure you do, too—that the transportation problem is not only going to develop with respect to industry, but with respect to farm labor as well.

CONVERSION OF SCHOOL BUSES

Mr. FLAGG. I might touch on one angle of this transportation problem that so far I have seen very little mention made of, and that is the conversion of school busses. Our situation is that we have a shortage of busses. Yet we have, I think, in the county of Lauderdale—and I don't know about Colbert County—I think we have 36 school busses that just carry the school children to and from school and are idle the rest of that day. They are not utilized in any other manner at all, and I believe the school busses could be very readily used in the transportation of industrial workers.

Mr. ARNOLD. Would the hours have to be shifted around in order for them to be utilized?

Mr. FLAGG. No; the workers go to work much earlier than the children go to school. One problem is the driver of those busses.

The CHAIRMAN. What do they do during vacation with those busses; lay them up?

Mr. FLAGG. The objection was that over the vacations they overhauled them, but I don't think it would take more than a week to do that thoroughly.

The CHAIRMAN. Are these school busses allowed to buy rationed tires?

Mr. FLAGG. That I couldn't answer.

Mr. ARNOLD. I had a complaint from my district last year; 6 months ago, they couldn't use these busses to transport their football and baseball teams to another city where they were going to have a game.

Mr. FLAGG. That is the way we do—transport our football teams to the various fields.

Mr. ARNOLD. I lodged that complaint with the proper governmental agency.

Mr. SPARKMAN. If in order to win this war it is necessary to convey people to the various war industries by the use of school busses, if there are any regulations against it, they could certainly be changed to meet the occasion.

Mr. FLAGG. I would think so.

Mr. ARNOLD. You were just suggesting the question that was raised was with reference to the maintenance of those busses. If you put them in anything like continuous operation, as you should have to do if you used them to transport workers, you could very easily work out some plan whereby they could be checked and inspected and worked on overnight?

Mr. FLAGG. Yes, sir; and at the present time no matter how an employee reaches his work and gets back home, there is a transportation shortage. If he is driving his own automobile, he's using his own gas, and there is the rubber consumption, too. Therefore, a charge could be made each worker for his trip on the bus, whether it was a school bus or a public utility.

MAXIMUM UTILIZATION OF SCHOOL BUSES

Mr. SPARKMAN. Your argument is: Get the maximum utilization of whatever transportation facilities can be used.

Mr. FLAGG. That is absolutely correct. In other words, when we have school buses available, it seems to me it is very foolish to take them and put them up in school yards and let them stay there all day, when they could be serving a war industry which needs them.

Mr. ARNOLD. Those school buses are owned by individual operators.

Mr. FLAGG. No, by the county. In our particular instance by the county school boards.

Mr. ARNOLD. In Illinois they are owned by individuals.

Mr. FLAGG. They are owned by the county school boards here. They haven't really felt the tire need, and whether they have thought about it at all I don't know. When we approached this subject one of the school board members was present at the meeting, and immediately he put forth this argument. First, was the driver situation. The driver probably drives to school and then has another job somewhere else. But you could work that out. You would have to meet the situation that existed in that locality.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Of course the school people don't want to run the risk of burning up their rubber?

Mr. FLAGG. That's right.

Mr. ARNOLD. You think there is no reason in the world why that should not be worked out?

Mr. FLAGG. No, sir; and I think it opens a very large field of transportation. I know it does in our particular county.

OPERATION OF PLANT

Mr. SPARKMAN. You run full time?

Mr. FLAGG. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Twenty-four hours a day?

Mr. FLAGG. In some departments.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In fact you have been running that way a couple of years?

Mr. FLAGG. A year and a half.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Your product is underclothes?

Mr. FLAGG. Knit underwear for the Army and for the Navy, for the Marines, Coast Guard, and Air Corps, and we are now doing a great deal of work for the Chemical Warfare.

Mr. ARNOLD. Is your plant being enlarged?

Mr. FLAGG. Yes, sir; we are negotiating at the present time to take 60,000 square feet of floor space that an old cotton mill owns.

Mr. ARNOLD. Are you going to be able to get the machines?

Mr. FLAGG. What we need is floor space.

Mr. ARNOLD. Will that increase your production?

Mr. FLAGG. Yes, sir; but not our employment. In other words, we are now so crowded that we have reached the point where the law of diminishing returns is working.

Mr. ARNOLD. You haven't had any problem with conversion; you were already making that particular product?

Mr. FLAGG. We had a big job of conversion, but it was prior to priorities. In other words, we started to convert our plant a year and a half ago and completed the conversion within 6 or 7 months.

Mr. ARNOLD. You didn't have a major conversion because you were making that same line of goods before; you were really stepping up your efficiency?

Mr. FLAGG. Yes, sir; and installing the type of machines necessary to meet the Government's specifications.

Mr. ARNOLD. Have you come in contact with any of these small plants that are about to be shut out by reason of priorities, yet unable to get machines with which to convert their plants?

Mr. FLAGG. I have had no actual personal experience. What I know is mostly hearsay, brought to me by machinery men and also in conversations with men who have that type of plant. For instance, the little hosiery mill in Decatur has actually gone out of that business. But the situation there was the silk problem. When the silk was frozen, the mill was left. They wanted to handle nylon, but it is now impossible to get the necessary equipment, because of priorities. Now, I understand, they have converted the plant and are going to make some kind of fuses and things of that sort. All I know is by hearsay. And I don't feel competent to discuss it.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you gentlemen very much for being here.

TESTIMONY OF HARRY HILL, VICE PRESIDENT, GULF SHIP-BUILDING & DRYDOCK CO., MOBILE, ALA.

The CHAIRMAN. At this point, I wish to introduce two letters from the witness, setting forth some data that we should have in the record. (The letters mentioned are as follows:)

HOUSE COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING NATIONAL DEFENSE MIGRATION,
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: Pursuant to the arrangement agreed upon at the February conference and to a letter from your field investigator, the following is Gulf Shipbuilding Corporation's statement in connection with the suggested points:

Our employment figures are:

End of 1939	0
End of 1940	203
End of 1941	5, 039
End of March 1942	5, 383

Our force will go up to around 12,000 under our present contracts. Recruitment is at the gate and through the medium of the United States Employment Service.

Since January 1, 1942, there have been 203 terminations of skilled and semi-skilled workers due to the Selective Service Act. The policy of this company is to request deferments only for those employees whose records reveal good attendance, proper application of effort, and sufficient experience to make them valuable workers. There is a tendency for the draft boards of Florida and Mississippi to be severe in the cases involving skilled men.

This company is engaged in an intensive in-plant training effort consisting of schools for electricians, pipe fitters, sheet metal workers, silver brasers, welders and burners.

These schools are maintained to supplement the program of the vocational education department of Mobile, which cannot take care of our requirements in sufficient volume and in sufficient time. Our employees are encouraged to attend defense training classes to improve and broaden their knowledge of their vocations. Finally, this company makes maximum use of the special apprentice system of in-plant training of semiskilled workers. Upgradings of these various groups depend on records in plant, by the service, and training-school reports.

Our labor turn-over has increased to 3.7 percent and, from our investigations, the increase is the result of inadequate housing as we have employees living in tents and in automobiles. This is, at present, the most critical phase of the labor situation.

Our current experience shows that, with about 9,000 men on our hourly pay roll, we cannot hope to increase this force until something radical is done in the way of providing facilities adequately to house the present force and to care for the increase. The importance of immediate construction of houses cannot be too strongly emphasized.

Very truly yours,

GULF SHIPBUILDING CORPORATION,
H. HILL,
Vice President and General Manager.

GULF SHIPBUILDING CORPORATION,
Mobile, Ala., May 18, 1942.

The Honorable JOHN H. TOLAN,
*Chairman, House Committee Investigating National Defense Migration,
Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: Pursuant to the hearings held in Huntsville, Ala., on May 8, 1942, we are taking the liberty of submitting a copy of a resolution adopted May 13, 1942, in a meeting of the (Alabama) State council of administrators.

In the face of the existing deplorable shortage of housing facilities as set forth in the enclosure, it is impossible for us to increase our working force to meet our needs; therefore, we earnestly urge that your committee use its influence to get adequate housing built in this area as quickly as possible.

Very truly yours,

GULF SHIPBUILDING CORPORATION,
H. HILL,
Vice President and General Manager.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE ALABAMA STATE COUNCIL OF ADMINISTRATORS,
MAY 13, 1942

Mr. Plowden reported that, in his opinion, the recruitment of trainees in up-State centers for the shipyard industry was being greatly hampered by the return to these up-State centers of former trainees who had been unable to secure housing accommodations in Mobile, even though they had passed their tests creditably and had received employment in the shipyards. After considering this problem from all angles, the following resolution was proposed by Mr. C. F. Anderson, of the United States Employment Service, and was unanimously adopted by the Council:

"Definite information from all sources clearly indicates that there are no housing, or even rooming accommodations in the entire Mobile area. In fact, in the area are many cases existing to the extent that 7 workers are occupying the same room, using beds in relays. A recent report indicates that 51 skilled mechanics, all members of the Congress of Industrial Organizations union, and all of whom are badly needed in the shipbuilding industry, came to Mobile, some slept in cars with their families for several nights while attempting to find some place in which to live, and then left.

"Training is at present being conducted in a number of other points in Alabama, specifically directed toward Mobile. As these badly needed trainees finish their courses and are routed to Mobile, their usual experience is the same as indicated by the above-mentioned workers. Such trainees frequently return to the points where training was given them and discourage other members of the classes from continuing their training, or certainly, from going to Mobile upon completion of the courses.

"It is the unanimous opinion of this council that the labor situation in Mobile will never be solved until adequate housing or rooming accommodations are provided for the necessary number of workers.

"It is also the opinion of the State council that the situation in Mobile cannot be materially bettered by the training of Negroes for the skilled occupations where the dearth is so great, since, while training is in the process of being conducted for Negroes, there are at present no qualified skilled Negroes in Mobile. Careful surveys conducted recently have indicated that there are, in fact, few Negroes available for referral for training in the skilled classifications. As of December 1941, an analysis made by the then Alabama State Employment Service indicated

that the active total number of Negroes available for training referrals was only 265. There is no reason to believe that the situation has changed since that survey was made. At the present time, the National Youth Administration reports that they have only 4 male Negro youth awaiting assignment in Mobile. Plans have been made there and are now in process for the training for such Negroes as may be available for skilled jobs in the ship yards, both in Mobile and throughout the State.

"It is, therefore, unanimously the opinion of this council that the housing shortage in the Mobile area is not accentuated by the lack of utilization of Negroes in the shipbuilding industry; and, furthermore, that the housing situation would apply to the Negro as well as to the white from the standpoint of labor being brought in from other areas."

TESTIMONY OF HARRY HILL—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. Without revealing any military information, Mr. Hill, tell us what your company is building and for whom?

Mr. HILL. Ships for the Navy Department and Maritime Commission.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your total working force?

Mr. HILL. Right now about 9,500 persons, plus 500; about 10,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Approximately what percentage is skilled and semi-skilled and unskilled?

Mr. HILL. Roughly 20 percent skilled, 40 percent trainees, probably about 20 percent semiskilled, and the remaining 20 percent unskilled. That is just approximately, of course.

UTILIZATION OF LOCAL LABOR

The CHAIRMAN. What is your company's policy with regard to utilization of local labor; do you try to get local labor whenever you can?

Mr. HILL. Yes, sir; as far as possible.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you get much of your labor from localities other than Mobile?

Mr. HILL. Yes, sir; I would say the farming section to the north of Mobile furnishes quite a good deal.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any training departments?

Mr. HILL. Yes, sir; we have established a training department that runs right now close to 4,000 men in process of training and production.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they get paid while in training?

Mr. HILL. Yes, sir; they are also on production work, and of course in addition to their actual work we have training schools, which are for electricians, pipe fitters, sheet metal workers, silver brazers, welders, and burners. And of course those courses which are principally on matters of technical training—blue print reading, and things of that sort.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any transportation problem there?

Mr. HILL. We definitely do. What we are doing in that connection is this: We have quite a force coming out of Mobile and we have bought 15 interurban cars that will be in operation I guess by the 1st of June and will be operated by the local railway to the plant. They ought to take care of 2,500 men.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the population of Mobile?

Mr. HILL. Originally I would say the population was about 70,000, and the estimates vary all the way up to 130,000 right now.

The CHAIRMAN. It undoubtedly created a housing problem?

WORKERS QUITTING ON ACCOUNT OF HOUSING SHORTAGE

Mr. HILL. Yes, sir; very definitely. That is one of our greatest problems right now. It is to get houses built in sufficient time to be of use, because, as we see it, we are probably going up to about 12,500 men. Right now our hirings are just about the same as the people who quit. And from our inquiries, most of the people who are quitting are quitting on account of the housing conditions. Some are in tents and trailers, and some sleep in the backs of automobiles.

The CHAIRMAN. Sometimes people want to know why we investigate housing and ask what connection that has with migration of people. Well—if people come in and can't get a place to live, they move.

Mr. HILL. That is exactly what we are up against.

The CHAIRMAN. Is anything being done about it?

Mr. HILL. Yes; they have formed a Mobile War Emergency Committee to see if they can get some pretty quick action on housing. We have an allocation of 200 houses, and there is another proposal to build 600 more, and I understand bids are to be opened on the 18th of May with the understanding that construction must start by the 25th of May and, of course, from that point, it will be this: After we get 600 built and occupied or near occupied, how many more shall we need?

EFFECT OF HOUSING ON WORKER'S EFFICIENCY

The CHAIRMAN. Good housing has a direct connection with a man's working capacity?

Mr. HILL. Undoubtedly. I think it has everything to do with a man's efficiency. If a man is living in a trailer or tent, he doesn't get the kind of conditions he is accustomed to, and that reflects in his work. I can't see why, in the shipbuilding industry, we can't get more housing, because if there is anything permanent on this program, it is shipbuilding. You can readily see how it is different from some of these defense projects; in the course of construction, the construction labor comes in, does the construction, and then goes out. But our housing problem is more permanent than that. It looks like we are definitely engaged in shipbuilding for a number of years.

The CHAIRMAN. In view of the fact that so much tonnage is being destroyed so quickly?

Mr. HILL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any ideas you could give us about the percentage of labor turn-over in the past 12 months?

LABOR TURN-OVER

Mr. HILL. Yes, sir. When it started it was negligible. But now, the last I saw on it was 3.7 percent per week, which amounts to 350 men per week. Now, that has a direct bearing on the productive efficiency of the plant as a whole for this reason: That most of those people who come in have never seen a shipyard. They spend the first few weeks finding out what it is all about. And if they leave inside of 2 or 3 months, they may as well never have come in. That is the condition we are confronted with.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the cause of that turn-over?

SHIPYARDS REQUIRE NUCLEUS OF TRAINED MEN

Mr. HILL. When shipyards start, while of course they are supposed to do all their training, it is almost impossible for these shipyards to build ships with green men all the way. They must have a nucleus from other shipyards. That is one of the causes. Of course, we don't complain about that, as long as it is kept within reasonable bounds, because that has to be. The Government knows better than we do where they require shipyards, and when it does build a new shipyard, they have got to get some men in there to train men about shipbuilding. That is one of the causes. Another cause is housing. And, of course, the first condition I mentioned, we have got to live with. But the second condition can be cured. And the second cause is more of a major cause than the first.

Mr. ARNOLD. Who makes request for these men? Does the Government ask you?

Mr. HILL. No; they naturally go.

Mr. ARNOLD. They hear of an opening?

Mr. HILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARNOLD. How do they know that one of their skills is needed? How is it provided or arranged that the new yard gets just the kind of skills needed? It is a hit-and-miss proposition the way it is now, isn't it?

Mr. HILL. I wouldn't say so, because under present conditions anybody who knows anything about ships is required in a shipyard.

Mr. ARNOLD. Then if the skilled labor coming voluntarily to that new shipyard doesn't take care of their needs, the owners go out and get the other men?

Mr. HILL. Not exactly. The way we operate and have to operate is that we get our nucleus of people who know something about ships. From that point on it is a question of intensive training within our own plant. They train men who know nothing about that particular skill. That is to say, if you have a lofter, he may be doing loft work or supervising about a dozen people who have never seen a shipyard, much less a loft, before.

Mr. ARNOLD. Do higher wages attract these men to the new shipyards?

Mr. HILL. In some cases; yes.

Mr. ARNOLD. There is no standard scale of wages?

Mr. HILL. Very definitely. There is a ceiling. But the intermediate rates—sometimes a man may be getting so much at one shipyard and can get more at another.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any piracy?

Mr. HILL. I would say in the last 12 months the piracy has diminished very considerably, because the shipyards themselves find it doesn't pay.

Mr. ARNOLD. Has your labor turn-over decreased or increased in the past 12 months?

Mr. HILL. It has steadily increased.

Mr. ARNOLD. That will have a direct effect on production?

Mr. HILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARNOLD. Have you any suggestion to remedy that?

CAUSES OF LABOR TURN-OVER

Mr. HILL. The only practical suggestion is in more housing, because our labor turn-over is definitely connected with the housing condition. In other words, if a man came there and had a comfortable home to live in, that would have a tendency to keep him there. The first question asked by the men being hired at our shipyard is: "Can I get a house?" And we have had lots of cases of men wanting to work for us, but not doing so because they couldn't get a house.

Mr. ARNOLD. Do you lose many men to the draft?

Mr. HILL. Quite a few.

Mr. ARNOLD. You don't have any deferments?

Mr. HILL. Yes, sir; we have deferment, and yet, between January 1 and April 28, we have had 203 men lost to us by the draft. In that connection I might say this—you, of course, are probably much more familiar with the selective-service regulations than I am—but, except in cases of people whose skill is such that they couldn't be replaced within a reasonable time, we don't ask for deferment. That is only in the cases of skilled mechanics, draftsmen, and engineers.

Mr. ARNOLD. You get permanent deferment sometimes?

Mr. HILL. No; 6 months.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything else, Mr. Hill, you care to say—something you haven't covered?

Mr. HILL. I think you gentlemen have covered the ground pretty well, so far as I can see.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you giving any thought to the rubber shortage and the effect it will have on workers?

Mr. HILL. Yes, sir; we are making a study about that. I was talking to some Maritime Commission people and they are very much excited about the rubber situation. And our proposition is that if you get this housing, the rubber situation, so far as those people in houses is concerned, will be practically nonexistent, because these houses will all be within a mile or a mile and a half of the yard. And, as far as that is concerned, it will relieve the situation of 2,500 men at least.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you very much, Mr. Hill. We appreciate your coming. We are glad we could put you on this morning so you can go back to build more ships.

PERCY BELLMAN, COLORED, WHO MOVED FROM THE ARSENAL AREA, ROUTE 4, HUNTSVILLE, ALA.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You used to live at Gurley, didn't you, Percy?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Were you born in this county?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir; I was born at Gurley, and that is in this county.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Were you raised there?

Mr. BELLMAN. No, sir; I was raised down here on Route 4.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Down in Pond Beat?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you live on the arsenal grounds?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What do you call it—the "arsenal"?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I hear some of these fellows calling it the "arsenic plant," and others the "bullet plant."

Mr. BELLMAN. Some of them does; yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are you working down there?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How long have you been working down there?

Mr. BELLMAN. Ever since the last week in October.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You were one of the first?

Mr. BELLMAN. Very near it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You were living down there before it came in, you were farming down there?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir; I have been down there ever since I was 10.

Mr. SPARKMAN. With whom did you live?

Mr. BELLMAN. Well—there was Dr. Bellman, and the last man was Mr. Sam Harris.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How old are you, Percy?

Mr. BELLMAN. Forty-six.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How long did you live with Mr. Harris?

Mr. BELLMAN. About 15 years, I reckon.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Were you a cash tenant or a sharecropper?

Mr. BELLMAN. I was a sharecropper.

Mr. SPARKMAN. All of Mr. Harris' lands were taken over by the arsenal and ordnance plant?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In fact, he lived right down in the ordnance-plant area?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir; but I wasn't on his place when it was taken.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What place were you on?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yancy Horton's, in Mullins Flat, that is where I was living, next to that mountain.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You don't recognize those places very well now?

Mr. BELLMAN. No, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I went through yesterday, and I was lost all the time with all those railroad tracks and new roads.

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir; they have got it tore up awful now.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You can travel through there in the wintertime now, and you couldn't before.

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir; you can go just any way you want to go now.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How much land did you farm, Percy?

Mr. BELLMAN. About 35 acres.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mostly cotton?

Mr. BELLMAN. I have always handled about 25 in cotton.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You didn't have your own livestock?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You worked on a "third and a fourth"?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I thought you worked on half and half?

Mr. BELLMAN. No, sir; I was on a third and a fourth all the time I was with Mr. Harris.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you still got your livestock?

Mr. BELLMAN. Two head.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Two mules?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What about your plow tools?

Mr. BELLMAN. I got all except my cultivator.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What about your cows?

Mr. BELLMAN. I got four head of cows.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You don't use all that milk?

Mr. BELLMAN. No, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What do you do with the rest of it?

Mr. BELLMAN. When it comes in right—they are all about dry now—but we generally sell some of it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you raise any hogs?

Mr. BELLMAN. No, sir; I haven't got none now. I sold my hogs. I didn't have no good place for them.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you got chickens?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir; I got them.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you have your own garden?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are you doing any farming at all?

Mr. BELLMAN. No, sir; not anything but just little truck patches.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where are you living?

Mr. BELLMAN. In one of the new houses.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In one of the Farm Security Administration's new houses?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir; below Merrimack.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How much ground do you have; just room enough for a garden?

Mr. BELLMAN. I have got about 2 acres there, I guess.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You raise potatoes in your garden and things like that?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What kind of a crop did you make last year?

Mr. BELLMAN. I made a nice crop last year, 14 bales of cotton.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you have to quit working at the arsenal to gather it, or did your wife and children gather it?

Mr. BELLMAN. My wife and child did. I have one child.

Mr. SPARKMAN. A girl or a boy?

Mr. BELLMAN. A girl.

Mr. SPARKMAN. They are pretty good workers?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir; I reckon they are. My wife is given that name, and you might as well say she done the work.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What do you make at the arsenal?

Mr. BELLMAN. I makes \$4.75 a day now.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How many days a week do you work?

Mr. BELLMAN. I works all 5 of them.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That gives you almost \$25 a week. Do you get any overtime?

Mr. BELLMAN. On Saturdays we gets overtime.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You make pretty close to \$30 a week?

Mr. BELLMAN. I sure does.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Percy, what are you doing with that money? It doesn't take all that to live on?

Mr. BELLMAN. I owed some debts that I am paying up.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are you buying any defense bonds?

Mr. BELLMAN. I have put my name in for them, but they haven't taken out none.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You have asked them to deduct some from your pay, and that is just getting started, Percy. The "deducts" will hit you later.

Mr. BELLMAN. I thought they was just letting me by.

Mr. SPARKMAN. No, no, Percy. You will get your "deducts" later. How much rent are you paying for that house?

Mr. BELLMAN. \$10 a month.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How big a house is it?

Mr. BELLMAN. It is plenty large enough. It is four rooms and a bathroom.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The house has running water?

Mr. BELLMAN. No, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You have a well?

Mr. BELLMAN. There is two pumps on the row of houses.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How many houses are there?

Mr. BELLMAN. Twenty.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And they have two wells with pumps?

Mr. BELLMAN: Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And all of you use water from the two wells?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you have an indoors toilet?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You lived there during the wintertime?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You found the house good and warm?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir; pretty warm.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You are engaged in construction work, or are you doing production work? You helped build the plant?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir; I work on the railroad.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I saw a lot of men riding handcars on the railroad; were you in that bunch?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I used to work on the railroad, and you had to pump the handcars then, and that was work. Things have improved.

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir; we don't have to pump ours.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you help build those railroads? Is that what you are doing?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You helped lay the ties?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. They are still building them?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are you going to stay with the arsenal or go back to farming?

Mr. BELLMAN. I would go back this evening to the farm if I could find one.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you try to get a farm?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir; I sure did. And they told me there was so many people buying land and selling land they wouldn't talk to a man about renting none. You just can't rent a farm.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I have a little farm with two tenants on it. And if they ever move, I am going to be looking out for you, a man that can grow 14 bales of cotton.

Mr. BELLMAN. I wish I could have struck you sooner.

Mr. ARNOLD. You said you were paying off some debts, Percy, with your surplus money. If you got in debt farming, why do you want to go back to it?

Mr. BELLMAN. Just because I likes it so well. I have been in it all my life.

Mr. ARNOLD. Your debts don't worry you very much?

Mr. BELLMAN. No, sir; my debts don't worry me. Maybe I will pay them off some day. I will if I can.

Mr. SPARKMAN. They are things you drag over from year to year?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes sir. I owed about \$1,004 inside of 4 years. When I moved over from Mr. Harris' I had to buy a lot of mules and tools, and I paid all that out, about.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You had your mules and tools to back up that indebtedness, and what you are doing is paying off those debts?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir; when I moved from Mr. Harris' I had two mules, and I bought four more.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You sold four and you have two of them left?

Mr. BELLMAN. No, sir; I sold two of them, and two of them died.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Percy, were there many fellows in the shape you are in, fellows who wanted to continue farming but couldn't find a place to go to?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Of course, the Farm Security Administration made an effort to locate all of you. In fact, that is how you happen to be in one of their houses?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. They furnish those houses for you to live in temporarily until you can get located on another farm?

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir, I was to get on one of those farms and farm this year. But somehow they didn't get it fixed up.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Bellman. You look pretty contented.

Mr. BELLMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARNOLD. You don't feel right without being on a farm?

Mr. BELLMAN. No, sir.

Mr. ARNOLD. I am that way, too. I am a farmer myself.

NATIONAL DEFENSE MIGRATION

FRIDAY, MAY 8, 1942

AFTERNOON SESSION

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SELECT COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING
NATIONAL DEFENSE MIGRATION,
Washington, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will please come to order.

Mr. ARNOLD. Before we start examining any witnesses—since we are working with the Mobile situation, I want to say that the testimony of Mr. Hill this morning as to losing workers in Mobile because of the housing situation is borne out by letters I have received from a former Illinois citizen, whose name he doesn't want me to disclose, in which he calls attention to the situation in the Mobile area in very bitter words. A second letter received from him contains this paragraph: "Our own Al Capone in his heyday was an angel compared with this gang down here, as Al didn't take the money away from the working-man, but in a number of instances established a soup kitchen to feed the hungry. Whereas, this mob is out after the defense workers." Of course, I realize this man is perhaps a little exercised in mind about the situation, but it might be he isn't either, he's just so fed up with the situation that he is getting off his chest what he really feels, and I insert that because it throws light on the situation, and confirms what Mr. Hill says is the feeling of these workers.

The CHAIRMAN. That is admitted. Do you want to tear the signature from that letter?

Mr. ARNOLD. This one isn't signed.

(The letter is as follows:)

"SOMEWHERE," ALA., *February 16, 1942.*

MR. LAURENCE ARNOLD,
Illinois Representative,
House of Representatives Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR LAURENCE: I note according to press reports that you are on the housing committee considering the housing situation in Mobile for defense workers.

In that I have been in this locality for the past 2 years and am somewhat acquainted with the situation, I suggest that you first make a thorough investigation as to the conditions of the defense workers who come here to assist the war effort of the United States.

To start out, you might go to the Federal Bureau of Investigation office and see how and why nearly the entire police force of Mobile were dismissed and replaced at the instigation of the Federal authorities. Why the inspector of police after the house cleaning was replaced by being forced out of office and the Federal Bureau of Investigation was powerless to stop this. Since the coming of the defense workers why has the price of oysters, which are taken from the surrounding waters, increased from 25 to 80 cents a quart? Why are the greedy and grasping fee-collecting nazi-japs from the license inspector's office allowed to force defense

workers coming from other States to collect their \$3.90 fees without lawfully taking the legal course. These are only a few of the many complaints against the local authorities and citizens who apparently are taking every advantage of the situation created by the necessity of bringing in workers to man the many defense industries.

I suggest that Federal Government will not spend another cent in this locality until conditions are made decent for the citizens who are patriotically trying to do their duty in the defense industries, or unless the southern half of Mobile County is placed under Federal martial law and local officers replaced by a military commander.

I do believe that after this emergency is over Mobile city will become one of the largest "ghost cities" of the country. Therefore, before the Government spends any further money here, it should see to it that its investment is protected for the future.

You can send your investigators here and they can talk with the many defense workers, check over the court records, etc., and you find conditions worse than I can tell you in a letter.

Very sincerely yours,

_____,
A Defense Worker.

P. S.—I am giving you my name and address on an attached slip, because if this were known to local civil authorities, undoubtedly I would be persecuted.

Mr. ABBOTT. I would like to read into the record at this time this supplement to the testimony offered by Mr. Hill, vice president of Gulf Shipbuilding Corporation, Mobile, Ala.:¹

QUITS ALMOST EQUAL HIRES

As all our construction is predicated on our ability to secure necessary manpower to complete contracts at least by contract-schedule dates, or as soon as possible, the labor turn-over at present (which is largely due to lack of adequate housing facilities) is such that there is grave doubt of our ability to fulfill our shipbuilding obligations, the employment situation being such that the number of employees quitting almost equals the number of new employees being hired.

TESTIMONY OF LT. COMDR. ELMER LANGWORTHY, PORT DIRECTOR, PORT OF MOBILE, ALA.

Mr. ARNOLD. Commander, we appreciate very much your coming this long distance to give the committee testimony that we are seeking with reference to the situation in the southern part of Alabama, the Mobile area. As port director, I understand you are responsible for ships which dock at the Mobile port at any time, day or night, unannounced?

Commander LANGWORTHY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARNOLD. Are you responsible for the housing of crews while the ships are serviced?

Commander LANGWORTHY. I am responsible for the finding of housing facilities for the crews of ships that are undergoing or about to undergo alterations or repairs in port.

Mr. ARNOLD. Many times when these ships are undergoing repairs the men can't live on board?

Commander LANGWORTHY. A United States Navy ship arrived 3 months ago and had a crew of about 200 men, and the ship was to undergo a major alteration. They immediately called me to find places to live for the portion of the crew that would have to live ashore. When you undertake a major alteration or repair, it is

¹ See p. 12123.

usually necessary to cut off all steam, water, and lights, and the men have to live ashore. That is quite possible at Navy yards and naval stations where they have sufficient facilities, but in Mobile we have no naval station of any kind, and the men must be quartered in Mobile.

Mr. ARNOLD. Are you always able to quarter them?

UNABLE TO FIND QUARTERS FOR CREW

Commander LANGWORTHY. No, sir; it was so bad in the case of the ship I just mentioned, and I had so few places to house them that the editor of the newspaper inserted an advertisement in his paper in my behalf and I received 100 replies. And I have correspondence where I told the commanding officer of a ship to make a survey of these quarters offered. He told me in a conversation that not more than 20 percent of them were livable. He said some of them he "wouldn't even put a dog in."

His official statement stated that his officers had made a preliminary survey. He stated, "However, several of the officers who have made preliminary inquiries have found the more suitable rentals already taken up. It is suggested that another advertisement be inserted, as the crew subsistence on board will terminate within the next few days, and it is desired that the crew be able to avail themselves of the available rentals before they are taken up." The outcome was the Navy sent a large number of the crew to New Orleans.

Mr. ARNOLD. How far is that?

Commander LANGWORTHY. 150 miles. But the unsatisfactory feature of that is we lose the employment of those men on a ship when they have to be sent to other cities. That is just one example.

Mr. ARNOLD. Have you had to send the crew to New Orleans in other instances?

Commander LANGWORTHY. This is the only large ship. But we now have ships coming in quite frequently, and there will be more of them coming in for major alterations.

The CHAIRMAN. What is a major alteration?

Commander LANGWORTHY. They take a merchant ship constructed for carrying cargo and convert it to a ship for submarine defense action, or to take its position in the fleet as an auxiliary. We have just made one such conversion of an ex-German ship. And there is another one in Mobile being converted to serve as a Navy auxiliary.

The CHAIRMAN. What was it you said? That there was no naval station at Mobile?

Commander LANGWORTHY. There is none at all. We have no naval housing facilities at Mobile.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they build ships there, fighting ships?

Commander LANGWORTHY. Yes, sir; they are at present building a considerable number at Gulf Shipbuilding Corporation; destroyers and mine sweepers.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the shipbuilding going on in Mobile warrant a naval station?

CONSTRUCTION OF DORMITORIES FOR CREWS

Commander LANGWORTHY. No; but what it will and does warrant is dormitories sufficient to house the crews of these ships that are being sent to Mobile to man them. That is now being undertaken by the Government. We have already projected a barracks at Chickasaw to house the officers and crews of the ships that are now being built in that yard. We have also projected and are about to commence the construction of barracks at Alabama Drydocks. They have not been started yet, but when these barracks are complete, the Navy's needs for enlisted men and for a certain number of bachelor officers will be taken care of.

The CHAIRMAN. How large a ship can you berth at Mobile?

Commander LANGWORTHY. It doesn't depend on the size so much as on the draft. We are limited to a channel depth which is 30 feet, but we have very large dock space at Mobile. At Alabama Drydocks they can berth approximately 22 to 24 medium size or large transports at one time.

Mr. ARNOLD. You are responsible for the repair of these ships, are you not?

Commander LANGWORTHY. No, sir; that comes under another department—the assistant materials officer attached to the Eighth Naval District. His responsibility is material. I have the personnel and military end of the Navy's activities in Mobile.

EFFECT OF HOUSING SHORTAGE ON PRODUCTION

Mr. ARNOLD. Labor turn-over to any large extent would tend to delay the effective operation of repairs, would it not?

Commander LANGWORTHY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARNOLD. So there is a direct connection between proper accommodation of workers and sailors to actual production, so far as the worker is concerned?

Commander LANGWORTHY. Yes, sir. We have in Mobile, practically all the time, 8 to 10 ships that are being armed. We take the merchant ships of our Government and of friendly foreign governments and mount guns on them.

Mr. ARNOLD. They go out as merchant ships?

Commander LANGWORTHY. Yes, sir; with Navy gun crews. I often have gun crews arrive in Mobile from our training centers, such as Cripple Creek and Brooklyn. They arrive in Mobile and there is no place to house them. They come in at odd hours, and the ships are not ready to receive them. The port director has the job of finding a place to berth those men. At present I only have space where I can berth 12 men. For a while the Army berthed them in their ballroom at their recreation center on cots. I have had gun crews come in when I did not have space for them and they would have to find what quarters they could in the city of Mobile until the next morning. When we get our barracks constructed, that will be taken care of, but that will be about 3 months from now.

Mr. ARNOLD. Has construction started?

Commander LANGWORTHY. No, sir; but the plans have been approved, and we have no trouble, I understand, with priorities. I imagine, with a little pressure from Washington, the Navy will expedite construction.

Mr. ARNOLD. Do you have any other recommendations as to what is needed besides these projects you spoke of?

QUARTERS FOR CIVILIAN EMPLOYEES

Commander LANGWORTHY. That doesn't cover all of our problems. We have about 200 civilian employees of the Navy at Mobile, and at least 180 Coast Guardmen, who are under the control of the Navy, also living in Mobile in very unsatisfactory conditions. Now, while the civilian employees who are attached to the shipyards can terminate their work if they are not satisfied with their living conditions and move elsewhere, the civilian employees for the Navy can't do so, because they are practically all civil-service employees, and it is the same way with the Coast Guard. I had a conference with the commander of the Coast Guard before I left Mobile, and he said, "I have 180 men without quarters. There are 210 Coast Guardmen in Mobile, and there are quarters for 30. The other 180 are living in boarding houses and rooming houses of Mobile." And during the course of our conversation he pointed to a small, dingy-looking hotel a block from his quarters. He said, "In that building six men are occupying one room on cots, for which they are paying 75 cents each per day."

The CHAIRMAN. You retired prior to the war?

Commander LANGWORTHY. I have been retired since 1931.

The CHAIRMAN. I am very glad you were available to be called back for this work, for I am sure from your testimony you are splendidly equipped to handle it. You indicated that your housing problem could be hurried up a little in Washington?

Commander LANGWORTHY. I imagine it could if this committee would so express a wish.

HOUSING OF NAVAL OFFICERS

One of the most important problems is the housing of officers. We have in Mobile approximately 50 naval officers, of whom most are junior officers, ensigns and junior lieutenants. The pay of these young officers at the most is \$180 a month, and they are quite desperate. They say they cannot afford to pay the rentals they have to pay in Mobile for the inadequate quarters they are obliged to live in—they are paying from \$40 to \$50 to \$60 or \$70 a month—and have enough to live on.

The CHAIRMAN. Are many of them married?

Commander LANGWORTHY. Quite a few, because they are college men who have been in business 5 or 6 years, and they have given up good positions to come in the service and they also take a tremendous reduction in salary. I have had two or three of them tell me if conditions were not improved in some way, they were going to ask to be detached and sent to some other city.

The CHAIRMAN. What about their wives and children; do they bring them with them?

Commander LANGWORTHY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And housing becomes more acute?

Commander LANGWORTHY. Yes, sir; and, while we have 50 officers there now the number is increasing and will increase much faster.

The CHAIRMAN. It reaches into the morale of your men, too, if they don't have adequate housing?

MOBILE MAKES NO CONCESSIONS TO ARMY AND NAVY

Commander LANGWORTHY. Yes, sir; and for one other reason. It is surprising that Mobile has made no concessions to the Army and the Navy. In northern cities, such as New York City or Boston, whenever we come into port, there doesn't seem to be enough that people can do for us. They give us reduced rates at hotels and on theater tickets and those things. But there hasn't been one single concession given to the Navy in Mobile, not even by the large hotels and theaters. They refuse to give officers reduced rates. I have told them what they are doing in other cities, but it has had no effect. And I think that has had a good deal to do toward creating dissatisfaction, to feel that Mobile isn't interested enough in them to give them some sort of concessions, as is done in other cities in the country.

PORT OF MOBILE

The CHAIRMAN. It is a very valuable port?

Commander LANGWORTHY. Yes, sir; I think Mobile has one of the finest harbors and ports in the Gulf of Mexico.

The CHAIRMAN: With fine protection?

Commander LANGWORTHY. Yes, sir; it is one of the easiest places to protect, and we have space for a large number of ships and large railroad facilities. And Mobile should be a much larger port than it is. But it is increasing at quite a rapid rate.

Mr. ARNOLD. Do you have any difficulty getting labor, construction men and repair men?

Commander LANGWORTHY. The Navy does not hire these. They are hired by the shipyards. All work on Navy ships is accomplished by civilian employees. The rate of construction progress on our ships depends on the rate of employment of labor at the shipyards.

Mr. ARNOLD. Has your repair work been held up at all on account of labor shortage at the shipbuilding yards?

Commander LANGWORTHY. Not to any appreciable extent as yet. But when the building program at the Alabama Drydock and Shipbuilding Corporation gets underway there might be delays depending on whether or not they are successful in employing sufficient labor to undertake the additional construction.

Mr. ARNOLD. I take it from this the housing condition is being taken care of?

Commander LANGWORTHY. The housing for Navy personnel is being taken care of by the Navy.

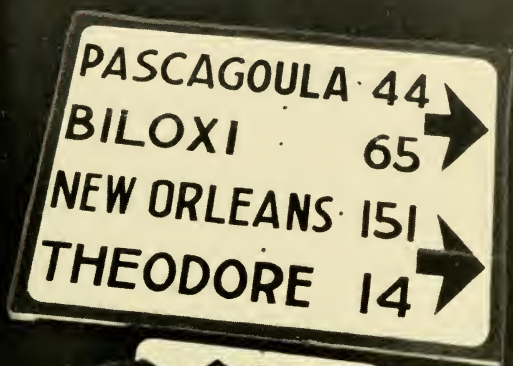
Mr. ARNOLD. Is private building proceeding rapidly in Mobile?

Commander LANGWORTHY. I do not believe that it is at present. There was considerable but I do not know of any at present. I think that there are many who would like to start construction but it depends on whether or not they can get priorities on necessary materials.

Mr. ARNOLD. Has it been declared a defense area?

Commander LANGWORTHY. Yes, sir. I happen to be a member of the Mobile Emergency War Committee, and I am quite familiar with

IN AND AROUND MOBILE



These two shipyard workers have jobs in Mobile but they live in Pascagoula, about 40 miles away. When they quit work in the afternoons, they make their way to the highway to thumb a ride home for the night.



Picture taken out by the city dump, just two blocks from the Federal Housing project. There are many of these houses lived in by negroes who salvage tin, rags and other articles from the garbage.



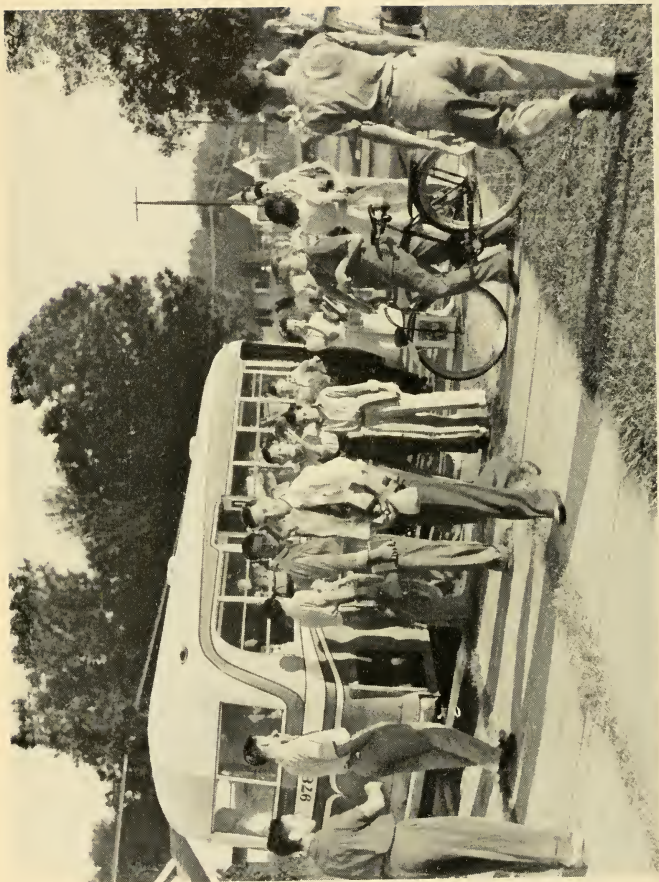
Picture taken of one of the many parking lots that are now operating in Mobile. This is practically the only means of parking in the city now. Many of the small streets do not allow parking on them and the streets are still jammed with traffic.



Picture of men leaving work at the Alabama Drydock and Shipbuilding Corporation in Mobile. Many of these men will not stay at their jobs long because they are unable to find suitable homes. Some are living three and four to a room, while others are living in trailers. Note chart superimposed on picture showing anticipated increase in employment.



When heavy rains fall in Mobile, scenes like the above are common. Traffic, which is already bad enough, is tied up and many of the stores on main streets of the city are flooded. The water is practically always great enough at low corners to drown out automobile motors.



Picture was taken during a campaign against overcrowded busses. The crowding was especially bad on school busses, one of which is shown above. This particular bus discharged more than twice the number of passengers allowed by law.



Class being conducted in the cafeteria of Murphy High School. Note the cafeteria lunch counters in the background. The smell of food fills the room. As can be readily seen, it is difficult to keep the attention of the pupils in such surroundings.



This shows the crowded condition at the City Hospital in Mobile. Newborn babies have to be kept in the same room with the mothers. In the room above there are five patients with the babies shown in the corner. In another instance two premature babies are being kept in a makeshift incubator made from sheets and electric lights.

the work that has been projected in Mobile from that angle, and what is being planned in the way of houses.

Mr. ARNOLD. What is the total number of units?

Commander LANGWORTHY. 5,610; that is, exclusive of the Navy. But construction has not been started as yet.

THE CHAIRMAN. Of course the load on the Navy has increased tremendously. Are you having any trouble with enlistments?

NAVY NEEDS OFFICERS

Commander LANGWORTHY. No, sir; more in getting officers. We are getting them, but it takes some time to train them. We are facing a problem of obtaining a sufficient number of trained officers to man our ships. We are training them as fast as we can. But there is no point in trying to gloss over the fact that we are in need of trained officers.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the Naval Academy; how many, approximately, do you draw from them a year?

Commander LANGWORTHY. I do not know at present. I imagine 500 or 600, but that takes care of a very small part of our war needs. We feel very fortunate whenever we can get a graduate from Annapolis for any duty, for he is very thoroughly indoctrinated and ready to take his position for any duty assigned. But the boys from college, we cannot expect that of them. We have to give them a certain amount of preliminary training. They are very intelligent and willing, but they lack the background.

Mr. ARNOLD. You mean after they have their \$900 training they are still untrained?

Commander LANGWORTHY. You know in the old days, before this present war, in the Navy our rule was that no officer was considered trained to take independent command until he has had 8 years' experience—8 years in the service after graduation.

Mr. ARNOLD. I suggest, Commander—I don't think you have heretofore submitted a statement—if you have a statement or papers you wish to leave, we will make it part of the record.

Commander LANGWORTHY. I submitted them to Mr. Burke. (The paper referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT BY LT. COMDR. ELMER LANGWORTHY, PORT DIRECTOR, NAVAL TRANSPORTATION SERVICE

MOBILE, ALA., *May 2, 1942.*

I am very pleased to give a brief outline of the problems which have confronted the various naval activities in the port of Mobile since the beginning of the present war emergency and which are continuing to date.

INADEQUATE HOUSING

The Navy has in the port of Mobile a considerable number of civilian employees who are employed in the office of the supervisor of shipbuilding at the Gulf Shipbuilding Co. at Chickasaw, and in the offices of the assistant district material officer and the cost inspector located at the Alabama Dry Docks & Shipbuilding Co., lower yard. There are also other civilian employees, in a lesser number, located in the various other naval activities in this port, such as in the offices of the port director, Naval Intelligence and Public Relations. A rough estimate of the total number of civilian employees is at present approximately 200. Most of them are civil-service employees. These employees are faced with the same conditions as regards acute shortage of housing, the high cost of rentals and the

cost of living in general. Many of them have families and they face the same conditions as regards health, lack of proper educational and hospital facilities. While the number of these employees is now approximately 200, this number will increase considerably as time progresses.

There are, at present, in the port of Mobile a permanent staff of Navy personnel numbering approximately 150, of which approximately 100 are enlisted men and 50 officers. The Navy Department has erected permanent barracks for housing most of the enlisted men. This is located at Choctaw Point, and is known as the United States Navy section base. There are no Government quarters in this area for the housing of officers, so they are obliged to find housing in the cities of Mobile and Chickasaw. The great majority of them are married officers with families, all of them, without exception, are paying excessive rentals for their places of domicile. Many of them are living in houses which are hardly suitable for officers. In addition they are obliged to pay exceedingly high rentals for these unsatisfactory living places. I have personal knowledge of several officers who have stated that they have requested duty elsewhere or were considering doing so, because they cannot obtain suitable places in which to live in Mobile in keeping with their salaries.

The psychological effect upon these officers by the inadequate housing and education and hospital facilities to care for them and their families, not only causes discontent, but tends to lessen their efficiency. And if you will add to the foregoing the high prices which they are obliged to pay for their houses, and the high cost of living in general, you can well understand the reasons for their discontent and the impairment of their efficiency.

A situation which has confronted the office of the port director during the past 4 or 5 months has been the temporary quartering of armed guard crews ordered to Mobile for service on board merchant vessels which are sent to the port of Mobile for the installation of guns and gun crews to man them. In the large majority of these ships the gun crews have arrived from one to several days before the ships were ready to take care of them. In such cases this office has been faced with the problem of finding quarters for them. In the months of December and January there were no naval quarters of any kind in this city and this office was obliged to call upon the assistance of the Army in providing them with temporary quarters in the ballroom of the recreation center at Brookley Field.

In January the Navy completed at Choctaw Point a barracks for the quartering of enlisted men and officers attached to the inshore patrol at this port. No provision, though, was made in these barracks for the quartering of armed guard crews, but by the use of cots we are now able to temporarily lodge about a dozen men at this place. This taxes their facilities to the limit. There have been many occasions though, when 20 to 30 men have had to be assigned temporary quarters, and it has presented this office with a very difficult problem when there are no quarters to be had, and it stands to reason that these men cannot afford to pay for their own lodging and subsistence in the hotels in Mobile, none of which make concessions in the matter of price for naval personnel officers, or enlisted men.

QUARTERS FOR SHIP CREWS

During the month of January a Navy ship arrived in Mobile for conversion. On the ship were approximately 200 officers and men. During certain periods of this conversion it was planned to remove the men from the ship so that the necessary work could be proceeded with without there being any personnel on board which would interfere with the work. The port director was requested to provide living accommodations in Mobile for these officers and men. The editor of the Mobile Press Register kindly volunteered to publish an advertisement in his paper requesting the citizens of Mobile to inform the Navy what quarters they had available for the temporary housing of this personnel. About 100 replies were received and the officers of this ship made a survey of the facilities offered. They reported that they were not only extremely unsuitable but in some cases were not fit for any individual, much less Navy personnel whom the Government desires quartered in clean quarters, which are provided with proper washing and toilet facilities. In addition the prices asked were way out of proportion to the facilities offered.

The Coast Guard, which is now under the jurisdiction of the Navy Department, has approximately 210 officers and men in Mobile. They have Government quarters for 30 of these men, thus 180 of their personnel are living in rooming houses, boarding houses, etc., in the city of Mobile and are confronted with the same conditions as regards unsuitability of quarters, high prices for the same

and general high cost of living. The same remarks apply to this activity as stated in paragraph 4 above in regard to Naval personnel.

CONSTRUCTION OF BARRACKS

A number of Navy ships are being constructed in the yard of the Gulf Shipbuilding Co. at Chickasaw. As their completion date approaches the Navy will order officers and crews here to man them. At present there are no quarters in the cities of Mobile or Chickasaw for the quartering of these men. To meet this deficiency the Navy is planning the erection of barracks in Chickasaw for the housing of this personnel. These barracks must be completed prior to the ordering here of officers and men to man the ships. It is my understanding that this work will get under way as soon as possible and all efforts will be made to complete these barracks expeditiously so as to avoid delay in the manning of these ships.

In the very near future work will be started on ships for the Navy at the Alabama Dry Docks & Shipbuilding Co. The same conditions confront the Navy in this yard as at Chickasaw, as ships are being built Navy personnel, officers and men, will be ordered here to man them. At present there are no quarters to house this personnel. The Navy is undertaking the immediate construction of barracks near the Alabama Dry Docks & Shipbuilding Co. for the housing of officers and men. This work must be undertaken as soon as possible in order to have the barracks completed in time to receive this personnel. It is hoped that these quarters will be sufficient for the temporary housing of armed guard crews who are awaiting assignment to ships being armed in this port.

A recapitulation of the foregoing will show that at present the need of housing for Navy and Coast Guard personnel in this port is extremely acute. It will be several months before the barracks now contemplated for the housing of Navy enlisted men will be completed. When this has been taken care of, some time in the future at an indefinite date, there still will exist the problem of obtaining suitable housing for naval officers and Coast Guard personnel on duty in this port, also civilian employees in the various naval activities. The latter employees will have to be housed in the various housing projects now being planned for the housing of civilian employees in the city of Mobile. As civil-service employees their employment is on a more or less permanent basis and thus they are not able to terminate their employment because of unsatisfactory living conditions and move to another locality where living conditions might be more satisfactory, as are the civilian employees working in the shipyards. Thus housing for them should be considered as of a permanent basis. While there are approximately 200 such employees at this time, this number will undoubtedly be greatly increased as the war effort continues.

RECOMMENDATIONS

To alleviate the conditions discussed in this letter I desire to make the following recommendations:

(a) That the erection of adequate housing facilities in Mobile be proceeded with as soon as possible and that space be allocated in these various projects for the housing of civilian personnel employed in the various naval activities in this city and in the city of Chickasaw.

The housing of the Navy enlisted personnel is a problem for the Navy to solve and steps are being taken to solve it by the erection of suitable barracks. The problem, though, of providing suitable homes for the Naval officers in the port of Mobile and at Chickasaw will still remain unsolved as no provision is being made by the Navy for the erection of quarters for officers. They will continue to be obliged to find houses in Mobile in which to live, which, at the present writing, seems next to impossible.

(b) That rental agents and property owners in Mobile be required to conform to the Government's orders in regard to freezing of rental prices as of April 1, 1941. There apparently has been no effort made in this city to conform with the Government's orders in this respect.

Prices have been raised since the Government's order was issued and are continuing to be raised in direct violation of the Price Administration's orders.

The CHAIRMAN. If anything further comes to your mind within the next 10 days or 2 weeks, just write the Tolson committee at Washington, D. C., and it will be included. And thank you very much, commander.

We will now call the newspaper panel. You gentlemen whose names are called, please come up.

Newspaper panel composed of—

REESE AMIS, EDITOR, HUNTSVILLE TIMES, HUNTSVILLE, ALA.

BARRETT C. SHELTON, EDITOR, DECATUR DAILY, DECATUR, ALA.

CHARLES G. DOBBINS, EDITOR, ANNISTON TIMES, ANNISTON,
ALA.

GOULD BEECH, EDITORIAL WRITER, MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER,
MONTGOMERY, ALA.

OZBORN ZUBER, ASSOCIATE EDITOR, BIRMINGHAM AGE-HERALD,
BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

GEORGE M. COX, EDITOR, MOBILE REGISTER, MOBILE, ALA.

Only Mr. Zuber is not present, and we hope he will come in a little later.

Mr. SPARKMAN. We have received statements from most of you gentlemen, which I shall ask be inserted in the record at this point. Your discussions may be based upon the material in your statements or you may bring up any other subjects you feel will be of interest to the committee in its investigation.

(The following statements were introduced:)

STATEMENT BY BARRETT C. SHELTON, PUBLISHER OF THE
DECATUR DAILY

REPORT ON THE CITY OF DECATUR

In the year 1820 President James Monroe instructed the surveyor-general to choose a site for a town to be named "Decatur" in honor of the great naval commodore, Stephen Decatur.

Governmental interest seemingly ended then for nearly a century; and with a financial background made up almost entirely of an agricultural cotton economy, there was little or no industry in the area with the exception of sawmills and cotton gins. The case for perhaps 90 percent of the people was hopeless. They borrowed money in the spring and depended entirely upon a gamble in the price of cotton to pay out in the harvest.

Seeing the utter futility of the situation, the people of Decatur started the long and laborious task of trying to balance agricultural shortcomings in income with industry. About 1880 railway shops located at Decatur and for many years the town was content with this dominating pay roll. The general railroad strike in 1922, Nation-wide in extent, was the signal for this industry starting downgrade, exhilarated by the growing competition for the railroads of highway commerce. The railroads started the centralization of operations with the result that many shops at intermediate points were discontinued.

Decatur did not feel any immediate heavy economic blows after the first World War. The railroad shops provided the only industrial pay roll of consequence and at that time there was no large-scale movement to curtail. Times were good and the gradual decline of farm prices were not noticed materially until the early 1920's.

Meanwhile, with the determination growing that the city must not be dependent upon a single industry, the people of the Decatur area put up substantial sums of money to attract industry of a diversified nature and succeeded in several instances in adding to the growing pay roll.

The depression which began in 1929 saw the complete removal of the railway shops and the failure of two other major industrial plants. Three of four banking institutions were in financial difficulties.

Decatur, with every natural advantage, was in a bad way.

Her people decided to take the fight into their own hands and to study other communities, their successes and shortcomings and in the dark days of 1932 a chamber of commerce was formed with just enough money with which to operate. The march was begun.

Diversification in industry and on the farm was the goal and is still the goal, with the result that today Decatur has 64 firms manufacturing a product, employing 3,500 men and women and with a fourth of that number living on the farms surrounding Decatur. These 64 manufacturing concerns employ all the way from as small a number as 6 people up to 900 people.

Notable growth has been witnessed since the Tennessee Valley Authority was created by the Congress, growth reflected in agriculture as well as in industry. To my mind the Authority is operated on a sound basis. The very act prevents Tennessee Valley Authority from seeking industry, but the development of the Tennessee River is in itself the real factor in attracting industry. A flour mill, two shipyards and a concrete-pipe company have been added to the Decatur industrial picture since the advent of Tennessee Valley Authority, deep water navigation is largely responsible for three of these and the construction of the arsenal near Huntsville is responsible for the fourth. Meanwhile, the people of Decatur have kept everlastingly at it in developing industry to use the raw materials of the Decatur area, benefiting the farm regions in the use of such products. Decatur today has a cash market for cotton, corn, timber, livestock, farm produce. The farmer can come to Decatur any day in the year and get cash, at the prevailing market price for any farm product. Much attention has been given the dairying industry with the result that milk production in the valley in the past 4 years is considered phenomenal. Morgan County's population at present is approximately 50,000, with 3,500 employed in industry and 1,000 employed in other business and professional capacities, leaving the remainder dependent upon farming operations.

INCREASED HOUSING DEMANDS

In 1940 the population of Decatur was 16,604 by the Federal census and it is our estimate that the population is now about 19,000 to 20,000. The industrial growth in war production has increased housing demands considerably and it is my opinion that today, if there were no additional war activity in this immediate area that at least 200 additional houses are desirable. At the present time there are approximately 1,000 Morgan countians working in the arsenal near Huntsville, this number was not included in my previous estimate of persons gainfully employed in the industry in the Decatur area. It is also my opinion that as shipyard activity goes more toward capacity and as the primary aviation school at Decatur reaches capacity, it is essential that greater hospital facilities be provided, as well as additional educational facilities. Both are now at capacity.

I have not compiled a private construction estimate since the beginning of the war program in 1940, but I should say perhaps better than 150 homes have been built for ownership in Decatur proper in that period. There is no vacancy at Decatur at this time and people are living in garages, servant quarters and old houses remodeled into apartments and glad to get them. With additional expansion of war facilities in the Decatur area there must be immediate attention given to housing, hospitalization, and educational facilities. May I say here that there are some four firms ready now to build better than 200 houses for rental or sale purposes if priorities are granted.

From a rental standpoint the people of Decatur have been most reasonable. Only in a few instances have we learned of attempts to gouge people and in each such instance we have attempted to discourage any such practice. Recently a rent-freezing order included the Decatur area and we should not experience the difficulties of some other war area communities in Alabama.

Houses must be built in Decatur to meet the needs now existing and the needs certain to grow in the future. I have not been in favor of public housing in Decatur and I do not believe it to be necessary if the Government agencies involved will allow the private concerns to go ahead. However, unless this is done, public housing will be necessary.

We are not a wandering people, our population is steady, we have continually encouraged home ownership with the result that approximately 65 percent of our people own their own homes or are in the process of ownership. We believe this tends toward a substantial type of citizenship, interested in the general welfare of the community, State, and Nation.

CONCLUSION

As to activities which must follow after the war is at an end, I trust we shall not make the mistake of letting everybody look out for himself in the manner of Mr. Hoover. We have learned much in the years from 1933 to 1942. We have learned that an additional tax burden is to be desired instead of unemployment. We have learned that every man has a right to make a living, the opportunity to work. We have learned that public construction is a decided asset to any community and tends to reach far beyond the immediate employment of people who would not otherwise be employed. It is a builder of morale, of community pride and in turn an asset to the State and to the Nation. It is my judgment that every community should now be planning a public works program of lasting benefit, useful construction, to follow when the let-down in industrial production follows the close of the war. It is also my judgment that communities must stick as closely to the principle of paying as they go as possible, retiring indebtedness. A community free of bonded debt is a community in which the tax dollar can be spent in public service.

I am glad to have had this invitation to present this statement and I appreciate the thought of you Members of the Congress on this committee.

We, in the Tennessee Valley area, have our eyes on winning this war. We who are fortunate can serve our nation in the armed forces, we who are less fortunate can serve gloriously at home in the various capacities to which we are called. We want all treated alike in the war effort, we are willing to make every effort necessary to the effort, we want no further successful attacks upon the Tennessee Valley Authority, and we want a well planned program of public works to follow this war to cushion the let-down that must come.

STATEMENT BY CHARLES G. DOBBINS, PUBLISHER, THE ANNISTON
(ALA.) TIMES

THE COOSA VALLEY AREA

In the Coosa Valley industrial area of Alabama where, in a nontechnical way, I am acquainted with conditions, the pattern of life has been changed more in the last 3 years by the war program than by the previous 30 years of slow development.

HOUSING SHORTAGES

Thousands have moved from out of State and from nearby farms into such cities as Anniston, Jacksonville, Talladega, and Sylacauga, placing a premium on houses and forcing the occupancy of a good many substandard units that had been abandoned. At the same time a better return from rents has brought improvements to houses and apartments, with the result that the maintenance of existing units probably has reached a slightly higher standard. The crowding of living units, however, is a serious problem everywhere. Federal housing projects have served to provide a challenging standard, but have hardly touched the needs.

In Calhoun County during the last 10 years there has been a noticeable movement of industrial workers toward suburban areas. With their cars they were able to live 5 or 10 miles out in the country as economically, and in some ways under more favorable conditions, than in Anniston. Now with the tire shortage these people are in trouble, for many homes are on little-traveled roads which offer slight opportunity for cooperative travel arrangements. Anniston industrial managers as well as the workers are worried, for with already crowded conditions in the city there seems to be no satisfactory solution.

FARM-LABOR SHORTAGE

Farm operators in our section are desperately short of labor. Childersburg, Fort McClellan, the Anniston Ordnance Depot, and other wartime establishments have skimmed not only the surplus of our farm labor, but have cut down into the basic and essential labor supply.

Older men, smaller children, and the women are in the fields now in greater numbers than I have ever seen them. Much submarginal land and some good land, which in recent years has been cultivated, will not be touched in 1942. In order to reach farm production goals needed for the war it will be necessary in our part of the State for the small farmer to produce more per acre than in previous

years. To this end we feel that the program of the Farm Security Administration and of other Government agencies supporting the small farmer is altogether essential.

With reference to submarginal lands being dropped from cultivation in Alabama because of the labor shortage, let me say that I hope it will never be returned to cultivation. It never should have been plowed the first time. The labor shortage may force much of this land back into woodland or possibly into grazing land; if so, this will be a valuable byproduct of the labor shortage.

SCHOOL FACILITIES

Youth in the Coosa Valley area has been affected adversely in several ways by the swift current of in-migration. Children of new workers have packed and jammed the schools and in some instances have brought with them very different moral and social concepts. Government aid in providing school facilities has helped some to relieve the crowded conditions, but in many places these benefits have been late in arriving and will be of little value until the school year 1942-43. A good many youths have abandoned their education to accept jobs that pay them as much as their fathers were making 3 years ago. The loss of able teachers to war industry, too, has been severe. Some faculties have been cut in two as poorly paid teachers accepted decently paying jobs in war industry. In general the difficulties in the schools have pointed up the growing need for Federal aid to education.

Alabama schools and colleges have rallied splendidly to meet the war need for trained workers, but it appears that further coordination of these efforts would get better results. A survey might reveal, also, that the war has made available certain training facilities that could be made good use of by Federal agencies.

I believe the Coosa Valley area has made a remarkably good temporary adjustment to the military and industrial wave brought over us by the war. If these new wartime factors are to bring permanent benefits to our life in Alabama, however, careful guidance must be provided by alert social agencies of city, county, State, and Federal Governments.

STATEMENT BY GOULD BEECH, ASSOCIATE EDITOR, THE MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER, MONTGOMERY, ALA.

There can be no debate with the thesis that American resources, human and material, must be focused on winning the war. This means that those of us who have had special interests, of whatever sort, those of us who have been attempting to build a more democratic America, economic, social, political, must redirect our energies. It is not easy to toss off habits of mind of years' standing or the goals toward which we have worked. But no one conscious of the imperatives of this struggle can fail to do so.

While this be true, we can in planning the war choose those alternatives—where no sacrifice of speed or military power is involved—which will make the task of a post-war world simpler.

While winning the war is essential, America is properly conscious of the fact that winning a peace is equally essential if the sacrifices of war are to be justified. To be complacent in preparation for peace, to merely accept peace in a defensive frame of mind, is as dangerous as the psychology of the military defensive. Winning the peace will require an alert, aggressive "follow through" in a difficult period when spiritual, mental, and physical fatigue are apt to be heavy upon us.

Winning the peace, then, will require that America be strong and wholesome internally. If, when the last shot has been fired, America is in a chaotic condition, if it has within itself the cancers of widespread economic, political, and social maladjustments, these maladies may endanger the winning of the peace.

Thus, despite the fact that each day we must do our utmost to win a military victory, it is sound to look beyond the urgency of today's battle and give some consideration to the need for an America strong enough to win the peace.

In many cases choosing the path to military victory is identical with that of choosing an America that will be in sufficiently good health internally to face and solve the problems of the post-war.

It is on this basis that I speak of Alabama. This is not a time to speak of the inequities between groups—economic, geographical, racial—except as these inequities bear upon the winning of the war and the peace. I for one am willing to forget the chains of economic colonialism in which the South has languished for, lo, these many generations—tariffs, freight-rate differentials, control of patents, a rigged economic system manipulated for the benefit of the Northeast.

It must be recognized, however, that several factors are now in operation in the South which are preventing it from making its full contribution to winning the war. These same shortcomings, likewise, will put the South at a disadvantage for its role in the America of the future, the America which must be strong to win the peace.

The base of the South's economic system, the structure of which is characterized by relative poverty, is agriculture.

The one basic problem of Southern agriculture, and a primary explanation for the relative poverty of all Southerners, is pressure on the land.

1. Alabama has slightly more than six tillable acres for each farm person.

2. Iowa has about 25 tillable acres for each farm person.

3. This 4 to 1 ratio is only one part of the explanation for disparity of income. Iowa farmland produce annually about 50 bushels of corn to the acre; Alabama's average is in the neighborhood of 12 to 13 bushels.

The war being a period of dynamic changes in economic development could provide an opportunity for siphoning off much of this excess rural population to be absorbed in urban or industrial work. At the same time, in a Nation faced by shortages of manpower here is a pool of labor that could be utilized if properly trained.

In Alabama most of the new opportunities for work have been in Government-sponsored developments—airfields, shell factories, military establishments. The shipyards have provided the largest single employment opportunity. It would be foolish to think that this development is permanent.

The permanent developments most needed in Alabama have been an expansion of the skilled labor force, an expansion of raw-materials production, and an expansion of processing plants, which could be converted to peacetime production once the war is over. Alabama has not converted its existing plants; Alabama has been slow to develop subcontracting.

Newspaper offices receive papers from many cities. I have been interested to see how effectively scores of cities and States, have converted established plants and built new ones for war production. Generally speaking, it seems that "them that has, gits."

The expansion in fabricating industries has been one that has followed, generally, in geometric proportions to those already in existence. In the Detroit area, for instance, the number of skilled workers and the amount of floor space is being doubled. In other cities, varying in size from St. Louis, Mo., to DeLand, Fla., exceptional use has been made of available resources through conversion of individual plants or pooling. Where this program has succeeded it has been due to local and State leadership, not Washington.

In Alabama little has been done. For the 4 months before Pearl Harbor, it is my impression from information available that the Office of Contracts Distribution of the Office of Production Management in Birmingham did little or nothing. Since Pearl Harbor the name of the over-all production agency has been changed, but the same attitude is operating in Birmingham.

Technically many barriers have been removed. Contracts are now negotiated. It is said to be relatively simple for small plants to get loans, but generally speaking, the idea of pooling and conversion of facilities has not been sold in Alabama.

The responsibility, of course, cannot be left to any one individual, but the economic prospects of this State would have been improved—and more important for the Nation, this State's contribution to the war would have been increased—had a man with the requisite qualifications been in charge of contracts distribution in this State. It is unfortunate that the South does not have more entrepreneurs, more industrial engineers, more executives with the vision and ability to organize our resources for war and for the future.

I have been interested in the educational training program, both because of its relation to the war and the post-war adjustments the South must face. My impression is that, until recently at least, job training was handled by men who were impressed by the size of the job they were undertaking—but the size was impressive only in relation to the past. I do not believe that those in charge of the job training programs have grasped the enormity of the task—they have been impressed by hundreds, when thousands was the proper standard. They have been inclined to wait to make certain a job would be ready for the individual, and by the time the job they were waiting for was available, four more trained men were desperately needed.

It is my impression that the United States Office of Education had an established policy of refusing to support a training program until employers placed an "order" for persons, specifying male and female and race. I do not know whether

this policy is still followed by the United States Office of Education. If it is, it is in contradiction to that of other Government agencies which are desperately attempting to build up the necessary work force without regard to sex or race.

As far as Alabama is concerned, the inclination of thinking people is to view the relation of race to the war production program as a production problem and not one related to emotional attitudes. Most Alabamians understand that there is no chemical expert who can look at a potato and tell whether it was raised by a Negro farmer or a white farmer. Most Alabamians understand also that there is no coroner who can examine a Jap and tell whether the bullet that killed him was fired by a Negro, a Caucasian, a Russian mujik, a Chinese, or the son of a member of the British House of Lords. What we need is more potatoes and fewer Japs. The question of who raises potatoes and who kills the Japs is one which is in the realm of mathematics, not sociology.

I would like to mention the problem of general education and Federal responsibility. Is there any person in the United States who, looking back, would not now agree that it would have been a sound investment for the Federal Government to have made sizeable grants to the States for education 3 years ago, 2 years ago, 1 year ago?

We cannot undo the failure of the past. Foresight on this question, however, is as clear as hindsight. If it is sound to help the South increase its productivity for the Nation's benefit in time of war, it is equally sound to help the South increase the productivity of its people for the benefit of the Nation at all times.

No one worthy of consideration profits from the poverty or the ignorance of any group within this Nation. Indeed, outside the lightning-rod salesman and the vendors of some patent nostrums, it is doubtful that anyone has profited from poverty or ignorance in the South.

Finally, the stability of this Nation at the end of the war may be incidental to today's job of winning the war. At the same time the task of winning the peace is at least a big and important incidental, even if it be classed as such.

STATEMENT BY GEORGE M. COX, EXECUTIVE EDITOR, THE
MOBILE PRESS REGISTER, MOBILE, ALA.

MIGRATION PROBLEMS OF MOBILE

In submitting this brief to you today on Mobile's migration problems, I do so with a feeling of thankfulness and hope. I am thankful for the opportunity. I hope, as a citizen of Mobile, for relief so that the war job assigned us by the Government can be accomplished in the quickest possible time. That job is to build ships and more ships until our Nation can conquer the threat to throw us into totalitarian darkness.

I am attaching hereto similar briefs from some of our local officials and from the executives of some of our larger industries. Their briefs deal with their own particular problems. Mine is designed as an over-all picture of the general situation as seen from the press box of a newspaperman.

Mobile is Alabama's only seaport, situated on Mobile Bay, 30 miles from the open Gulf of Mexico. We have, among other things, a fine system of docks, paper mills, a giant ore reduction plant, two large shipyards, and Brookley Field, one of the Government's enormous and important aviation supply and repair depots.

The city of Mobile itself, according to the 1940 Federal census, had a population of 78,720, which represented an increase of 15.4 percent over the 1930 population of 68,202.

We have numerous suburbs, including Prichard, Chickasaw, Toulminville, Crichton, Plateau, and others which are immediately outside the city limits but which are included in metropolitan Mobile. The population of this metropolitan area, according to the 1940 census, was 114,906, representing an increase of 18,733 or 19.5 percent over 1930.

Mobile County itself, which includes the city, the metropolitan area, and small towns outside the metropolitan area, had a 1940 population of 141,974. It might be noted that 55.4 percent of the county population is situated within the corporate limits of the city.

There can be no doubt that a tremendous and rapid in-migration has created many acute problems for Mobile, not only local in their effect but Nation-wide inasmuch as the success of the Government's war effort depends on how quickly and thoroughly we can build ships and other implements of war. When the situation arises where our shipyards cannot obtain labor because of a shortage in

housing facilities and other necessities of life, and when we cannot find rooms to accommodate the thousands of civilian and military personnel moving into Brookley Field, then it is time for the Federal Government to lend us all possible assistance. That situation exists in Mobile now.

Conservatively, it can be estimated that the population of metropolitan Mobile today is close to 175,000 as compared to the 114,906 as shown in the 1940 census. The bulk of this new population has settled within the corporate limits of the city or in the suburbs directly adjacent to the city.

The sharp influx of shipbuilders, plus the Brookley Field personnel, has been responsible for the major portion of this new population.

These figures show the rapid rate of increase in the number of shipyard workers in Mobile in recent years:

March 1939.....	791
December 1940.....	3,359
September 1941.....	7,792
February 1942.....	15,552
March 1942.....	17,500

You will note from the attached briefs¹ that Mr. J. M. Griser, vice president of the Alabama Dry Dock & Shipbuilding Co., says that on May 1, 1942, his plant was employing 10,500 employees, and that during the next 12 months this figure will be increased to 20,500, half of the 10,000 new men scheduled to begin work within the next 5 months.

Mr. Harry Hill, vice president and general manager of another shipyard, the Gulf Shipbuilding Corporation at suburban Chickasaw, says in his brief² that at the end of March 1942 his plant was employing 8,383 persons and that under present contracts the total number of workers will be increased to 12,000.

Naturally, it can be seen that Mobile's problems due to this great and sudden in-migration have only started. It can readily be assumed that if the present number of shipbuilding employees is to be doubled to take care of existing contracts, then additional thousands of workers will have to be employed to carry on the job of building more ships under new contracts which can be expected momentarily.

There have been all types of estimates as to what Mobile's population will be by the end of 1942, and it seems conservative and reasonable to state that our metropolitan area will have at least 200,000 persons by that time, as against 114,906 shown by the 1940 census.

Mr. Hill's brief says:

"Our labor turnover has increased to 3.7 percent and, from our investigations, the increase is the result of inadequate housing as we have employees living in tents and in automobiles. This is at present the most critical phase of the labor situation."

Mr. Griser says:

"Over a period of 4 pay weeks beginning March 31, 1942, and ending April 21, 1942, the average number of employes was 11,161 and terminations 531, indicating a labor turnover of 4.75 percent. A large portion of terminations are due to inadequate housing. Our industrial relations department records a daily average of over 75 employe complaints of inability to obtain living quarters."

Mobile is doing everything possible in an effort to cope not only with this housing situation but with kindred problems such as water, sewage, public health, transportation, and recreation facilities.

As to housing, there were 2,300 new housing units constructed between January 1, 1940, and February 1, 1942, in the metropolitan area. This rate of construction seems reasonably fast but at the same time is still not fast enough to balance the sharp climb in the in-migration index.

There is no doubt that the chief reason for this in-migration is the war program and, should this committee have the authority to recommend, I might suggest that the various Federal works agencies be apprised of the situation here and of the vital part Mobile is playing in the defense set-up so that we can collaborate on obtaining definite and quick relief to prevent the work schedule from being impaired.

There are numerous attendant problems which have arisen in connection with the in-migration, such as transportation, public health, and recreation.

The city's water supply is being taxed heavily, but a new filtration plant with a 20,000,000-gallon daily capacity already has received Federal approval.

Our hospitals are jammed and space is at a premium. We have filed application with the Defense Public Works for relief in this respect.

¹ P. 12211.

² P. 12113.

Our schools are suffering under this impact of new population. Whereas our public high school was constructed for 2,460 students, there are now 2,983 pupils attending, and educational authorities estimate that by fall the yet-to-arrive defense families will bring 2,500 more children of school age with them.

I hope and might suggest that whatever is done in Mobile to alleviate these conditions is done on a permanent basis because I can see, although I do not attempt to be a far-range economic planner, great possibilities for Alabama's port city. It cannot logically be assumed that the war will end overnight and that all of the war industries will automatically cease production. The climax of the war probably will create as many intricate problems as the declaration of war, in that the replacement of our lost merchant marine and naval fleet will, or at least should be, one of the Nation's major objectives.

We have learned since September of 1939 the importance of assuming and maintaining control of the seas, both in peacetime and in wartime, and if that is one of America's outstanding post-war goals, then the so-called boom in Mobile at present will have been proven as no boom at all but a turn in economic events that has blessed our city, because we will continue to be called upon to build those ships.

It might reasonably be assumed, too, that the period of reconstruction in Europe will call for more ships and more of our American-made goods which must be transported in freight ships built in our American ports. That job of assisting in Europe's reconstruction program will not, of course, be as important as winning the war, but it will be a far-reaching program because of its objective of restoring order from chaos and restoring it as quickly as humanly and mechanically possible.

Mobile has proven that it can build the ships. We are rolling them off the ways with marvelous regularity.

We hope to continue that program, even after the conclusion of hostilities, with the Federal Government's assistance now in converting our seaport into a permanent and ideal workshop for Uncle Sam.

TESTIMONY OF NEWSPAPER PANEL—Resumed

Mr. SPARKMAN. I want you gentlemen to feel that this discussion is just as flexible as you want to make it, and I hope you will all enter into it. And even though I may direct a question to any particular person, I want any of you to feel free to butt right in.

I might say this in the beginning: Most of us know, I am sure, that these hearings were scheduled for last fall, and most of the preparatory work was done prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor. They were suspended at the time, and later the hearings were scheduled for the latter part of February. We were within 2 or 3 days of coming here when the hearings were again postponed at the request of the Government, in order that this committee could go to the west coast and study a problem which at that time was very critical and pressing, the evacuation of enemy aliens from that strategic military section of our country. Therefore, we had to postpone the hearings again.

I am sure we all realize that the primary purpose of all of us now is to win the war, and, furthermore, we appreciate the fact that some people say that while we are engaged in winning the war, we ought to give thought to what is going to happen after the war. I saw one of Gould Beech's editorials reproduced in which that was dealt with. I think we are going to have to do some thinking about these post-war problems.

We have had periods in this country when there have been tremendous shiftings of population. That is why this committee was set up, because of the great shifting of population from our Plains States to Arizona, New Mexico, California, and the far Western States, seeking a means of making a living. It had become such a problem that Congress set up this committee, and directed us to study that problem of migration. We did study it, and made our report and

finished our work. Then came our war program, which caused the greatest shifting of population this country has ever seen, and Congress directed us to go see what this war program was doing to the shifting of population. Since that time we have been studying the defense migration.

We know when the catastrophe came in the early thirties we started with a lot of makeshifts for taking care of our problems. We had men raking leaves and cleaning off ditch banks and doing things that amounted to little or nothing simply because we hadn't had time to organize our efforts. We don't want this to happen again, and we think there are at this time a great many things we do need to be thinking about. That is why we make no apology for studying these post-war problems, although we do concede that our primary purpose is winning the war.

POPULATION IN THE SOUTHEAST

I particularly asked that this panel be put on because I am interested in the effect of this war program on our section of the country from the standpoint of shifting of population. We sometimes do not think of it as such, but our section has been an out-migration section almost from the beginning. When the committee was set up, Speaker Will Bankhead called me and told me he was appointing this committee. He said, "Very few people ever realize the importance of the migration problem to the Southeast. It is something we are greatly concerned with. I am trying to set up a committee that will represent all parts of our country, and I want you to serve on that committee as a representative of the South, if you will." Dr. Rupert B. Vance, of the University of North Carolina, made a statement that has been much quoted. He said that the Southeast was the "seedbed of the Nation." I believe we found in our very first hearing in New York to what extent the Southeast was furnishing the population for the northeastern part of the United States. I believe in those statistical studies we found the Southeast had a reproduction rate of 130 percent, whereas there were sections of our country with a reproduction rate of only 80 percent. Naturally, to maintain a balance it meant we had to send our people into those areas. It meant our section was destined to continue to be an out-migration area.

STABILIZATION OF MIGRATION

We are not working to cut out all migration. We think that a certain amount of migration is a healthful thing, but it ought to be stabilized and controlled. We have made our recommendations as to certain things that might serve to stabilize it. The one thing that has been hopeful for our section is that there might be an increased industrial development which would serve to give us a somewhat better balance between industry and agriculture. We have been very much encouraged by the development of these war plants, in the hope that something permanent might come out of them—at least that we might demonstrate to the industrialists of the Nation that southern labor was available, that it was adaptable, that it was productive, and that industry could thrive in our section.

I didn't intend to make such a long preliminary statement. But I wanted to point out why we have asked you gentlemen to discuss

what we may expect to be the permanent effects of the impact of the war program on this particular area.

Charlie (Mr. Dobbins), since you are the president of the Alabama Press Association, you would make a fine moderator. So, if you will just take hold from there on, and make any statement you care to make and carry it along as you see fit, we shall be very happy.

CROWDED CONDITIONS

Mr. DOBBINS. Mr. Congressman, that is a subject in which every editor in Alabama is certainly interested. We have had thousands of people come in from out of the State; also thousands of people have come off their farms. Our cities have done a fair job of assimilating these new people, but we have had some terrific problems. Thus far, the Federal Government has given us mighty good assistance. Our schools in Anniston, for example, have been crowded to overflowing, and there have been some new facilities provided by the Government. They are coming rather slowly, and we probably won't get the maximum benefits until this coming year, 1942-43.

We have had some tough problems. There in Anniston we have something better than 30,000 soldiers, and we didn't have any recreation facilities that were at all adequate. The United Service Organizations have come in and given us, I suppose, some of the best facilities anywhere in the country, and also in other towns in that area. We have been helped tremendously.

LOSS OF SURPLUS LABOR

Our farmers right now are suffering pretty seriously from a lack of the previous labor surplus. Childersburg, Fort McClellan, and the ordnance depot have all helped skim off the labor supply we have had. I don't know exactly how our farmers are going to come out. Many are in the fields with their women, old folks, and children, as they have not been in the memory of most of us.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you hear Mr. Morgan's testimony with reference to labor supply?

Mr. DOBBINS. I did.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I think he gave us a new insight into it. I noticed you used the term "surplus labor" as he did, that perhaps it wasn't a labor shortage; we wouldn't know until we tightened our belts and found out how much more labor was available?

Mr. DOBBINS. Yes, sir; I agree with him that the war industries have skimmed off our surplus. I agree they did that at first. But they are going beyond that. They are going into our basic supply now.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What about the effect of the Selective Service on farm labor?

Mr. DOBBINS. That has accentuated it. That has accentuated the difficulty.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The draft officials tell me they have difficulty getting boys in the South to ask for deferment; that it is not a matter of not granting it to them, but of getting these farm boys to take it. Go ahead with your statement.

Mr. DOBBINS. That is about all I care to make as an opening statement. One of our editorial writers has done a good bit of thinking about the permanent effects of the war program. I would like to hear from Gould Beech on that.

Mr. BEECH. I am not an expert on it. But it seems to me that in view of the things we have been getting, most of the Government-sponsored or Government-initiated developments—with the exception of the production of raw steel and raw aluminum—haven't built fabricating plants that would easily be convertible to peacetime goods, and that most of those other things, our airfields, for instance, will naturally melt. In other words, as far as industrial development of the country goes, it seems that the old saying "them that has, gits" applies to this situation. The sections that had fabricating experts and fabricating plants are expanding. We are losing much that we had.

LITTLE PROGRESS IN CONVERSION OF SMALL PLANTS

In Alabama we have made very little progress in converting our small plants. I don't know what our trouble is. It appears that under the Office of Production Management there was a policy of discouragement of small plants, and for a long time prior to Pearl Harbor that appeared to be the War Department's policy also. In this State the branch office of defense contracts distribution in Birmingham was headed by a man whose chief function appeared to be to shoo small plant operators away when they came in, and discourage them as much as possible. The War Production Board changed the Office of Production Management policy on that, in theory at least, but there has not been any accompanying change in personnel in Alabama. This one man in Alabama who discouraged converting and pooling of small plants—we haven't had any pooling in Alabama, as far as I know—is still there. And some of the operators from our city have been there, and about all they get is discouragement. Those small plants don't appear to have any part in this war-production program. Unless something is done, they will have to shut down. Our labor will go to other centers.

I understand the Government has removed some of the obstacles that were there before Pearl Harbor in the matter of negotiating contracts and in the matter of loans for small businesses. But we need a salesman, a man with imagination and ability to put that program over. In centers where it has succeeded, it seems that the personality of the man responsible is the factor in successful conversion to war production. It may be that the horse has already left the barn in Alabama.¹

The CHAIRMAN. There is no question but what you are correct about the importance of converting and pooling. They will have to take the small plants and get them into this war program. As I stated this morning—and I have made some little study of it—you have probably 160,000 manufacturing plants, large and small, in the United States; 97 percent of them employ 250 persons or less. One-third of those plants in the United States employ 20 or less. Those figures alone are indicative of what you say. Now there are about 42 pools already that have been formed in the United States. I think California has 19 of them.

Mr. BEECH. What about the personality of the man in Los Angeles or San Francisco that has done such a good job? Isn't it the personality of that man that has succeeded in selling conversion and pooling in California?

¹ Further personnel changes are under way as this hearing goes to press.

IMPORTANCE OF SMALL BUSINESS POOLS

The CHAIRMAN, That is rather personal with me, because my son, Jack, is the man you are speaking of who is doing that work. Of course, the old man had to tell him how to do it. Of course, you can go out and get 10 or 15 small plants and get them organized, incorporated, ready to do business; but I want to tell you something further: So far not one of those pools in California has got a contract yet. So that requires salesmanship also. I talked to Mr. Donald Nelson 2 weeks ago, and he said he thought these pools were the most important single factor in our defense program. I think the first one was in Kansas City. There were 17 small plants, and the interesting thing is they were making shells, receiving orders from Canada, but couldn't get an order from their own country. Of course this is never going to be an all-out effort until all our small plants are brought into the program. This is an all-out war, and it will take all our strength and manpower to win it. But to get it under way and get it started takes time. But Mr. Nelson is absolutely sold on the idea.

On the other hand, if these little businessmen throughout the United States are going to be swept away in this war program, that is a pretty heavy price to pay. I am glad to hear your testimony about that, because to my notion there isn't anything more important.

Mr. BEECH. One thing more on that—in emphasizing one man heading that program in this State, I don't mean to plead for our businessmen that they don't need to have initiative and imagination about the thing. We have got men with initiative to overcome any obstruction. A man in Birmingham who made burglar bars for windows produced a half million stove poker for use in the Army. He employed four for making bars, and now he employs 20 to turn out one single item for the Army, which is a dramatic example of what can be done.

PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES IN EFFECTING CONVERSION

Mr. SPARKMAN. You may be interested about this little experience I had. It happened to a little hosiery mill in Mr. Shelton's town (Decatur, Ala.). The manager was trying to convert. He went first to Birmingham and was referred to Atlanta. Atlanta said, "Yes; you can get contracts if you get machines." He went to get the machines necessary to convert and was told he could get the machines if he got priorities. So he came to Washington. I ran him from one office to another in the War Production Board in an effort to get the machines. And the final outcome was that he could not get the machines. Everywhere it was the same: "We can let you do this, if you can get the machines necessary." He couldn't get them. I don't know what progress he has made since then. But I do know what a hopeless chase it was, and it is very, very discouraging. We have met with that all over the country. In some sections they are breaking the ice to some extent.

Mr. SHELTON. The progress he has made is that he has let one-third of his people go, and he is making hosiery with the other two shifts. But unless he can get some relief of the type you speak of, he is going to have to close.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And for many years, while small, it was one of the most helpful industries a community could have.

Mr. SHELTON. Yes. It employed 600.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Does the Government give any assistance at all in effecting the conversion?

Mr. BEECH. In this State it has been discouraged— it is not only that we haven't had any assistance. If you can get around to the engineers in the office, people say you can get help. But most people are timid about it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. It is the old story of taking the line of least resistance with the Government; they go to the big producers and place their orders, because that seems to be the easiest way out, but that doesn't get the goods manufactured.

Mr. BEECH. If you have a tremendous back log of contracts, you can get the new machines. But here's a little fellow that has to get the machinery first. You have paper corporations all over, with big name officials—maybe the son-in-law of some Senator—and they can get contracts with nothing except a blueprint factory. In some instances that has been done.

Mr. AMIS. Huntsville seems to be the exception, from what these gentlemen say, as well as from what you say. I think every plant here is on war stuff.

Mr. COX. That is the same as my town, Mobile.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I think this is true in Huntsville—not a single plant had to convert. They are using the same machinery.

Mr. AMIS. Yes, sir; we didn't have to convert.

Mr. COX. That's the way it is with us.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Your biggest industry is building ships?

Mr. COX. Yes, sir.

Mr. BEECH. He is talking about big industries. We have two chemical companies in Montgomery that manufacture hair-straighteners. It looks like they could be used to make some simple chemical.

Mr. DOBBINS. The Anniston soil pipe plants constitute the biggest soil pipe center in the world, I suppose, yet I understand that soil pipe is going to be a thing of the past except for Government orders. Those plants have no very definite future. No plans have been made for their conversion.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What about the small plants in Mobile? Could seemed to sort of challenge your statement that Mobile didn't have to do any conversion.

Mr. COX. It seems we haven't a tremendous number of small plants, and of these, there were some that the owners voluntarily closed and went to work in the shipyards, so they can draw a weekly pay check of \$100 or \$120.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Let me make this suggestion—I want to hear you discuss your thoughts as to the present war plants that are operating in your respective communities throughout the State.

Reese (Mr. Amis), I am more or less familiar with what is here, but will you give us some idea about the war plants here, and the war production that is going around in this section?

OPERATION OF WAR PLANTS

Mr. AMIS. We have three large textile plants here. The Lincoln Mills was working on war orders even before Pearl Harbor—100 per cent of production. The Dallas Mill is a sheeting mill. I don't

know exactly the stuff they are making. George Elliot just told me they were doing war production. I do know Merrimack is doing war production altogether. That is my understanding from Henry McKelvie. Their problem is not orders, but the people with which to operate those plants. Of course, that is a local situation. Right next to us is this Government arsenal, drawing people from those plants to work at the arsenal at better wages than the other plants can afford to pay. Also a good many of their employees have been affected by the draft, and they are having a very difficult time to get enough people to operate those three large textile plants right now. As a matter of fact, it will probably be more severe, because the minute the construction out here is completed and this arsenal and Redstone go into operation, they will take a lot of young people at \$4 or \$4.50 a day, which is more than the textile plants can pay. Their problem is going to be to get enough people to continue operating.

The other plant here, the Martin Stove Plant, of course that is a war industry, and I think they are clicking along just the same as ever and paying good wages, and have therefore not been so much affected by the arsenal here.

As you know, John, we have practically no other industry here. Oh, there might be some very small ones, but they couldn't take any kind of subcontracting orders.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING REQUIRED

Our big problem here—and I have felt it all the time and talked to you about it—our problem, and I believe it applies elsewhere in Alabama, is a question of education to do something. When a boy gets out of school—perhaps he doesn't go through the grades, or if he goes through high school (some 12 or 15 percent go to college)—he doesn't know how to do anything. We have some jack-leg carpenters, but they just picked it up. But there is no manual training or technical training to do any particular thing. For instance, that aluminum plant you mentioned—if an industry were to come in here that wanted to process that aluminum, I don't know of anybody here that would be qualified to do it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I might say that when I went through the rolling mill part of that aluminum plant, Mr. Hammill, who was on the stand this morning, told me that out of 2,500 workers, only 15 of them were brought in. Every one of the others was trained right there. He gave us the figures this morning, and, as I recall them, he was working about 3,600 people in the 2 plants, and about 3,000 of them came from right around there and in the adjoining counties in Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama.

Mr. AMIS. I think the same thing is taking place in the arsenal and Redstone.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes, sir; General Ditto and Colonel Hudson testified to that. And I went through the electro-metallurgical plant, which makes ferro-silicon. It has increased its production 500 percent in the last year or so. They work 350, and as we went through, he would point out different people, such as the son of the mayor of the town, working a furnace. And he pointed out different ones, the sons of people I knew. And he said, "We brought 4 foremen, the superintendent and myself, 6 men. The other 350 are

from right around here." I asked Mr. Hammill on the stand if his labor had proved adaptable and productive, and he said it had measured up to every expectation.

NEED FOR VARIABLE GRANTS FOR EDUCATIONAL AID

Mr. BEECH. May I say something about that education angle? I believe if Congress could look back 5 years that it would do some things it hasn't done, and undo some things it has done. It would be unanimously in favor of aiding education through State grants, because we see now how vital the relation is between this section and the rest of the country. Grammar school teachers in Mr. Tolan's State make as much as deans of colleges in this State. We just don't have enough funds to provide the proper educational facilities.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Gould (Mr. Beech), I think you are familiar with this statement. A man from one of the New England cities was on the stand at one of our hearings. I was asking what he thought about the advisability of variable grants to States to aid in education. He answered this way: "Mr. Congressman, if you raise mules and sell them to us, we pay you for bringing them up, but, as it is, you raise children, educate them and send them to us, and we don't pay you anything for giving us that productivity."

Mr. BEECH. In that connection, in one generation we have sent out 3,000,000 people. And if they want good folks, they had better help us train and educate our people.

WAR PRODUCTION IN DECATUR

Mr. SPARKMAN. Balfett (Mr. Shelton), what do you say about the war production in your town?

Mr. SHELTON. Our textile mills continue on 100 percent war production. Our small industries continue to operate, and will as far as I can tell. We have also gone into ship building with two companies building just small types of vessels.

Mr. SPARKMAN. They are fuel-carrying barges primarily?

Mr. SHELTON. Yes, sir; and from that angle I am not nearly so bothered about the present as I am about what is to come after the war. I don't see the great drop in financial conditions that a good many folks foresee, but I, nevertheless, do regard the problem with seriousness. I believe, too, the Federal Government has learned a great deal in the past 10 years. I think the Public Works program has been of a vast benefit and we have gone through an experience and learned so much that we will not make many of the mistakes we have made in the past.

SHIPBUILDING BOOMS

Mr. COX. I am not so worried as to post-war effects. I don't think the construction of ships will automatically stop the moment the armistice is signed. I think we will continue to build them.

Mr. BEECH. There was a shipbuilding boom in the Spanish-American War, the World War, and now, and each time Mobile has come up. This may be an exceptional war, and I wouldn't want to say this before the chamber of commerce in Mobile, but shipbuilding is a world-wide competitive operation, and in peacetime we have always stopped building them.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Following the last world war we let our ships lie in various places and rot away.

Mr. BEECH. Mobile had many of them.

Mr. COX. I think that is one of the great troubles today. If we had sufficient ships, the chances are the job might be easy. And I think we are learning a tremendous lesson on ships.

Mr. BEECH. He may be right about it. I may be more pessimistic about Mobile than Montgomery.

Mr. COX. Then we have this tremendous air supply depot at Mobile. I don't think that will automatically close up at the war's end.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is a permanent fixture. As a matter of fact, that was designed before we got into the war.

Mr. COX. And I think that if the present influx of labor could be satisfied, they would have more tendency to stay in Mobile after the armistice.

Mr. AMIS. Are you building enough houses to keep them under a roof?

HOUSING NEEDS IN MOBILE

Mr. COX. According to what Commander Langworthy said, Mobile is showing an uncooperative attitude toward the Navy officers. We have cooperated. We have cooperated to the extent that there is nothing left. We can't house them. The great majority of private residences are renting out rooms to Navy officers and to defense workers, as far as that goes. But we have reached a point that the surplus room is gone, and there is no more left. We will have to construct new houses and quickly.

Mr. SPARKMAN. There have been various Government housing projects?

Mr. COX. Yes, sir; but the rate of construction has not been as rapid as the rate of migration.

CHEAPER HOUSES REQUIRED

Mr. BEECH. May I say something about the Mobile housing problem? Mr. W. O. Dobbins, director of the Alabama State Planning Commission, couldn't be here. I think he has submitted you some plans. He spoke on tent housing, which is a tent only to the extent that the upper parts of the walls are made of canvas. Mr. Dobbins and others have convinced me that the problem of housing is still in the hands of the 1930 experts. Those are the men who saw housing as a great social development. They set standards, such and such size for the bathroom, such and such sized windows, and so on. They are still thinking in terms of \$5,000 and \$6,000 houses, and a permanent, ideal neighborhood. Mobile doesn't need 200 or 300 of those houses. What Mobile needs is 3,000 houses or 2,000 houses that can be put up in a hurry. Anything else would be a peacetime housing program, requiring a lot of material and men. And Mobile can't house enough workmen to build the houses it needs. Mr. Dobbins is for a \$500 or a \$1,000 house that could be built on large tracts like an Army camp. What he is talking about is a whole area of houses that can be built in 60 days and would provide a sound roof and sanitary facilities for the families.¹

¹ See p. 12165.

(The following material was later submitted by Mr. Dobbins and accepted for the record.)

Hon. JOHN H. TOLAN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of May 29 relative to material submitted by the Alabama State Planning Commission at the committee hearing in Huntsville, Ala. In addition to the material submitted by Mr. A. J. Gray, I think that it would be appropriate to include a copy of a resolution submitted by the Alabama State Defense Council to the National Housing Agency in Washington. I am attaching a copy of this resolution hereto.

I am also enclosing a copy of a speech presented to a meeting of civil engineers in Montgomery on May 16 on the subject of war housing. I will appreciate any comment you have to make on this. The steadfast refusal of the Government to provide temporary shelter for areas where the in-migration of workers has been in numbers which required the provision of from 3,000 or more homes has been very difficult for us to understand. It seems so obvious that where units in the thousands are required that the most temporary sort of housing offers the only solution. The antipathy of workers to the barracks type has been pronounced in Alabama. They evidently prefer to be overcrowded in rooms in private homes rather than to patronize facilities of the barracks type. The situation in such areas as Mobile is still acute and relief could be speedily provided by a development similar to that submitted in our material.

Yours very truly,

W. O. DOBBINS, Jr. *Director.*

A RESOLUTION

Whereas of all the elements that affect the prosecution of this war by the United States none are more important than shipbuilding, the production of war materials, and the training of the armed forces;

Whereas the overcrowding of workers engaged in the operation of shipbuilding and war production plants adversely affects the efficiency and morale of workers; and

Whereas an insufficiency of housing in the vicinity of certain war production areas in Alabama is resulting in workers leaving such areas where important shipbuilding and war material production is underway; and

Whereas a simple, practical, and workable plan, which will be self-liquidating, has been submitted to the National Housing Agency for the construction of temporary housing in Alabama areas where the housing shortage is acute; and

Whereas the Alabama State Defense Council pledges its full cooperation to the National Housing Agency in any such projects which may be undertaken: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Alabama State Defense Council, That the National Housing Agency be urged to take action on the plan which has been submitted, or on another plan of similar nature which will provide temporary housing facilities in Alabama areas where the housing shortage is acute and where the national war effort is adversely affected thereby; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the National Housing Agency in Washington.

HOUSING, WORKS, AND FACILITIES IN WAR ACTIVITIES

BY W. O. DOBBINS, JR., DIRECTOR, ALABAMA STATE PLANNING COMMISSION

(Presented to spring meeting of Alabama section of the American Society of Civil Engineers, Whitley Hotel, Montgomery, Ala., May 16, 1942)

I have been asked to talk here on the subject, Housing, Works, and Facilities in War Activities. I wish to approach this subject thusly:

Chiang Kai-shek has aptly said, "If we perspire more freely in times of peace we bleed less during times of war." I wish to begin and end this discussion with that valuable thought.

Before discussing wartime housing I think that it would be appropriate to deal briefly with some peacetime concepts of planning as a general background for this subject. The fact that I desire to approach the subject thusly is entirely natural in view of the fact that my work for the past several years has been concerned

with highway planning studies and more recently with State planning studies. It is generally accepted that the prime objective of our democratic government is to promote the general welfare. It follows logically then that this should be the objective also of all units or agencies of any level of our Government. It then becomes apparent that the purpose and duty of the Alabama State Planning Commission is to study all matters which affect the present and future development of Alabama. The above cannot be quarreled with by anyone, but, like so much of our talk, it is all on a rather abstract level. I will attempt to reduce these ideas to a lower level on a plane which is not so abstract. In connection with ideas this definition of an idea, which I recently read, is of sufficient interest, I think, to pass on to you—namely, that “an idea is the verbalization of a cerebral itch.”

The purpose of planning in the business world is to secure a profit, or, in other words, to secure the highest net return upon the investment. There is nothing abstract about this process. The penalty paid by a business which does not plan wisely is generally the failure of the business itself. So all businessmen recognize, perforce, the necessity for planning.

The purpose of planning in the field of government should be to accomplish the objective of obtaining the greatest good for the greatest number of people who will be affected by the policies or actions of the Government or of the Government agencies involved. It is also a fundamental concept of this country that Government action should be only in fields where private capital cannot be induced or in fields for which private capital admittedly would not be appropriate.

PLANNING IN THE FIELD OF GOVERNMENT

Planning then becomes nothing more than common sense, foresight, and good business judgment. Common sense demands that all problems with which Government is concerned be approached and studied on the basis of all the facts involved. Any solution which ignores facts is much more apt to be an improper one than if all of the facts were collected and studied. No proof for such a statement is required. Foresight demands that due cognizance be given to the future aspects of the problems. This, of course, involves a study of trends and shifts in population, land use, city growth, etc. Good business judgment demands that each undertaking, particularly those undertakings of a public works character, be subjected to an economic analysis for the purpose of determining whether the cost is commensurate with the benefits expected. This requires a technique of analysis which is now commonly known as engineering economic studies.

The penalty paid by business for improper planning is generally a failure of the business. The penalty paid by the Government for improper planning is generally shown in such ways as—

- (a) Cities with haphazard development without a proper relationship between industrial areas, shopping areas, living areas, and recreational areas, with sewer systems unable to meet normal expansion, with congested traffic, with pollution of streams and other water resources.
- (b) With highways which are inadequate for modern high speed traffic and with highways which have been overbuilt for all reasonable requirements of the traffic load, both present and future.

This is a challenge to all engineers because it is sad, indeed, if the engineering profession fails to recognize the economic and social effects of all engineering works on the people of this State.

A logical approach for a State Planning Commission to take in order to accomplish its objective would be to examine conditions and facilities within the State in order to determine their adequacy or inadequacy. For example:

- (a) How many people in Alabama have hookworm and what effect would a rural housing program have in correcting this condition?
- (b) How many miles of highway require relocation and rebuilding?
- (c) How many cities have snarled and congested traffic on their street systems?
- (d) How many cities have a sewage disposal problem?
- (e) What areas are of a submarginal character from an agricultural standpoint and what is the possibility of inducing an industry to such an area in order that the people may be removed from the land and given a means of livelihood in the industry?

Any one with imagination can list many more of such problems for work and study.

PLANNING FOR PUBLIC HOUSING

It is thus self-evident that housing has an effect on and, in turn, is affected by many other activities of government. The peacetime concept of housing would divide the problem into two parts, namely:

- (a) Housing financed by private capital.
- (b) Public housing.

All of such housing, of course, should be related to proper urban and rural planning. This will require zoning in order that the best combination of beauty and utility may result in each community in order that people may have a place for working, for living, and for playing, served by adequate transportation facilities and other community utilities.

A logical approach to such a housing problem during peacetime would be to determine first the relevant facts for the community. This would be mainly a determination of the number of units adjudged to be inadequate, plus the number of overcrowded units. This would also require a study of population growth and an estimate of the additional number of units thus required for normal population growth. On the basis of these facts the number of units which should be built by private capital could be readily ascertained, taking into account future growth. For that necessary housing which should be provided as public housing for income groups not able to afford the conventional type of home provided by private capital the same approach should be made. Such a number of units allowing for normal growth for the income classes concerned would be for peacetime conditions a most desirable public works improvement. The fact that such public housing is partially self-liquidating adds to the attractiveness of this sort of development.

Any expansion of housing beyond the needs thus determined on the basis of a factual study would be dangerous for the community real-estate values. It is readily understood that a large overexpansion for temporary needs would be likely to cause a real-estate collapse when the market was glutted with unoccupied units at a later date when normal conditions were again operative.

Now, for the housing of war workers. This, in our opinion, is plainly a field for public housing, beginning where peacetime housing stopped. War workers, migrating to war production or military camp areas, are either housed appropriately by public housing or they are affected by one or more of the following:

- (a) Overcrowded into existing units.
- (b) Charged excessive rents.
- (c) They move on to other areas hoping to find decent living conditions.

The adverse effects of each of the above are too apparent to require amplification.

TEMPORARY HOUSING

I wish to remind you, also, of the thought about overdevelopment. The danger of the overdevelopment above indicated must be borne in mind by all levels of government in providing wartime housing. It is with this thought in mind and the urgency of housing the workers that the Alabama State Planning Commission has suggested temporary housing of the most temporary sort for such areas as Mobile. Under the impact and stress of the war effort and a wartime economy detached planning with long-range aspects included is generally inappropriate and out of place. If a community had prepared plans for the development and zoning of its area and had facts on which to base a financially sound housing program, it would still be impossible or out of order due to—

- (a) The shortage of time.
- (b) Shortage of materials.
- (c) The critical overloading of our transportation system.
- (d) The shortage of labor.

Since December 7, 1941, we have found that every resource we have must be utilized in the best possible way in order to win this war. Therefore, considering all of the above points, it is the opinion of the Alabama State Planning Commission that temporary housing of the most temporary sort is the only answer for such areas as Mobile where the in-migration of workers has been in the neighborhood of 75,000. It is necessary that these workers flock to Mobile in order that ships may be built and launched. I will not insult your intelligence by pointing out to you the importance of shipbuilding in this war offensive on which we are beginning. It then becomes apparent that unless these men can be housed that

shipbuilding will suffer. For the want of a ship carrying necessary supplies and war equipment thousands of American boys may be needlessly killed. Nothing abstract about that.

Such houses as have been proposed and which are illustrated with a housing layout by a sheet attached to this paper,¹ copies of which will be available to you, can be provided at very rapid rates by any experienced building contractor.

The necessity for locating the area adjacent to the industry, if possible, is obvious in view of the tire situation. The workers should be able to walk to work.

In order to salvage as much as possible, and considering the possibility that some communities which have been tremendously expanded may lose only a part of the workers and war industries in the post-war period, we have suggested a housing area which is an entity in itself. If such a condition should prevail, then the temporary units proposed could easily be removed and a more permanent type supplied. This will be possible because in the layout of the area thought has been given to the proper relationship of the land area occupied by houses and open space for air, parks, streets, and individual ground plots.

We are aware of the difficulties, particularly those difficulties which may be encountered in the provision of community facilities. If such an area could be located where the adjacent city is able to supply water, the problem will be greatly simplified. The water distribution system for such an area can be rapidly provided. Of course, if a water supply has to be developed from scratch and storage reservoirs constructed, the problem will be greatly complicated. We are also aware of the difficulty in many cases of the sewage disposal problem. However, we are confident that these problems are not insurmountable.

LOW COST OF UNITS

Assuming that a unit of the type illustrated could be built and furnished for \$400, which it is believed is a liberal estimate, and allowing \$350 per unit for the provision of utilities, such as streets, water distribution system, sewerage facilities, and a power distribution system; and further assuming that 2,000 such units would be required, we then have 2,000 times \$350, or \$700,000 for the provision of the above-mentioned utilities.

Of course, full-fledged engineering studies and investigations would be required in order to properly estimate the cost of such facilities. However, proceeding with these assumptions, we would have 2,000 of such units built and furnished and provided with the necessary community facilities at a cost of \$750 each. Assuming that these units have a 3-year life and that a one-third salvage value of the total cost will be possible and that the capital expended for the development should be recovered in 3 years at a 2-percent interest rate, the rent which will be required to thus make the project entirely self-liquidating will be only \$14.44 per month. This will not include, of course, the cost of water and lights, but a reasonable estimate of the total rental cost, including these items, should not exceed \$20 for a married man without children. Such rents are economic rents, even for the lower-income classes, which will be and are being attracted into the Mobile area.

In considering the advantages of such a plan all of the factors and dangers inherent in a housing program above pointed out should be balanced against this plan and against any other suggested method of solving the acute housing shortage in war production areas.

BUILDING CODES HAMPER CONSTRUCTION

To what extent should private housing be modified by war conditions? I wish to bring to your attention one point in connection with this. Many building codes are unnecessarily rigid in their requirements or require far more of critical materials than is actually necessary. Many building codes still specify, for example, that the permissible outside fiber stress for steel shall not exceed 18,000 pounds. It is my understanding that Canada is now permitting 25,000 pounds. In connection with this I have in our office a recommended building code which makes many changes necessary and desirable in the light of the present shortage of many materials. We do not have copies available for distribution, but we will be glad to lend this copy to any one interested in the matter. As each of you returns to his home community it may be desirable and patriotic to discuss the Building Code being used with the proper authorities with the idea of making appropriate wartime modification.

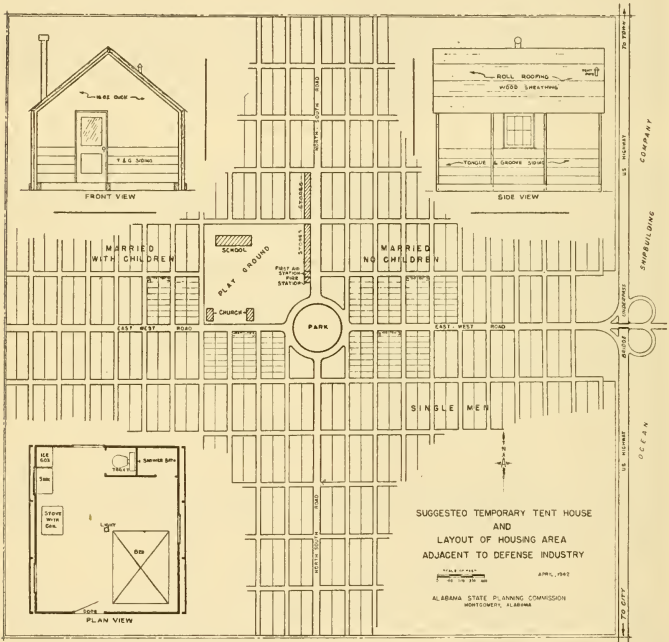
¹ P. 12152.

So much for wartime housing, and, as I threatened in my opening paragraph, I now make good on this threat by leaving this thought with you. "If we persevere more freely in times of peace, we bleed less in times of war."

I think if the Mobile workmen were given the choice, they would rather have the \$500 house than wait for the \$5,000 house. Mr. Dobbins' house would amortize over a period of 3 years, renting for \$10 to \$30 a month.

The CHAIRMAN: The committee has received a plan for Mr. Dobbins' tent house, together with a suggested layout for a defense housing project. This was prepared by the Alabama State Planning Commission at Montgomery, Ala., and is submitted by W. O. Dobbins, director. It will be entered in the record at this point.

(The following material was submitted by Mr. Dobbins subsequent to the hearing.)



The CHAIRMAN. At San Diego they have such a housing project as Mr. Dobbins describes. They put up 3,000 units, and they put on a demonstration for the committee there. They put up the sides of the building, the windows and roof and everything except the floor in 12 minutes.

Mr. AMIS. What do they cost?

The CHAIRMAN. I don't know that. I do know they were to be rented for \$20 a month.

Mr. AMIS. Let me interrupt a minute. This arsenal was announced the 2d of July. Today is the 8th day of May. We haven't got a house yet. And if this war ends this summer, I think that they might complete a house by the time it ends. What good is that going to be? We went through the winter here with 12,000 or 15,000 people employed at the arsenal, with people "stacked up" in places. We had a Civilian Conservation Corps camp on the mountain that would house 250 people or 275 people, but it was under another Government department. There was a world of people who would have been delighted to occupy those quarters during the winter. As far as that goes, that's true right now.

There is the young lady who works for me. Her husband is an engineer. He has been working at the arsenal. He is being sent to Louisiana and he needs the car. She has two children. She is beyond the bus line out here. What is Mrs. McCullough going to do with the two kids in this town? She can't rent rooms or an apartment to save her neck. She is threatened with having to go away from here on that very account. Yet we advertise that we have the most delightful summer resort in the South on the mountain.

The CHAIRMAN. The trouble with the housing is there were so many different agencies that had jurisdiction over different projects. We should decentralize our housing agencies. Then it would be the people in Mobile who determine what their need is. I would say 25 percent of my time every day is taken up with constituents coming all the way from California for help on their local problems; and, as Congressman Sparkman says, we have to go down to the agencies and try to get this information for them and certainly we don't always come back successful. We have got to have some kind of clearing house.

Mr. BEECH. I don't know why all these things should clear through Washington. I think the man on the ground should know more about it.

The CHAIRMAN. That is just what I was saying. You take the Work Projects Administration—and we are just thinking about what can be done—all those projects came to Washington from the different places for clearance. But who knows better as to what is the most necessary and best thing for a Work Projects Administration project than the local people? You have got your 3,000 counties in the United States, and say your county is entitled to \$15,000,000. I don't know why they can't put that in a Federal Reserve bank and say to your supervisor of the county commission, "Now spend that for the greatest relief of manpower on the most useful and necessary projects. We put that responsibility on you." Now when these Federal housing projects come in, I think it should be done in the regional office.

Mr. SPARKMAN. When you say there hasn't been a house built, you mean by the Government? There are a number of Federal Housing Administration houses?

Mr. AMIS. Yes, sir; and we have people anxious to build but unable to because they can't get priorities.

Mr. SHELTON. That is the way it is in Decatur; we need 300 houses, but we haven't been able to get priorities as yet to go ahead.

Mr. DOBBINS. Barrett [Mr. Shelton], aside from the housing problem of these people who have come in recently, we are getting tough problems from the old residents. For instance, in Anniston there has

been quite a tendency in the last 10 years for our industrial workers to build houses out about 5 or 10 miles. Now, with a rubber shortage and an automobile shortage, these people are worried and so is industrial management as to how to get them in to work. Quite a few live on little-traveled roads and are widely separated.

POST-WAR INDUSTRIES

Mr. SPARKMAN. I wonder if I might ask you to discuss this angle. There has been some discussion already. What do you think about the effect on our section as a result of this program permanently? Of course, you said, Gould, you are afraid unless we get fabrication plants, it will not be permanent. Mr. Ferris painted a rather gloomy picture, I think, somewhat along the same line. He thinks we are letting ourselves in for a terrific headache when it is all over, because the expansion we have had has been more or less of a temporary nature, and that we must get fabricating plants in here. My idea has been this—I may be overoptimistic—but in the past, many times in trying to influence industrialists to come down in this part of the country, we have met with this opposition, that they couldn't come because of the fact that our labor wasn't trained, wasn't skilled. But during this program that situation has been, I believed, belittled, because they have found out that our people were readily adaptable. I wonder what your present thinking is as to that?

Mr. BEECH. I would like to think that.

Mr. AMIS. I think Detroit is going to have a headache, because they have doubled their space up there. I think Mr. Ford will have a headache.

Mr. BEECH. I think they are going to make automobiles.

Mr. AMIS. I do, too, but not twice as many. He has the Rouge River Plant and Willow Run, too, which is twice as big. What is he going to do?

Mr. ARNOLD. He will build airplanes, perhaps, in part of his plants.

Mr. AMIS. The plants are especially adapted to a certain type, which is bombers. I think the United, American, and other big concerns will take care of the commercial planes.

Mr. BEECH. I certainly don't think it likely that they will move down here.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You are talking about the Ford plant. Let's think of another kind of plant. Let's take the cooking utensils type of plant. There has been no expansion in that for a long time. Where are they going to expand after the war is over?

Mr. BEECH. The people that own the patents are going to build them where they have always built them. I don't think we ought to depend on their coming to us. And I don't think our universities should be proud that representatives of big companies come and gather the cream of their graduating classes each year. We need the young man with the determination to be president of his company. But those boys up there are not going to look after us. They never have. Even the South Americans think now that the United States is going to look after them. I hope they treat the South Americans better than they have treated the Southeast.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Suppose you had local capital that is willing to invest; could that bottleneck be broken?

Mr. BEECH. Yes, with enough imagination. But we are colonial minded. We believe that these boys that have always had bigness are the smartest and that we had better invest our dollars with them, rather than with ourselves.

Mr. DOBBINS. I hope you heard what Barrett said about plants in his home.

Mr. SHELTON. You must remember Gould comes from Montgomery, where they don't know what industry is. They have politics and Goat Hill.¹ That is what is bothering Gould.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE DECATUR AREA

I think that every county in Alabama has a job it can do on its own, using its own capital. I think we can build on our own resources the type of industry that is going to stay here whether we have war or peace. In our particular area of Alabama we are greatly blessed through the coming of the Tennessee Valley Authority. That agency of the Government has come in, not to attract industry to this valley, but to develop those things which we already had, which in turn has attracted industry to this valley and to Alabama and to Tennessee. And navigation on the Tennessee River was entirely responsible for the shipbuilding industry in Decatur. And we have gone along in our section trying to develop the dairy industry in small units. We think that the future of this valley is bright, for we are becoming known for the raw materials and natural advantages that we have. That may sound like chamber of commerce talk, but those are the facts.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You are president of the chamber of commerce?

Mr. SHELTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I want to say, Barrett, I agree with what you say. I have often pointed to Decatur as having such a healthful development.

I have also pointed to Scottsboro, Stevenson, and Bridgeport. Jackson County has a great many small, locally owned industries, and I have felt it has been in a very healthful condition. By the way, you mentioned the development of the dairy industry. You have a cheese plant and packing house that have been developed locally?

Mr. SHELTON. Yes, sir.

SOIL-PIPE PLANTS

Mr. DOBBINS. That is a very attractive picture you have painted for Decatur. Unfortunately, down in the middle eastern part of the State we don't have quite such a good one. We do have many locally owned industries in Anniston, but when we look at Childersburg and some of the war industries around us, the people get to wondering what is going to happen. Take our soil-pipe plants that just run good every 10 years. They have had a very prosperous year recently in providing pipe for these Army camps. Now they are perhaps going into a period of depression. And after the war is over we don't know what will become of them, unless they are converted to something. I don't know whether they can be converted to anything else. After the war is over, maybe we will need a lot of soil pipe, I don't

¹ The site of the State capitol.

know. But the people of my area are much concerned about the future of those pipe plants.

AGRICULTURAL SITUATION

Mr. SPARKMAN. What do you think of the trend of agriculture in this State? Are you pleased or encouraged by the progress that has been made in the development of agriculture?

Mr. SHELTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. AMIS. Yes, sir; and that is so without anybody's chamber of commerce talk. There has been a tremendous revolution in agriculture in this country in the last 10 years. But I have noticed this—and it is being accentuated by this war—the shortage of labor for farm work. I look out of my office window and every day or so I see a new tractor going out or some other machine to take the place of somebody on the farm. Of course, the farming done in this section—and I extend that to take in Morgan and Limestone and Jackson counties—is tremendously improved, and it is being done with machinery. These people have drifted away from the farms to go into these high-price war plants. What is going to become of them after the war is over? I don't know.

Mr. SHELTON. They can't be much worse off than they have always been.

Mr. BEECH. We have quite a bit of pressure on land in Alabama. We have 6 tillable acres for every farm person. Iowa has 25. We have too many people depending on farming for a living for the amount of land we have. If they can go into industry, permanently, it will help agriculture. Meanwhile, as I see it, the Farm Security Administration is one of the biggest hopes. And, after all, food production isn't a reform program, and if these small farmers get help in organizing for new crops, they will produce stuff for the war.

Mr. Cox. In that case, I guess the machine age is the best thing for agriculture.

Mr. DOBBINS. Another effect of the labor shortage on the farm is the retirement of some of this land that should have been retired a long time ago. And some of the land will be turned into woodland which I hope never comes back into cultivation.

HOUSING IN HUNTSVILLE AREA

Mr. Cox. Has the arsenal created serious housing problems in Huntsville?

Mr. AMIS. Certainly it has.

Mr. Cox. What are you doing about it?

Mr. AMIS. They are building one unit of 300 close to the arsenal, and I should say 200 houses have been built south of town, not as strictly a Government housing project, but with Federal Housing Authority loans, title 6.

Mr. Cox. Is that sufficient?

Mr. AMIS. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. There is under way now—in fact bids will be opened within the next few days—for 300 units near Redstone, at a little place called Farley. There will probably be one other project

set up. Those are all Government housing projects under the Lanham Act.

Do any of you have any questions to ask one another, or any suggestions to make?

Mr. BEECH. One little matter about education in Alabama—our colleges and universities have entered into the war training program in a wonderful way. All of them have adapted themselves to it just as far as possible. I do think we need some coordination in training activities for war needs in Alabama. And it seems to me, too, that the proper agency might find some facilities in this State that could be adapted to war-training needs in our colleges that are not now being used. You know that the war has knocked some of our educational institutions very heavily. I think a survey of facilities in Alabama might show that there are some facilities here that could be very readily adapted to technical training that are not being used.

WAR BOND SAVINGS PROGRAMS

Mr. SPARKMAN. By the way, I think of another subject on which I would like to hear you express yourself. You are helping to promote the sale of war bonds. We had some testimony yesterday about voluntary deductions in pay rolls here. And I think a very fine record is being made by Reese's assistant, Jack Langhorne. Of course, that is voluntary. But there is a lot of discussion about an enforced savings plan to help these people cushion the shock when this war is over. Such a savings plan would have the immediate effect of helping prevent inflation. But I think its more permanent effect would be cushioning the shock when it is over.

Mr. Cox. I think it would be the best thing that ever happened to Mobile.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Enforced pay-roll deductions?

Mr. Cox. Yes, sir; any compulsory plan that would make the defense workers save. I think the majority of them are spending as much as they make.

Mr. ARNOLD. I think those workmen in Mobile claim they have to pay it all out for living expenses. In fact, one of the citizens from my district in Illinois is down there, and said that Al Capone was a piker compared to some of the people the defense workers have to deal with.

VOLUNTARY SAVINGS

Mr. BEECH. Every county and city in Alabama is being organized to promote voluntary purchase of these bonds, and we believe when our organization is finished the people will voluntarily save 10 percent. That is the goal of the Treasury Department, to get every pay roll to set aside 10 percent for war bonds. We believe the people in Alabama will respond.

Mr. Cox. The majority will. But take, for instance, a man who was bumming cigarettes a year ago and is now making \$100 to \$200 a week. Now he is spending under the theory, "if I spend it all tonight, I will get my \$150 next Friday, so what." So he goes out and spends.

Mr. AMIS. For what?

Mr. Cox. Down there they have got almost everything you can spend money on.

Mr. AMIS. But you can't buy automobiles. You can't buy silk shirts. We are running out of stuff to spend it for.

Mr. Cox. Mr. Chairman, when Mr. Burke was in Mobile we had a meeting of a lot of civic leaders, including the mayor. And they wrote briefs, the superintendent of education and the mayor, and I would like to introduce those into the record. I also have some pictures we took in Mobile while Mr. Burke was there.

The CHAIRMAN. We will have them marked as exhibits.

Mr. ARNOLD. I think Mr. Amis has the right idea about the farming situation after the war. When the depression struck I was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives. In the city of Chicago much of our manpower came from the agricultural section of Illinois into the industrial area, and they stayed there. Then the State of Illinois mortgaged its gasoline tax for \$30,000,000 to keep these people alive. In the early days they didn't do much for them. I then came to the conclusion that small farms with the land improved, such as is being done in this farm program, small farms where people could make a living and not produce a great amount of surplus crops, but could exist and live, was the solution of the problem. And I believe that that will be necessary after this war, and that is one reason I am so strong for the Farm Security Administration or any other organization that can set up a man on a small farm and supervise his efforts, and at least prevent the necessity for such a large W. P. A., or other public effort, as we have had during this past 10 or 12 years.

TESTIMONY OF OZBORN ZUBER, ASSOCIATE EDITOR, BIRMINGHAM AGE-HERALD, BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Here is Mr. Zuber. We are glad to have you. I wish you had been here for our discussion. But if you have a statement to make, go ahead.

Mr. ZUBER. I came up here to give whatever information or opinions that I might have that would be of interest to you. When Mr. Burke asked me to come today, I told him I couldn't make it because I had an engagement at Howard College this morning. They had me down for a speech. Previously Mr. Abbott had invited me for February, and I accepted. Then the hearings were postponed. And meanwhile this Howard College engagement came up, and when Mr. Burke came through Birmingham to talk to me one day, I told him I was sorry, but that I had accepted another engagement. And he asked what time this engagement was, and I said, "It will be over by noon." And he said, "Why can't you come up here? You can get here before the testimony is finished. If you get there by 4 or 4:15 you ought to be able to get on the record." I wish I could have been here sooner.

Mr. SPARKMAN. We certainly are glad to have you here.

Mr. ZUBER. I intended to file a statement in advance. I have had a great many things on my hands, and I couldn't get to it. But I had incorporated some ideas I had on this subject in an editorial that appears in the Birmingham News, and if the committee would be interested in part of that as a part of my statement, I will be

delighted to read it into the record. I won't read the entire editorial. It is about the hearings here.

EDITORIAL ON THE MIGRATION PROBLEM

One of the principal purposes of the Tolan committee is to consider ways of dealing with the problem of migration and of stranded workers which the war will leave in its wake, in many places throughout the United States, when the fighting is over and the necessity for production of war materials no longer exists. For this reason, the work of the Tolan committee is strongly linked with the problem of post-war planning. This committee can be of great assistance in meeting the post-war unemployment situation, and in solving such problems as what to do with war industrial plants which will no longer be needed when peace comes.

The immediate problem of defense migration is largely one of congestion in centers of war production. The situation presents for the immediate future problems of health, social welfare, housing, and transportation. Various agencies, Federal, State, and local, are attempting to cope with these immediate problems.

The Tolan committee can be very helpful, of course, in studying these immediate problems. Its greatest usefulness, however, lies in its study of the long-range problem of the effects of migration in the post-war situation.

MIGRATION—AN ECONOMIC PROBLEM

The first thing to be said about migration, and the thing to bear most firmly in mind, is that at bottom it grows out of the problem of making a living. That has always been the case throughout history. In ancient times the nomadic tribes which moved from place to place—and which in some parts of the world still do so—moved not so much because they enjoyed traveling as because they needed to find new pastures for their cattle and sheep and the opportunity to wrest a livelihood from the soil. Today, in war or in peace, here in civilized America, workers will migrate in vast numbers when the problem of making a living presses down upon them with more than usual severity. It was this problem which accounted for the "Okies." It is this problem, only in different form, which accounts for migratory war workers today.

This means that at bottom the problem is economic. The study of it, therefore, must be concerned principally with the economic factors. These studies must be directed toward determining, among other things, how much economic activity can be carried on in a certain area, how much population that area can comfortably support, what kinds of products it is best suited to produce and what products the people of the area require most.

There are many factors in the situation, and many keys to the problems arising from it, but one of the principal keys surely lies in the relationship between agriculture and industry. That is where much thought and planning must go if we are to maintain anything like a stable economic balance and prevent increasing migration.

RELATION OF AGRICULTURE TO MIGRATION

I am glad that the gentleman from Illinois spoke of the farming angle. I enjoyed hearing his views on it a while ago.

I think that the basis of the migratory workers' problem is agricultural. I believe that migration in this country in recent years, before the war production program started, was due almost altogether to the agricultural depression. I may be wrong about that. It may not have been due so much to that problem as I imagine, but I believe it is safe to say that the great majority of the migratory workers were set into the migratory movement because of the pressure of the forces which upset our American agricultural system. The increase in mechanization of agriculture had a great deal to do with it. The increased productivity of the land because of mechanization and because of improvement in agricultural science added greatly to that. The growing problems of farm tenancy, the increased rate of farm tenancy up until the last year or so also contributed to it. Here in

the South we have a vast migratory movement from farm to farm. Every year or so farm tenants pick up and leave.

I am sure that most of you are thoroughly familiar with the facts about that situation, and the committee, of course, knows a great deal more than I could begin to say about the agricultural migration in the West, the famous "Okies," and the Florida migrants and things that the committee has been looking into a long time. I don't believe there would be any information I could give the committee concerning things of that kind, because its investigators have been working on facts of that kind a good while. I am sure the committee has heard a great deal of testimony on those points.

OVEREXPANSION OF AGRICULTURAL PLANT

The point I want to make is this, that after this war is over we are going to have an agricultural plant, not so much overexpanded as after the First World War, but still overexpanded to some extent. I think we have done very well in controlling and planning agricultural production, but the necessity for helping to feed and clothe our allies has brought us a large farm market for the time being, and probably for a year or two after the war we will continue to have a great market abroad for farm products. That means some expansion in our agricultural plant. But the point I want to make about that expansion is this—and I don't think in Washington and elsewhere it has received sufficient attention—that our expansion is in food production, as distinguished from fiber production.

SUBSIDY ON FIBER OPPOSED

Farmers produce two things—food and fiber. Except for sea food, farming is our only source of food of any importance. I think it is a mistake in our agricultural policy to regard fiber as we have been doing, and this applies particularly to the South, to regard fiber as something that has to be subsidized more or less indefinitely. It seems to me, from what I can gather, that the tendency is to regard fiber as a sort of necessary evil that has got to have its subsidy. My thought about it is that there is a much larger potential market for fiber, if you will only bring about this economic balance I mentioned between agriculture and industry, than there is potential market for increased food production. After all, there is a limit on your market for food; there is only so much food-consuming capacity—a man can eat only so much. Too many millions haven't had enough food, but, assuming everyone in this country had all he needed, we wouldn't be able to use a great deal more food than we are now producing.

FOREIGN GRAIN SUBSIDIES

When the war is over and foreign countries get back into the production of food, our market for food production is going to drop. We are called on to help feed England and other countries, and will as long as the war lasts and for awhile after it is over. But the time will come when they will turn to their own resources for food. In the First World War they learned you couldn't be too dependent on outside sources for food supplies. And, as a consequence, in some countries, notably France and Switzerland, they subsidized the production

of wheat, because they had been caught in the First World War with very little capacity for the production of wheat and grain. They organized systems whereby they could subsidize greater production of grains, and similar plans were tried with varying success in other countries. The point is that they came up to the Second World War with much greater capacity for maintaining their own grain supply than when they entered the First World War. Of course, that system has been pretty well shot by the war in Europe. But after this war is over, they will return, I think, to their former plan and become more nearly self-sufficient.

Even in the twenties and thirties our exports of wheat were in most years negligible. We did export some in the early twenties, but I believe from the middle twenties on until 1939 our exports of wheat were practically negligible. If I am wrong on this, I believe one of you can correct me.

AGRICULTURAL CONVERSION

After this war we are going to have our land adapted to food production on a greater scale, I think, than will be necessary. I am in favor of that, you understand, as a war measure, but I believe we had better plan carefully and thoughtfully ahead for turning that capacity and that adaptation to food production to readaptation and to the production of other things, particularly here in the South.

I believe in the South your migratory worker problem is perhaps a more serious problem than in some other sections. And, I believe, if we plan far enough in advance to turn back our excess food-producing capacity into fiber-producing capacity, we will be taking a sort of stitch in time.

There is, or has been, in this country an underconsumption of food. They say one-third of our country is underfed.

FOOD IMPORTATION IN ALABAMA

Mr. SPARKMAN. I wonder if I might interrupt. You are talking about food production by the country as a whole. I would be glad if you would localize it a little bit. In 1935, I believe it was, statistics showed that Alabama bought approximately \$60,000,000 worth of food products that it could have raised, that is, hogs, dairy products, eggs, poultry, pork products, lard—I don't think it even included wheat. As a matter of fact, Alabama isn't a wheat-growing State. There are two counties in the State that get wheat-growing quotas, Limestone and Lauderdale. But the statistics showed we bought, from other States, \$60,000,000 worth of things we could raise. Our cotton crop that same year, as I recall, was about \$56,000,000. You add the cotton seed to it, I think that was about \$16,000,000, which gives you a total of \$72,000,000. Our fertilizer for that same year was approximately \$12,000,000, and if you add that to the cost of producing that \$72,000,000, one will offset the other.

As to the State of Alabama, do you not think it would be profitable to convert cotton acreage, or fiber acreage, as you express it, into acreage for the production of those food articles which we consume within the State?

Mr. ZUBER. I certainly do. I was speaking in national and world terms. On the basis of the figures you mention, we would be just about breaking even. I don't think we have been breaking even.

PRODUCTION TRENDS

Mr. SPARKMAN. Probably not. I would like your comment on this. A month or so ago I noted a report from Extension Service showed our cotton crop was \$76,000,000 last year. Our next biggest crop was livestock and dairy crop, and it was \$38,000,000, which I thought was a very fine showing for the State of Alabama. I noticed a short time ago that in Montgomery County, your county, Gould, cotton had taken a third place, the first being dairy, then livestock, and then cotton. I think that is a hopeful sign in agriculture in Alabama.

Mr. ZUBER. I call that splendid. We have to make many changes, of course.

UNDERCONSUMPTION OF FIBER

But, as I was explaining to you, I was thinking in national terms, and I wasn't thinking of it so much from the production as from the consumption end of it. Our potential capacity to consume cotton and other fibers is very great. I have seen figures occasionally in different publications on the underconsumption of fiber and they are really more startling than those on the underconsumption of food.

Of course, after all, you can't go beyond a certain point in the underconsumption of food, because if you do you will starve. But you can go almost to the vanishing point in the underconsumption of fiber. There are many people who have almost reached that point.

Mr. BEECH. What he is saying is that there is a greater possibility of expansion in a man's closet for suits and clothes than there is in his stomach for food.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I was looking at it from the other way—that our climate was so kind it would permit it.

Mr. ZUBER. I am still speaking in national terms. What we need to do is make it possible for the farmer, among others, to buy some of his own fiber, as well as to raise and buy his own food. We need to make it possible for farmers to buy cotton mattresses, for example, and many other things they need—clothing, curtains, rugs—a thousand and one articles made of fiber.

There is only one thing you can do with food, and that is eat it. But there are hundreds and hundreds of things you can do with fiber. There is a very great untouched capacity for consumption of fiber. And the reason it is under-consumed is the lack of sufficient income on the part of so large a proportion of our people that they neglect buying, not merely clothing, but other fiber needs in order to buy the shelter and food they require to sustain life.

THE UNTAPPED FARM MARKET

Now the reason I think that ties in with the migratory worker problem is that the worst part of our inadequacy of income is among the farming population. On the whole, they receive a smaller share of the national income than other comparable groups. I believe the farm population is roughly 25 percent of the total national population.

The last figures I remember seeing on it were for 1938 or 1939, and their portion of the national income was 6.9 percent. Twenty-five percent of the population got less than 7 percent of the national income. If we will plan our agriculture so that we can produce what we need and dispose of what we don't need at prices reasonably profitable to the farmer, I think that the farmer can help a great deal to make up for the deficiency of consumption, both of food and fiber products. It has been said a great many times by students of rural sociology, and by economists, and by ordinary farmers, and by ordinary businessmen, that the greatest untapped market in the world was our own farm market. I guess I have read that statement 100 times, and it happens to be true. I have seen perfectly astronomical figures concerning how much paint and lumber could be used to fill the existing needs on the farms of the country if only the farmers had the money to buy it, and how much machinery, and how much clothing.

They always counter statements of that kind with such statements as this: the farmers live on the land and enjoy certain things that are not counted as income, and that farming after all is a way of life. It is much more than a way of life. As it stands now, it is a pretty poor way of life for most farmers.

KEEPING FARM YOUTH OUT OF CURRENT OF MIGRATION

I think if you will make farming reasonably profitable you will provide this great expansion in the market for goods, and, in addition to that, you will make it possible for the farm family to stay together and not feed farm youths into this stream of migration. That is where it ties in very importantly with the problem that this committee is concerned with, not the immediate problem of defense migration as much as the long-range problem of the migration of workers which comes principally from the agricultural population.

Now I wish that I had the figures on the proportion of migratory workers that are from our farming population. But certainly in the South and West—and I believe they are your main sources of migratory workers—certainly they are mostly from the rural population, and certainly if you could improve the lot of the farm dwellers materially you could keep thousands of these country boys and girls out of the current of migration.

I believe you can do something else. I believe you can solve or help to solve in that way a problem that has been recently put by Dr. John D. Black, of Harvard University, in this phrase, "piling up at the foot of the agricultural ladder." Dr. Black says that our economic problem on the farm is largely there, that up the rungs of the agricultural ladder the situation is not so bad. But there has been some tremendous piling up at the foot of the agricultural ladder, and I believe it is from that that most of your migratory workers come. If you can make farm life more attractive, if you can give the farm family a standard of living high enough to keep their youngsters at home, and to keep this piling up at the foot of the agricultural ladder from continuing as it has, you won't have workers migrating from place to place.

FARM FAMILY INCOME SHOULD BE INCREASED

I think you have to give farm workers enough income—I don't mean the day laborers, I mean the farm families—to enable them to have a reasonable standard of living, to send their children to school, and, if they want to go and are qualified, to send them to college, without requiring all of the youngsters in the family to go to work in the fields as soon as they can. That is the rule around here, and throughout most of the country. They seem to expect the farm family, every member of it, to work from sun-up to sun-down. There is no such thing as a 5-day week on the farm, or a 40-hour week. And I think we can use a great deal of this surplus farm labor if only we adopt a kind of "spread the work" movement in agriculture. I don't think we should expect the farmer to work his little sons and daughters in the fields when they are really too young to work. I think we need a little more of certain kinds of leisure on the farm, although we certainly should cut down on some kinds of farm leisure—the shiftlessness and the failure on the part of the farmers to spend the noncrop months in building and repairing their farm plant.

I believe if you can devise a system—and I think we are on the road to doing it now—whereby the farmers can receive incomes which will put them on something like parity with the rest of the population that we will be going in the direction of which I am speaking. But we are going to have to do that by continuing and probably intensifying our national control over agricultural production.

CROP CONTROL

I think that the greatest single agricultural gain made in this country in many years was the discovery of the device of controlling or limiting production. Controlling production can work two ways—to expand or limit. And, of course, right now we are not thinking so much of limiting production. But I believe that crop control is here to stay and here to do a good job. There is no serious problem of overproduction in industry or business. You don't find manufacturers of shoes making 6,000,000 shoes when the market only calls for 3,000,000. But somehow people have always expected cotton farmers to grow 17,000,000 or 18,000,000 bales of cotton whether they could market it or not. If you keep farm production, at least of the basic crops, from going into ruinous surpluses, you will be able to improve the prices of those commodities in the end without subsidizing crop reductions with Government funds. I believe by crop control, plus the parity principle, which Senator Bankhead and others have gotten recognized, you can produce a better income for the farm population. Producing for needs and giving farmers a parity income for what they produce will in the long run tend to keep the farm family together, to keep them from drifting off, and to make them a more stable element in our population. You will find, also, it will enable farm families to consume more of the Nation's goods, to provide this market that has not been tapped, and to provide an increasing utilization of our industrial plants.

I believe that intelligent agricultural planning needs to be fitted into your general planning for all production in such a way as to contrive a balance between agriculture and industry.

SPECIAL TREATMENT FOR LOCAL PROBLEMS

As for the local problem you mentioned awhile ago—when you come to States like Alabama, it is obvious we need to do a great deal of planning in directions contrary to the direction you have to take in other places. We need to go in for more food, more livestock, more dairy production, more production of vegetables. In States where local needs call for special treatment, I think your Farm Security Administration, your Agricultural Adjustment Administration, your Farm Extension Service, and other Federal agencies, as well as State agencies, can do a great deal toward promoting and directing the kind of development that is needed.

I believe that about covers my point of view on that particular phase of the relationship between agriculture and industry. My point is that a great deal depends, in the solution of this problem of migration, on arriving at a balance between agriculture and industry.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I think you have given a very helpful discussion of it, and kept very close to the topic. I only wish you had been here for the panel.

HOUSING IN BIRMINGHAM

Mr. ARNOLD. You don't have any housing problems in Birmingham, do you?

Mr. ZUBER. We have at Birmingham an excellent housing authority. I believe it is one of the best in the country from what I have heard of others elsewhere. We have at present four rather large housing projects completed, two white and two Negro. We have a defense housing project that is completed and in use. And I noticed the other day they had authorized a new Negro housing project that is needed. Our housing projects in Birmingham have done a great deal of good. Outside of slum-clearance projects, I believe we have, right now, a fair amount of houses. I don't believe there is a very serious housing shortage in Birmingham. I may be mistaken, but that is my opinion.

Mr. ARNOLD. You have a pretty healthy situation; people are not packed in.

Mr. ZUBER. In that respect I think it is a fairly good situation, except, of course, there is always the bad situation you will find among the Negro population that exists in most southern cities. That has been improved, but it is something you can't take care of overnight, and I hope we can make a great deal more progress.

WORK PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION LABOR AVAILABLE FOR FARMING

Mr. SHELTON. What is the possibility of labor from the Work Projects Administration going on the farms? What's the law?

Mr. BEECH. They have less than 13,000 Work Projects Administration certified people in this State who have any farming background at all, and whenever any farmer asks for one of those men and pays the prevailing wage he can get him.

Mr. AMIS. How many are on Work Projects Administration in Morgan?

Mr. SHELTON. Seven hundred, I think it is now.

Mr. BEECH. Are those farm workers?

Mr. SHELTON. It is the total. I don't know how it is broken down.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Gould, what is the prevailing wage, what do you mean by that?

Mr. BEECH. It is the prevailing farm wage, and it is a dollar a day.

Mr. SPARKMAN. This has been a very profitable discussion we have had this afternoon from all of you. Mr. Tolan had to leave to make a long distance call, and he asked me to express his regret at not being here for all of it.

Mr. BEECH. Might I express our appreciation that Congressmen would leave Washington, when they don't have to, on a job like this? We newspaper men read the Congressional Record and hear our Congressman talk, but it is not often we have a chance to talk back to you. We appreciate the opportunity. I wish some of the radio commentators had a similar experience, and, I think if they did, they would be a little less impatient with Congressmen, and these problems would not seem so simple to them.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I appreciate those remarks, and I might say this committee has been all over the United States. I suppose we have had 30 or 35 hearings. We have talked about every phase of the activities of this country pertaining to the migration of people.

Mr. ARNOLD. I want to say, too, that many of the recommendations of this committee have been accepted by the officials of the Government, especially with respect to the removal of enemy aliens on the west coast. And we would have been in a far better position today if our recommendations about the conversion of the automobile industry and the spread of contracts had been accepted before Pearl Harbor. We were hammering on that last spring a year ago, 6 or 8 months before Pearl Harbor. But, of course, we realize it is difficult in peacetime to convert plants to wartime production, in a democracy.

REGIONAL PLANNING COMMISSION

Mr. ZUBER. May I make a statement about something else Mr. Burke told me he would like for me to talk on in connection with the migration problem? We have recently had established in Birmingham, and Jefferson County a regional planning commission, the Jefferson County Regional Planning Commission. It was established under a State law enacted in 1935. It is really a metropolitan area planning commission. We have a State planning commission in Alabama, but the Jefferson County Regional Planning Commission is the first local or regional planning commission that has been set up in the State. It is just now getting under way. We are trying to obtain one of the Federal short-cut planning projects, which means that the National Resources Planning Board will send down consultants for 6 or 8 months to help us do in a few months what might ordinarily take 2 or 3 or 4 years to do, in the way of obtaining data and making use of them. We have had 3 or 4 officials look over the situation and they are going to establish 7 or 8 of these demonstration planning projects out over the country. I am sure this committee has already found out about what the National Resources Planning Board is doing in that direction, and I believe they would find it very interesting and profitable to work with them or follow their efforts in that direction, because it will have a lot to do with the utilization of plant capacity and available workers in the post-war period. We hope in Jefferson County to establish a permanent planning commission which will have two functions: helping in our post-war planning and informing

and advising local officers, city and county and other municipal officers, in various municipalities in Jefferson County; and helping them plan for continuing growth and development of their communities. That problem is basically one of finding out where your people should work and where they should live and play and seek their recreation. We have in Birmingham, which is a rather sprawling city up and down Jones Valley, a great deal of unused land. This is an advantage in a way and a disadvantage in others. It tends to depress property values.

We hope to help out in the solution of the migratory worker problem in our own area by what we do with our Regional Planning Commission, because part of our studies will be economic and sociological. They will be aimed at finding out how much population Birmingham and Jefferson County can reasonably expect to have and support and provide work for and at taking means of utilizing our resources in such a way as to provide reasonable employment for our population, and at the same time do all we can to discourage uneconomic activities.

I happen to have been made a member of this Regional Planning Commission. It has nine members. Incidentally they are appointed by the Governor. I bring this out because I would like to see this committee, Congress as a whole and the Federal Government as a whole, encourage the establishment, wherever it can be done, of local and regional planning commissions.

We have in this State of Alabama something that does in some ways the same things, but it is quite differently conceived, and that is the Tennessee Valley Authority. That is in a large degree a planning commission.

In Birmingham and Jefferson County we hope to accomplish something really worth while with our planning commission, but it seems to me that all over Alabama there should be regional planning commissions.

I believe that national agencies, such as the National Resources Planning Board, the Farm Security Administration and Farm Extension Service and similar planning and action agencies of the Federal Government, together with appropriate agencies of the State and local government, can accomplish a great deal in a relatively short time if they will get together or try to make use of available information and material that is already stacked up in Washington and in the State capitals and elsewhere in each locality. I am told by my friends in the National Resources Planning Board that in Washington it is perfectly amazing the amount of information they have about Birmingham. And that is one of the purposes of our commission, to bring it together and bring it to bear on the problems of Birmingham and Jefferson County in such a way as to help find the answer. I think it can be done almost anywhere.

MR. SPARKMAN. I fully agree with you, and I think that is true of all these general areas. We appreciate that further comment.

Again I want to say we are thankful to all of you gentlemen for giving us this able discussion.

MR. ABBOTT. Mr. Chairman, I should like at this time to offer for the record a group of exhibits which will serve to supplement the hearings here.

THE CHAIRMAN. The exhibits will be made a part of the record. If there is nothing further, the committee will stand adjourned.



EXHIBITS

EXHIBIT 1.—STATEMENT BY ALEXANDER NUNN, MANAGING EDITOR, THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER, BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

The committee will probably be told a number of times of the agricultural background in the State, how for so many years we largely depended on corn and cotton except for a relatively short period during World War I when livestock development jumped and of the year-by-year mining and washing away of our soils that this sort of farming brought. You will undoubtedly have pointed out also the general sharecropper system as it existed from the close of the Civil War until rather recent years. I think a study of the figures will show further that a rather decided trend away from cotton began after the bumper cotton year of 1926. The year 1932, for example, was a rather outstanding year in food and feed production and a rather ordinary year for cotton production, though of course part of the reduction that year must be credited to smaller fertilizer applications.

It seems to me the most decided changes in the State in the last 8 years have been toward soil improvement, much larger numbers of beef cattle, a much larger acreage to winter legumes, and other soil-improving crops, including the perennial legumes, kudzu, and *Sesuvium* lespedeza, and a gradual increase in practically all forms of livestock. I feel also that our folks do know considerably more about marketing than they knew 10 years ago, but we are still far behind. In the field of human relations, it seems to me the Farm Security Administration has done a remarkable job in giving thousands of low-income families a new feeling that they have a stake in the South and in Alabama, and in pioneering such developments as long-time leases, cooperative health associations, and particularly in the last 18 months, giving a tremendous boost to food and feed production. I believe the Agricultural Extension forces and Soil Conservation workers should get the major credit for the great improvements we have made in our soils and in our soil-building program. In the social field also, the teaching of vocational agriculture and vocational home economics has tremendously expanded since 1928, and these two groups represent the largest single agency for definite instruction in better farming and better homemaking that we have.

Looking at the soil problem, it seems to me we are bound to admit that at least an important part of the credit for the bumper crops made in recent years must be credited to the soil-conservation activities begun in 1933 through the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the Soil Conservation Service, and other cooperating agencies. I believe that our soils are better prepared today to stand temporary fertilizer shortages than at any time since 1917. We have hardly begun to build back the reservoir of fertility that we should have, but at least we have made tremendous progress as compared with our situation a few years ago. In general, I believe that in connection with the soils program, the change in crops has been very definitely toward the type of program that the Government is now asking for in its food-for-victory campaign. For your further information, I'm attaching a proof of a special feature about Tallapoosa County, Ala., that will appear in our March issue as an example of what a coordinated program for soil rehabilitation can do. In general, however, the fact should not be lost sight of that our major problem still remains that of having enough to sell. In other words, except for cotton, the State of Alabama is not yet producing enough per man, per family, or per farm to insure a reasonable income regardless of prices, and that is tied in directly with our soil fertility problem along with other factors.

There has been, to my way of thinking, and still remains, a serious problem from the marketing end in encouraging the development of many diversified crops. Today the beef cattleman and the hog raiser are pretty well protected from the standpoint of satisfactory market outlets. The family that attempts to expand in poultry raising, however, or the truck grower, or the fruit grower, may or may not be able to develop the enterprises satisfactorily for simple lack of marketing facilities. Right now, for instance, there is in some sections of Alabama a decidedly unsatisfactory price situation for fresh eggs, simply because there is no system whatever for grading and pooling the eggs and getting them out of surplus areas. In my home section near Auburn, eggs have been selling as low as 20 to 21 cents in the last few days, and yet in Birmingham eggs have continued to sell for 35 to 45 cents. And yet for the State as a whole, we import thousands and thousands of cases every year.

I'm sure you will hear among other things of the progress that has been made in the development of cold-storage locker units led by the State department of agriculture in most counties of the State. You should hear also of the real progress that has been made in this State in recent years in developing a better quality of chickens so that the livestock report for January 1 this year showed a larger increase in Alabama over 1941 than was shown by any other State in the Nation, though Georgia and Oklahoma were right behind us. I believe that a considerable part of this credit must go to Extension Poultryman John E. Ivey and the poultrymen all over the State for the starting of an R.O.P. breeding project at Auburn about 4 years ago, and more particularly in recent months to the great emphasis that was given last year by the regional Farm Security Administration organization in Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, and Florida to increase poultry flocks for families under their supervision.

There has been, of course, a tremendous growth in the Irish potato industry in Baldwin County, with much attention given to marketing, but if I understand conditions at all there, the problem is not by any means solved or yet on a satisfactory basis.

Hardly more than a year ago, it was my opinion that defense industries would not too seriously handicap farmers in the State from the labor standpoint. As month after month has passed, however, I have been obliged to radically revise my thinking. Today there is a serious labor problem in the State. In my own home section, there are numbers of farmers who have no help whatever and large numbers of farms are operating with a shortage of help. Most of the farms, I believe, can hold on fairly well by better use of the labor they have, better organization of their farm plans, and better use of equipment so far as they are able to secure better equipment. I think it is true also that defense industries in this State have grown much more rapidly in importance than they have in most adjoining areas, so that there has perhaps been a greater trend away from farms in this State than in Georgia or in Tennessee or in Mississippi, for example. The labor shortage has many angles to it other than the actual competition of defense industries. Farm prices, until recent months, have not been high enough to enable the average farmer to pay competitive wages with urban industries. Because of two decades of low prices and the urgent necessity for operating on as low a basis as possible, I think there has also grown up in many farmers' minds a feeling that they cannot pay prices above a certain scale when, as a matter of fact, by adding better equipment (sometimes very simple equipment), and reorganizing their farm plans, they could perhaps greatly increase their wage scale. Six months from now, I may have cause to regret ever having said as much in print, but for a long time I have personally handled my own farm operations on the theory that if any family was willing to consider its income from all sources and not purely as a matter of cash, I could compete with any ordinary urban wage rates. For many farms now, I believe the problem is not even a matter of doing that. There are many wage and tenant families who are not willing to consider the matter of food, housing, or future security. All they can see is the immediate cash money in their pockets.

I'd like to close with the observation that while the number of farms in this State has shown a decrease of around 40,000 since 1930, that apparently we have as many people on the farms as at that time, and that the change has simply been a change in status from cropper or renter to wage hand, and I never have been able to believe that the cropper status is as bad as pictured. Anything that gives a man a stake in the land or a feeling that he has a part in what he is doing is a step forward, and worth while, if other factors involved are handled at all satisfactorily.

EXHIBIT 2.—STATEMENT BY H. N. YOUNG, AGRICULTURAL ECONOMIST, VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE, BLACKSBURG, VA.

SOME FACTORS AFFECTING LONG-TIME ADJUSTMENTS IN SOUTHERN AGRICULTURE¹

(An address delivered before a meeting of the Southern Agricultural Workers, Memphis, Tenn.)

That standards of living are, on the average, appreciably lower in the Southeastern States than in any other large section of our country is, we believe, unquestioned by all careful students of the subject. According to Prof. H. W.

¹ This includes Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas. Kentucky was omitted because we believe that it has more of the characteristics of a Northern than of a Southern State. Texas and Oklahoma were also omitted from this discussion because the agricultural problems in these States are markedly different from those we have just enumerated.

Odum, the per capita income in the 11 Southeastern States in 1929 was \$360. This was much lower than in any other region of the United States. The per capita income of the farm population was reported to be \$183, which was also much lower than the comparable figure for any other part of the country.

There are undoubtedly many reasons for the comparatively lower per capita income of southern farmers. It is our belief that low per capita production is the principal factor limiting incomes and, therefore, lowering standards of living on our southern farms. That consumption is dependent upon production is axiomatic. The people of India, for example, consume little because little is produced there. Standards of living in the United States are high, primarily because the per capita production is high. Efficiency is the keynote of American agriculture and business.

For more than a decade a great deal has been written about what the authors call "the evils of efficiency." It has been claimed that because we are so efficient we have produced too much; that we have brought about a disastrous depression; and that the remedy for all this is to decrease our efficiency and to return at least part way to the agriculture of our forefathers. We have examined a great deal of data and have read many books and bulletins, but we have failed to find any evidence that the agricultural depression was caused primarily because we have produced too much. It is true that during the depression, and, we believe, because of it, that tremendous surpluses accumulated on our markets; surpluses which could not be sold, in many cases, at anything near what it cost to produce them, and at times not at all. The accumulation of these surpluses is what has generally been referred to as overproduction. The word "overproduction" has come to mean many things to many persons. In many cases it apparently means "too much efficiency." When our civilization reaches such a stage that there is enough food so that none may hunger; that there are sufficient clothes to protect us all, not only from the scorching rays of the summer sun and the cold blasts of the winter wind, but also from the scorching glances of our neighbors; when our housewives shall have all those home conveniences which remove the drudgery from labor; when our homes are lighted by electricity, are fitted with modern plumbing, and contain bathrooms with running hot and cold water; when all houses are made healthful and livable; when we have purchased all the books and reading material which we need for the improvement of our minds and souls; when all of us have all of these things and many others; then, and not until then, shall we be willing to admit that we have overproduction. We are apparently living in an age in which there is much confusion of terms. But this is probably to be expected. There is always much confusion in our thinking during periods of great emergencies. Let us hope that as this emergency passes our thinking will become clear and that we shall be able to recognize that there is usually more than one cause for most things.

As far as we have been able to determine, the output per farm is considerably less in the 10 Southeastern States than in any other large section in the United States. According to the census of 1930, the estimated value per farm of all farm production in the 10 Southeastern States was \$1,046, as compared with \$1,664, the average for the country as a whole. The value of crops produced was \$886, and of livestock products, \$160 per farm. The average value per farm of all livestock, as reported by the census of 1930, was \$325 for the 10 Southeastern States and \$964 for the whole country. The average number of cattle of all kinds and ages per farm was three, and the average number of swine was 4. The census reports that an average of 158 dozens of eggs were produced per farm in 1929 in the 10 Southeastern States. If each member of the farm family in this region were to consume one egg per day practically no eggs would be left to sell.

The census reports that an average of 504 gallons of milk were produced per farm in the 10 Southeastern States in 1929. If all this milk had been made into butter there would have been enough to furnish each farm family with from 3 to 4 pounds per week. When we consider that nearly all the milk supply of the southern cities comes from this total, its inadequacy becomes at once apparent.

The output per farm is much less in the 10 Southeastern States than in any other part of the country. The average farmer in this region produces little because he has little with which to produce. According to the census of 1930, the average size of farm in the 10 Southeastern States was 70 acres, as compared with 157 acres for the United States as a whole. The average value of farm real estate was \$2,733 per farm in the Southeastern States, and \$7,614 per farm in the whole country. Implements and machinery were valued at \$157 in the Southern States, and at \$527 per farm in the country as a whole.

From 1880 to 1930 the output per farm in the United States more than doubled, but in the 10 Southeastern States it increased less than one-third. From 1880 to

1910, agricultural output per farm increased about 16 percent in the South and about 72 percent in the country as a whole. From 1910 to 1930, agricultural efficiency increased about 25 percent in the whole country, but less than 10 percent in the 10 Southeastern States.

The failure of the South to increase its agricultural efficiency as rapidly as the rest of the country is the factor which, in our opinion, is most responsible for its present low per capita incomes, low standards of living, and the general backwardness of some of its most worthwhile social institutions. There are perhaps many reasons why agricultural efficiency in the South has not kept pace with that of the rest of the country. The rapid decline which has occurred in the average size of farm is, in our opinion, one of the most important factors. From 1880 to 1930, the average size of farm in the 10 Southeastern States declined more than 50 percent, but increased 2 percent in the country as a whole. Principally through intensification of the cropping system, southern farmers, by 1930, had increased the amount of business per farm by nearly one-third, in spite of the fact that they had less than 50 percent as many acres to work with, on the average, as in 1880.

From 1880 to 1930, the cotton crop more than doubled; the Flue-Cured Tobacco Belt has extended eastward onto the coastal plain and southward well into Georgia. The production of intensive vegetable crops for local and early northern markets has increased many fold, but up to 1930 the livestock industry had made little or no progress in spite of the fact that numerous attempts had been made to revive it. It is noteworthy that the production of livestock and its products per farm was less in 1920 than it was in 1900. The production of livestock products increased, however, from 1920 to 1930, and has made relatively large increases since that time. Many persons consider that the recent increase in livestock production has been caused mainly by the recent Federal programs, and apparently think that perhaps this may be the starting point in the establishment of a permanent livestock industry of considerable importance. Our opinion is that most of the recent increase which has taken place in livestock production has been because of the low prices recently obtained for crops, particularly cotton and tobacco. It is usually true when prices fall that farmers whose main source of income is the sale of cash crops are driven, at least temporarily, into self-sufficing agriculture as a matter of self-defense.

In view of the fact that lack of efficiency is one of the most important factors limiting the incomes of southern farmers, it would seem that production restriction programs should be practiced only as temporary measures, if at all. The practice of restricting production as a long-time program must, out of necessity, reduce the output per farm, unless, of course, the number of farms decline accordingly. We have studied a great deal of history and we fail to remember ever having learned that any large class of the human race were ever able to benefit themselves permanently by producing less.

It seems to us that there are two general ways of increasing the efficiency of southern agriculture. The first would involve a reduction in the number of farms. If the industrialization program of the twenties should continue, it will undoubtedly furnish employment to many persons who are now farmers. Any considerable decentralization of industry would probably furnish employment to many others on a part-time basis. It seems to us that the continued industrialization of the south may well be looked upon with favor by both industry and agriculture. It should permit industry to obtain the use of comparatively cheap labor and it should assist agriculture in disposing of some of its excess workers, thus permitting the enlargement of farms. Such a program would also furnish an increased demand for agricultural products. Its final working out, it seems to us, should rest primarily with industry.

The second method which we have in mind for increasing the efficiency of our southern farmers would be that of producing more on our present small number of acres. This program of intensification is exactly what farmers themselves have been doing for the last 50 or 60 years. It has been made possible by practicing increasingly more intensive cropping. How rapidly and how much further the cropping system may be intensified depends, it seems to us, upon how rapidly the markets are able to absorb the increased products at favorable prices. Further industrialization of the South would be a distinct aid leading toward the extension of the market, which fact is so necessary if southern farmers are to continue to intensify their farming operations.

One of the proposals most commonly advanced for increasing the welfare of southern agriculture is the establishment of what some persons call a "better balanced agriculture." This expression, "balanced agriculture," means many things

to many persons. To those who most commonly recommend a better balanced system of farming in the South, it apparently means the establishment of a system of general farming in which the sale of livestock and its products will furnish an important source of farm receipts. It is claimed by many of the advocates of this plan that such a system of farming will provide a more even distribution of labor throughout the year and throughout the working day; that it will provide a cheap method of maintaining the fertility of the land; that the livestock can be maintained cheaply because it will be possible to pasture them nearly the whole year; that livestock can be made a means through which unsalable roughages and waste crops can be marketed; and, finally, that such a system of farming will remove a great deal of the risk which attends the present system. This proposal has many advocates. Perhaps we should pause here to examine it.

The success of this plan, as advocated, depends primarily upon how cheaply livestock and its products can be produced. It is not far from a truism that livestock and livestock products are produced the world over on cheap feed and pasture, except, of course, in those cases in which special prices are obtained. Cattle of all kinds, and sheep, are raised mostly in regions where grass grows abundantly and where there is plenty of natural pasture. Principally because of its hot climate, the Cotton Belt of the United States has long been known as a region in which it is difficult to maintain a good grass sod. Unless and until grasses can be found which are adapted to the hot climate of our South, it would seem a very difficult problem to produce dairy products, for example, in competition with such sections as New England, New York, Wisconsin, and Minnesota where the principal cost of maintaining a good pasture is that of keeping the fences in repair. Of course, it is possible to produce milk in almost any section of the United States. It costs more to produce it, however, where there is a lack of natural pasture. A recent Virginia study indicates that it costs, on the average, more than \$3 per 100 pounds to produce milk in the area which supplies this product to the city of Norfolk. The fact that the people in the city of Norfolk are willing and able to pay good prices for this product makes it possible for the nearby dairymen to produce at a small profit. If it were necessary for these men to sell their milk at butter-and-cheese prices, it would not be possible for them to long continue in business. It is possible that the introduction of lespedeza and other grasses may solve the pasture problem in the South. This is a question which needs much careful investigating.

It is our judgment that until the South finds some method of establishing and maintaining cheap pasture that it cannot hope to compete with the North in the production of dairy products, and that it will be forced to limit its production of milk to the needs of the local fluid markets and to that of the farm home.

The raising of more hogs has frequently been recommended as a method of balancing the farm business in the Southern States. If hogs are to be produced successfully in this section, in competition with hogs grown in the Corn Belt, it is necessary, of course, to produce them by cheap methods. There has been a significant decline in hog numbers in Virginia, except in those parts of the State where hogs are raised without feeding them much corn. When we consider that about 20 bushels of shelled corn, or its equivalent in other things, are required to make a 200-pound hog, we probably have the chief reason why many farmers in a large part of the South are producing so few hogs. Since 1867 there have been only 16 years when the Virginia farm price of a 200-pound hog was as much as the Virginia farm price of 20 bushels of corn. Farmers in Virginia have learned that if they are to raise hogs economically on a commercial scale they cannot afford to feed them too much corn. The only section in Virginia in which there has been a significant increase in hog numbers is the peanut and Cotton Belt of the southeastern part of the State. Cheap methods of raising and fattening hogs are practiced, and a minimum amount of corn is fed. It seems likely that a considerable section of the South along the Atlantic Coastal Plain may be able to produce a special kind of soft pork by using cheap methods. There may be other parts of the South where similar methods may be practiced. It seems highly improbable, however, that hog production can be made to pay throughout the South by the feeding of corn, although there may be certain areas which are exceptions to this.

It is thought by many persons that the South should go into the commercial poultry business on a large scale. There are two reasons, it seems to us, why this part of the country has not already done so. First, the South is a deficit area in the production of feed grains. If a large amount of eggs were produced it would be necessary to ship most of the feed in from the Corn Belt. Secondly,

most of the eggs would need to be shipped long distances by express if they were to be sold on the large eastern markets. It would be necessary, therefore, to pay the freight on the feed and the express on the eggs, which for many years past would have left no margin of profit. That part of the United States which is along the Atlantic seaboard and adjacent to the large northeastern cities, is probably the most important commercial poultry-producing area in this country. Most of the feed used in producing the poultry and eggs in this section is shipped in from the West by freight. The eggs are shipped to the nearby markets by express. Because of the fact that the distances are short, the eggs arrive on the market as fresh eggs and the express charges are small. The Corn Belt of the Central West produces a majority of the cold-storage eggs which are consumed in this country. Most of these eggs are produced by farm flocks which are given little care and which pick up most of their feed around the buildings and on the ground. This section markets its eggs in large quantities and by freight. It has no freight to pay on feed. It would be necessary for the Cotton Belt to pay both the freight on the feed and the express on the eggs.

It seems to us that the commercial production of livestock and its products in the South is limited primarily by lack of cheap and abundant raw materials; namely, cheap pasture and feed; that livestock and its products may be profitably produced to supply the special needs of local markets at special prices; and that sufficient livestock may be produced on farms to supply the family needs. Until the problems of cheap pasture and feed are solved, we see little possibility of a much further increase in the commercial production of livestock and its products unless the industrial population expands. Furthermore, as long as the average size of farm remains as small as it is the need for intensification will be so great that the keeping of livestock for commercial purposes will be nearly an impossibility, except in the case of a comparatively small percentage of the farms.

It is undoubtedly true that there are a considerable number of farmers in the Cotton Belt who are now producing livestock and its products at a profit. It is our guess that in the majority of these cases a special price is obtained for the product. We do not think that it would be a sound recommendation to advise all farmers in the Cotton Belt to adopt the practices which are followed by a few individuals who are specializing to meet the particular needs of local markets at special prices.

This does not mean that we abandon the idea that the South should maintain a well-balanced agriculture. We think that there is just as great need for a well-balanced system of farming in the South as in any other part of the country. We think, however, that a different interpretation should be placed upon the meaning of the word "balance." If our understanding of the situation is correct, the idea held by most persons as to what a well-balanced agriculture is has been obtained from studying the results of research work on general farms, most of which were located in the general farming sections of the North. It is our belief that in the average general farming section of the North that a well-balanced business probably means one in which a considerable proportion of the farm receipts originate from the sale of livestock and a considerable proportion from the sale of cash crops. While this may be the correct interpretation to place upon the term "balance" in certain parts of the United States, it does not follow that it is also the correct interpretation to place upon the meaning of the word when thinking about the agriculture of other parts of the country. It is our opinion that the best balanced farm is the one which makes the most effective utilization of the resources which it possesses. In sections of the country where there is plenty of natural pasture, along with an abundance of good cropland, it would seem that the best-balanced farming system is one which uses most effectively both of these kinds of land. In sections where there is little cropland a great deal of pasture, it would seem that the livestock industry should be emphasized rather than the cropping system in order that the natural resources at hand may be most effectively utilized. In those sections of the country, however, in which most of the land is so valuable that it can be used only for cropping, it would seem that the thing to emphasize is the economical production of crops, and that livestock should occupy a minor place in the farm business. There probably is such a thing as a well-balanced crop farm. What has apparently been happening on the Eastern Shore of Virginia during the past few years illustrates what we have in mind. There was a time when the production of sweet and Irish potatoes was carried on almost to the exclusion of other things. During the recent depression there have been a number of very disastrous crop years, and many farmers on the Eastern Shore have found themselves in a very unfavorable financial condition. During this time a number of well-meaning persons have recommended the commercial production of dairy products, others of sheep and wool, and still others of hogs and poultry. The

poultry industry on the Eastern Shore seems to be expanding, but there is little indication that other livestock enterprises are likely to become of much importance. During the last few years farmers, themselves, have balanced their farming operations by adding more intensive vegetable enterprises to the few which they already had. This has probably had the tendency to distribute the labor more evenly throughout the year and throughout the working day, and has removed a great deal of the risk from the farming operations.

Generally speaking, a well-balanced farm business is one which combines the various enterprises of the farm in such proportions that the greatest profit is obtained from the farm business as a whole. It is our opinion that there are a number of ways of bringing about the most-desired balance, and that what may be the best-balanced farming system in one part of the country may possibly be the poorest in some other section. What the best balanced farming system of the Cotton Belt may be, we are in no position to even suggest. This is a matter which needs a great deal of research before it can be settled intelligently. Sitting in our offices and thinking about the problem will not settle it. It would seem to us that the most desirable thing to do would be to obtain more of the facts of the situation. After we have obtained these facts, and analyzed them statistically, we shall be in much better position to think the thing through, in our offices, than we are now.

We wish to emphasize the fact that if southern agriculture is to become more efficient it must decrease the number of its farms, or it must cultivate the land which it now farms more intensively. As we have previously suggested, a more intensive cultivation of the land can be brought about with profit only as an expansion of the market takes place. When and if this occurs it would seem that it will probably pay to give more attention to erosion control and fertility maintenance. In a general system of farming it is necessary to maintain the fertility of the land by cheap methods. As the land becomes more intensively cultivated it becomes increasingly possible to maintain fertility by progressively more expensive methods. One of the principal objections to establishing a commercial livestock business in the Cotton Belt, aside from the absence of cheap feed, is the fact that a livestock business, with the possible exception of poultry, would require more acres per dollar of income than the system which is being followed at present. It would intensify, rather than intensify, the farm business, and therefore lower, rather than increase, efficiency.

EXHIBIT 3.—STATEMENT BY ROBERT GREGG, PRESIDENT OF THE TENNESSEE COAL, IRON AND RAILROAD CO., BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE BUY-AT-HOME PROGRAM IN ALABAMA

Some 16 years or more ago, the then president of the Tennessee Coal, Iron, and Railroad Co. was asked by the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of Montgomery why it was that industry in Alabama did not buy Alabama-raised products. The reply was that Alabama-raised products were not properly graded and were not available in dependable quantities for use. The further assertion was made that it certainly was the desire of industry to be cooperative with agriculture in every possible way to the end that both might prosper together.

At that time the Tennessee Co. owned a very large number of mules which were used in its mines and in the manufacturing plants. Hay for feeding these mules in quantities reaching 1,000 tons per annum was being shipped into the Birmingham district at a terrifically heavy cost over that of Alabama-raised hay, but it was hay that was in good marketable condition and thoroughly reliable as high-grade stock feed. Our people undertook an intelligent survey of the possibility in Alabama for the proper grading, curing, and marketing of Johnson grass hay, and through the cooperation of the established farm agencies in the State it was soon possible to secure all of the hay required by this company within the State or immediate surrounding States of just as good grade for our purposes, and at enormous annual savings.

This experience of the company made it very forcibly to understand the interdependence between agriculture and industry and encouraged it to launch a program of assisting the farmers in Alabama in the marketing of their surplus agriculture crops. They undertook a survey of the various counties of the State of Alabama to ascertain just what was being raised and not marketed; what markets were available and not supplied by locally raised products and what channels of marketing could be developed through coordination of efforts of the various farm agencies, together with the farmers, bankers, and representatives of industry.

This company normally sells its products in the southeastern States, namely, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee. In addition, Louisiana and Texas are served as well as the west coast of the United States. These States, as is well known, are primarily agricultural States.

The Tennessee Co., when it started a diversification program soon after the World War, realized that as its natural trade territory prospered, so would it grow and prosper and, therefore, followed a natural tendency in endeavoring to build up the buying power of the farmer.

The farm products division of this company was formed to aid and assist farmers and all agencies which might contribute thereto in improving their farming and marketing methods, looking toward the development finally of the whole agricultural South.

The survey which this company undertook showed that certain sections of Alabama were particularly adapted to grasses for stock raising: to vegetable raising; dairying, hogs, and peanuts, but that in most cases there were decided prejudices against the home-grown products. There was a woeful lack of proper curing, packing, and grading of products, and practically no facilities for marketing or financing, but after a very short period of time statistics indicated that there were consumed in Birmingham alone more than \$3,000,000 worth of Alabama-raised and marketed farm products annually.

As indicated above, the first efforts of this company were exercised toward the proper raising and marketing of hay, but these efforts were later spread toward eggs, butter, cheese, and other dairy products; to sweet potato raising and grading; to cattle, hogs, and other livestock; and to the establishment of markets, packing houses, etc., for the proper distribution of the products raised. Further, the activities of this company were directed toward interesting luncheon clubs in the 4-H club boys and girls programs; in cattle sales resulting from efforts of these children, and finally interesting packers and various financial institutions in lending financial and other aid, where it was indicated, toward the upbuilding of the State.

A few years ago the efforts of this company were spread from Alabama into the States of North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Louisiana, in each of which States we have a farm products agent working with the various agencies of the respective States on whatever problem might be discovered and solved for the benefit of the farmer. Market surveys are made and the benefits are passed on wherever it seems possible to do the most good, and to create buying power and economic security.

When the various Army camps were established throughout the Southern States our respective farm products agents interested themselves in advising not only the purchasing officials of the camps as to the availability of products nearby, but also in advising the farmers and merchants of the names, addresses, and approach to the proper officials in the Army whom they could contact. As this has been an important feature of our work, and has lent a great deal of aid to the farmers, we are attaching as an agenda to this statement, as an illustration, a somewhat detailed statement of what has happened in this regard in South Carolina. This is the only complete record immediately available as to our activities in connection with the armed forces' procurement of locally raised products, and is indicative of what is being done in all of the above-named States.

EXHIBIT 4.—STATEMENT BY S. A. ROBERT, JR., AND A. LEE COLEMAN, DIVISION OF LAND ECONOMICS, BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS, ATLANTA, GA.

THE GUM NAVAL STORES INDUSTRY¹

The gum naval stores industry is concentrated in the longleaf and slash pine areas of the Southeast. Operations extend over approximately 65,000,000 acres from North Carolina to Texas. Almost 75 percent of this 65,000,000 acres is in productive forests.²

¹ Data obtained in a study of the industry under the direction of a Department of Agriculture Interbureau Committee on Naval Stores.

² *Statistics on Gum Naval Stores Production*, by Southern Forest Survey Staff, I. F. Eldredge, Regional Survey Director, Forest Survey Release No. 17. December 31, 1935.

The products of the industry are derived from the oleoresin produced from the scarified or chipped slash or longleaf pine trees. In the first stage of processing—distillation—two products are derived, turpentine and rosin. These two products have important direct war uses, and they serve also as substitutes for products that cannot be obtained when foreign trade is hazardous. Paint is needed in increasing quantities during the war, and turpentine is one of the major paint thinners. It is the cheapest source of synthetic camphor, and since natural camphor comes exclusively from the Japanese island of Formosa, increased quantities of turpentine are going into this use. Rosin is used principally in the manufacture of soap, adhesives, plastics, paper sizing, varnish, and polish. Until recently it has been used only in the laundry soaps, but it is now being used in other soaps.

To meet the anticipated increased demand for naval stores products the Secretary of Agriculture set as the 1942 gum naval stores production goal 450,000 units³ as compared with a production of 285,000 units in 1941. The purpose of this testimony is to mention some of the obstacles that appear to be retarding production and to suggest some means of removing them.

With a decrease in production of gum naval stores from an annual average of about 525,000 units (from 1930 to 1935) to the low of 285,000 units in 1941, obviously a large number of the 43,000 laborers engaged in the industry in 1934 (when 510,000 units were produced) were not needed to produce the 285,000 units in 1941. A movement of labor from the industry occurred even prior to the defense migration that began 2 years ago. As a result the 1942 season began with insufficient labor to work the increased croppage. Labor from the industry has not as a rule gone directly into defense industries or into the armed forces, because of the lack of necessary qualifications. Rather, naval stores labor has replaced other labor that has gone into defense industries.

The isolation of turpentine camps has influenced the relationship between operators and workers. The workers are predominately Negroes. Labor is often considered as much a resource to be exploited as the forests in which the work is carried on. Because the turpentine camps are isolated, the operators usually furnish the only police protection, and because needed labor can be obtained only with difficulty in many cases, operators sometimes use their police power to restrict freedom of movement of labor in the belt. These conditions are hardly conducive to retaining workers or encouraging workers to return to the industry. Nor do they offer the incentive to increase production for war needs.

Many of the large operators have a commissary through which they sell groceries, clothing, and tobacco to their workers. Several instances have been noted where operators have restricted the movements of laborers indebted to them through commissary accounts.

Wage workers in the naval stores industry receive very low cash family incomes.⁴ The average cash income available from all sources in 1941 was \$418, or a little more than \$100 per capita for the 165 families. Cash income for work in the naval stores industry alone averaged only \$372 per year, and less than half of the families (46 percent) had income from other sources.

While garden space is often provided by the operator, little food is produced by naval stores workers, primarily because of (1) lack of gardening supervision and (2) the movement of workers from one operation to another which reduces the practicability of home food production. Livestock generally is limited to a few chickens and a pig. Since such a small amount of subsistence is produced, cash income is virtually the total income.

Wage workers are paid on a piece basis. The chippers receive their pay on the basis of the number of faces chipped while the dippers receive their pay according to the number of barrels of gum collected. The average daily wage in 1941 was about \$1.25 for chippers, and \$1.10 for dippers. These wage rates represent a 35-percent increase over 1939, but during this period the cost of living increased approximately 25 percent.

Poor housing is characteristic of the naval stores industry. Many wage workers live in one-room shacks, built in camps or "quarters," with no glass windows, no screens, and usually without individual water supply and sanitary facilities. Few naval stores workers receive the benefit of regular medical and health services.

³ A gum naval stores unit is defined as 50 gallons of turpentine and 1,348 pounds of rosin. The commodities are joint products of the oleoresin secured from living southern yellow pines.

⁴ As indicated by data obtained in 165 interviews in 6 naval stores counties: Washington County, Ala.; Alachua County, Fla.; and Colquitt, Clinch, Telfair, and Wayne Counties, Ga.

Schools furnished naval stores children are very poor. Out of a six-county study, only two had any type of transportation for school children and this was available to a small number of children, usually not naval stores children. No transportation is supplied Negro children. In Clinch County, Ga., there was no 4-year high school available for Negroes, and although schools are available for most workers' families they are of a poor quality and generally extend only to the seventh or eighth grade. The educational facilities are only slightly better in the other counties studied.

Naval stores financing, marketing, and distribution is concentrated in the hands of comparatively few people. There are seven major factorage houses furnishing credit to the industry and two large central processing firms. These establishments offer the major facilities of financing, marketing, and distributing of the products. Seventy-two percent of the products marketed in 1941 were handled by factorage houses. The factor furnishes on credit the groceries, supplies, and equipment needed for naval stores operations. The relative absence of other credit and marketing facilities and the ease of doing business with one organization, necessarily give the factorage houses supervisory control over many operations. To the extent that some factors operate also as dealers they participate on both sides of the exchange and may thus influence prices. The factorage house receives for its services interest on the money loaned; profits on any equipment and supplies sold; a commission for selling the products; fees for storage and insurance when the factor operates storage facilities, and the profits or losses on any dealer operations carried on.

The membership of the American Turpentine Farmers Association cooperative produces approximately 80 percent of the production of the industry. The association does not operate on a one-member one-vote basis but upon the basis of one vote for each unit of production. This means that the organization is controlled by the larger members. The place of the American Turpentine Farmers Association in securing Federal assistance for the industry and the cooperative medium that it affords producers, are of primary importance to the industry.

The shortage of labor will probably be the greatest limitation on increasing production, but there are other hindrances that should be mentioned:

(1) Markets that would permit small producers to market their gum are not available in some parts of the belt. In outlying sections, gum buyers purchasing crude gum are the only outlet. Many small producers in isolated areas will not be able to come into production in 1942 because they do not have ready access to an outlet for their products.

(2) A high proportion of the naval stores products is normally transported by truck to the nearest storage or marketing facilities. In the present emergency, the shortage of transportation facilities and in particular the shortage of tires will retard the production in more distant areas.

(3) The lack of desirable living conditions and public services may accelerate the migration of labor.

Several things might be done to achieve increased production. Adjustments in credit and marketing facilities and improvements in labor relations should contribute toward the achievement of needed production. The following measures should encourage increased production for war needs:

(1) The extension of existing factorage house credit to small producers and the provision of supplemental credit through production credit associations, national farm loan associations, Farm Security Administration, and local lending institutions.

(2) The provision of markets for gum produced by small operators through the utilization of stills not now in operation. Idle stills could be moved to localities where existing facilities are inadequate or lacking.

(3) Cooperative use of available tires should be encouraged in areas where transportation of crude gum is necessary. The fullest use of available transportation facilities is essential throughout the belt.

(4) Workers should be encouraged to produce at least a part of the needed food.

(5) Some improvement should be made in housing furnished naval stores workers. Improved water supply and sanitary facilities should not await the termination of the war.

(6) Wage rates will have to be increased if the industry is to retain its present workers. With saw mills and railroads paying \$2.50 to \$2.80 per day for a 40-hour week, naval stores operators face considerable competition for labor.

EXHIBIT 5.—STATEMENT BY MACK D. RUST, RUST COTTON PICKER Co., MEMPHIS, TENN.

THE COTTON PICKER AND FARM LABOR

Up until very recently a majority of the people with whom my brother and I have discussed the question of agricultural labor in the South, seemed to feel it was hardly conceivable that a serious labor shortage in the Cotton Belt could actually occur. Some still feel that way. After the experience of the past 10 or 12 years, they can't be blamed much for holding that opinion. But these are certainly times of quick and radical changes in many phases of our national thinking; and not the least of these will be the realization that agriculture is due for some far-reaching changes if it is fully to perform its part in the national defense program. If we might be allowed to think in terms of a good standard of living for the workers in this great sector of our economy, some of these changes certainly are already long past due.

Last fall (1941) due to a combination of favorable circumstances not many sections of the cotton area felt any serious lack of labor for the harvest. But next season may be different. Within the coming year thousands of men will be inducted into the armed forces. It is hardly possible that this will not affect the cotton field workers. Some will be drawn directly into the Army. Others will almost surely shift into other industries to take the place of men drafted from those industries.

Among those planters operating entirely on the sharecrop basis, it may be that no serious shortage of labor will be felt within the present year, or possibly not within the following year. But the planters operating on the day-labor basis may find themselves not only far short of the required amount of harvest labor, but even short of sufficient labor to plant and cultivate the crop.

Since the picking in most areas requires a much greater concentration of labor than any other operation in producing the crop, it seems obvious that the need for harvesting machinery will be most acute. The need for a chopping machine, and for better and more effective methods in cotton farming generally, will likewise be felt increasingly as more and more men are called to the colors.

Introduction of the cotton-picking machine into this situation may be expected to produce results of far-reaching consequence both to national defense and to the future conditions of farm workers. The tremendous labor-saving capacity of the machine if used in mass quantities would release a multitude of workers for other duties. One such machine operated by two men can do the work of from 50 to 150 hand pickers under conditions of moderate to heavy yields.

In areas where masses of hand pickers are transported long distances by truck and car to the fields each day, it may easily prove to be the case that the cost of fuel, oil, tires, and equipment used or worn out in the process of hauling the pickers to and from the fields would exceed that of machines picking an equivalent amount of cotton. Highway hazards and traffic accidents should be substantially reduced by eliminating the crowded flow of cars and trucks hauling pickers night and morning.

From the viewpoint of the workers, their conditions of work could be measurably improved by employment in work closer home on more reasonable hours. From the viewpoint of conserving the nation's manpower, it should not be overlooked that the mass use of these machines could eventually release hundreds of thousands of workers for more effective employment in other types of work. Add to this the possibility that when the next harvest season rolls around, there may not be nearly enough labor available to pick all the cotton produced. Even last year some few fields were never completely harvested. Surely it does not make sense to spend time and materials growing a crop which will not be harvested.

It is only too obvious that the process of mechanizing such a large operation cannot be accomplished overnight. It will require a considerable length of time to get such a program substantially under way. If, therefore, the cotton growers are going to be faced with a serious labor shortage, as appears so imminent, action should be taken to solve this problem as soon as possible. Unless some new and abundant source of labor can be found, the machine offers the best and possibly the only solution to this problem. Therefore, we believe that "When the full significance of the farm labor problem is realized, the cotton-picking machine will be in the greatest demand in history."

Like most other machines, this machine cannot be claimed to be perfect. But experience with it to date proves it to be a practical device suitable for the purpose, and one which is good enough to begin producing and using on a wide scale, particularly under the growing pressure of wartime needs.

While no radical changes have been made in our machine during the last year, a number of minor refinements have been made which improve performance and make for steadier and more dependable operation in the field.

The prospects for quantity production of the machine depend now upon the War Production authorities. Manufacturing facilities, priorities on required materials, and the necessary finances will have to be procured in order to begin mass production. Efforts are now being made to obtain early approval for such a program. What the result will be we do not yet know.

As to what extent the picker eventually may be expected to perform all the operations now done by manual labor, this machine can, of course, perform only the one basic operation of picking the open cotton from the plants and delivering it into a suitable container. The wide use of the machine for picking operations, however, would tend to promote and accelerate the use of machines and improved mechanical methods for other farming operations, of which next to picking, chopping is the greatest problem now confronting the cotton grower.

At the present time it is not clearly seen just how it will be possible to replace manual labor entirely by machinery in the hoeing. But machinery has already been developed which can eliminate a substantial portion of the manual chopping; and it seems reasonable to expect that with proper attention to these problems means will eventually be found for putting the industry almost, if not completely, on a mechanical basis.

In that event a principal cause for migrations of the cotton workers will have been removed and the basis laid for them to become citizen residents capable of producing efficiently, earning a decent standard of living for their families, and taking an active, intelligent part in community life.

EXHIBIT 6.—STATEMENT BY BRIG. GEN. BEN M. SMITH, STATE DIRECTOR, SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM, MONTGOMERY, ALA.

OCCUPATIONAL DEFERMENT POLICY

This headquarters maintains and enforces the national policy of Selective Service in regard to occupational deferment in general. Local boards and district appeal boards in Alabama are urged to grant occupational deferment on an individual basis to those registrants who are "necessary" in the sense that they cannot be replaced without loss of effectiveness in their business, occupation, or enterprise. This headquarters maintains a liberal policy in this regard and insists that sufficient deferments be made to insure that the production of food and war materials continue on an uninterrupted basis. Also due consideration is given to deferment of those registrants in their civilian occupations, when it can be shown that such registrants cannot be replaced and that they are necessary for the health, safety or well-being of their community.

Regardless of the recent war industries and activities which have come to Alabama, this is essentially an agricultural State and it has been necessary for this headquarters to pay particular attention to deferment of people engaged in the pursuit of agriculture. Occupational deferment on an individual basis is recommended for those registrants who are either farm owners, managers or laborers, when it can be shown that the production of the farm would be curtailed or interrupted by the induction of the registrant. This headquarters compiles and publishes each month a detail report on occupational deferments and it has been found that the report as of January 1, 1942, shows that more farmers have been deferred than any other occupation in this State. It is not possible for this office to inform you of the total number of persons deferred as essential to agriculture since 1940, broken down by counties, since such records are not available by counties.

A large number of farmers in this State have been granted dependency deferment rather than occupational deferments (farming), since the greater part of such farmers are married or have other dependents. As a matter of fact, occupational deferments in Alabama run very low as compared to other deferments, due to the fact that people in this State marry or acquire dependency status early in life.

Your committee will be interested in the attached letter to Mr. Haygood Paterson, commissioner, Alabama Department of Agriculture and Industries, which sets forth briefly the policy of this headquarters in regard to deferment of farm labor.

This headquarters of Selective Service maintains close liaison with the Alabama Department of Agriculture and Industries, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the State Agricultural Extension Service, the Farm Security Agency, the Alabama Farm Bureau and the Agricultural Planning Committee of the State of Alabama. This Headquarters also operates in cooperation with the Seventh Regional Office of Production Management Labor Supply Committee which is studying the farm-labor situation at the present time and through this committee maintains liaison with the agricultural program not only in Alabama, but in the entire Southeastern States.

MONTGOMERY, ALA., February 17, 1942.

HON. HAYGOOD PATERSON,

Commissioner, Department of Agriculture and Industries, Montgomery, Ala.

DEAR MR. PATERSON: The increased war effort "Since Pearl Harbor" has made it extremely important that the production of certain farm products be expanded to the limit of the industry. The expansion of production of certain farm products is of vital importance to the National Defense production program. Among the most important commodities, and those in which tremendous expansion must be made, are

milk and dairy products,
eggs and egg products,
poultry meat products,
hogs and lard products.

Selective Service Regulations state that a registrant shall be considered a "necessary man" in an agricultural enterprise if he cannot be replaced because of a shortage of persons with his qualifications or skill in such activity, and provided his removal would cause a serious loss of effectiveness in such activity. Upon the local boards in Alabama fall the responsibility of determining whether or not a person is a "necessary man" in his activity.

In general it has been found that a shortage exists in persons qualified as farm managers. A determination must be made, however, in each particular case to determine whether or not the registrant can be successfully replaced. The availability of men in the community or county who could replace the registrant must be considered by the local board. State headquarters of Selective Service will urge occupational deferment for farm managers found to be "necessary men."

In consideration of deferment of farm labor, the same determination must be made; that is, does the farm laborer qualify as a necessary man. To do this, it must be shown that he cannot be replaced in his activity. As long as farm labor can be replaced, no deferment may be allowed. Again consideration must be given in each individual case to the availability of persons in the community or county who are qualified to replace the registrant.

It is going to be a necessary contribution to the war effort that employers and farmers secure replacements for their employees who are subject to military service from one of the following groups:

1. Persons outside draft age.
2. Persons deferred because of dependents.
3. Persons deferred because of physical condition.
4. Women.

Alabama farmers are expected to cooperate fully in fulfilling their dual responsibility of furnishing men to the armed forces and increasing food production.

Sincerely yours,

BEN M. SMITH,
*Brigadier General,
Adjutant General's Department,
State Director.*

EXHIBIT 7.—STATEMENT BY E. M. NORMENT, DISTRICT SUPERVISOR,
UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE, SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD,
MEMPHIS, TENN.

With reference to the present labor situation, especially farm labor in this area, as I testified at a previous hearing before your committee in Montgomery, Ala., in 1940,¹ I would say:

First. Our service is still being maintained under approximately the same conditions as existed in 1940, with the exception that the Tennessee State Employment Service, of which we were a branch, was taken over by the United States Employment Service on the first of the year.

Second. Whereas in 1940 we were concerned chiefly with attempting to place a large number of workers registered with us—there generally being more workers than there were jobs—now, we are engaged in an intensive search for workers qualified to fill the numerous orders for skilled mechanics that we receive through our national clearance system; also, working in connection with the vocational educational schools and selecting trainees to be trained for jobs in defense industries; also, in assisting employers in determining what jobs can be filled by the older worker, the handicapped, and lately, to an increasing extent, determining the jobs that can be filled by women workers and in recruiting such women workers.

From the farm angle, we found that during the cotton-picking season in 1941 our daily referrals of day workers almost doubled that of the previous year, and that the plantation owners in an increasing number depended upon our service in furnishing cotton pickers. During the year over 440,000 day workers were sent out to the plantations of Arkansas, Mississippi, and Tennessee. This might be the same worker sent out on numerous orders, but would be a fair indication of the man-days labor sent through our office. I am enclosing copy of a report from the farm office showing the number of pickers and vehicles that were transported, leaving the office during the month of September 1941, which was the beginning of the cotton-picking season. These represented mostly cotton pickers sent into Arkansas and constituted quite a problem in traffic, as it is necessary for them to cross the Harrahan Bridge which crosses the Mississippi, and vehicles must be spaced 50 feet apart which required the cooperation of the Memphis traffic and police force and Arkansas Highway Patrol, as well as a number of our employees. These workers were hauled in every type of vehicle from old passenger automobiles to large modern trucks carrying as many as 90 workers.

There is also quite a problem in recruiting this labor and it is done through the cooperation of the different owners and drivers of the vehicles used in transporting workers. In the early hours of the morning, when it is necessary for them to leave, there is no streetcar service and various truck drivers have picked up the workers in the vicinity of their homes. Of course, many live near our farm office and these walk there, catching trucks at that point. All trucks come by the office so that the driver may pick up the referral cards directing them to the various plantations.

Our most serious problem this year will be transportation of these day workers to the various plantations. During cultivating season this will not be such a problem, as most truck drivers will still have tires good enough to carry them, but, by harvest season, these tires will be worn out. As most of these trucks and all passenger cars—of which there are several hundred—are privately owned, it will be very difficult for them to secure tires. We find that the business people, and others with sufficient money, have bought practically all good used tires and recapped tires regardless of the prices that they have been forced to pay, and, in many instances, people who can afford to do so have stored extra sets of tires in their homes and elsewhere, and have run the prices up to prohibitive levels which the average worker cannot afford to pay.

I have no doubt there has been widespread bootlegging of recapped tires for higher prices than are allowed by the ceiling placed on such tires. Numerous subterfuges have been used, such as service charges for changing tires to increase the amount the dealer secures. Personally, I visited a number of tire shops yesterday and found that the prices for second-hand tires in a fair condition for the average small car were approximately \$25 each, and that from statements made by tire shops, they have no trouble whatsoever in disposing of them at

¹ Pt. 2. p. 783

those prices. This is going to result in large numbers of defense workers in defense plants, which are mostly situated some miles from the city, being unable to use their cars to transport themselves and fellow workers to these jobs, and will especially deprive our plantation owners of large numbers of workers who travel in their own personal vehicles carrying numerous other workers with them to the plantations.

In regard to the supply of labor, we are going to find that there will probably be a shortage, as the Selective Service will take many of the young and physically fit, while defense industries will attract many others, and the large flow of labor that is generally available in Memphis will be unable to reach the plantations unless some method is found to solve the transportation problem. The demand for labor will be larger we believe this year than last, as many plantations are increasing their acreage to raise food crops and, although many of them are attempting to secure families for sharecropping or day work, they will still have to rely on available day labor transported daily from this city.

Housing in rural areas, of course, is another problem. As many of the plantations have used day labor in cultivating crops, they have not built sufficient houses to take care of families if same could be secured. With the increase in acreage and the use of modern machinery by plantations, the demand for permanent workers has greatly decreased in the past few years, while the demand for temporary day labor has greatly increased. It looks as though now there will be a housing problem on the farm as well as in the vicinity of defense plants which are located some miles from the city and the transportation problem will grow more acute as automobile tires grow more scarce.

Summary.—We anticipate a demand in industrial plants—mostly engaged in defense work—of approximately 15,000 workers for 1942. This is to take care of expansion and replacements. Approximately 4,000 of these will be employed in defense plants situated some 20 miles from Memphis. Approximately half of these will be women and transportation and housing will be serious considerations.

In agricultural labor, we could place at present from 700 to 1,000 families in the area served by our farm office. We will, in addition, probably be required to furnish 3,000 workers per day during the cultivation season, from April to June. During harvest season, from August to the latter part of December, some twelve to fifteen thousand workers will have to be transported to plantations per day. A large portion of these will also be women. The migration of workers who travel following the harvest season in vehicles owned by themselves will be seriously curtailed on account of tire shortages. This will affect some of the larger plantations in Arkansas who have seasonal workers following crop harvest from the south to the north.

We believe that in Memphis proper, with the exception of skilled workers, there will be no particular shortage of labor. We anticipate seasonal shortages of agricultural workers, and that, on account of transportation problems, surplus labor in Memphis will be handicapped in reaching plantations where they will be needed.

Daily referrals of cotton pickers

September—	Number of trucks	Number of cotton pickers	September—	Number of trucks	Number of cotton pickers
1.	44	1,325	17.	478	8,896
2.	115	3,280	18.	523	9,049
3.	57	1,806	19.	514	12,057
4.	57	1,488	20.	288	3,907
5.	40	1,018	21. Sunday.		
6.	38	2,963	22.	686	10,625
7. Sunday.			23.	723	12,751
8.	234	5,635	24.	619	12,057
9.	304	6,379	25.	326	5,531
10.	163	3,669	26.	608	11,039
11.	324	6,499	27.	374	5,285
12.	329	6,066	28. Sunday.		
13.	231	3,636	29.	691	11,866
14. Sunday.			30.	686	11,514
15.	425	8,089			
16.	474	9,251			
			Total for month.	9,351	172,289

EXHIBIT 8.—STATEMENT BY C. F. ANDERSON, DIRECTOR FOR ALABAMA,
UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE, MONTGOMERY, ALA.

THE LABOR MARKET IN ALABAMA SINCE JUNE 1940

I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS AND RECENT EXPANSION

Excepting for the iron- and steel-producing Birmingham district, Alabama has always been predominately agricultural. Recently imposed upon this agricultural pattern, however, has been a war economy whose keynotes are new war facilities, new industries, and expansion of old industries. These have had far-reaching effects upon the State's life, and will exert an even greater future influence.

Skyrocketing employment can best be illustrated currently by the following figures:

Type of industry	Employment			February increase over June 1940
	June 1940	September 1941	February 1942 (estimated)	
Total.....	281, 375	395, 480	427, 500	<i>Percent</i> +51. 8
Mining and quarrying.....	31, 357	36, 154	38, 000	+20. 5
Construction.....	16, 053	53, 028	55, 000	+242. 6
Manufacturing.....	143, 681	197, 288	220, 000	+53. 1
Transportation, communication, and utilities.....	17, 785	21, 046	22, 500	+12. 7
Trade.....	51, 122	63, 055	66, 000	+29. 1
Finance, insurance, and real estate.....	6, 522	6, 975	7, 000	+7. 3
Service.....	14, 855	17, 934	19, 000	+27. 9

Even these figures of spectacular increase are essentially an understatement of the volume of employment since they do not include workers employed by government, interstate railways, and a number of small employers.

Indicated nevertheless is an over-all increase in nonagricultural employment of 40.5 percent between June of 1940 and September of 1941 and an estimated 51.8 percent between June of 1940 and February of 1942.

Virtually every phase of the State's industry has expanded since 1940, but expansion has been particularly pronounced in the field of construction, wherein employment has tripled. New factories, Army cantonments, air fields, and air-training schools, and similar building have been primarily responsible for this. (For the detail of these contracts, see table I.)

The expansion in manufacturing of 53.1 percent entails an increase of approximately 80,000 workers. The more important industries entering into this increase are the manufacture of chemicals and allied auxiliary activities, saw-milling, manufacture of textile products, manufacture of iron and steel and their products, shipbuilding, and the manufacture of aluminum. (For the detail of production contracts, see table II.)

The increase of 20.5 percent in mining and quarrying is almost entirely attributable to expansion and/or greater production in the iron and steel industry. The majority of the large mines are of the captive type, feeding their coal and ore directly into the steel mills. The large independent units either sell most of their products direct to the same industry or produce coke which is used by the industry.

II. THE DEMAND FOR LABOR

An analysis of a few specific industries in the field of manufacturing indicated to this department an increased labor demand exceeding 12,000 workers during the first 6 months of 1942. Recent events would tend to indicate that this forecast is definitely upon the conservative side. This figure for the first 6 months of 1942 can furthermore be doubled or tripled by including demand from Government plants and repair bases and from industries not included in the forecast. Nor will the peak of expansion have been reached by midsummer. The greater portion of the demand necessitates some degree of skill, and that can only be developed by training.

Demands of selective service are exerting a heavy drain upon the labor market, but its impact is not subject to quantitative measurement (as something of a military secret). Industry will be faced with a replacement problem of significant degree. The present reaction on the part of employers is to hire older workers, workers with some claim to deferment, and women—thus keeping clear of “draft vulnerables” excepting in unskilled occupations. Attitudes range variously between expressed optimism and unmitigated pessimism upon the question of deferments for workers now employed.

Thus far agriculture has been adversely affected by the lure of opportunity in construction and industry and by selective service, which, however, has recently adopted “a policy of deferring essential managers and laborers where their services are required to produce food for the Nation.” This shortage is further aggravated by increased crop acreages.

III. AREAS OF MAJOR LABOR DEMAND

The defense program has created areas of heavy labor demand into which workers have fied from other parts of the State and from neighboring States. Those areas can be briefly described as follows:

A. *The Muscle Shoals area.*

Located upon the outskirts of Sheffield, companies for the manufacture of ferrosilicon (for toughening steel) and alumina and aluminum products have built their plants within the past 18 months and are currently using an approximate 3,000 workers in operations. The area will also produce synthetic ammonium and ammonium nitrates, using about 800 workers in those productive operations. Thus essential defense production has or will shortly have created about 3,800 jobs in the Muscle Shoals area.

Rumors of further expansion are current. If rumor materializes into fact, a probable minimum of 1,000 additional jobs will be opened in production.

B. *The Huntsville area.*

This has been essentially an agricultural and secondarily a textile manufacturing area. The building of a chemical warfare plant and auxiliary facilities will probably necessitate a work force of between 9,000 and 10,000 people, which might again be increased by further expansion if such should materialize.

C. *The Gadsden area.*

In expansion of steel-manufacturing and shell-machining facilities, the defense program will result in approximately 2,000 new jobs.

D. *The Birmingham area.*

Expansion of output of iron and steel (including basic raw materials) and of the processing of steel products have added some thousands of production workers in this area.

E. *The Childersburg area.*

The building of munitions plants, bag-loading plants, and storage facilities will afford employment to approximately 13,500 production and auxiliary workers by the time construction is completed later in 1942.

F. *The Mobile area.*

The city of Mobile has been essentially interested in paper manufacturing, shipping, and ship repairing. The defense program has brought a new ship-building industry, a huge Army airplane repair base, and minor expansion in other industries. Jobs added by the two industries mentioned will add a conservative 28,000 workers between June of 1940 and the end of 1942. About one-half of these hirings are probably still to be made.

IV. THE CURRENT STATE OF THE LABOR MARKET

A. *The available supply of labor.*

Alabama's crying need is for skilled workers, and to a lesser degree for unskilled workers, in defense production. It may appear somewhat paradoxical that this condition should exist with 87,946 men and women registered for jobs with the Employment Service (115,237 in June 1940), but the explanation is not difficult.

During the long depression of the 1930's skilled operators were no longer employed where their skills could be utilized. During that period their skills became lost, and many of the workers themselves became superannuated from the industrial standpoint. At the same time the supply of skilled workers actually or potentially exceeded the demand for them, so new workers were not trained in those occupations which are now so essential and also nonexistent upon the supply side of the labor market.

Hitting a labor market which had become semistagnant, the defense program calls for skills in production never existing in the State or never existing in sufficient numbers to meet today's demand. It is significant, however, that there has been no real or apparent shortage in construction skills.

Efforts of industry and of government in this situation of relatively abundant unskilled labor and scarce skilled labor have been in the direction of upgrading, job dilution, and training (both vocational or outside training and on-the-job training). Job dilution and upgrading have been widely utilized in most industries, so it appears that training must necessarily be the future avenue of approach to a major degree.

In 1941 the vocational defense training program made rapid strides forward in the field of preemployment training, during which time 1,293 trainees found employment. By the end of the year between 250 and 300 graduate trainees were monthly being fed into industry. The volume of supplementary training (aimed at development of greater skill on the existing job) was also great. Plans are under way to effect a tripling of preemployment training.

In an effort to secure maximum utilization of the potential work force, directive orders have been issued to the effect that neither race, sex, color, nor creed shall result in a denial to admission to training classes where the applicant shows any aptitude.

B. Migration of labor.

People have shifted around during the period since June of 1940 in considerable numbers, but it is not possible to derive any quantitative estimate of migration. In all cases the meccas of the wanderers have been the cities or areas of defense activity. Their origins have been the small towns and the farms. The chief focal points of in-migration have been Birmingham, Childersburg, Mobile, Sheffield, and Huntsville.

Construction workers, due to the very nature of their work, have moved from place to place as construction at one point has been completed and construction begun at another. Workers for permanent operation of war industries have been recruited from the local and commuting areas to the maximum possible degree, but growing shortage of local labor has resulted in substantial migration into Mobile.

C. Housing and related problems.

The housing problem has been extremely serious in most of the defense areas during construction. Barracks and trailer camps have flourished, sometimes with such meager sanitary facilities that the absence of disease has been remarkable. In the Childersburg area school busses were used as classrooms.

This has necessarily resulted since the large defense projects (excepting Mobile) have been built in or near small towns in agricultural areas entirely unable to absorb a transient population. Now beginning is a new army cantonment at Daleville in southern Alabama. About 18,000 workers will be employed on the job, with only the local farm residents being assured of living quarters. The schedule calls for completion in 120 working days. The provision of living quarters is immediately necessary.

Staffing of plants for production has had to concern itself with the same lack or inadequacy of housing and allied facilities. The building of dwelling units by both private interests and the Government has taken the edge off the shortage in most localities. In Mobile, however, it is doubtful that the shipyards will be able to secure their needed workers unless some provision is made for shelter. The saturation point of three shifts to a single bed has already been attained. Major building of housing units or barrack-type dwelling places is imperative now. Thousands are needed.

D. Wage differentiations.

To the best knowledge of this department no significant wage differentials exist in the State between occupations excepting minor ones between geographical areas due to the normal bidding for labor in a competitive market. Axiomatically also, hazardous occupations pay more than the less hazardous.

Between industries significant differentials do exist. Between textiles and shipbuilding, as an example, the differential for skilled workers for a standard 40-hour week varies between \$17 and \$22, in favor of the latter. Between powder manufacture and shipbuilding the same differential would be about \$15 weekly in favor of the former. Such variations are inherent within the nature of industry, and can only raise the presumption that labor will tend to move to the best-paying job available if such differentials exist in a community. If differentials exist between communities, such a tendency is partially curtailed by the lack of mobility of labor.

V. CONCLUSION

To summarize, expanding industry has absorbed all skilled workers in many occupations since June 1940 and has absorbed the labor supply in most of the remaining skills to the point that most of the unemployed may be considered as marginal or submarginal under normal conditions. From this group and from new or secondary workers must come replacements for the normal industrial work forces as well as the new workers for the rapid expansion of war industries. Some displacement resulting from priorities and curtailment orders will add to this force of available workers, but will not be sufficient to meet the demand that will come with contemplated war production. Selective Service will also make heavy inroads into the State's labor supply and this will call for a heavy increase in production workers from other sources.

It is true that many workers have come into the State in search of work in war industries, but the migration problem cannot be regarded as a serious one in Alabama. The clearance procedure of the United States Employment Service has been utilized to prevent uncontrolled migration and it may be stated that these efforts, generally speaking, have been successful. Our investigations and reports indicate that a far greater number of workers have come into Alabama to take defense jobs than have gone from the State in search of jobs in other States.

There has been a heavy exodus of workers from the farms to construction jobs and factories. This is expected to present a serious problem on the farms of Alabama this year. With expanding acreage of many farm crops, it is doubtful that farm labor will be adequate in 1942. Mechanical equipment cannot be provided fast enough to solve the shortage which is recognized as serious by all agencies dealing with the problem. The United States Employment Service is putting into operation a definite program which is intended to utilize to the fullest extent all sources of labor which are available for farm work, including over-age persons, women and children. In its planning, the Employment Service is in close collaboration with farm agencies, such as the United States Agricultural Extension Service, State department of agriculture, Farm Security Administration and Alabama Farm Bureau Federation.

The ever-expanding program of vocational training will aid greatly in supplying workers needed in industry in Alabama.

Inadequate housing presents the big problem in many of the centers of war production in Alabama. It is the cause of much discontent among workers who are being recruited for the war effort. It has resulted in the loss of many workers who have come into the State's war production centers, have been unable to find houses in which to live, and have moved to other sections in search of jobs which will be within reasonable distance from adequate housing. The importance of adequate housing is further emphasized at this time by the serious rubber situation. Many persons who have been able to commute many miles from their homes to their jobs will be unable to do so in the future because of lack of tires.

Adequate housing, in our opinion, would be of great importance in solving the problem of migration as well as the problem of obtaining an adequate supply of skilled workers to man the war production machines.

APPENDIX I. MAJOR CONSTRUCTION CONTRACTS

To the best of our knowledge, table I contains the construction contracts awarded in Alabama. Excluded is the detail of construction under treasury certificates of necessity, although there is definite knowledge that these have been issued to an amount exceeding \$27,000,000.

TABLE I.—Major construction contracts in Alabama

TYPE OF ACTIVITY

Month	Ordnance	Airfields and facilities ¹	Army cantonments ¹	Housing ²	Shipbuilding	Other industries	Miscellaneous ³
1940							
August							\$9,029
September		\$152,832.00					55,269
October							33,360
November		391,784.00					49,737
December		881,065.00	\$15,761.00	\$499,995		\$6,500,000	162,808
1941							
January		960,114.00					72,853
February	\$56,488,592	158,313.00		1,717,511	\$1,322,500		
March	22,830,817	66,980.00	70,740.00	410,857		25,601,211	15,226
April		1,928,008.00		903,177			
May		458,455.50	195,518.00	2,515,042			
June		2,144,612.70	405,760.00				65,584
July	36,397,399	6,310,346.50	184,462.00	290,000	5,010,000		
August	29,000,000	362,213.00	345,275.00	155,969			
September	4,606,000	1,338,405.52	95,346.80	898,831			
October		169,187.61	145,688.00	263,423	2,645,000	2,796,079	
November		558,983.42	189,682.00				
December	(⁵)	(⁵)	(⁵)	(⁵)	(⁵)	(⁵)	
1942							
January			(⁶)	547,500			
Total	149,322,808	15,881,300.25	1,648,232.80	8,202,305	8,977,500	34,897,290	463,866

Grand total, \$219,393,302.25.

¹ Includes some housing facilities.

² Substantially all earmarked for military or defense plant usage.

³ Primarily expended on post offices, flood control, dredging, and highways.

⁴ Estimated from cost of previous ways.

⁵ Not available.

⁶ Camp at Ozark (Daleville), Ala., for 30,000 men; no cost estimates available.

NOTE.—Included under ordnance is a grant of \$14,091,000 for cost of equipment and \$13,303,001 for operations.

APPENDIX II. MAJOR PRODUCTION CONTRACTS

To the best of our knowledge, table II contains production contracts thus far awarded to Alabama firms.

TABLE II.—*Defense production contracts in Alabama*

Month	Type of activity					
	Textiles	Lumber and products of wood	Ammunition components	Shipbuilding	Machinery, equipment, and other products of iron and steel	Miscellaneous
1940						
November.....	\$715,004.90	\$36,170.00	\$1,013,775.00		\$37,684.92	\$27,510.00
December.....	214,763.25	132,957.00			239,348.00	383.00
1941						
January.....	87,125.00	127,299.80			525,880.00	11,060.42
February.....	738,281.98	21,637.50				
March.....	1,566,884.63	78,339.86	803,000.00		215,364.66	11,204.00
April.....	172,933.55	3,277.00		\$19,500,000	251,736.15	
May.....	251,558.74				12,532.60	1,500.00
June.....	1,573,765.00	3,610.00		30,000	235,550.50	31,360.00
July.....	1,113,706.50		155,098.80		561,370.00	
August.....	1,121,260.77		7,047,200.00	19,880	24,599.17	176,757.44
September.....	902,636.60		694,572.00	35,280,000	366,994.00	32,959.25
October.....	1,065,597.50		271,260.00	18,960,000	21,319.14	339,801.00
November.....	982,555.07	21,493.50	1,116,837.50		72,323.04	162,019.70
December.....	52,582.00	49,500.00	83,993.25			64,846.56
1942						
January.....	327,160.02			¹ 70,560,000		118,783.46
February.....	311,400.00				2,702,784.00	68,838.00
Total.....	11,197,215.51	474,284.66	11,185,736.55	144,349,880	5,267,486.18	1,047,022.83
Grand total. \$173,521,625.73						

¹ Estimated on basis of previous contracts.

APPENDIX III

The following series of charts shows the employment levels of various types of industry since June of 1940. These figures are secured from social security reports, and exclude noncovered employment. The period beginning October 1941, and extending through February 1942, is estimated upon the basis of as yet incomplete reports.

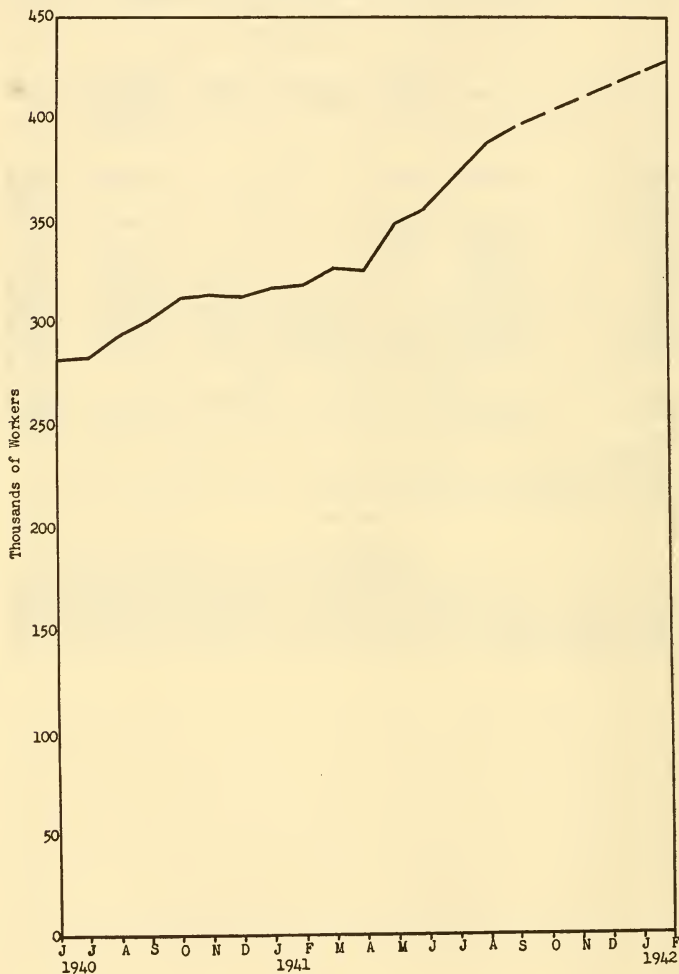
Chart I.—EMPLOYMENT IN ALL INDUSTRIES, ALABAMA, JUNE 1940—
FEBRUARY 1942

Chart II.—EMPLOYMENT IN MINING AND QUARRYING INDUSTRIES, ALABAMA, JUNE 1940—FEBRUARY 1942

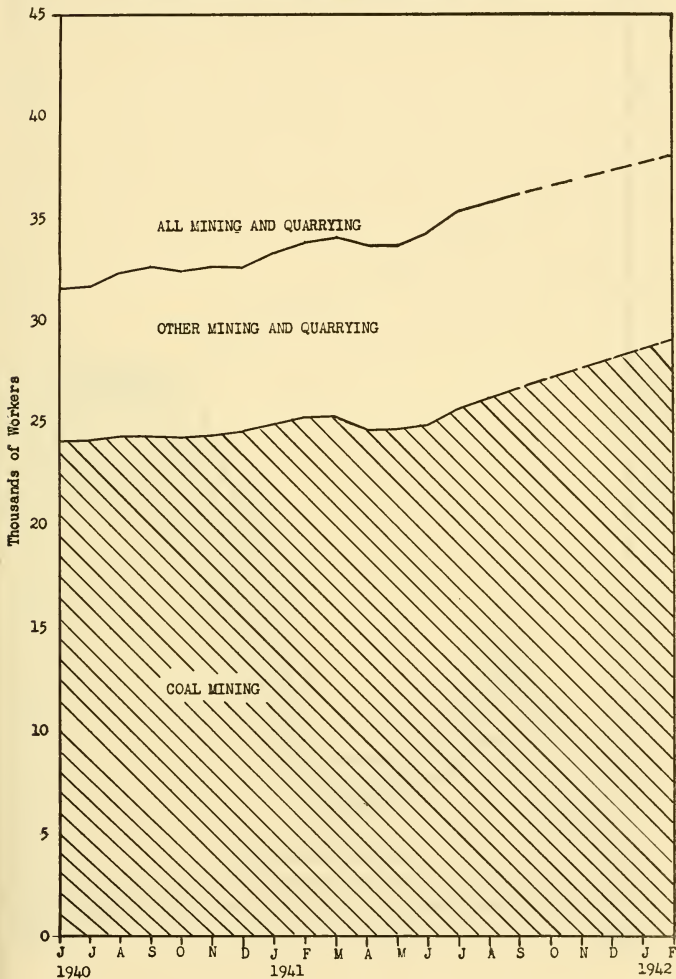


Chart III.—EMPLOYMENT IN CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRIES, ALABAMA,
JUNE 1940—FEBRUARY 1942

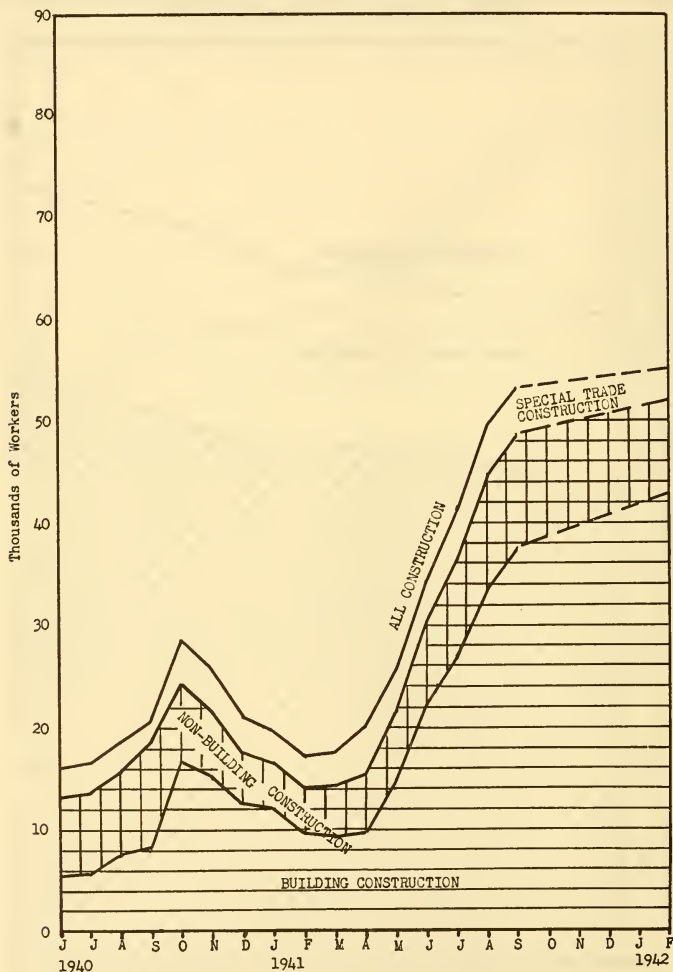


Chart IV.—EMPLOYMENT IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES, ALABAMA,
JUNE 1940—FEBRUARY 1942

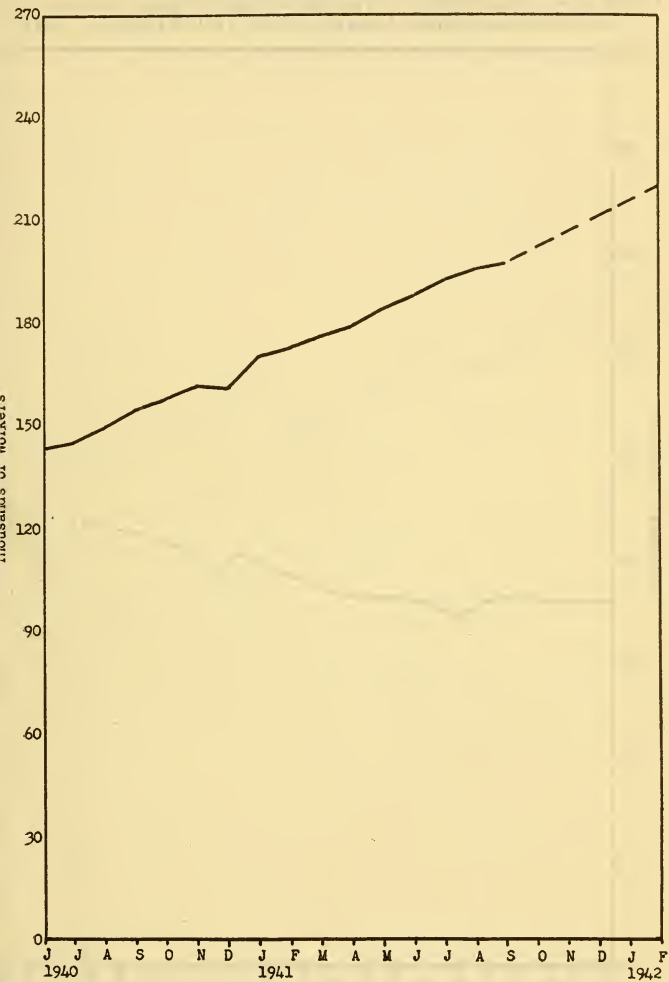


Chart V.—EMPLOYMENT IN TRANSPORTATION, COMMUNICATION, AND UTILITIES INDUSTRIES, ALABAMA, JUNE 1940—FEBRUARY 1942



Chart VI.—EMPLOYMENT IN TRADE INDUSTRIES, ALABAMA, JUNE 1940—FEBRUARY 1942



Chart VIIb.—EMPLOYMENT IN FINANCE, INSURANCE, AND REAL ESTATE INDUSTRIES, ALABAMA, JUNE 1940-FEBRUARY 1942

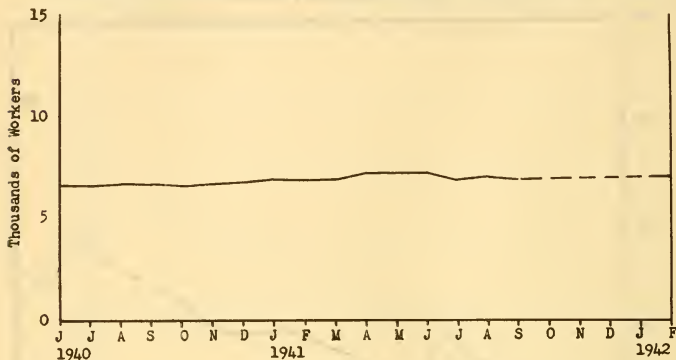


Chart VIIa.—EMPLOYMENT IN SERVICE INDUSTRIES, ALABAMA, JUNE 1940-FEBRUARY 1942

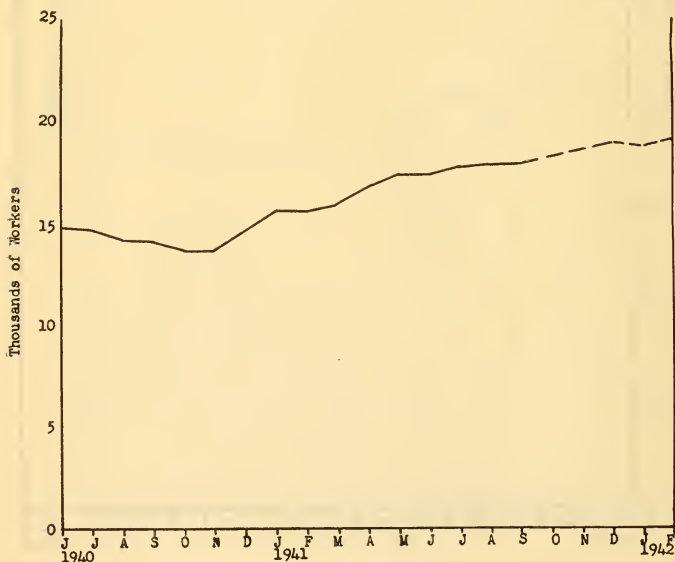


EXHIBIT 9.—STATEMENT BY A. H. COLLINS, STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF EDUCATION, STATE OF ALABAMA

In December 1940, the Alabama State Education Department received a communication dated November 30, 1940, in which it was pointed out that in accordance with the Seventy-sixth Congress, third session, Senate Resolution 324, the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of War had filed requests with the Federal Security Agency for the United States Office of Education to make a study of additional school facilities needed in the national defense areas because of the influx of school population. At that time, the United States Office of Education sent forms and instructions for making such a survey in Alabama.

On December 14, 1940, the Alabama State Education Department forwarded to the United States Office of Education surveys of the additional educational facilities needed at that time in Alabama because of the influx of school population in national defense areas. This survey included the following defense areas: Anniston (Fort McClellan), Mobile (shipbuilding and air depot), Gadsden (Shell plant), Birmingham area (steel and related companies), Selma (Craig Field), Sheffield (aluminum plant), Montgomery (Maxwell and Gunter Fields). At that time, an increase of 5,992 additional pupils was estimated in the school systems in those areas. The survey showed that the school systems affected were not financially able to provide the additional facilities. It was pointed out in this study that any expansion of national defense activities would cause an increase in school population and a greater need for additional school facilities. Since the December 1940 survey, the Childersburg-Talladega area, the Ozark-Dothan area, the Tuskegee area, Phenix City area, and the Huntsville area have developed as centers of national defense programs. Moreover, in the Birmingham area and in the Mobile area defense activities have expanded. As additional needs developed, due to expansion of defense programs, estimates of additional needs were forwarded to the United States Office of Education.

After the passage of the Lanham Act, Public Act 137, members of the Alabama State Education Department, as consultants, assisted local school administrative units in making applications for Federal aid to provide additional school facilities which neither the State nor the local unit could provide, where needed due to influx of school population in national defense areas in the State. At first, it was difficult to secure application forms and instructions for making applications for maintenance and operation. In the beginning, the personnel of the regional office of the Public Works Administration discouraged applications for maintenance and operation funds and provided no forms or procedures for making such applications but provided applications for Federal aid for school building construction for the same school systems. To date, this office has received notice of approval of statements of purpose for expenditure of grants received for maintenance and operation for only 2 school systems out of 21 local school systems having additional pupils because of the defense program and applying for maintenance and operation grants. School officials, in the absence of approval of certificates of purpose, are in a quandary as to how to proceed to relieve overcrowded conditions. Schools opened in this State in September 1941, but no school official had any approved plan or procedure for relieving overcrowded classrooms in national defense areas before February 1942. It is realized that school building construction requires some time, but overcrowding could have been relieved partially on a temporary basis through the use of churches, rented rooms, or double sessions in cities, if funds could have been received and procedures approved for payment of additional teachers and other current operating expenses.

Regional public works officials have insisted that local school systems match Federal grants through the issuance and sale of school warrants of indebtedness even though the annual payments of such debt service would result in shortening the school term. Most of the Alabama boards of education incurred almost maximum debt service in the school building program in which Public Works Administration grants were given in the period 1935-39, inclusive. A recent State-wide survey shows that Alabama school systems need 7,883 classrooms and that the cost of the construction of such classrooms on the basis of 1936-37 costs would be \$21,000,000. The insistence that local school boards match Federal grants has worked a hardship in this State.

SCHOOL POPULATION

Surveys to date indicate that in 11 national defense areas affecting 27 local school administrative units there has been an increase of over 11,500 pupils whose parents have moved to the areas since June 30, 1940, and are engaged in national

defense activities. Over 60 percent of the increase in pupil enrollment due to national defense activities is in the elementary grades 1 to 6, inclusive. Part of the increase is due to migration within the State and part of the migration is from pupils moving from other States to Alabama. The migration within the State to the national defense areas has been widely dispersed over the State. Local school systems outside of the national defense areas have lost school population due to migration of families to defense areas, but the loss has been scattered throughout the schools and the grades within the schools in such a manner as to make it impossible for the local school systems to reduce their public school expenditures.

RELATIONSHIP OF STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION TO LOCAL SCHOOL
ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS

The relationship of the State department of education to the various county and municipal education departments is that of general administration and supervision of the State public school system and of providing consultative and advisory services to school officials throughout the State. The State department of education, in cooperation with state institutions of higher learning, directs comprehensive educational surveys of county and city school systems. In these surveys, long-time plans for school building construction, for location of school centers, and for the financing of public schools are made. State and local school funds can be expended for school building construction only at school centers recommended as future school centers by the surveys. State minimum standards are prescribed and followed in the purchase of school busses by local school units.

Through office and field directors and supervisors, consultative and advisory services are rendered to local school officials on general and specific instructional programs, on vocational education, on civilian rehabilitation, on remedial work with handicapped children, and on national defense training programs.

The State department of education administers the apportionment of State school funds and Federal school funds allocated to the State, to local school systems. Local school administrative units are required by law to have the approval of the State superintendent of education for the issuance of the sale of school warrants of indebtedness, i. e., school bonds, and the law specifies that the State superintendent of education cannot approve the incurrence of long-term indebtedness which will jeopardize the minimum school program. The department assists local school officials in the sale of school warrants. Local school boards submit annual financial budgets of estimated receipts and expenditures for the approval of the State superintendent. The Alabama Public School Corporation, of which the State superintendent is a member, negotiates short-term loans pledging current State minimum program funds and apportions such loans to local school systems in a manner so as to provide funds for the payment of current operating expenses promptly, insofar as possible, and in addition local school administrative units are authorized to secure short-term loans pledging current revenues only. The State department of education provides uniform accounting and reporting forms, receives copies of monthly payrolls and financial statements of local school systems, receives annual statistical reports from local school systems, and from the local reports prepares statistical annual reports for the State public school system.

SOURCE OF PUBLIC SCHOOL FUNDS

Under the Constitution of Alabama, local school administrative units may levy and collect the following ad valorem taxes:

(a) A county 1-mill tax, or 10 cents on each \$100 of assessed valuation of property. This tax cannot be pledged for long-term indebtedness but must be spent for equalizing school terms within the county, insofar as possible;

(b) Each county may levy a 3-mill tax, or 30 cents on each \$100 of assessed valuation of property. This tax is levied for public school purposes and may be used for current operation and may be pledged for long-term indebtedness where the schedule of payment of such indebtedness does not jeopardize the State minimum program school term and is approved by the State superintendent of education. Moreover, this tax is county-wide and this presupposes its use over the entire county. Under existing laws, not more than 80 percent of the anticipated proceeds from this tax can be pledged for the payment of long-term indebtedness;

(c) Where the county levies the 3-mill county tax referred to in (b) above, each tax district within the county is authorized to levy a 3-mill district tax, or 30 cents on each \$100 of assessed valuation of property. This tax must be

spent for school facilities for the district and may be pledged for the payment of long-term indebtedness in the manner stipulated in (b) above.

The State minimum program law ¹ covers the proceeds from 5 of the 7 mills of taxes referred to above in the minimum program fund as part of the funds available to meet the cost of the State minimum program school term, except that the amount of the required local contribution to the State minimum school program is now calculated by equating the sum of certain economic indices of local wealth with the proceeds of 5 mills of the local taxes. The economic index of the financial ability of each county, including cities therein, includes the following items: Sales tax paid, passenger automobile licenses paid, state personal income tax paid, assessed valuation of public utilities, farm income, and value added by manufacture.

Three counties in the State have constitutional authority to levy specified ad valorem taxes for school purposes as follows: Baldwin County, 2 mills; Mobile County, 2 mills; Jefferson County, ½ mill. Three cities are authorized to levy special 3-mill taxes for schools: namely, Selma, Decatur, and Cullman. Nine other cities receive school revenue from special or general ad valorem taxes, according to the purpose for which the tax was voted or according to the disposition of the regular city governing body.

Local school boards may charge matriculation fees for pupils enrolled in accredited high schools but no fees can be charged to pupils enrolled in the public elementary school grades one to six, inclusive, during the school term supported by public taxes.

Montgomery County levies and collects a 1-cent tax on each gallon of gasoline sold within the county.

County boards of education may receive appropriations from county governing bodies and city boards of education may receive appropriations from city governing bodies. School boards may receive donations and gifts. However, only very limited revenues have been received in recent years from any of the sources listed in this paragraph.

State funds consist of the following:

(a) Public school fund, totaling approximately \$3,600,000, consists of the proceeds from a State-wide 3-mill tax on property, a \$500,000 appropriation from the general fund of the State, interest on sixteenth section land from the State general fund amounting to approximately \$194,000 annually, fees and rentals in small amounts, and funds from the property tax relief fund, in an amount equal to the amount lost by homestead exemption. The 3-mill tax in the public school fund is specified by the Constitution of Alabama. The public school fund is apportioned on the basis of the number of children of ages 7 to 20, inclusive, within each county.

(b) State educational trust fund: This fund is made up of the proceeds from sales taxes, tax on hydroelectric companies, on railroad companies, on iron ore, on coal tonnage, use tax, and other items which bring in small amounts. The educational trust fund is a consolidated fund consisting of the following funds apportionable to local school administrative units: 1. State minimum program fund of \$8,005,016;² 2. State revolving fund of \$100,000; 3. free textbook fund of \$200,000; 4. vocational education fund of \$353,000.

(c) In addition to the above funds, public schools receive the amounts paid in poll taxes each year, each county receiving the amount collected in said county.

The State minimum program fund is apportioned as an equalization fund to each county. Whatever the county lacks, as measured by the equation of the economic index of wealth with the proceeds from 5 mills of ad valorem taxes, of having sufficient funds to meet the cost of the State minimum program school term, calculated on a uniform basis, that amount is supplied by the State through State funds. In addition, the county has the proceeds from the poll tax and apportions the proceeds from 2 mills of county taxes to extend school terms beyond the State minimum program term. In general, only the high school is extended beyond the State minimum program term in county school systems and in a few counties funds have not been sufficient to operate accredited high schools for 9 months. In city school systems, the proceeds from the 3-mill school district tax are used as a measure of the ability of the city to support the State minimum program school term. Additional amounts over and above the 3-mill school district tax necessary to provide the State minimum program school term calculated

¹ Title 52, art. III, secs. 208-215, Code of Alabama, 1940.

² To this appropriation is added any unappropriated surplus in the State general fund over and above \$1,150,000 and this surplus amounted to \$957,000 for 1941-42.

on a uniform basis, are provided by the county board of education through State and county funds.

SCHOOL TRANSPORTATION NEEDS

Alabama transports 59.1 percent of the pupils attending rural high schools, 68.2 percent of rural white high school pupils, and 48.3 percent of all white pupils. For the year 1940-41, Alabama transported 224,239 pupils to and from public school daily in 3,313 school busses. School busses are needed in all counties including or adjacent to national defense plants, camps, forts, airfields, or projects. Sixteen school busses were purchased by Talladega County to transport the pupils who moved with their parents to that county since June 30, 1940, in order for the parents to work at the munition plants and at the bag loading plant. The Shelby County board of education purchased five school busses to transport children who along with their parents moved into Shelby County since June 30, 1940, in order for the parents to work in the munition plants adjacent to the county.

If the school systems in this State fail to secure school busses and tires and parts of school busses, the rural school system will be wrecked. Failure to secure school busses will severely handicap educational opportunity of children in defense areas, along with other children throughout rural Alabama. This State is predominantly rural, 75 percent of the children in the State of ages 6 to 20, inclusive, live in rural areas and in towns with total population of less than 2,500.

LENGTH OF SCHOOL TERM

The State minimum program school term for the year 1941-42 is set at 139 actual teaching days, or lacking 1 day of being 28 weeks at 5 days per week. For the year 1940-41, the length of school term was as follows:

	Elementary, days	High school, days
Rural.....	141	162
City.....	174	176
State.....	148	167

Attention is directed to the fact that the white pupils in Alabama have the shortest school term of any State in the Nation. The local school administrative units levy and collect all the taxes allowed under the State constitution, except for a combined total of less than \$100,000, and cannot provide facilities for the influx of school population in national defense areas from local sources without further shortening the school term. The State has not made any provisions for the additional pupils in national defense areas and the regular session of the State legislature is not scheduled to meet until 1943. The State department of education has not closed the schools in any school system in the State and no specific authority is granted to the State board of education to close the schools at any time. However, the public schools of the State operate under the State budget law which requires local school boards to confine their financial obligations to anticipated and actual revenue receipts for current operation. Naturally, this means that schools can operate only so long as funds are available for current operation. Lack of school funds has caused a few counties to operate high schools only 8 months. For example, in 1940-41, Clay County white elementary schools operated 135 days and the high schools operated only 138 days and Talladega County high schools were operated only 153 days.

Local school boards employ attendance workers designated by law as attendance officers to secure regularity of school attendance during the school terms operated. The local school attendance workers in this State must be graduates of an approved standard college, must have had courses in social work and school attendance, and 3 years of experience in teaching or social work, or a combination.

TEACHERS

No individual can teach in the public schools of Alabama without a certificate issued by the State department of education under rules and regulations of the State board of education. Formerly, a minimum of 3 years of training above high school in an approved institution of higher learning was required for the issuance of a certificate to teach. In 1941-42, a shortage of teachers has occurred due to selective service and to resignations for higher salaries, and certification

standards are lowered to a minimum of 1 year of approved college training. A recent study showed that since September 1, 1940, 23 percent of the white men teachers of Alabama had left the teaching profession. Over 1,200 white teachers quit teaching to enter military service or some other occupation from September 1, 1940, to October 1, 1941. Since July 1, 1940, 397 emergency and conditional certificates have been issued and a much larger number will have to be issued in the near future.

Alabama has a single-salary schedule for allocating funds to school systems for salaries of teachers. The salary allocated to local school systems per teacher per month ranges from a minimum of \$40 for the lowest trained teacher to \$135 for the highest trained teacher. Local school boards have authority to pay higher salaries than the State allocation salaries, insofar as available local funds will permit. The average annual salaries for 1939-40, the most recent State-wide tabulation, were: Elementary teachers \$588; high school teachers \$984. In general, high school teachers have higher training and teach longer school terms.

EXHIBIT 10.—STATEMENT BY B. F. AUSTIN, M. D., ACTING STATE HEALTH OFFICER, DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH, MONTGOMERY, ALA.

HEALTH FACILITIES AVAILABLE IN ALABAMA

1. By statute, the State Department of Health of Alabama is vested with broad police powers. There are no references in the Constitution of the State to public health. The governing body of the department has statutory authority to adopt rules and regulations, which rules and regulations have the force and effect of law.

2. Each county health department is under the immediate supervision of a county board of health, which serves under the direction of the State Department of Health. In the event a county board of health fails or refuses to discharge its responsibilities as set forth in the statutes, the State Department of Health may exercise the functions of the county board of health in the jurisdiction concerned.

3. Each of the county health departments likely to be involved in defense migration operates under a cooperative budget contributed to by the Federal Government, the State, and local governmental agencies. Since the initiation of the defense program, supplementary United States Public Health Service personnel has been furnished certain of the counties involved, as follows:

- Calhoun, 1 nurse.
- Dale, 2 engineers.
- Dallas, 1 nurse.
- Jefferson, 1 white physician, 1 Negro physician, 1 engineer, and 1 veterinarian.
- Madison, 1 nurse.
- Mobile, 2 engineers.
- Montgomery, 1 Negro physician, 1 engineer.
- Talladega, 1 nurse, 1 engineer.

Request has been made of the United States Public Health Service for a nurse and an engineer for Colbert County.

4. In all the counties embraced in this report clinical services are furnished without cost by the State department of health in the fields of maternal and child health, the venereal diseases and tuberculosis.

5. In personnel the picture by counties is as follows:

	Medical	Veterinary	Nursing	Sanitation	Clerical
Calhoun.....	1	2	4	3	1
Colbert.....	1	1	3	2	1
Dale.....	1	0	2	3	1
Dallas.....	1	1	4	2	1
Etowah.....	1	1	2	2	1
Jefferson.....	5	4	48	26	30
Madison.....	1	1	4	4	1
Mobile.....	2	1	11	9	5
Montgomery.....	3	4	9	7	3
Talladega.....	1	0	6	5	3
Tuscaloosa.....	1	1	3	2	1

With the exception of Jefferson, there has been no appreciable loss of personnel in this group of counties. What the future will bring is a matter of conjecture and concerning which no opinion can be expressed at this time. As occasion demands the State department of health asks for deferment for key people but its efforts in this connection have been partially successful only.

In per capita expenditures for public health and in personnel, the 11 counties under discussion compare favorably with the country as a whole. With only slight increases in numbers available for nursing and sanitation duties, it is believed any problem presenting can be handled satisfactory and with expenditure.

EXHIBIT 11.—STATEMENT BY LOULA DUNN, COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC WELFARE, STATE OF ALABAMA, MONTGOMERY, ALA.

The public-welfare problems created in Alabama by migration of people to industrial centers, as well as the readjustments necessitated by the shift to a war economy, were recounted briefly in the statement filed with the committee in January of this year.¹ Since that time, however, the tempo of war has altered still further the complexion of the State, with projects scattered from Muscle Shoals in the extreme North to Mobile on the Gulf coast. While some progress has been made in attacking the problems created, it has not been possible to provide facilities to keep pace with the expansion of plants and the raising of production goals in the critical areas. The following information, therefore, is intended to bring up to date that included in the January testimony, and to point to trends which are now more clearly indicated.

Likewise, this material is in supplement to that submitted by Mrs. Walter Humphrey, Madison County Director of Public Welfare, who testified in Huntsville as to the welfare problems of that area. While the Huntsville picture reflects conditions throughout the State, difficulties vary considerably in the different localities. (One illustration of this may be found in the attached article, The Powder Mill Town, which describes what has happened in Childersburg as a result of the construction of the Alabama Ordnance Works.)² It is apparent, too, that the ability of an area to meet change, to absorb new population, and to provide needed facilities is dependent upon such factors as its size, its wealth, and the degree to which it was already industrialized. The following summary does not delineate in detail the many public welfare problems of defense areas, but gives emphasis to certain needs which have become of paramount concern since the January brief was filed with the committee.

While progress has been made since that date in the development of community facilities for housing, education, health, and recreation, the gains have been largely offset by further population increases resulting from orders to "double output" and "triple capacity" in almost every individual factory, ordnance plant, and shipyard. In one area 6 months ago 600 new houses seemed to be the maximum that would be needed; today 1,200 more would not fill the need. Executives in war industries have frequently pointed out that they are unable to step up production of matériel because there is no place for additional workers to live nor any means of reducing congestion among those already employed. Thus, serious social problems are created and productive efficiency is reduced.

In Mobile, for example, shipyards, though ready to increase their capacity, cannot do so until satisfactory houses can be erected in the vicinity for the workers. In other sections of the State, where commuting from nearby towns has lessened the housing problem, further crowding is likely because of the rationing of tires, cars, and gasoline. Labor turnover due to congested and inadequate housing is likewise causing a lowering of efficiency among the workmen important to the Nation's productivity. These workers will not stay on the job when they are forced to sleep on "hot beds," eat in unsanitary restaurants where they wait in line for a table, pay exorbitant prices, and at the same time support a family in another town. It is imperative, therefore, if war production goals are to be reached, that decent living conditions be made available for workers in these industrial areas—and that such facilities be provided without further delay.

In addition to the problems of crowded living, new difficulties and new emergencies have arisen during the past 6 months which are of direct concern to public-welfare agencies. The expansion of the armed forces is drawing larger and larger numbers of men from civilian life and will reach further into the group with dependents. Alabama, with its vast number of voluntary enlistments, is already

¹ See pt. 25, p. 9802.

² P. 12204.

aware of what happens when the head of a family goes to war. Even though it is hoped that pending legislation will soon be enacted to provide dependents' allowances for soldiers, financial assistance is never the whole answer to family separations.

With the rapid mobilization of the armed forces, with the acceleration of war production, and with the necessity of maintaining essential civilian services, it becomes obvious that the decision as to where any individual should serve will be based more and more on his place of maximum usefulness and less and less on his usual, peacetime family obligations. This is illustrated by the growing demands for employment of women in the various industries of Alabama where before 1940 only the textile mills had many women employees. At that time there were 25,000 women in the cotton and silk industries of the State. Now, according to these employers, the trend is to replace men with women, even to the extent that many jobs formerly held exclusively by men are now being performed satisfactorily by women. Some recently established war plants have consistently given preference to women applicants for work, while other new privately owned factories have followed the same practice. These new employment opportunities for women will obviously increase during the next few months, since 50 percent of the State's male population is within the age group included under selective service regulations.

The question, then, is not whether more women should be employed but rather how the needs of their children will be met when they are employed. Few of the areas highly affected by war industries have adequate public or private facilities for day care of children. The need for such facilities, therefore, is apparent. Today these new work opportunities can be utilized only by those mothers who have relatives or older members of their immediate households in a position to assume responsibility for their children. Those who seek domestic help are finding considerable difficulty, for, even the families able to pay high wages can seldom secure satisfactory servants. Some of the mothers are forced to reject employment or to quit work after a brief time because of unsatisfactory arrangements for their children. Girls as young as 10 or 12 must now take full charge of their younger brothers and sisters if their mothers are to go into industry. School-age children are also being left completely without supervision in the afternoons. These problems faced by the mothers of school-age children are more acute with the beginning of the vacation months. The recreational needs of these older children in the congested centers are evident even when the mothers are not employed—for congested living leaves no place for play. As more women must be drawn from the potential labor market, both to replace men in the armed forces and to perform jobs for which they are particularly well adapted, more public resources must be developed for the care of children.

No single community can meet these problems alone. Though some Federal aid is available to localities under provisions of the Lanham Act, the amount is insufficient for even the most pressing needs. It is hoped that additional Federal assistance can be provided to develop adequate day care facilities and to strengthen existing child-welfare services. In Alabama the State department of public welfare, in accordance with already existing legislation, has responsibility for establishing standards for day-care centers and for issuing licenses to such centers established as independent units apart from the schools. The standards which have been developed are flexible enough to be adapted to each local situation, and are in line with the report on standards for day care for children of working mothers authorized by the United States Children's Bureau. Likewise, the department of public welfare, in cooperation with the Department of Education, has appointed a State-wide advisory committee to work in conjunction with both the departments toward the development and standardization of day-care centers. Surveys begun in strategic areas of the State have proved the urgent need for prompt action, but in proceeding thus far with plans it has become evident that there must be clarification of areas of responsibility and more definite lines of procedure from the Federal agencies.

Second in importance to the development of day care facilities—if war production is to utilize all available manpower and womanpower—is that of organizing recreational programs for older boys and girls. It has been found that juvenile delinquency varies in inverse ratio to the recreation facilities available, and that the greatest number of offenders are in the crowded industrial centers where supervision is lacking and play space nonexistent.

Child labor, too, is rampant wherever adult labor is in demand. Children are often employed both on the farms and in the cities to do work formerly handled by unskilled people. Their hours are long, their earnings poor, and, though

infractions are frequent, authorities are finding it difficult to enforce the provisions of the child-labor law.

Just as the needs of children are underlined by crowded living, so the needs of all people who cannot provide for themselves are thrown into sharp relief. Mothers with young children who might be physically able to work cannot yet do so because of the lack of day-care facilities for their children. Job opportunities are becoming more widespread, but the families receiving public assistance in Alabama, with the exception of some parents with dependent children, are unemployable by reason of age, blindness, or some other handicap. Instead of benefiting as a whole from the upturn in business, therefore, these disadvantaged groups with low and unstable incomes are finding that their small public-assistance grants or other sources of livelihood buy less and less. Even though within limited available funds there has been an attempt to make grants compatible with living costs, they have not absorbed the difference between the value of the dollar a year ago and what it will buy today. Likewise, surplus commodities—the only supplement available to these low grants—have decreased in quantity and variety.

The proposed amendments to the Social Security Act to provide Federal matching of general relief and variable grants to states according to ability to pay would in some measure alleviate this suffering among the needy people in Alabama. Likewise, such legislation would aid in providing for that segment of the population which has come into the State to secure work and will be stranded when construction levels off and the unskilled laborers who now have work again find themselves with "nothing to do."

Because war demands the maximum capabilities of every citizen, those individuals who through no fault of their own are not productive must be aided by their government in order that they may make a useful contribution to the war program. In such proportion as they receive the help they need will they become assets instead of liabilities to the democracy which we are attempting to preserve. Community facilities, strengthened by assistance to individuals in need, must be developed and expanded through the utilization of every local, State, and Federal resource.

THE POWDER-MILL TOWN¹

LOULA FRIEND DUNN

CHILDERSBURG, A COMPLACENT COMMUNITY

Until December 1940 Childersburg's 500 inhabitants were indifferent to the outsiders who drove on the Birmingham-Florida Highway within a quarter mile of the village or who rode the streamlined trains which passed through the town daily between northern cities and southern resorts. Its citizens had no interest in these travelers and, likewise, the passers-by were scarcely aware of the little community's existence.

In its self-sufficiency, however, Childersburg was neither outstanding nor peculiar, but was typical of thousands of small towns scattered over the length and breadth of the Nation. Its chief claim to fame was the monument stating that "Two miles north of this spot the Indian town of Cosa was visited by DeSoto, July 10, 1540."

The residents of the locality were content with their way of living and felt no decided hardships because their village lacked a bank, a hotel, and a motion-picture theater. Neither did they have any objection to the mayor's operating a drug store, as well as doing official town business. After all, the responsibilities attached to this position could be handled satisfactorily from headquarters at the drug store, supplemented by occasional visits to the town hall.

It was, in fact, around the stove in the town hall that most of the local transactions were weighed, discussed, and finally brought to completion. This small one-room brick building, erected about 60 years ago as a saloon and converted for public use when prohibition became local law in the early 1900's, also housed the chamber of commerce and the presiding justice of the peace, served as police headquarters, and had space in the rear for the two cells which comprised the town's jail. Thus the town hall was realistically the center of government in the village.

¹ From THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY, April 1942.

The residents expected to remain there. They were, for the most part, farmers or tradesmen whose fathers and grandfathers had made their homes in the community. Vacant houses were unheard of, because new people seldom came to Childersburg, and no new residences were likely to be needed. At least, no demand for them was anticipated prior to the time the Government announced that it would spend approximately \$80,000,000 on a powder plant just outside the town limits.

It was then that war came to Childersburg. If there had been no program of national defense to prepare for the present conflict, the village might still be aware only from its youth who entered the armed forces and from newspaper headlines and radio programs that the United States was an active participant in the war. Instead, the whole complexion of the town became colored by the world emergency as early as December 1940.

CHILDERSBURG THE CHOSEN

The citizens were electrified by the news. They were somewhat surprised, too, to learn that adequate rail facilities, water supply, and available labor were among the more important factors responsible for selection of the plant site. Cries of "boom town," "ghost town," and "beware of speculators" were heard on all sides, while predictions of prosperity were equaled by those of dire distress.

The entire aspect of the village was completely altered by the time the news became public knowledge. The unpaved streets were jammed with cars, obviously those of nonresidents. Real-estate signs appeared on every hand, with remodeling and building going on in all quarters. The citizens were scarcely aware, however, that an era had passed. Childersburg was no longer Childersburg.

Although residents could not immediately change their attitudes and their way of life, they gradually began to realize they could not retain their former customs or their old serenity. Accommodations were being put into shape for boarding and lodging the newcomers who were already flooding the town, even though the boundaries for the project had not yet been surveyed. The old-timers, consequently, could not ignore what was happening around them, because it had made them residents of a nationally important industrial area instead of citizens of a quiet village, important only unto itself. The community was no more unwilling than any similar community would have been to accept the inevitable, but such drastic transformation is not without its difficulties.

Since these difficulties were due to the National Government's reaching into the village and naming it a defense center, that Government, in making the choice, obligated itself to help provide much needed community facilities. "Our resources are inadequate and the emergency is serious," the mayor wired the Governor soon after the plant location was chosen. And, although a willingness to help was indicated, the assistance furnished was all part of a gigantic learning process and so was not instantly useful. Perhaps the most glaring need at the outset, therefore, was that of planning at local, State, and Federal levels. The newness of the defense boom towns, as well as the problems they present, quickly emphasized the importance of joint, premeditated endeavor under national leadership.

MAKING ROOM FOR CONSTRUCTION

The initial delays on the powder-plant project (Alabama Ordnance Works) occurred in surveying its exact location. Original reports indicated that 27,000 acres would be occupied instead of the 13,500 in the site which was finally selected 4 miles north of Childersburg. As a result of this confusion, a number of families moved unnecessarily.

Living on the reservation actually designated were 210 families, a majority of whom were tenant farmers and sharecroppers. The few landowners, in general, had only small holdings. Farm Security Administration was assigned responsibility to assist these families in making new living arrangements. The agency issued grants, when needed, to help people move and established several projects for those who wished to settle on them. A good many took advantage of this opportunity, a few moved to nearby counties, and a small number made independent arrangements. Usually one person from these family groups secured work at the powder plant, while others abandoned farming temporarily to obtain industrial jobs.

Thus, Farm Security, in relocating persons forced to find new homes, furnished to the area its first Federal aid.

CHILDERSBURG, THE POWDER-MILL TOWN

In the change from the hamlet of yesterday to the powder-mill town of today there was a brief transition period which lasted from the time the plant site was selected until the first workers began to pour onto the reservation. Dazed residents and avid speculators made frantic attempts to capitalize on this interval by building bunkhouses and erecting new buildings, airing spare rooms and renovating servants' quarters, but the brevity of time and the general confusion prevented any constructive planning. The influx of workmen far outstripped the provision of living space for them. There were no blueprints for local officials to follow in getting ready for the problems to come, and the "boom" was actually upon the town within less than a month. Though construction was not started that soon, skilled and unskilled laborers, singly and with their wives and children, joined the trek to Childersburg so as to be on hand when jobs were assigned. They came on foot, by train, bus, and car, some with money and some without, and they brought with them their problems.

Thus, individual and collective difficulties have combined to make it hard for Childersburg to cope with the problems which have arisen within its borders. The time shortage has magnified the complexities facing the village and the lack of coordinated effort by National, State, and local authorities has been another factor.

Overpopulation.—All of Childersburg's problems stem from its major complaint—overpopulation. No single facility, regardless of how entirely satisfactory it was for 500 people, could, without decided expansion, accommodate several thousand persons. This powder-mill town, therefore, found itself deluged with workers and job seekers, promoters and "followers," none of whom had been taken into consideration when the various local businesses and public services were set up.

The people who have come there represent every State and four foreign countries. Many are veterans of construction jobs, having followed them all over the United States. They usually bring their families, make the best of whatever conditions they find, and expect to move on to the next job when their special skill is no longer needed. Their wages are high and they usually are able to shift for themselves.

In contrast to this group are the unskilled laborers who rent bunkhouse rooms and get whatever jobs they can hold. They are likely to roam the streets at night, for as a rule they have no immediate relatives or have left them "back home." Other unskilled and semiskilled workmen commute from nearby areas and consider their work at the plant as being of the stopgap variety.

Still another group of newcomers includes the du Pont, Army, and Government officials who, because they are able to pay higher rentals, frequently secure living quarters in the larger cities near by.

At present—February 1942—the peak of construction, with 21,000 employed, has passed. Now approximately 19,000 persons are working at the ordnance works, where authorized expenditure to date totals more than \$109,000,000.

Though the date on which operation will begin cannot be announced, it is expected to be sometime this spring. Then a new type of migrant will come to Childersburg—the plant operator. He will be young, have at least a high-school diploma and preferably 2 years in college, and must be at least semiskilled. Persons trained at other ordnance plants run by the du Pont Co. will teach the new operators, of whom at least 7,000 will be required to man the powder plant. Construction on the TNT plant will not be finished for many months, necessitating an overlapping of both types of workers in the area.

The crowding affects residents and nonresidents alike. Family dislocations occur in as great a degree where the father, mother, and four children have moved into the kitchen and rented the whole house to newcomers as they do when an entire family group is forced to eat and sleep in a tent, a trailer, or a former chicken house. Similarly, the mud and dust, the clogged streets, and the skyrocketing prices do not discriminate between old settlers and strangers.

Housing.—Thus, it is the lack of adequate housing facilities which is Childersburg's most conspicuously urgent need. Living space is at a premium not only within the town itself but also for miles on all sides of it. Trailer camps line the highways in every direction and occupy most of the empty lots within the village. These trailer camps, however, are not the picturesque tourist courts frequently provided for the overnight traveler or vacationist. Instead, they are bare tracts of ground on which are jammed as many trailers as can park in the space occupied. Frequently a single building in the better equipped camps provides sanitary facilities and from it occupants of the trailers must carry water in any container they happen to have.

Other makeshift living arrangements in the vicinity include bunkhouses, tent camps, and groups of cabins in clearings under the trees. Town regulations require an individual to pay a trailer-camp license if he allows as many as two trailers to park on his premises. For one, however, there is no fee. As a consequence, many homes in Childersburg with a few square feet of yard have trailers parked there. Woodsheds, barns, and garages have been converted into livable shelters and rented for fabulous prices. "Rooms," "Rooms and board," "Meals," and like signs appear on numerous front porches, because nobody wants to be left out of the windfall.

Although the absence of housing facilities for the incoming thousands was the most quickly recognized need in the community, no immediate aid was secured. Application was made early for a defense housing project, but work on the first 100 units was not started until the fall of 1941. Close to completion in January of this year, the houses remain unoccupied because they are reserved for families of plant operators expected in the next few months. Announcement was made late in January that 200 more houses will be built to provide homes for the relatively "permanent" personnel, but these, too, will be barred to construction workers. Thus, while this greatly needed Federal aid will partially alleviate the housing shortage, many transients and their families will be forced to continue their makeshift arrangements as long as they remain in the vicinity.

It is consequently apparent that the difficulties faced by Childersburg in the matter of housing have been complicated by the slowness of Federal aid and by the absence of any provision for the construction workers. More than a year has elapsed since certain needs became known and no assurance is yet given that 12 months from now conditions will be greatly improved. A community incapable of acting unassisted is thus placed in an even more precarious position by delayed and limited action by Federal agencies.

Health and sanitation.—Like congested housing, health hazards are a corollary to overpopulation. In and near Childersburg, the mosquitoes and the dust in summer, the mud and the chill of drafty shacks and lean-to shelters in winter, combine to produce manifold health dangers. These are multiplied because of the inadequate water and sewerage system designed to serve a maximum of 900 people instead of the 6,000 now living within the town limits.

Application for a water and sewage project under the community facilities bill was filed January 23, 1941, but numerous delays prevented work from starting until January 26, 1942. The insufficient supply of water also produces a serious threat in case of fire among the town's flimsy, frame structures, especially since a single hose and a volunteer organization comprise the total equipment.

The lack of water, likewise, has hampered adherence to sanitary regulations. Recognizing the need for control of health conditions in trailer camps, the State health department, early in 1941, issued rules governing their construction and maintenance. Strict enforcement of these provisions has proved difficult, however, because of the shifting population, insufficient personnel, and the many adjustments necessary when a rural area becomes a defense center.

All of these potential dangers to health and safety are magnified in the light of the inadequate facilities for care of the sick. One physician whose time was well filled in looking after the town's original residents is now swamped with work, but only one new doctor has moved to the locality. The nearest hospital, 11 miles away, is hardly large enough for the increased population of Sylacauga and has little space for patients from Childersburg. A greatly needed clinic for this village was recently approved under the provisions of the Lanham Act but it will have no bed space.

The Alabama Ordnance Works maintains an excellent clinic and a small hospital for plant employees. They are cared for while at work and if injured on the job, but no provision is made for follow-up on those sent home because of illness, nor is anything done for their families. Since absenteeism cannot be effectively controlled unless health and sanitary facilities are provided for workers and their wives and children as well, the absence of sufficient doctors, clinics, and hospital beds may prove a serious bottleneck in the rapid production of munitions.

Traffic and law enforcement.—Almost as serious a peril to individual health and safety as the lack of hospitals and water supply is the traffic through which plant employees must travel to get to work. Commuters from Birmingham go via the 39-mile "suicide strip" where the accident rate is mounting daily. The inauguration of a shuttle train between the city and the plant, as well as operation of numerous busses, has reduced the number of cars at the ordnance parking lots to about 9,000 a day. Cars pass the intersection of the access road and the highway at the rate of 1 every 7 seconds throughout the 24 hours, however, and there

is bumper-to-bumper traffic whenever shifts change. Four State highway patrolmen in cars have been assigned full time to Childersburg while 6 more on motorcycles handle the flow of traffic out of Birmingham. Two additional patrolmen work out of nearby Sylacauga. Numerous arrests have been made, but the rush hours continue to be perilous. Another cause of congestion is the large amount of through traffic on the main highway, which has not been widened to care for the increased pressure. No relief is foreseen for the present traffic dangers until construction work is completed at the plant and more houses are provided in the immediate vicinity for employees.

Though assigned full police powers, the highway patrolmen are primarily concerned with the maintenance of safety on the public roads. Since the patrol does not work regularly within city or town limits, law enforcement and traffic regulation inside Childersburg are the responsibility of local authorities. The one-man force has been increased to four, but, since it lacks an automobile, its work is largely confined to a small area within walking distance of the town hall. Despite a growing awareness of the change in community life, there is still only a limited follow-up on calls which come from a distance, and first allegiance is paid to old residents.

Child welfare and education.—The upheavals in Childersburg are coloring the lives of the children who have always lived there, as well as those of the transient workers. These children may be unable to grasp the full meaning of what is going on around them but they are adversely affected by the general restlessness and anxiety among the adults. Likewise, they suffer from improper food, wretched housing, little medical care, and the absence of community facilities for health, education, and recreation.

The local school in 1940-41 had 13 teachers for its enrollment of 470, most of whom were brought in from the country in busses. The 1941-42 session opened with more than 900 children, each teacher having from 78 to 96 in a room. Applications for Federal aid brought allocation of funds for maintenance and approval of a new 10-room building and a 4-room addition to the present structure. To date, however, the new building and annex have not materialized and the only extra space secured is the 6 rooms acquired by partitioning the auditorium. Twenty-four teachers are now employed, many of them wives of defense workers. Only 4 of last year's faculty are now on the staff, and new teachers are forced to commute from Birmingham. The married teachers accompany their husbands when the latter go elsewhere to work, and, for this reason, some of the children have already had as many as 4 different teachers during the present school term.

A similar turn-over is reflected among the pupils. Eighty percent of the new students brought no school records with them for they have continuously lived from place to place, while already this session approximately 100 children have withdrawn because their families are again on the move, following the trail of defense employment.

Obviously, schooling under such conditions fosters truancy. One attendance officer must serve the entire county—an area in which every school is overpopulated by the influx of defense workers. (Another large defense project is being built in the northern part of the county.) Children, especially if both parents are working, frequently obtain undesirable jobs or become delinquent, because the necessary supervision is impossible.

Among the teen-age girls who are coming into Childersburg, lured by the excitement of a boom town or by the hope of employment, many have secured work as waitresses at wages unprecedented in relation to their former economic status. These girls, with average earnings of \$8 a week, pay disproportionately large amounts to live in cluttered rooming houses with no provision for their leisure hours. All too frequently they begin to prefer the adventures offered by questionable commercial forms of entertainment, and sometimes drift into prostitution. Decent, low-cost housing for these girls, wholesome, satisfying recreation, and some essential supervision would go far toward making it possible for them to earn an honest wage and toward redirecting their free time. A special community worker on a protective child-welfare assignment is examining this problem closely and has recommended that aid be given to the town for building up the resources that are lacking. To date, however, no steps have been taken to provide a recreational or housing center.

Recreation.—That the need for recreational opportunities is not confined to teen-age girls, however, is apparent even to the most casual visitor. Men aimlessly roam the streets in the summer dust and now plod listlessly through them in the winter mud. They visit the post office and return to their rooms unless they patronize some of the commercial recreational spots which thrive with little

regulation in the midst of town and along the highways. There are shooting galleries, one motion-picture theater, "juke joints," and taxi dance halls. On Fridays—pay day at the plant—business booms in every quarter while blind guitar players, itinerant beggars, and promoters of various patent remedies join the throngs on the narrow streets.

Work Projects Administration last year organized a recreational program which included a playground and small library. It has been difficult, however, to secure strong leaders from certified personnel and to obtain the necessary equipment. With no auditorium except that of an adjoining church, the program has met with only limited success.

Recognition of the need for recreational outlets led to erection (under the Lanham Act provisions) of a community center to be operated by United Service Organizations. This well-equipped building, manned by a trained staff, is expected to be a definite asset to the entire area. The delays in opening, caused by numerous unexpected difficulties, consequently produced keen disappointment among both local people and newcomers.

CHILDERSBURG TODAY AND TOMORROW

From this account of its rapid and lopsided growth, it is evident that an accurate picture of Childersburg today is dark and uninviting. Overpopulation, improper and substandard housing, inadequate health, educational, and recreational facilities, coupled with attendant social and economic problems, combine to present a dreary outlook. A once scenically beautiful highway has been transformed into a conglomeration of "juke joints," unsightly trailer camps, paintless bunkhouses, and clusters of tents and shanties. "Gus's Place" completely overshadows the monument to De Soto's visit.

As Childersburg moves into 1942 with many construction workers moving on to other projects, with a gradual unraveling of the machinery by which Federal aid comes to a defense boom town, and with a growing acceptance that it will never again be a contented village, the town is completing its transition to a new kind of life.

Does this mean that Childersburg is to become a casualty of the war, or can it be made into a happy American community? As a powder-mill town helping to win this war, it must fight a battle to save its own soul in order that it may again be a place where people—though busier than they were before—can live in peace. Childersburg cannot, however, find its peace alone. So far, what has been done is only a beginning. Other much needed assistance would incorporate in planning a four-lane highway, additional housing developments, public park facilities, and further provision for health, welfare, education, and sanitation. The community is accepting its new conditions of life despite the mayor's statement that "We prayed for this thing and now we are praying for forgiveness."

The town cannot, however, provide a healthy and orderly kind of community life which can produce the powder that is our Nation's necessity except as the community can feel the friendly hand of its Government reaching in through the network of wartime services and duly constituted national agencies to underpin these facilities.

The victory to be gained depends both on the need to construct and man powder-mill towns and on the recognition that there must be decent community life in these defense areas. Workers and their families must be assured that what they do is as important to the winning of this war as planning for the armed forces. They must know, too, that their Government is equally as interested in the community life afforded them as it is in the morale of the military services.

In this defense community, gaps, inadequacies, and confusion still exist, but, as the town has changed its initial tempo, so the Federal and State agencies of Government have indicated certain ways they can and will help. These interests and resources must now be brought closer together in order that the town's basic needs can be met. As the Nation's war production is speeded up and the demands upon the civilian population are increased, every safeguard must be extended to these defense workers, in order that victory may be assured in the powder-mill villages, as well as on the battle front.

These villages must be safe and good places in which to live both today and tomorrow when the critical emergency has passed. Childersburg is now a powder-mill town and not a sleepy agricultural center. It must adjust to a new era of living and the newcomers must become a part of the community, and not apart from the community. All this will take time and the cooperation of local, State, and Federal authorities. Coordinated planning must follow, but courage, resourcefulness, and unity of purpose give promise that present conditions will give way to

well-rounded community life and preserve individual freedom in keeping with our democratic American traditions.

EXHIBIT 12.—STATEMENT BY D. O. DUGGER, MANAGER OF PROPERTIES, MUSCLE SHOALS AREA, TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY, WILSON DAM, ALA.

Early in February the chief field investigator attached to your committee visited this office and discussed with me briefly some of the problems confronting us in the field of employee transportation. At that time we were about to initiate a survey for the purpose of determining the possible need of our employees for transportation facilities as of the time the use of private automobiles would be drastically curtailed or entirely eliminated because of inability of employees to obtain tires.

Our first step in the survey was to determine the origin of our employees and the manner of their transportation to their place of work. This information we have obtained. I am pleased to attach a copy of these data.

Early in the survey it became apparent that the problem of employee transportation is coming to all of the defense industries in this area. It seemed appropriate, therefore, that the problem be explored on a broader basis than was originally contemplated. Accordingly, a committee composed of representatives of the several defense industries in the area and of civic groups in the communities has been organized and is now engaged in developing basic data to permit of the most intelligent approach to the problem of providing adequate, carefully coordinated employee transportation service for the defense workers in the district. The committee is not yet in a position to supply data relating to the problem.

Tennessee Valley Authority data on employee transportation—Muscle Shoals district, Mar. 15, 1942

Origin	Number of workers	Travel distance, miles	Origin	Number of workers	Travel distance, miles
Metropolitan area of Tri-Cities served by bus line:			Alabama—Continued.		
Florence.....	1,034	-----	Lexington.....	23	23
Sheffield.....	622	-----	Margerum.....	2	26
Tuscumbia.....	255	-----	Moulton.....	8	41
Other.....	225	-----	Mount Hope.....	3	27
	2,136	-----	Phil Campbell.....	7	35
		-----	Rockwood.....	1	27
Rural areas adjacent to Tri-Cities served by Rural Free Delivery. Probable average travel distance 8 miles:			Rogersville.....	69	25
Florence.....	207	-----	Spruce Pine.....	1	30
Sheffield.....	61	-----	Town Creek.....	32	20
Tuscumbia.....	106	8	Trinity.....	3	39
	374	-----	Waterloo.....	36	30
		-----	Russellville.....	70	23
Alabama:			Mississippi:		
Athens.....	13	42	Burnsville.....	3	40
Barton.....	6	18	Corinth.....	1	56
Belgreen.....	2	33	Iuka.....	31	34
Center Star.....	1	17	Paden.....	1	50
Cherokee.....	42	23	Rienzi.....	2	49
Cloverdale.....	14	13	Saltillo.....	1	95
Courtland.....	9	25	Tishomingo.....	1	49
Danville.....	1	53	Booneville.....	1	75
Decatur.....	31	45	Glenns.....	1	48
Elkmont.....	2	50	Tennessee:		
Hackleburg.....	1	47	Collinwood.....	4	30
Hartselle.....	2	69	Ethridge.....	1	46
Hillsboro.....	2	32	Iron City.....	10	26
Huntsville.....	3	66	Lawrenceburg.....	7	40
Killen.....	39	10	Leoma.....	4	37
Leighton.....	31	13	Loretto.....	12	29
			Pittsburg Landing.....	1	68
			Poehontas.....	1	73
			Savannah.....	5	53
			St. Joseph.....	13	21
			West Point.....	1	28
			Waynesboro.....	1	44

Total workers originating in other than the metropolitan area of the Tri-Cities, 930.

Average worker-miles of travel distance for workers originating in other than the metropolitan area of the Tri-Cities, 18.6.

Survey of 817 employees in departments other than chemical engineering shows 645 being transported in private automobiles.

EXHIBIT 13.—STATEMENT BY J. M. GRISER, VICE PRESIDENT, ALABAMA DRY DOCK & SHIPBUILDING CO., MOBILE, ALA.

LABOR TURN-OVER

We respectfully submit the following statistics concerning our labor turn-over as related to the mobile housing situation and future effect upon production schedules of this company.

Yearly production employment for the highest week was as follows:

	<i>Employees</i>
1939-----	1, 350
1940-----	3, 257
1941 (to date)-----	10, 500

Estimated additional worker demand during the next 12-month period will approximate 10,000 men. Our present schedule calls for employing one-half this number during the next 5 months.

Our personnel department constantly furnishes estimates of company requirements, together with type of employees needed, to the United States Employment Service. We are working, in a limited degree, on reciprocal arrangements with companies whose production has been curtailed by the national defense program. At the present time, considerable recruitment is being done through applications filed with the personnel office; however, we feel this source will soon be depleted.

The Selective Service Act has drawn about 40 of our employees into the armed forces during the past 30 days. An additional 20 terminated to volunteer.

It is the policy of this company not to ask for deferments except in the case men difficult to replace and very necessary to our production schedule.

We have incorporated a production-worker plan which is divided into these four phases: (1) preemployment training, (2) training on the job, (3) supplementary training, and (4) supervised training. Production workers are given instruction on the job, during working hours, by qualified supervisors and mechanics. Supplementary training is given, after work hours, in the plant. These classes, having a restricted maximum of 15 men, meet two or three times weekly for about 3 hours. The training is of a specialized nature, being blueprint reading, safety methods, use of tools, materials, and trade mathematics. Instruction is given by supervisors and skilled mechanics who have qualified through completion of training courses set up by the War Production Board.

Over a period of 4 pay weeks beginning March 31, 1942, and ending April 21, 1942, the average number of employees was 11,161 and terminations 531, indicating a labor turn-over of 4.75 percent. A large portion of terminations are due to inadequate housing. Our industrial relations department records a daily average of over 75 employee complaints of inability to obtain living quarters.

In order that we may execute the ship-building and ship-repair program scheduled for us by the United States Maritime Commission and the United States Navy, it is absolutely necessary that we increase the number of employees in our plant as outlined above. We understand that the Gulf Shipbuilding Corporation and the United States air depot at Brookley Field will also have an additional worker demand during the same period as ours. We are very much alarmed on account of the inadequate housing facilities in and about Mobile, and unless something is done immediately to remedy this situation, we fear that none of us will be able to build our employment up to the peak necessary to carry out the program that has been outlined for us.

We have been approached by Mr. C. F. Bates, of Mobile, in connection with male barracks and cafeteria which he and his associates are interested in constructing and operating on Blakely Island, which is adjacent to Pinto Island, where our main plant is located. They propose to build 32 barrack buildings, which will house 2,500 men, with the necessary other buildings for cafeteria, laundry, office, arcade, and stores. They estimate that the cost of this venture will be approximately \$1,000,000. They advise that they are able to finance this project to the extent of \$100,000 and are requesting our advice as to where they may be able to obtain a loan in order that they may execute this program.

We feel that there is a dire need of such an establishment. Not only will it house 2,500 of our workmen, but it will place them within walking distance of their work and thereby relieve the transportation problems that we will be facing when automobile tires are no longer available. We are not in position

to advise these gentlemen as to where assistance can be obtained for this project. We hope something of this kind can be constructed on this site as it is by far the most appropriate location for a large male barracks.

EXHIBIT 14.—STATEMENT BY CHARLES A. BAUMHAUER, MAYOR-PRESIDENT, BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS, CITY OF MOBILE

PUBLIC FACILITIES IN CITY OF MOBILE

This statement sets out some of the conditions existing here in Mobile at this time and what we may expect in the future.

Let me point out in the beginning that the debts of the city of Mobile far exceed constitutional limits; therefore the city cannot issue bonds or incur debts chargeable to the general debt of the city. The city of Mobile has what is recognized as the lowest tax rate of any city with a population of over 50,000. When this is explained it is easy to understand the limitations and extent of the city's ability. The proposed additions to the water and sewerage systems which have been approved by the department of public works were carefully considered so that the debt service would be reasonably certain from present and future income of the water department. These projects are not chargeable to the general debt structure and are dependent upon an election to be held in this city on May 14.

In furnishing figures on population, it is necessary to include the metropolitan area which is adjacent to the city and which receives some of the services of the city, such as police and fire, but not to the extent furnished within the corporate limits. The population in this area according to the last census was 114,906; a conservative estimate today is 150,000, or an estimated increase of approximately 35,000.

Transportation is a problem that requires serious attention, both as to public conveyances and private automobiles. During the peak hours when the major part of the workers in the several industries and Brookley Field report for work and in the afternoon on their return home from work, all busses are crowded to a point where no more can be handled. Certain streets of the city are heavily congested with automobiles. Mobile being one of the old cities of the country, street planning did not take into consideration heavy movements of motor vehicles. There are comparatively few through streets and these few must bear the burden. The 100 percent use of all busses extends over a period of 5½ hours each work-day; during the balance of the day, about 60 percent are in use.

About 2 weeks ago, a representative of the Public Roads Administration came to Mobile with representatives from the State highway director's office and the State highway patrol. I called in representatives from the larger industries, Brookley Field and the chamber of commerce. Several conferences were had with a view toward staggering hours over a longer period, each industry to coordinate their system with the others so that the movement would be as smooth as possible and would not interfere with production. Mr. Sowell, from the Public Roads Administration is expected back in Mobile this week to carry on with the plan. Practically all of the industries have signified their willingness to help.

When this plan is put into operation, it is hoped to receive the cooperation of retail stores, offices, banks and all institutions employing the white collar group by pushing down their opening and closing hours so as not to interfere with the heavy movement from industry. A number of the larger plants are working overtime; the movement from these plants at about the same time as the clerk movement begins, adds to the congestion.

We need badly to widen some of the narrow through streets; to open new avenues and to connect certain existing streets. A good bit of thought and attention is being given to this matter. A plan is underway to carry out a small part of this street program if the city has the legal ability. The matter of financing is now receiving study. In any event, the city is badly in need of an extensive street program.

As the tire situation becomes more critical and thousands of additional workmen are brought in and many who now reside a long distance move in closer, the burden upon public conveyance will be beyond the capacity of present equipment.

Up to this time, the supply of water is ample to meet the demand. Total average pumpage has increased from 9,000,000 to 10,000,000 gallons daily. An

additional supply will be necessary if the population increases as is anticipated. A filtration plant is needed—encroachment on the watershed by human habitation and soil erosion make it a vital necessity. The United States Health Service, the Alabama Board of Health and the Mobile County Board of Health strongly recommend this addition. This filtration plant, extensions to the water distribution system and construction of a new sanitary sewer main are included in a project which has been approved by the Department of Public Works, and which will be placed before the people at an election on May 14. The future needs are additional water supply and extensive additions and corrections to sanitary sewer system. The necessity for a large portion of these additions comes from the area beyond the city limits and is due almost 100 percent to war industries.

The number of new houses built in 1941 is 1,700.

Number of Federal Housing units under construction or approved is 3,600 dwelling units; single room dormitories for 500 men and trailer court for 300 families. These are both within and outside the corporate limits. The Federal Housing Administration has approved 3,000 homes to be built with private capital during 1942.

Law enforcement and traffic has suffered to some extent, chiefly a lack of traffic officers. The department is now short six or seven men and it is with extreme difficulty that new men can be found. The compensation of a private in the department is \$131 per month as compared to \$70 paid 4 or 5 years ago. While this is a considerable increase, it does not compare with wages earned by a number of men in industries. The ability of the city to pay higher wages is controlled altogether by receipts. The anticipated growth will require additions to the police force to insure proper protection.

The fire department of the city is entirely motorized. With few exceptions, the apparatus is from 14 to 20 years of age. Recently, we added a new 100-foot aerial ladder truck and one 500-gallon pumper; a 750-gallon pumper is on order and expected. In addition to these purchases, a project was filed with the department of public works for a new one-truck fire house to be built near the new housing developments; one new truck to be stationed at this new house and one new truck to give added protection to the downtown area, which is congested, and the industries. This project was disapproved by the Atlanta office of department of public works. It is urgently needed to give added protection to existing industry and new residence construction—therefore, we hope to have it reopened. The age and condition of most of the fire equipment will necessitate its replacement at an early date if proper protection is to be given new development.

Local hospitals have been crowded for some time. Providence Infirmary, Mobile Infirmary, and Allen Maternity Home, all private institutions, have at present a total capacity of about 225 beds. The city hospital, a strictly charitable institution has 110 beds. With the added population up to the present time, more facilities are necessary. Projects have been approved for a 50-bed addition to each of the Providence and Mobile Infirmaries and for the construction of a new 100-room city hospital. This new hospital with additions to existing institutions should relieve the situation but when they are ready for occupancy, the load will have increased again so that more facilities will be needed.

It has been conservatively estimated that 10 to 15 thousand additional employees will be needed in the war industries and Brookley Field during the next 4 or 5 months.

All of this additional load has been added to our city which has suffered greatly from financial problems and low income. Almost all of the population increase is due to war needs. These matters have been explained to numerous committees, boards, engineers, and investigators of the Federal Government. In one instance, a group of 10 or 12 Congressmen came here for a personal investigation. In every instance we were told that Mobile was the "hot spot" of the country and that help was needed and needed quickly and yet, it has been extremely difficult to get assistance. This assistance is necessary if local production is to reach planned quantities.

Recently, a planning committee was authorized to give study and make recommendations as to the needs of the community. The personnel of the committee will be composed of officers of the Army and Navy stationed here, representatives from several large industries, and a local attorney. It is understood recommendations from this group will receive priority rating which is so necessary.

In addition to projects already approved, the most important for consideration for immediate future needs are as follows:

- Additional water supply.
- Additions and corrections to sanitary sewer system.
- Widen streets and open new streets.
- New city jail; present jail condemned.
- Provide recreation, badly needed.
- Additions to fire department.
- Further study of hospital additions.

Experience will show definite needs as the trend of growth is in one direction or another. Close attention will be given to any possible demands and efforts to provide service will be made.

It is most important that the Federal Government take notice of existing conditions and render immediate assistance. The need is now; the war will not wait for us to prepare.

EXHIBIT 15.—STATEMENT BY C. F. ANDERSON, DIRECTOR FOR ALABAMA, UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE, 711 HIGH STREET, MONTGOMERY, ALA.

THE SHIPBUILDING INDUSTRY IN MOBILE, ALA.

The Mobile office of the United States Employment Service has been affected materially by the expansion of war industries in the area. The Employment Service is being relied upon to a greater extent, especially in supplying skilled and semiskilled workers to defense jobs. Much of the recruiting for these classifications is done through our clearance system since this type of labor supply has long since been exhausted locally. In-migrants to the Mobile area have very definitely increased the activities of the local employment office. It is estimated that between 65 and 80 percent of new applications (between 617 and 760 registrants on the basis of approximately 950 applications in April 1942) taken in the white division are in-migrants. This figure will run 15 to 20 percent (between 250 and 308 registrants on the basis of approximately 385 applications in April 1942) in the colored department.

Open orders are held by the employment office from the shipyards for unskilled and semiskilled in the following occupations:

Shipfitters	Ship electricians
Marine pipefitters	Sheet-metal workers
Arc welders	Machinists

The Employment Service is constantly on the look-out for applicants coming into the office who might be qualified for any of these jobs, and if qualified, are referred to the shipyards.

Recruiting needed workers from other areas is done through our clearance system. Briefly the clearance system works in this way—all sources of local labor supply are exhausted for workers to fill local needs. If and when local supply is inadequate clearance orders are instituted for distribution to other areas within the State, and, if need be, clearance orders are forwarded to the regional and national levels. The last order which has just been put into national clearance was for 1,000 electric welders. The clearance system of the United States Employment Service is far more widely used and is functioning now much better than was true in the past. In Alabama only 7 clearance placements as order holding office and 13 clearance placements as applicant holding office (a total of 20) were made in March 1941 with this number increasing to 2,338 clearance placements as order holding office and 2,773 clearance placements as applicant holding office in March 1942. A high percentage of the skilled and semiskilled persons included in these placements were for the shipbuilding industry in Mobile.

In addition to using the Employment Service, local war industries still rely on the old methods of hiring at the gate, recruiting by word of mouth, and through their employees. Probably one major reason for a continuation of this type recruiting is the large numbers of job seekers at their employment offices every day. A large percentage (probably 60 to 70 percent) of these job seekers are in-migrants.

In Mobile it is definitely becoming a very acute problem to house these additional incoming people. In fact, the labor turn-over is some of the war industries

is alarming. This is partly attributable to suitable living quarters not being available for workers, especially the better type.

As above stated, there is already a somewhat acute shortage in certain war industry jobs and the situation is expected to become much more acute in the near future. Already considerable relaxation in specification of job qualifications is noticeable by the number being hired in the nonskilled, semiskilled, and trainee classifications.

The use of increasing numbers of vocational education trained people will continue to alleviate the labor shortage to some extent. Local training material has practically reached the exhaustion point in the Mobile area, and we are at present bringing trainees in to a resident center from contiguous States. One of the major factors contributing to our inability to recruit for training is that very few eligible for training are able to sustain themselves without working while taking training.

The acute housing shortage in Mobile is affecting very materially the efforts in recruiting needed laborers for war industries.

An estimated number of available nonregistered workers, including women and handicapped workers, is 1,100. Of this number approximately 45 percent (495) are estimated to be women. Not more than 3 to 5 percent are thought to be handicapped persons who are available for employment.

Break-down of Mobile County active file through Apr. 30, 1942

Occupation group	White								Negro							
	Men				Women				Men				Women			
	Under 21	21 to 44	45 to 64	65 and up	Under 21	21 to 44	45 to 64	65 and up	Under 21	21 to 44	45 to 64	65 and up	Under 21	21 to 44	45 to 64	65 and up
Professional and managerial.....	9	30	17	3	17	40	17	0	0	5	2	0	0	10	0	0
Clerical and sales.....	26	53	26	14	31	134	50	3	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1
Service.....	15	22	31	18	13	71	55	2	13	35	12	2	29	110	15	1
Agricultural fishery, etc.....	14	56	20	6	0	3	0	1	6	16	10	3	0	1	0	0
Skilled.....	25	31	19	5	1	33	46	5	0	13	3	0	0	0	0	0
Do.....	41	107	60	11	3	16	4	0	0	5	2	0	0	0	0	0
Semiskilled.....	18	57	11	1	6	101	24	0	4	33	6	0	0	0	0	0
Do.....	54	203	34	3	0	10	3	0	24	56	9	0	1	4	0	0
Unskilled.....	16	28	4	0	3	66	7	0	4	24	2	1	0	0	0	0
Do.....	36	78	37	13	0	16	1	0	41	443	279	36	0	2	1	0
Total.....	256	674	253	74	74	490	207	11	93	631	326	42	30	128	16	2
	Total white men, 1,157				Total white women, 782				Total negro men, 1,092				Total negro women, 176			

Summary, Mobile County:

Men:	
White.....	1,157
Negro.....	1,092
Total.....	2,249

Women:	
White.....	782
Negro.....	176
Total.....	958

Grand total..... 3,207

Included in the count the following Work Projects Administration registrants:

Men:	
White.....	300
Negro.....	403
Total.....	703

Women:	
White.....	307
Negro.....	23
Total.....	330

Grand total..... 1,033

Also included are:

Trainees.....	193
Stevadores.....	137
(Negro, 133.).....	

EXHIBIT 16.—STATEMENT BY COL. V. B. DIXON, COMMANDING
OFFICER, BROOKLEY FIELD, MOBILE, ALA.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
AIR CORPS,
Brookley Field, Mobile, Ala.

STATUS OF PERSONNEL SEPARATIONS

The House Committee Investigating National Defense Migration requested that Maj. George Dunn submit a report to your office showing the status of personnel separated from service with the Army Air Corps at Brookley Field and the reasons for their separation. Major Dunn having been assigned to other duties which preclude him from submitting this report, the information is furnished by the undersigned.

At the close of business on April 30, 1942, there were included on the Air Corps pay roll for this depot a total of 7,079 civilians. Of this total, approximately 2,000 are mechanic learners in the training schools away from the station. This would make approximately 5,000 workers at the Field of whom 400 are administrative and clerical workers, 1,100 unskilled, 1,650 semiskilled, and 1,850 skilled workers.

It is expected that from 8,000 to 10,000 civilians will eventually be employed at this Depot. All personnel are employed under regulations promulgated by the United States Civil Service Commission and that agency does all of the recruiting for the requested workers through its district and field offices. Approximately 1 percent of the positions are filled by transfers here from other governmental agencies. Most of the workers now employed have come from the States of Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Georgia, and Tennessee.

Since the beginning of employment at this station, approximately 8,150 persons have been employed. Of this number 1,071 have left our employ for various reasons. About one-half of these have entered military or naval service with a large percent of the balance having left because of inadequate housing facilities, high rents, and the high costs of commodities in the immediate vicinity. The number of employees leaving this station would be much greater except for the fact that this headquarters has not expanded the activities of this depot as rapidly as needed because it was realized that skilled employees would immediately resign when they found they could find no suitable place to live. For this reason, no action has been taken to return to Brookley Field approximately 1,000 qualified employees now absent in trade schools and other depots throughout the United States, although these men are needed and are on the pay roll of this station. It is, therefore, obvious that the acute housing situation in Mobile has adversely affected the operations of this activity to a far greater extent than indicated by the labor turn-over reported in the above figures.

To alleviate the acute shortage of homes in Mobile, it is the recommendation of this office that immediate action be taken to expedite the construction of defense homes now authorized and, further, action be taken to prove additional defense houses, including the necessary schools, hospitals, etc., as recommended by the Mobile Emergency Board for Procurement of Necessary Facilities.

It is further recommended that action be taken to prevent individuals in the city of Mobile charging exorbitant rents for rooms, apartments, etc., in accordance with the instructions of the United States Government relative to the freezing of rents. Failure to take this action has made it possible for many individuals in Mobile to charge exorbitant prices for rooms, apartments, etc., that must, of necessity, be occupied by defense workers.

EXHIBIT 17.—STATEMENT BY W. C. GRIGGS, SUPERINTENDENT,
MOBILE PUBLIC SCHOOLS, MOBILE, ALA.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SITUATION IN MOBILE

The school situation in Mobile is best shown by the school enrollment figures in the following exhibits—exhibit I and exhibit II. The gain in enrollment during the past 3 years has been at a much more rapid rate than for the years immediately preceding and indications are that this rate will be stepped up to a still higher rate during the next year or two, due to increased migration of workers into Mobile County.

The figures are summarized here.

(Exhibit I) 10 years, 1931-32 to 1941-42:	
(a) City white.....	1,380
(b) Suburban white.....	1,702
Total.....	3,082
(c) City Negro.....	844
(d) Suburban Negro.....	886
Total.....	1,730
	4,812
(Exhibit II) 3 years, 1939-40 to 1941-42:	
(a) City white.....	531
(b) Suburban white.....	979
Total.....	1,510-1
(c) City colored.....	150
(d) Suburban colored.....	200
Total.....	350
	1,860-2
(a) Maximum enrollment, city and suburbs, white.....	13,256
Maximum capacity, city and suburbs, white.....	11,218
Beyond capacity.....	2,038
(b) Maximum enrollment, city and suburbs, Negro.....	7,114
Maximum capacity, city and suburbs, Negro.....	5,880
Beyond capacity.....	1,234
Beyond capacity.....	3,272

EXHIBIT I

	1932-33	1941-42	Gain	1939-40	1941-42	Gain
City, white:						
Murphy High School.....	2,312	2,994	682	3,104	2,994	110
Barton.....	563	722	159	651	722	71
Arlington.....	439	683	244	495	683	188
Clark.....	177	202	25	214	202	112
Lee.....	350	374	24	367	374	7
Leinkauf.....	483	528	45	502	528	26
Oakdale.....	448	540	92	446	540	94
Old Shell Road.....	518	579	61	495	579	85
Russell.....	477	521	44	487	521	34
Semmes.....	394	426	32	414	426	12
Yerby.....	459	452	17	437	452	15
Woodcock.....	445	424	121	403	424	21
Total.....	7,065	8,445	1,380	8,014	8,445	531

EXHIBIT I—Continued

Total gain:	
10 years, 1932 to 1942.....	1,380
3 years, 1939 to 1942.....	531
In 7 years, gain.....	849
In 3 years, gain.....	531
Total.....	1,380

	1932-33	1941-42	Gain	1939-40	1941-42	Gain
Suburban, white:						
Barker.....	119	150	31	139	150	11
Chickasaw.....	192	428	236	232	428	196
Crichton.....	803	985	182	860	985	125
8 mile.....	104	294	190	217	294	77
Gorgas.....	286	435	149	353	435	82
Mertz.....	260	477	217	357	477	120
Pritchard.....	611	1,006	395	864	1,006	142
Satsuma.....	64	165	101	147	165	18
Springhill.....	169	154	115	134	154	20
Toulminville.....	151	289	138	252	289	37
Whistler.....	546	624	78	473	624	151
Total.....	3,305	5,007	1,702	4,028	5,007	979

Total gain:	
10 years, 1932 to 1941.....	1,702
3 years, 1939 to 1941.....	979
In 7 years, gain.....	723
In 3 years, gain.....	979
Total.....	1,702

1 Loss.

EXHIBIT II

	1932-33	1941-42	Gain	1939-40	1941-42	Gain
City, colored:						
Dunbar.....	513	778	265	870	778	192
Broad.....	580	731	151	731	731	0
Council.....	490	550	60	521	550	29
Emerson.....	728	723	15	673	723	50
Owens.....	986	1,286	300	1,158	1,286	128
Williamson.....	195	208	73	233	268	35
Total.....	3,492	4,336	844	4,186	4,336	150

Total gain:	
10 years, 1932 to 1941.....	844
3 years, 1939 to 1942.....	150
In 7 years, gain.....	694
In 3 years, gain.....	150
Total.....	844

	1932-33	1941-42	Gain	1939-40	1941-42	Gain
Suburban, colored:						
Mobile County Terrace.....	615	994	379	910	994	84
Chickasaw Terrace.....	44	74	30	56	74	18
Crichton.....	234	232	12	235	232	13
Pritchard.....	661	1,044	383	990	1,044	54
Springhill.....	22	26	4	20	26	6
Springhill.....	22	26	4	20	26	6
Springhill.....	22	26	4	20	26	6
Toulminville.....	103	123	20	102	123	21
Whistler.....	179	209	30	187	209	22
Cleveland.....	34	76	42	78	76	12
Total.....	1,892	2,778	886	2,578	2,778	200

EXHIBIT II—Continued

Total gain:	886
10 years, 1932 to 1942.....	200
3 years, 1939 to 1942.....	200
In 7 years.....	686
In 3 years.....	200
Total.....	886

¹ Loss.

Relief through the Lanham Act has been promised.

1. One building south of Brookley Field, 8 rooms which is now under construction.

2. One building south Ann Street, 28 rooms.

3. One building, north Prichard, 40 rooms.

Contract for No. 3 was supposed to have been let April 30. It has not been let.

Three more Government housing projects are being set up now that will mean about 3,000 more houses. It seems certain that they will be built. This will bring from 1,500 to 2,000 more pupils.

The number of periods at Murphy High School have been increased to 7. To accomplish this we have staggered pupil attendance to care for the more than 1,000 extra pupils. Pupils under this plan enter and leave at various times. We fear that this may lower morale, increase truancy, and worry parents.

Teachers under the stagger plan have less opportunity for personal contact with pupils. Pupils despair of getting special help. Parents have less chance to confer with teachers.

Teen-age boys and girls are leaving school to take employment. However, most of these are in the senior class and will be permitted to graduate if the principal receives a report of the progress in development on the job. Those thus conditioned have achievement in class work that makes it certain that they would graduate.

At 4:30 p. m. December 12, 1940, representatives from the office of education and the State department of education came to my office to see me about a survey of our conditions. Three members of my staff were put at their disposal. We have had many subsequent surveys and have made many reports. Eight rooms of the 70 or 76 proposed will be ready by next September. Our population is rapidly increasing. If houses could be had, it would increase more rapidly. It is known that many have not brought their families. Some have taken work elsewhere in order to be with their families.

It is difficult to plan for the placing of pupils and determining the number of new teachers to employ. We cannot determine the number of months our prospective funds will carry the ensuing session.

EXHIBIT 18.—STATEMENT BY EMMETT B. FRAZIER, M. D., F. A. C. S.,
CHAIRMAN, HOSPITAL COMMITTEE, MOBILE COUNTY MEDICAL
SOCIETY, MOBILE, ALA.

HOSPITAL FACILITIES IN MOBILE

Mr. George Simons, consultant with the National Resources Planning Board, has just completed a preliminary report on the Mobile defense area. This is a most comprehensive and careful study and is based on accurate observation. Mr. Simons has agreed to my sending a part of his report, a transcript on the hospital situation. Mr. Simons went with me personally to visit each one of the hospitals and interviewed the superintendent of each one.

As you will note, the nurses home for City Hospital, the additional building at the Mobile Infirmary, alterations at the Providence Hospital, and funds for a new Federal-constructed hospital have all been approved by the Government. Plans and specifications for each of these ventures have been completed. The architect for the nurses home at the City Hospital advises that as yet he has not been able to obtain a bidder from among the contractors. Bids on the other projects have not yet been announced.

For some time our hospital situation has been most acute. It is necessary to send all obstetric cases home after about 6 or 7 days by ambulance to make room for additional maternity cases. Oftentimes, it is necessary for maternity cases to remain in the labor room, or surgical cases to remain on the operating floor, until beds can be secured.

A representative of the United States Public Health Service, making a survey in Mobile several months ago, made the observation that some of the space which we now have in one of the hospitals is not being used to advantage. Mr. Simons also made this same observation. In this they are quite correct. At the City Hospital there is an entire floor in a comparatively new addition which could easily care for 55 patients. This is now being utilized for a venereal-disease clinic, and a nutritional and dental clinic for children. Both of these activities could well be carried out in some other portion of the building or be easily moved elsewhere. Dr. Chason, our local health officer, would make no objection to having this clinic moved. This City Hospital is a city- and county-owned institution and is leased to the Sisters of Charity for a period of 10 years. This contract was renewed about 4 years ago and has about 6 more years to run. The Sisters of the City Hospital have not wished, heretofore, to enter the private hospital field in competition with the Providence Hospital, which is a Catholic institution for private patients. However, at a conference at the City Hospital this morning with Sister Gertrude, she expressed her willingness to open one of these wards for the care of private industrial injuries, provided the City and County of Mobile would furnish the necessary equipment. The Commissioners have already expressed themselves as willing to do this, and so it is most likely that within the next 2 weeks this can be accomplished.

HOSPITAL FACILITIES

The only hospital service in Mobile and Baldwin Counties is furnished by three hospitals in Mobile, (1) City Hospital, (2) Mobile Infirmary, and (3) Providence Hospital. A United States Marine Hospital operated by the United States Public Health Service is located in Mobile, but it is not available to the public. There is also a small maternity home operated by a church. But as far as general hospital service is concerned, the three numbered above serve the public. According to reports of the medical profession these hospitals also serve cases in a large tributary area extending beyond Mobile and Baldwin Counties.

The capacity and ownership of each hospital is as follows:

	Owner	Capacity
City Hospital	City-county	125
Mobile Infirmary	Non-profit association	110
Providence Hospital	Church	100
Total beds available		335

Since mid-year, 1941, all the hospitals have been operating beyond capacity. Rooms have been crowded, cases have been obliged to leave the hospital earlier than advisable, cases requiring hospitalization have been unable to gain admittance. The hospitals have been so crowded that it has been impossible to give the desired attention and the staffs have been greatly overworked. Sister Helen, Administrator of the Providence Hospital, operated by the Sisters of Charity stated, "For the year past we have had a marked increase in our admissions, making it necessary to add more beds. Several private rooms have been made semiprivate, the sun parlors have been utilized as three-bed rooms, and the four-bed wards have had two beds added. We feel that patients are not receiving full benefit of their hospitalization, due to lack of facilities. Many people who need hospital care are inconvenienced by waiting for appointments or find it impossible to secure a hospital bed. It is impossible to carry out the principles of good hospital housekeeping, for our rooms are not vacant long enough to afford the opportunity of adequate cleaning and airing."

PROVIDENCE HOSPITAL

The following tabulation shows how the actual admissions to the Providence Hospital have increased in the 3 years, 1937 (a normal year), 1940 and 1941. Patients remaining on the 1st of the month are not included.

Admissions to Providence Hospital

	1937	1940	1941		1937	1940	1941
January	178	214	270	August	194	274	388
February	134	186	268	September	210	361	370
March	191	177	399	October	172	268	368
April	210	214	290	November	149	237	346
May	165	231	312	December	140	221	262
June	177	240	369				
July	193	256	368	Daily average	176	231	332

This tabulation imparts a better understanding of Sister Helen's remarks. Until the middle of 1941 the Providence Hospital had only 88 beds available; 12 additional beds were added during the latter part of 1941. From a monthly average of 176 actual admissions to the Providence Hospital in 1937, the average has nearly doubled to 332 for the year 1941.

MOBILE INFIRMARY

The Mobile Infirmary now has 110 beds all filled and with every bit of available space being utilized. Conditions of overcrowding are as bad, if not worse, than those observed at the Providence Hospital. The following tabulation shows how the admissions to this hospital have also increased.

Average number of actual admissions per day

1937	71	1940	92
1938	79	1941	102
1939	78		

The average number of actual admissions per day here have increased from 64 in 1936 to 102 for the year 1941.

At the time of these observations (February 1942) it was impossible to secure hospitalization at either the Providence Hospital or Mobile Infirmary.

CITY HOSPITAL

The City Hospital, operated by the Sisters of Charity under contract with the city, has a capacity of 125 beds. It is a large sprawling and roomy institution caring for both white and colored patients. Although its facilities are currently taxed it could accommodate more beds by certain rearrangements. Rooms located in the basement and space on the first floor now occupied by nurses could be utilized by patients, providing space is made available outside the building for nurses. Additional beds might also be placed in the wide corridors connecting units of the plant. The following tabulation shows how the services of this hospital have increased:

House patient admissions, City Hospital, Mobile, Ala.

	City-county patients						Private pay patients					
	1937			1941			1937			1941		
	N. B.	Others	Total	N. B.	Others	Total	N. B.	Others	Total	N. B.	Others	Total
January	29	211	240	58	305	363	1	19	20	2	32	34
February	30	187	217	41	268	309	0	25	25	0	41	41
March	34	226	260	51	303	354	0	25	25	1	25	26
April	37	234	271	47	297	344	1	20	21	0	35	35
May	35	219	254	26	265	291	0	18	18	0	30	30
June	27	217	244	51	275	326	0	30	30	0	45	45
July	41	247	288	46	332	378	0	26	26	1	40	41
August	35	254	289	54	321	375	0	27	27	2	43	45
September	39	262	301	47	280	327	1	33	33	1	37	38
October	40	258	298	46	277	323	1	33	33	6	37	43
November	33	237	270	43	255	298	0	27	27	2	45	47
December	30	242	272	41	245	286	0	26	26	0	31	31
Total	410	2,794	3,204	551	3,423	3,974	4	307	311	15	441	456

House patient-days

City-county and private, 1941.....	41, 998
City-county and private, 1937.....	40, 462
1941 increase over 1937.....	1, 538

Out-patient emergency cases

	City-county patients		Private pay patients	
	1937	1941	1937	1941
January.....	295	400	6	14
February.....	238	423	5	12
March.....	264	489	6	10
April.....	316	531	12	16
May.....	361	554	5	8
June.....	309	563	5	17
July.....	381	803	3	8
August.....	364	879	5	13
September.....	322	705	0	13
October.....	308	640	9	26
November.....	319	595	5	14
December.....	342	520	5	21
Total.....	3, 819	7, 102	66	106

1941 increase in emergency cases, over year 1937 (city-county).....	3, 283
1941 increase in emergency cases, over year 1937 (private cases).....	40

In its report of January, 1942, the United States Public Health Service stated, "Additional general hospital beds should be provided. For a contemplated metropolitan Mobile population of 180,000, the beds required would be 4.5 times 180, or 810, a deficit of 465 beds, irrespective of the rest of the county's needs."

Neither of the shipyards have provided for any hospital service. Each has a first-aid station but no hospital.

APPLICATIONS FOR INCREASED FACILITIES

Applications filed with the Defense Public Works for increased hospital facilities have been approved, but to date (April 1942) no action has been taken on them. These projects are described as follows:

Alabama, 1-223, city hospital, 52-bed nurses home.—The completion of this project will relieve space within the hospital now utilized as nurses home. The project was approved on March 21 but the offer has not yet been accepted. Final plans for the nurses home have been completed.

Alabama, 1-225, Mobile infirmary and Providence Hospital.—Projects have been approved—offers accepted. The plans and specifications for the Providence addition will be ready April 15 and for Mobile Infirmary about May 20. It is estimated that these projects will be completed by October or November 1942.

Alabama, 1-189, construction of a new 100-bed hospital.—The construction of a new 100-bed hospital at a cost of \$510,000 was approved for Federal construction on February 27, 1942. Plans and specifications will be ready for approval during April. About 9 months will be needed to complete the project.

Unfortunately when the above projects have been completed there will still be a deficiency of 200 to 300 beds as judged by the recommendations of the United States Public Health Service.

The location of additional hospital facilities beyond those currently approved is necessarily influenced by the judgment of the Mobile medical profession, which points out that outside the corporate area of Mobile there are few, if any, medical men experienced in hospital staff or administration work. Even in Mobile there is a shortage of nursing and staffing personnel due to the demands of the Army and Navy for doctors and nurses. It is the consensus of opinion that it would be practically impossible to staff hospitals not located within the present hospital area of Mobile.

Accordingly, any additional hospital facilities should preferably be located on the grounds of the existing institutions and additional expansion should be of temporary construction. Following this line of thought, at least 100 additional beds could be located on the grounds of the City Hospital, 50 at the Mobile Infirmary, and 50 at the Providence Hospital. These added facilities will not be a final answer to the hospital problem of the Mobile area, but they will serve to relieve a situation that is becoming increasingly acute as now constituted.

EXHIBIT 19.—STATEMENT BY C. V. DISMUKES, MAYOR, CITY OF PRICHARD, PRICHARD, ALA.

REPORT ON THE CITY OF PRICHARD

The city of Prichard, Ala., incorporated in 1925, had an official census population of 6,084 in 1940. The present estimated population inside the city limits, embracing an area of 1.2 square miles, is conservatively 10,000.

The population of the city of Prichard plus its police jurisdiction, extending 3 miles from the city limits and including the suburban communities of Plateau, Krafton, Chickasaw, Whistler, and a part of Toulminville, is conservatively estimated at 30,000. The city of Prichard furnishes police and fire protection for this area.

The yards of the Gulf Shipbuilding Corporation at Chickasaw, the Southern Kraft Mill of the International Paper Co. and the Associated Continental & Terminal Bag Mills, the Hollingsworth & Whitney paper mill, the Gulf Foundry, the J. C. Sanders Cotton Mill and several large sawmills and other industries are located in or near to the Prichard police jurisdiction. Also, with the opening of a new road to the Pinto Island yard of the Alabama Dry Dock & Shipbuilding Co., numerous workers at that yard are moving to the Prichard area.

The Prichard area is desperately in need of more adequate housing facilities. Provision of 2,000 defense dwelling units near Chickasaw will give substantial relief but it appears that due to the constant influx of new workers, even more units will be needed.

Two sanitary sewerage projects, financed in part by Work Projects Administration grants, are under construction to furnish relief in Prichard proper but more sewer lines are a definite necessity for health protection.

The Federal Government has allocated approximately \$300,000 for a new junior high-grade school just north of the Prichard city limits which should relieve serious overcrowding of the two existing public schools in Prichard and schools in Plateau, Chickasaw, and Whistler.

Provision of public recreation facilities for defense workers is strongly desired. The city of Prichard has purchased a site for a recreation project and has applied for a Federal grant of approximately \$30,000. At present, there are positively no public recreation facilities in this entire area.

Opening of a new improved highway from Chickasaw through Prichard to Toulminville should relieve traffic congestion, now an exceedingly difficult problem. The highway project is under way, with Work Projects Administration assistance.

Our immediate needs, therefore, are more sewerage, more housing and public recreation.

We are in dire need of more adequate fire protection.

EXHIBIT 20.—STATEMENT BY GEORGE D. BROWN, SUPERINTENDENT, MADISON COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION, HUNTSVILLE, ALA.

In regard to the Madison County school system and the effects of national defense migration upon it, permit me to briefly explain the situation as I see it. This area has been a national defense area only a few weeks; therefore, up to the present, we have not felt the effects of defense migration to the extent that we will feel it just a little later.

A large part of the construction labor for the Huntsville Arsenal has come from Madison and adjoining counties. These workers have driven from their homes to their work. Only a small percentage of the 12,000 workers has moved into this area. Since this is the case, our school system has shown an increase in enrollment of only a few hundred pupils beyond our normal increase and most of this increase has been in the West Huntsville section where the school was already badly overcrowded. Since cars and tires are wearing and cannot be replaced, we predict that several hundred construction workers will be forced to live in the arsenal vicinity. This will add many families and additional children.

Our huge increase in school enrollment will come with the operation of the arsenal when large numbers of skilled workers with their families will come here to make permanent homes. Hundreds of new houses will be constructed for the operators.

The county school system works 100 percent in cooperation with the State department of education; however, most of the administration is in the hands of the county officials. The State's staff is always available to the county when needed. Many supervisors, such as vocational agriculture and home economics come from the State department. More than half the school funds are furnished by the State. At present the county is levying all taxes permitted under the State constitution. We anticipate very little increase in revenues. Due to the arsenal's acquisition of much ad valorem tax property, our local school revenues will probably show a decrease.

The personnel of the county school system is composed of 5 members of the county board of education, superintendent and office force, 35 white principals plus 230 other white teachers, 85 Negro principals and teachers, four county mechanics, and 52 school-bus drivers. Salaries for teachers vary from \$50 per month up to \$220 per month, depending upon the type certificate held, the number of years' experience, and type position. We follow the State salary schedule for both white and colored. Due to the low salaries, we have lost many qualified teachers who have entered other work with much better pay. We now have a shortage of teachers.

We have more than 10,000 white and 4,000 colored students. Classes vary in size from a normal load of 20 or 30 up to 82 pupils. The largest classes are in the West Huntsville school. This school's elementary department is operating on 2 shifts per day. The State owns 2 of the mill schools, Rison and West Huntsville, while the Lincoln Mills own the Lincoln school property and the Merrimack Manufacturing Co. owns the Joe Bradley school property. Of course, teachers and operation of the schools, regardless of ownership, are on the same basis. All other school buildings in the county for whites are owned by the State and are fairly well distributed. Most of the colored school buildings are owned by churches, lodges, and so forth. We are badly in need of many additional classrooms, 60 for the whites and 80 for colored. This does not include the West Huntsville school, where the greatest need exists. We are gradually constructing new rooms; however, funds will not permit the construction of the necessary number. We have made application to the Public Works Administration for funds to construct additional rooms to take care of the increase brought about by national defense migration.

Until recently, 2 years' work at an approved teachers college was required for a certificate. Now the minimum requirements for a regular certificate are 3 years at a teachers college. Of course under certain conditions emergency certificates may be secured. Such practices will eventually lower the school efficiency. This county has found it necessary to secure several emergency certificates this year.

Our schools follow the State curriculum. Many national defense classes have been organized during the last year to teach vocational subjects that could not be had in the traditional curriculum. Much good has come from these classes.

We have 36 weeks for high and 28 for grammar schools. Funds will not permit longer terms for grammar grades. Until more funds are available, neither terms nor opportunities can be increased. Also, until more funds are available, we will continue to lose good teachers, classes will grow, and the needed school buildings cannot be furnished.

Transportation has made it possible to go far in the consolidation of white schools. Naturally, children will have better attendance where transportation is available. Overcrowded conditions usually come first in the rural schools having the most transportation. We have three busses hauling colored children

to school. Invariably, these colored schools having transportation have the best attendance.

In conclusion I wish to say that although our situation has become acute due to defense migration in only one place, West Huntsville, there is a strong probability that it will grow worse in the immediate future. We will need additional rooms, additional facilities and teachers, and additional transportation. In order to secure these, we must receive financial assistance from the Federal Government.

EXHIBIT 21.—STATEMENT BY W. K. WITTAUSCH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, DIVISION OF RESEARCH AND STATISTICS, FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION, WASHINGTON, D. C.

There are attached hereto various data concerning Federal Housing Administration operations in northern Alabama.

Table I shows the operations in Madison County (Huntsville) under titles I, II, and VI, for the years 1940 and 1941, as well as cumulative business from 1935 through 1941.

Table II shows the number of new homes started since the designation of defense areas, in the areas in northern Alabama which have been so designated.

There is attached also a mimeographed statement showing on one side the total business for the United States and on the other the operations in the State of Alabama.

TABLE I.—Madison County, Ala., Federal Housing Administration operations through Dec. 31, 1941¹

Year	Title I		Title II		Title VI		Total	
	Number	Amount	Number	Amount	Number	Amount	Number	Amount
1940.....	72	\$21,772	5	\$24,700	-----	-----	77	\$46,472
1941.....	79	31,118	16	58,800	-----	-----	95	89,918
1935-41.....	259	106,356	62	207,300	-----	-----	321	313,656

¹ Net mortgages accepted.

TABLE II.—New homes started since defense area was designated through Dec. 31, 1941

Northern Alabama area	Date designated	New homes started				Total family dwelling units provided
		Title I	Title II	Title VI	Total	
Anniston.....	June 24, 1941	-----	5	-----	-----	5
Birmingham.....	Apr. 9, 1941	-----	40	405	445	451
Florence, Sheffield, Tusculmbia.....	do.....	-----	1	151	152	152
Gadsden.....	do.....	-----	3	55	58	58
Huntsville-Decatur.....	Dec. 11, 1941	-----	3	-----	3	3
Remainder of State.....	-----	-----	54	174	228	230
Total for State.....	-----	-----	106	785	891	899

Source: Division of Research and Statistics, Operating Statistics Section.

NATIONAL

The Federal Housing Administration was established in June 1934 under the provisions of the National Housing Act for the purpose of improving housing standards and establishing a system of mutual mortgage insurance. The Federal Housing Administration lends no money; it does, however, insure qualified lending

institutions against loss on home mortgage or property improvement loans. The great volume of residential construction and property improvement resulting from the Federal Housing Administration program has stimulated widespread business activity and employment.

From the beginning of operations in 1934 through December 1941, the net volume of Federal Housing Administration business in the entire United States totaled \$5,731,518,665. Of this volume, mortgages accepted for insurance under title II on 908,189 small homes amounted to \$3,932,762,703 with 619,493 for \$2,822,827,914 representing new homes and 288,696 for \$1,109,934,789 existing homes. The net volume of defense home mortgages accepted for insurance under title VI, established March 28, 1941, amounted to 36,940 for \$133,129,950; and mortgages also insured under title II covering 344 multifamily or large-scale rental projects, with 36,764 dwelling units, amounted to \$139,950,516; while under title I, 3,697,061 insured property improvement loans amounted to \$1,525,675,496, of which 33,468 for \$84,138,929 represent loans financing the construction of new small homes insured under this title since February 3, 1938.

Under the title II home mortgage insurance program both borrowers and lenders have benefited to a great extent. It is no longer necessary for the prospective home owner or builder to resort to the use of a second mortgage, because lending institutions have found the Federal Housing Administration long-term, amortized mortgage to be a sound investment. The Federal Housing Administration policy of insuring only those mortgages that qualify as to character of the neighborhood, quality of design and construction, and the borrowers' capacity to pay, has raised the standard of home-mortgage financing.

Under title VI, thousands of defense workers have been provided modern dwellings in about 300 districts designated by the President as defense areas. No initial down payment is required of the purchaser on an owner-occupied title VI home. The regulations governing the insurance of defense home mortgages require the builder to have an equity of 10 percent of the property value, and title does not pass to the purchaser until he acquires a corresponding equity in the property.

The title II large-scale housing program has met the demand for modern, well-constructed dwelling units for a large number of families to whom home ownership was impossible. Furthermore, it has been shown that long-term investments in rental properties are sound provided the projects are financed by fully amortized mortgages.

More than 3,000,000 families have financed the improvement and modernization of their homes under the title I program with the proceeds from insured property improvement loans. Moreover, thousands of commercial, industrial, and farm enterprises have improved their properties through loans made available under this title. Since February 1938 loans on new small homes also have been eligible for insurance under this program, and to date 33,468 of these dwellings have been financed.

ALABAMA

From the beginning of operations in June 1934 through December 31, 1941, the net volume business of the Federal Housing Administration in Alabama totaled \$51,289,342. Of this amount \$32,885,822¹ represented one- to four-family home mortgages accepted for insurance; \$2,888,100, one- to four-family "defense" home mortgages; \$1,373,700, large-scale rental housing mortgages; and \$14,141,720, property improvement loans insured.

Under the small home provisions of the National Housing Act (title II), Federal Housing Administration has accepted for insurance \$32,885,822 in mortgages on 8,557 1- to 4-family homes. Of this amount, some 76.5 percent or \$25,166,045 represents mortgages on 6,170 newly built homes. Small home mortgages are limited to a \$16,000 principal, a 20-year term, and an amount not to exceed 80 percent of the appraised value of the property. However, mortgages on new home properties for which the principal does not exceed \$5,400 may be insured up to 90 percent of the appraised value and for a term of up to 25 years. The maximum interest rate on Federal Housing Administration insured mortgages is 4½ percent a year. The borrower also pays an insurance premium of one-half of 1 percent a year on the outstanding mortgage balance into a mutual insurance fund out of which losses due to foreclosure and other causes are paid.

The title VI defense housing amendment of March 28, 1941, facilitates financing of homes constructed by private builders to meet the housing requirements of workers in the defense industries. In the 9 defense areas of Alabama designated by the President, Federal Housing Administration has accepted for insurance

mortgages amounting to \$2,888,100 on 869 1- to 4-family title VI homes. Moreover, homes valued under \$6,000 and apartments with a maximum monthly rental of \$50 located in defense areas may be insured under the regular small home and large-scale housing provisions of the act and thus receive priority preference for rationed materials.

Under the large-scale housing program of Federal Housing Administration, properties consisting of 1 or more multifamily structures with accommodations for 5 or more families, or groups of single-family structures with accommodations for 10 or more families are eligible for mortgage insurance. These properties are built for rental purposes, or in the case of groups of single-family structures, for sale to individual buyers. The maximum mortgage principal insured is \$5,000,000 and is not to exceed 80 percent of the estimated value of the property. The maximum interest rate is 4 percent a year; for mortgages of \$100,000 or less it is 4½ percent. Their average maturity is 26 years. In Alabama, there are 7 large-scale Federal Housing Administration projects with an aggregate mortgage principal of \$1,373,700 providing dwelling accommodations for 367 families.

Under the title I property improvement and modernization program, Federal Housing Administration has insured 42,652 loans amounting to \$14,141,720. Of this amount, \$149,826 has financed the construction of 110 class 3 new small homes, the net mortgage proceeds of which are limited to \$3,000 by legislation. The remainder of the loans has financed improvements to existing homes, commercial and industrial properties, farm homes and buildings, and other miscellaneous structures.

EXHIBIT 22.—STATEMENT BY J. H. MEIGHAN, CHAIRMAN CITY COMMISSION, GADSDEN, ALA.

The 1940 census for the city of Gadsden was 36,975, and for Etowah County it was 72,580. Since this census report was made public, Gadsden has taken in the Bellevue Highlands section on the mountain, including Tuckahoe Heights and that area adjacent to the ordnance plant known as Starnes Park and Campbell Court. This will increase the population within the city limits at least 1,000, and it is estimated from the records of industrial plant employment rolls that at least 1,000 people have moved into Gadsden within the last 18 months, which will give Gadsden a 1942 population of approximately 39,000. Attalla adjoins Gadsden's boundary line, and this city has a population of 4,585. A great many Republic Steel Corporation and Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. employees reside in Attalla. The breakdown shows white 78 percent, colored 21 percent and foreign born 1 percent.

The latest figures as of February 10, 1942, show 12,668 people employed in industry, actually manufacturing products, at least 80 percent of which is for defense. (See list following.)

Judging from past records, Gadsden has been able to furnish sufficient labor so far to take care of all demands. As an example, Republic Steel Corporation and Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., Dwight Manufacturing Co., Agricola Furnace Co., A. & J. Manufacturing Co., and other smaller plants have a full quota of trained men now, who began as laborers or apprentices. A great number of unemployed have been absorbed by the expansion at Republic Steel, the erection and putting into operation of the ordnance plant. So, far all labor necessary has been secured locally with the exception of skilled labor of certain character, and in most cases a training squadron has been brought in and common labor converted into skilled.

In the last 18 months one new laundry has been erected and is in operation. Two restaurants on Broad Street (main business street) and quite a number of sandwich, barbecue, and soft-drink establishments have been opened for business; a number of beauty parlors, a bowling center, increasing of golf club to 18 holes, and a night club on the edge of town.

The traffic situation is being handled, though at times it is acute, but the ever-increasing demand for parking space, truck and bus demands, and through traffic from the old city proper to East Gadsden and to Alabama City (part of Gadsden) and Attalla makes it necessary to erect as soon as possible another bridge over the Coosa River in order to establish a through city route from the Attalla-Birmingham Highway across the city to Anniston Highway.

Since 1937 there has been a gradual increase in occupancies; in fact it has kept close step with the industrial pick-up. Over 1,000 houses have been erected, mostly in the \$25 to \$35 rental bracket. Our crying need is for houses of better class, \$40 to \$65 per month. We need apartments. The demand for furnished

apartments is much greater than the supply. At present we are taking care of all demands in the lower rental brackets. The 250 units erected by the Government at Campbell Court and Starnes Park are available to defense workers only, approximately 60 being occupied. However, the ordnance plant will soon be going full capacity, and that will mean the employment of possibly 1,000 more men, and these units will all be taken then.

Transportation facilities are adequate. Our main worry now is the tire situation, which quite naturally will increase bus transportation, as well as railway travel. So far, our local needs in city bus transportation have been met promptly and so long as the operating company can secure busses, this situation will be taken care of. Railroads are also supplying necessary equipment to date. The situation at the ordnance plant is handled well, to date, with a bus schedule that meets present needs.

Gadsden sorely needs the additional bridge over the Coosa River and a truck or heavy-duty road through the Attalla highway: A modern safety engineered traffic set-up, which is now being considered by our city commission.

The city of Gadsden has experienced no detrimental advance in local rentals; such as has been experienced is believed to have been justified, and there is no complaint.

Gadsden has kept abreast of the rapid growth of the city in educational and health matters, and the city has recently completed a new waterworks plant that was constructed with consideration of furnishing an adequate water supply for the next 25 years.

An amphitheater seating 2,000 people, an auditorium with a capacity of 2,000, a modern three-unit armory, municipal swimming pool, three golf courses, two champion high school bands, football teams, basketball, and many other recreational offerings are available. The local community Young Men's Christian Association conducts an extensive playground athletic program for boys and girls.

	<i>Employees</i>
Republic Steel Corporation.....	4, 600
Dwight Manufacturing Co. (textile).....	3, 000
Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.....	1, 300
Lansdowne Steel & Iron Co.....	600
Sauquoit Spinning Co. (textile).....	550
Gadsden Iron Works.....	450
Alabama Pipe Co.....	580
A. & J. Manufacturing Co.....	210
Agricola Furnace Co.....	375
Southern Manufacturing Co.....	219
Etowah Lumber Co.....	363
Alabama Gas Co.....	21
Wallworth Alabama Co. (Attalla).....	300
Attalla Manufacturing Co.....	100
Total.....	12, 668
Miscellaneous small industries.....	1, 833
Total.....	14, 501

EXHIBIT 23.—STATEMENT BY C. A. DONEHO, SUPERINTENDENT OF CITY SCHOOLS, GADSDEN, ALA.

Following are the enrollment figures of the Gadsden city schools at the end of the first term for each of the past 3 years. We are on a semiannual promotion basis and the figures for the current year will not be comparable unless we take the first term figures. The total enrollment for each year will be about 300 greater than the figures indicated because that has been about the normal gain resulting from admitting 6-year-olds at the beginning of the second term. The second-term figures are not now available for the current year.

January 1940, 8,071; January 1941, 8,133; January 1942, 8,331.

The enrollment trend for the period 1932-40 was fairly stationary. Some years we lost pupils and some years we gained.

The increase of 240 pupils from 1940 to 1942 has been the result of defense work in this city. The increase has resulted in overcrowded classes, producing an extra burden upon teachers who were already carrying too heavy a teaching load.

We also do not have sufficient classrooms available and have rented a recreation room from the Federal Housing Agency.

The city officials have made an application to the Federal Security Agency for two school buildings, one of which has been approved, plans drawn, and bids opened in Washington. If the contract has been awarded by the Public Works Administration we have not been advised.

We are operating at present 18 schools (17 are owned by the city and 1 is rented)—11 schools offer instruction in elementary grades; 3 schools offer instruction in elementary and junior high grades; 1 school offers instruction in junior high grades; 1 school offers instruction in junior and senior high grades; 1 school offers instruction in senior high grades; 1 school offers instruction in elementary, junior, and senior high grades.

Local industries are being expanded for war production at this time and there is every indication that the defense pupil load will be doubled or tripled before the end of the year.

We have recently completed a survey of the number of pupils who have moved to Gadsden since July 1, 1940, and have found a total of 671. The parents of 298 of this number are directly employed in defense industries.

EXHIBIT 24.—STATEMENT BY DR. C. L. MURPHREE, COUNTY HEALTH OFFICER, ETOWAH COUNTY HEALTH DEPARTMENT, GADSDEN, ALA.

The recent expansion in industrial work with an influx of population has placed a big burden on the health department with its limited personnel, in keeping up health supervision of the population. There has been somewhat of an increase in the incidence of scarlet fever, and of course the summer incidence of poliomyelitis. We have been able to control other infectious diseases to perhaps normal limits. We have two private hospitals and one public hospital for tuberculosis in Etowah County. These private hospitals are perhaps adequate for the service they are rendering. We lack facilities for the indigent and lower income groups. The tuberculosis hospital is full and has quite a long waiting list.

Our inspection department which has for its object the control of meat, milk, and foods and their dispensation in various stores, cafes, and hotels. The expansion of our population has materially increased this problem and is an additional burden to the health department.

The water supply of Gadsden was established about 40 years ago with a maximum capacity of 25,000 people. We have been forced to supply 50,000 people. With this was an additional hazard of too rapid filtration. Last year we began the construction of a new plant which we think will be finished by the close of this year and which will give an adequate safe water supply to a population of around 100,000 people.

A communication received from the State health department last spring informed us that Etowah County was considered in the defense area and that there would be available from the funds appropriated by Congress a sum of money for the construction of a health center, the county to furnish a lot and architect fees. The county authorities made this a No. 1 project in this set-up and submitted a project for reviewing. We were finally informed that the appropriation would be cut to 25 percent of the amount necessary for the construction of a building for a health center. In the present financial condition of Etowah County this made the construction of the building prohibitive. In any rapidly expanding county, schools, streets, and roads always have precedence, and in endeavoring to keep up these this county is not in a condition to make extensive appropriations for other projects.

At present the health department in this county is located on the third floor of an old courthouse, with long stairways leading to it and no elevator service. This is a serious handicap for the operation of clinics, many of which we have had to discontinue or not take up. We still carry on the venereal disease clinic but are still seriously handicapped by the inaccessibility of our quarters. A ground-floor building accessible to the public would materially add to our usefulness and make possible additional clinics which we cannot now carry on.

Unless the county gets material help it will be many years before it would be in a position to provide for the necessary housing of an adequate health department.

EXHIBIT 25.—STATEMENT BY EDGAR S. ENOCHS, CITY CLERK,
TREASURER, CITY OF SHEFFIELD, ALA.

A. GOVERNMENTAL SET-UP

1. The city of Sheffield has a commission form of government. There are three commissioners. An election is held every year for one vacancy, as a result two experienced men are always in office.

B. FINANCIAL STATEMENT

1. Sources of revenue:

5 mills ad vaorem tax.....	\$17,377.93
Privilege and auto licenses.....	16,113.64
Fines and forfeitures.....	18,439.84
Interest on delinquent taxes.....	616.91
City's share of liquor store profits.....	12,244.13
Tax equivalent—waterworks.....	2,700.00
Tax equivalent—light plant.....	10,201.67
Miscellaneous.....	4,551.14
Total for 1940-41.....	82,245.26

2. Sources of revenue (anticipated for next year—1941-42):

5 mills property tax.....	17,000.00
Interest on delinquent taxes.....	400.00
Privilege licenses (after \$6,000 for school bonds).....	13,500.00
Motor vehicle licenses ($\frac{1}{2}$).....	3,000.00
Rents and mortgage collections.....	450.00
Fines and forfeitures.....	19,000.00
Collections—cemetery lot sales.....	600.00
Tax equivalent—light plant.....	10,000.00
Tax equivalent—waterworks.....	2,700.00
City's share of ABC store profits.....	12,500.00
Share-State gas tax.....	850.00
Special appropriation—waterworks.....	6,000.00
Miscellaneous revenue.....	800.00
Total.....	85,971.00

3. Total general property or ad valorem tax for current year composed of—

	<i>Mills</i>
City.....	15.0
School.....	10.0
State.....	3.5
County.....	7.5

The city has reached its tax limit.

4. What steps has the city taken to increase its revenue? None.

5. Does the city expect an increase of revenue from in-migration alone? No.

C. HOUSING AND RENT SITUATION IN SHEFFIELD

1. What building is going on inside and outside of city?—A. The Tennessee Valley Authority is planning to build 40 units, the Defense Homes Corporation is finishing 160 permanent-type houses, and Stackhouse, a contractor, has built 54 Federal Housing Administration houses. These are inside the city limits. I have no data on buildings outside the city limits.

2. To what extent can building expand within the city?—A. Sixty percent of the area of Sheffield can be used, There are plenty of vacant lots that are not now being used.

3. Relation of housing to health and juvenile delinquency.—A. I am informed by the Colbert County Public Welfare Department that Sheffield has a comparatively high rate of delinquency. This condition is due to poor housing conditions for the low income groups and poor recreational facilities. The rate of juvenile delinquency, the department tells me, has not increased due to the defense program in this area.

4. How does the city control contagious diseases?—A. The county health department holds a clinic once a week in the municipal building for the treatment of the Negroes and poorer class of people.

D. EDUCATION

1. What facilities does the city have for maintaining high standards?—A. The citizens of Sheffield have always recognized the importance of schools and have insisted that every possible effort be made by the city government to establish and maintain schools of a high quality. In addition to the regular funds provided for the schools by the Alabama Minimum Program, the city of Sheffield taxes itself 2 mills of the assessed valuation of all property for school purposes. Over a period of years, the city commission has made regular contributions to the school fund from the city's general fund. Under normal times and conditions, the above fund while not sufficient to provide everything desired, was adequate for a sound educational program, with a 9-months school for every school child of this community regardless of grade or color.

Within the last 2 years this city has increased considerably in population and the Sheffield schools are called upon to provide additional facilities for a correspondingly increased enrollment without additional revenue. This situation has resulted into greatly increased teacher loads and will necessitate a shorter school term unless we can get aid from some outside source.

2. Number of school buildings?—A. Four white, one colored, all grades from 1 to 12.

3. Average size of classes?—A. Thirty-five and upward.

4. Are any of schools working on shifts?—A. No.

5. What expansion plans does the school system have?—A. The Sheffield Board of Education has developed plans for expansion by building a 10-room grammar school, grades 1 to 6, when such a building is needed, which school will serve the northeast section of the city, where children are now walking great distances to school.

6. If so, what are these plans?—A. The board of education owns a school site approximately 650 by 400 feet in this vicinity. Preliminary plans for this school have been drawn by an architect and are on file in the office of the city superintendent. Neither the city of Sheffield nor the board of education has any funds to devote to this building.

EXHIBIT 26.—STATEMENT BY E. A. McBRIDE, SUPERINTENDENT,
TALLADEGA COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION, TALLADEGA, ALA.

The Childersburg school is under the direction of the Talladega County School Board. All schools in the county are under the supervision of the county board with the exception of the schools in Talledega City and Sylacauga City.

There are two national defense projects located in Talladega County and two more near the north end of the county. All four projects have affected the rural schools of this county. The total enrollment for 1938-39 was 9,223, for 1939-40 was 9,081, for 1940-41 was 8,870, and for 1941-42 was 11,085. The number of children transported during 1940-41 was 3,990 and during 1941-42 was 4,688. Sixteen school busses have been added to take care of increased enrollment and to cut down on the number of trips made for each bus.

Sixty-one teachers resigned before our schools opened last September to accept employment with the national defense organizations or moved to other sections because of the high costs of living in this area. Twenty-five teachers have resigned during the year. There are now 41 teachers in this system who are now teaching for the first time.

To meet the increased enrollment we need 77 classrooms. Allotment has been made by the Federal Government for 41 classrooms, but only one project is under construction at present. Every available space has been utilized and some classes have been taught in school busses during the fall when weather permitted. Three school buildings were located in the defense area, representing a loss of 16 classrooms.

Many children have enrolled but were withdrawn after a few weeks because their parents moved to some other defense job or else returned to their former home. Other children came in immediately so our total enrollment has remained about the same or has increased during the year. The powder plant and bag-loading plant are now operating so we are having an increased number of children whose parents are on the operating force as well as many children whose parents are still engaged in construction. Both plants are to be expanded so we will have a rather large increase in our school population.

The population of Talladega County has increased during the past year from 51,000 to 85,000 or probably 90,000 at the present time.

The crowded conditions at school and in the home and trailer camps have not been conducive to good health; however, there have been no epidemics. Every effort to protect the health of the children as well as the people has been made and has been successful up to this point.

EXHIBIT 27.—STATEMENT BY A. H. WATWOOD, PRINCIPAL, CHILDERSBURG HIGH SCHOOL, CHILDERSBURG, ALA.

Childersburg Consolidated School is a unit of the Talladega County school system. It serves an area extending from 10 to 15 miles from the school center. The program of study is given to all grades from 1 through 12.

The following facts relating to the present conditions show to some extent the problems that have developed here due to the defense works located near Childersburg:

Total number registered during 1940-41 was 515.

Total number registered to date during 1941-42 is 1,206.

Eleven extra teachers have been added this year.

Three extra school busses were added. Each of these makes two trips and carries more than 70 children per trip.

All teachers except four resigned near the beginning of the present school term. These teachers found employment in the defense works, local post office, and other Federal projects.

Nine teachers have resigned during the present school year. These people were employed by the defense works and other agencies offering higher salaries.

The school auditorium has been divided into six rooms, agriculture classes confined to the shop, home economics classes are meeting entirely in the kitchen, and regular classrooms divided to make room for the new pupils.

Living conditions make it impossible for teachers to live in the community. Some teachers live in Birmingham, one in Alexander City, and some found board and rooms in other towns.

One or more families are soon to move into each of the 100 units of Federal houses. This will add many more pupils to the school.

Grade 1 has enrolled 147 pupils.

Grade 2 has enrolled 135 pupils.

Grade 3 has enrolled 130 pupils.

Grade 4 has enrolled 128 pupils.

Grade 5 has enrolled 91 pupils.

Grade 6 has enrolled 155 pupils.

Grade 7 has enrolled 127 pupils.

Grade 8 has enrolled 93 pupils.

Grade 9 has enrolled 76 pupils.

Grade 10 has enrolled 61 pupils.

Grade 11 has enrolled 20 pupils.

Grade 12 has enrolled 27 pupils.

There are 23 rooms now in use.

Records relating to new pupils and to those who withdraw, together with hundreds of references requested from the defense officials have greatly increased work in this office with no additional help.

EXHIBIT 28.—STATEMENT BY J. H. HILL, M. D., COUNTY HEALTH OFFICER, TALLADEGA COUNTY HEALTH DEPARTMENT, TALLADEGA, ALA.

The following statements are submitted with reference to conditions at Childersburg, Ala.:

The local health department has made every effort to be alert to the sanitary and health conditions of the people in this area. At all public housing facilities provision was made for safe water supply and safe excreta disposal before allowing the places occupied. In the stationary structures, such as bunkhouses and tourist cottages, the places were screened against flies and mosquitoes. At all places where large groups were housed provision was made for sanitary bath facilities, including both hot and cold water. All these public establishments are inspected by one of our sanitary officers at regular intervals. Our sanitary facilities for excreta disposal will hold up well until the hot months arrive when new constructions will be necessary if the present population in these places continues.

While there has been definite overcrowding and living conditions have been rather far from the ideal, there has been no undue prevalence of communicable diseases. In fact, there has been no major communicable disease arising in any of these places where large groups are congregated. I may state further that there has not been a single case of typhoid fever reported in the county during the past 12-month period. The same is true of epidemic meningitis and smallpox. There has been no perceptible increase of diphtheria in the county during the year and only a slight increase of scarlet fever, which statement seems to be true, with reference to scarlet fever, throughout the southeast. Immunization clinics have been conducted at the various centers for the purpose of immunization against typhoid, diphtheria, and smallpox. A free venereal disease clinic is also conducted weekly at Childersburg.

The water situation has given us great concern during the past year, but at the present time there is no occasion for worry. The sanitary sewage system is inadequate, but plans are under way for meeting this condition and a new water supply will be under construction in the near future. We have made every effort within our means to have a health center constructed at that place so as to be able to better serve the health needs of this area, but in spite of our efforts covering a period of almost 8 months, this project has only reached the paper stage while facilities for recreation which were planned at the same time and with the same Government agencies, is now ready for occupancy. We were in great fear that an epidemic of influenza with its attendant, pneumonia, or epidemic meningitis might spring up under these crowded conditions and we would have no facilities for caring for the same. We have no isolation wards in the hospitals of this county. Fortunately, however, we have gone thus far without the most urgent need of this facility.

EXHIBIT 29.—STATEMENT BY HENRY N. DOYLE, TALLADEGA COUNTY
HEALTH DEPARTMENT, TALLADEGA, ALA.

Before the present emergency the town of Childersburg had a population of about 450 persons. The present population, within the Childersburg area, has never been determined, but it has been estimated that there are at least 10,000 persons living within a radius of 3 miles of the town.

The greater portion of this increase has been absorbed by trailers, newly built houses of very poor construction, tents, and in a few cases made over barns and chicken houses. During the first few months of construction the population was largely composed of males. These men were comfortably housed in bunk houses. However, after they were able to save a little money, they soon sent for their families. This added greatly to the congestion for in but few cases had they provided for their housing beforehand.

Before construction of the powder plant began the sanitary conditions of this area were only in a fair state. The town had a sewer but this did not serve the entire population. Since January 1, 1941, the Talladega County Health Department has supervised and approved 207 excreta disposal installations. These may be broken down as follows: Private privies, 139; public privies, 45; private septic tanks, 16; public septic tanks, 7.

The town of Childersburg estimates that they have made 100 sewer connections since that date. There has been an undetermined number of privies installed that could not be approved by this department as they did not meet the State specifications. Most of these installations have been outside the town. The sanitation program was not pushed in the town as an enlargement of the sewer system was expected to begin at any time. This project was started last week and should be completed during the early part of the summer. Sanitation in this area is by no means complete and the program is still going on.

All meat markets, eating establishments, bunkhouses, trailer camps, tourist and tent camps are under supervision of the county health department and sanitation of these establishments is closely watched. Classification of these establishments are as follows: Bunkhouses, 34 (not all in operation at this time; many closed due to lack of business); trailer camps, 16; tent camps, 1; restaurants, 23.

The increase in water consumption is shown as follows: April 1941, 347,395 gallons; May 1941, 953,000 gallons; June, 1,756,179 gallons; July, 2,262,288 gallons; August, 2,569,182 gallons; September, 2,489,433 gallons.

During August and September the well was producing at its capacity and did not meet the need of the town. Consequently, many old wells were placed into service and much unsafe water was being consumed in private residences. During the month of October the du Pont Co. agreed to furnish the town with 10,000 gallons per day. This alleviated the situation and since that time the town has been able to meet its needs. A new filter plant and water system is under construction and should be completed before the peak demands are needed during the summer months.

Prior to October 1941, the town had no garbage collection service and this situation had become a great nuisance. In October the United States Public Health Service loaned to the town a truck to be used for this purpose. Personnel has been provided and this situation has been greatly improved.

The defense housing project in Childersburg is complete and is ready for occupancy. This will provide homes for 100 families, which will be a small fraction of the need. This project is served by its own water system which is approved by the State board of health. Sewage disposal is through the town's system. There is another defense housing project at Sylacauga, 10 miles distant, which will take care of 150 families.

The greater part of the milk supply for the Childersburg area is pasteurized. This comes from Sylacauga and Birmingham. There are a few distributors of grade A raw milk. Accurate figures on this subject are not available.

My comments have been limited to the Childersburg area, which is within a radius of 3 to 5 miles of the city. However, a great many of the people working here live in adjoining counties as well as at Birmingham and Sylacauga.

EXHIBIT 30.—STATEMENT BY R. E. THOMPSON, SUPERINTENDENT,
TUSCUMBIA SCHOOLS, TUSCUMBIA, ALA.

FEBRUARY 17, 1942.

The sources of revenue for the Tuscumbia city schools are as follows: State and county educational funds from the county board of education; city 3-mill district tax and the special 3-mill city tax from the city of Tuscumbia; in addition to the former, the city gives from their general funds as much as they are able to pay. For the past 2 years we have run the 9-month terms, but have accumulated about \$2,000 indebtedness in doing so. In 1938-39 we ran some short of 9 months on account of lack of funds. This year the amount anticipated from all sources is approximately the same as we received last year. However, our operating expenses are greater this session than in previous years.

In administration we have one superintendent, two supervising principals, and one teaching principal. We have 19 teachers in the high school for whites; 13 teachers in the elementary school for whites, and 10 teachers in the Negro school. Due to increased attendance we are this week adding an additional white and an extra Negro teacher.

We pay State minimum salary schedule which is based on training and experience. In the white schools this runs from \$90 per month to \$135 per month or an average of approximately \$110 per month. In the Negro school the monthly rate is from \$55 to \$70 or an average of approximately \$65 per month.

During the school year we have had seven teachers resign to take better-paying jobs, some to go into defense work.

In the white high school we have enrolled 630; white elementary 511; Negro school 472. We have an increase in all departments.

We have 1 high school building which was constructed for accommodating 400 pupils, but we have 630 in this building and can accommodate them only by using laboratories for class rooms and by having two classes and a study hall at all times in the auditorium. The Southern Association of High Schools warns us this year that our classes are too large. We need at present time at least 8 more class rooms to relieve the crowded condition in high school and the overcrowded rooms in the white elementary school. We at present have our application in with the Public Works Administration for a new building, and base our plea on the fact that we have more than 300 white children from defense families.

For next session it is apparent that we are going to have more defense workers' families and still more crowded conditions in class rooms and buildings. Then too, we are faced with the problem of teachers working for less than most defense workers are paid. Many teachers are leaving the teaching field for other work. Our teachers at present are paying some \$10 per month more for board than they

paid last year and this is due largely to their having to compete with defense workers who can afford to pay more for living expenses.

We sincerely trust that the Public Works Administration in some way will grant us funds to apply on a new building. We have the land and \$15,000 in a building fund to apply on a new building. The Public Works Administration has advised us that we do not show a sufficient increase over our 1940 enrollment to justify their granting funds for a new building. We were crowded in 1940, but we are more greatly crowded today, especially in the high school where we have the upper 6 grades. We need very much to move at least 200 pupils out of this building. And if a new building were possible we would move this number out of high school and about 100 out of the elementary school. We have ample accommodation in our Negro school.

EXHIBIT 31.—STATEMENT BY R. E. HARPER, M. D., COUNTY HEALTH OFFICER, COLBERT COUNTY HEALTH DEPARTMENT, TUSCUMBIA, ALA.

The statutes of Alabama place upon the State department of health the responsibility—

- (1) Of exercising general control over the enforcement of the laws relating to public health, and of adopting and promulgating rules and regulations for the administration of said laws;
- (2) Of investigating the causes, modes of propagation, and means of prevention of disease;
- (3) Of safeguarding the avenues of conveyance of drinking water;
- (4) Of inspecting establishments and institutions dealing in commodities or dispensing services that may have a public-health aspect; and
- (5) Of exercising control over county boards of health and county health officers.

Further, the State department of health is charged with the duty of:

- (6) Supervising the collection of vital statistics;
- (7) Conducting bacteriologic, serologic, and vaccine laboratories;
- (8) Furnishing rabies treatments to persons bitten by rabid animals;
- (9) Conducting educational campaigns for the dissemination of knowledge regarding tuberculosis, hookworm disease, typhoid fever, malaria, and other preventable diseases;
- (10) Exercising supervision over milk supplies;
- (11) Promoting the physical welfare of the entire citizenship of the State, particularly the younger-age groups of the population; and, finally,
- (12) Acting as an advisory staff to the State in all medical matters and matters of sanitation and public health.

Local health administration—It shall be the duty of county boards of health in their respective jurisdictions and subject to the supervision and control of the State board of health—

- (1) To supervise the enforcement of the health laws of the State, including all ordinances and rules and regulations of municipalities and of the county board of health and of the State board of health; to supervise the enforcement of the law for the collection of vital and mortuary statistics; and to adopt and promulgate, if necessary, rules and regulations for administering the health laws of the State and the rules and regulations of the State board of health.
- (2) To investigate through county health officers, or quarantine officers, cases or outbreaks of disease, and to enforce such measures for the prevention or extermination of said disease as are authorized by law.
- (3) To investigate through county health officers or quarantine officers all nuisances to public health and through said officers to take proper steps for the abatement of such nuisances.
- (4) To exercise through county health officers or quarantine officers special supervision over the sanitary conditions of schools, hospitals, asylums, jails, almshouses, theaters, courthouses, churches, public halls, prisons, markets, dairies, milk depots, railroad cars, lines of railroads (including the territory contiguous to said lines), industrial and manufacturing establishments, offices, stores, banks, club houses, hotels, rooming houses, residences, the sources of supply, tanks, reservoirs, pumping stations, and avenues of conveyance of drinking water, and other institutions and places of like character; and whenever insanitary conditions are found to use all legal means to have the same abated.
- (5) To elect a county health officer, subject to the approval of the State committee of public health, who shall devote all of his time to the duties of his office,

and to fix his term of office at not less than 3 years, in such counties of the State as shall, through their proper authorities, make appropriation for full-time health service.

The present personnel of the Colbert County Health Department consists of: One health officer, two sanitation officers, two nurses, one X-ray technician, one secretary, and one part-time meat inspector.

The sources of funds for salaries, travel, and office maintenance are local and State. Locally, the county appropriates \$7,000,000 annually, the city of Sheffield \$480, the city of Tuscumbia \$300,000 and the Florence Packing Co. makes a donation of \$120 annually. State funds come through the State health department, and are derived from the State treasury, the United States Public Health Service, the children's bureau, and a few other sources, the information on which I do not have.

Colbert County is one of a group of counties in the State in which local funds, appropriated for the health department, are matched by State funds. However, the State department is now appropriating slightly more than is being appropriated in Colbert County. Our total budget is \$17,480 of which \$7,900 is appropriated locally. An increase in the budget for the next fiscal year would depend upon an increase in the local appropriation, which I do not anticipate.

This department is maintaining four venereal disease clinics, each conducted weekly, 1 maternity-spacing clinic conducted weekly and 1 pneumothorax clinic, conducted twice a month. There are approximately 425 persons on our active files receiving treatments for venereal diseases. The average attendance at our maternity-spacing clinic is about 12, but only a small percentage receive the spacing service. The average attendance at our pneumothorax clinic is about 40, half of whom are residents of Colbert County. The others are residents of Lauderdale and Franklin Counties.

Complete records are kept of all the clinic work conducted by the health department. However, the necessary follow-up work, particularly with venereal diseases is inadequate because of the lack of nursing personnel. All of our clinics are conducted at the health department except three venereal disease clinics. These are held in Sheffield, Leighton, and Cherokee.

The Colbert County Hospital, located between Sheffield and Tuscumbia, is the only hospital in the county, and has a normal capacity of 50 beds. It has no wards or beds for tuberculosis cases or other contagious diseases. The Colbert County Tuberculosis Home, an institution for the isolation of far-advanced cases of tuberculosis, will be discontinued March 1, 1942. This institution has been maintained entirely by the county.

There are no Army camps in Alabama within a radius of 75 miles of any part of Colbert County. I cannot state positively whether there is an Army camp in Mississippi or Tennessee within a radius of 75 miles of the county, but I do not believe there is.

Sheffield, Tuscumbia, Leighton, and Cherokee, four of the five incorporated towns in the county, have public water supplies under direct supervision of the State health department. The water supply of Sheffield and Tuscumbia, is combined, the plant being located in Sheffield. The water supplies of Sheffield, Tuscumbia, and Leighton are adequate for the present population, and would be for a considerable increase in populations. The water supply at Cherokee is not always adequate during the summer months. There are three semipublic water supplies at Muscle Shoals City, which are small but adequate for the present population. A considerable increase in population at Muscle Shoals City, which seems to be a certainty, would probably necessitate a larger water supply.

Only Sheffield and Tuscumbia have sewer systems. These appear to be adequate for the present populations, but have probably reached their capacity. An extension of the sewer system of Sheffield is contemplated.

As stated above, 4 venereal disease clinics are conducted in the county by the health department. Approximately 425 persons are on our active files, but the average weekly attendance is about 275. This shows the need for follow-up work which we cannot do because of the lack of adequate personnel. However, a limited follow-up on prostitutes and others who are reported to be spreading these diseases is maintained, and these persons are required to take treatments regularly. Legal authority has been granted health departments by the State to incarcerate and treat such persons who refuse to be treated at the clinics or by private physicians.

I do not believe the present housing conditions in Sheffield and Tuscumbia are vulnerable to any particular form of contagion, but if the anticipated growth of this area materializes, precautions, especially with reference to adequate sanitation, will have to be taken to prevent the occurrence of contagion.

I am sorry I cannot give you data on all public health standards as compared with the statements and figures given in this letter. The most urgent need of this department is additional personnel, particularly nurses. Public health standards call for a public health nurse for each 5,000 population. On this basis we should have 7 or 8 nurses.

Another urgent need of this department is a building of adequate size and suitable arrangement for personnel and clinics. This being a defense area, the county has made application for Federal funds with which to build a new health center. It is hoped that these funds will be made available.

EXHIBIT 32.—STATEMENT BY RUFUS PORTER, SUPERINTENDENT OF EDUCATION, COLBERT COUNTY, TUSCUMBIA, ALA.

Herein we submit the following information as requested by the committee on social and economic problems and school data on the area served by this office.

The Colbert County Board of Education has supervision over all schools in the county outside the cities of Sheffield and Tuscumbia. This includes 25 white schools and 13 Negroes, employing 120 white teachers, 34 Negroes. Serving these schools are 33 white busses and 4 busses run for Negro children. There are 3,950 white children enrolled and 1,260 Negroes in these schools.

With reference to the attendance in the schools of this county, with the exception of the increase caused by defense migration, has been a fairly stable figure for a number of years as there has been a decrease in the elementary schools caused by a lower birth rate. The loss in numbers in the elementary schools has been offset by approximately the same number of junior and senior high school increase. On this basis we can, therefore, state that the holding power of the school is certainly higher now than in the past years. This school system has had an approximate increase of 250 students in the past year caused by the defense efforts. The number of children will necessarily increase in proportion to the degree in which additional plants are located in this section. Approximately 78 percent of the children enrolled in schools of this county are transported by State-owned and operated busses.

I would like to submit additional information relative to the following items:

1. In the main the State department of education serves as an assisting agency to the county schools. The department of education, of course, has certain authorities set forth by the School Code of Alabama over the general educational program. Such items as budget approval, approval of warrant issues, distribution of State funds, certification of teachers, approving of school buildings and to some degree location, devising proper equitable regulations for the division of money by the counties and cities, determining the teacher units based on average daily attendance, handling the purchase of State owned textbooks and prescribing regulations for their care, assisting the counties in obtaining State prices on various equipments purchased, are some of the items rendered the county and city school programs by the State department.

The State department of education in Alabama toward this county has never shown itself dictatorial or has not in any way tried to eliminate the local board of education's initiative in developing the kind and type of school program this board cared to. We have felt that the State office has been a helping department and has rendered us invaluable service in the developing of our schools.

2. The revenue to operate our schools is derived from the following sources:

A. State funds:

1. Minimum program fund.
2. Public school fund.
3. State and Federal vocational fund.

B. County revenue:

1. Three mill county-wide tax.
2. One mill special educational tax.
3. Three mill district school tax.

(The above seven-mill tax is all levied and collected on the total assessed valuation of Colbert County and is all that the State constitution allows).

4. Poll tax (\$1.50 per person a year to the age of 45 with some exceptions for soldiers, cripples, etc.)
5. Tennessee Valley Authority refund, which revenue is paid by the Tennessee Valley Authority for lands being taken off the tax collections caused by the building of Pickwick Dam.

We do not anticipate any additional increase in State funds for the next scholastic year and from the following figures on the assessed valuation of the county we therefore do not anticipate any increase on local revenue.

1940.....	\$12, 384, 863	1937.....	\$12, 746, 649
1939.....	12, 453, 511	1936.....	13, 609, 783
1938.....	12, 406, 721	1935.....	13, 660, 594

3. Total of 120 white teachers, including all principals, draw a total of \$11,407.50 making an average monthly salary of \$95. Of this total 120, 96 of these people work only seven months a year, of the remaining 24, 20 of these teachers work approximately $8\frac{3}{4}$ months per year, the remaining 4 work 12 months a year.

The county this year employed a young man as supervisor of schools for 9 months \$1,500, and the salary of the superintendent is set by the board of education at \$2,700. The minimum salary for any person in the white schools is \$65 per month and the maximum salary for classroom teachers is \$140 a month.

To date the loss in teacher personnel has not greatly affected the efficiency of the school operation, however indications are if the condition grows worse the loss will begin to affect the efficiency of our operation. The school board has been able to employ a number of married women who have moved in the area whose husbands are working at the defense plants. This has brought us an additional supply of fairly well trained people, however a great many of our schools are not available to them as these women are usually located in the cities of Tuscumbia and Sheffield and the driving distance to the schools will forbid them from accepting school offers.

Total of 34 Negro teachers, including all principals, draw a total of \$2,142.50, making an average monthly salary of \$63. All of the Negro teachers work 7 months a year. The minimum salary for classroom teachers is \$45 and the maximum \$92.50.

4. Sizes of classes run anywhere from a maximum number of 50 to a minimum number of 15, with the average size of classes about 33. At present the increased enrollment has not justified the schools going on a shift basis.

5. This school system is composed of 27 school buildings centrally located over the county and the system is considered to a fair degree consolidated.

In the east end of Colbert County where R. S. Reynolds Metals Co. and Rolling Mills is located, also the electro-metallurgical plant, this area has had to absorb the burden of the additional load and additional classrooms are needed at several schools, namely, Leighton Elementary, Leighton High, Brick and Leighton colored Application has been made through the defense public works under the Lanham Act for such additions.

6. The State of Alabama requirements for certificates requires a minimum of 3 years of college training at an approved teachers college or school of education for an Alabama certificate, however those people already holding certificates can get them renewed on the basis of conditions set forth on the face of that certificate.

The State of Alabama does issue an emergency certificate to the local superintendent if and when he makes a statement to the department of education that all available certified teachers in that area have been exhausted and that no other available certified person can be found for that particular job. These emergency certificates are granted on a 1-year basis only, non renewable for the next school term. This county has had to avail itself of the emergency offer in requesting such certificates for about four people this year.

7. The curriculum program in Alabama has been undergoing a change for a number of years to a certain degree. The traditional curriculum has been altered to adjust to the national emergency. Additional emphasis given to shop work, tools, both power and hand, installed. I think to a certain degree typing, shorthand and bookkeeping have been emphasized to a greater degree. Carpenter work, electrical, blacksmith, auto mechanics, first aid, Diesel and gas motors have been studied thoroughly. More emphasis is being put on physical and health education and the emergency has developed the further need of the hot lunch program which endeavor has been assisted by Surplus Commodities Act and the Work Projects Administration. It is felt that this movement has been highly worth while and should be encouraged by the local school units, State and Federal agencies. We are finding that this is one of the greatest improvements that the schools in this area have made over a long period of time.

8. The school year in this area has been on a basis of 7 months elementary, 9 months high, 5 days per week. As yet the board of education has not recommended the 6-day-a-week program, however this is under consideration at the present time. We do anticipate a shortage of farm labor this spring and many agricultural changes are anticipated. For an example: Colbert County has been

raising 300 acres of peanuts per year. I am informed by the county agent that the Federal Government has placed a quota on this county of 3,000 acres for next year. I am persuaded to believe that this quota will be made and yield increased largely due to the 4-H Club boys and girls and to what extent effort is put toward the movement.

We have lost a number of high-school boys dropping out of school going to defense works, however there has been one encouraging feature that has prevented the maximum number from leaving, inasmuch as most of the plants are taking only the graduates for their better jobs and have discouraged any boy from leaving school that has not completed the 12 grades offered in this State. Marriages have increased and in proportion there is an increased number of married women attending school.

9. The outlook for the next school term indicates that the size of the classes will be larger. With the present revenue it will be impossible for us to continue to add teachers in proportion to the increase in school enrollment. This increase will have to be absorbed by the present teaching units taking on additional loads. The offering of the high schools cannot be expanded without additional revenue. There is definite need for a wider range of subjects to meet the defense efforts but this cannot be done without additional financial help.

The board of education is limited in capital outlay expenditure and where classrooms are now needed it will be impossible for us to build such on present revenue, and hallways and auditoriums will have to be partitioned for additional space. The supply of teachers who have certificates is practically exhausted and more of the older group will have to be called on to take the place of the younger teachers who have resigned to obtain better jobs.

10. The school space that is available in Colbert County is entirely too far from the point of congestion that transportation would help to relieve the crowded condition. For instance we have a few buildings in the west end of Colbert County some 25 miles from the crowded area and it is impossible to transport pupils this far to obtain school advantages, especially the grade children.

EXHIBIT 33.—STATEMENT BY MRS. W. O. REED, DIRECTOR, DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE, COLBERT COUNTY, TUSCUMBIA, ALA.

1. The following is a break-down of the financial statement of Colbert County from October 1940 through September 1941, which is our fiscal year. "Number of clients" in column V refers to number of families receiving cash assistance through this Department by the month under the categories of old-age assistance, aid to dependent children, aid to the blind, aid to the handicapped, and temporary aid. In column VI "Average per client" means average cash grant per month per family. In column VII "Number eligible—not receiving" represents the number of families who are eligible for cash grants through this Department, but who do not receive cash grants in view of the limitation of funds.

Month	Source of funds		Federal III	Total IV	Number clients V	Average per client VI	Number eligible not receiving cash VII
	Local	State					
	I	II					
1940							
October	\$770. 14	\$770. 14	\$1, 233. 28	\$2, 773. 56	291	\$9. 53	114
November	793. 74	793. 74	1, 277. 48	2, 864. 96	311	9. 21	96
December	804. 14	804. 15	1, 297. 00	2, 905. 29	313	9. 28	107
1941							
January	818. 70	818. 70	1, 337. 25	2, 974. 65	320	9. 30	105
February	829. 00	829. 00	1, 346. 00	3, 004. 00	321	9. 36	108
March	847. 30	847. 31	1, 350. 55	3, 045. 16	317	9. 61	113
April	897. 63	870. 64	1, 387. 00	3, 155. 27	322	9. 80	107
May	943. 67	924. 68	1, 438. 00	3, 306. 35	316	10. 46	109
June	962. 50	923. 00	1, 406. 00	3, 291. 50	314	10. 48	112
July	963. 00	935. 00	1, 457. 00	3, 352. 00	316	10. 61	116
August	974. 94	949. 44	1, 486. 87	3, 411. 25	325	10. 50	118
September	926. 25	925. 25	1, 463. 50	3, 315. 00	312	10. 63	120
Total	10, 528. 01	10, 391. 05	16, 479. 93	37, 398. 99	3, 778	9. 90	-----

2. In several ways the in-migration of people into the county has affected the welfare client. Primarily the client has been affected from the standpoint of housing (see point 5 for discussion). Apparently the living costs in this section have always been considered exceptionally high, but with the influx of defense workers and others, living cost increased. The client with his inadequate grant was unable to compete in securing adequate house, food, or other necessities. In many instances persons who at one time were employees of Work Projects Administration have had larger earnings than at any previous period in their lives from defense opportunities. These people have entered a campaign of reckless spending, with no particular planning of budgeting system to enable them to profit by their increased earnings. Following a man's release from a year's employment at the defense plant, within a few days the client finds himself at the door of the welfare department apparently in no better shape financially than prior to his period of employment. In some instances the client is wearing better clothing and he looks as though he had more nourishing food. In many instances, however, there seems to be no change.

One of the effects of the increased industrial activity is that the laborer's attention is attracted by the large wages so that he can readily give accounts of waiting hours unsuccessfully to secure an interview for employment at one of the defense plants, but he completely loses sight of the smaller job with less pay which may have possibilities for permanency. The job with big pay is alluring regardless of short period of employment, whereas the little job with small pay, though it be permanent, has no attraction. Persons are no longer interested in farm work but prefer employment by an industry.

3. As our county appropriation for the past 2 or 3 years has been somewhat constant we anticipate neither an increase nor decrease in county funds. In the event, however, there should be a decrease in county funds the effect upon the relief people would mean that they would be even less able to secure adequate house, food, medical care and other necessities. During the month of December 1941 the average grant per family in Colbert County was \$11.06 per month. A decrease in funds would undermine the morale of the people inasmuch as they would be even less able to secure necessities of life. Cost of living has decidedly increased so that the value of a dollar is much less than a year ago.

4. Under point 1 we gave by months the number of persons receiving cash grants and the number of eligibles for whom no funds were available in Colbert County. The following figures, which we secured from the Work Projects Administration office, Decatur, represent the months, beginning October 1940, continuing through September 1941, the number of men and women employed upon Work Projects Administration under column I, and under column II the number of persons certified as in need of Work Projects Administration but due to inadequate quota were not working:

Month	Work Projects Administration—awaiting assignment		Month	Work Projects Administration—awaiting assignment	
	I	II		I	II
1940			1941		
October.....	435	784	March.....	369	819
November.....	353	800	April.....	452	675
December.....	393	880	May.....	395	461
1941			June.....	512	245
January.....	373	900	July.....	469	260
February.....	341	913	August.....	535	213
			September.....	485	256

As persons awaiting assignment to Work Projects Administration apparently have no income, during the past fiscal year they were afforded food stamps through the food stamp offices as follows:

Month	Number of families	Food stamps	Month	Number of families	Food stamps
1940			1941		
October.....	701	\$6, 192	April.....	655	\$5, 854
November.....	786	6, 766	May.....	517	4, 610
December.....	802	6, 479	June.....	286	2, 446
1941			July.....	238	2, 183
January.....	865	7, 341	August.....	295	2, 513
February.....	822	6, 955	September.....	179	1, 563
March.....	804	7, 070	Total.....	6, 950	59, 972

Thus we see that the awaiting assignment family received on an average of \$8.63 per month, which amount he used for food. Thus the average per month afforded the awaiting assignment group is less than the average cash grant per month to social-security categories. (You will note that the number of families awaiting assignment who received food stamps varies from the number of families awaiting Work Projects Administration assignment, according to figures secured from Work Projects Administration. This difference in number is due to the fact that nonhouseholders are ineligible for food stamps.)

We were unable to secure rentals by the month for the past year. However, a study of our case load revealed that we have about 432 families at the present either receiving cash grants or approved as eligible. Of this number, 12 are boarding in unrelated homes, 81 are living with relatives so that they do not have to pay rent; 113 families secure rent free as they live in shacks in too bad condition to warrant payment of rent, in tents, in houses on the landlord's farms, etc.; and 55 families own their own homes or shacks which afford shelter. The remaining 172 families pay rent. Prior to October 1, 1940, the average amount of rent these families paid per month was \$4.60 per month. On, or after, October 1, 1941, the average amount paid per month was \$5.38, or an increase of about 17 percent for rent. In one case rent jumped from nothing to \$17 per month. In most instances the increases in rents were in the towns or larger communities.

In making this study of our case load it was particularly noteworthy that in most instances in the urban sections when the families were notified that their rent would be increased from 25 to 100 percent, the families, realizing the impossibility of paying this amount, merely moved to houses which were in much worse condition, in more undesirable sections of town, or crowded into one or two rooms. In view of this tendency to escape to worse living quarters, due to the client's inability to pay rent, the actual picture as to the increase that was expected of the clients would show more than 17 percent advance.

It seems that rents increased to a greater extent on houses and apartments ranging between \$10 to \$20 per month. In many instances the houses clients occupied were repaired following the clients moving and in turn the houses were rented to laborers on the defense projects.

(The above figures represent a fairly accurate break-down regarding living arrangements of our families as we made a study of the entire case load. These figures, however, refer merely to those receiving cash grants through our department and in no way reflect the plight of the Work Projects Administration employees).

Apparently delinquency has not particularly increased during the past year as it was always exceptionally high in this section. This fact has a direct bearing on housing of the low-income group and accordingly even though delinquency may not have increased noticeably this year, at least there seems no possibility of a decrease as long as the clients are being pushed into even poorer living quarters.

Apparently neither hospital nor health facilities have been increased because of the indigent outsider but there seems to be a possibility that health facilities will be increased in the county in the future.

In Colbert County apparently there are 40 women enrolled in a class in business training in typing and shorthand in Tusculumbia sponsored by vocational education, and 8 persons enrolled in a similar course sponsored by National Youth Administration.

Tennessee Valley Authority, likewise, has a training class in blueprint reading for 25 Negro employees.

For the most part, persons enrolled in above training classes have to have a certain degree of education as a basis so that persons with practically no education are not afforded an opportunity to learn these trades or acquire these skills.

There continues to be, according to the records of Alabama State Employment Service, a large number of unemployed unskilled laborers who are unable to be absorbed by the defense programs due to lack of skills.

Apparently Work Projects Administration projects afford about the only source of recreation for low-income groups. According to an announcement on January 22, 1942, in the Tri-Cities Daily, R. A. Hoyer, field agent of the Federal Security Agency, announced that he filed applications for four recreational buildings in the Muscle Shoals district in behalf of the local cities. Included in the applications were: An \$85,000 community center in Florence; a \$75,000 gymnasium and community center in Tuscumbia; a \$40,000 community center in Sheffield; a \$40,000 Negro gymnasium, that will probably be located in Sheffield, and will serve the Negroes of the entire district. The buildings are to be erected to meet the needs here for recreational centers and serve thousands of defense workers. According to rumors in Tuscumbia, in the event one of the buildings is erected in Tuscumbia for defense workers a large playground will be added to the project for white children.

EXHIBIT 34.—STATEMENT BY CHARLES F. VARN, SECRETARY-MANAGER, CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, ANNISTON, ALA.

The official 1940 census for Anniston showed a population of 25,523, a 14 percent increase over 1930; in the metropolitan area, which comprises Anniston, Oxford, Hobson City, Blue Mountain, Fort McClellan, and environs, the 1940 population was 35,284, an 18 percent increase over 1930. The Calhoun County population as of 1940 was 63,319, a 13.8 percent increase over 1930. Today Anniston city limits enjoys an approximate population of 35,000 although last year some 40,000 resided here. In the metropolitan area today we enjoy a population of 60,000 as against approximately 65,000 last year.

During 1940 the construction program at Fort McClellan aggregated \$7,750,000, building cantonments, utilities, and other essential construction to house up to 25,000 troops. Peak labor employed on the project was in the neighborhood of 7,500 persons. During 1941 continued permanent improvements amounted to \$5,500,000, with peak labor around 3,500. During 1941 the Anniston ordnance depot located at Bynum, 10 miles west of Anniston, was underway at a cost of \$10,600,000. Peak labor went around 6,000. The Coosa River ordnance plant, 18 miles south, costing \$24,000,000, and the Alabama ordnance depot at Childersburg, 45 miles southwest, and costing in the neighborhood of \$75,000,000, only slightly affected our housing situation.

In October 1940 the New York National Guard was assigned to Fort McClellan. A good number of the families of these 18,000 officers and enlisted men of the New York outfit came to Anniston to live. Meanwhile Anniston's 83 industries went to maximum production, increasing the number of employees and subsequent housing needs. Local stores and commercial houses likewise increased their employee personnel to take care of the increased business, and this too added to the problem of more living accommodations.

Realizing an acute emergency existed, the chamber of commerce appointed a housing committee to study the situation and take necessary steps to remedy it insofar as possible. Personnel of committee comprised a representative from the real estate dealers, labor, building material, furniture and furnishings, and women's clubs. A campaign was undertaken to convert empty attics, servants' quarters, spare rooms, etc., into apartments and housing accommodations. A majority were furnished throughout, special arrangements having been made with local furniture stores to include this in a reasonable rental. Building materials and hardware dealers furnished free estimates to prospective remodelers. Labor agreed to give special priority to these repairs to speed the needs, with no increase in labor rates. A housing bureau was then established in the office of the chamber of commerce and a full-time employee assigned as director. During the 8-month period which the office was in existence 702 apartments, houses, and rooms were rented through this bureau. In addition, approximately 100 others were rented in the adjoining communities of Jacksonville, Piedmont, Eastoboga, Lincoln, etc. These accommodations represented living quarters for 2,500 persons. This represented mostly the families of soldiers at the fort, and executives of the various defense projects. Workers in the various defense projects found their own accommodations in the homes of people in the industrial sections, and in outlying suburbs. The old Alabama Military Institute Building was leased to a private individual and cot space for defense workers rented.

Since then with the cooperation of Fort McClellan a homes registration office has been established and a billeting officer put in charge as director. A local fair-rental committee has also been appointed to handle rental increase disputes.

Statistical comparison of new home construction and remodeling since 1937

	1941	1940	1939	1938	1937
Number new homes.....	264	132	99	72	56
Number remodeled.....	157	60	121	140	191

During 1941 some major relief was indicated in the matter of housing accommodations. You will note that twice the number of new homes were constructed as compared with the previous year; 157 were remodeled. In addition 8 apartment houses were built containing 99 units. An 85-room addition to 1 of our leading hotels is under way. In the outlying sections of the city a large suburban development got under way representing an investment of approximately \$300,000. In 1940 the white low-cost housing project containing 165 units was opened, and a new Negro low-cost housing project, containing 82 units, is expected to be under construction shortly.

Some relief was experienced with the designation of Anniston as a critical defense area for group construction of homes under title No. 6, liberalized Federal Housing Administration program. No appreciable assistance is felt in the construction priorities of homes where houses rent for not more than \$50 per month. Considerable discouragement is indicated on the part of new home builders, Federal Housing Administration and insurance loans, etc., on account of delay in obtaining materials, contractors, and increase in costs of building. Investigation of the records of the home registration office, real estate dealers, etc., shows that a shortage of apartments and houses continues to exist, with no vacancies reported. They do have approximately 200 rooms for rent, but this is far from satisfactory. Presently Fort McClellan is a replacement training center, the New York National Guard Division having been transferred to the Pacific coast. These new officers are having some difficulty in getting the required living accommodations in the metropolitan area. Housing accommodations at the post are very limited. Additional housing facilities at the post and at the Anniston ordnance depot at Bynum, for the permanent garrison executives, would assist considerably in relieving the shortage. Anniston with so many of its industries engaged in war products does not have a single workers' defense housing project. Housing relief to the farmers and tenants vacating lands taken over by the Government for addition to Fort McClellan (Pelham Range) and the ordnance depot, was given through Farm Security Administration, but no relief has been given town industrial defense workers. An overcrowded condition, therefore, exists in the industrial sections of the city.

EXHIBIT 35.—STATEMENT BY C. C. MOSELEY, SUPERINTENDENT, ANNISTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS, ANNISTON, ALA.

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT

We have compiled data showing school enrollment trend from 1938-39 to date. A copy of same is attached. I may say that the approximate 1,000 increase in enrollment over this period has been largely due to defense activities. The Pupil Registration Card Form Public Act 137 (of which you are perhaps familiar) shows that we had by count 745 defense pupils in our Anniston schools on February 2, 1942. Of these, however, there was some doubt about some 218 of them, leaving without doubt 527 pupils chargeable directly to defense work. There are perhaps many more than these but we were unable to get the days on which they moved into Anniston and, therefore could not count them. I may say, too, that many defense pupils have registered in the Anniston schools since we compiled the data on February 2, 1942. They are coming in daily.

The reasons for these defense pupils being in Anniston are:

1. The expansion at Fort McClellan. Originally there were two or three thousand soldiers stationed there but the Twenty-seventh Division brought in about 22,000. Millions of dollars were spent in this expansion program.

2. The ordnance depot. The ordnance depot was built about 6 miles from Anniston at a cost of \$11,000,000. This project has not yet been completed. We are also told that still other expansions will be made there.

3. The du Pont powder plant, only 40 miles away at Childersburg and the bag-loading plant about 30 miles away at Talladega have caused people to move to Anniston and go back and forth daily to work. This was due to the fact that they could not find housing any nearer to the two plants.

4. News now comes to us that the shell-loading plant, located about 6 or 7 miles out from the ordnance depot, will be built shortly.

5. A large number of our local industries in Anniston are engaged in defense production either in whole or in part. The Kilby Car & Foundry Co. is engaged in total defense production. The Monsanto Chemical Co. does a large percent of defense production. The nine pipe shops, all of the machine shops, the knitting and yarn mills, etc., do quite a bit of defense production work.

This sudden influx of defense pupils has caused the City Board of Education of Anniston to make temporary arrangements to house pupils by: using basement rooms (which are merely storage rooms), a principal's office, halls, libraries, and auditoriums and two basements of old churches for classrooms. Teachers have been employed and many more need now to be employed. We are running a double session in five different rooms at the present time (this means that half of the children come in the morning and half come in the afternoon).

Enrollment of Anniston public schools, Anniston, Ala., Feb. 3, 1942

WHITE SCHOOLS

	June 30, 1939	June 30, 1940	Oct. 10, 1940	Oct. 10, 1941	Dec. 5, 1941	Jan. 8, 1942	Feb. 2, 1942
Sixth ward, grades 1 to 6.....	379	371	391	426	446	458	466
Noble St., grades 1 to 6.....	583	547	578	595	624	636	647
Wilmer Ave., grades 1 to 6.....	244	241	248	228	240	252	256
Glen Addie, grades 1 to 6.....	220	165	194	268	287	294	294
Woodstock Ave., grades 1 to 6.....	355	386	414	417	448	455	475
Pine Ave., grades 1 to 6.....	426	454	440	426	464	473	484
Total elementary.....	2,207	2,164	2,265	2,360	2,509	2,568	2,622
Junior high, grades 7 to 9.....	786	721	850	859	877	890	903
Senior high, grades 10 to 12.....	476	505	521	530	535	536	546
Quintard Ave., grade 7.....	300	266	318	333	344	346	348
Anniston High, grades 8 to 12.....	962	960	1,053	1,056	1,068	1,080	1,101
Total high school.....	1,262	1,226	1,371	1,389	1,412	1,426	1,449
Total whites.....	3,469	3,390	3,636	3,749	3,921	3,994	4,071

NEGRO SCHOOLS

South Highland, grades 1 to 6.....	311	288	295	306	321	323	339
12th St., grades 1 to 6.....	669	707	703	753	787	796	812
Total elementary.....	980	995	998	1,059	1,108	1,119	1,151
Cobb Ave.:							
Junior high, grades 7 to 9.....	216	211	282	314	330	332	326
Senior high, grades 10 to 12.....	89	115	156	159	159	160	161
Total high school.....	305	326	438	473	489	492	487
Total Negroes.....	1,285	1,321	1,436	1,532	1,597	1,611	1,638
Grand total.....	4,754	4,711	5,072	5,281	5,518	5,605	5,709

EXHIBIT 36.—STATEMENT BY FRANK J. NOLAN, MANAGER, THE INGALLS SHIPBUILDING CORPORATION, DECATUR, ALA.

The Ingalls Shipbuilding Corporation makes it a practice to employ as much local labor for, say, a distance not in excess of 20 miles from Decatur as possible. This tends to give us a steady labor factor in that the larger percentage of men who own their own homes are not so wont to pick up and move and drift around

and leave us. However, high wages and many other inducements to every kind of tradesman we employ here in the yard have taken their toll of our best labor. The wages far exceed what the shipbuilding industries can pay labor today. We have consequently over a period of months possibly a year lost many of our first-class men, such as welders, shipfitters, machinists, pipe fitters, etc. These men have been lured away from us by such organizations as the defense projects in Alabama and shipyards on the Gulf coast who offered practically unlimited inducement for these men to come and work for them.

In our welding category, we have had naturally to train all these men from raw material even going so far as to certify them by American Bureau of Shipping, and Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation.

Certifying welders in these Bureaus cost our company many dollars and we do not get the benefit of their services after we have expended much money, time, and effort in making them first-class welders.

In the case of ship fitters, I can say the same thing with the exception that they do not have to be certified, but the money invested in them by our company, while they are in the formative stage of learning, is considerable, and when we have taught them and they become first-class men we have in many instances lost them to other yards, including defense projects, shipbuilding companies, etc.

We operate schools under the Work Projects Administration, and the auspices of the University of Alabama, and Auburn, and Polytechnic Institute in Decatur for the teaching of shipbuilding, blueprint reading, and the art of welding. These schools are carried on in the evening and some of the instructors are our foremen in this plant. The schools are well attended by men employed in our plant and also by men from other plants. These schools are open to the public, but are limited in size, for instance, 30 men are all we can take care of in the ship-fitting school at present, and 15 men are all we can take care of in the welding school at present, owing to the limit of the number of welding machines available for this purpose.

The difficulty in obtaining skilled employees is no doubt well known to the Members of Congress, the House of Representatives, and other affiliated departments of the Government and is universal throughout the country and we, like all others, have to suffer the consequences of the extreme lack of competent and expert workmen. We are, therefore, forced to procure men mostly from raw material, teach them, and build them up in the hopes that in a year from now they will be worth their salt to us.

At the present time we could use the services of approximately 50 more skilled mechanics in the welding, ship fitting, pipe fitting, machinist, carpenter, etc., trades. The procurement of these men at this time is slow, and we have to take our chances with all other corporations looking for the same kind of help.

The many cases of top men in various trades leaving our employ to accept employment in other companies for higher wages and longer hours and promised overtime are far too many to enumerate in this letter to you. Suffice it to say, the numbers run into scores.

The pathetic part of the story with the majority of these men who leave our service, is that they eventually wind up with us, where they started from. Either they cannot make the grade, or they are sick and tired of too much overtime, or there is too much pressure and driving put on them to get out the work, or the living conditions which they have had to accept as part of their many environments were nonacceptable to them for one reason or another. In Mobile the housing seems to be the big problem. At Sheffield, Ala., men drive from Decatur daily to Sheffield and back, which is 40 miles each way. The same thing may be said for Huntsville, and I presume this is retroactive of most counties in the State.

The following is a schedule of the force employed in this yard. In June 1939 there were 105 men on the force. In June 1940 there were 152, and in June 1941 there were 138. At the present time we are building up our force and we hope to bring it up in the neighborhood of 200, or better as soon as possible.

Regarding the difficulties faced by our corporation with respect to adequate frontage for building berths. I understand that this is being taken care of to a certain extent and that negotiations are now in progress to increase our present water frontage which is so sorely needed at the present time.

This plant is doing nothing but national defense work. We are constructing boats for the Quartermaster Department, United States Government. The work on hand and considering the total number of contracts will carry this plant over for a period of 12 months from this date, without further contracts being obtained, but in the event the corporation expanded considerably more contracts could be taken care of.

This statement may not contain all the information you desire, but it gives you a fair retrospect of what we have been up against, and are today for that matter, with the migration of labor.

The corporation extends to its employees every facility for their comfort and contentment, safety and the purchasing of the best equipment obtainable to enable them to perform their work quickly and efficiently.

I personally have given this migration matter many hours of study and have come to the conclusion that the personal equation enters into it almost entirely.

I know of no other way to circumvent the migration of labor, as if an employee once gets the idea of the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow, 75 percent will follow this rainbow and take their gamble on making out. The other 25 percent usually stick. The 75 percent having the idea that if everything else fails after a period of months or sooner they can return to their original employment.

In my opinion were it possible to stabilize hours and wages for all classes of help I believe some of the migration problems might be licked.

EXHIBIT 37.—STATEMENT BY L. L. LIVELY, ALABAMA HOSIERY MILLS,
INC., DECATUR, ALA.

We manufacture ladies' full fashioned stockings and during the past 6 months have used the following kinds of yarn—nylon, rayon, cotton, and silk.

Enclosing exhibit No. 1 which reflects the employment statistics for the years 1939, 1940, and the first 7 months of 1941 which was immediately prior to the silk "freezing" order—it also shows the break-down between male and female employees. All male workers are employed in the legging and footing departments while the female workers are employed in the topping, looping, seaming, examining, and mending departments.

Also enclosing exhibit No. 2 which shows the monthly employment figures from August 1, 1941, to February 1, 1942. This same exhibit shows the reasons for the various separations from August 1, 1941, to February 10, 1942.

Up until this time practically all of the 33 full-fashioned knitters who have accepted employment in defense work have gone to the Government arsenal at Huntsville and as advised you several weeks ago, it costs us in the neighborhood of about \$1,200 to train a male worker to become a knitter in full-fashioned hosiery.

At this time we do not know how long we can operate on the available stocks of materials.

The types of equipment we use to manufacture full-fashioned hosiery include legging machines (42 and 45 gage), footing machines (42 and 45 gage), topping stands, looping machines (24, 26, 28, and 30 points), seaming machines (styles 41,200 and 41,300) and examining forms (expansion type). Up until this time we have not been able to find anything for defense that can be manufactured with our equipment, but our employees who are skilled in the use of their hands can be easily trained to assemble a number of items. Such an operation would not only contribute something to the war program but it would employ workers many of whom are women who cannot leave their homes to seek employment elsewhere.

So long as we are operating, we have very little if any idle floor space but what we need right now more than anything else is guidance and direction in connection with converting our peacetime industry to war production. Understand it is definitely up to management to decide what articles the employer should change to for defense work, but we are not interested in making something of which there is a surplus. We have been told that some companies who did not have an engineering staff of their own have had to employ outside engineers to recommend or suggest some plan, but most engineering firms who do that kind of work are extremely busy and it is not convenient for them to devote much time to the small employer.

With kindest regards, remain

Yours very truly,

ALABAMA HOSIERY MILLS, INC.
L. L. LIVELY.

TABLE No. 1.—Alabama Hosiery Mills, Inc., employment statistics for years 1939 1940, and first 7 months of 1941

	Male	Female	Total		Male	Female	Total
1939				1940			
January.....	248	268	516	May.....	243	318	561
February.....	251	269	520	June.....	242	314	556
March.....	261	281	542	July.....	237	288	525
April.....	274	290	564	August.....	234	266	500
May.....	280	300	580	September.....	234	268	502
June.....	272	314	586	October.....	231	276	507
July.....	252	318	570	November.....	232	274	506
August.....	248	325	573	December.....	229	280	509
September.....	256	328	584	1941			
October.....	270	312	582	January.....	228	283	511
November.....	285	304	589	February.....	228	294	522
December.....	296	306	602	March.....	230	300	530
1940				April.....	230	305	535
January.....	281	325	606	May.....	232	310	542
February.....	281	327	608	June.....	230	314	544
March.....	252	310	562	July.....	232	315	547
April.....	248	311	559				

TABLE No. 2.—Alabama Hosiery Mills, Inc., monthly employment figures from Aug. 1, 1941, to Feb. 1, 1942

	Male	Female	Total		Male	Female	Total
1941				1941—Continued			
August.....	215	298	513	December.....	196	296	492
September.....	212	296	508	1942			
October.....	211	292	503	January.....	190	267	457
November.....	212	295	507				

Employee separations from Aug. 1, 1941, to Feb. 10, 1942

Reason:	Number of employees
Reduction of force.....	34
Accepting defense work.....	33
Joining family whose husbands or fathers have accepted employment on defense projects in other localities.....	23
Going into military service.....	15
Accepting other types of employment.....	13
Dismissed—most of these for inefficiency.....	12
Going to school.....	8
On account of health.....	7
To keep house and take care of children.....	6
Confinement.....	6
Accepting civil-service employment.....	4
Accepting employment in another hosiery mill.....	3
On account of eyes.....	2
Quit—personal reasons.....	2
Returned to the farm.....	2
Total.....	170

EXHIBIT 38.—STATEMENT BY H. M. JONES, REPRESENTING COOPER, WELLS & CO., DECATUR, ALA.

We are manufacturers of full-fashioned hosiery and up until the Government froze our silk we were operating three full shifts using silk and nylon altogether in the manufacture of hose. We only have silk to operate on for a very short while, probably a month or 6 weeks and when this supply is exhausted we will have to use whatever yarns we can get, such as cotton, rayon, and probably

some nylon. Of course you realize the Government is taking a part of the nylon so if the Government eventually takes all the nylon we will have to concentrate on cotton and rayon of which I am afraid we will be unable to secure a sufficient quantity to operate on full-time basis.

Our employment statistics for the year 1939 was 350. The year 1940, 340. August 1941, 290. In August the Government froze our silk and we were forced to lay off 75 employees of which 37 were male and 38 female. Our employment figures month by month from September 1941 to date are as follows: September, 190 employees. In October we called back some of the employees which were laid off and this brought our October records to 201. November and December we employed 197 and January 1942 we dropped to 190 employees. This drop was caused by employees leaving our organization and going to the arsenal in Huntsville and other Government jobs.

If we were able to secure yarns to start up our plant in full we would probably be unable to secure enough knitters to operate on three full shifts basis. Should we have to employ inexperienced operators it would take us approximately a year to train an employee to be a fair operator and would cost approximately \$800 to \$1,000.

The equipment used in the manufacture of full-fashioned hosiery is legger, footer, looper, and seamer machines. The different equipment which we use in the manufacture of full-fashioned hose cannot be converted to manufacture any type of war material.

EXHIBIT 39.—STATEMENT BY DR. J. E. DUNN, COUNTY HEALTH OFFICER, LAUDERDALE COUNTY DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH, FLORENCE, ALA.

The State health department, through its various county health departments, is entrusted with the protection of the public health of the State and enforces, if necessary, the State health laws and regulations as directed by the State board of health which is an integral part of the Alabama State Medical Association.

The Lauderdale County Health Department is made up of a health officer, three full time public health nurses, one sanitation officer, one inspector, one secretary, and one part time meat inspector. The Work Projects Administration furnishes in addition to the above personnel, one nurse, one clerk, and one maid. Funds for the health department personnel are gotten from county, city, State, and Federal sources. There is no anticipation at the present time of increased personnel, due to lack of funds, although additional assistance is greatly needed.

The health department operates immunization clinics, clinics for venereal disease, tuberculosis, maternal hygiene and child spacing clinics, and cooperative clinics with the Alabama State Crippled Children's Service. All records are kept on regulation State adopted forms. A follow-up treatment is done in the clinics and is followed, where possible, into the homes by visiting nurses. Sanitation, inspection, vital statistics, consultation, isolation, and other methods of disease control are among the activities of the department.

The hospital situation in Florence is beyond description. The present institution is inadequate, dirty, unsafe, unequipped, and unmanaged. However, I am glad to say that this terrible condition is being remedied and a new, modern, 60-bed hospital is under construction. It has been made possible by the Defense Public Works project. The local medical society, hospital board and governmental authorities have secured the services of a hospital manager whom we feel will eliminate most of the above hazards. I am unable at this time to break these 60 beds down to the various services, but there will be general medical, surgical, obstetrical, and isolation facilities.

Approximately 25 patients are hospitalized annually from this county through a joint State program in the tuberculosis sanatorium at Decatur, Ala. The population of the county (1940) was approximately 46,000 people; therefore, one can readily see that general hospital and tuberculosis beds are far below public-health standards. It is estimated that our population is now well above 50,000.

The annual budget for the health department for the next fiscal year is \$16,640, made up of local, State, and Federal funds. The county has increased the budget by \$300.

The county is within the radius of Camp Forrest, bringing it under the May Act. The water supply for the general town population is adequate. Additional plant capacity has been added to the Florence waterworks. County and individual supplies, of course, need great improvement. Sewage-disposal facilities

for Florence are very poor and do not adequately take care of the present population. Although most of the city has sewers, the outlets are considered a hazard by State and county health departments. Arrangements are being made for an additional sewer system to serve a Tennessee Valley Authority housing project of approximately 200 homes. All other projects have adequate sewers, but, as before stated, the outlets are causing us much concern. Untreated sewage is flowing into the boat canal which is kept pooled due to Pickwick Lake. All the city outflows are below our water supply but only a short distance above that of Sheffield, Ala. The State planning commission is calling a meeting in the Tri-Cities February 19, at which time this problem is to be discussed.

Special attention is being paid to venereal disease control. As stated before, a clinic is operated twice weekly at the county health department. We have adequate laws and ordinances concerning venereal disease but lack personnel to enforce them. Since the fall of 1939, 441 cases of venereal diseases have been admitted to the clinic. This represents the indigent group. A survey this date indicates the presence of approximately 30 prostitutes within the city of Florence. Steps are being undertaken to curb their activities.

The question of housing cannot be answered as several projects are under construction and new defense activities just beginning. Many families are in the same houses, trailer camps are present, and every available space is occupied, the sanitation of which has been of great concern to this department and every effort made to keep sanitized. Adequate ordinances are present, but again, enforcing personnel is needed. Naturally, overcrowding encourages contagion; what it will cause I cannot say, but we are making every effort to be familiar with existing and changing conditions.

EXHIBIT 40.—STATEMENT BY MRS. RUTH R. ARNETT, DIRECTOR,
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE, LAUDERDALE COUNTY,
FLORENCE, ALA.

1. I am sure you are aware of the matching basis for categorical assistance in this State. In Lauderdale County local funds are available monthly, as follows:

County governing body	\$1, 500
City of Florence	125
Community Chest (private donations)	600
Total	2, 225

Attached is a table showing the number of cases receiving assistance by categories for the calendar year 1941. The average grant for each category for each month and the average grant for all categories for each month are given.

2. The increased industrial activities in Lauderdale County have affected the welfare clients as follows:

(a) Rising prices have made the already inadequate grants more inadequate.

(b) Housing is more congested.

(c) Crime among juveniles and adults has increased, particularly social crimes. This comes to the attention of the welfare department in an increased number of cases involving delinquent children, prostitution, desertion, and nonsupport.

3. No increase or decrease in county funds is anticipated.

4. The figures given for question No. 1 show the number of people receiving assistance by months. An attached chart shows the number working on Work Projects Administration and awaiting assignment to Work Projects Administration by months.

5. No figures are available for rentals by months; however, case workers have observed a definite increase in housing problems during the past year. Evictions have increased. Conditions already bad are made worse as families of six or eight move into one-room shacks. Often two such families attempt to live together in the same house. This seems largely due to the influx of defense workers who can pay higher rents and who therefore take the houses available.

Frequent newspaper articles call attention to the demand for rooms, apartments, and houses, and request that all available space be listed with the homes registration bureau. A Work Projects Administration survey made in October 1941 shows an increase of 51.1 percent in monthly rentals here since September 1940. This information applies to housing for all classes. The situation for the lower-income groups seems even more acute as their housing has always been poor. For example, a number of families live in one-room apartments in an undesirable

rooming-house district. The rent was recently raised on these rooms from \$4 to \$6 per month. Because of low grants, some of these dwellers could not pay the increased rent and had to move in with other families. Some families have not been given a chance to pay the increased rent as the landlord wanted to repair the house and triple and quadruple the amount asked for as rent. It is felt that there is a definite relationship between crowded housing conditions and delinquency.

6. Relief rolls have not been appreciably increased by the influx of "outsiders." The Salvation Army reports a slight increase in the number of transients cared for. The red-light district has at least doubled its area. The unmarried mother cases have increased. Several needy families, consisting mostly of girls, have moved to this area apparently for the purpose of employment in prostitution.

7. The training programs and recreation facilities undertaken for low-income groups are helpful, but are not undertaken on a large enough scale to be noticeably effective. The county has a recreation project employing a supervisor and 29 certified workers. This project is no larger than it was last year, in spite of the greater need for supervised recreation. At this particular time, a number of representative citizens and groups have expressed their desire for an additional preschool center for white children and one for colored children, a male noncertified recreational worker to help prevent delinquency among adolescent boys, a full time noncertified Negro recreational worker to work with colored groups.

There are a few adult education centers in this county. One supervisor serves Lauderdale and Colbert Counties. The Work Projects Administration training program for Work Projects Administration workers will probably be helpful. So far it has not been in operation long enough for results to be observed.

Cases receiving public assistance and average grants for the calendar year 1941

	Old-age assist- ance	Average	Aid to depend- ent children	Average	Aid to blind	Average	Aid to the handicapped	Average	Temporary aid	Average	Boarding home care	Average	Total	Average	Eligible not receiving assistance
January	197	11.43	102	14.92	1	12.50	24	13.67	2	9.50	12	12.75	330	12.99	1,380
February	195	11.34	105	14.90	1	12.50	24	13.67	2	9.00	12	14.83	331	13.03	1,446
March	192	11.38	100	14.96	1	12.50	24	13.67	1	13.00	12	14.00	322	13.05	1,440
April	190	11.27	98	14.93	1	12.50	23	13.28	1	13.00	12	12.92	317	12.90	1,538
May	192	11.27	93	14.96	1	12.50	24	13.15	1	13.00	12	12.46	315	12.84	1,395
June	193	11.46	92	14.58	1	12.50	25	13.52	1	13.00	14	12.18	326	12.54	1,520
July	194	11.36	98	14.34	1	12.50	25	13.12	1	13.00	12	12.66	331	12.43	1,412
August	193	11.39	92	15.49	1	12.50	25	13.12	0	0	12	13.17	323	12.76	1,487
September	195	11.35	96	15.40	0	0	24	11.88	1	5.00	12	13.17	328	12.62	1,623
October	200	11.19	104	15.57	0	0	23	11.96	0	0	12	12.94	339	12.65	1,194
November	205	11.39	106	15.26	0	0	21	12.07	0	0	11	13.55	343	12.70	1,088
December	232	11.30	109	14.94	0	0	24	11.77	0	0	11	13.55	376	12.45	1,100

¹ This number includes all of the awaiting assignment to Work Projects Administration employment groups, some of whom are receiving assistance through the food-stamp plan.

Lauderdale County certified load, Work Projects Administration

Month	Awaiting assign- ment	Working	Total	Month	Awaiting assign- ment	Working	Total
1941							
January	1,278	1,334	2,612	July	896	866	1,862
February	1,303	1,331	2,634	August	872	888	1,760
March	1,455	1,108	2,563	September	876	894	1,770
April	1,450	1,028	2,478	October	767	938	1,705
May	1,208	1,029	2,237	November	808	931	1,739
June	926	1,013	1,939	December	828	920	1,748

EXHIBIT 41.—STATEMENT BY MISS VIRGINIA C. GIBBS, WORK PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION, DECATUR, ALA.

THE RENT SITUATION IN HUNTSVILLE RESULTING FROM NATIONAL DEFENSE MIGRATION

With the announcement by the War Department in the latter part of June 1941 that a defense plant was to be built near Huntsville, a perceptible increase in the sale of real estate was immediately noticeable. Quite a bit of speculation was done as it was felt that the housing situation would be a problem almost from the beginning. Other property owners began repairing and remodeling with the expectation of renting for more than had ever been received for such property. Within a few days after the announcement by the War Department, rents began to advance and in many cases have continued to the present time. In many instances the increase was from 50 to 75 and even 100 percent. Some local people who were working for moderate salaries found themselves forced to move because the increased rent plus the other rises in living expenses made it impossible for them to remain in the houses they were renting.

Since the beginning of the construction of the arsenal there has been a steady influx of workers from all parts of the country seeking work. As there was a shortage of houses even at that time, estimated by the department of public welfare to have been about 25 percent, the condition has gradually become more acute.

The chamber of commerce early began assisting people coming into the town to find living quarters by keeping on file a list of the houses, apartments, and rooms available for rent. This was a voluntary service on the part of that agency. A recent report from the chamber of commerce is that there are no houses or apartments listed with them and only a few rooms are left. It has been most difficult to assist families to find places and in some instances the wives and children have had to return to their former residences while the heads of the families stayed in Huntsville. Other instances were cited of families having to live in very crowded quarters at the hotels. In many cases the people renting property objected to children, especially where only rooms were rented.

No figures are available as to the number of persons the chamber of commerce has assisted in finding quarters; however, the demand for rooms, houses, and apartments is still heavy. It is estimated that from 12 to 25 requests are made each day. Besides these there are, of course, those who have been able to make their own arrangements. It was felt that the number of families who are attempting unsuccessfully to find homes really constitutes a problem.

The chamber of commerce also attempts to help with keeping rent reasonable. Where the rent is exorbitant the rooms or houses are not listed.

In September 1941 a sample survey of rent in Huntsville was made by the Work Projects Administration Division of Research at the request of Office of Production Management. Average rentals for September 1940 were used as a base for computing the rent increases. This survey showed that among dwellings that were rental units in September 1940 and September 1941 rent rose from \$13.31 to an average of \$17.55. Only 22 percent of rental units had decreased during this period. It was found that rent increases occurred more frequently and were higher in the white than in the colored neighborhoods. The average rent was \$23.12 in the white communities and \$8.98 in the colored. This survey was made on half the dwelling units in Huntsville. About 65 percent of these units covered were rental.

It is felt that since this survey was made that rents have continued increasing and that the percentage would now be much greater. It was also stated by one rental agent that where houses had been rented before the defense plant was placed in Huntsville the increase in rent has not been so great. However, where houses have been built or remodeled for renting the rent has been much greater.

The increased rent rates, according to the director of the department of public welfare, have worked a great hardship on the clients of that agency. Many families have been forced to double up or do with less room. One instance was cited of 10 people living in 1 room. The rents of the houses and rooms these people live in have increased from 50 to 100 percent. The same thing has been found true from observation of Work Projects Administration families coming to Intake. In practically every case it has been found that rent has been advanced sharply.

Some steps have been taken and are being taken to alleviate the congested housing situation. Within Huntsville and the surrounding areas 11 trailer camps have been built within the past few months, including 1 Government camp under the supervision of Farm Security Administration with some 200 trailers already in use and an additional 200 being prepared for. Another privately owned camp is also in the process of being constructed.

Besides the trailer camps there have been 2 tourist camps constructed with 10 cabins each. Approximately 10 new boarding houses have opened up; 3 bunk-houses with 24, 36, and 10 bunks have been built. Many individuals have built houses.

The health department, which gave the above information, stated that it also seemed that almost every house in Huntsville had roomers or boarders. Even out in the rural areas any number of homes are found with roomers and boarders.

Since the location of the arsenal in Huntsville a new subdivision, Mayfair, has been built. When completed there will be 138 houses in the division. The average cost of the houses is \$3,500, with down payment of \$350 and monthly payments of \$27.

Presidential approval of another housing project has also been given recently. This calls for 300 permanent dwellings for the employees of the arsenal. Each unit is estimated to cost \$3,750 and construction will be under the supervision of the Federal Works Agency. It is estimated that construction will begin immediately on these houses.

Taken as a whole the housing situation in Huntsville at the present time is acute. The completion of the houses in the Mayfair division and the building of 300 permanent houses previously mentioned will relieve this to some extent; however, it will be some time before these houses will be ready for occupation. From observation it is believed that as a whole rents have advanced some 50 percent since the location of the arsenal in Huntsville. The people coming into Huntsville from other sections are in many instances having to live in very crowded quarters and often in undesirable places.

Percentage distribution of sex and race by age groups

MADISON COUNTY WORKING LOAD, FEB. 13, 1942

	White		Colored	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total number.....	366	124	151	36
Percent of total number.....	54.1	18.3	22.3	5.3
18 to 24.....	12.8	18.5	7.3	5.6
25 to 34.....	22.4	30.7	10.6	22.2
35 to 44.....	18.8	20.2	20.5	25
45 to 54.....	20	23.4	27.8	30.5
55 to 64.....	20	5.6	29.2	13.9
65 and over.....	6	1.6	4.6	2.8
Total.....	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

MADISON COUNTY AWAITING ASSIGNMENT LOAD, FEB. 13, 1942

Total number.....	319	106	66	20
Percent of total number.....	62.4	20.7	12.9	4
18 to 24.....	7.8	6.6	10.6	5
25 to 34.....	35.4	21.7	18.2	5
35 to 44.....	24.2	27.3	31.8	30
45 to 54.....	13.8	27.3	16.7	25
55 to 64.....	14.7	16.1	21.2	30
65 and over.....	4.1	1	1.5	5
Total.....	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Inventory of awaiting assignment, Madison County unskilled and above unskilled

	Total unskilled	Total above unskilled	Male unskilled	Male above unskilled	Female unskilled	Female above unskilled
Total number.....	472	71	347	65	125	6
Percent of total.....	86.9	13.1	84.2	15.8	95.4	4.6
Total.....	100.00		100.00		100.00	

Madison County certified load

Month	Awaiting assignment	Working	Total	Month	Awaiting assignment	Working	Total
1941				1941			
January.....	1,107	1,651	2,758	July.....	1,014	1,105	2,119
February.....	922	1,743	2,665	August.....	998	1,091	2,089
March.....	979	1,658	2,637	September.....	904	1,016	1,920
April.....	893	1,621	2,514	October.....	821	958	1,779
May.....	886	1,508	2,394	November.....	591	936	1,527
June.....	942	1,288	2,230	December.....	655	807	1,462

EXHIBIT 42.—STATEMENT BY W. G. HENDERSON, STATE WORK PROJECTS ADMINISTRATOR, MONTGOMERY, ALA.

COMPARISON OF WORK PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION LOAD AT PEAK PERIODS PRIOR TO THE DEFENSE PERIOD WITH THE LOAD OF THE DEFENSE PERIOD

The peak load of the Work Projects Administration employment in Alabama was reached in November 1938, when 61,295 persons were employed on Work Projects Administration projects. During this same period, there were 51,022 persons certified as eligible for Work Projects Administration who were not employed because of limited quota. In January 1942 there were 21,837 persons employed with 11,536 awaiting assignment to Work Projects Administration. These figures represent a decrease of 65 percent in the working load and 68 percent in the group awaiting assignment.

Even in the periods in which the peak load was reached, the quota was not sufficient to give employment to more than 50 percent of the persons certified as eligible for Work Projects Administration. While there has been a reduction of approximately 68 percent in the number of persons awaiting assignment since the period of greatest employment, the ratio of the awaiting assignment group to the working load remains the same.

The figures for each month since the beginning of the defense program show a decrease in the number of persons employed on Work Projects Administration with the exception of the period November 1940 through March 1941, when Alabama was given a small increase in quota to be used in agricultural areas in which crop failures were widespread.

The following table gives the Work Projects Administration load at peak periods prior to the defense program and the month-by-month figures since the beginning of the defense program in June 1940.

Number of Work Projects Administration active certifications for selected months and for period June 1940 through January 1942

	All certified persons			Certified employed			Certified awaiting assignment		
	Total	Female		Total	Female		Total	Female	
		Number	Percent of total		Number	Percent of total		Number	Percent of total
Nov. 30, 1938.....	112,317	9,846	8.3	61,295	8,166	13.3	51,022	1,680	3.3
Mar. 29, 1939.....	66,536	9,617	14.4	55,286	8,241	14.9	11,250	1,376	12.2
Dec. 27, 1939.....	67,293	8,333	12.4	50,831	6,913	13.6	16,462	1,420	8.6
June 26, 1940.....	66,742	9,356	14.0	32,829	5,418	16.5	33,913	3,938	11.6
July 31, 1940.....	61,660	9,021	14.6	32,636	5,532	16.9	29,024	3,489	12.0
Aug. 28, 1940.....	61,289	8,978	14.6	33,143	5,537	16.7	28,146	3,441	12.2
Sept. 25, 1940.....	60,480	8,918	14.7	32,460	5,558	17.1	28,020	3,360	12.0
Oct. 30, 1940.....	60,787	9,188	15.1	36,727	6,448	17.5	24,060	2,735	11.4
Nov. 27, 1940.....	60,845	9,263	15.2	37,078	6,830	18.4	23,767	2,433	10.2
Dec. 25, 1940.....	60,596	9,345	15.4	38,083	7,188	18.9	22,513	2,157	9.6
Jan. 29, 1941.....	59,453	9,421	15.8	38,830	7,295	18.8	20,623	2,126	10.3
Feb. 26, 1941.....	58,180	9,330	16.0	39,003	7,314	18.7	19,177	2,016	10.5
Mar. 26, 1941.....	55,803	9,261	16.6	33,996	6,587	19.4	21,807	2,674	12.3
Apr. 30, 1941.....	51,991	9,008	17.3	33,362	6,066	18.2	18,629	2,942	15.8
May 28, 1941.....	47,561	8,347	17.5	31,185	5,345	17.1	16,376	3,002	18.3
June 25, 1941.....	46,024	8,419	18.3	30,081	5,165	17.2	15,943	3,254	20.4
July 30, 1941.....	42,992	7,936	18.4	22,725	3,955	17.4	20,267	3,981	19.6
Aug. 27, 1941.....	42,034	8,488	20.2	23,479	4,279	18.2	18,555	4,209	22.7
Sept. 24, 1941.....	40,146	8,236	20.5	23,164	4,540	19.6	16,982	3,696	21.8
Oct. 29, 1941.....	38,001	8,315	21.9	23,574	4,884	20.7	14,427	3,431	23.8
Nov. 25, 1941.....	37,367	8,266	22.1	23,177	4,982	21.5	14,190	3,284	23.1
Dec. 30, 1941.....	35,419	8,059	22.7	22,344	4,946	22.1	13,075	3,113	23.8
Jan. 27, 1942.....	33,373	7,811	23.4	21,837	4,936	22.6	11,536	2,875	24.9

COMPARISON OF WORK PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION WORKERS PRIOR TO THE DEFENSE PERIOD WITH WORK PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION WORKERS OF THE PRESENT PERIOD

The average age of the Work Projects Administration worker in Alabama in May 1939 was 38.1, compared with 42.2 in February 1942.

A comparison of the ages, race, and sex of the Work Projects Administration workers in the two periods is given below:

Years	Percent workers over 35 years of age	Percent workers over 55 years of age	Percent workers over 65 years of age	Female workers as percent of total employment	Colored workers as percent of total employment
1939.....	55.0	18.4	1.7	15.8	29.8
1942.....	69.5	21.7	4.2	22.6	32.5

These figures show that the present Work Projects Administration load is made up of older persons and a higher percentage of women and Negroes than were employed during the predefense period.

In May 1939 the employment at the unskilled rate was 73.7 percent of the total employment, while 61.7 percent of the persons currently assigned are working at unskilled jobs. This does not mean that a higher percentage of Work Projects Administration eligibles are skilled persons than those of 1939 as there are several factors which contribute to this situation. During periods of expansion of employment, relatively more unskilled persons are employed than during a period of curtailment. Therefore, a reduction of 65 percent in employment during the defense period would, of necessity, reduce the proportion of unskilled workers. In the first period, many skilled persons were assigned at unskilled rates because the type of projects afforded limited opportunities for skilled workers. For example, in 1939, 65 percent of the total Work Projects Administration male workers were employed on county-wide road projects where a high proportion of the work was classified as unskilled, whereas 40 percent of the present load are on such projects. Unskilled jobs in the sewing room were

numerous and 25 percent of the women were given employment on these projects in 1939 compared with 9.7 percent at the present time. The improved type of project due to the requirement of engineering plans and the increased use of machinery on projects provides more opportunities for intermediate and skilled jobs and has, consequently, reduced the number of skilled workers who were formerly forced to accept unskilled jobs.

In addition to the change in the type of project, the Work Projects Administration has done a training job over a period of time, and, in many instances, persons formerly able to do unskilled work only have been reclassified as semiskilled and skilled workers on the basis of their Work Projects Administration experience. Likewise, large numbers of persons who came to Work Projects Administration with skills related to some type of work on the project have been able to adjust to other skilled jobs required on Work Projects Administration projects.

The fact that 25 percent of the load is employed on projects for the construction and improvement of military and naval facilities also affects the total picture as a higher percentage of skilled persons are employed on these projects. When quota reductions are made, it is the policy to reduce employment on other projects leaving the certified national defense projects sufficiently manned.

In addition to these facts, the largest number of persons leaving the Work Projects Administration for private employment have been the young group, of which 65 percent are unskilled.

WORK PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION LOAD AND ESTIMATED NEEDS BY COUNTIES

A table is given below showing the total number of persons certified as eligible for Work Projects Administration and the estimate of the number of persons who would be considered as in need and eligible for Work Projects Administration employment if applications were made to the local referral agency. The estimate of unmet need is made on a monthly basis by the Employment Division and is done on the county level in conjunction with local agencies and officials.

Feb. 3, 1942

Counties	Working load	Awaiting assignment	Number persons eligible but not certified	Total
Autauga	65	38	247	350
Baldwin	177	43		220
Barbour	184	75	140	399
Bibb	139	55	382	576
Blount	3	41	200	244
Bullock	113	56	200	369
Butler	187	85	48	320
Calhoun	313	34	195	542
Chambers	87	21	366	474
Cherokee	43	50	300	393
Chilton	151	10	26	187
Choctaw	82	54	375	511
Clarke	35	106	200	341
Clay	47	34	110	191
Cleburne	35	2	45	82
Coffee	205	108	325	638
Colbert	353	237	240	830
Conecuh	279	76	99	454
Coosa	36	2	40	78
Covington	259	259	212	730
Crenshaw	215	145	57	417
Cullman	160	148	200	508
Dale	128	44	87	259
Dallas	796	107	119	1,022
DeKalb	246	27	100	373
Elmore	175	48	91	314
Escambia	330	80	319	729
Etowah	448	258	400	1,106
Fayette	80	66	252	398
Franklin	185	293	185	663
Geneva	138	87	127	352
Greene	9	28	500	537
Hale	122	44	35	201
Henry	176	71	114	361
Houston	192	66	96	354
Jackson	259	279	125	663
Jefferson	3,422	2,158	3,345	8,925

Feb. 3, 1942—Continued

Counties	Working load	Awaiting assignment	Number persons eligible but not certified	Total
Lamar.....	66	71	253	390
Lauderdale.....	876	758	550	2,184
Lawrence.....	362	236	200	798
Lee.....	131	65	841	1,037
Limestone.....	503	76	284	863
Lowndes.....	77	109	130	316
Macon.....	189	5	300	494
Madison.....	713	565	250	1,528
Marengo.....	281	81	450	812
Marion.....	158	110	200	468
Marshall.....	281	107	70	458
Mobile.....	1,475	63	1,550	3,088
Monroe.....	95	112	400	607
Montgomery.....	2,521	428	1,318	4,267
Morgan.....	1,056	363	375	1,794
Perry.....	69	249	146	464
Pickens.....	43	23	209	275
Pike.....	149	103	23	275
Randolph.....	59	68	300	427
Russell.....	16	30	1,702	1,748
St. Clair.....	51	17	43	111
Shelby.....	172	56	324	552
Sumter.....	149	27	930	1,106
Talladega.....	254	31	150	435
Tallapoosa.....	117	45	1,500	1,662
Tuscaloosa.....	593	528	3,050	4,171
Walker.....	1,205	756	1,928	3,889
Washington.....	177	46	350	573
Wilcox.....	192	61	600	853
Winston.....	52	177	140	369
Total.....	21,956	10,701	28,468	61,125

Although it is too early to feel the full impact of unemployment in Alabama due to curtailment in production of nonessential goods, a survey made by Work Projects Administration early this month showed the following number of persons released due to priorities:

Total released.....	4,882
Total now unemployed by industries:	
Automobile salesmen.....	992
Rubber industry.....	1,023
Filling stations.....	339
Electrical and gas appliances.....	38
Bottling works.....	78
Other (pipe shops, foundries, etc.).....	2,067
Total unemployed Feb. 1.....	4,467

EMPLOYABILITY OF WORK PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION WORKERS

Persons certified for Work Projects Administration employment are considered employable in relationship to the work to be performed on Work Projects Administration in that they can perform work for which they are qualified in a satisfactory manner without entailing any particular hazard to themselves or others. The accomplishment of the Work Projects Administration in this State in building airports, roads, armories, etc., give concrete evidence of the work which they have been able to do. Many of these persons, however, would not be able to meet the production requirements of industry, nor the employment standards with respect to age, physical condition, skill, or education. As employment increases, the older workers will undoubtedly be considered as employable but at the present time many of them are barred because of the age limitations imposed by industry.

A report was received in January of this year to the effect that 1,500 women were needed in a certain defense plant in this State. Employment requirements were secured from the United States Employment Service and the employer,

following which a review was made of the women who were working and awaiting assignment in the county where the plant was located, for the purpose of determining what persons might be assisted in securing defense employment. Of the 73 women employed and the 21 awaiting assignment to Work Projects Administration, only 16 of them were within the age limit required by the plant. In another county where 500 women, between the ages of 18 and 35, with a seventh-grade education, were to be employed, a review of the certified women in 5 counties adjacent to this plant was undertaken. There were only 12 women in all 5 counties who met the qualifications of age and education necessary for employment in this particular plant.

A comparison was made recently of the age of male workers currently employed on Work Projects Administration in a county in which there was little defense activity and one which afforded many opportunities for employment. In the first county, only 20 percent of the remaining Work Projects Administration workers were over 55 years of age, while in the defense county 37 percent of the workers were above this age. In the nondefense county, a 22 percent of the skilled group were over 55 years of age, while in the defense area, 47 percent were over the age of 55.

A spot study was made in April 1941 in 13 counties in defense areas to determine the effect of the national defense activities on the Work Projects Administration load. This survey showed that 53 percent of the total certified load were over 45 years of age, 65 percent of them had no skills, 63 percent had a sixth-grade education or less, and 15 percent had some physical disability. Of the group between the ages of 18 and 35, it was found that 54 percent had a sixth-grade education or less and 65 percent of them had no skills. This same study revealed that only 304 persons out of the approximately 7,000 cases reviewed had skills which were in demand in defense employment.

These figures show that employment opportunities are limited to a large number of Work Projects Administration workers because of age, physical condition, and lack of skills and education.

FARM LABOR AND WORK PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION

It has been the policy of the Work Projects Administration in Alabama since the inception of the program to encourage workers to return to private employment and this policy is being prosecuted vigorously and thoughtfully with respect to both farm and industrial labor. Since January 1, 1942, when anticipatory reports of the shortage of farm labor began to receive widespread circulation throughout the State, Work Projects Administration has made a diligent effort to get Work Projects Administration eligibles with agricultural experiences in contact with farm operators in need of additional labor. As of this date, reports of such shortages have been received only in the central and southern parts of the State. In seven of these counties, the Work Projects Administration has cooperated with local groups and has made referrals of Work Projects Administration labor directly to the farmer. Surveys had been made locally to determine the names and addresses of landlords needing labor and the types of agricultural workers required. Work Projects Administration representatives have referred certified Work Projects Administration eligibles to these jobs on the basis of the occupational background and qualifications of the individual worker rather than attempting to close down projects indiscriminately, thus throwing large numbers of nonfarm workers out of employment. Similar activities of direct placements are now being carried on in four other counties.

In one county in which there were approximately 300 certified eligibles, there were 107 persons with farm backgrounds. Fifty direct placements were made by Work Projects Administration to farm jobs, 19 persons failed to report for interview because they had secured private employment either in industry or agriculture, 8 persons were removed because they refused to accept private employment, and 30 were continued because they either lived in towns too far removed from the available jobs or because of some physical disability which rendered them unfit for farm work.

In another county in which reports of farm shortages have been widespread since December and newspaper accounts had expressed considerable alarm over the possibility of a serious farm shortage, a complete review of the Work Projects Administration eligible list was made for the purpose of assisting with placements of farm labor. Local surveys indicated that 110 wage hands and 90 tenants were needed. Out of the total list of 162 eligible Work Projects Administration persons, 102 had farm backgrounds. At the time of the review, 42 persons had

either made farm plans or had secured work at the triangular Army camp in Dale County and did not report for interviews; one person was removed because he refused private employment. The other persons were referred to landlords who had reported the need for workers. Thirteen of them were able to get farm jobs but 33 were not accepted by the landlords to whom they were referred. Typical statements received from landlords in this county are given below:

"I thank you for sending this person to me but I cannot pay him enough to make a living with the dependents he has."

"I have got plenty of hands at this time."

"This man does not have enough help to tend the crop I have."

"He already owes me and can't pay."

"Keep this man on Work Projects Administration. He can't farm."

"Probably could use him after March 15 by day on the farm."

"This is to certify that I do not need Mr. S on my farm because I have all the labor needed."

Despite the fact that reports continue to be made of the shortage of farm labor, a survey conducted by Work Projects Administration showed an estimated 13,000 persons with agricultural backgrounds unemployed and in need in this State on February 1. In some sections, advancements and arrangements are being made from 2 weeks to a month earlier than in previous years because of the anticipated shortage but in most counties in the State, arrangements are not made until March 1 to 15. In some instances, tenants or sharecroppers who are expected to advance themselves are not able to secure credit either from the advance merchant or the banker.

A large number of farm day laborers are used for only short periods during the spring and fall months. The 3,896 farm day laborers now employed on Work Projects Administration will, in accordance with the policy pursued since the beginning of the Work Projects Administration program, be made available and will be required to accept farm work which meets the standards set forth in the law when such work is available.

Farm people, as a rule, are loathe to move any great distance from familiar surroundings but many of them will be forced to seek employment elsewhere because it is impossible for them to earn a subsistence compatible with decency and health on the farm. It is believed that the majority of the agricultural group would be encouraged to remain on the land if they could be given employment at a subsistence wage during the periods in which they are not needed on the farm.

THE WORK PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION RECREATION PROGRAM IN ALABAMA,
FEBRUARY 1942

The Alabama Work Projects Administration recreation program is now operating in 22 counties. Five of the 22 counties are both industrial and military defense areas. They are: Mobile, Madison, Calhoun, Russell, and Etowah. Six of these counties are military, namely, Montgomery, Houston, Henry, Dallas, Tuscaloosa, and Morgan. (Tuscaloosa and Morgan have only small air fields.) Two others will be military areas in the near future; they are Dale and Coffee. Four of these counties are industrial areas, namely, Colbert and Lauderdale (Muscle Shoals area), Talladega (Coosa River Valley area), and Jefferson. Five of these counties are not defense areas. They are rural counties. These are Cherokee, Pike, Lowndes, Covington, and Perry.

The 1940 population of the defense areas with the greatest increase in population and the estimated population of these at some recent date are:

Defense area	1940 population	Estimated increase in population at a recent date
Talladega County	51,832	Many thousands.
Mobile metropolitan area	114,906	30,000 (Nov. 1, 1941).
Calhoun County	32,447	30,000 soldiers; many industrial workers.
Anniston	25,523	
Jacksonville	2,995	
Madison County	66,317	Many thousands.
Etowah County	72,580	?
Gadsden	37,014	10,146 (Nov. 22, 1941).
Muscle Shoals area	28,276	6,029 (1941).
Colbert County	29,860	?
Sheffield	7,993	1,557 (1941).
Tuscumbia	5,515	1,485 (1941).
Lauderdale County	46,230	?
Florence	15,043	2,220 (1941).

The recreation program conducted in Alabama is a community recreation program for all ages. It includes playground and athletic activities, community night gatherings, square dancing, social dancing, crafts, recreational music, clubs, and other activities. In defense areas, special effort is made to absorb the defense people (soldiers and/or defense workers) in the normal community activities. In the military areas, special facilities and activities are provided for the soldiers, such as servicemen's centers, home hospitality and church recreation. Work Projects Administration has assisted with the planning of 10 of the defense recreation centers that have been opened in the State during the past year and is assisting with leadership in 9 of the centers at present. One of the 10 centers which Work Projects Administration assisted in planning, in Montgomery, Ala., is operated now by United Service Organizations. The 9 centers in which Work Projects Administration is used now are: Huntsville, in Madison County (industrial and military); Gadsden, in Etowah County (military); Jacksonville, in Calhoun County (military); one white center and one Negro center, in Selma, in Dallas County (military); Dothan, in Houston County (military); Headland, in Henry County (military); Sylacauga and Talladega, in Talladega County (industrial). The activities of these centers are reading, writing, lounge room, indoor games, music, dancing, and special events such as square dances, bingo parties, and dancing classes. The last center to be opened was in Sylacauga, in a Federal community building. The center is operated by the Sylacauga Park and Recreation Board assisted by Work Projects Administration.

Some figures on participants in the Work Projects Administration recreation program are:

1. State of Alabama—July 1941----- 543, 886

Cities:

Phoenix City-----	7, 353
Selma-----	1, 553
Opp-----	3, 625
Anniston and Jacksonville-----	45, 393

Counties:

Mobile (city and county)-----	62, 994
Coffee-----	8, 254
Perry-----	27, 712
Montgomery (city and county)-----	79, 582
Henry-----	16, 997
Pike-----	1, 220
Lauderdale-----	26, 470
Tuscaloosa-----	13, 864
Madison-----	55, 580
Jefferson-----	83, 519
Talladega-----	28, 207
Colbert-----	26, 918
Cherokee-----	18, 507
Morgan-----	36, 138

2. A few specific attendance figures are:

Childersburg.—First community night program, July 15, 1941, held in high school auditorium attended by 400.

Madison County.—Activities at Huntsville Soldiers' Center week of January 24 to 30, 1942, included: 182 soldiers served free coffee or hot chocolate Saturday and Sunday, 15 at evening parties, 18 on tours. Activities week of November 26 to December 2 included: 260 served free coffee Saturday and Sunday, 53 invited to homes, 31 invited for tours. Attendance month of January 1942—1,005 soldiers and 1,510 others (total, 2,515).

Activities at Farm Security trailer camp near Huntsville, of about 200 trailers, established December 1941, include preschool group, mothers' club, playground activities, ladies' club, adult parties, defense classes. Average daily attendance, 30 to 50.

Selma Soldiers' Club.—Average weekly attendance at center of 900 soldiers. First soldiers' dance held August 23, 1941, attended by approximately 700 soldiers and 250 girls. Average attendance at biweekly soldiers' dances—300 soldiers and 200 girls.

Mobile.—Present weekly dancing classes at Brookley Field average of 100 soldiers and 50 girls. Weekly program at Seamen's Bethel, 200 approximate average;

weekly square dances at Choctaw Park, 500 approximate average; weekly Saturday night soldiers' dance, 200 to 500 soldiers, approximate average.

Montgomery.—During summer of 1941, approximately 1,000 soldiers participated an average of 2 hours each in the playground activities, church recreation, and dances of the city Work Projects Administration program.

Sylacauga.—Dedication program of Federal Community Building February 10, 2,500 approximate attendance.

Present Thursday night square dances, average of 500.

On playground daily average of 300 in summer and daily average of 200 in winter.

Sixty players participated in annual summer men's tennis tournament. Average number on play area for matches, approximately 400.

Street dance of August 15, 1941, attended by 3,000.

Band concert of August 28, 1941, attended by 450.

Types of programs and number of participants, January 1942

Number of counties.....	22
Number of units operating:	
White.....	121
Colored.....	37
Total.....	158
Activities:	
Art and handicraft:	
Adult.....	1, 038
Children.....	3, 298
Total.....	4, 336
Athletic activities:	
Baseball type.....	18, 395
Tennis type.....	33, 545
Soccer-football type.....	10, 202
Rugby-football type.....	5, 802
Hockey type.....	4, 196
Basketball type.....	23, 980
Other games and contests.....	149, 238
Total.....	245, 358
Dancing:	
Folk.....	2, 631
Social.....	9, 089
Tap.....	708
Other.....	16, 790
Total.....	29, 218
Recreational drama:	
Tournaments.....	163
Pageants.....	53
Plays.....	208
Puppet and marionette.....	48
Stunts.....	936
Dramatic clubs.....	589
Other.....	2, 133
Total.....	4, 130

Types of programs and number of participants, January 1942—Continued

Activities—Continued.

Other recreation:

Hiking.....	431
Nature study.....	260
Picnicking.....	423
Hobby clubs.....	1, 155
Other clubs.....	2, 715
Parties.....	5, 387
Community nights.....	20, 183
Morning play centers.....	5, 623
Story-telling hours.....	7, 387
Total.....	43, 564

Recreational music:

Bands.....	98
Rhythm bands.....	669
Harmonica bands.....	5
Other.....	5, 069
Total.....	5, 841

Clubs:

Glee clubs.....	71
Other.....	8, 679
Total.....	8, 750
Grand total.....	341, 197

2. Locations:

Cherokee County, county-wide.
 Colbert County, county-wide.
 Etowah County, Gadsden.
 Lauderdale County, county-wide.
 Madison County, county-wide.
 Morgan County, county-wide.
 Calhoun County, county-wide.
 Jefferson County, county-wide (exclusive of Birmingham).
 Talladega County, county-wide.
 Tuscaloosa County, county-wide.
 Coffee County, county-wide.
 Covington County, county-wide.
 Dale County, Ozark.
 Dallas County, Selma.
 Henry County, county-wide.
 Houston County, Dothan.
 Lowndes County, Fort Deposit.
 Montgomery County, county-wide.
 Pike County, county-wide.
 Perry County, county-wide.
 Russell County, Phenix City.
 Mobile County, county-wide.

Current reports received in this office indicate that some changes have taken place in this State which merit additional information from this office to supplement the report which was submitted to the committee in February.

The February report gives the working load in January 1942 at 21,837 and the awaiting assignment load as 11,536. As of April 21, 1942, there are 19,034 employed on Work Projects Administration and 4,179 persons awaiting assignment. On April 1, 4,623 agricultural workers were estimated to be unemployed and eligible for Work Projects Administration in contrast to the 13,000 agricultural workers who were unemployed when the report was submitted in February.

I am attaching hereto a revised report showing the working, awaiting assignment, and the estimate of unmet need by counties as of April 1. This report should

be substituted for the one contained in the report of February as it is indicative of the changes which have occurred in the number of persons eligible for Work Projects Administration employment in this State.

March 1942

County and district	Unmet needs, estimate			Unemployment in Agriculture	Unemployed in industry			Persons in need primarily due to reasons other than employment
	(a) Total	(b) Male	(c) Female		(a) Industry	(b) Service trades	(c) Domestic	
State totals.....	16,616	10,934	5,682	4,623	6,707	2,550	755	1,981
No. 1:								
Blount.....	200	137	63	150		15	15	20
Cherokee.....	300	215	85	200	10	50	15	25
Colbert.....	197	152	45	124	45	12	3	13
Cullman.....	190	132	58	122	20	5	25	18
Dekalb.....	100	90	10	82	6	3	8	1
Etowah.....	290	215	75	30	200	30	15	15
Franklin.....	157	112	45	72	34	24	10	17
Jackson.....	125	106	19	96	13	2	11	3
Lauderdale.....	310	175	135	240				70
Lawrence.....	137	101	36	50	1		18	68
Limestone.....	200	145	55	150				50
Madison.....	180	95	85	65	60		25	30
Marion.....	164	122	42	80	2		12	70
Marshall.....	320	295	25	295	15		5	5
Morgan.....	275	206	69	180	15	10	20	50
Winston.....	147	122	25	65	2			80
Total.....	3,292	2,420	872	2,001	423	151	182	535
No. 2:								
Bibb.....	283	264	19	108	138	22	7	8
Calhoun.....	100	85	15		85	5		10
Clay.....	60	32	28	29				31
Cleburne.....	20	18	2	12	6			2
Fayette.....	146	82	64	10	69	3		64
Jefferson.....	2,903	1,866	1,037		1,882	760	110	151
Lamar.....	133	112	21	14	78	22	2	17
Pickens.....	77	59	18		57		12	8
Randolph.....	105	58	47		60		10	35
Shelby.....	189	161	28	60	88	26	10	5
St. Clair.....	29	21	8	8	13			8
Talladega.....	60	35	25	25	5			30
Tuscaloosa.....	2,755	2,443	312	15	2,318	262	91	69
Walker.....	1,157	669	488	170	330	397	100	160
Total.....	8,017	5,905	2,112	451	5,129	1,497	342	598
No. 3:								
Autauga.....	88	60	28	20	43		5	20
Barbour.....	15		15	15				
Bullock.....	15	10	5	15				
Butler.....	23	15	8	2		15		6
Chambers.....	55	25	30	30	25			
Chilton.....	9	3	6		3			6
Coffee.....	108	30	78	55	22	17		14
Coosa.....	15	10	5	10				5
Covington.....	89	50	39	40	24	15		10
Crenshaw.....	42		42				5	37
Dale.....	84	9	75	76				8
Dallas.....	40	32	8		20	9	2	9
Elmore.....	21	6	15		6			15
Geneva.....	26		26	15		5	6	
Hale.....	29	24	5	29				
Henry.....	104		104	95				9
Houston.....	51		51	37	10			4
Lee.....	65		65	40		1	6	18
Lowndes.....	34	22	12		12	15	2	5
Macon.....								
Montgomery.....	327	252	75	250		2	50	25
Perry.....	31	28	3	31				
Pike.....	14	8	6	2		8		4
Russell.....	148		148	118				30
Tallapoosa.....	75		75	25				50
Total.....	1,508	584	924	905	165	87	76	275

March 1942—Continued

County and district	Unmet needs, estimate			Unemployment in Agriculture	Unemployed in industry			Persons in need primarily due to reasons other than employment
	(a) Total	(b) Male	(c) Female		(a) Industry	(b) Service trades	(c) Domestic	
No. 4:								
Baldwin.....				121	70	108		46
Choctaw.....	345				25	41		30
Clarke.....	96							
Conecuh.....	71			26	27	4	4	10
Escambia.....	203			13	102	60	16	12
Greene.....	400			400	15		15	30
Marengo.....	343			196	67			80
Mobile.....	850				354	441		55
Monroe.....	191				85	46	35	25
Sumter.....	780			450	80		50	200
Washington.....	235			60	40	75		60
Wilcox.....	225				125	40	35	25
Total.....	3,799	2,025	1,774	1,266	990	815	155	573

Certified persons working and awaiting assignment, as of Apr. 1, 1942

District and county	Working, Work Projects Administration	Awaiting assignment, Work Projects Administration	District and county	Working, Work Projects Administration	Awaiting assignment, Work Projects Administration
State total (25,358).....	18,476	6,882	No. 3—Continued.		
No. 1:			Bullock.....	11	22
Blount.....	3	33	Butler.....	132	76
Cherokee.....	26	64	Chambers.....	88	10
Colbert.....	367	112	Chilton.....	36	49
Cullman.....	117	114	Coffee.....	120	41
DeKalb.....	197	16	Coosa.....	32	1
Etowah.....	394	124	Covington.....	168	153
Franklin.....	251	119	Crenshaw.....	112	81
Jackson.....	216	176	Dale.....	84	31
Landerdale.....	744	531	Dallas.....	588	17
Lawrence.....	297	189	Elinore.....	104	25
Limestone.....	387	5	Geneva.....	123	28
Madison.....	598	154	Hale.....	102	12
Marion.....	119	82	Henry.....	119	21
Marshall.....	230	37	Houston.....	124	13
Morgan.....	902	102	Lee.....	159	19
Winston.....	48	41	Lowndes.....	20	8
Total.....	4,896	1,899	Macon.....	147	
No. 2:			Montgomery.....	2,330	408
Bibb.....	115	23	Perry.....	62	22
Calhoun.....	327	15	Pike.....	125	16
Clay.....	44	15	Russell.....	12	17
Cleburne.....	31	1	Tallapoosa.....	97	23
Fayette.....	73	20	Total.....	5,135	1,149
Jefferson.....	3,148	1,947	No. 4:		
Lamar.....	48	19	Baldwin.....	145	42
Pickens.....	37	9	Choctaw.....	77	69
Randolph.....	42	45	Clarke.....	32	63
Shelby.....	38	19	Conecuh.....	230	63
St. Clair.....	131	56	Escambia.....	285	63
Talladega.....	176	46	Greene.....	7	20
Tuscaloosa.....	521	398	Marengo.....	210	56
Walker.....	1,100	573	Mobile.....	1,130	119
Total.....	5,831	3,186	Monroe.....	105	35
No. 3:			Sumter.....	107	27
Autauga.....	93	9	Washington.....	125	44
Barbour.....	147	47	Wilcox.....	161	47
			Total.....	2,614	648

EXHIBIT 43.—STATEMENT BY MAJ. GEN. E. B. GREGORY, QUARTERMASTER GENERAL, UNITED STATES ARMY

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES AND PROCUREMENT METHODS IN UNITED STATES ARMY

With reference to your request dated February 5, 1942, for information concerning the Army's procurement methods in regard to perishable subsistence, the following outline of subsistence activities and procurement methods undertaken by the Army is furnished you with the hope that it will be helpful to you and your committee in investigating national defense migration:

1. *Nutrition.*—(a) The national nutrition program for civilians is reaching homes of all incomes. Both men and women are nutrition conscious. Since the soldiers in our new Army come from every walk of life, at least one-third of them have not been adequately fed. It is necessary, therefore, that the meals provided will furnish maximum nutrition—there must be all the essentials for energy, growth and health in the best proportions.

(b) This then is the basic problem in feeding our rapidly expanding Army soon to reach 3½ million men.

2. *Menus.*—(a) A master menu is prepared for each month (sample attached) and offered to all corps areas as a guide. This takes into consideration:

- (1) Value of the ration.
- (2) Nutrition.
- (3) Variety.
- (4) Appetite appeal.

(b) Because of the great activity of the soldier, the yardstick used calls for standards well above the one set up for civilians by the nutrition committee of the National Research Council.

Army standards for 1 day's menu for one man:

Calories.....	4,200	Vitamin A.....	10,000 international units
Iron.....	24 milligrams	Vitamin C.....	110 milligrams plus
Phosphorus.....	2.2 grams	Vitamin B-1.....	3.0 milligrams
Calcium.....	1.050 grams	Vitamin B-2.....	3.1 milligrams
Protein.....	140		

Requirements are based on the fact that a 30-day month will consist of 9 days on which usually very active soldiers will be only moderately active, and of 21 days with strenuous activities.

3. *Cooking.*—(a) Comments that the food is of high quality but often spoiled in the cooking are reported from time to time. The bakers' and cooks' schools are giving training as fast as possible to men assigned to this duty.

4. *Food habits.*—(a) Food habits are formed because of racial, regional, or family conditions. Menus must be made which are general in type. Men have to be introduced to new foods gradually. Too drastic changes in their accustomed diet make for discontent.

(b) It is believed that the Army has an opportunity to make the most important contribution to nutrition of any agency in the world today. Food habits will be modified and improved and will be carried back to civilian life.

(c) The purchasing system adopted by the Army today enables the troops to have in addition to nonperishable items an abundance of fresh fruits and vegetables, milk, fish, and eggs—foods all considered essential for their mineral and vitamin content. Our present feeding methods represent vast improvement over methods used in previous wars when almost entire dependence had to be placed upon nonperishable subsistence.

5. *Task forces.*—(a) Good feeding in the United States has set the standards for feeding the task forces. The same yardstick is used in analyzing these rations. It is more difficult to feed adequately when nonperishable rations have to be used, but it can, and is, being done due to the thought put on procurement of the Army's food.

6. *The purchasing methods of perishable subsistence for the Army.*—(a) The purchase of fresh fruits and vegetables for the Army is accomplished through a series of 30 quartermaster market centers. These are buying agencies and strategically located with reference to posts, camps, and stations and also with reference to the principal growing areas in the United States.

(b) A large number of these quartermaster market centers are located in the South in such important centers as Chattanooga, Tenn.; Anniston, Ala.; Macon, Ga.; Columbus, Ga.; Jacksonville, Fla.; Orlando, Fla.; Hattiesburg, Miss.; Alexandria La.; Houston, Tex.; San Antonio, Tex.; Fort Worth, Tex.; El Paso, Tex.; and Oklahoma City, Okla.

(c) The requirements for the various posts, camps, and stations which these market centers serve are sent to these market centers where they are abstracted and consolidated. The whole system is coordinated at field headquarters, perishable subsistence section, office of the Quartermaster General, Chicago, the central office. There is enclosed a list showing location of each of these quartermaster market centers.

(d) It has been found necessary to coordinate and clear requisitions through our Chicago office in order that these market centers do not compete one with the other and to assure that the taxpayer's dollar is spent to the maximum advantage in the feeding of our soldiers.

(e) Our Chicago office is staffed with civilian experts who know the growing conditions and the market for each of the principal commodities. Our potato buying, for example, follows the national field of production. Our offices endeavor to view the procurement of perishables from a national angle rather than a local one. During the season when potatoes are plentiful, good and not expensive in Florida, Louisiana, and Alabama, a large portion of the Army's requirements comes from these States. Later as the growing season advances, potatoes are bought in other potato-producing States such as California, Idaho, Indiana, Michigan, and Maine.

7. *Local purchases.*—(a) It is a policy of the quartermaster market centers to utilize, insofar as is possible, locally grown commodities to fill Army requirements providing, however, that they are of the quality required by Federal specifications and available in sufficient quantity, and are properly graded and packed. In this connection, it is interesting to note that various State agencies have been doing splendid work in educating farmer groups to grade and pack their produce to meet Federal specifications in order that they may sell collectively to local quartermaster market centers. It is the desire of the Quartermaster General to continue to purchase perishable subsistence locally insofar as it is possible, and every advantage will be taken as in the past to utilize fully such splendid crops as the South is noted for such as sweetpotatoes, citrus fruits, strawberries, melons, and in fact, all types of fruits and vegetables.

8. *Relation between Army purchasing and civilian needs.*—(a) In response to the question as to whether the Army, itself, has noted or encouraged any changes in types of agriculture, it has not, nor has it advocated any increased acreage since, in general, there has been a surplus of fruits and vegetables and no difficulty has been experienced so far in obtaining all requirements.

(b) A factor which has been a guiding one in not advocating increased acreage in the vicinity of posts, camps, and stations, is the fact that the fluctuation in strength of troops has been so marked that it has been impossible to guarantee or to even estimate with any degree of accuracy the quantities which would be needed at the time a specific commodity was ready for harvest.

(c) In addition, we have been faced with the problem in some instances where local growers have asked higher prices for the same commodities than growers in other areas particularly if the local crop is short. This problem has been solved by directing and coordinating purchases through our central office in Chicago in such a manner as to cause the least possible disturbance or impact on local markets since it has been realized that civilian needs must be considered along with those of the Army.

(d) Our aim has been to avoid any increase in price to the consumer due to the relative nearness of large concentrations of troops to a small established civilian community.

9. *Data relative to purchasing fresh fruits and vegetables for the Army.*—(a) In answer to the question relative to the dollar value expended in the several States, there is forwarded herewith a copy of Subsistence which outlines market center operations.

(b) Relative to the question as to the most important fruit and vegetable crops used by the Army, they are listed below in order of importance.

Vegetables:

Potatoes.
Onions.
Cabbage.
Root vegetables.
Lettuce.
Celery.
Cauliflower.

Fruits:

Apples.
Oranges.
Grapefruit.
Lemons.
Melons.
Grapes.
Various small.
Deciduous fruits.

10. *Milk for the Army.*—(a) Relative to the supply of fresh fluid milk and dairy products, particularly in the South, the inquiry has raised a very interesting point and one which this office has recognized; that is, the threat of the shortage of fresh fluid milk to meet the demands of our rapidly increasing Army.

(b) A qualified representative of this office, fully acquainted with the production and distribution of milk, has spent a large portion of his time in the field to encourage the development of new sources of fresh fluid milk and to utilize to the fullest possible degree sources currently available. Much has been accomplished by working with and in cooperation with the State milk control boards. An outstanding example is the mutually advantageous cooperation between the State Milk Control Board of California and this office toward the solution of the Army's milk problems in California.

It is hoped that the above brief outline of the Army's activities and methods employed in the procurement of subsistence supplies, particularly as they apply to perishable subsistence, will be helpful in the work undertaken by your committee.

Very truly yours,

E. B. GREGORY,
Major General,
The Quartermaster General.

EXHIBIT 44

AGRICULTURAL WAGE AND HOUR LEGISLATION IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

NOVEMBER 14, 1941.

Gen. PHILIP B. FLEMING,
Administrator, Wage and Hour Division,
Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

DEAR GENERAL FLEMING: The next five hearings of the committee will be concerned primarily with agricultural labor shortages. We are eager to have the Wage and Hour Division prepare a comprehensive study of the application of minimum wage legislation to agricultural workers by other nations. Such a study would assist the committee in considering the desirability of minimum wage legislation for American agricultural workers.

This study, to be of greatest assistance to the committee, should be submitted not later than February 15, 1942.

If there are any questions in connection with the study, would you contact Mr. F. P. Weber, Room 286 Library Annex, extension 309 on the Capitol exchange?

With all good wishes, I am
Sincerely,

JOHN H. TOLAN, *Chairman.*

Report by Wage and Hour Division, Research and Statistics Branch, February 23, 1942, Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

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 - (a) Machinery of operation.
 - (b) Administration and enforcement.
 - (c) Provisions for minimum wages.
 - (d) Provisions for hours of work.
- E. Germany.
1. Provisions for hours of work.
 2. Provisions for minimum wages.
 3. Recent development.
- F. Austria.
1. Provisions for hours of work.
 2. Wage provisions.
 3. Recent developments.
- G. Hungary.
1. Act II of 1898.
 2. Act XXV of 1923.
 3. Recent developments.
- H. Czechoslovakia.
1. Collective agreements.
 2. Maximum hour legislation.
- I. Sweden:
1. Collective agreements regulating wages and hours.
 2. Legislation regulating hours of work.
 3. Scope of the act of 1939.
 4. Administration of the act.
 5. Hour provisions of the act.
 6. Effects of the act.
 7. Proposed minimum wage legislation.
- J. The Baltic countries.
1. Estonia.
 - (a) The proclamation of November 1918.
 - (b) The act of October 1921.
 - (c) Agricultural Labor Code of 1939.
 - (d) Provisions for hours of work.
 - (e) Supervision and enforcement.

II. Legislation in various countries—Continued.

J. The Baltic countries—Continued.

2. Finland.
 3. Latvia.
 4. Lithuania.
- K. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
1. Wage provisions.
 2. Hour provisions.
- L. Spain.
1. Early hour legislation.
 2. Recent hour legislation.
 3. Regulation of wages.
- M. Italy.
1. Regulation of working hours.
 2. Regulation of wages.
 3. Enforcement of wage and hour regulations.
- N. Mexico.
1. The Mexican Constitution of 1917.
 2. Provisions for minimum wages.
 3. Provisions for hours of work.
 4. Operation of wage and hour provisions in agriculture.
- O. Cuba.
1. Provisions for hours of work.
 2. Provisions for minimum wages.
- P. Dominican Republic.
- Q. Central America.
1. Costa Rica.
 2. Guatemala.
- R. South America.
1. Argentina.
 - (a) San Juan.
 - (b) Tucumen.
 2. Brazil.
 3. Ecuador.
 - (a) Decree of December 30, 1936.
 - (b) Labor Code of Ecuador, 1938.
 - (c) Hours of work provisions.
 - (d) Minimum wage provisions.
 4. Peru.
 - (a) Provisions of minimum wages.
 - (b) Provisions for hours of work.
 5. Uruguay.
 - (a) Minimum wage provisions.
 - (b) Recent developments.

I. INTRODUCTION

A. AGRICULTURAL WAGE AND HOUR LEGISLATION IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Wage-and-hour regulation in agriculture is of comparatively recent origin, dating in most cases from the first World War or early post-war years. Conditions peculiar to agriculture make the regulation of working conditions in this field of activity more difficult than their regulation in most manufacturing industries. Agricultural activity is largely determined by natural conditions, which influence working hour requirements and the ability to pay wages. Crop production is highly seasonal, with two peak periods, for sowing and harvesting, when the whole efforts of the farming staff scarcely suffice to master the situation. The seasonal peaks may be intensified by the climatic conditions of the region, which determine the length of the periods of growth for the crops and the periods during which preparatory field work and harvest work are possible. The shorter the season for agricultural work, the more pressing becomes the work and the longer hours tend to be. Stable or unstable weather conditions also affect the pressure of work. Furthermore, the needs of livestock, involving regular periods of work at intervals, also increase the length of the working day on the farm.

The supply of labor, the size of the farming unit, the relation between density of population and available land, all affect the labor conditions in agriculture. Where seasonal and casual labor is abundant, hours of work may be kept more regular throughout the year than when the farmer, in order to have enough labor at his disposal during the busy season is sometimes obliged to offer all-year employment. In the latter case, the farmer depends upon a constant labor staff to accomplish a varying amount of work. Naturally this staff works much longer hours during the busy season. On larger farms regulation is easier than on smaller farms, where division of labor is not possible, and a few workers are obliged to do all the work. Moreover, the larger farm is likely to have a number of labor-saving machines which the smaller farm may not be able to afford. In over-populated areas, where the poorest land must be cultivated, and even the best

land is cultivated with the greatest intensity, the law of diminishing returns operated to increase the required amount of labor and decrease the returns per unit of production.

Finally, the economic conditions under which agriculture is carried—its productive capacity, technical development, efficiency of organization, and general profitability—influence the wages and hours of work. In 1938 the International Labor Office asked the members of a permanent agricultural committee appointed by it to prepare short reports on agricultural labor problems in their respective countries. Analyzing these reports, the International Labor Office states:

"Many reports draw attention to the close relation between the wage level of agricultural labor and the low profitability of farming in general, the latter leaving a very narrow margin for agriculture to increase unaided the earnings of the labor it employs.

"Some of the reports examining this question in greater detail refer to the general trend in the economic situation of agriculture over a long period, which has been such as never to have allowed the farmer sufficient profit to enable him to undertake the investments of machinery or other equipment which would have kept the level of efficiency of human labor up to what it is in other occupations."¹

Louise E. Howard, formerly Chief of the Agricultural Service of the International Labor Office, and corresponding member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Agriculture, writes:

"It would indeed be absurd to ignore the low earning power of agriculture as an integral part of the agricultural wages situation. By comparison with industry, agriculture is far behind in its productive capacity because it is far less well equipped, financed, and organized; by comparison with the output of the industrial worker, the agricultural worker's output is modest, partly for the same reasons as determine the achievement of the whole of agriculture."²

Adverse economic conditions in agriculture may be aggravated by economic policies which affect the price structure. When price relations between farm products and industrial products develop in a way unfavorable to agriculture, causing lower income and higher costs of production and making debt burdens and taxes heavier to carry, farmers attempt to remedy the situation by producing more with less and cheaper labor. The result is not only longer hours and lower wages for farm workers, but also still more farm products on the markets, reducing agricultural prices still further and aggravating the situation of the farmers.

1. *The need for regulation.*

The above summary indicates that various conditions are peculiar to agriculture and that therefore the regulation of hours and wages in agriculture will always present special problems. Nevertheless, the need for some form of regulation has been recognized for years. In 1919 and again in 1921 attempts were made to place the item of regulation of hours of work in agriculture on the agenda of the International Labor Conference.³ In 1933, at the Tripartite Preparatory Conference on the Reduction of Hours of Work, the workers' group presented the following resolution:

"The workers' group of the Preparatory Conference has noted with great regret that, in the discussions on the question of the limitation of working hours, agriculture is from the outset excluded.

"The workers' group strongly protests against the exclusion of agriculture in dealing with questions of this importance.

"The workers' group notes that rationalization and the crises are bringing about ever-increasing unemployment in agriculture, as in other industries, and is convinced of the absolute necessity of a limitation of the over-long working hours of agricultural workers.

"The workers' group therefore requests the Conference to recommend to the governing body of the International Labor Office that it should ask the International Labor Office to initiate an immediate inquiry into working hours in agriculture with the object of bringing about as soon as is in any way possible an International Convention on the Regulation and Limitation of Working Hours in Agriculture."⁴

¹ International Labor Office, Studies and Reports, Series K. No. 14, Social Problems in Agriculture, 1938, p. 92.

² Howard, Louise E., *Labour in Agriculture*, 1935, p. 210.

³ International Labor Office, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁴ International Labor Conference, 17th sess., Geneva, 1933. Report of the Tripartite Preparatory Conference on Reduction of Hours of Work, 1933, pp. 21-22.

The Report of the Permanent Agricultural Committee of the International Labor Office,⁵ appointed to study agricultural labor problems, states:

"The existence of an unlimited and unregulated working day in agriculture does not seem rational in a time which has become conscious of the physical damage that long hours of work may cause to the classes of population employed under such conditions and of the increase in the efficiency of human labor which may be achieved by a shorter but rationally organized working day."⁶

The gap between hours of work in agriculture and in urban occupations is generally recognized as detrimental to the interests of agriculture as a whole. Legislation regulating the hours of work in industry has been passed in nearly all progressive countries of the world, and hours of work have been reduced in all industries. As hours of work grow shorter in industry, the gap between hours of work in agriculture and in urban occupations grows wider. This causes the more intelligent and ambitious agricultural workers to be drawn off into the industrial field. In 1926 a resolution adopted by the Fourth Congress of International Land Workers Federation at Geneva in 1926 stated:

"The efforts to secure an international limitation of the working day in industry to 8 hours without extending at the same time the slightest degree of protection (concerning hours) to the agricultural worker, must necessarily encourage the drift of population to the towns."⁶

The permanent agricultural committee of the International Labor Office also stressed this gap in its report, stating:

"It is generally admitted that the long working hours in agriculture are one of the main causes of the rural exodus which comprises individuals of all layers of the agricultural population, and not merely wage-paid labor."⁷

The need for some form of wage regulation in industry is emphasized by the low wage level in this occupation. The International Labor Office, analyzing the reports of the members of the permanent agricultural committee on agricultural labor problems in their respective countries, writes:

"All of the national reports admit in some terms or other the low standard of living of agricultural labor and the desirability and necessity of bringing it nearer to the level of workers engaged in other occupations."⁸

Louise E. Howard, formerly Chief of the Agricultural Service of the International Labor Office, and corresponding member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Agriculture, writes:

"Agricultural wages always have been and still are very low. This becomes only too obvious when they are measured against industrial wages. It is a fact of the greatest significance that agricultural wage rates seldom attain much more than one-half, are often only one-half, and occasionally even only one-third, of an average industrial wage * * * in all wage tables agricultural wages rank at the bottom of the table; they are apt to fight for the last place with such occupations as the restaurant industry or domestic service, or even with the women's wages as such.

"There is thus generally a huge gap between the remuneration of agriculture and of industry."⁹

Minimum wage legislation is especially necessary in agriculture because of the lack of bargaining power of the agricultural workers. The permanent agricultural committee stresses this:

"The well-known difficulties which the organizing of agricultural workers encounters, owing among other reasons to the limited labor force on each farm, the dispersion of farms and the disproportionate degree to which the agricultural labor class is composed of young workers, has always been a great hindrance to the development of collective bargaining and therefore in no State have agricultural workers yet succeeded in getting either all regions of the country or all groups of workers covered by collective agreements."¹⁰

And again:

"The limited success of the efforts of the workers to raise their conditions in a world where the principle of collective regulation gains wider and wider acceptance has, not unnaturally, resulted in the State tending to come to their assistance, especially in countries with a tendency to overpopulation in the countryside, and to wage rates in agriculture frequently, more particularly during a depression, being so low that even the minimum standard of living is threatened.

⁵ International Labor Office, Studies and Reports, series K, No. 14, op. cit., p. 37.

⁶ Quoted in Howard, Louise, op. cit., p. 113.

⁷ International Labor Office, op. cit., p. 37.

⁸ Ibid., p. 90.

⁹ Howard, Louise, E., Labor in Agriculture, 1935, p. 204.

¹⁰ Howard, Louise, E., op. cit., p. 204.

"Collective bargaining based on a further development of trade-unionism in agriculture would, even under favorable conditions, obviously be too slow a procedure to solve a problem which is of immediate importance. It is for this reason that, even in countries where collective agreements exercise a considerable influence on wage conditions in agriculture the question of State intervention comes up."¹¹

The agricultural unions themselves are beginning to realize this. When in early post-war years, minimum wage-fixing legislation for agriculture began to be passed in some countries, various agricultural workers' unions declared their opposition to such legislation. For example in Scotland the agricultural workers' organizations in 1924 successfully opposed the application to Scotland of the Agricultural Wages Regulation Act, believing that direct negotiation, with the employers' organization would insure them higher wages. As time went on, however, experience failed to substantiate this expectation, so that the workers' union asked for State intervention, and as a result the Agricultural Wages Regulation Act, of Scotland, was passed in July 1937. The changing attitude of the International Land Workers' Federation is also a case in point. At the 1928 Congress of the Federation it was only the less important unions which were not opposed to State intervention. By 1935 the Federation at its Seventh Congress in London reconsidered its attitude, adopted principles implying that the agricultural workers' unions were now ready to contemplate a system of State regulation of wages and requested the International Labor Office to study the problem.¹²

2. Possibility of regulation.

Although, as has been shown, the regulation of hours of work and wages in agriculture presents special problems, these problems are by no means insoluble. The best proof of this is that the regularization of the working day, the shortening of working hours, and the establishment of minimum wages have already been achieved in practice in many countries. The International Labor Office reported in 1938:

"The fact that hours of work in agriculture are within certain limits covered by legislation or collective agreements in at least fifteen countries, and that the regulation of hours in agriculture has been maintained in the form it has been first given, shows that regulation of hours is possible in principle and that it is possible to secure for the agricultural worker the same protection as for workers in other occupations, that is to say, he may know in advance how many hours of his labor he must give in return for wages received."¹³

With regard to wage regulation the International Labor Office states:

"In most European countries and in Australia and New Zealand, the wage level of the agricultural worker is now to a greater or lesser extent influenced by some form of wage regulation. In spite of many difficulties and of the instability which has characterized the agricultural situation ever since the war, the scope and extent of such wage regulation systems has been maintained, while in recent years and particularly as a sequence to policies introduced during the agricultural crisis, a further development has taken place. Recent years have seen a continued development of wage regulation in agriculture."¹⁴

While it is true that, to a certain extent, agricultural activity is dependent upon natural conditions, it is not only natural conditions which have created the long working day in agriculture. Many other conditions which are due to social and economic organization and can therefore be modified, have also played their part in fixing the long hours. Louise Howard writes of the lack of organization and efficiency which prevail in farming establishments:

"Have the reasonable requirements of labor ever been seriously and fairly considered? Has not the farming industry been built up with almost criminal disregard of human effort? Far too often the worker's labor is dispersed by the cultivation of distant areas which ought to have been consolidated long ago; it is wasted because the work is not properly planned by his employer; operations are needlessly extended through want of proper tools; hour upon hour is consumed in the course of the year because the lay-out of the farm is absurd; finally there is in any case a tendency to extend production to a point where it can secure the producer a living only at the cost of inordinate effort, and the farmer, while he

¹¹ International Labor Office, op. cit., pp. 73 and 86.

¹² Ibid., pp. 80 and 87.

¹³ International Labor Office, Studies and Reports, Series K, No. 14, Social Problems in Agriculture, 1938, p. 38.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 31.

expects the worker to join in this common effort, permits the reward secured by such additional labor to accrue solely to himself."¹⁵

Speaking before a United States House of Representatives committee, Ewan Clague, Director of the Bureau of Employment Security in the Social Security Board, stated:

"Employment service facilities can also be used effectively to direct the movement of workers who migrate in response to seasonal demands for labor. This is especially true in agriculture where the objective of the service is to meet the needs of both growers and workers and at the same time to avoid unnecessary and fruitless migration. Functioning in the agricultural labor market, and in cooperation with other agencies, the employment service can be a means of stabilizing farm-labor resources, providing a more adequate income to a limited number of qualified workers, eliminating the irresponsible recruiting practices of labor contractors, and providing growers with workers who are experienced in a particular type of crop activity."¹⁶

The use of poor land in overpopulated areas not only operates to intensify the length of the working day, but is generally uneconomic. In some overpopulated countries in Europe this condition may not be easily remedied. In the United States this problem could be remedied by a combined program of soil conservation, reclamation, and resettlement. The Farm Security Administration has moved many families from submarginal land, which has been purchased by the Government for reforestation or some other useful purpose. The Bureau of Reclamation of the Department of the Interior is carrying on various types of reclamation development which will afford extensive opportunities for new settlements in various parts of the country.¹⁷ At the San Francisco hearings before the United States Committee Investigating Interstate Migration, testimony was given to the effect that one project of the Bureau of Reclamation, the Central Valley project in California, when completed will restore "to production 50,000 acres of crop land already abandoned," and "serve about 175,000 acres of new land."¹⁸

Programs aimed at stabilization of farm-industrial price relationships, which are under evolution in many countries, will doubtless narrow the spread in prices between farm products and industrial products.

Increasing advances in agricultural technique, advances which have largely taken the form of labor saving machinery, have made the shortening of hours of work increasingly possible. Thus, certain technical equipment such as beet cutters, water pipes and electric lights in farm buildings, have simplified the work and contributed towards shortening the necessary time taken by those occupations. Other machines, for use in the field, are reducing the number of persons employed, and thereby creating technological unemployment. One of the chief solutions for this form of unemployment is the shortening of hours of work.

The International Labor Office points out that farmers may not be able to solve the problems involved in shortening hours entirely by themselves. It reports that many of the smaller farms "may need material assistance enabling them to carry out the mechanization and rationalization necessary for realizing the potentialities of a shorter working day. More systematic study of the technical labor problems of the farm by experimental stations, etc., and a general spreading of knowledge of the results arrived at may carry progress a good deal forward."¹⁹

Writing of the need to bridge the gap between agricultural and other wages, Louise Howard states:

"Nor need the capacity of agriculture to concede rather higher wages than have hitherto prevailed be underestimated; the ineffective bargaining power of agricultural workers has tended to let wages drop below their economic level. In any case, the necessity for paying higher wages will stimulate agriculture to select and use labour more carefully and above all more effectively, and this will be of great benefit."

"The raising of agricultural wage rates should add to the buying power for manufactured articles of the rural populations, who have hitherto had small margin to relieve the present economic depression and to restore a proper balance between industry and agriculture."²⁰

¹⁵ Howard, Louise E., op. cit., p. 112.

¹⁶ U. S. House of Representatives Report of the Select Committee to Investigate the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens, 1941, p. 113.

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 80.

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 82.

¹⁹ International Labor Office, op. cit., p. 38.

²⁰ Howard, Louise E., op. cit., pp. 280-281.

As regards the question of the farmer's ability to pay minimum wages, it is of interest to notice that minimum wage-fixing legislation has often come about in connection with various measures to aid agriculture and that State help to agriculture and agricultural wage regulations have often come about together, the latter designed as a means of securing to labor a fair share of the assistance given to the farmer. The earliest wage legislation, that of England and Wales, was contained in the Corn Production Act. This act was passed in 1917, during the first World War, when as now, increased agricultural production was essential for the conduct of the war. The primary purpose of the Corn Production Act was to encourage the production of agricultural products. In return for a Government subsidy the act required that farmers should pay their employees a minimum rate of wages, determined for each county by a central agricultural wages board. The reason for the inclusion of the wage provision was mainly to retain laborers on the farm so as to make possible a greater domestic production of food for war time needs.²¹ In more recent times farmers in Great Britain have been aided in meeting the increased cost of labor resulting from minimum wage legislation by preferential treatment accorded agriculture through regulation of imports by means of tariffs and quotas, through government control of the prices of certain commodities and through subsidies of almost 40,000,000 pounds a year.²²

In New Zealand the Agricultural Workers Act of 1936 is part of a comprehensive program of economic planning applied to agriculture. In this program prices, overhead costs, and wages are considered together, and other aspects of the farm problem, including the organization of production and marketing, are tackled. The act was passed to insure the passing on of a fair portion of the increased income to be conferred on farmers by the Primary Products Marketing Act, which guaranteed prices for various agricultural products. Minimum rates were fixed with regard to the prices fixed for the agricultural products.²³

A recent effort to obtain the passage of minimum wage legislation in Sweden was also based on the introduction of State aid to agriculture.²⁴

3. *Methods of regulating hours.*

Regulation of hours of work in agriculture is in most cases a post-war phenomenon. The International Labor Office reports that the problem of regulation covering hours of work in agriculture has been approached in all countries in a very cautious way. The imposing upon agriculture of a rigid organization of its working day has been avoided and room has been left for considerable elasticity and adaption to practical needs.

Hour regulation has been imposed either through general legislation on hours of work or special legislation for agriculture only. In some countries hours are regulated incidentally in the course of fixing minimum wages. The minimum wage orders issued specify the number of hours of work per day or per week to which the minimum wage rates apply. In a few countries hours of work are regulated by arbitration court awards. The countries in which hours are regulated by the above-mentioned methods are as follows:

General hour legislation	Special agricultural legislation	Wage-fixing machinery	Arbitration court awards
Czechoslovakia. Spain. Italy. Mexico. Argentina. San Juan. Tucumen.	Germany. Austria. Sweden.	England and Wales. Scotland. Ireland. New Zealand.	Australia. New Zealand.

The methods of regulating hours of work vary widely from simple rules restricting hours of work indirectly, to arrangements laying down definite detailed time tables. The indirect method restricts working hours by specifying a minimum nightly rest period the length of which is definitely stated in hours, and by specifying the number of breaks in the day, with the length of each definitely stated. By deducting the total of the nightly rest and the breaks from the 24 hours of the day, the length of the maximum working day is found. Indirect limitation

²¹ Sells, Dorothy M. D., *British Wages Boards*, (1939) pp. 20 and 26.

²² Great Britain, *The Ministry of Labour Gazette*, vol. XI VIII, January-December, 1940, p. 159.

²³ International Labor Office, *Studies and Reports*, series D No. 22, *The Minimum Wage*, 1939, pp. 164-165.

²⁴ International Labor Office, *Studies and Reports*, series K No. 14, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

thus secures to the worker an absolute guarantee to certain minimum rest periods either by night or by day, or both. It also lays down maximum limits to the working day which cannot be exceeded even during the busy seasons. However, this maximum day may be anywhere from 10 to 14 hours or even longer, which is a pretty long working day, even in the busy season. Indirect limitation can normally be applied to all groups of workers, including farm servants and cattle tending staffs, two groups generally excluded from direct limitation of hours. Indirect limitation of hours is found in Hungary and Austria.

There are various methods of limiting hours of work directly. One method is to fix the average hours of work per day over the period of a year. According to this method a particular working day can ostensibly be any length, providing that the average for the year does not exceed a specified number. Such an average becomes of real value to the workers only when it is combined with the indirect method of fixing the nightly and daily rest periods.

Another method of limiting hours of work in agriculture is to fix different averages per day for different periods of the year; for example, an average of 8 hours during 4 months of the year, 10 hours during another 4, and 11 hours during the remaining 4 months. A third method fixes an average working day over the year, but also specifies the maximum day or the maximum week, perhaps varying the maximum with the seasonal needs.

A fourth method is to fix a maximum working day. In this case a different maximum working day may be fixed for various periods of the year, the duration of which may vary from several months down to 10 days. In Lithuanian legislation, now defunct, the range of the maximum working day was from 7 hours in December to 12 hours from May to August.

A fifth method is the use of a maximum workweek. In English counties the maximum workweek is generally 48 hours in winter and 52 in summer.

Where hour legislation applies to both agriculture and industry, a general maximum working day or week is first specified, and then allowances are made for certain deviations from the maximum, either within certain limited periods, or over the whole year.

Whatever methods or arrangements are made, there is little and in some countries there are no limits on overtime. To work overtime when necessary is generally an obligation on the workers. Overtime, generally at higher rates, can extend the ordinary working day for any length without any fixed limits. The effectiveness of the maximum hours as fixed depends greatly on the rates for overtime. Thus working hours are limited simply by the pressure of expense on employers.

An absolute limitation of working hours comes into effect only when overtime is itself limited to a certain maximum, or when it is allowed to be instituted only under specified conditions. For example, overtime may be limited to 3 months during the year, or so as not to exceed 2 hours a day or 12 hours a week, or 50 hours in the month, or 120 hours in the year.

Rates for overtime vary from 10 percent above ordinary rates to $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the ordinary rates. Work on Sundays and holidays is sometimes paid for at the same rates as overtime on weekdays and sometimes at higher rates, up to double time.

4. *Methods of regulating wages.*

The simplest form of minimum-wage legislation is the laying down in a statute of definitely fixed minimum-wage rates. The payment of less than the stipulated amount is declared illegal. Sometimes the enactment of a statutory minimum wage is combined with the provisions of administrative machinery for raising the minimum (and subsequently also reducing it, but never below the minimum fixed by statute).

A more elastic method is that of setting up special wage-fixing machinery. Generally this machinery consists of a central wage board together with local boards for the various divisions of the country. The central and local boards are generally composed of members representing employers, members representing employees, and some impartial members. The chairman is usually selected from among the impartial members, and usually casts a vote only in case of a tie. In some countries the wages are fixed by local committees, while the central board merely reviews them and issues the wage orders. In other countries the local boards merely act as advisory bodies, while the central board fixes the wages.

In Australia and New Zealand minimum wages for a few groups of specially skilled agricultural workers who are organized are fixed by arbitration court awards. The arbitration court is authorized to fix a minimum wage sufficient

to enable a worker to support himself and family in a fair and reasonable standard of comfort. The court is also empowered to alter the minimum-wage rate in accordance with the cost of living and the prosperity of the industry.

An indirect method of regulating wages found in some countries is that of government sanction of collective agreements. This sanction may take various forms. In Germany, before the present regime, at the request of either one or both of the contracting parties, the Federal Minister of Labor could make a collective agreement binding for all agricultural employers and workers in the region concerned, whether organized or not. In Italy the charter of labor makes it obligatory for organizations of employers and workers to negotiate collective agreements, the stipulations of which are applicable to all employers or workers in the region whether organized or not. In Czechoslovakia, from the very first year of the Republic, the agricultural advisory boards attached to the Provincial employment exchanges took the initiative of convoking representatives of employers' and workers' organizations to agree on working conditions in agriculture, and this practice was continued throughout the life of the Republic. While collective agreements proper were not signed, guiding principles were agreed upon, which were later incorporated in collective agreements.

In Sweden a law was passed in 1928 providing that during the term of validity of a collective agreement strikes or lock-outs to alter any of the terms of the agreement were illegal. This has the effect of giving official sanction to such agreements.

The various methods of regulating wages and the countries in which each method prevails are as follows:

Government statute definitely fixes wage rates	Statute provides for the setting up of local and central wage boards to fix wages	Wage awards by a court of arbitration	Government sanctions of collective agreements
New Zealand. ¹ Guatemala. San Juan (Argentina). Peru. ¹ Uruguay.	England and Wales. Scotland. Ireland. Hungary. Spain. Mexico. Cuba. Dominican Republic. Costa Rica. Brazil. Ecuador.	Australia. New Zealand.	Sweden. Germany. Austria. Italy. Czechoslovakia.

¹ Provisions in statute for making changes in wages.

II. LEGISLATION IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES

A. AUSTRALIA—FEDERAL REGULATION

1. Type of legislation.

Wages and hours of industrial workers and of a few small groups of agricultural workers in Australia are regulated federally by the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Act of 1904, as amended, and in the States by State industrial arbitration acts, factory and shop acts, or wages boards acts. The Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Act of 1904 created a Federal Arbitration Court with jurisdiction extending beyond the limits of any one State. In the case of a labor dispute the court has power to summon representatives of both employers and employees to a compulsory conciliation conference, and in the absence of a voluntary agreement to make an award binding on both parties. Since in the bulk of labor disputes the questions of wages and hours of work have had major importance, the court in effect has served as a minimum-wage and maximum-hour fixing authority. Moreover, as Australia recognized that some protection of the workers' wages was essential to the maintenance of peaceful labor relations, the court was also given the power to fix the basic rates of wages payable to adult unskilled workers and to vary those rates from time to time in order to safeguard a minimum standard of living.²⁵

²⁵ International Labor Office, Studies and Reports, series D No. 22, The Minimum Wage, (1930) p. 71

2. *Applicability to agriculture.*

The jurisdiction of the Commonwealth Arbitration Court is limited to disputes arising between individual employers or registered associations of employers on the one hand and individual workers or registered unions of workers on the other. Under the original Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Act, a labor dispute of a nature to give the court jurisdiction did not include a dispute relating to employment in any agricultural pursuit. Amendments to the principal act, however, have made substantial modifications, and now any association of not less than 100 workers in any industrial or agricultural pursuit may be registered under the act. There are no legal difficulties to prevent agriculturalists thus organized and registered from coming into the court and asking for an award binding on employers in their industries. The court, however, has never been asked to make an award for agricultural workers except as to pastoral and orchard workers. Thus, there are in operation only two Federal rural awards, the pastoral award and the fruit growers award.²⁶

The pastoral, or wool industry, however, is not only the chief of Australia's rural industries, but it is the most important of all her industries. It is only in the pastoral industry, moreover, that large-scale farming is the normal practice. This industry employs the largest number of wage-paid workers among rural industries. Fruit growing is the only other agricultural industry that employs labor in considerable numbers, although in this industry, employment is highly seasonal. Wheat and dairy production are the chief rural industries other than wool, and wage cost is not high in these industries. They tend to be family industries with holdings that can be worked under a system of peasant proprietorship. Only in the pastoral, fruit-growing and sugar industries have trade unions been organized.

The sugar industry may be said to be confined to one State, Queensland. Among the pastoral workers the formation of a union has been found comparatively easy for the shearers make their way from station to station and State to State in a body. They form a branch of the Australian Workers Union (A. W. U.), a union with a membership of about 135,000, the largest in the country. The fruit growers are organized in the Rural Workers Union of Victoria and the South Australian United Labourers Union.²⁷

3. *Machinery of operation.*

The Federal Arbitration Court consists of a chief judge and such other judges as may be appointed. No judge may be removed from office except by the Governor General in Council. Any duly registered organization of workers or employers may make a collective agreement with any other organization. Such an agreement, if filed under section 24 of the Arbitration Act and certified by a judge of the court has the same binding force as an award of the court. In the event of no voluntary agreement being reached in a dispute, a judge of the court summons representatives of the parties to a compulsory conference. If, as usually happens, no complete agreement is then reached, the judge refers the dispute into court. The court then decides the unsettled matters in dispute and makes an award covering both these matters and such points as the parties themselves may have agreed on.²⁸

In setting the minimum wage rates the Court of Arbitration considers the cost of living and sets a rate such that an unskilled worker may secure a living wage. To this is added various increments for skill, expense, etc. The court also takes into consideration the prosperity of the industry and the probable effects of the competitive disadvantage that would be imposed by higher wage costs.²⁹

The court may not alter the basic wage or award a wage-rate lower than the basic wage, unless the question is heard by the chief judge and not less than two other judges and the reduction approved by a majority of the members of the court by whom the question is heard. The court may make special provision for the payment of wages less than the minimum award rates to persons who for special reasons are unable to earn those rates.³⁰

The court has no power to make its award a common rule for the whole of the industry to which it applies. Only those employers who are cited in an application for an award can be bound by an award, and in practice the unions find it

²⁶ International Labour Review, *Agricultural Wages in Australia* by D. B. Copland O. deR. Foemander, vol. 25, No. 6, June 1932, p. 767.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 767-768.

²⁸ I. L. O., *Studies and Reports*, series No. D, 22, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

necessary to serve "logs" (i. e., an application for an award and a statement of claims) on all the employers whom they wish to have bound.³¹ However, the court generally announces that in future applications of such a kind a similar award will be made. As a result of the strict application of this principle to a large number of cases, a particular award tends to become the general practice.³²

Awards and agreements are made for specified periods not exceeding 5 years, and after the specified periods have expired, awards continue in practice until new ones are made unless the court directs otherwise.

4. *Enforcement procedure.*

The Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Acts and the regulations made under it are administered by the Attorney General's Department. The act provides for the appointment of inspectors, but in practice the awards are policed by the workers' organizations concerned. Accredited union officials are given limited powers to enter factories and workshops for inspection purposes and in the exercise of these powers are regarded by the court as its officials. The expense involved is, however, borne by the unions. The system has been much criticized by employers.

Failure to comply with the provisions of an award is an offense punishable by a fine. Any worker who has been paid at less than the award rate of wages is entitled at any time within 9 months to sue in any court of competent jurisdiction for the recovery of the difference between the amount paid and the award rate.³³

5. *The pastoral awards.*

Awards in the pastoral industry generally cover shearers, station hands, wool-pressers and cooks—that is, workers whose main or predominant work is as pastoralists raising and/or shearing sheep, and not general farm laborers on agricultural lands farmed in connection with sheep raising. The first wage award for shearers was made by the Federal court in 1907, covering New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, and South Australia. Shearing had always been done on a piece work basis and the court saw no reason to depart from the practice. In awarding a wage rate (per 100 sheep shorn) the court was mainly concerned with restoring to the shearer the same earning capacity, having regard to the introduction of machine shearing, as he had enjoyed before the introduction of this great change. The court believed that at the rate awarded earnings would be sufficient to maintain the shearers and their families according to the Australian standard of comfort. In 1916 the wage rate for shearers was raised to meet the rising cost of living. In 1917 the rate was again raised because of the marked rise in the cost of living due to the war. In 1923 the court increased the shearers' rates again, as the cost of living was still rising. In making this award the court took into consideration the effects of piece work as an incentive to greater productivity which it believed previous awards had not sufficiently emphasized. Tasmania was included in this award, but not Queensland, which had fixed a higher rate for shearers than that awarded by the Federal court. In 1926 the Australian Workers Union claimed that the piece rate previously allowed was not sufficient to enable the shearer to obtain the earnings necessary to meet the cost of living due to time lost in traveling, time lost because of bad weather and expenses incurred during the expedition. The court increased the rates in order to allow an additional sum to represent a margin for skill and experience and for the time spent on the expedition. In 1927 the court increased the rate in New South Wales, South Australia, and Tasmania, but not in western Australia. The differential represented a differential in cost of living and expenses. In 1930, due to the depressed economic state of the country and drop in wool prices, rates were reduced by about 20 percent.³⁴

The court, in varying the wages of station hands, shed hands, wool pressers, and cooks, is moved by much the same consideration as in the case of shearers—cost of living and prosperity of the industry. Station hands (bullock drivers, boundary riders, and others) were first included in an award in 1917. Until that year the conditions of those men had been wholly unregulated. Then they were organized by the A. W. U. and the court granted them the equivalent of the basic wage. The employers were permitted to deduct a portion of this amount to represent the

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³² International Labour Review, *The Standard Working Week in Australia*, by O. deR. Foenander, vol. 26, No. 1, July 1932, p. 61.

³³ International Labor Office, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-11.

³⁴ International Labour Review, *Agricultural Wages in Australia*, by D. B. Copland and O. deR. Foenander, vol. 26, No. 5, June 1932, pp. 771-775.

value of allowances and perquisites. To safeguard the workers against exploitation, the court provided that the value placed against these allowances should be approved by a board of reference or a union official. The award of 1930 reduced the wages of wool pressers by 15 percent and of cooks by 10 percent. In 1931 wages of shed hands and station hands, which were basic wages, were reduced by the full court by 10 percent and later wages of station hands were reduced by another 10 percent.³⁵

As a result of the rise in the price of wool and the cost of living the Federal court in March 1936, awarded pastoral workers of all kinds an increase of 12½ percent. In June 1936, the court again raised the wages of pastoral workers by about 8 percent. In making this award, Mr. Justice Dethridge, Chief Justice of the Federal court, remarked that throughout the world men who worked on farms lived at a lower standard than men who worked in town. It was the duty of the community to see that rural workers received as much in real wages as urban workers. All politicians and all political parties seem to have flinched from any attempt to raise the standard of living of rural workers to an approximate equality with that of urban workers. This discrepancy was a matter for the legislature; the arbitration court could not correct it.³⁶

Although an award binds only those pastoralists who are joined as respondents in a "log"³⁷ because the court has no power to make a common rule in industry, it is generally understood that the award rates are paid by all pastoralists whether they are included in the list of respondents or not.³⁷

The first Federal award for shearers in 1907 stated that no shearer should be compelled to work more than 48 hours per week nor after 12 o'clock noon on Saturdays. In 1925 the hours were reduced to 44 and these hours were retained in the awards of 1927 and 1933. By agreement, work might be prolonged by half an hour on any day to finish off waiting sheep. Shed hands and other workers at sheep stations who prepare sheep, etc., have since 1907 worked 52 hours per week. All overtime must be paid for at time and a half.³⁸

In the case of station hands (bullock drivers, boundary riders, etc.) the court did not find it reasonably practicable to fix any definite hours of work at all. The president of the court asked, "How is it possible to apply the 48-hour week to men who are not seen for a week or weeks by the employer or his overseer, or about the homestead, and who must do whatever is necessary for the stock or the fencing as circumstances demand or permit?"³⁹

6. *The fruit growers award.*

The first award for fruit growers was granted in 1912 on the application of the Rural Workers Union of Victoria and the South Australia Laborers Union. It covered harvesting operations only in these two States. The amount awarded was equivalent to the basic wage for unskilled workers. In 1923 an award was made covering all States except Queensland. Basic rates were determined for all the occupations—harvesting, pruning, etc., varying in different States with the cost of living in those States. In 1930 employers complained that industry was in a bad state and they could not afford to pay the rates awarded. The court reduced the rate by the amount which it had been accustomed to add to the basic rate since 1921 to provide against a lag of wages failing to overtake a rise in the cost of living between periods of adjustment. In 1931 the full court reduced the basic wage by 7½ percent for fruit workers. This was to bring these workers in line with the general reduction on the basic wage in 1931.⁴⁰ Work on Sunday-holiday, or in excess of 48 hours per week or 10¼ hours on any weekday is to be paid for at time and one-half.⁴¹

B. AUSTRALIA—STATE REGULATION

1. *Type and relation to Federal legislation.*

In addition to the Commonwealth system of regulation, there are the separate systems which operate in the various States. Conflicting or overlapping jurisdictions in the sphere of industrial relations have created difficult problems.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 776.

³⁶ The International Labour Office, *Industrial and Labour Information*, vol. LIX, July-Sept. 1936, p. 282.

³⁷ *International Labour Review*, vol. 26, No. 5, 1932, op. cit., p. 770.

³⁸ Howard, Louise E., *Labor in Agriculture* (1935), p. 129.

³⁹ *International Labour Review*, *The Standard Working Week in Australia*, by O. deR Foenander, vol. 26, No. 1, July 1932, p. 56.

⁴⁰ *International Labour Review*, vol. 25, No. 6, op. cit., pp. 778-779.

⁴¹ *International Labour Review*, vol. 25, No. 5, op. cit., pp. 778-779.

Since 1926, however, as a result of the High Court's decision in the case of *Clyde Engineering Co., Ltd., vs. Cowburn* the main cause of overlapping awards has been removed. In that case the Federal court ruled that a Federal award in an interstate labor dispute prevails over any inconsistent State law or award. In 1928 an amendment to the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Act provided that "When a State law or an award order or determination of a State industrial authority deals with any matter dealt with in an award or order lawfully made by the Federal court, the latter shall prevail and the former shall, in relation to the matter dealt with, be invalid."⁴²

2. *Applicability to agriculture.*

In Victoria and Tasmania, no wages board determination under the State laws applies to agriculture. In South Australia no State award can be made for rural workers under the State industrial acts. In New South Wales the Amending Act of 1929 removed employees in rural industries from the operation of the State industrial arbitration acts and rescinded all awards applying to them.

In Queensland the State Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act of 1929 limits the court jurisdiction in agriculture to the pastoral industry and the sugar industry. In the pastoral industry minimum rates are set by the Queensland industrial court for shearers, crutchers, wool pressers, wool scourers, shed hands, and cooks.⁴³ These rates are considerably higher than those fixed for pastoral workers by the Federal court. The higher rate is justified on the basis of the heavy railway and other expenses incurred by shearers in that State. Since 1922 the Federal court has not been making awards for shearers in Queensland.⁴⁴ Hours of work for pastoral workers are 44 a week and 8 a day, with a half holiday on Saturday. Shearers may work not more than one-half hour overtime to finish up waiting sheep. Shed hands may work such additional time each day as may be necessary to clean up after the cessation of shearing. However, if this time exceeds a total of 30 minutes, the employer must pay for the whole of the additional time at time and one-half the regular rate. Overtime is paid for at time and one-half for the first 2 hours and double time thereafter. Work on various specified holidays must be paid for at double time, but on others at only time and a half.⁴⁵ During the depression, wages were reduced frequently and heavily, the reductions between February 1930 and April 1933, exceeding 28 percent. In May 1936 the Queensland industrial court increased minimum wages in the wool-shearing industry by 12½ percent.⁴⁶

In the sugar industry minimum hourly and weekly rates are set by the Queensland industrial court for field hands and cane cutters. Cane cutters may contract to cut cane by the piece, and for such cutters piece rates are set. Hours of work are 44 per week and 8 per day, with a half holiday on Saturday. Overtime is paid for at time and one-half. Piece workers may not work overtime except in case of emergency. However, when they work overtime, they are paid at straight time. Sunday work is paid for at double time. Work on some specified holidays is paid for at double time, and on others at time and a half.⁴⁷

In western Australia all industries, including agriculture, may be dealt with by the State arbitration court, but the court has seldom been invited to consider agricultural cases.⁴⁸

3. *Effects of wage and hour regulation in rural industries.*

Awards of the Federal and State courts of arbitration regarding wages in the pastoral and fruit-growing industries has raised the standard of living of these rural workers.⁴⁹ In addition, labor troubles have been greatly decreased in both of those industries. Referring to pastoral conditions, Mr. Justice Higgins wrote:

"Formerly, there was continual trouble with the shearers, shed hands, wool pressers, etc. There was no certainty that the pastoralists could get their work done * * * Since the constitution of this court there has been no general strike among these men. There have been some local troubles but the executive of the union brings all its influence to bear in favor of waiting for the courts."⁵⁰

⁴² Anderson, George, *Fixation of Wages in Australia* (1929), p. 134.

⁴³ The Queensland Industrial Gazette, vol. 13, No. 3, September 24, 1938, p. 530.

⁴⁴ International Labour Review, vol. 25, No. 6, op. cit., p. 773.

⁴⁵ International Labour Review, vol. 25, No. 6, op. cit., p. 773.

⁴⁶ The Queensland Industrial Gazette, vol. 13, No. 3, September 24, 1938, pp. 530-532.

⁴⁷ International Labor Office, *Industrial and Labour Information*, vol. LVIII, April-June 1936, p. 280.

⁴⁸ Queensland Industrial Gazette, op. cit., pp. 551-552.

⁴⁹ International Labour Review, vol. 25, No. 6, op. cit., p. 781.

⁵⁰ International Labour Review, vol. 26, No. 5, op. cit., p. 785.

⁵¹ Ibid. (quotation from Higgins, Mr. Justice, *A New Province for Law and Order*, p. 75).

With regard to the fruit-growing industry, Justice Higgins stated:

"It is gratifying to find that in these interesting fruit settlements, which were previously hindered by industrial troubles, work has been carried on since the award without any serious interruption, and that both parties—the growers and the workers—welcome regulation by the courts."⁵¹

C. NEW ZEALAND

In New Zealand wages and hours in agriculture are regulated by either of two laws—(1) the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act, as amended; and (2) the Agricultural Workers Act, 1936, as amended.

1. *The Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act.*

The Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act sets up a court of arbitration and district conciliation boards for the purpose of securing settlement of labor disputes. Disputes are referred to the conciliation boards in the first instance and only if no settlement is thereby obtained do they go before the court, whose decision is binding. Since rates of wages frequently form one of the most important matters on which the parties to a labor dispute are unable to agree, the court, in effect, has become a wage-fixing authority. In addition, the court is empowered to prescribe basic rates of wages for adult male and female workers subject to its awards and to vary them from time to time.⁵²

2. *Applicability to agriculture.*

The jurisdiction of the conciliation councils and of the arbitration court is limited to disputes arising between individual employers or registered unions or associations of employers on the one hand and registered unions or associations of workers on the other. Any incorporated company or any society of 3 or more employers or of 15 or more workers may be registered as a "union." Any 2 or more unions of workers or of employers in any field or related field of activity may be registered as an "association."

Formally, the act covers all industry including agriculture. However, the court may refuse to make an award, if for any reason it considers that an award ought not to be made. In the case of agriculture, the court has chosen to exercise this power only in the case of a few groups of workers—shearers and shearing-shed hands, threshing-mill and chaff-cutter hands, musterers, packers, and drovers. In 1908, 1919, and 1925 applications for an award were made on behalf of general agricultural workers but were each time refused. Refusal has generally been due to the opposition of the agricultural employers and to the lack of strong organization among the workers.⁵³ These groups, though small in number, are by no means unimportant. The work they do is urgent and essential, and their wages form a substantial part of the labor costs in sheep farming and wheat growing. The nature of their work, which in most cases brings them together for lengthy periods, is such as to favor trade-union organization. They are organized in the New Zealand Workers Union.

3. *Machinery of operation.*

The courts of arbitration consists of a judge having the status of a Supreme Court judge, and two other judges, one of whom is appointed on the nomination of unions of workers and the other on the nomination of unions of employers. The council of conciliation consists of an equal number (not more than four in each case) of representatives of the employers and workers concerned, and is presided over by a conciliation commissioner who is a permanent official of the department of labor.

In any occupation in which a union of workers has been registered under the act, the union and the employers may enter into and file an agreement fixing minimum wages and other conditions of employment. If it is proved that the employers who are parties to the agreement employ a majority of the workers in the field to which it relates in the district in which it was made, the court may make an order extending the operation of the agreement to all employers who are engaged in the field in the district concerned.

If no agreement is reached, either side may have the dispute brought before the council of conciliation. If no agreement, or only an incomplete agreement, is then reached, the dispute is automatically referred for final settlement to the

⁵¹ *Ibid.* (quotation from Commonwealth Arbitration Reports, p. 214.)

⁵² International Labor Office, Studies, and Reports, series D, No. 22, *The Minimum Wage, 1939*, p. 153.

⁵³ International Labour Review, *Agricultural Planning and Farm Wages in New Zealand*, by E. J. Riches, vol. 35, No. 3, March 1937, pp. 297-299.

court of arbitration. The award of the court is binding not merely on all the parties to the dispute, but on every trade-union, association, or employer who is engaged in the occupation to which it applies in the district to which it relates.

The court is directed to fix basic rates by general order without waiting to be asked to do so by the parties concerned and to amend such general order from time to time. In fixing a basic rate of wages the court must take into consideration the general economic and financial conditions in New Zealand, the cost of living, and any fluctuations in the cost of living since the last order, if any, was made. The basic rate of wages of adult male workers must be such as would, in the opinion of the court, be sufficient to enable a man to maintain a wife and three children in a fair and reasonable standard of comfort.

The court has power to make provision in any award for the issue to any worker of a permit for a specified period to accept a wage below that prescribed for ordinary workers. Before any such permit is awarded, however, the union of workers in the trade to which the award relates must be given an opportunity to express its views on the matter and no permit may be granted except with the authority of the Minister of Labor, to any person who is not usually employed in the industry to which the award relates.⁵⁴

4. *Enforcement of the act.*

The act is administered by the Minister of Labor. Inspectors of factories and inspectors of mines are constituted inspectors of awards and are charged with the duty of seeing that the provisions of any industrial agreement, award, or order of the arbitration court are observed. The arbitration court may also empower a representative of any union of workers to enter the premises of an employer bound by an award in order to interview the workers. Substantial penalties are fixed for breach of an award. Any worker who has been paid at less than the rate of wages fixed by an award is entitled at any time within 12 months to recover the difference from his employer.⁵⁵

5. *Agricultural awards.*

Awards covering wages in the shearing industry specify minimum rates for machine shearers, blade shearers, pressers, other shed hands, and cooks. All wages are subject to adjustment in accordance with the movement of wool prices as determined by the Government statistician's index number for export prices of wool. The determination of the index number is done by a committee consisting of the Government statistician and one representative each from the employers' and workers' union. A 44-hour week is provided. The workers are allowed to work a 9-hour day so long as the aggregate number of hours worked in a week does not exceed 44.⁵⁶

Awards for threshing mill employees in North Island set separate rates for drivers, feeders, and other workers. The hours of work are stated as between 7 a. m. and 8 p. m. Monday to Friday inclusive and from 7 a. m. to 5 p. m. on Saturday. No weekly maximum is fixed.

The New Zealand Drovers and South Island Musterers, Packers, and Snow Rakers' award prescribes weekly and daily rates of wages for drovers throughout the Dominion and for musterers, packers, and snow rakers in South Island. Musterers engaged by the week are entitled to an additional payment for Sunday work.⁵⁷

6. *Effect of awards.*

As a result of the protection of the court, the agricultural workers covered by court awards have become the aristocracy of agricultural labor. Their wages are much higher than those of other agricultural workers, and during a good season they earn considerable sums. The wage rates and conditions fixed in their case, however, have little influence on the terms of employment of the general laborers who form the great majority of farm wage earners. During the virtual suspension of compulsory arbitration, from March 1932 to May 1936, the wages of workers covered by awards declined substantially. The average decline in wage rates from March 1932 was greatest in those occupations which had been protected by arbitration awards. This was because the greater part of the reductions in other farm wages took place earlier. Thus the awards delayed the reductions in the wages in covered occupations. Moreover, the total decline, from the pre-depression to the lowest rate was less in occupations formerly covered by awards.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ International Labor Office Studies and Reports, series D, No. 22, op. cit., pp. 155-157.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 157-158.

⁵⁶ International Labor Office, *Industrial and Labor Information*, vol. LX October-December 1936, p. 62.

⁵⁷ *The Food Worker*, vol. 20, No. 247, December 1939, p. 10.

⁵⁸ *International Labor Review*, vol. 35, No. 3, op. cit., pp. 295-304.

7. *The Agricultural Workers' Act.*

The Agricultural Workers' Act came into force on October 1, 1936. The purpose of this act was to ensure that dairy farm workers should share in the benefits of guaranteed prices for dairy products and to provide an adequate standard of living for agricultural workers.

8. *Scope.*

The provisions of the act were limited at first to dairy farm workers. A dairy farm was defined as "a farm on which not less than 10 cows are ordinarily kept and from which milk or cream is sold or otherwise disposed of in the course of business." The provision could be extended, however, by order in council to any specified classes of agricultural workers after consultation with the organizations, if any, of workers and employers concerned. The first extension occurred in February 1937 when a guaranteed price was fixed for fruit exported and at the same time minimum rates of wages were fixed for orchard workers. In April 1937 the provisions of the act were extended to cover agricultural and pastoral workers on farms producing wool, meat and grain (with the exception of workers already covered by awards or agreements under the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Acts). In April, June, and July 1938, the provisions of the act were extended to agricultural workers employed in market gardens in certain districts. As a result of the various extensions practically all farm workers not under the jurisdiction of the arbitration court are now covered by the provisions of the Agricultural Workers' Act.⁵⁹

9. *Provisions of the act.*

(a) *Dairy farm workers.*—For the first 10 months of the operation of the act (from October 1 to July 31, 1937, or the end of the first period for which guaranteed prices were fixed for dairy products), the minimum rates of wages for workers of different age groups were fixed in the act itself. The rates for subsequent periods are to be fixed by order in council, and in fixing them regard must be had to the guaranteed prices of dairy products, provided in the Primary Products Marketing Act of 1936. No charge may be made for board and lodging provided by employers. In any case where board and lodging are not provided, the minimum rate of wages must be increased by a specified amount per week (17s 6d or roughly \$4.37). No deductions may be made for time lost except where such time is lost by reason of default of the worker or by reason of illness or accident suffered by him.

A permit to work for lower wages may be issued by an inspector to any worker who is incapable of earning the specified minimum rates. A similar permit may be granted to any woman or girl employed as an agricultural worker on any dairy farm if the inspector is satisfied, having regard to the nature of the work performed by her, the time occupied in the performance of her work and any other relevant circumstances, that she is not reasonably entitled to wages at the prescribed minimum rate.⁶⁰

Maximum hours of work were not established as this was considered impracticable. However, provisions for holidays with pay were made. All dairy-farm workers employed for at least 4 consecutive weeks must be allowed a holiday of not less than 7 days for every 12 weeks of employment, or a proportionate part of this amount for every broken period of employment. This holiday is to be taken when the employer thinks fit, but shall not be less than 28 days during each year of employment. However, if the worker enjoys half a day off once a week, an additional holiday of 14 days during the year will suffice to comply with the act. The worker is entitled to his ordinary pay during the holiday, including an allowance for board and lodging at not less than half of the specified rates.⁶¹

(b) *Workers on wool, meat, and grain farms.*—Minimum rates of wages for other workers, who are not casual workers, are identical with those paid to dairy-farm workers. No charge is to be made for board and lodging provided by the employers and the wages of any worker who is not provided with board and lodging are to be increased by a specified amount (17s 6d or about \$4.37) a week. The wages actually being paid to any worker at the date of the coming into force of the order were not to be reduced. For casual workers, different special rates were established for harvesters, other workers, and youths under 18 years of age, with board and lodging and without board and lodging. Permits to work for less than

⁵⁹ International Labor Office, Studies and Reports, series D, No. 22, *The Minimum Wage, 1939*, pp. 164-165.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 165-166.

⁶¹ International Labor Office, *Industrial and Labour Information*, vol. LXI, January-March 1937, pp. 191-192.

the prescribed minimum rate may be granted by an inspector of factories to any worker who is incapable of earning the minimum rate or to any woman or girl who, by reason of the nature of the work performed by her, the time occupied in the performance of her work, or any other relevant circumstances, is not reasonably entitled to the minimum rate.⁶²

Every worker is to be allowed a total of 18 days holiday with full pay for every 12 months' service. Workers employed for 3 months but less than 12 months are allowed a proportionate number of days.⁶³

(c) *Market-garden employees*—In establishing minimum-wage rates for market-garden employees differentials were set up for youths and for adults over 21 years of age. Lower rates were provided for females. The order in council provided that any male adult worker who at the date of the coming into force of the order was receiving a wage of more than £4 (\$20) a week, should on and from that date receive an increase of not less than 2s 6d (about 62 cents) a week on his wage. Provision was made for the issuance by inspectors of permits which sanctioned, for specified periods, the acceptance of wages at lower rates than those set out above.⁶⁴ The hours of labor were fixed at 44 hours a week, 5½ days a week.⁶⁵

10. *Enforcement of provisions.*

The administration of the Agricultural Workers Act is entrusted to the Minister of Labor. Default in the payment of minimum rates is punishable by a fine. An inspector may recover arrears of wages on behalf of the worker except if he has reason to believe that the employer's default was due to misrepresentation made to the employer by the worker.⁶⁶

11. *Effect of the act.*

Because of the short duration of the existence of the act, little information is available regarding its effects, especially on other than dairy workers.

The minimum rates first established for dairy workers were 60 percent above the average rates in effect 6 months earlier. Although the average rates had probably risen substantially during the previous months in anticipation of the provisions of the act, and as a consequence of rising export prices, they were probably still well below the minimum rate on the effective date of the act. Moreover, the average itself gives a very inadequate picture of the actual situation since rates paid may vary considerably from one farm to another. Authoritative opinion in New Zealand indicates that for workers on some dairy farms the rates fixed by the act would make no difference, "but for those on marginal or heavily mortgaged farms they are likely to mean a substantial increase."

In New Zealand the Agricultural Workers Act is a part of a comprehensive program of economic planning applied to agriculture. In this program, wages, prices, and costs are reviewed as parts of one problem; other aspects including the organization of manufacture and marketing, are not overlooked. The act was passed to insure the distribution of a fair portion of the increased income conferred upon the dairy farmers by legislation previously passed, to their employees. If, as is apparently the Government's intention, the prices fixed for dairy products are such as will maintain the farmers' net returns at a substantially high level, the farmers will be able to pay the higher wages and there will be no reason to expect any shrinkage in the volume of employment as a result of higher costs, except such as may be brought about by the increased use of labor-saving methods and equipment. Moreover, the Government's mortgage adjustment plan contemplates adjusting mortgages on the basis of the guaranteed prices. This will make it still easier for the farmer to meet the higher wages fixed by the act.⁶⁷

D. GREAT BRITAIN

1. *England, Wales, and Northern Ireland.*

Attempts to regulate agricultural wages in Great Britain followed enactment of the Trades Board Act to regulate industrial wages in 1909. After the passage of this act, the question of the desirability of establishing minimum wages in agriculture began to be discussed and debated in various quarters. Finally, in 1913

⁶² International Labor Office, Studies and Reports, series D, No. 22, op. cit., pp. 167-168.

⁶³ The Food Worker, vol. 20, No. 247, December 1939, p. 10.

⁶⁴ International Labor Office, Studies and Reports, series D, No. 22, op. cit., p. 162.

⁶⁵ The Food Worker, vol. 20, No. 247, December 1939, p. 10.

⁶⁶ International Labor Office, Studies and Reports, series D, No. 22, op. cit., p. 169.

⁶⁷ International Labour Review, Agricultural Planning and Farm Wages in New Zealand, by E. J. Riches, vol. 35, No. 3, March 1937, pp. 326-328.

a bill was introduced by the Labor Party, "to provide for the establishment of a minimum wage and the regularization of the hours of labor of agricultural laborers." This bill was defeated in the House of Commons. Later in 1913 Mr. Lloyd George's Land Enquiry Committee recommended the establishment of a legal minimum wage through the medium of some form of wage tribunal. In 1914 the Conservative Party introduced a bill called the agricultural employment boards bill. The outbreak of war in 1914 prevented any further development in this direction.⁶⁸

(a) *The Corn Production Act, 1917.*—The need to increase the production of home-grown food during the war led to the passage of the Corn Production Act of 1917. The primary purpose of the act was to encourage the production of agricultural products. In return for a government subsidy the act required that farmers should pay their employees a minimum rate of wages determined for each county by a Central Agricultural Wages Board set up in London. The two reasons advanced for the minimum wage provisions of this act were (1) to obtain for the comparatively underpaid agricultural laborers a decent standard of living, and (2) to retain laborers on the farms so as to make possible a greater domestic production of food for wartime needs. The act applied to Ireland and Scotland, as well as to England and Wales.

The Central Agricultural Wages Board consisted of an equal number of members nominated by workers and by employers, together with independent members appointed by the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries. Local representative boards were also set up to advise the Central Wages Board. However, the Central Wages Board was authorized to determine the minimum wage, and the local committees only served in an advisory capacity.⁶⁹

Due to the fact that each locality presented different problems, fixation of district rates by a central board sitting in London, even though aided by representative local committees of farmers and agricultural workers, received much criticism. During the depression which followed the war, falling prices of agricultural products and a large labor supply resulting from severe unemployment among agricultural workers, caused farmers to agitate for the abolition of the Wages Board. When in 1921 the Government decided to withdraw the subsidy to agriculture, the minimum wage provisions were also abolished.⁷⁰

(b) *The Corn Production Repeal Act, 1921.*—The Corn Production Repeal Act of 1921 substituted a system of voluntary district conciliation committees. Wage agreements reached by these committees, upon registration with the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, could be rendered obligatory upon all farmers in the district. Only six such registrations were made. Only three committees out of a total of 63 maintained agreements throughout the period of the operation of the act.⁷¹

From the time of the abolition of the act of 1917 wages in agriculture fell continuously. Between 1921 and 1924 there were widespread agricultural strikes, the most serious of which was the strike of 1923 which led the Conservative Party in 1924 to support the Labor Party's proposal for the reestablishment of minimum wages in agriculture.⁷²

(c) *The Agricultural Wages (Regulation) Act, 1924.*—The Agricultural Wages (Regulation) Act of 1924, which applied to England and Wales only, provided a decentralized method of regulating agricultural wages. The act set up a Central Agricultural Wages Board for England and Wales, but the actual wage fixing power was given to county agricultural wages committees. For the purpose of this act agriculture was loosely defined as including "dairy-farming and the use of land as grazing, meadow or pasture land, or orchard or osier land or woodland or for market gardens or nursery grounds."

(d) *Machinery of operation.*—The Central Agricultural Wages Board is comprised of 20 members and a chairman appointed by the Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries. Eight of these members are nominated by employers' organizations, and eight by workers' organizations. The other four are impartial members.

The county agricultural wages committees consist of employer and worker members in equal numbers and in addition two impartial members and a chairman. The representative members are nominated by employers or workers

⁶⁸ Dallas, George, *Farm Wages in England and Wales*, Proceedings of the International Conference of Agricultural Economics (1930), pp. 442-443.

⁶⁹ Sells, D. McD., *British Wages Boards* (1939) pp. 20 and 26.

⁷⁰ Sells, D. McD., *op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁷¹ Sells, D. McD., *op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁷² Cole, G. D. H., *Short History of the British Working Class Movement* (1940) p. 185.

organizations and appointed by the Minister of Agriculture. The two impartial members⁷³ are chosen by the Minister. The chairman is chosen annually by the committee except in case of a deadlock, when the Minister appoints a chairman. The term of office of county agricultural wages committee members is 3 years, one-third retiring annually, in order to preserve the continuity of each committee.⁷⁴

The county agricultural committees are practically autonomous. They are empowered to fix minimum wage rates and also to vary or cancel them. Rates are first proposed, and a minimum objection period of 14 days allowed. The rates are then determined. No confirmation by the central board or the Minister is required. The function of the Agricultural Wages Board is chiefly confined to the routine matter of issuing the official orders directing payment of wages determined by the local committees. If a committee fails to fix a minimum rate of wages within 2 months after its appointment, or does not substitute a new rate for one which has ceased to operate, or if a committee by resolution requests it, the Agricultural Wages Board may exercise the rate-fixing powers belonging to such committee. The Minister of Agriculture may upon his own initiative direct a committee to reconsider any rate which it has fixed. The committee is bound to reconsider, but is free to adhere to the rate it had originally determined.⁷⁵

Orders of agricultural wages committees apply for a definite period of 12 months or less. This does not include altering the orders before their expiration. Most agricultural wages committees review their determinations at least annually, though they may decide to prescribe the same rates for another year.⁷⁶

The orders apply automatically to all employees within the jurisdiction of the wage committee whether organized or not.⁷⁷

(e) *Administration of act.*—The act is administered by the Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries. Since the definition of agriculture contained in the act lacks precision, the Minister is from time to time called upon for administrative purposes to decide whether a particular worker falls within the scope of the act. Such decisions carry no final authority, however, as they eventually hinge upon the interpretation of a court.⁷⁸ The Minister may appoint as many investigators and other officers as are necessary for enforcement. Employers failing to pay the legal minimum rates are subject to a fine of not more than £20 (\$100) for each offense, and £1 (\$5) for each day on which it is continued after conviction.⁷⁹

(f) *Minimum wages provisions.*—The act directs agricultural wages committees as far as practicable to secure to able-bodied men such wages as in the opinion of the committee are adequate to promote efficiency and to enable a man to maintain himself and his family in accordance with such standard of comfort as may be reasonable in relation to the nature of his occupation. The committees generally fix minimum rates of wages for time work to apply to all agricultural workers in the country, or to any special class of such workers, or to any area, or to any special class in any area of a county. Separate time rates are customarily set for male and female workers. Minimum piece rates may be fixed at the discretion of each committee. Upon complaint by a piece worker that his piece rate, not fixed by a committee, fails to yield the applicable general minimum time rate, at committee may direct payment of an additional sum to cover the difference between what he did receive and what he would have been paid at the established general minimum time rate, such amount being recoverable as a civil debt.

Provisions for exempting employers from paying the general minimum time rate to workers incapacitated by physical injury, mental deficiency, infirmity due to old age or other causes are also included in the act.⁸⁰

Separate time rates, higher than those for ordinary adult agricultural workers have been established by about half of the committees for horsemen, cowmen, stockmen, shepherds, foresters, and harvesters. These special rates represent an increment to cover longer hours or casual work rather than an increased rate in recognition of greater skill.⁸¹

⁷³ Sells, D. McD., op. cit., p. 55.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 56.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 58.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 54.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 154.

⁷⁸ Journal of Farm Economics, The British Program for Farm Labor, by Murray R. Benedict, vol. 22, No. 4, Nov. 1940, p. 723.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 150.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 58.

⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 57-58.

⁸² Sells, D. McD., British Wages Boards (1939), p. 153.

The local committees decide what benefits such as board and lodging, use of cottage, coal, wood, etc., may be reckoned as part payment of the minimum wage.⁸²

(g) *Maximum hour provisions.*—The Agricultural Wages (Regulation) Act states that the agricultural wage committees in each of the counties may fix wage rates to vary according as the employment is for a day, week, month, or other period or according to the number of working hours or the conditions of employment. In the exercise of their powers under this subsection the committee shall so far as is reasonably practical secure a weekly half holiday for workers. In practice, in determining the minimum wage rates, the committees also determine the maximum hours of work per week to which the minimum rates apply. The hours of work per week for which the ordinary male worker receives the minimum weekly rate in the different counties generally vary from 48 to 50 in winter and from 50 to 54 in summer. As a rule the hours of some workmen, such as stockmen, carters, and shepherds are longer, frequently from 60 to 62 per week. Rates for women workers are usually fixed per hour and maximum hours of work are not always specified. When maximum hours for women have been specified they have usually been shorter than those of men, generally being set at 8 hours a day and 48 hours a week.⁸³

Employment in excess of the specified number of hours to which the minimum wage is applicable is considered overtime and paid for at overtime rates. Overtime rates also are paid for employment in excess of a particular number of hours, after a particular time in the day on the weekly half holiday, for employment on Sunday, and for employment on certain public holidays. The overtime rates are not as high as those usually found in American union contracts. That is, they are not generally as high as one and a half times the regular rate. The amount to be paid for overtime is generally stated in fractions of a shilling and pence, and they vary somewhat in the different counties. A number of committees have applied the same overtime rates to overtime employment on both weekdays and Sundays. The more usual practice with committees, however, is to fix a higher rate for Sunday than for weekday overtime employment. In one county, Durham, the higher Sunday rate is also applicable to overtime employment on the weekly short day. Some committees have applied the Sunday overtime rate to employment on holidays and others have fixed a special rate for such employment.⁸⁴

(h) *Recent developments.*—As a result of decentralized determination of minimum rates by a large number of committees, wide variations existed between the orders of different committees, sometimes even between those applying to adjacent counties. Marked wage differentials between counties gave farmers in some counties a competitive advantage over those living in others.

In the interest of greater uniformity in agricultural wages, the Agricultural Wages (regulation) Amendment Act, giving increased power to the Central Agricultural Wages Board, was passed in 1940. This act gave the Central Board the right to fix a basic national minimum wage for adult male full-time agricultural workers after consulting the county committees and considering general economic conditions and the economic conditions in agriculture. County committees may continue to fix wage rates above the basic minimum. In addition, any county that feels it cannot pay the minimum rate may appeal to the central board, and the board, if it thinks the county committee justified, is entitled to allow the minimum to be reduced in that area. The act states in part:

"The agricultural wages board shall, after consultation with the agricultural wages committees, and after considering general economic conditions and the conditions of the agricultural industry, fix a national minimum wage, and subject to the provisions of the Act, the minimum rates of wages fixed by the agricultural wages committees for every county shall be such as to secure that no man of full age employed whole time by the week or any longer period in agriculture shall receive, in respect of any week, less than the national minimum wage so fixed.

"Provided that, if the board satisfied on representations made to them by the agricultural wages committee for any county, that owing to the special conditions of the agricultural industry in that county or in any part thereof the minimum wage for such workers as aforesaid employed in that county or part ought to be

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁸³ International Labor Review, Reports and Enquiries, vol. 25, No. 1, January 1932, pp. 91-92.

⁸⁴ Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, Report of Proceedings Under the Agricultural Wages (Regulation) Act, 1924, for year ending September 30, 1937, p. 17-19

lower than the national minimum wage, the board may fix a lower minimum wage for that county or part in lieu of the national minimum wage.

"The board may at any time reconsider and if they think fit, alter the national minimum wage for the time being fixed."⁸⁵

During the summer of 1940, the agricultural minimum wage board fixed a national minimum wage for England and Wales. This award was accepted by 47 of the 48 agricultural county committees.⁸⁶

(i) *Effects of the act.*—Despite the fact that the minimum wage rates are not high in relation to both the kind of work done and the wages paid in other industries for comparable work, real wages of male agricultural workers had, by 1938, increased some 35 percent over the level of 1924 when the act came into effect. Farmers have been aided in meeting the increased cost of labor through preferential treatment accorded agriculture in the regulation of imports by means of tariffs and quotas; through government control of the prices of certain commodities; and through subsidies of almost 40,000,000 pounds a year.

Under the Agricultural Wages (regulation) Act of 1924, average weekly hours have declined. The majority of farm workers now enjoy a weekly half-holiday and additional pay for overtime. The conditions of their working lives involving such matters as the exact value of benefits as well as hours and wages have become standardized, and as a result they enjoy a considerably greater degree of personal security and freedom.⁸⁷

Moreover, the Agricultural Wages (regulation) Act has provided for the representation of the interests of a group of workers who have been notoriously weak in bargaining power. Organization of workers and employers has received encouragement; strikes are not prohibited. It is significant, however, that there has been no important labor strife in agriculture in England and Wales since the passage of the act.⁸⁸

A summary report upon the operation of the act made by the Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries in 1930, concludes that:

"Wage control has been accompanied by an absence of industrial disputes in agriculture during a period (1924-30) when, if there had been no statutory system of wage regulation, the industry would undoubtedly have experienced great difficulty in adjusting wage rates to the changing value of produce, the variations in the cost of living and the general conditions of the labor market. Agriculture in this country has fortunately had comparatively little experience of the evils of strikes and lock-outs, but it is obvious that the cessation of all work for wages on farms at certain periods of the year would inflict extremely serious injury upon the industry. How far the fact that agriculture has been spared this misfortune in recent years is in any way due to the act of 1924 is a matter on which the present writer would not venture to offer an opinion. While it is certain that in some districts the organization at present existing among farmers or agricultural workers is insufficient to lead one to suppose that a strike or lock-out could be enforced over a wide area for a considerable period, there are other parts of the country where undoubtedly the existing organizations are sufficiently strong for this purpose. So far, there has been practically no indication that either employers or workers in any district desire to reject the decision of the Wages Committee and appeal to the clumsy and wasteful methods of strikes and lock-outs. In attempting to assess the results of the experience of wage administration this is one aspect of the importance of which should not be overlooked."⁸⁹

2. *Scotland.*

The minimum wage provisions of the Corn Production Act of 1917 were applied to Scottish agricultural workers against the desires of their representatives. The repeal of the act in 1921 was welcomed in Scotland. It was felt that the Corn Production (repeal) Act, 1921, with its system of conciliation committees for voluntary bargaining between representatives of workers and of farmers would lead to better terms for the workers than obtained under the compulsory minimum wage set-up. The explanation for this reasoning is found in the fact that Scottish agricultural workers were rather strongly unionized and had, since 1915 (more extensively since 1917) been successful in meeting with the farmers every 6 months

⁸⁵ International Labour Office, Legislative Series, 1940, G. B. 2.

⁸⁶ Great Britain, The Ministry of Labour Gazette, vol. XLVIII, January-December 1940, p. 188.

⁸⁷ Sells, D. McD., op. cit., pp. 159-160.

⁸⁸ Journal of Farm Economics, The British Program for Farm Labor, by Murray R. Benedict, vol. 22, No. 4, November 1940, p. 724.

⁸⁹ Great Britain, Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, Report of Proceedings under the Agricultural Wages (regulation) Act, 1924 (1930) pp. 32-33.

and negotiating voluntary agreements as to wages, hours, perquisites, etc.⁹⁰ Their experience with voluntary agreements had been satisfactory to them and continued to be satisfactory during the conciliation committee period from 1921 to 1924.

The rather strong union of Scottish agricultural workers, feeling that it could obtain more by voluntary bargaining, joined with the farmers of Scotland, in 1924, to successfully oppose the application of the Agricultural Wages (regulation) Act to Scotland. By 1935, however, it had become clear that the system of voluntary agreements afforded insufficient protection in time of depression to even a strong union. It had also become clear that the Agricultural Wages (regulation) Act had worked well in England and Wales; and the Scottish workers had come to favor the establishment of a similar system of regulation in Scotland. A committee on farm workers in Scotland was accordingly appointed to report upon the desirability of regulating the remuneration or the conditions of employment of these workers.⁹¹

The hearings of this committee⁹² revealed, among other things, that the system of voluntary bargaining had broken down during the depression of the early 1930's just as it had in England and Wales in 1922 and 1923, and that as a consequence there had similarly been a considerable fall in agricultural wages. It was further revealed that owing to the existence of statutory regulation the agricultural worker in England had been protected from the severe fall in wages suffered by his fellow-workers in Scotland, and that there existed a difference of from four to seven shillings in the weekly pay of men engaged in comparable work on opposite sides of the border. The report of the committee stated:

"The collapse of this system of voluntary collective agreements placed the workers over most of the countryside (Scotland) in the position of having to rely upon their own individual power of bargaining. We have demonstrated already that this power has been severely restricted by such factors as the hiring system, the housing shortage and the surplus of labor. These considerations rendered it difficult for the worker to offer effective resistance to the series of reductions in wages which, as we have shown, have taken place since 1930.

"In contrast to the position in Scotland, we are informed that for the 4 years prior to June 1930, during which prices of agricultural produce were for the most part falling, the minimum rates of wages fixed by agricultural wages committees in England and Wales had been practically stationary. * * *

"It is obvious that owing to the existence of statutory regulation the worker in England has been protected from the severe fall in wages which his fellow-worker has suffered in Scotland, and as an example of the measure of this protection it was pointed out to us that there is at present a difference of from four to seven shillings in the total weekly remuneration of married ploughmen engaged in comparable work in neighboring counties situated on opposite sides of the border."⁹³

(a) *Machinery of operation.*—Upon the recommendation of the committee, the Agricultural Wages (regulation) (Scotland) Act, was passed in 1937, providing for Scotland substantially the same wage fixing setup as was provided for England and Wales by the Agricultural Wages (regulation) Act of 1921.⁹⁴ The central agricultural wages board consists of 6 members nominated by workers organizations, 6 nominated by the farmers organizations, and 3 appointed members. The agricultural wages committees include not less than 5 nor more than 8 members representing each side, and 2 independent members. The chairman is selected by the committee. The wages committees were given the power to set the minimum rates of wages, as in England. Statutory effect is given to these rates by orders issued by the agricultural wages board. The power to direct a committee reconsider a minimum rate was reserved to the Department of Agriculture for Scotland.⁹⁵

(b) *Minimum wage provisions.*—Some of the agricultural wages committees fix flat basic weekly minimum rates for the whole district, some fix differential rates for those who live away from the farm; some have created separate areas within the district with varying minimum rates. Minimum rates are also set for juvenile workers. Higher weekly rates are set for special classes of workers such as shepherds, cattlemen, horsemen and plowmen, etc. These higher rates are

⁹⁰ Scotland, Report of the Committee on Farm Workers in Scotland, Cmd. 5217, 1936, pp. 28-29.

⁹¹ International Labor Office, Studies and Reports, series D No. 22, op. cit., p. 106.

⁹² Scotland, Report of the Committee on Farm Workers in Scotland Cmd. 5217, 1936, pp. 28-29.

⁹³ Scotland, Report of the Committee on Farm Workers in Scotland, 1936, Cmd. 5217, pp. 28-29.

⁹⁴ International Labor Office, Studies and Reports, series D, No. 22, op. cit., p. 124.

⁹⁵ Sells, D. McD., p. 59 op. cit.

based on the additional hours of work spent by these workers on duties in connection with animals. Minimum hourly rates are fixed by all committees for male casual workers. In some of districts minimum wage rates for women are fixed at hourly rates, in others, at weekly rates. As in the case of male workers, lower rates are laid down for younger workers. In the districts where weekly rates are set for female workers, hourly rates are fixed for casual female workers. All committees fix separate weekly minimum rates for milkers, varying according to the number of cows milked. Some committees provide slightly higher weekly rates for cattlemen, dairy workers and poultry workers. Committees are empowered by the act to fix minimum rates for piece work, but only one committee has done so, fixing piece rates for berry-pickers. Committees determine the benefits such as house, board and lodging, milk, meal and potatoes, that may be reckoned as payment of wages in lieu of payment in cash and the values at which they are to be reckoned.

In all cases the reckoning, as part payment of the minimum wages, of any benefits or advantages other than those specified is prohibited. The Act requires committees to grant, on application, permits of exemption to workers who are so affected by physical injury, mental deficiency, or any infirmity due to age or to any other cause as to be incapable of earning the minimum rates applicable to their class of employment.⁹⁶

(c) *Maximum hour provisions.*—Agricultural wages committees have no power to fix hours of work, but they may fix minimum rates so as to provide for a differential rate in the case of overtime and are required to secure a weekly half-holiday, so far as it is reasonably practicable. Ten of the 11 committees in Scotland have related the minimum rates for ordinary male workers to specific weekly hours of work; the one exception has specified customary hours of work. The 10 committees have varied the weekly hours at different times of the year with a broad distinction between summer and winter. Eight of the ten committees have divided the year roughly into nine summer and three winter months, while the division in the other two districts is eight and four months respectively. The summer hours average 51 in six districts, 51½ in two, 51¾ in one and 52½ in one; the winter hours average 43 in one district, 44 in three, 44½ in two, 45 in one, 45½ in two, and 47 in one. Seven committees have fixed periods varying from 4 to 7 weeks for harvest, during which longer hours ranging from 54 to 60 are prescribed as the working week related to the minimum rates. Hours of special classes of workers, such as shepherds and cattlemen are longer, being 63 in four districts. In some districts the hours for such workers are those which are "customary".

For all workers, except some in the special classes to whom customary hours apply, overtime rates are payable for all employment in excess of the weekly hours on which the minimum rates are based, on the afternoon of the weekly half day and on Sundays. In addition overtime rates are applicable to employment on certain specified holidays.

Overtime rates on an hourly basis have been fixed on the same principle as the minimum rates, with a grading downward in the lower age groups. Nine of the committees have fixed a higher rate for Sundays than for weekdays and in three districts the Sunday rate applies also to employment on the weekly half day. A flat rate throughout the week applies in the other two districts.⁹⁷

(d) *Recent developments.*—An amendment made in 1940⁹⁸ in effect transferred to the Scottish Agricultural Wages Board the power to fix minimum wages by providing that if on receipt of the district agricultural wages committee's decision regarding the minimum rates for its district "the board do not agree with the decision of the committee, they may themselves by order vary the minimum rate, and for that purpose shall have and may exercise all the powers of the committee."

The result of this amendment is that Scotland has returned to the centralized agricultural wage regulation scheme embodied in the Corn Production Act of 1917, since the central agricultural wages board now has the final disposition regarding any minimum rate in any district and for any type or age of worker. This is a step further than the Agricultural Wages (Regulation) Act of 1940 took England and Wales, because in those countries, the agricultural wages board, instead of having the power to vary any minimum for adult males doing ordinary work and employed full time for a period of at least 1 week. The Scottish board has not only this power but also the power to set wages, either on a nation-wide or any other basis, for adults and adolescents, males, females, ordinary, and special workers.

⁹⁶ Twenty-Seventh Report of the Department of Agriculture for Scotland 1938, (1939) pp. 95-100.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 97-99

⁹⁸ Great Britain, Ministry of Labour Gazette, vol. XLVIII, January-December 1940 p. 188.

Data on the effects of the statutory regulation of wages in Scotland are not available.

3. *The Irish Free State.*

The Corn Production Act of 1917, applied to all of Ireland, then part of England. An agricultural wages board constituted by Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland and consisting of six members representing workmen, six representing employers, and four appointed by the department was empowered to order the payment of minimum agricultural wage rates.⁹⁹

From 1921, when the English act was repealed, to 1936 no statutory wage regulation for agriculture existed in Ireland. From the end of that period to the present wages in agriculture have been fixed by the wages board created by the Agricultural Wages Act of 1936.

(a) *Machinery of operation.*—The Agricultural Wages Act of 1936 required the Minister of Agriculture to divide the country into a number of agricultural wages districts, to group these into agricultural wages areas and to set up for each area a committee, consisting of a chairman and an appropriate number (at least 2 from each district) of ordinary members, of whom half are to represent the employers and half the workers. All the members are to be selected by the Minister, who must choose persons representative of agricultural employers and workers respectively; this arrangement was instituted because the workers were insufficiently organized to select their own representatives. In addition the act required a central agricultural wages board to be constituted composed of 12 members, nominated by the Minister, and including a chairman, 3 "neutral" members, 4 employers' members, and 4 workers' members.

The agricultural wages board is required to fix by order in each wages district the minimum rates of wages for agricultural workers. When the board intends to make such an order for any district it must inform the wages committee of the area in which the district is situated of its intention, and the area committee may then within 2 months make recommendations in relation to minimum rates, which recommendations the board must take into consideration. Every order made by the board must be laid before Parliament and may be annulled by a resolution passed by Parliament within the next subsequent 21 sitting days.¹

(b) *Administration and enforcement.*—The act is administered by the Minister of Agriculture for Ireland. Inspectors hired by the board may require employers to produce for their inspection wage sheets or other records of wages paid, and the onus of proof that wages not less than the minimum prescribed rates have been paid rests on the employer. Failure to pay the prescribed rates makes an employer liable to a fine of up to £20 (\$100) plus £1 (\$5) a day for each day during which an offense is continued. Whether or not an employer against whom proceedings are taken is convicted, the court may, if it finds that he has paid less than the prescribed rates, order payment of the difference. In addition to the right of any agricultural worker to recover such difference by civil proceedings, officers of the Board are empowered to institute civil proceedings for such recovery in the name, and on behalf of the worker.²

(c) *Provisions for minimum wages.*—The act provides that any minimum rates fixed by the board may apply universally to a whole district or to any special class of agricultural workers, or to any part of a district. Minimum rates for time work may be fixed by the hour, the day, week, month, year, or any other period; and provisions may be made for overtime. Rates may also be fixed for piecework. Further, the board may define the benefits and advantages which may be reckoned as payment of wages in lieu of cash, and the value at which they are to be reckoned.

The board may exempt certain agricultural workers from the provisions of the act if it is satisfied that owing to physical injury, mental deficiency, or infirmity due to age or any other cause, such workers are incapacitated from earning the minimum rate.³

Two minimum wage orders have been issued by the agricultural wages board. The first order came into operation on August 9, 1937. It fixed a flat minimum rate of 24s (about \$6) per week applicable to all male adult agricultural workers in all the wage districts in Ireland. Lower minimum rates were fixed for workers under 20 years of age. These workers were divided into three groups, based on age, and separate minimum wages were established for each age group. The

⁹⁹ Agricultural Wages Board for Ireland. Report on the operations of the act during the period September 1917 to September 1921, p. 1.

¹ International Labor Office, Studies and Reports, Series D, No. 22, op. cit., p. 146.

² *Ibid.*, p. 147.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

order, in addition, defined the benefits which may be reckoned as payment in lieu of payment in cash, such as board and lodging, and the value at which they were to be reckoned.

A new order was issued on May 23, 1938, which raised the minimum for adult workers to 27s (about \$6.75) per week. Monthly minimum rates were fixed for workers engaged under a contract of employment of 6 months' duration or upward. In such cases lower monthly rates were fixed for the winter months—October to February, inclusive—then for the summer months—March to September, inclusive. Lower minimum rates both weekly and monthly, were fixed separately for each of the three age-groups of young workers. Minimum rates fixed by this order were made applicable throughout the Irish Free State with the exception of one small district for which separate minimum rates were prescribed. In this latter district the minimum rate was set at 33s (about \$8.25) per week for adult workers. The value of benefits in lieu of wages in cash were also definitely defined in this order.⁴

(d) *Provisions for hours of work.*—The act does not provide for the establishment of maximum hours of work, beyond stating that "any minimum rates fixed by the Board in respect of a wages district may be fixed * * * according to the number of working hours or the conditions of the employment, or so as to provide for a differential rate in the case of overtime."⁵ However, in both orders issued by the agricultural wages board, the minimum rates have been made applicable to a 6-day week of 54 working hours. Both orders have also fixed higher minimum rates for overtime and for Sunday work.⁶

E. GERMANY

Before the National Socialist Government came into power, agricultural working conditions were regulated by collective agreement over most of Germany. These agreements were in force on all farms which were directed by persons who were members of an organization which had signed such an agreement; in many districts this meant practically all employers. Further, by a declaration of the Federal Minister of Labor stating an agreement to be of general binding force, such agreements were extended to all farmers and workers in the district whether organized or not.⁷

Stipulations in collective agreements were patterned after those contained in the Provisional Agricultural Labor Code of January 24, 1919. This code was in form a collective agreement between employers and workers to which the force of law was given. After the revolution of 1918 in Germany, the Federal Council of Farmers and Agricultural Workers had drawn up an agreement on working conditions in agriculture, which was promulgated as the Provisional Agricultural Labor Code by Federal order. The legislative authorities, however, did not take part in preparing this code. The purpose of the code was to introduce uniform conditions in agriculture as quickly as possible. After the promulgation of the code, many of its provisions were included textually in subsequent collective agreements. The code presupposed that collective agreements would be made, for it provided that in undertakings in agriculture for which no collective agreements existed contracts of service should be drawn up in writing for periods of more than 6 months.⁸

Much of the importance of the collective agreements was due to the possibility of declaring agreements generally binding. The Federal Minister of Labor was empowered to declare agreements which were decisive factors in the conditions of employment of any occupational group in a given area to be generally binding within the area covered by them in respect to all contracts concerning the same type of employment, even if neither the employer nor the worker was party to the original collective agreement. Such a declaration could only be made on application by one of the parties to the agreement or by an organization of employers or workers, the members of which would be affected by the declaration.⁹

1. *Provisions for hours of work.*

The Provisional Agricultural Labor Code stated that the daily maximum hours in agriculture should be 8 on an average during 4 months, 10 on an average during 4 months, and 11 during the remaining 4 months. There was no condition that

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 147-148.

⁵ International Labor Office, Legislative Series, 1936, I. F. S. 4, pp. 5-6.

⁶ International Labor Office, Studies and Reports, Series D, No. 22, op. cit. pp. 147-148.

⁷ International Labour Review, Reports and Enquiries, vol 25, No. 1, January 1942, p. 74.

⁸ International Labor Office, Studies and Reports, Series K, No. 11, Collective Agreements in Agriculture, 1933, p. 35.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

these 4 monthly periods need be in consecutive periods, and in practice the period during which an average 10-hour day was allowed was often divided between the spring and the autumn. If the month is assumed to consist of 25 working days, this arrangement worked out to a working year of 2,900 hours, or an average of 9½ hours a day. While only an average of 8 or 10 hours respectively needed to be observed during two of the periods, during the third period, the 11-hour day could not be exceeded on any one day.

This guarded against an excessively long summer day. It was generally held by interpretation that even during the other two periods the 11-hour day should be the maximum working day.¹⁰ The arrangements laid down were exclusive of overtime, which was unlimited except that remuneration for each hour of overtime had to be at least one-tenth of the local day wage increased by 50 percent. The code provided that the feeding and care of animals, as well as other necessary work on Sunday, be paid for as overtime when performed by workers who had not undertaken by contract to do it as a rule. It was further provided that for other urgent work on Sunday and holidays double the local wage be paid. The time at which work began and ended was fixed. Time spent going to and from work was not paid for.¹¹ Rest periods, which during the summer months could not be less than 2 hours per day, and also the feeding times of drought animals, fell outside working hours.¹²

All collective agreements contained stipulations on hours of work. The Provisional Labor Code served as a model for these stipulations. A few agreements simply referred to the legal text of the code. The yearly total of 2,900 hours was mentioned as a maximum by some agreements, with provisions for distribution in three blocks of 4 months each as in the code. Other agreements fixed the total number of hours for the year and left the distribution to local agreements, or to arrangements on each individual farm. Other agreements followed the code in abstaining from the mention of a yearly maximum and providing only daily maxima for certain periods.¹³

2. Provisions for minimum wages.

The code contained no provisions on the rates of wages to be paid. The employer was bound under the general civil law to pay the agreed remuneration. The amount of remuneration was agreed upon in the collective agreements.

In Germany remuneration wholly or partly in kind is still by far the most usual form of wages for permanent agricultural workers. The remuneration in kind usually consists of a dwelling, a piece of land, pasture, and feed for cattle, and a certain quantity of produce, such as grain, potatoes, milk, fuel, etc. The Provisional Agricultural Labor Code contained no regulations on lodging or board of agricultural workers. It did provide, however, that wages in produce, agreed upon, must be in stated percentages of the crop.¹⁴

3. Recent developments.

Under the National Labour Regulation Act of January 1934, State officials, known as labor trustees, appointed by the Minister of Labour, are empowered to lay down minimum conditions of employment for any group of undertakings, including agriculture, within their area, such collective rules being legally binding acts of the State. In practice many of the rules and regulations provided in the Provisional Agricultural Labour Code and the former agricultural collective agreements were taken over by the labor trustees and are only gradually being replaced by new rules.¹⁵

Labor rules issued by the State labor trustees of East Prussia on May 17, 1940, fixing the labor conditions of farm workers in two German districts (Zichenau, Province of Suwalki, and Soldau, Province of Reidenburg) may serve to exemplify the new rules being laid down. In these rules the length of the working day varies in accordance with the season, from 6½ hours in winter to 10½ hours in summer for German farm hands. Money wages set for German farm hands are more than twice as high as those set for non-German workers. These money wages are set by the month and are about one-third higher in summer than in winter. The amount of overtime pay per hour is specified. Provisions for payment in kind are made by specifying the amount of farm products per year, the amount of coal for heating, and a house and barn for animals.¹⁶

¹⁰ Howard, Louise, *Labour in Agriculture* (1935), p. 124.

¹¹ International Labor Office, *Studies and Reports*, Series K, No. 10, *The Law of the Contract of Employment of Agricultural Workers in Austria, Germany and Hungary*. 1930, p. 35.

¹² International Labour Review, vol. 25, No. 1, op. cit., p. 82.

¹³ International Labour Review, vol. 25, No. 1, January 1932, pp. 95-97.

¹⁴ International Labor Office, *Studies and Reports*, Series K, No. 10, op. cit., pp. 21-22 and p. 27.

¹⁵ International Labor Office, *Studies and Reports*, series K No. 14, *the Minimum Wage*, 1938, p. 81.

¹⁶ U. S. Department of Labor, *Monthly Labor Review*, vol. 51, No. 2, August 1940, pp. 314-315.

F. AUSTRIA

In the absence of Federal regulation of working conditions in Austria, such regulation was exercised before the event of National Socialism by the provinces. Agricultural labor codes were introduced in all the provinces in the years immediately following the last war. These codes applied to undertakings in agriculture and forestry. Because each province had its own code, and the difference in the provisions of the various codes were sometimes substantial, agricultural labor law was not uniform in Austria.¹⁷

1. Provisions for hours of work.

In most of the Austrian provinces the agricultural labor codes regulated hours of work indirectly by providing for a minimum nightly rest period the length of which was definitely stated in hours, and by stating the length of the daily breaks during the day. In most codes it was laid down that these daily breaks must amount to at least 2 hours. By deducting the total of the nightly rest and the breaks from the 24 hours of the day, the length of the maximum working day was obtained.

In Vorarlberg the prescribed nightly rest was 8 hours during the period from May 1 to October 31, and 9 hours during the rest of the year, and thus the maximum working day was 14 or 13 hours according to the season. In Upper Austria the nightly rest had to be at least 9 hours, and consequently the maximum working day was 13 hours. The code stated further that maximum daily hours were to depend on the season of the year, the weather, and local custom. The stipulation on hours of work in Salzburg were the same as those in Upper Austria. The Agricultural Labor Code of Tyrol was more favorable to the workers. It prescribed that from May 1 to October 31 a nightly rest of not less than 10 hours, and during the rest of the year of not less than 12 hours, must be observed. The time needed for meals was not included in this period. In Corinthia and Styria the time spent in going from the farm or from the home of the worker, to the place of work was included in the hours of work. In Lower Austria the time spent in journeys between the worker's dwelling place and the place of work was not reckoned in the hours of work unless the journey took more than 1 hour. In that case, however, any time in excess of 1 hour was to be included or compensated.

In some of the Austrian Provinces there was a combination of indirect with direct limitation of hours of work. Thus in Lower Austria, Corinthia, Styria, and Burgenland, the average working day for the year was fixed at 10 hours, though not for workers entrusted with the care of livestock. This average working day was in three cases combined with stipulations concerning nightly rests and breaks during the day, so that departures from the break and the nightly rest period were fixed at 2 and 9 hours, respectively. In Styria the code stipulated a break after each uninterrupted working period of 4 hours. In Burgenland, even at the busy season, the worker had to be allowed an uninterrupted night's rest of not less than 8 hours.¹⁸

Only three of the agricultural labor codes contained provisions on the time when work should begin or end.

All codes allowed for the working of overtime. In Burgenland the worker could not refuse work in excess of his normal hours if this was needed owing to special seasonal conditions or when unusual circumstances made an extension of the hours of work necessary. In Lower Austria and Styria overtime might be required in case of need, and in emergencies, also on Sundays and holidays. In Upper Austria, Corinthia, Vorarlberg, and Tyrol, overtime was permitted only in exceptional circumstances. In Salzburg any work between 7 p. m. and 4 a. m. was deemed to be overtime. It was not permissible to demand more than 3 hours overtime on any 1 day. In all Austrian Provinces work on Sundays and holidays was expressly allowed if this was considered urgently necessary to bring in the harvest.

In Tyrol and Vorarlberg workers who had worked overtime were entitled only to a compensatory rest period. In Lower Austria, Upper Austria, and Corinthia special remuneration was due for overtime, but the amount was left to voluntary agreement. In Styria, Salzburg, and Burgenland, the payment for overtime had to be at least 50 percent above the ordinary hourly rate. For work on Sundays and holidays in Styria payment at double the ordinary rate was required. For

¹⁷ International Labor Office, Studies and Reports, the Law of the Contract of Employment of Agricultural Workers in Austria, Germany, and Hungary, series K No. 10, 1930, pp. 7-8.

¹⁸ International Labour Review, Reports and Enquiries, vol. 25, January 1932, pp. 90-91.

harvest work on Sundays and holidays double the ordinary rate had to be paid in Upper Austria and Burgenland, and triple the rate in Tyrol. In both Tyrol and Burgenland all payments in cash and in kind were taken into account when figuring payment for harvest work on Sundays and holidays, whereas the usual practice was to consider only the cash wages.¹⁹

2. *Wage provisions.*

Agricultural labor codes contained no provisions on the rates of wages to be paid. The employer was bound under the general civil law to pay the agreed remuneration. The amount of the remuneration, therefore, had to be agreed upon between the workers and employers. Most of the Austrian agriculture labor codes contained a provision that remuneration must be fixed in the contract of employment. If no wages were agreed upon the local remuneration was deemed under the Civil Code to have been agreed to.

In Austria remuneration wholly or partly in kind is still by far the most usual form of wages for agricultural workers. The labor codes all specify that all wages in kind must be of good quality. The food of workers who live in the employer's households must be wholesome and sufficient in quantity. In default of an agreement, the nature, quality, and extent of the land the use of which is granted as part of the remuneration must be regulated in conformity with local custom.

All Austrian agricultural labor codes except those for Tyrol and Vorarlberg, recognize the right of workers to a bonus after a specified number of years of employment in the same undertaking or with the same employer. This bonus is paid in the form of a percentage on the last year's wages, which are taken to mean only the cash wages, and is granted every fifth or tenth year. The payment of these service bonuses acts as a means of securing higher wages for workers who have been employed for several years in the same undertaking.²⁰

3. *Recent developments.*

The Austrian Constitution of May 1, 1934, provides for the establishment of a Federal Economic Council consisting of seven corporations dealing respectively with agriculture and forestry, industry, mining, handicraft, commerce and transportation, banking and insurance, and professional and public services. Each corporation within the Economic Council consists of a federation of organizations of workers and a federation of organizations of employers. Thus the corporation dealing with agriculture includes all the farmers and agricultural workers. The corporations are supervised by the Chancellor's Department.²¹ The Agricultural Corporation is empowered to regulate labor conditions in agriculture, especially through the conclusion of collective agreements, which are negotiated by the farmers and workers sections of the corporation.²²

G. HUNGARY

1. *Act II of 1898.*

Hungarian labor legislation dates back to the latter part of the nineteenth century. The period immediately after the First World War which brought about new labor legislation of a more modern type in Germany and Austria, brought no change in Hungarian legislation. An act of 1898, regulating employment contracts of agricultural workers is the basis of all later acts dealing with labor conditions. This act contains few regulations for the protection of the workers. What it does regulate is the legal relations between employers and workers. The primary purpose of the act seems to have been to ensure the execution of those clauses of the employment contract which deal with the performance of the work and the payment of wages agreed upon. The act contains severe penalties for breach of contract. Moreover, attempts at combined action by the workers are forbidden by clauses carrying penal sanctions; namely, arrest and imprisonment.²³

The act provides that when the wages for the harvest work are fixed, they must not only be calculated as a certain percentage of the crop, but must also be fixed either in the form of a definite weight on the crop (of the same average

¹⁹ International Labor Office, Studies and Reports, Series K No. 10, op. cit., pp. 33-35.

²⁰ Ibid, pp. 22-26.

²¹ International Labor Office, Industrial and Labor Information, vol. 52, No. 9, November 26, 1934, p. 271.

²² International Labor Office, Studies and Reports, Social Problems in Agriculture, Series K, No. 14, 1928, p. 77.

²³ Howard, Louise E., Labour in Agriculture, (1935), p. 82 and pp. 309-310.

quality as the employer's crop during the year) or in cash. If the workers do not wish to have their wages paid in the form of a percentage of the crop, they are entitled at the end of their engagement to inform the employer that they wish to be paid in the other form—that is to say, either the alternative fixed weight or cash. They may not, however, ask for payment to be made partly in the form of a percentage share and partly in that of a fixed weight or cash.²⁴

The act provides that the working day shall last from sunrise to sunset, during which time the worker shall be allowed a midday break of 1 hour and in addition, from April 15 to September 30, a half-hour break in the morning and afternoon.²⁵

2. Act XXV of 1923.

In 1923 another act was adopted the aim of which was to prevent the undue exploitation of agricultural workers. This act was regarded as provisional in character, to be in force only until the end of 1924 unless its validity was prolonged by the Minister of Agriculture. This course was followed and the act remains in force.

This act provides that if in any district the daily wages in money or in kind paid to agricultural day laborers were so low, due allowance being made for seasonal changes in wages and for the agricultural conditions in the district in question, as to constitute an excessive and unjustifiable exploitation of the labor of the agricultural day worker and of his family, and would be inadequate for the maintenance of the worker and his family, the Minister of Agriculture, on the demand of the worker and his family, and if possible, after hearing the competent Chamber of Agriculture, may issue orders, fixing from time to time a minimum daily wage for agricultural workers.

The wages specified in the orders issued by the Minister were to be fixed by agricultural wage committees set up in each district. Each committee consists of a chairman, vice chairman, and four members. The members must be workers and landowners in equal numbers. Provision is made for their election from existing representative local agricultural committees or groups. The chairman and vice chairman are elected by the members of the committees from amongst five impartial persons nominated for the purpose by the Chamber of Agriculture.

The act provides that in fixing minimum wages, the working capacity, sex, and age of the workers and the nature of the work to be done shall be taken into consideration. Violation of the act makes an employer liable to a fine. A worker is entitled to claim within a specified period the difference between the wage fixed and that actually paid him. The agricultural wage committees hear the case and decide upon its merits. The Minister of Agriculture decides in the last resort.²⁶

The act contained no provisions regarding hours of work.

In 1927 the International Labor Office in its survey of minimum wage fixing machinery, reported with regard to the working of this act, as follows:

"The Minister of Agriculture had received no complaint from the workers regarding the payment of rates lower than those fixed; also the Minister had not received any report from a subordinate authority indicating that the workers had formulated complaints or that penalties had been imposed on employers. In addition to these indications regarding the absence of complaints, none of the special agents charged by the Minister of Agriculture to examine and control the fixing of wage rates for agricultural workers had reported cases of failure to observe the determination of the wage commissions. In consequence, the Minister of Agriculture is of the opinion that the wages fixed by the commissions have had a beneficial influence on the wages of agricultural day laborers."²⁷

In 1930, however, the International Labor Office reported—

"The working of this act, which has been prolonged from year to year, has been found on the whole disappointing. The proposed wage committees have been set up in only a few districts. The total number of districts is 209 but in 1924 wage committees were in operation only in 39 of them, in 1925 in 35, in 1926 in 48, and in 1927 in 25."²⁸

In 1932, discussing falling wages in agriculture at the beginning of the depression, the International Labor Office reports—

"The position of wage-paid landless agricultural workers in Hungary, who constitute the largest group in the national working population, became decidedly

²⁴ International Labor Office, Studies and Reports, Series K, No. 10, The Law on the Contract of Employment of Agricultural Workers in Austria, Germany, and Hungary, 1930, p. 23.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

²⁶ International Labor Office, Studies and Reports, series D, No. 17, Minimum Wage Fixing Machinery, 1927, pp. 82-84.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

²⁸ International Labor Office, Studies and Reports, series K, No. 10, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

worse in the course of 1930. Owing to the fall in prices and the general lack of cash resources of the farmers, these workers were driven to underbid one another in their efforts to obtain employment and to accept terms having no reference whatever to a minimum wage, which, in fact, they have had no means of enforcing."²⁹

3. *Recent developments.*

Early in 1940 a bill was introduced before the Hungarian Parliament providing for the introduction of a system of compulsory determination of minimum wages in agriculture. The bill proposed important changes in existing legislation. The new regulations would apply not only to agricultural wages paid in cash but to all other forms of remuneration, including wages in kind and the share of the harvest received by sharecroppers. About four-fifths of the wage of agricultural workers is, in general, paid in kind and hitherto such payments were not subject to any compulsory regulation whatever.

The bill further provides for the compulsory meeting of joint wage-fixing committees in each district every January. Apart from these compulsory annual meetings, the chairmen of the joint committees are obligated to call a meeting any time on the proposal of not less than three of their members. In the course of their meetings, the joint committees are bound to determine whether it is or is not necessary to fix the rates of minimum wages in their district. The Minister of Agriculture, explaining the bill, expressed the view that it was not in fact all desirable to fix minimum wage rates in districts where wages were relatively high, as experience had shown that in such cases the level of wages had a tendency to fall to the amount fixed by the authorities.

In order to avoid excessive differences in the agricultural wage levels in different districts, the bill provides for the establishment of a central agricultural wage-fixing committee, the duty of which will be to draw up rules to be followed by the joint committees of each district.³⁰

H. CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Agricultural labor conditions in Czechoslovakia were regulated principally by a system of collective agreements, voluntary in the eyes of the law, but encouraged and regularized under government influence. Legislation regulating hours of work in agriculture had been passed, but even in this field, collective agreements supplemented and implemented the legal limitations on hours. No wages existed and any wage regulation which took place did so only as a result of collective agreements.³¹

1. *Collective agreements.*

In the very first year of the Republic, the agricultural advisory boards attached to the provincial employment exchanges took the initiative of convoking representatives of employers and workers organizations to agree on working conditions in agriculture, and this practice was continued. This action of the employment exchanges is explained by the particular labor conditions in Czechoslovakian agriculture. The western part of the country, where the land is worked most intensely, is highly industrialized. Industry attracts the workers, and agriculture therefore suffers from a shortage of labor. In the east, on the other hand, there is a large surplus of agricultural population, and the farmers in the west therefore draw on these districts for part of their labor, making use of the official employment exchanges for the purpose. The employment exchanges were thus directly interested in the settlement of conditions of employment in agriculture.

Agreements were concluded in the meetings held with these representatives, and were signed by agricultural employers' and workers' unions, by other agricultural associations, and by representatives of the government. These agreements were not collective agreements proper, but only guiding principles. However, in practice these guiding principles had a similar effect, especially in regulating wage rates. The guiding principles were either used as a basis for the conclusion of contracts with individual workers, or incorporated in the text of local collective agreements. Generally each individual undertaking concluded with its workers or the competent trade union a collective agreement in harmony with the guiding principles. Since the first renewal of the guiding principles, it

²⁹ International Labour Review, *The Agricultural Labor Situation in Hungary*, vol. 25, No. 5, May 1932 (supplement) pp. 673-674.

³⁰ International Labor Office, *Industrial and Labour Information*, vol. 73, January-March, 1940, pp. 248-249.

³¹ Howard, Louise E., *Labour in Agriculture* (1935), pp. 84-85.

generally became the practice simply to incorporate their text in the district agreements.

Despite the regular collaboration of the authorities in the establishment of guiding principles, there was no statutory foundation for such a proceeding, and the government had no means of bringing guiding principles into existence if the employers and workers could not agree. The workers had no legal guaranty that the conditions laid down in the guiding principles would be applied. In practice, however, the acceptance of these principles by central federations on both sides meant that they were widely adopted and that unorganized employers and workers were bound largely to respect them when giving or accepting employment.³²

2. *Maximum hour legislation.*

In December 1918, about 6 weeks after the declaration of national independence, the Czechoslovakian Republic adopted an eight-hour day act. The act applied to all industries, including agriculture. The agricultural employers declared themselves in favor of the act, although they and the workers emphasized the difficulties which would arise in agriculture. Special arrangements were therefore made. A decree of January 11, 1919, provided that the strict 8-hour day need not be retained, and that working hours might be distributed over a period of 4 weeks so as not to exceed 192 (equal to 24 working days of 8 hours each). In cases of emergency, overtime might be worked for 2 hours a day over not more than 4 weeks in the year upon application of a permit. Permits could also be obtained for overtime work to meet special seasonal needs of agriculture, for another 16 weeks. This overtime must be specially remunerated. The decree contained no stipulations for higher rates of overtime.

The decree only applied to persons living outside of the household of the employer—daily or weekly agricultural workers. Persons resident in the farm house, and engaged on permanent yearly contracts were covered by special provisions in the original eight-hour day act. These provisions stipulated that they should be given an uninterrupted period of 12 hours rest in every 24 hours, which was another way of saying that their working day might not exceed 12 hours.

In practice, the provisions of the decree of January 11, 1919, were considerably modified. It was the principle of the act that, where an aggregate of 192 hours were allowed to be spread over 4 weeks, the number of hours exceeding 48 in 1 week would be compensated by corresponding rest periods in the following 3 weeks. However, the compensatory rest period proved difficult for the employers to arrange during the busy seasons, and did not appeal to the workers in view of the fact that they counted on their heaviest earnings just at such times. Within less than 2 years from the promulgation of the 1919 decree, this arrangement had been abandoned in practice. The same was the case with the provision for advance permits to work overtime. Generally, the conditions which made overtime necessary could not be foreseen early enough to allow for previous authorization.

Collective bargaining further modified the application of the act. As stated above, there was no provision in the act or the 1919 decree that payment for overtime should necessarily be at a higher rate than the average rate per hour. But collective agreements introduced the provisions that ordinary rates be paid for the first 10 hours of work; the ninth and tenth hours, though overtime in the eyes of the law, thus being paid at the same rate as the first 8 hours' work. The eleventh and following hours were to be paid for at higher rates.³³

Thus, in reality, the 8-hour day had ceased to be anything but a legal fiction. The only effective provision was that regarding the 12 hours' rest and 12 hours' work for workers engaged on a yearly contract and living in the farmhouse. This period of 12 hours actually became the legal maximum working day in agriculture, and in practice applied to all workers, since outside workers never worked longer than resident and permanent workers.³⁴

I. SWEDEN

1. *Collective agreements regulating wages and hours.*

Government regulation of working conditions in Swedish agriculture is a very recent origin. Until 1918, hours of work, wages, and other conditions depended entirely upon the arrangements made between the individual farmer and his

³² International Labor Office, Studies and Reports, Series K, No. 11, *Collective Agreements in Agriculture*, 1933, pp. 29-31.

³³ International Labour Review, *The Present Regulation of Working Hours in Agriculture*, vol. 25, No. 1, January 1932, pp. 84-86.

³⁴ Howard, Louise E., *op. cit.*, p. 121.

employees. Since 1919 a certain standardization of working conditions has been effected through collective agreements between the employers and workers organizations. In that year a national agreement covering southern and central Sweden was concluded between the Swedish Union of Agricultural Workers and the Central Federation of Swedish Agricultural Employers. The national agreement provided general rules for the regulation of wages and other conditions of work and for local agreements settling wage rates and hours of work in detail. After September 1925, hours of work were regulated by a national agreement, which allowed for variation within the provinces, and wage rates remained the only matter regulated by local agreements. The union also concluded a provincial agreement with an independent employers' association, and a large number of agreements with individual farmers. Until the late twenties, however, the agreement concluded applied directly to only about one-fifth of the wage earners employed in agriculture. Moreover, the organized workers were usually employed on the larger estates.³⁵

In 1928 a law was passed in Sweden giving official recognition to the collective agreements which accelerated the growth of labor organization in agriculture. The law provides that during the effective period of a collective agreement, strikes or lock-outs to alter any of the terms of the agreement are illegal. Interpretation and enforcement of these agreements is the responsibility of a labor court on which are represented State, workers, and employers.³⁶

2. Legislation regulating hours of work.

The first act regulating hours of work in agriculture in Sweden was passed in 1936. On the same date that the act became effective new collective agreements came into force embodying the provisions of the act concerning hours of work. As compared with the act, however, the agreements were much more detailed.³⁷

The act of 1936 was made provisional and valid only until 1939, with the understanding that a new act would come before the Riksdag during the 1939 session. This was done to allow for an experimental period before making the act final. In 1937 the act was amended to reduce the weekly hours of work and allow greater elasticity as regards overtime.³⁸ In 1939 the final act was passed.

3. Scope of the act of 1939.³⁹

The act of 1939 applies to horticulture carried on as an independent undertaking and to agriculture and all activities auxiliary thereto (such as construction work for the purposes of agriculture, etc.) not carried out as independent undertakings. Not covered are (1) undertakings normally having less than three workers; (2) milking and the care and lifting of root crops paid for on a piece basis; (3) ditching and forestry work done on a piece basis; (4) domestic work; (5) work carried on by the state; (6) work done under such conditions that the employer cannot be expected to supervise it. Originally persons caring for livestock were not covered but the 1939 act covers them. The reason for the exclusion of certain kinds of piece work and of undertakings normally employing fewer than three workers is the great difficulty of strict application. Domestic servants are excluded because they are not engaged in work for agriculture.

In calculating the number of workers no account is taken of members of the employer's family or of estate agents, bookkeepers, or other salaried employees. As the number of employees is subject to fluctuations the "normal" number employed on a particular farm is the determining number for administration and enforcement.⁴⁰

4. Administration of the act.

All matters of interpretation of the act or requests for exemption from any of its provisions are examined and decided by a labor council, a body given special powers regarding the application of the Hours of Work in Industry Act, as well as the Hours of Work in Agriculture Act. The labor council consists of seven members appointed by the government. Two of the members of this council

³⁵ International Labor Office, Studies and Reports, Series K, No. 11, Collective Agreements in Agriculture, 1933, pp. 54-57.

³⁶ International Labor Office, Legislative Series, pt. II, Swe. 2, 1928.

³⁷ International Labour Review, The Regulation of Hours of Work in Swedish Agriculture by Gunner Havermark, vol. 39, No. 5 (May 1939), pp. 634-635.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 646-647.

³⁹ International Labor Office, Legislative Series, 1939, we. 2-5.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

are appointed on the recommendation of the Swedish Association of Employers, and two on the recommendation of the National Federation of Trade Unions. Two others are impartial members, and the seventh serves as chairman and head of the council. The act regulating hours in agriculture provides that the government shall appoint persons acquainted with agricultural conditions to serve for a specified period as members of the labor council when it deals with any matters referred to in that act. One member is to be appointed from among persons nominated by the central committee of the Swedish employers' associations and when serving on the labor council is to take the place of one of its members selected on the recommendation of the employers' organizations. One member is to be appointed from among the persons nominated by the Swedish National Federation of Trade Unions, and when serving on the labor council is to take the place of one of its members selected on the recommendation of the workers' organizations.

The labor council decides at the request of a court, a public prosecutor, an industrial inspector, or any person whose rights are affected whether a particular worker is subject to the act. It grants permits for overtime employment and for the arrangement of the hours of work in a manner otherwise than set forth in the act.

The act also provides that if any national organization of employers and workers which may be deemed to represent a majority of the employers and workers in a particular field of activity covered by the act agrees upon a particular exception to the hour provisions or the overtime provisions of the act, the government on the recommendation of the labor council or after consultation with it may order that the exception be authorized for general use in the field of activity in question.

Enforcement of the act is entrusted to the labor inspectorate, whose inspectors are greatly aided by the strong workers' union. Offenses against the act are taken before the ordinary courts, where an offender is punished by a fine proportionate to his means. The 1936 law provided that the alternative to payment of the fine should be imprisonment, but the 1939 law omitted this penalty.⁴¹

5. Hour provisions of the act.⁴¹

The act provides that the daily maximum for agriculture and horticultural occupations shall be 10 hours per day. The weekly maximum for agricultural workers is as follows:

	<i>Hours per week</i>
If the first working day of the week falls in—	
December, January, and February.....	41
March, October, and November.....	46
April to September.....	54

Horticultural workers may work a maximum workweek of either 48 hours or during January, February, November, and December 42 hours, during March and October 45 hours, and during the period April to September 53 hours. For workers employed mainly as livestock tenders hours may not exceed 9 per day or 108 in the fortnight. Thus, the law allows a maximum normal working time of about 2,500 hours in the year for strictly horticultural and agricultural work, and about 2,800 hours for livestock tending.

Within the limits specified above the employer is free to distribute hours over the different days, except that a collective agreement may impose extralegal restrictions covering the distribution of hours. The length of the working day will of course directly determine the number of days during each fortnight that will be wholly or partly free, thus if 9 hours are worked per day on agricultural work there will be 2 free days in each fortnight.

The labor council is empowered, at the request of any farmer, to allow the normal hours of work to be distributed in some other way than that prescribed by the act. A number of employers in central Sweden applied for the right to extend working hours in February to 46 hours per week in exchange for reducing the November to 41 per week on the grounds that in that section of the country daylight in November ends too soon whereas in February the daylight not only lasts longer but there is more need for work. In the south of Sweden, on the other hand, it was found that more working time was needed in October and November on account of the harvesting of the beet crop and plowing and sowing that have to be done at that time.⁴²

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² International Labour Review, vol. 39, No. 5, op. cit., p. 640.

The act allows for the possibility of working overtime,⁴³ that is, in excess of the maximum hours in special cases, but unlike the hours of work legislation of most other countries, it contains no provisions relating to overtime pay. It directly limits the amount of overtime which may be worked under given circumstances in stated periods of time, except in emergencies. The matter of overtime pay for the hours of overtime allowed by the act, however, is left to be settled by collective agreement locally, in the same manner as wages are settled.

The act provides for three kinds of overtime; for emergencies; for accessory work, and general overtime.

Overtime for emergencies involving danger to life, health, or property may be worked without previous permission from the labor council, but must be reported to that body within 2 days after such overtime is begun. Overtime in connection with birth, accident, or disease among livestock is also permissible without previous authorization, and because of the frequency of such cases, need not be reported to the labor council. Emergency overtime is not limited to a stated number of hours.

Seven hours per week per worker of accessory overtime, that is, work done outside the regular hours and upon which the work done during the regular hours depends (examples are the preparation of engines, grooming horses, sharpening tools, etc.) is allowed. The act refers to such overtime as "preparatory or finishing work performed before or after the general hours of work" and "necessary for the unhampered working of the undertaking." The labor council has defined accessory work "to be such work that, if it could not be carried out as overtime, the rest of the workers or some of them would either be held up at the beginning of the normal working day or have to stop work before the end of the normal working day."

General overtime, defined as all other overtime except the two kinds specified above, for example, overtime necessary to carry out urgent work during seed time or harvest time, or to replace a worker who is absent or on account of any other accidental need for increased hours of work, may be required up to 200 hours in any period of 12 consecutive months, provided that not more than 48 hours of such overtime be worked in a specified 4-week period. For this purpose the year is divided into fixed 4-week periods beginning with the first complete calendar week in November, and not more than 48 hours of general overtime is allowed in any such period. On the other hand, the "period of 12 consecutive months" is not fixed to begin on a specified date, so that the prescribed limit of 200 hours may not be exceeded in any 12-month period.

If further exceptions are required on account of urgent necessity they may be authorized by the labor council but not for more than 100 hours in any period of 12 consecutive months.

The employer must keep a record of all overtime worked except in the case of accessory overtime. The record is not required if he posts in the workplace a timetable showing the hours at which the daily work is to begin and end, including the accessory overtime. This record may be examined by an inspector or by a worker or his representative at any time. The record must be kept for 3 years from the date of the last entry therein.

6. *Effects of the act.*

The act has been in operation for a comparatively short time. Within this time it is reported that workers have everywhere welcomed the general shortening of total annual working time that it has brought about. It is also recognized that the act has prevented any unreasonable exploitation of unorganized workers as may previously have existed. The provisions for livestock tenders seems to have caused the greatest difficulties, and to have received the most criticism from both employers and workers. The Agricultural Employers Federation contends that the provisions concerning livestock tenders' hours cause difficulties. In support of this contention it refers to a recent collective agreement concerning these employees which in several important points does not conform to the provisions of the act, making recourse to the facilities for exemptions necessary. The workers maintain that the calculation of the hours of livestock tenders over a fortnight, subject to a maximum of 9 hours in the day, makes it difficult to arrange their customary annual holidays satisfactorily. If the maximum daily hours are worked, the free day results automatically, for there must on the average be one free day in the week. If a consecutive holiday is to be obtained, some of these weekly free days must be accumulated, but this is impossible

⁴³ International Labor Office, Legislative Series, 1939, Swe. 2-5.

under the act as it stands, except by an application for exemption. The employees and employers consider it desirable that the hours of livestock tenders should be calculated over 6 weeks' periods, which would make it possible to give the workers a consecutive holiday for a longer period.⁴⁴

A special difficulty arises when a worker performs operations, some of which are covered by the act and some of which are not. In these cases of "mixed work" the principle adopted is that the regulations shall apply to the time spent on work covered by the act but not to the rest of the working time. Thus a worker might be required to work the maximum hours allowed under the law, and then do additional work of a type not covered by the law. For example, the act does not apply to milking paid for at piece rates. Thus the farmer can distribute work other than milking by cattle tenders over the hours allowed by the act in any fortnightly period and have the milking done outside of these hours, provided it is paid for at piece rates.⁴⁵

Although the act applies only to workers on farms which employ three or more men, it actually affects the hours of work of nearly all agricultural employees, because the smaller employer finds it almost impossible to obtain labor unless he follows suit.⁴⁶

7. Proposed minimum wage legislation.

In February 1936 the Government appointed a committee to find what steps could be taken to improve the wage standards of agricultural workers. In the directions given to the committees, it pointed out that the State had been obliged to take various measures to give State aid to farmers. It had not been its purpose to favor certain agricultural groups through these measures, but in practice it had been impossible to avoid a certain disequilibrium. Organized agricultural workers had managed to avoid having their wages reduced during the depression, but a large proportion of the workers were not organized, and in many cases their wages were too low to maintain a desirable standard of living. As it was to be expected that State aid to agriculture would be continued it seemed justifiable that those agricultural workers who were in the weakest position would be given certain State aid in order to improve their wages. The committee appointed reported in June 1937, and recommended the setting up of minimum wage boards which, when fixing regional wage rates, should, as a general rule, take as a basis the collective agreements, of existing organizations of agricultural employers and workers.⁴⁷ The recommendation met with so much opposition from the conservative elements represented by the larger employing farmers, that it was never acted upon. This attitude was adopted by the large farmers in spite of the assistance given to them by the Government through farm price control and other legislation.⁴⁸

J. THE BALTIC COUNTRIES

Four Baltic countries—Estonia, Finland, Latvia, and Lithuania—are related to one another not only by their geographical location on the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea but also by their historical background, since they were all part of the former Russian Empire. Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania were merely provinces of that empire, but Finland was a state with rather restricted autonomy.

The level of industrial development and relations and of educational standards in the Baltic countries more nearly resemble those of the Scandinavian than those of any other European group of countries.⁴⁹

In the years following the war, attempts to fix agricultural hours of work by legislation were made in all four of these countries. In Estonia an attempt was also made to regulate wages. All these attempts failed, either because the legislation failed in practice and was repealed or because the proposed bills were never passed. In 1939 Estonia passed a labor code which contained provisions regulating hours of work in agriculture. The other three countries did not make any further attempts to pass wage-and-hour legislation.

1. Estonia.

(a) *The proclamation of November 1918.*—In Estonia a proclamation of November 1918 announced the adoption of an 8-hour day for all industry, including agriculture. This was followed by a special Act of September 13, 1919, which

⁴⁴ International Labour Review, vol. 39, No. 5, op. cit., pp. 645-646.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 639.

⁴⁶ Margaret Cole and Charles Smith, *Democratic Sweden* (1938), p. 155.

⁴⁷ International Labor Office, *Studies and Reports*, Series K, No. 14, *Social Problems in Agriculture*, 1938, p. 86.

⁴⁸ Cole and Smith, op. cit., p. 155.

⁴⁹ Monthly Labor Review, *Wages in the Baltic Countries*, vol. 49, No. 2, August 1939, p. 413.

set a limit of 2,250 hours of work in the year for agricultural workers. The distribution of these hours over the year was left to provincial committees of farmers and workers set up by the act. This system of committees broke down and it was found necessary to regulate working hours for the year May 1921 to April 1922 by means of a special act of May 13, 1921.

This act fixed the daily working hours as follows:

	Hours		Hours
May to September.....	11	December and January.....	6
October.....	9	February and March.....	7
November.....	7	April.....	10

This arrangement resulted in on an average of 9 hours per day for the whole year.

(b) *The act of October 1921.*—A new act of October 21, 1921, replaced the act of 1919. This act provided for the fixing of wage rates as well as hours, by joint committees of employers and workers. District joint committees composed of an equal number of members elected by employers and by workers were to elect a central joint committee composed of two representatives from each district. The state was not represented either on the central committee or on the local committees, but it was responsible for convening meetings. The district committees were to draft proposals, the central committees were to fix minimum wage rates and average hours for each district. Average hours of work were to be fixed for the different seasons, the yearly average not to exceed 9 hours per day. A minimum uninterrupted rest period of 9 hours was to be secured to the worker during the season when working days were longest.

This act never became of practical importance. The lack of any neutral members or a chairman with a deciding vote prevented the committees from arriving at decisions. As a result of the absence of sanctions in the legislation and the general weakness of the workers as a group, little interest was shown in this legislation. From the beginning there were difficulties in getting the joint committees together. After a short time the committees ceased to function and no attempt was made to revive them. On January 22, 1929, a bill was introduced in the Estonian Parliament providing for their formal abolition.⁵⁰

(c) *Agricultural Labor Code of 1939.*—A new Agricultural Labor Code was passed in Estonia on May 25, 1939. This code contained provisions governing conditions of work, employment of young persons and children, and hours of work. The code defined as an agricultural worker, any person employed in agriculture, excepting foremen not required to do manual work.

Agricultural work was defined as all work done on the farm itself (including certain operations of an industrial character performed without outside help, such as construction), and work—such as carting—done outside the farm but economically connected with it.

A farm was defined to include any independent homestead with at least a hectare of land intended for agricultural production or stock-raising. Work done in horticultural establishments with a commercial objective was not considered as agricultural work for the purposes of the act.

(d) *Provisions for hours of work.*—The Agricultural Labor Code stipulated that the contracts of employment concluded between employers and workers must contain provisions concerning hours of work and rest periods. Provision must be made in particular for an unbroken nightly rest of at least 8 hours, except during June and July, when this rest must be at least 7 hours in length. When the length of the working day was 7 to 10 hours, there must be at least one break of 1 to 2 hours during the day. When hours of work exceeded 10 in the day, provision must be made for two breaks totaling 3½ hours a day, or 4 hours during June and July. For children under 14 years of age the length of the nightly rest might not be less than 9 hours and the length of the breaks during the working day might not be less than 4 hours.

The working day was to begin with the arrival of the workers at the place fixed by the employer as a meeting place and end when work stopped. Drivers were required to give the necessary care to their horses after the end of normal hours of work; the same applied to workers operating machines, which had to be returned to the proper place after work had stopped.

In exceptional circumstances the normal hours of work laid down in the contract might be extended, particularly with a view to protecting crops against bad weather, making the repairs to agricultural machines necessary with a view

⁵⁰ International Labour Review, vol. 25, No. 1, Jan. 1932, p. 83; International Labor Office, Studies and Reports, Series K, No. 14, op. cit. 1938, p. 79, and Howard, Louise E., Labour in Agriculture, 1935, p. 119.

to continuing work on the farm, completing certain operations for which machines were used, protecting crops and livestock against imminent danger and carrying out exceptional transport work required by law. Any extension of normal hours of work for one of the above-mentioned causes involved either a corresponding reduction in the hours of work to be done on the following day, or overtime pay.

Work might not be done on Sundays or public holidays, except certain indispensable operations (tending cattle). In this last case, however, the worker was entitled to at least one free Sunday a month. Further, each worker was entitled to a day's paid holiday for every 2 months' work and an additional day after each 6 months' employment.

All overtime done outside normal hours of work, with the exception of the above, was to be paid for at the rate prescribed for in the contract.

(e) *Supervision and enforcement.*—The district authorities and the labor inspectorate were responsible for enforcement of the provisions of the act. Any infringement of these provisions, found to have occurred by the supervising official, had to be reported to the district inspector. The Minister of Social Affairs, in agreement with the Minister of Agriculture, was authorized to issue guiding lines and the necessary interpretations with a view to securing proper enforcement of the act.⁵¹

2. Finland.

A commission was set up by the Government in May 1927 to study the question of working hours in agriculture. The majority of the commission proposed that that the workers should not be allowed to work regularly more than 9 hours per day, averaged over the year, and not more than 10 hours on any one day, except in the extreme North, where the longest working day might be 11 hours. Overtime was not to exceed 6 hours per week and 150 hours per year. These proposals were not accepted.⁵² No attempt to regulate wages in Finnish agriculture was made.

3. Latvia.

A bill on working hours in agriculture was discussed in Parliament in 1924 but rejected. It would have limited the average working day to 9 hours, that is to say, 11 from May to September, 8 in October, November, March, and April, and 7 in December, January, and February.⁵³

No attempt to regulate agricultural wages in Latvia was made.

4. Lithuania.

An act of April 18, 1922 stated that the working day, on a yearly average, must not exceed 10 hours. The timetable for each month must be settled by agreement between the parties, or in default of such agreement be as follows: January, 8 hours; February, 9 hours; March, 10 hours; April, 11 hours; May to August, 12 hours; September, 10 hours; October, 9 hours; November, 8 hours; and December, 7 hours. The act further contained a clause stating that times for beginning and ending work and breaks must be fixed by agreement between the parties, or in default of such agreement by the labor inspector. The act was replaced by an act of April 12, 1924, which maintained the last clause only, with an amendment to the effect that time spent going to work should be included in working hours, but not time spent returning from work.

The 1924 act was replaced by a new act of 1929, which contained no provisions whatever on hours of work.⁵³

K. THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

The Soviet Labor Code of 1922 as amended in 1927, 1929, and 1936, makes provision for the regulation of wages and hours of agricultural workers as well as those of all other workers. The code distinguishes between agricultural establishments of an industrial type and working peasant holdings in which the hired labor is of an auxiliary character. An agricultural establishment is classified as an industrial type of establishment on the basis of its receipts and the number of its employees, which must be at least three.⁵⁴

⁵¹ International Labor Office, *Industrial and Labor Information*, vol. LXXI, July-September 1939, pp. 122-124.

⁵² International Labor Review, January 1932, op. cit., p. 83.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Russ. 2.

1. *Wage provisions.*

The Labor Code provides that the amount of the employee's remuneration for his work shall be fixed by collective and individual contracts of work, but it shall not be less than the compulsory minimum wage fixed for a given period by the competent state authorities for the class of work in question. The amount of the remuneration shall be fixed in the contracts either at a time rate, on the basis of the normal working day, or by the piece. The amount of the remuneration for overtime shall be specifically noted in the contract, and shall not in any case be less than one and one half times the normal wage for the first 2 hours and twice the normal wage for subsequent hours, and the same for work on rest days and holidays. Young persons shall be paid for the reduced working day in the same way as employees of the same class working the full day.⁵⁵

On small peasant holdings the amount of the wages of the employee shall be fixed by agreement, provided that it shall not be less than the State minimum wage fixed for the locality in question. The part of the wages which is paid not in money but in kind (including allowances for food) shall not constitute more than one-half of the total remuneration. An allowance for a dwelling shall not be included in the wages. The councils of peoples commissariats of the United Republics shall be entitled to fix other proportions between the parts of the wages paid in money and in kind according to local conditions.⁵⁶

2. *Hour provisions.*

The labor code provides that the duration of normal hours of work both in production and in the accessory work necessary to production shall not exceed 8 hours. For persons between 16 and 18 years of age, the duration of the hours of work shall not exceed 6 hours. The hours of work of persons engaged in agriculture, who are regularly employed at a monthly wage may be divided into several reasonably long installments, provided that the number of breaks shall not exceed two a day and that the total duration of working hours in the course of a month shall not exceed the normal monthly number of hours of work.

Overtime may be worked for not more than 2 hours a day during the agricultural season by agreement between the employer and the trade union, provided that the wages shall be proportionately increased in the event of prolongation of the daily hours of work. The payment for the above-mentioned overtime may by agreement be included in the basic wage. In default of an agreement as mentioned above, payment for overtime shall be made in accordance with the general rules. The dates for the beginning and end of the agricultural season shall be fixed by the people's labor commissariats of the United Republics in consultation with the officers of the trade union of land and forest workers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The time spent in overtime work shall not exceed 4 hours within 2 consecutive days. The total number of hours of overtime for each employee shall not exceed 120 hours a year. Persons who have not attained the age of 18 years shall not under any circumstances be allowed to work overtime.⁵⁷

On small peasant holdings an extended working day (i. e., a working day exceeding 8 hours) shall be allowable by agreement between the parties at times of special pressure of agricultural work. Nevertheless, the extended working day shall not exceed 10 hours on an average over a given period of agricultural work (plowing and sowing, harvesting the crop, threshing, haymaking, etc.).⁵⁸

L. SPAIN

1. *Early hour legislation.*

In Spain a royal decree of January 15, 1920, established a general 8-hour day and 48-hour week in all industries including agriculture. A stipulation permitting the adoption of a 48-hour week instead of an 8-hour day was included. A special decree of the same date attempted to make the principle adaptable to agriculture mainly by taking out of the operation of the basic decree the pastoral industry, all harvest work and all persons employed in a part domestic capacity in the farm household. Special arrangements for overtime were also provided. These allowed agricultural laborers to be employed for 10 hours a day in seasons of heavy work and at times of urgency, provided that they were paid extra for those

⁵⁵ International Labor Office, Legislative Series, 1927, Russ. 2.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 1936, Russ. 1.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 1936, Russ. 1.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 1929, Russ. 2.

2 hours. There is no evidence that this decree, as concerns its application to agriculture, ever got beyond a paper enactment.⁵⁹

2. *Recent hour legislation.*

After the revolution of 1931 the provisional government issued a legislative decree regulating hours of work in general, and hours of work in agriculture in particular. The decree established an 8-hour day. It provided, however, that where it was impossible so to arrange the work as to establish a uniform working day of 8 hours, the number of hours to be worked per week might be agreed upon, subject to the condition that the daily hours of work should not exceed 9. Domestic servants living in the farm house and hired by the year were exempt from the application of the hour provision. However, the decree stipulated that they should be given a nightly rest period of at least 10 hours, and that after a particularly intense period of work they should be given a period of rest consisting of 1 whole day for every 6 days' work, Sundays to be excluded.

Joint boards for rural labor, set up in each district or province under an earlier decree, and composed of local representatives of workers and employers elected by the respective organizations of these groups were empowered to authorize prolongation of the working day under certain circumstances or for specified groups. These boards could authorize the working of 2 hours overtime per day, provided such overtime did not exceed 50 hours per month or 120 hours per year. If there was a scarcity of labor the annual number of overtime hours might be extended to 240. During seed and harvest time, when transporting seeds and crops, and during periods devoted to combating plant diseases, the joint boards were authorized to permit a prolongation of the working day to a maximum of 12 hours, time worked in excess of 8 hours to be considered overtime. For work in market gardens, the joint boards were authorized to permit overtime during the 3 months of greatest activity, which was to be indicated for each locality. For the initial operations inherent in the manufacture of wine and cider, the joint boards were authorized to permit an extension of the legal working day up to 12 hours. The extra hours were to be considered overtime.

The decree provided special remuneration for overtime work. This remuneration was to be the normal hourly wage of the worker, plus 25 percent for overtime worked on week days, 40 percent for overtime worked during the night and Sundays and 50 percent for overtime worked by women. The working of overtime was not permitted in the case of children under 16 years of age.

The provisions of the decree were administered by the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare. A labor inspectorate was established to supervise the observance of the provisions. Violators were liable to fines. Questions of an administrative character were to be settled by the joint Boards. Appeals could be taken to the Minister of Labor and Social Welfare whose decisions were final.⁶⁰

3. *Regulation of wages.*

A decree of May 7, 1931, provided for the establishment of joint boards for rural labor with power to fix wages, time tables, rest periods, conditions relating to board and lodging of employees not working merely for daily wages, conditions for dismissal, procedure for the conclusion of contracts; to supervise and administer labor legislation; to settle labor disputes; to organize employment exchanges, and "to exercise any other functions of a social character which may be beneficial to agricultural workers." The decree provided that these joint boards be set up in the districts or provinces designated by the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, on its own initiative or on the application of the persons concerned. Every joint board for rural labor should consist of a chairman, a vice chairman, a secretary, and six members and six substitutes representing employees and the same number of members and substitutes representing employers. The employers' and employees' members should be elected by associations of employers and employees in the district or province, which are registered with the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare. The chairman and vice chairman should be appointed by the joint board. If the board fails to agree, these officers should be appointed by the Minister of Labor and Social Welfare. The secretary should be appointed by the Minister of Labor and Social Welfare after a preliminary competitive examination for which a knowledge of agrarian questions and social legislation should be required. The term of office of all members of the joint boards should be 3 years.

The decree stated that the decisions of the joint boards for rural labor be adopted

⁵⁹ Howard, Louise, *op. cit.*, p. 118, and International Labor Office, *Studies and Reports*, Series K, No. 2, *Agrarian Conditions in Spain, 1920*, p. 10.

⁶⁰ International Labor Office, *Legislative Series, 1931*, Sp. 9.

by an absolute majority of the employers and employees representatives at meetings held on a first convocation and by an absolute majority of the members present at meetings held on a second convocation. In the case of a tie, the chairman should have a casting vote, provided that before voting he should invite the two groups represented on the boards to come to an agreement. An appeal against a decision adopted by a joint board might be lodged within 10 days with the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare.

The decree also stipulated that the Minister of Labor and Social Welfare might set up subordinate joint committees where there were villages with more than 500 agricultural employees within the jurisdiction of a joint board for rural labor. The committees were to supply information regarding the conditions and need for regulation in their regions, to propose rules which they considered suitable, and to assist the joint boards in applying regulations and supervising their observance. The subordinate committees were to be elected by the local employers and employees associations in the manner prescribed for the joint boards, and were to consist of two or three employees' members and the same number of employers' members, who were to appoint a chairman, a vice chairman and a secretary by agreement.⁶¹

M. ITALY

In Italy hours of work are regulated partly by legislation and partly by collective agreements. Wages are regulated entirely by collective agreements.

1. Regulation of working hours.

A general decree of March 18, 1923, with regulations pursuant thereto, applies the 8-hour day and 48-hour week to all industries including agriculture. The decree states that its provisions shall apply only to day laborers in agriculture. Regulations issued September 10, 1923, define agriculture as comprising the cultivation of land and woodland, the raising of plants, irrigation, the breeding and management of stock, and the preparation, preserving, manufacture and transport of the products of agriculture, stockbreeding and forestry.

The regulations give the employers considerable latitude in extending working hours in agriculture beyond 8 hours in the day and 48 hours in the week, and give the organizations of employers and workers further power by agreement to act in the same direction. At all periods of the year, if bad weather conditions prevent the full utilization of the hours planned, the employer may require the workers to make up during the week the time lost by increasing the hours of work on the following days up to a maximum of 10 per day, without paying any extra wage. The 8-hour day and 48-hour week may also be exceeded, on account of "technical or seasonal requirements" during 3 months of the year, provided that the average duration of work during that period shall not exceed 10 hours in the day or 60 in the week, except where agreements to work longer hours have been concluded between the parties. In addition, overtime may be added to the normal working day of 8 hours or week of 48 hours, but must not exceed 2 hours a day or 12 hours a week or an equivalent number of hours on an average taken over a specified period. Such overtime must be agreed upon by the parties, and must always be paid at the rate of not less than 10 percent above that for ordinary work. Further agreed exceptions may be permitted for preparatory and accessory work which must be performed outside the normal hours. Finally, work may be prolonged beyond the limits laid down in the regulations in case of emergency and also in cases where cessation of work at the normal hours would entail risk and damage to human being or to production. A decree of June 30, 1926, additionally provided that until further notice, and in spite of anything specified to the contrary in the decree of March 15, 1923, or in the relevant contracts of employment, all industrial, commercial, and agricultural undertakings were authorized to increase by 1 hour the daily hours of work of their employees. A decree of January 1927 stated that this extension to a 9-hour day was permissible only by agreement between the competent organizations of employers and workers and subject to the approval of the district labor inspectors office. Overtime so worked must be paid for at a rate not less than 10 percent above that for normal hours.⁶²

The effect of all these possible extensions is to permit a 12-hour day at least during 3 months of the year, of which the last 2 hours would have to be paid as

⁶¹ International Labor Office, *Legislative Series*, 1931, Sp. 6.

⁶² International Labour Review, *The Present Regulation of Working Hours in Agriculture*, vol. 25 No. 1, January 1932, pp. 86-88.

overtime. Actually there is no final legal prohibition against a day even longer than 12 hours. Pressure being put on them the workers might be compelled to give way on this point and work, say a 14-hour day in the busiest season.

2. Regulation of wages.

Agricultural wages are fixed by collective agreements. Under the Italian corporative system parallel syndicates of workers and employers under government supervision have been set up in each trade or occupation. Only one syndicate in each occupational group is legal. All agreements are concluded between the employer's syndicate and the worker's syndicate. Principles governing capital and labor are laid down in a charter of labor issued in 1927. The charter of labor makes it obligatory for organizations of employers and workers to negotiate collective agreements the terms of which are applicable to all employers and workers in any region whether organized or not. All strikes, boycotts, and lock-outs are illegal. Disputes between workers and employers may be settled by mediation on the part of the syndicate officials. If that proves fruitless, then recourse can be taken to the courts of labor, which have jurisdiction in labor disputes, and whose decision is final.⁶³

3. Enforcement of wage-and-hour regulations.

Carl T. Schmidt, of Columbia University, states, with regard to enforcement of hour regulations and wage agreements:

"Violations of wage-and-hour provisions of labor contracts are very numerous. Evidence of this is to be found in the many complaints made by individual workers to the syndical authorities, and in the guarded comments in the press. For example, 'labor' newspapers pointed out that workers 'are obliged by the scarcity of jobs to compete with one another to the extent of making contract terms almost meaningless' and 'violations continue all along the line' and that 'the majority of the employers do not respect the wages set in the contracts.'⁶⁴

"Generally workers suffer contractual violation to take place without protest, and complain only when they are dismissed. Most of the individual controversies are settled by the syndical officials, and usually their decisions favor the complainants. But punishment of employers who violate contracts appears to be rare."⁶⁵

N. MEXICO

1. The Mexican Constitution of 1917.

Mexico has had wage-and-hour legislation since 1917. The Mexican Constitution of 1917 provides that Congress and the State legislature should make laws relative to labor in accordance with principles laid down in article 123 of the Constitution. Among those principles were an 8-hour day and a minimum wage, sufficient, in view of the circumstances prevailing in the different localities, to satisfy the normal necessities of the worker's life, his education, and reasonable pleasures, in his capacity as head of a household. The principles were intended to apply to all employees, day laborers, servants, and craftsmen, and in general, to all contract work. They covered all industries, did not except agriculture and did not differentiate between men and women. Article IX of section 123 provides that special commissions be appointed in each municipality subordinate to a central board of conciliation established in each State, to determine the minimum wage.⁶⁶

In line with the provisions of the Constitution, several of the States passed comprehensive labor legislation; in others legislation was fragmentary. Moreover, State laws were contradictory and confusing. Many disputes arose because of differing interpretations of the labor laws by the various States. As a result, the desirability of federalizing labor legislation was strongly urged by the provisional government of Portes Gil during 1928 and 1929.⁶⁷ The Federal Labor Code of Mexico became effective August 28, 1931. At the same time the existing State labor laws were repealed, so that the new Federal legislation became applicable to the whole country. The coverage of the Federal Labor Code is analogous with the coverage of the Constitution. Thus it covers all employees, day laborers,

⁶³ International Labor Office, Studies and Reports, Series K, No. 14, Social Problems in Agriculture, 1938, p. 77, and Schmidt, Carl T., *The Corporate State in Action* (1939), pp. 63-64 and 94-96.

⁶⁴ Schmidt, Carl T., *op cit.*, p. 82.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

⁶⁶ Mexico, Laws, Statutes, etc. The Federal Labor Code of Mexico (1931), pp. 3-4.

⁶⁷ U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 569, Labor Legislation in Mexico (1932), p. 1.

servants, and craftsmen, and in general all contract work, in all industries, including agriculture.⁶⁸

The provisions of the Federal Labor Code, however, do not extend to the farming communities (ejidos), because these communities do not employ any labor. The farming communities in Mexico are not modeled on such collective agricultural enterprises as the kolkhoz of the Soviet Union. The system of tenure in these communities can be described as semindividual, semicomunal. Each farming community is an agricultural society composed of an average of 127 small peasant holders who till the land directly and who, for the general purposes of administration and of supervising production, are self-governing. Each peasant who is a member of the enterprise is allotted an individual plot of land. He may not sell, lease or mortgage his plot of land or make any crop-sharing arrangements. He must till his land himself. He may not hire any labor. He can be aided only by the members of his family, or by other members of the community.⁶⁹

2. Provisions for minimum wages.

The Federal Labor Code of 1931, as amended by a decree of October 1933, provides for a central board of conciliation and arbitration in each State and for municipal minimum wage commissions. The central boards are composed of one representative of the State, and one representative of the workers and one of the employers, for each branch of industry in the State. In dealing with general problems the board functions in full. In dealing with any given industry, the board consists of the Government representative and one representative of the workers and one of the employees in the given industry. The municipal minimum wage commissions are composed of an equal number of representatives of employers and of workers in the municipality, not less than 2 of each, and a representative of the municipal government to act as chairman.

Action to secure the fixing of minimum wages in municipalities is initiated by the central board of conciliation and arbitration on the first day of October in odd years. If the employers and workers do not complete the selection of their representatives within the time limit specified in the law, the State central board of conciliation and arbitration is empowered to complete the required number of members for the commission. In the absence of municipal commissions, the minimum wage is fixed by the respective central board itself.

The municipal minimum wage commissions in establishing minimum wages must take into consideration the cost of living, economic conditions of markets and absolute requirements to satisfy the needs of the workers. Piece work rates must be so fixed that 8 hours of labor will normally yield a return not less than the minimum wage. Work which by its nature is carried on in more than one municipality is to receive the highest of the minima established by the special commissions concerned. Upon the application of the majority of employers or workers in a municipality, and if conditions seem to justify it, the municipal commissions are required to review the minimum wage fixed. The decisions of the municipal commissioners are subject to review by the central boards, after which they are promulgated by the boards.

An executive decree of September 7, 1933, established the national minimum wage committee of five members, which working with State governors, municipal authorities, progressive employers and workers in general, was to expedite the fixing of minimum wages.

The Federal Labor Code of 1933 also provides that when a collective labor agreement has been entered into by two-thirds of the employers and union workers in a specified branch of industry and in a given district, the contract will be binding on all employers and workers in the same branch of industry in that district if a decree to that effect is issued by the President.⁷⁰

3. Provisions for hours of work.

The Federal Labor Code of 1931 contains the constitutional provision that 8 hours shall be the maximum length of a day's work. For night work, the maximum is fixed at 7 hours. The maximum duration of a working day which includes both day and night work is to be 7½ hours. Unless due to an emergency endangering human life or the continued existence of the undertaking, all overtime must be paid for at double the rate fixed for the usual working hours and is limited

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁶⁹ International Labor Review, *The Agrarian Problem in Mexico*, by Enrique Munquia, vol. 36, No. 2 August 1937, pp. 223-236.

⁷⁰ Pan American Union Bulletin, *Minimum Wage Legislation in Latin America*, by Eugene D. Owen, July 1938, pp. 410-411.

to three additional hours per day or 3 days per week. Persons under 16 years of age may not work more than 6 hours per day, and, along with women, may not in any case work overtime. For each 6 working days there must be at least 1 day of rest, and for more than 1 year of employment there must be a vacation, the length of which varies with the length of service.⁷¹

4. Operation of wage and hour provisions in agriculture.

Very little information is available regarding the operation of the wage and hour provisions in agriculture. A 1934 study published by the University of North Carolina Press reported that minimum wages were being fixed at a much lower figure than the workers had hoped for. The minimum wage for agricultural workers was being set at 75 centavos (about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a peso—or Mexican dollar). Wage fixing commissions were giving little or no consideration to standards of living, because the unions had not yet become conscious of the significance of this factor and little information was available. However, the commissions showed a definite tendency to consider the employer's ability to pay. Agriculture had not yet been generally affected by the hour regulations. In some places the peasant had a shorter working day, but in most places his hours were still from sunrise to sunset.⁷²

A United States Bureau of Labor Statistics report in 1939 indicated that wages had risen somewhat. The minimum wages fixed for general farm work ranged from 80 centavos (eighty one-hundredths of a Mexican dollar) in a part of Chiapas to 2.75 pesos (Mexican dollars) for one municipality in Sonora, and 3 to 4 pesos per day in the northern district of Lower California. Also the hour limitations were evidently being complied with in many agricultural sections. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that in the banana industry in the Vera Cruz consular district workers paid on a piecework basis employed at cutting and hauling fruit from farm to river were able to earn from 10 to 13 pesos for a day of from 8 to 10 hours. "Double rates were being paid for overtime." In the henequen and chicle industries located in the region of the Merida consular districts the Bureau reports that "because of the extremely trying climate, hours are irregular throughout the year but are on the average less than 8 per day." The usual day's work in the jungle is from 6 to 8 hours.⁷³ A recent article in a Mexican periodical reported that the labor contracts of Indians coming from Guatemala into Mexico to work on coffee plantations specify that their hours of work are limited to 8 hours for day work, to 7 for night work and to $7\frac{1}{2}$ for mixed day and night work. The contracts also state that they must receive double pay for overtime.⁷⁴

O. CUBA

1. Provisions for hours of work.

An act of September 19, 1933, followed by regulations dated October 19, 1933, established an 8-hour day in all industries in the Republic of Cuba, but provided that "The 8-hour day shall not apply to the agricultural operations of the sowing, harvesting, and carting of sugarcane and tobacco, the cultivation of secondary crops liable to rapid deterioration and operations requiring rapid handling, in cases where a worker carries out the work alone or with the help of a person or persons performing the same operations and receiving the same remuneration, whether at a piece rate or at a task rate or by the job."⁷⁵ An act of 1935 stipulated that young persons under 18 years shall not be employed for more than 7 hours a day in any commercial or agricultural establishment and shall be granted a rest period of 2 hours after a period of $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours of work.⁷⁶ The new Cuban Constitution promulgated on July 5, 1940, provides that the maximum daily hours of work shall not exceed 8 hours, and may be reduced to 6 hours for young persons 14 to 18 years of age. The maximum workweek shall not exceed 44 hours with pay for 48 hours. The provisions apply to all industries except those "which on account of their nature must carry on work without interruption at a particular season of the year" * * * "pending the promulgation of legislation laying down definitive rules for this exception."⁷⁷ As far as can be ascertained, no such legislation has yet been promulgated.⁷⁸

⁷¹ U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 569, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

⁷² Clark, Marjorie Ruth, *Organized Labor in Mexico* (1934), p. 164 and pp. 225-226.

⁷³ U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, *Wages in Mexico, 1937 and 1938*, vol. 48, February 1939, pp. 404-406.

⁷⁴ *Trabajo y Provision Social, La Proteccion del Trabajo Asalariado de Los Indigenas*, by Javier, Urango H., September 1941, pp. 53-63 (translated by Mr. Eugene D. Owen of the Bureau of Labor Statistics.)

⁷⁵ International Labor Office, *Legislative Series*, 1933, Cuba 4.

⁷⁶ International Labor Office, *Legislative Series*, 1935, Cuba 2.

⁷⁷ International Labor Office, *Legislative Series*, 1940, Cuba 1.

⁷⁸ International Labor Office, Washington, D. C. (Mr. Woodchek).

2. Provisions for minimum wages.

A decree of November 30, 1934, and subsequent amendments thereto, set up machinery for the setting of minimum wages in all industries, including agriculture. The decree established a national minimum wage commission, consisting of 18 members, of whom 4 represent various divisions of the Government, and 7 each, designated by the Minister of Labor, represent employers and workers in sugar, stock raising, tobacco, and commercial and railroad work. These members are appointed for 1 year, but their appointment may be renewed indefinitely. The commission acts through subcommissions which fix minimum wages for each zone and each branch of industry, commerce, and agriculture, including any enterprise of any sort carried on for the purpose of gain. No member of the commission may be a member of more than 3 subcommissions.

Minimum wages are based on the index numbers of the cost of living, and take into account payments in kind. In fixing minimum wages, the prices of the products concerned are also taken into consideration. Thus the commission has tied the wage of sugar plantation workers to the price of sugar, providing that in no case may the wage go under a certain specified minimum, but it may rise above that minimum as the price of sugar advances.⁷⁹ Similarly, coffee-bean pickers' wages have been regulated by the national minimum wage commission in accordance with the value of coffee.⁸⁰

The provisions of the decree are administered by the Ministry of Labor. Every worker who is paid less than the minimum wage is entitled to recover the amount by which he has been underpaid. Violators of the provision are liable to a fine.⁸¹

P. DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

The Hours of Work Act of June 21, 1935, establishing an 8-hour day in the Dominican Republic excluded "agricultural and rural workers" from its provisions. An act of April 19, 1940, instituted minimum wage legislation in the Republic, which covered workers in agriculture as well as industry. The act provides for the appointment by the Executive of a national committee for the regulation of wages, composed of two Government officials, representing the Secretariat of Agriculture, Industry, and Labor, and the Secretariat of Treasury and Commerce, respectively, one agriculturalist, one industrialist, and one merchant, as permanent members; and in addition two members of the chamber of commerce from the region interested in the wage scale under consideration, as temporary members but having voice and vote. The Executive is to choose from the permanent members a person to preside.

The national committee for the regulation of wages is to recommend to the Executive, when it deems such action necessary, minimum wage rates for every kind of agricultural and industrial work performed in the Republic, and the form in which the wages are to be paid, taking into consideration (1) the kind of work, and the conditions, time and place in which it is done; (2) the current price of the article produced; and (3) the average cost of living to the worker. The Executive is authorized to establish these minimum wage rates by decree. Fines are prescribed for violation of the legislation affecting the minimum wage, and of the wage rates established. Collection of fines is entrusted to the mayors of the communes within which the industries concerned are established or the work is done.⁸²

Q. CENTRAL AMERICA

1. Costa Rica.

An act of December 19, 1934, established machinery for the fixing of minimum wages in all industries including agriculture. This act also provided that "the working day shall be of 6 or 8 hours according to local custom, except in the case of agricultural and industrial operations which owing to their nature need a greater number of hours of work."

The act authorizes the establishment of a wage commission in each Canton of the Republic upon the petition of 10 or more workers or employers resident in the Canton concerned. Each commission is to consist of 2 to 4 employers and as many workers, all appointed by the Ministry of Labor. The number of members is to vary with the number of agricultural and manufacturing occupations in the area involved and be fixed by the Ministry, in such a manner that the principal

⁷⁹ Pan American Union Bulletin, Minimum Wage Legislation in Latin America, by Eugene D. Owen, June 1938, pp. 406-408.

⁸⁰ Cuban Minimum Wage Commission, Resolution No. 33, December 3, 1937.

⁸¹ International Labor Office, Legislative Series, 1934, Cuba 6.

⁸² U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Monthly Labor Review, vol. 51, No. 1, July 1940, pp. 162-163.

occupations are represented on the commission. In the central Cantons the provisional governor, and in the smaller Cantons the administrative officer, is to be a member of the local commission and preside over it. For the central Canton of San Jose, one wage commission is to deal with all matters relating to manufacturing and another with matters relating to agriculture. The governor is to be member of both of these commissions. The term of office of each commissioner is 2 years.

The function of the wage commissions is to recommend to the Ministry of Labor minimum wage rates for various occupations within their jurisdiction. Upon such recommendation the Ministry of Labor issues a decree fixing the wages, attempting in this to bring into a unified whole the wages in the various industries and regions. Such a decree becomes effective 10 days after publication in the official journal, but may be suspended or altered by the Ministry of Labor, and automatically ceases to be in force on July following its promulgation. Wages may be fixed for each class of worker according to sex, age, physical capacity, and kind of work. Minimum wages for piece work are to be such that the average worker may earn an amount proportionate to the time wages established.

The local commissions are also authorized to insure that the administrative decrees fixing wages in its area are duly observed, and to report any contraventions which are committed. Payment of less than the minimum wage is punishable by a prison sentence and a fine.⁸³

A decree of August 21, 1935, fixed minimum wages of agricultural laborers, to be effective until the wage commissions prepared their recommendations, at 0.25 colon (about 4.5 cents) per hour on coffee, sugarcane, and tobacco plantations, and at 0.50 colon (about 9 cents) per hour on banana and cacao plantations.⁸⁴

In his annual report for 1938, the Director of the Technical Office of Labor stated that because a commission cannot be established unless a petition is received from interested parties asking for it, the minimum wage machinery was not being established. By September 1938 only one such commission was in existence, in the central district of San Jose.⁸⁵

2. Guatemala.

By a resolution of July 19, 1923, the minimum wage of day laborers engaged in agricultural labor in Guatemala was fixed at 8 pesos (about 13½ cents) per day. On January 28, 1936, a resolution fixed 8 centavos of a quetzal (about 8 cents) as the minimum daily wage for laborers engaged in agricultural work in the department of Alta Verapaz.⁸⁶

R. SOUTH AMERICA

1. Argentina.

Agricultural wages and/or hours are regulated in two Provinces of Argentina by provincial legislation.

(a) *San Juan*.—In the Province of San Juan, an act of 1923 divides the Province into two districts and specifies that in the first district workers employed in agricultural work and cattle breeding in general shall be paid 3 pesos (about \$1.50) for the legal working day; in the second district workers employed in agriculture shall be paid 3 pesos (about \$1.50) for the legal working day, and those employed in cattle breeding 2 pesos a day (about \$1), but in no case less than 55 pesos a month (about \$27.50).⁸⁷

Another act, passed in the same year, provides an 8-hour day and 48-hour week for all workers, including workers employed in agricultural work. However, for workers engaged in breeding, herding, care and transport of cattle, and other outside work which does not require great and continuous physical effort "the legal working day is deemed to be the time whether continuous or intermittent, required by the nature of the work." Hours of work performed in excess of the legal working day are to be paid for at 50 percent above the normal wage.⁸⁸

(b) *Tucumen*.—In the Province of Tucumen, an act of 1923 stipulates that the legal working day shall not exceed 8 hours in the day or 48 hours in the week throughout the Province in all industries including agriculture. In case of

⁸³ International Labor Office, Legislative Series, 1934, C. R. 1.

⁸⁴ Pan American Union Bulletin, Minimum Wage Legislation in Latin America, by Eugene D. Owens, June 1938, p. 330.

⁸⁵ Pan American Union Bulletin, Pan American News, May 1940, p. 415.

⁸⁶ Pan American Union Bulletin, Minimum Wage Legislation in Latin America, by Eugene D. Owens, July 1938; p. 409.

⁸⁷ International Labor Office, Legislative Series, 1923, Argentina 4.

⁸⁸ International Labor Office, Legislative Series, 1923, Argentina 1.

agreement between workers and employers the Department of Labor may authorize a 10-hour working day on 90 days in the year. Overtime work is to be paid for at the rate of 50 percent in excess of the normal wage.⁸⁹

The Minimum Wage Act of 1923 excluded agricultural workers from its coverage.⁹⁰

2. Brazil.

Agricultural workers in Brazil are covered by minimum wage legislation but not by maximum hour legislation. A legislative decree of June 13, 1940, establishes an 8-hour day in private employment but specifically excludes "persons employed in agriculture, for whom a special system shall be established."⁹¹ As far as can be ascertained, no such system has yet been established.⁹²

An act of January 14, 1936, makes provision for the establishment of minimum wage boards of 5 to 11 members in each of the 22 geographical divisions of Brazil. The members of these boards are to be elected by recognized organizations of employers and workers and appointed by the Ministry of Labor, Industry, and Commerce. The chairman is to be appointed by the President of the Republic. The chairman and members are to hold office for 2 years, and are eligible for reappointment. Decisions of the Board are arrived at by majority vote and in case of a tie, the chairman may cast a deciding vote.

The boards are to fix minimum wages on the basis of results of inquiries conducted by the Ministry of Labor, Industry and Commerce. In fixing the minimum wage the boards are to be guided by section I of the act, which states that "Every laborer has the right to receive in payment for his services a minimum wage sufficient to satisfy, in a given region of the country and in a given period, his normal needs for food, shelter, clothing, hygiene, and transportation." The tentative wage set by the Commission is to be made public, in order that dissenting views may be taken into account before the final decree is issued. A definite time limit is set for each step in the establishment of the minimum wage. The wage finally fixed is to be established by decree of the President of the Republic, which is to go into effect 60 days after publication in the official newspaper. A minimum wage so fixed is to remain in force for 3 years unless circumstances arise which, in the opinion of three-fourths of the members of the commission, materially affect living conditions, in which case the wage may be revised.

Minors working as apprentices may receive half the wage set for adults, and persons employed in a specified list of unhealthful occupations may receive one and a half times the minimum wages. Contracts which call for a wage lower than the decreed minimum are null and void.

The Administration of the act is entrusted to the recognized workers unions and employers associations. A worker who is paid less than the minimum wage is entitled to make a claim for the difference before a local conciliation and arbitration board. Penalties, in the form of fines, are provided for violations of the Minimum Wage Act.⁹³

3. Ecuador.

(a) *Decree of December 30, 1936.*—A decree of December 30, 1936, amplified by another decree of February 2, 1937, laid down definite minimum wages for agricultural workers in Ecuador. Adult agricultural workers were to earn not less than 0.60 sucre (about 12 cents) per day in the sierra, and 1.20 sucres (about 24 cents) on the coast. Adult males less than 18 years of age and females of any age were to receive not less than two-thirds of the wage for an adult male. The decree was to be administered by the Minister of Social Welfare and the Legislature. Fines were prescribed for violation of this legislation.⁹⁴ The Ecuadorean Labor Code of August 5, 1938, repealed all previous legislation including this decree.

(b) *Labor Code of Ecuador, 1938.*—The Labor Code of Ecuador, August 5, 1938, fixed hours of work and provided for the establishment of minimum wages in all industries, including agriculture.

(c) *Hours of work provisions.*—The Labor Code provides a maximum working time of 8 hours per day for 5½ days per week. For the purpose of payment of wages Saturday afternoon shall be considered as worked. The ordinary working day shall be divided into two spells with a break of 2 hours after the first 4 hours.

⁸⁹ International Labor Office, Legislative Series, 1923, Argentina 1.

⁹⁰ International Labor Office, Legislative Series, 1923, Argentina 2.

⁹¹ International Labor Office, Legislative Series, 1940, Brazil 5.

⁹² International Labor Office, Washington, D. C. (Mr. Woodchek).

⁹³ International Labor Office, Legislative Series, 1936, Braz. 1.

⁹⁴ Pan American Union Bulletin, Minimum Wage Legislation in Latin America by Eugene D. Owen, July 1938, pp. 408-409.

By an agreement in writing between the parties, the daily hours of work may exceed 8 hours, provided that the authorization of the labor inspector shall be obtained and overtime shall not exceed 4 hours a day or 12 hours a week. In the case of need, to prevent serious loss to the undertaking owing to an imminent accident or in general any unforeseen event or emergency requiring immediate attention, the daily hours of work may be increased without previous authorization from the labor inspector, but the employer shall be bound to notify the labor inspector within 24 hours after the danger or accident. At harvest time, if considerable loss or damage is threatened, the workers shall be bound to work overtime, and even on rest days.

Overtime worked during the day or before midnight shall be paid for at time and one half the regular rate. Overtime worked between midnight and 6 a. m. shall be paid for at twice the regular rate. Work performed on Saturday afternoon and on Sunday shall be paid for at twice the regular rate.⁹⁵

(d) *Minimum wage provisions.*—The Labor Code provides that minimum wage boards shall be set up in the chief towns of the province and in the cantons and places where the Ministry of Social Welfare and Labor may consider this necessary, for the purpose of fixing minimum wages for the areas in question. These boards are to be composed of a delegate of the general labor directorate, a medical practitioner appointed by the employees insurance fund, a delegate appointed by the municipality concerned, one representative of the employers and one representative of the workers. If the decisions of the board are not adopted unanimously, dissenting members may appeal within 3 days to the general labor directorate, which shall issue its decision after hearing the opinion of the employees insurance fund. If for any reason whatever, the boards fail to perform their duties, the minimum wages shall be fixed by the Ministry of Social Welfare and Labor. The minimum wages shall be revised by the boards every two years unless special circumstances require that a revision should take place before the lapse of this period.

In fixing the minimum wages the board shall take the following factors into account:

1. The amount necessary to satisfy the normal needs of subsistence of the employee considered as the head of a family, with due regard to the economic and social conditions of the area for which the minimum wage is to be fixed.
2. The various general branches of the industrial, agricultural, commercial and manufacturing activity in relation to the expenditure of physical and mental energy required for the kind of work in question.
3. The actual output of work.
4. The suggestions and explanations of the parties concerned, both employers and employees.⁹⁶

The provisions of the Labor Code are administered by the general labor directorate and subdirectorates set up in the various towns. Violations of the code are punishable by fines. Labor commissaries appointed by the general labor directorate bear all claims arising under the code. Appeals may be taken to the district courts and the supreme court.⁹⁷

4. Peru.

(a) *Provisions for minimum wages.*—Agricultural wages paid to native workers in Peru are regulated by the Indigenous Workers Section of the Sierra Act of 1916 and the Presidential decree of 1923. The purpose of the act of 1916 is to prevent employers from exploiting indigenous workers, for example, by paying them exclusively in kind (food, concessions of pasture and arable land, irrigation etc.) or arbitrarily overassessing the value of remuneration paid in kind in such a way as to deprive them of their freedom (by involving them in debt). Besides providing for the suppression of the abuses of payment in kind, the act of 1916 stipulates that whatever facilities may be granted to the indigenous workers as remuneration, they must be paid cash wages, at a minimum rate of 20 centavos daily (about 20 cents).

The decree of 1923 instructs the municipal councils of the Andes Provinces to fix the minimum wages of indigenous workers by special order at the beginning of each year. In fixing minimum wage rates, the municipal councils must take

⁹⁵ International Labor Office, *Legislative Series*, 1938—E c. 1, Sections 63-82.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, secs. 43-62.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, secs. 421-431 and 446-460.

into account (a) information received from the committees for the protection of indigenuous workers and the district councils, and (b) information which they are able to collect regarding customary wage rates in the province concerned. In no case may the rate be less than the minimum of 20 centavos daily prescribed in the act of 1916.

The minimum wages fixed by the act or the municipal councils are binding upon employers, who must keep a special detailed account for each of their workers showing the number of days worked, assistance given, advances made, and wages paid. The local representative of the native affairs section of the Ministry of Public Health, Labor and Social Welfare, when presented with a claim and called upon to assess the total amounts of a worker's debt, must take the regulation minimum rates into account. In November 1938 the municipal councils of the Provinces of the Sierra had not yet assumed the duties assigned to them by the Presidential decree of 1923. Actual minimum wages were generally above the rates fixed by the act of 1916.⁹⁸

The wages of some agricultural workers are regulated by awards made by arbitration courts. A decree of 1936 provides for the setting up of conciliation boards and stipulates that disputes in which these bodies are unable to effect a conciliation must be settled by an arbitration court. Since wage questions frequently constitute the points upon which agreement is most difficult to attain, the arbitration court is frequently, in practice, a wage-fixing authority.

Collective claims made by associations or groups of workers must be submitted to the Labor Section of the Ministry of Public Health, Labor and Social Welfare. The Labor Section of the Ministry transmits the claim to a conciliation board composed of two representatives of the workers and two representatives of the employers and presided over by the head of the Labor Section. If the solution adopted fails to satisfy both parties, the dispute must be settled directly by decision of an arbitration court. The arbitration courts are composed of one delegate appointed by each party and a judge nominated by the president of the Supreme Court. In the case of individual claims regarding wages or other causes of dispute, the head of the Labor Section is alone responsible for the conciliation proceedings. If such proceedings fail to bring about a settlement the same official must make an award. Appeal may be made against such awards, within a prescribed time limit, to the labor directorate. Thus, in individual disputes of this kind the labor authorities, too, engage in the fixing of wages.

An example of an award covering agricultural workers is that of July 27, 1934, in respect of a collective claim put forward by the workers' organizations of the Valle de San Vincenza de Canete, one of the principal centers of cotton production in Peru. This award laid down minimum wages for all the agricultural workers of the region (men, women, and minors), numbering about 18,000. The practical effect of the collective agreements and arbitration awards based upon this legislation would seem to extend beyond the field to which they directly apply, for the terms of individual contracts are influenced, in a certain measure, by standards which they set.⁹⁹

(b) *Provisions for house of work.*—A decree issued in 1919 established an 8-hour day in industry and agriculture, in the absence of contracts to the contrary.¹ The Civil Code of 1936 stipulated that every contract of employment, whether individual or collective, shall be subject to certain principles among which was a maximum working day of 8 hours.² There is no information regarding the extent to which the 8-hour day is actually applied in agriculture, nor the effect of its application.

5. Uruguay.

Although, until 1940, hours of work legislation in Uruguay specifically excluded agricultural workers, the countries' minimum wage legislation was first applied to agricultural workers, and extended only gradually to other workers. Generally, hour legislation in Uruguay was designed chiefly to improve the lot of the

⁹⁸ International Labor Office, Studies and Reports, Series D, No. 22 (The Minimum Wage), 1939, pp. 179-180.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 185-188.

¹ Vigil, Manuel A., *Legislación Del Trabajo*, 1937, p. 60.

² International Labor Office, *Legislative Series*, 1936, Peru 3.

urban laborers, despite the fact that Uruguay is predominately a pastoral and rural country. This was due to the strong political influence of organized workmen in cities. The dominant political party had recruited most of its strength from the inhabitants of the large cities, and as a consequence was somewhat less concerned with the plight of the laborers on the large agricultural estates. However, at the time when minimum wage legislation was being considered, the President of Uruguay was Jose Batlle y Ordoñez, a progressive who introduced many so-called "radical" reforms. When his party was attempting to obtain minimum wage legislation for urban workers, President Batlle pointed out that so far agitation for social legislation had been an urban affair, and proposed in the conference of his party's leaders that the party advocate a minimum wage for rural workers. Thus this legislation became a political issue, advocated by the urban party in power. The conservative landowners fought its passage for over 2 years, but the party in power succeeded in getting it passed on February 15, 1923.³

(a) *Minimum wage provisions.*—The Minimum Wage Act of 1923, unlike the minimum wage legislation for agricultural workers in a great majority of European countries, but similar to that of New Zealand and several other Latin-American countries, instead of establishing wage-fixing boards, itself fixes the minimum wage. The law provides that workers between 18 and 55 years of age employed on estates assessed for purposes of the real estate tax at \$20,000 to \$60,000 shall receive a minimum wage of \$18 per month or \$0.72 a day. On very large estates assessed at more than \$60,000, the minimum wage is raised to \$20 per month and \$0.80 a day. The minimum wage for workers between 16 and 18 or over 55 years of age is \$15 per month. In addition to the minimum wage, employers are required to furnish healthy living quarters and sufficient food, or pay an additional \$12 per month to cover such costs. Exemptions are provided for in the case of workers with physical defects, or who for similar reasons, cannot be expected to earn the minimum wage. The exemptions are given by regional councils with the cooperation of the health officers. Employers whose property is assessed at less than \$20,000, are exempt from all the minimum wage requirements.

On April 8, 1924, regulations were issued for the practical application of the act. These regulations provided that the Bureau of Labor issue special work books to be kept by employers for each worker, and to be examined periodically by government inspectors. Workers who are paid wages below the legal minimum are entitled to appeal to the lieutenant mayor or justice of the peace and, concurrently, the inspector of labor may intervene.⁴

With regard to the effects of this legislation, Percy A. Martin, of Stanford University, and Earl M. Smith, director of the Pan American Institute in Montevideo, Uruguay, reported in 1927:

"One of the writers had occasion to spend some time on a number of large Uruguayan estancias and, to the best of his knowledge, the law of minimum wage has proven a distinct success. Rural laborers are cognizant of its terms, the reports are universally kept, inspectors regularly make their rounds, and recalcitrant establishments are forced to live up to the provisions of the law. During 1936, 137 fines were collected for breaking this law. Instances have arisen where employees signed for the legal wage and without protest received less. It is impossible to determine how common is this deceit, but it cannot be very general, for the average wage of country laborers has gradually risen to \$18, the legal minimum for the middle-size establishments. Indirectly, therefore, all rural labor has benefited from the law."⁵

(b) *Recent developments.*—An act of December 20, 1940, lays down rules governing the conditions of work in rice fields. It provides that the hours of work in the rice fields shall be 8 hours a day, divided into two periods of 4 hours each, with an interval of not less than 1 hour between these periods. The minimum wage of workers in the rice fields shall be 1 peso and 50 centimes (\$1.50) a day.⁶

³ Hanson, Simon G., *Utopia in Uruguay* (1938), pp. 136-141.

⁴ Pan American Union Bulletin, *Minimum Wage Legislation in Latin America*, by Eugene D. Owen, July 1938, pp. 412-413; and United States Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletin, No. 467, *Minimum Wage Legislation in Various Countries*, by Rudolph Broda, 1928, p. 101.

⁵ U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, *Labor Legislation in Uruguay*, vol 25, No. 4, October, 1927, p. 14.

⁶ International Labor Office, *Legislative Series*, 1940, Ur. 1.

EXHIBIT 45.—BACKGROUNDS OF THE WAR FARM LABOR PROBLEM

REPORT PREPARED BY THE BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS AND THE FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

BACKGROUNDS OF THE WAR FARM LABOR PROBLEM

INTRODUCTION

The report on farm labor in the United States which follows is the work of several agencies of the Department of Agriculture, particularly the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and the Farm Security Administration. The main purpose of the cooperating agencies has been to assemble in a single study the most important facts about the highly varied conditions of farm employment. Much has been written on the subject already but most of this has covered isolated or special aspects of the many problems in the farm labor field. It was felt, therefore, that an over-all study would be of value.

The project was conceived before the declaration of a state of emergency and before the beginning of large-scale defense preparations in America. The bulk of the work was done before the outbreak of war on December 7, 1941. Hence the emphasis is on long-term problems, problems which were of importance throughout the preceding decade and are still of importance today.

The beginnings of the defense program brought about changes in the farm labor situation. These changes were crystallized into clean-cut form by the actual declaration of war. However, it would be a mistake to assume that the problems of farm labor are now entirely different because of the changes resulting from the present war effort. Not only is there a very real and tangible connection between what happened in the field of farm labor a few years ago and what is happening today, but also it is impossible to solve adequately the pressing problems of today without looking beneath the surface for main causes.

The farm-labor situation may be described broadly in terms of labor supply. Throughout the 1930's there was an oversupply of farm labor; today there is much concern over possible shortages. A few years ago it was the social responsibility of government to do something about the worst effects of an oversupply of farm labor. Today it is a wartime necessity to prevent shortages of labor from holding back the farm production which is an essential part of the war program.

The change from a surplus labor market in agriculture to one of comparative stringency has its counterpart in other industries and throughout most of our economy. There are, however, significant differences. The oversupply of labor in agriculture was probably greater than in other industries and the social effects were worse. Conversely, the most frequent complaints about labor shortages have come from the farming community. Moreover, while other industries have expressed apprehension over shortages chiefly of specialized and skilled workers, agriculture has been faced with a depleted and understocked labor market in all categories of skill.

There is a close relationship between the large oversupplies of agricultural labor in the recent past and the current fears of insufficient labor. Extreme competition among workers in a chaotic labor market has contributed to the depressing of the status of farm workers below the accepted American standards of decent living. Farm wages are well below those in industry. They increased somewhat during 1941, but did little more than keep pace with industrial wages, which also rose. If there has been any exodus of wage labor out of agriculture since the beginning of 1941 it must be taken as a sign that those who work for hire in agriculture do not have the conditions of life and work which make urban employment more attractive. The same differentials between agricultural and industrial employment existed during the depression of the 1930's but they had negligible effect as long as there was little chance for a farm worker to get a steady factory job.

The fact that farm wages are rising today (1942) is an indication that some sort of partial adjustment is being made. But no coordinated program has been developed to give farm laborers the kind of stakes in their jobs which would keep them attached to the agricultural industry and thus guarantee farm production. The need of such a program is clear from the fears which have been expressed over the farm labor supply situation.

No precise measurement of the supply of farm labor relative to the demand exists. However, trends are clearly visible. During the 1930's there were consistently more farm workers seeking farm employment than there were jobs

on farms. Labor shortages did occur in agriculture, to be sure, but they were temporary and local in nature and resulted almost entirely from bad distribution of an ample labor force.

With the 1941 crop season, as a result of the general increase in economic activity, the trend toward scarcity of farm labor set in markedly. Many alarming reports of impending shortages of farm labor were issued. At the end of the 1941 harvests, it was apparent that much of the clamor about shortages was exaggerated and unwarranted. But it was also clear that in some areas, for example, in regions close to concentrations of war industry in such States as New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey, there was genuine difficulty in obtaining sufficient labor. The reasons for this reversal of trend were evidently the increase of employment in war industries and to a lesser extent the absorption of manpower into the armed forces. Many former farm workers went into jobs vacated by persons who found jobs in war-production industries.

It is to be expected that these two drains on the farm labor force will continue through 1942 and as long as the war lasts. As a consequence it is to be expected that the number of local shortages of farm labor will increase, particularly near the centers of war industries. However, there was no indication at the end of 1941 of a general shortage of farm labor which would limit farm production to any marked extent. There are still several millions of unemployed workers, many of them temporarily unemployed as a result of the conversion from the production of consumer goods to the production of implements of war. At the point where the normal labor reserves of industry are exhausted—and this point may not be too distant—real stringency may be expected to occur in the farm labor market.

The reasons for the difficulties in getting sufficient farm labor are revealed by a study of the record of the past decade. The proper remedies are determined by the nature of the sore spots. The need of adjustments which will render the farm labor force a stable, productive group is obvious and pressing.

Agriculture is being called upon to break production records in a wide variety of crops as its share in the winning of the war. Much of this production will have to come from large commercial farms which are dependent on hired labor. To stabilize the needed hired labor force may require positive action based on knowledge of the farm labor situation over a period of years.

PART 1

I. PROBLEMS OF FARM LABOR

To catalog the disadvantages of the status of farm laborers is in effect to describe their living and working conditions. There are few respects in which farm labor is not at the bottom of the scale among the gainfully employed.

Farm wages are in most instances lower than the lowest wages paid for unskilled labor in industry. Earnings of farm workers are even lower than would be indicated by wage rates because of short periods of employment during the year.

Farm wage rates have risen during the past year (1941), but the rates of increase have hardly done more than keep pace with those in the higher industrial wage levels. On the whole, the economic status of farm workers has changed little for the better, if at all. Tradition in agriculture has rooted the rights of producers in land tenure. But farm workers have no tenure. On the other hand, neither laws nor the customs of hire give them the protection at work or other advantages enjoyed by most industrial laborers. Not even the legal right of farm laborers to bargain collectively for the terms and conditions of their employment has been affirmed for farm laborers as it has been for industrial workers.

Practically none of the protective social and labor legislation has benefited the farm worker with the exception of the Sugar Acts of 1934 and 1937. There is no legislative control over wages or hours of work in agriculture. There is little public regulation over the employment of women and children in this industry.

Hiring methods have been haphazard; that is to say, the methods which sufficed for the hiring of the traditional hired hand, based on slow turn-over and the recruitment of men from within relatively small communities where everyone knew everyone else, have been carried over into the hiring of seasonal labor on a large scale. The results have not been good. The failure of hiring methods to work properly is at the root of much of the labor supply difficulty. The failure is clearly visible now that farm labor supply is reduced, but it existed formerly, too, except that then the burden of maladjustment fell on the worker. In the 1930's bad distribution of labor supply in farming meant further aggravation of

unemployment. Today it can mean shortage of farm labor in some areas while in other areas surpluses of labor may still remain.

Low earnings, intermittent employment, and general lack of security affect all aspects of the lives of farm workers, and are of concern to the rural population as a whole.

From the viewpoint of the Nation, the disadvantages of the lowered status of farm workers can be measured in a number of ways.

The most pressing and immediate disadvantage has already been noted; that is, the increasing danger of farm labor shortage. But there are other disadvantages which go deeper and which are of at least equal importance in the war emergency. Added up, the various handicaps of farm labor create a kind of status which can be called second-class citizenship. Effects of second-class citizenship, like those of slavery, cannot be confined to a single group. Perpetuation of low levels of economic and social status and insecurity for one group creates forces which pull other groups down to the same levels.

Finally there is the difficulty of enlisting disadvantaged citizens in the war effort. Axis nations must force unwilling populations along with them, whereas in a democracy every individual has a stake in victory. The bargaining position of the individual farm workers has improved in the last 2 years, but little has been accomplished to put them as a class on an equal footing with other American workers. Such equality is vital for their full participation in the war effort.

Financial or other material assistance to farm wage workers will not be sufficient to raise their morale to the level necessary for maximum production. It is true that in many respects it is easy to measure contributions to security in money terms, but farm workers need more than food or clothing or the many things which money can buy, important as these may be. Starving armies have won great victories. The Chinese soldiers who have fought off the Japanese war machine since 1937 are, by and large, at least as badly off economically as the most underpaid farm wage workers in America. But they fought because they had something to fight for. Unquestionably the same is true of the disadvantaged groups in our population. Equality in status and opportunity is probably the single most important factor at the root of the morale problem.

II. FACTORS BEHIND FARM LABOR PROBLEMS

In order to receive immediate attention, farm labor problems must be investigated in their isolated aspects. However, from a long-range point of view, in order to arrive at a reasonably permanent solution, they must also be studied as parts of the economic and social structure of agriculture as a whole. While some analysts of farm labor problems may have identified too closely farm-worker interests with farmer-employer interests, it is nevertheless undeniable that considerable unity of interest does exist. Rising farm prices and income, for example, at least make possible increased farm-worker earnings. The interrelationship may extend even beyond the framework of the agricultural economy. Improvement of farm income usually accompanies general upward movement of business activity associated with expanding industrial employment. Such an expansion frequently attracts farm and rural workers and results in draining off surplus labor from agriculture with consequent beneficial results for those who remain because their bargaining position in the farm labor market is strengthened.

Detailed analysis of the forces which lie behind all questions in the field of farm labor has not been undertaken in the review which follows. Only some of the more important factors which underlie farm labor problems are discussed.

A. *Technology.*

The effect on farming methods, farm size, and farm ownership of recent technological advance has varied from area to area. The initial effect of the introduction of new machines and methods often has been a modification of farming patterns already customary in the locality, not the imposition of a new, uniform type of farming for the area. In Iowa, for example, family farms, often operated with the aid of a year-round hired man, were common. Here the initial result of mechanization in many cases has been a marked increase in the acreages per farm operated as "family size" farms. In other areas, increased corporate ownership and operation have attended mechanization of farming.

By cutting down the time required for a crop operation, mechanization decreases the labor requirement per unit of product and increases the area of operation per man per unit of time. For a given volume of product the first of these effects displaces farm workers from agriculture. By increasing the size of farm which a

family can operate the second effect may reduce the number of farms operated. Mechanization does increase the size of farms, often eliminating some family farmers as well as croppers and laborers in the process, but it does not necessarily displace the family farm as such. Thus, many former tenant operators and owners, seeking wage employment, have explained their loss of a landhold with the phrase, "tractored out," even though family farms have not been eliminated in the area from which they came.

This phase of the result of mechanization occurs in scattered areas. The introduction of tractors in Texas, for example, has led in many cotton districts, to consolidation of tenant farms into large holdings, worked by wage labor. Cases are reported in which from 3 to as many as 9 families were displaced by 1 tractor. The elimination of 20,000 farm units in Texas between January 1, 1937, and January 1, 1938 (not a net decline of farms in the State), has been attributed largely to consolidation of units accompanying a change to tractor cultivation. To this may be partly due the fact that 130,000 agricultural workers in the State were unemployed, as revealed by the 1937 Census of Unemployment.

Output per farm worker increased about 40 percent between 1909 and 1939. Despite slowly expanding markets during the early part of that period, total employment in agriculture did not increase; in fact it probably declined somewhat during the period.

In times when there is little work in nonagricultural occupations, mechanization, by displacing both individual laborers and independent farm families, leads to farm labor surpluses, poorer jobs, and lower farm wages, thereby giving the operators of larger than family farms a competitive advantage over operators of efficient family farms.

In crops where mechanized equipment is available at all stages of land preparation, cultivation, and harvest, labor requirements tend to smooth out. Kansas wheat farming where the harvesting is more than 90 percent by combine is an excellent example. On the other hand, incomplete mechanization of crop operations, such as the mechanized cultivating, but hand harvesting of onions, greatly accentuates the seasonal labor peaks of nonmechanized operations. In creating this larger seasonal demand, incomplete mechanization makes the farm labor situation more acute for both the farm operator and the farm laborer under conditions of either full employment or underemployment. In periods of underemployment the earnings of seasonal labor are reduced and, while the farm operator may have a cheaper and more abundant supply of seasonal workers, he still has problems of recruiting labor in the right amount and at the right time.

Although full employment will enable seasonal workers to get better pay and working conditions, the mobile character of their occupation prevents a satisfactory life. Moreover, by offering alternative jobs, full employment may so cut the farm labor supply as to render extremely precarious the operation of larger than family farms devoted to incompletely mechanized crops, especially those of a specialized character.

The combination of incomplete mechanization with recent developments in the refrigeration, transportation, and marketing of fruit and vegetable crops accentuates still more the demand for seasonal labor, and the disadvantages inherent in this type of labor for both the laborer and the farmer.

B. Lost markets.

The swift progress of mechanization during the last decade, with its consequent displacement of farm workers, has coincided with losses of domestic and foreign markets, which also result in displacement of labor.

A consequence of growing nationalism in Europe was a drive on the part of many nations to become self-sufficient. Bounties to agriculture within nationalistic countries and erection of tariff barriers against imports have resulted in loss of markets to American farmers. Tariffs on industrial imports, set up by this country, hampered exports of farm products by destroying trade reciprocity, and collaterally encouraged the opening or diversion of lands on other continents to crops formerly supplied by the United States. The effect of lost markets on farm workers is now being cushioned to some extent by war employment and has been alleviated by the various Government programs of relief and rehabilitation. But the loss of employment opportunities accompanying lost markets was serious and both unemployment and underemployment of farm people still are grave problems in many farm areas.

Moreover, programs designed to cushion the effects of market loss may have stimulated displacement from the land. Crop adjustment programs, for example, may have furnished part of the cash income necessary to purchase tractors and

other machines—just as high farm prices operated to speed mechanization during the first World War. Also the adjustment program has conformed to the common law and usage in making payments on a basis of landholds, a practice which in some cases may have placed a heavy strain on local committees to prevent landlords from divorcing tenants from their land and operating with wage labor, with or without mechanization. It should be recognized, on the other hand, that without the adjustment program, bankruptcy and displacement among farmers would have been much more widespread, and distress among refugee farm populations probably would have reached catastrophic proportions.

C. Trends in farm population.

The loss of farm employment opportunities due to technological and other changes in the 1930's was accompanied by an increase in that part of the farm population which falls in the productive age groups.

The excess of births over deaths in rural areas has always been high. And after the disappearance of new opportunities on the geographic frontier, population pressure on the land increased. The draining of youths from farm areas to serve the swiftly expanding commercial and industrial world eased the pressure of farm peoples on dwindling farm opportunity from the turn of the century until the depression beginning in 1929. But during the 1930's, with millions unemployed in the cities, opportunities for urban employments were inadequate to relieve the pressure of population in farm areas.

Nearly 400,000 farm males are reaching maturity and only about 110,000 farmers are dying each year. Possibly 110,000 more during the decade of the thirties retired or left for other occupations. This constitutes a net annual addition to the "surplus" of males of productive age on farms. Estimates of the number of men who could be spared from farm work without loss of production for the market, together with the totally unemployed men on farms, totaled 3,000,000 or more at the beginning of 1940.

Proper utilization of the rural population which was formerly considered "surplus," and which is now badly needed, is one of the key problems in the war efforts.

D. The agricultural ladder.

The early American ideal was that every farm youth should rise, by successive steps of economic advancement, up the agricultural ladder, from an unpaid laborer on the home farm to the status of a paid laborer, thence to that of cropper or tenant, and eventually to that of owner. At first this process was not difficult because of the presence of free land in the public domain. But as the country developed economically and free land disappeared, the movement upward on the "ladder" appeared to be increasingly difficult so that today we have a large proportion of the farm population working as tenants and laborers. This, of course, raises the question whether farm laborers should reconcile themselves to remaining without land tenure in agriculture—members of a permanent laboring class—or whether the obstacles to movement up the ladder should be removed.

It was long customary to regard the farm laborer not as an ordinary hired worker but as a farmer's apprentice. Often he was a neighbor's son or a thrifty hard-working immigrant. Farmers complained that as soon as he became really useful he left for a farm of his own. But in many areas by the 1930's the hired man who ate at the farmer's table was rapidly being replaced by resident or migrant seasonal workers.

A study of tenancy statistics, however, offers warning against overemphasis upon movement up the agricultural ladder as having been characteristic of American agriculture in the past. At no time have all American farmers, or even a preponderant number of them, climbed the traditional ladder. In fact, of those who have attained farm ownership, only a small percentage have done so by taking successive steps one after the other up the ladder. Even in 1919, W. J. Spillman¹ found that only 20 percent of the 2,112 midwestern farmers included in a study made by him took the four steps in the order: Unpaid family labor, hired man, tenant, and owner—while 34 percent of the owners had never been on the hired man or tenant rungs but had passed immediately into ownership at the time of leaving the home farm.

The Report of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy² stated that "Two significant generalizations may be drawn from a study regarding the age

¹ The Agricultural Ladder, American Economic Review, vol. IX, supplements.

² 75th Cong., 1st sess, H. Doc. 149, Farm Tenancy, Report of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy 1937, p. 54.

of tenants and owners. First, decade by decade, it is becoming increasingly difficult for farmers to climb the so-called agricultural ladder onto the ownership rung. Second, there is developing a permanent tenant class from which relatively few emerge into ownership." In other words, there appears to have been a slowing of the movement up the agricultural ladder.

The same report also pointed out that "in recent years movement (on the agricultural ladder) from rung to rung has been predominantly in the direction of descent rather than ascent. (There is) an increasing tendency for the rungs of the ladder to become bars—forcing imprisonment in a fixed social status from which it is increasingly difficult to escape."³ From 1926 to 1937 approximately one-third of all Americans who owned farms slipped down or off the "agricultural ladder." In 1 year, 1933, over 5 percent of farm owners lost status. In certain areas, for example, the Mountain and West North Central divisions, almost one-half of the owners of farm lands dropped down the ladder. Under these circumstances it appears that the agricultural laborers do not represent a group of tenants in the making but rather that tenants are to be regarded as potential wage workers.

E. *Industrial employment and farm income.*

Aside from long-run factors already referred to, such as increase in farm population, decrease in demand for labor because of mechanization, and influences affecting adversely the opportunity to rise on the agricultural ladder, the factors which seem to affect most directly the welfare of the agricultural laborer are, first, changes in the volume of industrial employment, and second, fluctuations in farm income.

The tendency for the farm labor supply to move inversely in relation to changes in factory employment is particularly noticeable in such States as New York and Illinois. In Ohio, little relationship between movements in the supply of farm labor and factory employment was discernible prior to 1928; since that date, however, the correspondence in movements has been very close. In Iowa, which is not so highly industrialized as the States already mentioned, there appears to be little relationship between these two factors. In Georgia, as in the South generally, and in California and Washington, a similarity of trends in the supply of farm labor and in factory unemployment during the period from 1932 to date is evident. Thus, there is apparently good ground for believing that changes in the supply of farm labor are most immediately and directly influenced by fluctuations in nonagricultural employment.

It is clear that many factors, such as the volume of farm production, crop acreages, and mechanization contribute to changes in the demand for farm labor. Another influence governing the demand for farm labor is the farmer's ability to pay wages. Farm wage rates are, therefore, a function of many variable factors, including the ability of farm operators to hire, the competition between industry and agriculture for labor, the available supply of farm laborers, and the bargaining position of agricultural workers.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

A large number of proposals have been advanced to improve the status and living and working conditions of farm labor. These proposals have been set forth at different times by various people to meet different aspects of the problem. In some part, their feasibility is a matter for legislative decision. But feasible reforms in behalf of farm labor which do not require legislative enactment are numerous. A few of the most important are set forth below. It will be seen that some are of immediate applicability while others must be considered in terms of long-range planning. They are set forth to indicate possible directions of endeavor in the field of farm labor reform.

A. *Regulation of wages.*

1. It has been recommended that the system of wage regulation now in effect in the growing of sugar beets or cane under the Sugar Act of 1937 be applied to all crops for which any kind of benefit, payment, or loan of any description is extended by the Federal Government.

2. Voluntary wage boards: It has also been proposed that recommendations as to farm wage rates be made by voluntary wage boards. Such recommendations would not be binding except insofar as they received the support of public opinion. The wage boards themselves might be public bodies similar to those

³ 75th Cong., 1st sess., H. Doc. 149, Farm Tenancy, Report of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy, 1937, p. 5.

set up in recent years by the Governor of California for cotton picking and chopping, or, following the pattern of English wage boards, they might consist of representatives of labor and of farmer-employers, as well as of the Government, or public at large.

3. State Minimum Wage Laws. (See p. 163.)

4. Wage Payment and Wage Collection Laws. (See p. 170.)

B. *Stabilization of farm employment.*

Various proposals have been offered to decasualize the employment of farm wage workers:

1. More efficient recruiting and placement of farm workers within an area of production through the strengthening and extension of the Farm Placement Service of the United States Employment Service.

2. State and Federal regulation of recruiting and transportation of farm workers by private individuals, contractors, and employment agencies.

3. Extension of the Farm Security Administration camp program to provide a physical base for improvement of the farm labor market.

4. Encouragement of the cooperative use of labor pools by local farm operators both on a seasonal and year-round basis.

C. *Legal protection of economic, civil, and political rights.*

1. Extension of State and Federal social-security legislation to farm workers.

2. Inclusion of farm labor under the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1937 and under similar State laws.

3. Coverage of farm workers by the National Labor Relations Act and by similar State laws.

4. Elimination of poll taxes and other voting restrictions.

5. Repeal or invalidation of State laws and regulations which promote or encourage the practice of forced labor in agriculture.

6. Extension of safety regulations and State workmen's compensation laws to farm laborers.

7. Prohibition or regulation under State child labor laws of employment of children on farms operated by persons other than the parents or guardians of the children employed.

D. *Public assistance programs.*

1. Development of large-scale public works programs for rural areas to balance public works programs in urban areas.

2. Expansion of the food and cotton stamp plan and surplus commodity distribution.

3. Uniform drafting of relief standards based on minimum standards of subsistence independent of prevailing wage rates, if necessary.

4. Regulation of public assistance in such manner as to interfere as little as possible with the movement of farm workers between the relief rolls and the labor market.

5. Establishment of uniform settlement laws requiring a reasonably short length of residence to establish settlement.

6. Extension of uniform Federal direct relief where adequate relief is not available in local areas.

E. *Special programs for agricultural workers.*

1. Expansion of housing programs for farm workers particularly in the form of camps and labor homes.

2. State regulation of private housing, especially housing maintained by employers for farm workers.

3. Securing of tenure on the land for selected agricultural workers through programs similar to the tenant-purchase program under the Bankhead-Jones Act and through cooperative farming.

4. Expansion of medical and health facilities for farm workers through agricultural workers' health and medical associations, a number of which have already been set up in several States.

F. *Expansion of industrial opportunities in post-war planning.*

1. Agricultural representation on industrial-planning boards.

2. Recognition in national planning of the long-time continuing problems created by constant movement between rural and urban areas as a result of differences in population growth and economic opportunities.

3. Development of long-time projects on a public works basis directed toward better conservation practices, improvement of rural housing, and the like.

4. Assumption by agriculture of responsibility for its technological casualties. In the present war situation the following proposals seem worthy of immediate consideration:

1. Regulation of wages in agriculture.
2. Rationalization of employment and strengthening and expansion of the Farm Placement Service of the United States Employment Service.
3. Extension of the migratory labor-camp program of the Farm Security Administration to assist in meeting farm labor-supply problems.
4. Extension of social-security legislation to farm labor.

PART 2

I. A DESCRIPTION OF FARM LABOR

A. *The number and distribution of farm laborers.*

Labor power expended on farms is drawn from several sources which include the farm operator, members of his family, members of neighbor families and hired outsiders. On a majority of farms in the United States the labor of the farm family, including that of the operator, suffices.⁴

During 1939, 63 percent of the farms of the United States hired no labor for cash wages according to early reports from the 1940 Census of Agriculture. The 1930 census showed that 58 percent of the farms had hired no labor in 1929.

On April 1, 1940, there were 5,204,161 farms (85.4 percent) out of a total of 6,096,799 which had hired no labor for 2 days or more in the previous week. In January 1935, 85.8 percent of the farms were in this class. These months, of course, are not representative of the year as a whole. However, the figures indicate the extent to which farmers are dependent upon unpaid family labor for many farming operations.

During the week of March 24 to 30, 1940, of the entire working force on the farms of the United States, 35 percent were owner-operators or managers and 22 percent were tenant-operators including croppers. Croppers, considered by themselves, made up 5 percent of the farm labor at that time. Unpaid farm family workers made up 27 percent of the total workers on farms as compared with 16 percent for hired laborers.

1. *Trends in employment.*—Changes in the volume of total farm employment are difficult to define.⁵ From the census data (table 1), it appears that the total number of persons engaged in agriculture on April 1, 1930, was somewhat greater than on June 1, 1900, and considerably less than the number thus engaged on April 15, 1910.

⁴ The following definitions of terms used should be noted: "Total farm employment": Farm operators plus unpaid farm family members who work on the farm plus hired farm laborers. "Farm laborers" Unpaid farm-family members who work on the farm (other than the farm operator) plus hired farm laborers. "Unpaid family laborers":—members of the farm family, other than the farm operator, who work on the farm, part-time or full time, without wages.

⁵ The difficulties lie in interpreting the Census data. The first of these relates to the dates when the censuses were taken, in 1900 on June 1, in 1910 on April 15, in 1920 on January 1, in 1930 on April 1, and in 1935 in January. It is obvious that a count of farm laborers in January, when agricultural hiring is at the lowest point of the year, cannot be compared directly with the count secured in April, when employment has greatly increased. Moreover, neither the January nor the April figure tells much about the number of laborers at the peak of the season in June, July, or August. A second difficulty arises from the fact that the methods of census enumeration differ, even when, as in 1910 and 1930, the census month was the same. Finally, there is the difficulty of securing proper answers to questions relating to farm labor.

TABLE 1.—Farm laborers and expenditures for farm wages in the United States, 1900-1940¹

Item	Census year and date				
	1900, June 1	1910, Apr. 15	1920, Jan. 1	1930, Apr. 1	1940, Mar. 23-30 ²
Number of farms.....	5,737,372	6,361,502	6,448,343	6,288,648	6,096,799
Gainful workers in agriculture.....	10,248,935	12,388,430	10,665,812	10,482,323	³ 9,162,547
Percentage as farm laborers.....	43.6	50.1	39.2	41.7	40.6
Farm laborers, total ²	4,469,446	6,205,434	4,186,130	4,372,258	³ 3,721,977
Average per farm ⁴	0.78	0.97	0.65	0.70	0.61
Wage workers, total ²	2,103,297	2,894,900	2,336,009	2,727,035	³ 2,358,454
Average per farm ⁴	0.37	0.45	0.36	0.43	0.39
Unpaid family workers, total ²	2,366,149	3,310,534	1,850,121	1,645,223	³ 1,363,523
Average per farm ⁴	0.41	0.52	0.29	0.26	0.22
Percentage of farms hiring labor ⁶		45.9	44.8	41.8	⁷ 37.1
Cash expenditure for farm labor ⁶	⁸ \$357,391,930	\$521,729,941	\$1,098,712,517	\$955,420,313	\$781,791,558
Average per farm ⁴	⁸ \$62	\$82	\$170	\$152	\$128
Average per farm hiring ⁴		\$179	\$380	\$363	\$346

¹ Omitted data not available.

² Occupational data from 1900-1930 are of principal occupations reported without regard to actual employment at the date of the Census. Similar data for 1940, were obtainable only by estimates from data taken on different bases; the Bureau of the Census estimate for such a total of gainful workers in agriculture was 9,162,547, as given.

³ Estimate released by the Bureau of the Census, Mar. 28, 1942. See preceding footnote.

⁴ All farms.

⁵ Data for numbers of persons were compiled and estimated from various census reports and confidential preliminary information.

⁶ Within the year preceding that of the Census.

⁷ In the week of Mar. 23-30, 1940, 14.6 percent of farms hired labor the equivalent of 2 or more days.

⁸ Including value of board furnished. Separate data for cash wages are not available.

After careful interpretation of these figures the authors of Trends in Employment in Agriculture, arrived at the conclusion that between 1909 and 1936 average total agricultural employment declined 10 percent, or from 12,209,000 to 10,997,000. The bulk of the decline took place in the 3 years prior to 1920 and was brought about by the wartime demand for labor in other industries. From 1919 to 1926 total agricultural employment increased about 4 percent. Between 1926 and 1934 it declined about 6 percent or 700,000.⁶

These changes for the country as a whole are reflected in diverse ways in the several crop-production areas. Total agricultural employment declined more rapidly from 1909 to 1936 in the eastern dairy, eastern cotton and corn areas, than in the United States as a whole. In the range and northwestern areas, on the other hand, throughout the period, total agricultural employment increased, due to the rapid growth of crop acreage. In other areas, such as the delta and western dairy areas, between 1909 and 1936 there was little change.⁷

Farm laborers (family members and hired workers, as distinguished from farm operators), numbered 4,372,258 according to the Census on April 1, 1930. This was slightly below the 1900 figure, almost 2 million less than that of April 15, 1910, but somewhat above the January 1920 figure.

It is generally agreed, however, that the figure for 1910 is misleading. On the basis of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics⁸ figures, which are adjusted averages for the year, the number of farm laborers dropped from 5,998,000 in 1910, when they formed 49 percent of the total farm labor force, to 5,131,000 in 1920; there was a further decrease in 1930 (to 4,943,000), and in 1935 (to 4,607,000). In the last-named year they formed 41 percent of the total farm employment. But the difficulties in interpreting the Census data are such that it is by no means certain that in 1930 there were fewer hired and unpaid family laborers than in 1910 or that this group made up a smaller proportion of the entire farm labor force.

⁶ Shaw, Eldon E., and Hopkins, John A., Trends in Employment in Agriculture, 1909-36, Works Progress Administration, National Research Project, Report A-8, Philadelphia, Pa., November 1938, p. 11.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁸ U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Prof. John D. Black, in one attack upon the problem, ignores the figures for the Nation as a whole, and, after examining varying tendencies in different States, says that:

"A reasonable conclusion from this analysis of the farm tenure structure (en bloc) is that piling up at the foot of the tenure ladder—increase in the proportion of farm workers not ready or able to become tenants—has probably been as significant a development as increase in the proportion at the tenancy level. This is not surprising, but it is not generally realized. It is mainly a phenomenon associated with the general intensification of our agriculture, as cultivated row crops have increasingly taken the place of sown crops, livestock farming, grain farming, dairy and poultry farming of hog and beef-cattle farming, and fruit and truck crops of field crops. Increasing use of power machinery has offset this trend in many sections since 1910, and may do so increasingly henceforth. But in other sections the need for hand labor will be dominant. In the South the cropper system has for the most part kept down the fraction technically reported as laborers by the Census; but the proportion of tenants has increased more than enough to compensate for this."⁹

This "damming up" of farm laborers on farms undoubtedly means that hired farm work is becoming a permanent, rather than a transitional, occupation for an increasing number of farm people. Among these hired farm workers are proportionately fewer tramps, hoboes, "bindlestiffs," and drifters—who figured so largely in accounts of farm labor two decades ago. On the other hand there are proportionately more of those who may be regarded as normal farm people, many of them young persons.

Part of the difficulty appears to lie in the lessened likelihood of farm laborers rising up the "agricultural ladder" to farm tenancy and ownership. Moreover, in the past, opportunities for employment in industry have been lacking.

The next question is whether hired farm laborers, as compared with unpaid family laborers, form an increasing, decreasing, or stationary proportion of the total farm labor force. This question, also, is extremely difficult to answer. Only since 1910 has the Census differentiated between hired and unpaid family laborers. In 1910 hired laborers and family laborers appear to have formed nearly equal proportions (23 and 26 percent, respectively) of the total working labor force on the farms of the country. Between 1910 and 1920 the proportion of family laborers among the total farm workers diminished to about 20 percent and remained at that level until 1935. The hired laborers, on the other hand, increased to 25 percent in 1920 and 26 percent in 1930, but under the influence of the depression dropped to 22 percent in 1935.¹⁰ The proportion of family workers is especially high in the Southern States. (See table 2.)

In 1930 hired workers formed a particularly large proportion of the total farm labor force in California (56.4 percent), Nevada (52.9 percent), Arizona (53.0 percent), Florida (46.6 percent), Maryland (44.9 percent), New Jersey (53.3 percent), Massachusetts (54.2 percent), Rhode Island (59.6 percent), and Connecticut (53.0 percent).¹¹ (See also table 2.)

According to estimates of trends of employment made from data of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, the annual average number of hired workers employed on farms on the first of each month have declined from 2,868,000 in 1909 to 2,566,000 in 1940 and to 2,532,000 in 1941. But this decline did not occur uniformly throughout the period. Between 1909 and 1916 employment of hired laborers increased, and after a setback ending with 1919, rose to its peak in 1926, and remained at a high level until 1929. Between 1929 and 1934 the annual average numbers of hired workers employed on the first of each month decreased 21 percent, after which there was a slight recovery until 1937 when a decline again occurred.¹² (See table 3.)¹²

⁹ Black, John D., and Allen, R. H., *The Growth of Farm Tenancy in the United States*, Quarterly Journal of Economics, May 1937, pp. 406-407.

¹⁰ Shaw and Hopkins, *op. cit.*

¹¹ Fifteenth Census of the United States 1930, Population, vol. IV, Occupations by States.

¹² Census data on Wages paid to farm laborers ought to offer some check on the comparative number of hired farm laborers in the various census years. On this point see "Research in Farm Labor," John D. Black, editor: Social Science Research Council, Bulletin No. 16, page 1: "If we may assume that the enumerators were equally negligent in collecting data upon wages in all four of these census years, these data indicate more labor hired for wages in 1930 than in the two preceding Census years, and perhaps as much as in 1900. In view of the fact that the 1900 Census was more complete than that of 1910, and probably than any census since, we may be safe in saying that more labor was paid wages in 1930 than in any preceding census years—certainly more per farm hiring labor. This is contrary to popular impressions, but seems to be supported by other evidence.

"However, some important qualifying statements are needed. As the years have gone by, probably more farmers' sons have received wages for work done at home. The decline in size of farm families should also have reduced the amount of unpaid family labor available; likewise the increase in time spent in school.

TABLE 2.—Persons gainfully occupied in Agriculture, Apr. 1, 1930¹

State and geographic divisions	Classes of workers										
	Number					Percentage of total					
	Owners and tenants	Managers and foremen	Laborers		Other occupations	Total	Owners and tenants	Managers and foremen	Laborers		Other occupations
		Wage	Unpaid family					Wa	Upaid family		
Maine.....	31,163	478	16,776	3,005	97	51,519	60.5	0.9	32.6	5.8	0.2
New Hampshire.....	12,019	406	8,941	674	51	22,091	54.5	1.8	40.5	3.0	0.2
Vermont.....	20,742	390	14,781	2,179	49	38,141	54.5	1.0	38.8	5.7	0.1
Massachusetts.....	21,125	1,487	30,347	2,472	584	56,015	37.7	2.7	54.2	4.4	1.0
Rhode Island.....	3,001	172	5,292	314	94	8,873	33.8	1.9	59.6	3.6	1.1
Connecticut.....	14,759	786	19,458	1,381	303	36,687	40.3	2.1	53.0	3.8	0.8
New England.....	102,809	3,719	95,595	10,025	1,178	213,326	48.2	1.7	44.8	4.7	0.6
New York.....	148,144	3,052	103,893	11,997	895	267,979	55.3	1.1	38.8	4.5	0.3
New Jersey.....	25,649	1,187	34,320	2,720	595	64,471	39.8	1.8	53.3	4.2	0.9
Pennsylvania.....	145,795	2,660	84,264	18,004	720	251,443	57.9	1.1	33.5	7.2	0.3
Middle Atlantic.....	319,588	6,899	222,477	32,721	2,208	583,893	54.7	1.2	38.1	5.6	0.4
Ohio.....	200,775	2,449	89,714	18,247	1,033	312,218	64.3	0.8	28.8	5.8	0.3
Indiana.....	160,129	1,726	65,652	15,967	376	250,150	66.5	0.7	26.2	6.4	0.2
Illinois.....	208,435	2,773	113,234	27,348	773	352,524	59.1	0.8	32.1	7.8	0.2
Michigan.....	158,819	1,750	64,117	22,792	485	247,963	64.1	0.7	25.8	9.2	0.2
Wisconsin.....	177,287	1,751	78,420	32,417	259	290,134	61.1	0.6	27.0	11.2	0.1
East North Central.....	911,745	10,413	411,137	116,768	2,926	1,452,989	62.8	0.7	28.3	8.0	0.2
Minnesota.....	183,645	1,518	77,236	41,004	419	303,822	60.5	0.5	25.4	13.5	0.1
Iowa.....	211,917	2,024	89,048	27,745	8,4	331,152	64.0	0.6	26.9	10.7	0.1
Missouri.....	246,581	2,096	82,435	39,660	479	371,251	66.4	0.6	22.2	10.7	0.1
North Dakota.....	78,653	846	38,888	15,955	109	134,451	58.5	0.6	28.9	11.9	0.1
South Dakota.....	84,237	574	32,651	13,351	63	130,786	64.5	0.4	21.9	10.2	(²)
Nebraska.....	129,958	1,089	47,070	19,023	202	197,342	65.8	0.6	23.9	9.6	0.1
Kansas.....	162,847	1,121	46,702	18,663	211	229,544	70.9	0.5	20.4	8.1	0.1
West North Central.....	1,097,838	9,268	413,940	175,401	1,901	1,698,348	64.7	0.5	24.4	10.3	0.1

¹ Source: U. S. Census of Occupations, 1930.

² Less than one-tenth of one percent.

TABLE 2.—Persons gainfully occupied in Agriculture, Apr. 1, 1930—Continued

State and geographic divisions	Classes of workers										
	Number					Percentage of total					
	Owners and tenants	Managers and foremen	Laborers		Other occupations	Total	Owners and tenants	Managers and foremen	Laborers		Other occupations
			Wage	Unpaid family				Wage	Unpaid family		
Delaware.....	9, 141	177	6, 693	1, 295	35	17, 341	52. 7	1. 0	38. 6	7. 5	0. 2
Maryland.....	38, 632	1, 135	37, 830	6, 447	182	84, 226	45. 9	1. 3	44. 9	7. 7	0. 2
District of Columbia.....	258	24	780	11	26	1, 099	23. 5	2. 2	71. 0	1. 0	2. 3
Virginia.....	150, 450	2, 993	81, 938	35, 888	261	270, 836	55. 6	0. 8	30. 3	13. 2	0. 1
West Virginia.....	69, 724	2, 669	29, 886	17, 838	51	118, 162	59. 0	0. 6	25. 3	15. 1	(2)
North Carolina.....	270, 187	2, 027	93, 874	133, 687	148	499, 923	54. 1	0. 4	18. 8	26. 7	(2)
South Carolina.....	152, 924	1, 427	82, 288	108, 598	106	344, 641	44. 2	0. 4	23. 9	31. 5	(2)
Georgia.....	249, 991	2, 655	114, 788	190, 037	225	497, 716	50. 3	0. 5	23. 1	26. 1	(2)
Florida.....	52, 962	2, 050	62, 288	15, 833	515	133, 648	39. 6	1. 5	46. 6	11. 9	0. 4
South Atlantic.....	993, 569	12, 467	510, 363	449, 634	1, 559	1, 967, 592	50. 5	0. 6	25. 9	22. 9	0. 1
Kentucky.....	234, 776	1, 429	69, 078	53, 143	149	358, 575	65. 5	0. 4	19. 3	14. 8	(2)
Tennessee.....	234, 627	1, 283	68, 784	71, 784	145	376, 623	62. 3	0. 3	18. 4	19. 0	(2)
Alabama.....	253, 182	1, 371	80, 021	158, 088	156	492, 818	51. 4	0. 3	16. 2	32. 1	(2)
Mississippi.....	306, 885	1, 641	55, 071	193, 367	448	557, 402	55. 1	0. 3	9. 8	34. 7	0. 1
East South Central.....	1, 029, 470	5, 724	272, 954	476, 372	898	1, 785, 418	57. 6	0. 3	15. 3	26. 7	0. 1
Arkansas.....	240, 108	1, 476	59, 516	83, 194	318	384, 612	62. 4	0. 4	15. 5	21. 6	0. 1
Louisiana.....	159, 260	1, 912	72, 057	63, 414	596	297, 239	53. 7	0. 5	24. 2	21. 3	0. 2
Oklahoma.....	199, 486	1, 327	64, 852	40, 321	154	306, 140	65. 1	0. 4	15. 4	13. 2	0. 1
Texas.....	488, 697	4, 490	198, 760	149, 236	818	842, 001	58. 0	0. 5	23. 6	17. 8	0. 1
West South Central.....	1, 087, 551	9, 205	395, 185	336, 165	1, 886	1, 829, 992	59. 4	0. 5	21. 6	18. 4	0. 1
Montana.....	47, 490	820	25, 416	5, 796	226	79, 678	59. 6	1. 0	31. 9	7. 2	0. 3
Idaho.....	40, 199	676	20, 287	4, 218	181	65, 561	61. 3	1. 0	31. 0	6. 4	0. 3
Wyoming.....	16, 210	509	12, 169	1, 833	86	30, 827	52. 9	1. 7	39. 5	0. 0	0. 3
Colorado.....	58, 352	1, 029	38, 170	8, 333	300	106, 234	54. 5	1. 0	35. 9	7. 9	0. 3
New Mexico.....	30, 438	606	22, 018	5, 799	110	58, 971	51. 6	1. 0	37. 3	9. 9	0. 2
Arizona.....	14, 497	716	20, 502	2, 492	490	38, 697	37. 4	1. 9	53. 0	6. 4	1. 3
Utah.....	24, 786	451	12, 446	3, 513	87	41, 283	60. 0	1. 1	30. 1	8. 6	0. 2
Nevada.....	3, 528	278	4, 735	347	60	8, 948	39. 4	3. 1	52. 9	3. 9	0. 7
Mountain.....	235, 500	5, 085	155, 743	32, 331	1, 540	430, 199	54. 7	1. 2	36. 2	7. 5	0. 4

Washington.....	63,336	1,336	34,313	4,920	389	104,294	60.7	1.3	32.9	4.7	0.4
Oregon.....	49,917	1,013	26,650	4,174	277	82,031	60.9	1.2	32.5	5.1	0.3
California.....	126,399	8,871	188,678	6,712	3,581	334,241	37.8	2.7	56.4	2.0	1.1
Pacific.....	239,652	11,220	249,641	15,806	4,247	520,566	46.0	2.2	48.0	3.0	0.8
United States.....	6,017,722	74,000	2,727,035	1,645,223	18,343	10,482,323	57.4	0.7	26.0	15.7	0.2

¹ Less than one-tenth of one percent.

TABLE 3.—*Agricultural employment in the United States, 1909-40—Annual average of number of persons employed on first of each month*

Year	Total employment		Family workers ¹		Hired workers	
	Average number (thousands)	Index (1924-29 =100)	Average number (thousands)	Index (1924-29 =100)	Average number (thousands)	Index (1924-29 =100)
1909	12,209	107	9,341	111	2,868	97
1910	12,146	107	9,269	110	2,877	98
1911	12,042	106	9,172	109	2,870	98
1912	12,038	106	9,149	109	2,889	98
1913	12,033	106	9,128	108	2,905	99
1914	12,000	106	9,081	108	2,919	99
1915	11,951	105	9,047	107	2,934	100
1916	12,016	106	9,050	107	2,966	101
1917	11,789	104	8,856	105	2,933	100
1918	11,248	100	8,507	101	2,841	97
1919	11,106	98	8,322	99	2,784	95
1920	11,362	100	8,479	101	2,883	98
1921	11,412	100	8,511	101	2,901	99
1922	11,443	101	8,528	101	2,915	99
1923	11,385	100	8,491	101	2,894	98
1924	11,362	100	8,488	101	2,874	98
1925	11,446	101	8,577	102	2,869	97
1926	11,534	102	8,507	101	3,027	103
1927	11,246	99	8,296	99	2,950	100
1928	11,295	99	8,340	99	2,956	100
1929	11,289	99	8,305	99	2,988	101
1930	11,173	98	8,323	99	2,850	97
1931	11,159	98	8,469	101	2,690	91
1932	11,069	97	8,571	102	2,498	85
1933	11,023	97	8,590	102	2,433	83
1934	10,852	96	8,506	101	2,346	80
1935	11,131	98	8,702	103	2,429	83
1936	11,047	97	8,486	101	2,561	87
1937	10,892	96	8,261	98	2,631	89
1938	10,796	95	8,176	97	2,620	88
1939	10,740	95	8,145	97	2,595	88
1940	10,585	93	8,019	95	2,566	87

¹ Includes farm operators as well as unpaid members of the farm family who work on the farm.

Source: Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Although the Bureau of the Census classifies sharecroppers as tenants, their economic and social status is in important respects more like that of hired laborers than that of tenants.¹³ Under the law in some southern States, for instance Arkansas, South Carolina and Georgia, the cropper is declared to be a wage laborer, paid for his labor by a share of the crop.¹⁴

The total number of sharecroppers in 1930 was 776,278; in the Agricultural Census of 1935, the number fell to 716,256; and in 1940 declined still further to 541,291. In 1920 croppers constituted 5 percent of the total farm labor force in 1930, 7 percent; in 1935, 6 percent; and in 1940, 6 percent. As further technological improvements are made, their numbers are likely to decline still further. Croppers are proportionately less numerous in Texas and Oklahoma than in the Delta and Eastern Cotton areas (table 4).

2. *Geographic distribution.*—The numerical distribution of hired farm laborers among the several geographic divisions, crop areas, and States is uneven (figure I). Heavy concentrations appear in general parts of California, in the Salt River district of Arizona, in the Rio Grande, Corpus Christi, and Black Prairie districts of Texas, in the sugar-cane district of Louisiana, in the Mississippi and Arkansas Delta cotton areas, and in scattered fruit and truck crop districts in Florida and along the Atlantic Coast.

If sharecroppers had been included, the cotton-producing States would show a much heavier concentration of hired labor than appears in figure I.

As regards crop areas, wage laborers are especially numerous, compared with family laborers, in the range area and the eastern dairy area (table 5). Hired workers are least important in the cotton and tobacco districts of the Middle East; in the three cotton areas, where sharecroppers are numerous; and in the

¹³ See further discussion on p. 45.

¹⁴ Book, A. B., A Note on the Legal Status of Share Tenants and Sharecroppers in the South, Law & Contemporary Problems, October 1937, p. 545.

small grain area. Certain fruit and specialty-crop States (e. g., California) have higher percentages of hired farm workers, compared with family workers, than any of the major farming areas as such (table 6).

It may be noted that the percentage of hired farm workers decreased from 1909 to 1936 in all areas except in the western dairy area where it remained little changed, and in the eastern and western cotton areas where it increased.

Although in the month of January 1935, 85.8 percent of the farms of the United States hired no workers, there was a relatively small number of farms on which workers were hired in large numbers (tables 7 and 8). At that time, 5,844,756 farms hired no laborers, and 967,594 each hired one or more. While 722,645 hired only one laborer, 11,410 (two-tenths of 1 percent) hired 10 or more laborers; their employees, 244,132 in number, made up 15 percent of the total hired farm laborers in the country. Farms which hired 10 or more laborers per farm were for the most part in the South Atlantic, West South Central, and Pacific States. It is on these farms that labor problems are most likely to arise, by contrast with the small or medium-sized farm, on which the hired man and a seasonal laborer or two work in close cooperation with the farm operator.

TABLE 4.—*Sharecroppers in the United States, 1930 and 1940*¹

State and region	1930, number	Percent- age of total farm operators	1940, number	Percent- age of total farm operators	Change, 1930-40	
					Number	Percent
Delaware.....	225	2.3	225	2.5	0	0
Maryland.....	1,646	3.8	1,644	3.9	-2	-.1
Virginia.....	17,253	10.1	16,238	9.3	-1,015	-5.9
West Virginia.....	1,834	2.2	1,123	1.1	-711	-38.8
North Carolina.....	69,091	24.7	60,300	21.7	-8,791	-12.7
South Carolina.....	48,939	31.0	33,474	24.3	-15,465	-31.6
Georgia.....	100,854	39.4	60,934	28.2	-39,920	-39.6
Florida.....	4,816	8.2	3,407	5.4	-1,409	-29.3
South Atlantic.....	244,658	21.1	177,345	17.4	-67,313	-27.5
Kentucky.....	30,250	12.3	23,533	9.3	-6,717	-22.2
Tennessee.....	50,304	20.5	41,490	16.8	-8,814	-17.5
Alabama.....	65,134	25.3	41,370	17.9	-23,764	-36.5
Mississippi.....	135,293	43.3	125,483	43.1	-9,810	-7.3
East South Central.....	280,981	26.5	231,876	22.7	-49,105	-17.5
Arkansas.....	75,034	31.0	47,666	22.0	-27,368	-36.5
Louisiana.....	49,428	30.6	39,631	26.4	-9,797	-19.8
Oklahoma.....	21,055	10.3	4,952	2.8	-16,103	-76.5
Texas.....	108,122	21.2	39,821	9.5	-68,301	-62.1
West South Central.....	250,639	22.7	132,070	13.7	-118,569	-47.3
United States.....	776,278	12.3	541,291	8.9	-234,987	-30.3

¹ Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Agriculture, United States summary, preliminary release U. S.-2, Mar. 18, 1941.

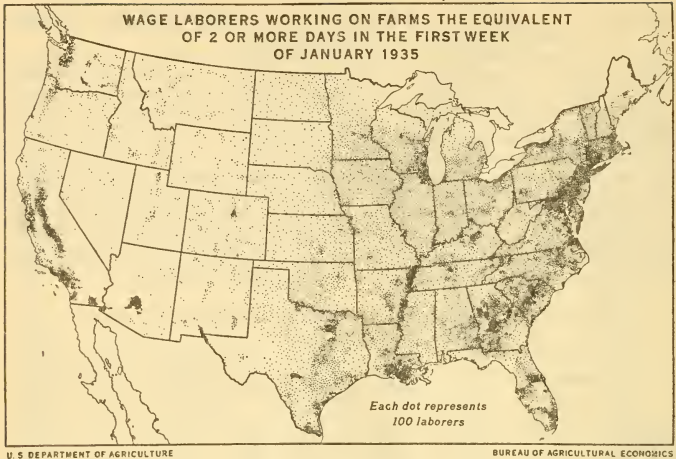


FIGURE 1

TABLE 5.—Estimated total farm labor force in principal farming areas¹ of the United States in 1936²

Area	Total (thous- ands)	Family workers ³		Hired workers		
		Number (thous- ands)	Percent of total in area	Number (thous- ands)	Percent of total in area	Percent of total hired in area
Total.....	11,047	8,486	77	2,561	23	100.0
Corn area.....	1,239	950	77	289	23	11.3
Eastern dairy area.....	738	500	68	238	32	9.3
Western dairy area.....	920	712	77	208	23	8.1
Middle eastern area.....	1,910	1,573	82	337	18	13.2
Eastern cotton area.....	1,391	1,083	78	308	22	12.0
Delta cotton area.....	1,340	1,090	81	250	19	9.8
Western cotton area.....	1,167	915	78	252	22	9.8
Small grain area.....	745	609	82	136	18	5.3
Range area.....	309	195	63	114	37	4.4
Northwestern area.....	297	211	71	86	29	3.4
Miscellaneous.....	991	648	65	343	35	13.4

¹ The States in the specified areas are as follows:

Corn area: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Ohio.

Eastern dairy area: Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, Vermont.

Western dairy area: Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin.

Middle eastern area: Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia.

Eastern cotton area: Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina.

Delta cotton area: Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi.

Western cotton area: Oklahoma, Texas.

Small grain area: Kansas, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota.

Range area: Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, Wyoming.

Northwestern area: Idaho, Oregon, Washington.

Miscellaneous: California, Missouri, Florida, Delaware, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Maine.

² Unpublished data of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

³ Includes the farm operator as well as the unpaid members of his family who work on the farm.

Of the 1,645,602 hired farm workers reported as working the equivalent of 2 or more days during the first week of January 1935, 722,645 were on farms on which only 1 worker was hired, 130,410 were on farms on which 3 workers were hired, 30,672 were on farms hiring 8 workers each, and 244,132 were on large-scale farms hiring 10 or more each. Of the last total, 58,116 were in the South Atlantic States, 66,448 in the West South Central States, and 50,893 in the Pacific States. Four States had half of the total—Florida with 25,609; Louisiana, 25,503; Texas, 26,641; and California, 47,737.

TABLE 6.—Hired farm workers as percentages of total agricultural workers,¹ by area, 1909-36²

Year	United States	Corn	Eastern dairy	Western dairy	Middle eastern	Eastern cotton	Delta cotton	Western cotton	Small grain	Range	North-western
1909.....	23	26	35	23	20	18	19	19	23	40	33
1910.....	24	26	35	23	21	18	19	20	23	40	33
1911.....	24	26	35	23	20	18	19	20	23	40	33
1912.....	24	26	35	24	21	18	19	21	23	40	33
1913.....	24	26	35	24	21	18	19	21	23	40	33
1914.....	24	27	35	24	21	18	19	22	23	40	33
1915.....	24	27	35	24	21	18	19	22	23	41	32
1916.....	25	27	35	24	21	18	19	22	23	41	33
1917.....	25	27	35	25	21	18	19	23	23	41	32
1918.....	24	28	35	25	21	18	19	23	23	41	32
1919.....	25	28	35	25	21	18	19	23	23	41	32
1920.....	25	28	35	25	21	18	19	24	23	41	32
1921.....	25	28	35	26	21	19	19	24	24	41	32
1922.....	25	27	35	26	21	19	19	24	24	41	32
1923.....	25	27	35	27	21	19	18	24	24	40	31
1924.....	25	27	34	27	21	20	17	24	24	40	30
1925.....	25	28	33	27	20	20	16	23	25	39	29
1926.....	26	29	35	30	21	22	18	24	26	40	30
1927.....	26	29	35	29	20	23	17	23	27	40	28
1928.....	26	29	35	29	21	21	17	23	27	39	31
1929.....	26	29	35	28	22	23	16	25	26	39	32
1930.....	26	28	36	27	21	21	16	23	26	38	30
1931.....	24	26	34	25	19	20	15	21	25	36	30
1932.....	23	23	33	24	18	20	14	21	23	34	25
1933.....	22	22	33	23	17	20	16	19	21	36	25
1934.....	22	21	32	22	16	20	17	19	19	35	26
1935.....	22	23	31	22	17	21	17	19	20	36	27
1936.....	23	23	32	23	17	21	18	21	18	36	27

¹ Farm operators included.

² Data derived from Trends in Employment in Agriculture, 1909-36, op. cit., table 25, p. 78.

It should be noted that when this census was taken, employment in most areas was at its minimum. In August 1935 it was estimated that there were 487,951 wage laborers on 20,437 farms hiring 10 or more; while on 186,837 farms hiring 3 or more, the number of laborers was estimated at 1,191,624. The total number of hired laborers on farms is estimated to have increased from 1,645,602 in January, to 2,752, 883 in August of that year.¹⁵

The employment data from the census of January 1935, analyzed in relation to the principal crop areas, shows that in the cotton districts a high percentage of hired labor works on farms hiring four or more, and also on those hiring eight or more (table 9). This reflects the existence of the plantation system.

In the range area a relatively high proportion of hired labor works on the larger farms. The same was true of the "miscellaneous" group of States, which included California and Florida. Relatively few farms in the western dairy, corn, and small grain areas hired 10 or more laborers.

The geographic distribution of farms hiring 10 or more workers in January 1935, is similar to that of so-called large-scale farms.¹⁶ Prominent among them are truck and fruit farms, cotton plantations, crop-specialty farms (such as those specializing in sugarcane, sugar beets, beans, tobacco, potatoes, and hay), eastern dairy farms, and stock ranches (table 10 and fig. II). A similar map for summer probably would show twice as many farms hiring 10 or more workers. The 2,727,000 hired laborers scattered about on the farms of America, at the time of the census of April 1930, were of diverse types and characteristics.

¹⁵ Wendzel, Julius T., Distribution of Agricultural Employment, the Agricultural Situation, vol. 22, No. 2, February 1, 1938, p. 15.

¹⁶ For information concerning large-scale farms, which are likely to employ labor in considerable numbers, see Jennings, R. D., Large Scale Farming in the United States, 1929. U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; and Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Washington, 1933.

A farm, with certain exceptions, was considered large-scale if the value of its products amounted in 1929 to \$30,000 or more. Such farms were found to be widely distributed.

It should be noted that owing to the census definition of a farm as an "operating unit," the combined "old" South, or those of a multi-unit organization of "chain" farms or "managed" farms were not included in the Jennings study. Thus, the combined operations of some of the largefruit, truck, cotton-growing, and livestock production companies were excluded save as a part or all of their operating units may have been included as large-scale farms.

The average amount spent for hired labor on the large-scale farms was \$13,385 as compared with an average of only \$363 by all farms reporting hired labor in the United States in 1929.

TABLE 7.—Farms hiring laborers for the equivalent of 2 or more days during the first week of January 1935, in the United States, and numbers of laborers hired, by geographic divisions

Geographic divisions	Farms hiring										Total farms hiring and not hiring	Total laborers hired		
	No laborers	1 laborer	2 laborers	3 laborers	4 laborers	5 laborers	6 laborers	7 laborers	8 laborers	9 laborers			10 or more laborers	1 or more laborers
	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	
New England.....	120,962	26,716	6,088	1,975	944	488	311	130	126	77	494	37,279	158,241	
Middle Atlantic.....	304,015	72,713	18,159	3,769	1,597	804	509	245	232	94	547	93,669	397,684	
East North Central.....	908,391	148,928	18,230	4,239	1,533	761	504	249	232	79	481	175,296	1,083,687	
West North Central.....	1,024,416	182,637	15,619	3,732	1,575	759	404	205	181	72	256	155,440	1,179,856	
South Atlantic.....	960,518	126,062	31,920	11,076	6,295	3,408	2,379	1,030	1,148	449	883	186,615	1,147,133	
East South Central.....	1,043,315	66,528	14,981	4,984	2,862	1,624	1,014	404	441	183	883	93,904	1,137,219	
West South Central.....	1,016,132	81,766	20,133	7,128	3,984	2,395	1,543	629	713	254	2,894	121,439	1,137,571	
Mountain.....	232,111	26,287	6,640	2,330	1,261	755	519	255	213	92	899	39,251	271,392	
Pacific.....	234,896	41,008	10,840	4,237	2,435	1,539	1,037	533	548	296	2,198	64,671	289,567	
United States.....	5,844,756	722,645	137,670	43,470	22,486	12,533	8,220	3,730	3,834	1,596	11,410	967,594	8,812,350	

LABORERS HIRED ON THE FARMS												
	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number
New England.....	26,716	12,176	5,925	1,866	2,440	1,050	1,050	1,050	1,008	693	7,790	63,440
Middle Atlantic.....	72,713	26,318	11,307	3,054	4,020	1,715	1,715	1,715	1,856	846	10,848	139,065
East North Central.....	148,928	36,580	12,717	3,805	3,054	1,743	1,743	1,743	1,856	711	8,948	224,444
West North Central.....	133,637	31,238	11,196	3,795	6,300	2,454	2,454	2,454	1,448	648	5,037	196,158
South Atlantic.....	126,062	63,840	33,228	17,040	17,040	7,210	7,210	7,210	9,184	4,041	58,116	358,175
East South Central.....	66,528	29,962	14,952	6,084	8,120	4,030	4,030	4,030	5,704	1,647	14,928	160,025
West South Central.....	81,766	40,266	21,384	11,975	11,975	4,403	4,403	4,403	5,704	2,286	66,448	259,426
Mountain.....	26,287	13,280	6,990	3,114	3,775	1,995	1,995	1,995	1,704	828	21,124	84,141
Pacific.....	41,008	21,680	12,711	6,222	7,695	3,731	3,731	3,731	4,384	2,664	50,863	160,728
United States.....	722,645	275,340	130,410	49,320	62,665	26,110	26,110	26,110	30,672	14,364	244,132	1,645,602

PERCENTAGES—FARMS HIRING—PERCENT OF FARMS HIRING

	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
New England.....	71.67	16.33	5.30	1.31	0.83	0.40	0.34	0.21	1.08	100	100	100
Middle Atlantic.....	77.64	14.05	4.02	2.53	1.70	1.26	0.58	0.25	1.00	100	100	100
East North Central.....	84.97	10.43	2.42	1.87	1.43	1.12	0.05	0.27	1.16	100	100	100
West North Central.....	85.33	10.05	2.40	1.01	1.26	1.24	0.24	0.16	1.53	100	100	100
South Atlantic.....	67.35	17.10	5.94	3.37	1.27	0.55	0.62	0.94	1.00	100	100	100
East South Central.....	70.85	15.95	5.31	3.05	1.08	0.43	0.47	0.19	2.38	100	100	100
West South Central.....	67.33	16.58	5.87	1.97	1.27	0.59	0.59	0.21	2.38	100	100	100
Mountain.....	66.93	16.90	5.93	1.92	1.32	0.54	0.54	0.23	2.29	100	100	100
Pacific.....	63.41	16.76	6.55	3.77	1.60	0.82	0.85	0.46	3.40	100	100	100
United States.....	74.68	14.23	4.49	2.32	1.30	0.85	0.40	0.16	1.18	100	100	100

FARMS HIRING—PERCENT OF TOTAL FARMS HIRING AND NOT HIRING

	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
New England.....	76.44	3.85	1.25	0.60	0.20	0.09	0.08	0.05	0.26	23.56	100	100
Middle Atlantic.....	76.45	3.31	0.95	0.40	0.13	0.06	0.06	0.02	0.14	23.55	100	100
East North Central.....	83.82	13.75	3.39	1.14	0.05	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.04	16.18	100	100
West North Central.....	86.83	11.24	1.32	0.32	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.02	13.17	100	100
South Atlantic.....	83.73	10.98	2.78	0.97	0.21	0.09	0.10	0.04	0.25	16.27	100	100
East South Central.....	91.74	3.84	1.32	0.44	0.09	0.04	0.04	0.02	0.05	8.26	100	100
West South Central.....	89.32	7.19	1.77	0.63	0.14	0.06	0.06	0.02	0.28	10.68	100	100
Mountain.....	85.53	9.68	2.45	0.86	0.19	0.11	0.08	0.03	0.33	14.47	100	100
Pacific.....	78.41	13.70	3.62	1.41	0.35	0.18	0.18	0.10	0.73	21.59	100	100
United States.....	85.80	10.61	2.02	0.83	0.12	0.05	0.06	0.02	0.17	14.20	100	100

LABORERS—PERCENT OF TOTAL LABORERS

	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
New England.....	42.11	19.19	9.34	5.95	3.85	2.94	1.66	1.09	12.28	100	100	100
Middle Atlantic.....	52.30	18.92	8.13	4.59	2.89	2.20	1.23	0.61	7.80	100	100	100
East North Central.....	66.34	16.29	5.67	2.73	1.70	1.35	0.83	0.32	3.99	100	100	100
West North Central.....	67.62	15.92	5.71	3.21	1.93	1.24	0.73	0.32	2.87	100	100	100
South Atlantic.....	35.19	17.82	9.28	7.03	4.76	3.69	2.01	1.13	16.23	100	100	100
East South Central.....	41.58	18.73	9.34	7.15	5.07	3.80	1.77	1.03	9.33	100	100	100
West South Central.....	31.52	15.52	8.24	6.14	4.62	3.57	1.70	0.88	26.61	100	100	100
Mountain.....	31.24	15.78	8.31	5.99	4.49	3.70	2.37	0.98	25.11	100	100	100
Pacific.....	25.51	13.49	7.91	6.06	4.79	3.87	2.32	1.66	31.66	100	100	100
United States.....	43.91	16.73	7.92	5.47	3.81	3.00	1.86	0.87	14.84	100	100	100

TABLE 8.—Numbers of hired laborers on farms reporting specified numbers of hired laborers working the equivalent of 2 or more days in the first week of January 1935

	Number of laborers on farms reporting hired laborers of the following numbers										Farms			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 or more	Total	Hiring no laborers	Hiring 1 or more laborers	Total
	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number
United States.....	722,645	275,340	130,410	89,944	62,665	49,320	26,110	30,672	14,364	244,132	1,645,602	5,844,756	967,594	6,812,350
New England.....	26,716	12,176	5,925	3,776	2,440	1,866	1,050	1,008	693	7,790	63,440	120,962	37,279	158,241
Maine.....	6,156	2,126	963	672	400	306	140	136	63	478	11,440	33,993	7,914	41,907
New Hampshire.....	2,985	1,246	576	348	200	84	70	432	54	2,044	13,701	18,984	3,994	17,995
Vermont.....	5,499	2,250	699	352	200	174	105	80	36	397	18,984	8,077	27,061	
Massachusetts.....	5,499	3,518	2,073	1,452	950	888	427	456	315	3,708	19,247	26,120	35,034	
Rhode Island.....	710	470	270	176	135	66	42	96	30	1,491	2,536	3,160	4,327	
Connecticut.....	4,916	2,526	1,344	776	555	348	266	168	135	2,294	13,328	25,004	32,157	
Middle Atlantic.....	72,713	26,318	11,307	6,388	4,020	3,054	1,715	1,856	846	10,848	139,095	304,015	93,699	397,084
New York.....	37,744	12,958	5,604	2,924	1,890	1,266	784	864	351	3,396	67,761	129,194	47,831	177,025
New Jersey.....	3,826	3,380	1,701	1,176	795	558	322	336	144	2,044	17,182	20,497	8,878	29,375
Pennsylvania.....	29,143	9,980	4,002	2,288	1,365	1,230	609	656	351	4,503	54,132	154,324	36,900	191,284
East North Central.....	148,928	36,680	12,717	6,132	3,805	3,024	1,743	1,856	711	8,948	224,444	908,391	175,295	1,083,687
Ohio.....	30,394	7,986	3,045	1,696	1,050	906	490	648	180	3,142	49,537	218,627	36,519	255,146
Indiana.....	22,677	5,404	2,007	1,040	610	606	280	312	108	1,026	34,070	174,156	26,679	200,835
Illinois.....	32,646	7,800	2,838	1,340	810	588	371	352	90	2,459	49,294	192,985	38,321	231,312
Michigan.....	26,075	5,662	2,250	1,184	865	576	413	225	1,560	39,192	166,076	30,441	196,517	
Wisconsin.....	37,136	9,728	2,577	872	470	348	189	192	108	731	52,351	156,547	43,330	199,877
West North Central.....	132,637	31,238	11,196	6,300	3,795	2,424	1,435	1,448	648	5,037	196,158	1,024,416	155,440	1,179,866
Minnesota.....	29,235	5,678	1,641	772	410	222	217	120	81	470	38,846	170,283	33,019	203,302
Iowa.....	35,560	6,926	2,148	1,040	595	342	161	168	54	1,148	48,532	181,340	40,646	221,986
Missouri.....	22,927	6,592	3,234	1,405	942	497	288	688	288	1,937	40,742	249,859	28,595	278,454
North Dakota.....	9,176	2,526	1,102	581	180	102	119	128	58	58	13,468	73,727	10,879	84,606
South Dakota.....	6,969	1,284	393	140	110	66	42	146	27	146	76,470	6,833	83,303	
Nebraska.....	13,703	3,558	1,167	544	335	288	175	128	45	557	117,513	16,103	133,616	
Kansas.....	13,677	4,874	1,896	1,156	760	462	224	192	72	721	26,034	155,224	19,365	174,589

	126,062	63,840	33,228	25,180	17,040	14,274	7,210	9,184	4,041	58,116	358,175	960,518	186,615	1,147,133
South Atlantic														
Delaware.....	1,450	504	207	120	110	30	63	40	9	404	3,057	8,453	1,898	10,381
Maryland.....	9,275	5,274	2,160	1,296	865	570	364	408	180	1,881	22,973	30,279	14,133	44,412
District of Columbia.....	20	20	12	16	5				9	175	257	44	45	89
Virginia.....	23,109	10,812	5,238	3,188	2,010	1,734	770	928	576	3,945	52,310	165,353	32,279	107,647
West Virginia.....	7,930	3,094	1,380	836	570	504	126	152	45	3,965	15,032	10,414	194,737	194,737
North Carolina.....	29,480	11,328	5,290	3,696	2,600	2,898	1,818	1,976	441	2,375	59,321	261,804	39,163	300,967
South Carolina.....	15,500	10,290	5,457	4,776	3,380	2,898	1,316	1,976	954	6,503	53,140	130,737	25,767	165,504
Georgia.....	26,497	15,238	9,156	7,552	5,205	4,482	2,345	3,056	1,278	16,640	91,458	207,843	42,701	250,544
Florida.....	12,071	7,280	4,338	3,700	2,205	2,238	1,141	1,496	549	25,609	60,627	52,642	20,215	72,857
East South Central														
Kentucky.....	66,528	29,962	14,952	11,448	8,120	6,084	2,828	3,528	1,647	14,928	160,025	1,043,315	93,904	1,137,219
Tennessee.....	16,940	7,558	3,909	2,484	1,480	1,194	518	448	270	2,114	36,915	254,879	23,419	278,298
Alabama.....	18,639	8,198	3,693	2,532	1,525	1,146	553	608	360	2,242	39,496	248,351	25,432	273,783
Mississippi.....	19,206	8,254	4,275	3,664	2,485	2,142	1,099	1,480	621	4,446	48,072	246,181	27,274	273,455
West South Central														
Arkansas.....	11,743	5,952	3,075	2,768	2,230	1,602	1,658	1,992	396	6,126	35,542	893,904	17,779	911,683
Louisiana.....	81,766	40,266	21,384	15,936	11,975	9,258	4,403	5,704	2,286	66,448	259,426	1,016,132	121,439	1,137,571
Oklahoma.....	10,010	5,388	3,141	2,512	2,060	1,404	763	1,136	369	13,201	39,974	237,074	15,939	253,013
Texas.....	10,059	6,654	4,023	3,168	2,265	2,022	1,043	1,336	513	25,303	66,416	162,637	17,579	170,216
Mountain														
Idaho.....	15,927	6,170	2,892	1,848	1,340	900	357	556	171	1,303	31,444	192,249	21,076	213,325
Wyoming.....	45,770	22,054	11,328	8,408	6,290	4,932	2,240	2,696	1,233	26,641	131,592	434,172	66,845	501,017
Colorado.....	26,287	13,280	6,990	5,044	3,775	3,114	1,995	1,704	828	21,124	84,141	232,111	39,281	271,392
New Mexico.....	5,498	2,680	1,221	956	595	540	280	232	108	1,513	13,523	42,747	7,817	50,564
Arizona.....	4,012	1,724	807	528	390	306	175	176	72	1,692	8,812	39,618	5,495	45,113
Utah.....	2,182	1,180	762	480	350	330	231	184	45	1,257	7,001	17,457	3,404	20,861
Nevada.....	6,402	3,004	1,626	1,192	760	546	448	256	162	832	15,228	54,486	9,158	63,644
Pacific														
Washington.....	3,694	2,020	987	776	610	482	230	232	144	2,129	11,364	35,749	5,297	41,041
Oregon.....	2,351	1,400	888	632	610	528	343	456	135	13,621	20,964	14,527	4,297	18,824
California.....	7,381	3,344	1,896	1,180	845	654	392	352	207	1,431	17,668	73,936	10,445	84,381
	6,203	2,816	1,425	912	640	654	357	312	243	1,725	15,287	56,088	8,768	64,856
	27,424	15,650	9,390	7,648	6,210	4,998	2,982	3,720	214	47,737	127,573	104,902	45,458	150,360

TABLE 9.—*Distribution of hired farm laborers in principal farming areas by number of laborers employed per farm, January 1935*¹

Area	Number of farms reporting no hired laborers	Number of farms reporting hired laborers	Total number of hired laborers	Percentage of hired laborers on farms reporting	
				4 or more	8 or more
	Number	Number	Number	Percent	Percent
United States.....	5,844,756	967,594	1,645,602	31.4	17.6
Corn.....	767,108	142,171	181,433	11.9	5.3
Eastern dairy.....	367,327	112,989	171,347	22.1	10.7
Western dairy.....	492,906	106,790	130,359	8.0	3.0
Middle eastern.....	1,055,043	144,885	226,304	23.1	8.3
Eastern cotton.....	593,761	95,742	192,760	40.9	19.2
Delta cotton.....	685,615	51,297	131,932	54.5	37.4
Western cotton.....	626,421	87,921	163,036	36.1	20.0
Small grain.....	465,681	60,997	81,561	14.1	4.9
Range.....	149,746	25,969	61,806	50.3	33.9
Northwestern.....	169,612	24,708	41,667	28.9	12.3
Miscellaneous.....	473,536	114,125	263,457	49.7	34.0

¹ Data are derived from *Distribution of Hired Farm Laborers in the United States*, by Julius T. Wendzel, *Monthly Labor Review*, vol. 45, No. 3, September 1937, pp. 561-568. The information was derived from the special agricultural census of 1935. Employment during most of the year is normally larger than in January.

TABLE 10.—*Percentage distribution of hired farm laborers in the United States by geographic divisions, and by age, 1930*

Geographic division	Laborers in specified age groups: Percent of total in division											Total farm laborers
	10-14 years	15-17 years	18-19 years	20-24 years	25-29 years	30-39 years	40-49 years	50-59 years	60-64 years	65 years or more	Age unknown	
	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.	
New England.....	0.3	6.2	7.1	16.1	11.2	16.6	15.3	13.6	5.6	7.9	0.1	3.5
Middle Atlantic.....	.4	6.4	7.9	16.3	11.0	16.5	14.8	13.0	5.5	8.1	.1	8.2
East North Central.....	.3	6.1	9.8	22.0	13.1	16.0	12.0	10.3	4.2	6.1	.1	15.1
West North Central.....	.5	6.2	10.6	27.4	15.4	15.8	10.2	7.6	2.7	3.5	.1	15.2
South Atlantic.....	2.9	9.2	10.6	22.0	12.4	15.6	11.2	8.8	3.0	4.2	.1	18.7
East South Central.....	2.5	8.9	11.0	23.7	12.9	14.8	10.1	8.5	3.0	4.5	.1	9.9
West South Central.....	2.0	7.9	10.9	24.0	13.8	16.0	11.2	7.9	2.7	3.5	.1	14.5
Mountain.....	.7	5.5	8.7	21.6	14.2	18.4	14.1	9.3	3.3	4.1	.1	5.7
Pacific.....	.2	3.0	6.0	16.7	13.5	19.6	17.6	13.1	4.4	5.8	.1	9.2
United States.....	1.3	6.9	9.7	22.1	13.3	16.3	12.3	9.6	3.5	4.9	.1	100.0

Source: Unpublished information furnished by the Bureau of the Census.

B. Characteristics.

1. *Racial and national origins.*—With respect to race of the farm wage workers in 1930, 66.7 percent were native whites, 19.7 percent were Negroes, and 6.8 percent were foreign-born whites, as compared with percentages of 62.7, 34.5, and 0.8, respectively, among unpaid family workers (table 11).

This predominantly native-born character of the hired farm workers contradicts a popular impression. In surveys made by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in 1936, in 11 counties in as many States, nearly two-thirds of the 3,879 hired laborers interviewed reported they were born in the State in which they were found working. In some areas where people of foreign birth have settled in large numbers, they retain the languages and customs of their old homes to such an extent that their American-born children are often mistaken for aliens. This, for example, is true of the Mexicans in the Southwest. It needs to be emphasized that the hired farm laborers of the United States are now almost exclusively native-born Americans. The foreign-born, largely Orientals and Mexicans, are concentrated in California and the Southwest.

2. *Age and sex groups.*—Most farm laborers are men. Only 171,000, or 6 percent of the 1930 total, were women. The larger part of these were Negroes in the South.

As regards the age of hired farm workers, in 1930 about 18 percent of them were under 20 years, as compared with over 60 percent of the unpaid family workers. About half of the hired workers were more than 30 years of age. Concerning child labor in agriculture, very little appears in the census data on the hired laborers, probably because it was not reported. In New England, the Middle Atlantic, States, and on the Pacific coast, a larger proportion of the hired workers than elsewhere were in the upper age groups (table 10).

3. *Dependents.*—Other information with respect to the personal characteristics of hired farm laborers is derived from a few special studies in widely scattered areas, such as those carried on by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in 1936. Data were secured from one county in each of 11 States. About half of the hired farm laborers were married.

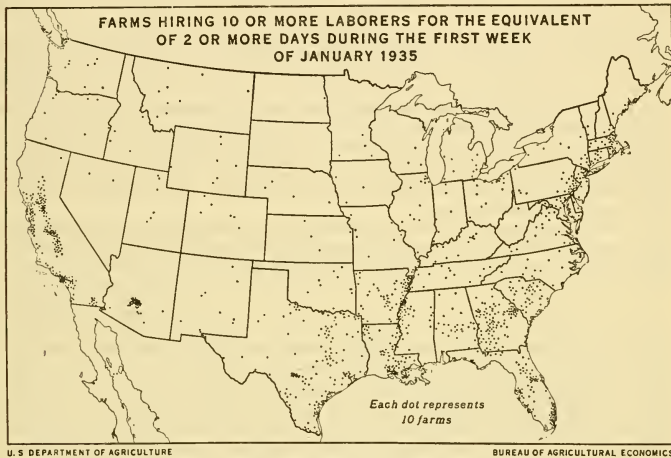


FIGURE 2

TABLE 11.—Percentage distribution of all farm laborers in the United States by wage, classes, race, and age, 1930

Class and race of laborers	Laborers in specified age groups: Percentage of total in class											Percentage of total hired laborers in class	
	10-13 years	14-15 years	16-17 years	18-19 years	20-24 years	25-29 years	30-39 years	40-49 years	50-59 years	60-64 years	65 years or more		Age unknown
Unpaid family workers:	<i>Pct.</i>	<i>Pct.</i>	<i>Pct.</i>	<i>Pct.</i>	<i>Pct.</i>	<i>Pct.</i>	<i>Pct.</i>	<i>Pct.</i>	<i>Pct.</i>	<i>Pct.</i>	<i>Pct.</i>	<i>Pct.</i>	<i>Pct.</i>
Native white	9.0	12.1	22.9	19.1	21.2	6.2	5.0	2.1	1.1	0.4	0.9	(¹)	23.7
Foreign-born white	.2	1.6	8.5	10.6	19.4	9.7	11.1	10.5	9.2	5.0	14.2	(¹)	.3
Negro	15.7	14.9	17.9	13.4	15.1	6.1	7.5	5.2	2.7	.7	.8	(¹)	13.1
Other races	11.9	11.6	18.1	15.5	22.9	8.4	6.3	2.4	1.4	.5	1.0	(¹)	.7
Wage workers:													
Native white	.4	1.4	6.1	10.8	24.6	13.8	15.7	10.7	8.6	3.2	4.6	0.1	41.5
Foreign-born white	(¹)	.1	.8	1.9	8.0	9.3	18.3	22.9	19.2	8.1	11.3	.1	4.2
Negro	1.9	3.6	7.1	9.7	19.7	11.7	15.8	12.6	9.7	3.4	4.7	.1	12.3
Other races	1.0	1.6	4.0	6.9	18.8	15.9	21.2	16.2	9.2	2.5	2.6	.1	4.2
All classes	4.7	6.0	11.5	12.4	21.0	10.6	12.4	8.9	6.6	2.4	3.4	.1	100.0

¹ Less than 1/10 of 1 percent.

Source: Unpublished information furnished by the Bureau of the Census.

Nearly half of the laborers had dependents, consisting most often of a wife only; nearly as frequently there were also one or two children.

4. *Place of residence.*—The question of the previous experience and environment of farm workers is important. Are they country folk or do they come from the towns and cities? Have they worked at other occupations? On these matters information is very inadequate. Of a total of 620 farm wage workers in 17 counties in Texas, according to information secured from the Farm Security Administration, in the summer of 1938, one-third were from the open country, one-fourth were living in villages of less than 2,500 population, one-third were from cities having between 2,500 and 25,000 inhabitants, and the rest were from larger cities.

Of 1,237 transient harvest workers interviewed in North Dakota in the summer of 1938, 37 percent had their permanent homes on farms. Almost 20 percent gave addresses in villages of less than 2,500 population, while 43 percent were from larger places.

5. *Previous work experience and occupational training.*—In the same State, at the same time, 3,297 farm workers told of their previous employment and trade experience. Of this number 612 were nonfarm persons of local origin working in the harvest, 868 were farm family workers, and 1,405 were transients. Six percent of the farm family workers stated that they had learned a skilled trade, as did 18 percent of the local harvest workers, and 30.5 percent of the transients. Among the total of 641 workers who had learned a skilled trade, over half claimed experience as mechanics and artisans. The next highest occupation was "transportation and communications," which accounted for 12.3 percent. This was followed by the retail "trade group" with 11.5 percent. Nine other occupations had scattered representation.

Sixty-three percent of 3,285 workers of all types stated that their usual work was in agriculture; similarly some 69 percent of the local harvest workers, and 57 percent of the transients. However, it is significant that some 64 percent of the transients held social-security cards, showing they had worked in some nonagricultural employment covered by the Social Security Act.¹⁷ This was true also of about 40 percent of the local harvest workers, 12 percent of the male workers hired for the season or year, and 12 percent of the unpaid male farm family workers.

6. *Previous farm tenure status.*—What proportion of the hired laborers has had previous farm experience as owners, tenants, or sharecroppers? Of the 2,315 farm laborers interviewed in 10 counties in as many States by Bureau of Agricultural Economics investigators in 1936, 63 percent had no experience in a higher tenure status, about 6 percent had been owners, 10 percent had been tenants, and 25 percent had been sharecroppers. Among 1,630 hired workers on New Jersey farms that same year, about 92 percent had had no other tenure experience, 4 percent had been owners, 4 percent had been tenants, and less than 1 percent had been croppers. Fourteen percent of 620 agricultural workers interviewed in 17 counties in Texas in 1938, according to the Farm Security Administration, had been farm operators at some time subsequent to 1929.

In general, it appears from these scattered studies that in all areas the majority of farm laborers have had no experience in a higher tenure status on the farm, but in some areas, especially in the South, there is a significant proportion of farm workers who have fallen from a higher rung of the ladder of farm tenure.

7. *Classes of hired farm laborers.*—Of much significance are the farm worker classifications according to duration of employment and type of relationship with the farm operators. Unfortunately, in these conditions, no census data are available.

All too often, in agricultural circles, farm labor is dismissed with casual reference to the "typical hired man" on the family-size farm, as though the importance of all other forms of farm labor were negligible. On the other hand, in nonagricultural circles it is all too commonly assumed that only migratory farm laborers have problems worthy of attention. Both assumptions are faulty. Although in many areas the status of the migratory farm laborer is unsatisfactory in the extreme, and requires all the attention that it can get, so too do the following problems: The plight of local residents who are deprived of seasonal jobs because of the farmer's use of migratory workers; the changing status of the "hired man" in the Middle West; the difficulties of the southern sharecropper and the southern

¹⁷ It was not customary in North Dakota for the employment service to request agricultural registrants to obtain social-security cards.

wage hand; and the position of the contract laborer on sugar beets from Michigan to California.

Differences in economic and social problems and status suggest the following system of classifying hired farm laborers:

1. The "hired man" who lives on the farm.
2. The regularly employed farm hand who lives off the farm.
3. The seasonally employed farm hand who is a local resident.
4. The seasonally employed farm hand who is not a local resident but who is not "migratory".
5. The migratory seasonal farm laborer.
6. The "contract" laborer of the sugar beet areas.

A separate class also might be included for seasonal gang labor because this system of employment gives rise to problems different from those of other seasonal labor.

Some would add a class for sharecroppers, in view of the many similarities between their economic status and that of hired labor. Save for the sharecroppers, who are largely concentrated in the South, no adequate information is available as to the numbers of persons in each of these various classes of farm laborers.

In 1935, 716,000 sharecroppers were reported, and 541,000 in 1940. It is commonly assumed that most of the 1,645,602 wage workers reported working on farms for a period of 2 or more days during the first week in January 1935, were fairly regularly employed workers, since otherwise they would not have been at work at that time of least employment. It is not known how many of these were "typical hired hands," regularly employed dairy workers, local residents fairly regularly engaged on nearby farms, and the like. In August 1935, according to an estimate, in addition to the 1,645,602 wage workers referred to above, some 1,107,281 other hired hands were at work on the farms of the United States. Most of these would undoubtedly be classed as "seasonal", but no one can say with certainty how many were migratory workers or local residents or wage hands resident on or near farms.

C. Women and child workers.

The center of interest in this discussion of labor on the farm is the hired workers, as distinct from the unpaid working members of the farm operator's family. Accordingly, we are at a disadvantage in treating the labor of women and children on the farm, since by far the larger number of them are members of the farm operator's family. The number of hired child and female workers, however, is undoubtedly in excess of the figures reported in the census. This is the case, first, because the occupational census of 1930 was taken on April 1, at a time when relatively few workers of these classes are employed. In the second place, the census did not enumerate the occupations of persons under 10 years of age, although it is known that younger children do considerable work on farms. And finally, the hired employment of women and children on farms is likely to be obscured by the fact that they are frequently members of the family of a hired male laborer, who alone is reported in the census since he receives the wages earned by all members of the group.

1. *Women in farm work.*—Successive censuses have reported a gradual decline in the number of women in agricultural occupations. On April 1, 1930, a total of 909,939 women were thus occupied, making up about one-twelfth of all persons engaged in agriculture (table 12).¹⁸ The majority of women farm laborers are native-born; and of these, two-thirds are Negroes. Because of the immigration restrictions of the last 25 years, foreign-born women are now rare among farm workers except in the case of such groups as the Mexicans in sugar-beet areas, and the Italians in some Atlantic coast truck farming sections. Women make up a considerable proportion of the migratory labor which follows the truck and fruit crop harvests and picks cotton in Texas, Arizona, and California.

The work done by women farm workers is varied. Usually it does not include much heavy and prolonged physical labor. Much of their activity consists of weeding, hoeing, and picking truck crops and small fruits, also cutting, grading, and packing for shipment to market. In the sugar-beet areas, particularly east of the Rocky Mountains, women take part in all hand operations. In cotton areas they chop and pick; in tobacco areas they hoe, top, and sucker.

¹⁸ U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Population, vol. V, General Report on Occupations, p. 76.

TABLE 12.—*Women engaged in agriculture, Apr. 1, 1930*¹

Geographic division	Total ²	Farm laborers	
		Unpaid family workers	Wage workers
New England.....	6,281	772	1,185
Middle Atlantic.....	16,301	2,148	3,227
East North Central.....	37,946	4,958	4,446
West North Central.....	44,761	8,571	5,033
South Atlantic.....	289,344	153,195	78,906
East South Central.....	293,133	194,307	35,066
West South Central.....	188,817	106,594	35,152
Mountain.....	13,896	2,827	3,163
Pacific.....	19,460	1,636	5,145
United States.....	909,939	475,008	171,323

¹ U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Population, vol. IV, Occupations by States, compiled from State tables 4.

² Includes farm operators, managers, and foreman, as well as farm laborers.

Little information is available concerning the wages of women farm laborers in this country. At piece-work rates on tasks requiring quickness and skill rather than strength, as in truck crop or small-fruit picking, women are usually able to earn as much as men in the same working time. Their efficiency, in heavier tasks, as compared with that of men, is difficult to measure. In cotton areas a woman is apt to be called a three-quarter hand or half-hand, indicating roughly her comparative capacity.

Living conditions for female laborers who engage in seasonal farm work away from their regular homes are likely to be unsatisfactory. Farm employers usually provide only the minimum of housing and housekeeping facilities, if any. Quarters are frequently only makeshift, such as old buildings temporarily cleared of farm equipment and never intended for human dwellings.¹⁹

Little attention has been paid to the effect of living and working conditions upon the health of women farm laborers in the United States, or to the indirect effect upon their families. It is evident that one effect must be the enforced slighting of home work and attention to children.²⁰ Fatigue and lack of time prevent giving proper attention for food preparation, care of children, and of dwelling. Pressure for time frequently necessitates serving of foods easiest to prepare but not conducive to family health. Children are often left to the care of others slightly older or are taken to the fields.

2. *Child labor on farms: Extent.*—Agriculture, even in its inactive season, is the Nation's principal employer of child labor, according to the census. How much larger an employer it is in rush seasons can only be surmised. In some areas it has been known that two or three times as many child laborers have been at work on farms as were reported by the census.²¹ The 1930 census of occupations reported that 70 percent of employed children between 10 and 16 years old were engaged in agriculture.

In April 1930, 469,497 young people 10 to 15 years of age were reported by that census to be gainfully employed as farm laborers (table 13). Nearly half of these child wage workers and 54.6 percent of the unpaid family workers were whites. In each class, nearly 4 out of 9 were Negroes.²²

Causes: Any discussion of child labor in agriculture must, of course, distinguish on the one hand between (1) the performance of chores on the home farm, ordinarily a beneficial process, or (2) the employment of boys and girls, properly safeguarded, during periods that do not conflict with schooling, at tasks which do not tax their strength; and (3) on the other hand, the sort of child labor which

¹⁹ The President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership (Washington, D. C., 1932), Farm and Village Housing, pp. 195-201.

²⁰ U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Child Labor and the Work of Mothers on Norfolk Truck Farms, Bureau publication 130, Washington, D. C., 1924, p. 24.

²¹ Putney, Bryant, Control of Child Labor, Editorial Research Reports, vol. 1, No. 20, May 26, 1937, p. 396, footnote 9.

²² Compiled from unpublished data furnished by the Bureau of the Census.

is physically or educationally harmful. Even on the home farm, unfortunately, economic circumstances are frequently such as to force the owners', tenants', or croppers' children to work longer and harder than is good for them, or than is good in the long run for the community.

The children of the wage laborer in agriculture are peculiarly subject to the economic ills which beset the lives of their parents. These children frequently start work at an age lower than would be permitted in industry; they work under conditions that are not regulated, for unlimited hours; their education is neglected; and their earnings, though necessary to the family budget, are meager. For single men working steadily at farm labor the wages are, at best, none too high; for married men earnings are usually so low that additional income from other members of the family is indispensable. When wages are cut or unemployment occurs, the situation becomes worse. Consequently, farm laborers by the thousands are forced to work their wives and children, with little regard to the ultimate consequences.

The farm work which children do is varied and extensive.²³ Much of it is "stoop" work—tasks like weeding, picking strawberries, truck crops, and prunes. The sugar-beet crop has always been a large user of child labor. Children chop cotton and pick it wherever it is grown. Tobacco production involves a series of operations often performed by children—transplanting, hoeing, topping, suckering, worming, and harvesting. Truck farm work done by children includes transplanting, thinning, hoeing, weeding, harvesting; and harvesting may mean cutting, pulling, or picking followed by trimming, washing, grading, bunching, and packing. The variety of truck crops and operations is large. Fruit work done by children is largely confined to the picking of small fruits.

TABLE 13.—*Child laborers in agriculture, Apr. 1, 1930*¹

UNPAID FAMILY WORKERS

Geographic division	Number of farm workers—all ages	Child workers			
		Number		Percent of all workers	
		10 to 13 years	14 to 15 years	10 to 13 years	14 to 15 years
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Percent</i>
New England.....	10, 102	226	879	2.2	8.7
Middle Atlantic.....	33, 017	429	2, 680	1.3	8.1
East North Central.....	117, 435	1, 663	8, 297	1.4	7.1
West North Central.....	176, 271	4, 058	13, 987	2.3	7.9
South Atlantic.....	452, 571	58, 219	68, 718	12.9	15.2
East South Central.....	481, 511	77, 548	72, 077	16.1	15.0
West South Central.....	340, 304	42, 997	44, 786	12.6	13.2
Mountain.....	32, 601	1, 734	2, 952	5.3	9.1
Pacific.....	15, 980	305	789	1.9	4.9
United States.....	1, 659, 792	187, 179	215, 165	11.3	13.0

WAGE WORKERS

New England.....	96, 086	58	1, 111	0.1	1.2
Middle Atlantic.....	223, 201	277	2, 358	.1	1.1
East North Central.....	412, 087	426	3, 618	.1	.9
West North Central.....	414, 478	739	4, 729	.2	1.1
South Atlantic.....	511, 219	7, 885	17, 173	1.5	3.4
East South Central.....	272, 426	3, 858	7, 499	1.4	2.8
West South Central.....	395, 821	4, 397	9, 593	1.1	2.4
Mountain.....	156, 391	551	1, 700	.4	1.1
Pacific.....	251, 263	193	988	.1	.4
United States.....	2, 732, 972	18, 384	48, 769	.7	1.8

¹ Compiled from unpublished data furnished by the Bureau of the Census.

²³ White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, sec. III, Education and Training, Committee D, Vocational Guidance and Child Labor, Report of the Subcommittee on Child Labor, Child Labor, Century Co., New York, N. Y., 1932, pp. 219-261.

The South is the area in which child labor, both hired and family labor, is most common, particularly the East South Central and South Atlantic States, with their truck and berry crops, cotton, and tobacco. Fourteen States, all of them Southern except Missouri, employ practically nine-tenths of the total child workers of the ages 10 to 15 (wage workers plus unpaid family workers).²⁴

There is close relationship between the proportion of child workers in agriculture and that of farms operated by croppers. It is the practice in the South to allot croppers land in proportion to the number of "hoe-hands" in their families. Large families get the preference. Consequently use of child labor rises with increase in numbers of cropper farms. While the cropper children work with and for their parents, they are practically hired employees of the landlord.

3. *Effects on children.*—It is frequently asserted that the health and education of children suffer from much of the work which they do on the farms. Some of the permanent effects on the physique of the children are discernible only to the skilled observer. Lowered vitality in later life may result, due to the strain of cramped postures on undeveloped muscles and bones. Late fall chill and dampness may cause colds and bring on complications.

Risks to health may not be serious if not prolonged. But too often the work is carried on under heavy pressure to get crops off to market or to save them from weather injury. A majority of children in some types of work put in days of 8 or 10 hours, or longer. Such rush work may last several weeks, weather permitting.

As regards school attendance and the scholastic attainments of child workers, numerous surveys and the data of the census testify to the ill effects of farm employment. Child labor in the South is accompanied by short school terms, low attendance, and a high percentage of illiteracy among both whites and Negroes. Two recent studies of child laborers in New Jersey reported that they had lost an average of 39 days of school attendance;²⁵ and that at least two out of five of those children were retarded.²⁶

A Pacific Northwest study showed that nearly two-fifths of a group of migratory children were retarded from 1 to 3 years in school.²⁷ The finding was not much better among children of nonmigratory hop pickers. They also were out of school for long periods.

The right of children to a common school education is well recognized in this country. But too many children of farm laborers are still deprived of it. California is making a notable start in providing schools intended to follow the major movements of migrant farm laborers, to relieve local schools of the demoralization caused by entrance and departure of large groups of nonresident children, and to provide the migrants with school facilities patronized largely by their own class of pupils.

4. *Regulation of child labor in agriculture.*—The evils of child employment in agriculture have long been recognized. They have been condemned by the Sixth National Conference on Labor Legislation, by the Interstate Conference on Migratory Labor held at Baltimore in February 1940, and by the White House Conference for Children in Democracy. However, only a very few States have as yet attempted any kind of regulation, and the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act does not apply to agriculture.

Child labor laws fixing minimum age for employment—the accepted method of regulating other forms of child labor—are largely ineffective in dealing with this phase of the problem. State child labor laws either exempt agriculture altogether, or set no minimum age for such employment outside school hours and during school vacations, at which times most agricultural work is performed. Even those laws which nominally apply are not enforced in practice for children in agricultural work, because of opposition to the regulation of such work, and because of difficulties in inspection.

Compulsory school attendance laws have been a more effective means of regulation. This has been true in spite of many difficulties, including: (1) Children leaving school early to go to the country to work, and returning late; (2) pressure on local school authorities to close the schools for "crop vacation"; (3) absence of school facilities for children of migratory families who follow the crops.

²⁴ Unpublished data supplied by the U. S. Bureau of the Census.

²⁵ Report of the Commission to Investigate the Employment of Migratory Children in the State of New Jersey, Trenton, N. J., 1931, pp. 67-90.

²⁶ National Child Labor Committee, *A Summer in the Country*, Publication 377, New York, N. Y., March 1939, pp. 24-27.

²⁷ Sidel, James E., *Pick for Your Supper*, National Child Labor Committee, New York, N. Y. June 1939. Publication 378, pp. 24-36.

Half a dozen States have adopted some regulation of agricultural employment of minors. California has applied to agriculture the provisions of its regular child labor law relating to ages and hours of employment. Massachusetts and Pennsylvania require special employment certificates for children going into agriculture. The Wisconsin Industrial Commission was given authority to regulate the work of children under 16 in certain types of industrialized agriculture and has issued one order applying to child employment in beet fields. Nebraska has also limited the hours of child beet workers.

Pennsylvania and New Jersey prohibit the employment in agricultural work of out-of-State children who have not complied with the educational requirements of their home States. Maine and Kentucky apply their regular compulsory school attendance laws to migratory children.

The Sugar Act of 1937²⁸ provides that sugar-beet and sugar-cane producers who receive Government payments authorized in the act may not directly or indirectly employ on the crop any children under 14 years of age, except their own, nor allow children between the ages of 14 and 16 to work longer than 8 hours in any one day on the crop. No comprehensive survey has been made of the effects of this Act, but there is evidence that the amount of child labor employed on sugar-crop production has been reduced.²⁹

D. Sharecroppers.

1. *A type of farm labor.*—The 1935 census reported 716,000 sharecroppers in 16 Southern States, representing 39 percent of all tenants and over 20 percent of all farmers in that area. Croppers are concentrated on the rich bottom lands of eastern Arkansas and western Mississippi, where cotton plantations predominate.³⁰ Particularly in these plantation areas, and in other areas of the South, they are the most important source of labor in the production of cotton. Assuming three workers per sharecropper family—a conservative estimate—there were 1,611,000 worker-members in cropper families in the eight principal cotton-producing States, as compared with about 488,000 hired laborers.³¹

The purpose of this section is not to present an account of all the problems of the Southern sharecroppers, but rather to show how similar is their position in agriculture to that of the agricultural wage laborers. Ordinarily the sharecropper is classed as a tenant, although, as Brannen states: "From the standpoint of farm organization, whereby the landowner contributes the capital and equipment, and the cultivator of the land contributes the labor, and the landowner retains a large measure of control of both the land and equipment and the labor, the relationship is virtually that of employer and employee rather than that of landlord and tenant."³²

In some States, as stated³³ the cropper is designated in law as a wage laborer working for a share of the crop as wages. Study of the reasons for the rapid spread of sharecropping in the South after the Civil War bears out this view.³⁴ In the hill areas of the South and in other areas not characterized by a plantation system, the sharecropper more nearly approaches the status of a tenant.

Of all the characteristics usually considered essential in a tenancy agreement, the cropper contract exhibits only one; namely, assumption of risk. Like other tenants—and like the owner himself—the cropper takes a chance on the conjuncture of weather, soil, and seed; unlike bona fide tenants, he has little or nothing to say about the selection of crops, the methods or time of cultivation or harvesting or the markets in which the crop is to be sold. Usually he bears half of the cost of ginning, bagging, and ties, and half of the cost of fertilizer, when commercial fertilizer is used on cotton crop on which he works. He receives, ordinarily, one-half of the returns from the sale of that crop. The same principles may extend to practices in crops other than cotton. But he is no entrepreneur; he does not manage, neither does he supply any appreciable capital. In no sense does his tenure status rest upon control of land or of the use to which land is put. He supplies labor power like other laborers, and in most other respects, save that of method of compensation, his position is like

²⁸ Public Law 414, 75th Cong., 1st sess. sec. 301 (a).

²⁹ Child Labor in Sugar Beet Fields, *The Child*, vol. 1, No. 11. May 1937, p. 17.

³⁰ For more detailed information on numbers and distribution of croppers in the South see Turner, H. A., *A Graphic Summary of Farm Tenure*, U. S. Department of Agriculture Miscellaneous Publication No. 261. Washington, D. C., December 1936.

³¹ Since members of cropper families often hire out, some duplication exists between these 2 figures.

³² Brannen, Co. O., *Relation of Land Tenure to Plantation Organization*, Fayetteville, Ark., 1928, p. 31.

³³ See p. 22.

³⁴ Banks, Enoch Marvin, *The Economics of Land Tenure in Georgia*, Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. XXIII, No. 1, Columbia University Press, New York, N. Y., 1905, p. 79.

theirs. His field work is closely supervised by the farm manager or riding boss; his teams and tools are supplied. (His employer-employee relationships as they affect farm labor in general are discussed in pt. 3.)

From the point of view of the plantation manager, the advantage of keeping the cropper in tenant status lies in the assurance thus given that the cropper and his family can be depended on to remain on the plantation through the harvest season, with its heavy demand for hand labor. There is the further advantage that losses resulting from a bad crop year or low prices will be shared by the cropper who, in effect, subsidizes the owner by reducing his own already low standard of living. For the cropper the advantage lies in the assurance of support, through the furnish system, from early in the year until the harvest season when the landlord often turns over part of the cash from cotton seed sales, in lieu of advances.

For both owners and croppers correlative disadvantages exist. On the one hand the plantation owner sees himself under the necessity of supporting labor at times when it is not actually being used, and on the other, the cropper sees himself and his family bound to the plantation by ties which prevent them from taking advantage of opportunities elsewhere.³⁵

Economically, as in the matter of function, there is little to choose as between cropper and wage hand. The wage hand on the southern plantation is not, like the strictly seasonal hands, a mere laborer by the day. Often resident on the plantation the year round, he has a house and certain perquisites. Often, indeed, although still regarded as a wage hand, he works a small patch of cotton and thus blurs still further the distinction between himself and the cropper. Everywhere one finds such gradations of status, from wage hand to renter, as well as a constant shifting of individuals, from year to year, from cropper status to that of wage hand and back again.

There are similarities between the problems of the cropper and those of the plantation wage hand. First among such similarities is the difficulty both have of earning enough to maintain even a subsistence standard of living. Second is instability of tenure and of employment. Third is the trend toward loss of income due to deterioration of tenure status through reduction of the cotton acreage per cropper. Fourth is the danger of complete displacement, as a result of the increased use of tractors and large-scale equipment. All these factors contribute to the economic insecurity of the cropper and render his position little more to be desired than that of the wage hand.

Also to be considered are the unsatisfactory conditions on the job and the lack of any advantage between cropper and wage hand in this respect. Such considerations support the view that, in considering the South, to exclude the cropper would rob a study of agricultural labor of most of its value.

2. *Incomes of croppers and wage hands.*—Data regarding sharecropper and wage laborer incomes indicate that the cropper enjoys little income advantage over the wage laborer, particularly when the figures are adjusted for differences in the numbers of workers in the average families of croppers and laborers. Table 14 indicates that in a number of studies neither among sharecroppers nor among wage hands did the annual net cash earnings ordinarily exceed \$100 per worker; and even when goods for home use and perquisites were figured in, the total seldom exceeded \$150 in either group. The slightly higher income per cropper worker is almost wholly accounted for by the difference in the value of goods produced for home use. The cropper, because of his year's tenure, is better able than the wage hand to work a garden, keep a cow, a pig, or some chickens. Per family, the difference in income between cropper and wage hand is greater because of the larger size of the average cropper family.

The standards of living maintained at such income levels were described in the Report of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy as "below any level of decency."³⁶ Rupert B. Vance recently further portrayed the unsatisfactory living standard of this low-income group.³⁷ Tenants' housing is described as the poorest in the Nation, their customary clothing as inadequate, and their diet as being a frequent cause of pellagra. Gardens and livestock production for home use are frequently lacking; "rations" are mostly obtained on credit; money income is meager. Back-breaking household labor reflects the absence of household conveniences. Medical and health services are inadequate; patent medicines are the main resource in illness.

³⁵ Goldenweizer, E. A., and Truesdell, Leon F., *Farm Tenancy in the United States*, Census Monograph IV, Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C., 1924, p. 15.

³⁶ *Farm Tenancy*, op. cit. p. 7.

³⁷ Vance, Rupert B., *Farmers Without Land*, Public Affairs Pamphlets No. 12, Public Affairs Committee, New York, N. Y., 1937, pp. 19-20.

TABLE 14.—Adjusted sharecropper and wage laborer net income in specified areas, 1932-37¹

Class of worker, year, and area	Total net family income including home use and prerequisites	Net cash family income	Percent which home use and prerequisites are of total net income	Net income per person		Net income per worker	
				Total net	Net cash	Total net	Net cash
SHARECROPPER							
	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Dollars</i>
1932: Yazoo, Mississippi Delta.....	252	119	52.8	66	31	87	41
1933: Yazoo, Mississippi Delta.....	334	202	39.5	95	58	119	72
1934:							
Yazoo, Mississippi Delta.....	381	243	36.2	109	69	136	87
Arkansas: Red, Arkansas, and Mississippi River Basins.....	334	217	35.0	88	57	159	103
Atlantic Coast Plain.....	569	355	37.6	96	60	167	104
Upper Piedmont.....	386	204	47.2	74	39	133	70
Black Belt.....	360	207	42.5	69	40	124	71
Upper Delta.....	373	230	38.3	96	59	170	105
Lower Delta.....	204	98	52.0	49	23	85	41
1935:							
Yazoo, Mississippi Delta.....	424	261	38.4	118	73	146	90
Mississippi Delta.....	492	303	38.4	114	70	141	87
Georgia Piedmont.....	518	187	63.9	93	33	133	48
South Carolina, Coast Plain.....	570	312	45.3	104	57	150	82
1936:							
Yazoo, Mississippi Delta.....	530	367	30.8	156	108	196	136
Mississippi, Black Belt.....	310	204	34.0	82	54	107	70
Georgia, lower Piedmont.....	401	162	60.0	73	39	106	43
Texas, Piney Woods cotton.....	489	303	38.0	109	67	245	152
1937:							
Arkansas: Red, Arkansas, and Mississippi Deltas.....	483	313	35.0	118	78	161	104
South Carolina Piedmont.....	561	349	38.0	95	59	140	87
South Carolina Plain.....	648	430	34.0	108	72	158	105
WAGE LABORER							
1934:							
Arkansas: Red, Arkansas, and Mississippi River Delta.....	243	168	30.9	87	60	128	88
Atlantic Coast Plain.....	239	164	31.4	70	48	109	75
Upper Piedmont.....	193	126	34.7	84	55	129	84
Black Belt.....	205	136	33.7	64	43	98	65
Upper Delta.....	242	166	31.4	97	66	151	104
Lower Delta.....	245	169	31.0	91	63	136	94
1937:							
Arkansas: Red, Arkansas, and Mississippi Deltas.....	405	292	27.9	109	79	156	112
South Carolina Piedmont.....	344	228	33.7	93	62	138	91
South Carolina Coast Plain.....	371	273	26.4	76	56	128	94

¹ Source: Holcomb, E. J., *Income and Earnings of Farm Laborers*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Washington, D. C., May 1940, processed.

3. *Causes of low income.*—Some of the causes of this low level of income apply both to croppers and wage hands; some are peculiar to one class or the other. Among the causes applicable to both are, first, the dependence upon the farm resources of the South of more persons than the land, as it is now used and managed, can support, and, second, the persistent reliance upon cotton as the one cash crop. Moreover, both cropper and wage hand are highly seasonal laborers; although the cropper may have a year's-tenure, he seldom works more than 6 months in the year, while members of his family are even less fully employed. The cropper and the wage hand both suffer from insufficiency of paid employment.

In addition, both cropper and wage hand spend their lives at simple manual labor that is highly inefficient and unproductive. In some plantation areas it is not uncommon to see a sharecropper using the outmoded "double shovel" on his cotton patch, while in an adjoining field on the same plantation, a wage laborer drives a tractor pulling a four-row cultivator. The practice of using the tractor on sharecropper cotton is increasing but the sharecropper seldom benefits, since its use usually involves the deduction from his small prospective income of charges for the work performed.

Among the causes of low income that in recent years have caused especial concern to croppers, are (1) reduction in cotton acreage per cropper, (2) changes in rental arrangements, and (3) the "furnish" system.

In the past the size of the cropper family, which fixed the amount of labor available for cotton picking, was the chief factor in determining the size of the cropper tract. This varied from 15 to 25 acres, some part of which was usually in corn. Of recent years there has been a tendency to reduce the acreage per cropper family, and thus to diminish its annual income. In some areas, indeed, the cropper cotton has been reduced to a mere patch, thus creating a status different from that of the bona fide cropper, and yet not quite like that of the wage hand. Under this arrangement the labor of the cropper family is retained on the plantation, but is used, to an increasing extent, upon the wages-cotton crop of the plantation rather than upon the cropper's own planting. This tendency toward reduction in the acreage of cotton per cropper has grown out of the general reduction in cotton acreage in the South under the Agricultural Adjustment Administration programs. It was necessary for each plantation operator to decide whether the reduction in his total acreage should be made in the cotton worked with wage hands or in that worked with tenants and croppers. If the choice fell against the latter, it was a matter of getting rid of some of the croppers altogether or of reducing the acreage per cropper.

During recent years there has appeared in some areas a tendency to modify the customary rental arrangements by reducing the cropper's share of the crop, say, from 50 to 40 percent, or by making new charges upon him for the performance of services either not rendered before or performed free of charge. One of the new charges is that for tractor work performed on the cropper's acreage; data from three Arkansas delta counties reveal that from 25 to 40 percent of the croppers on plantations using tractors, have to pay such charges.

Since croppers receive a part of their supplies, their so-called furnish, direct from the landlord or his agent, or secure credit from the plantation store or commissary, or from a local merchant on the landlord's endorsement, cropper income may be materially affected by the prices charged for food and supplies and by the terms on which credit is secured. In this respect the wage hand sometimes is in the same position as the cropper, being under some compulsion to trade at the plantation store. The rate of profit on goods sold to plantation labor varies widely. Goods may be sold at current retail cash prices and 10 percent may be added to the account as interest at the end of the year, or goods may be sold at credit prices, which exceed cash prices.

A study of 112 croppers in North Carolina in 1928 showed that furnish advances, mostly in cash, amounted to over 63 percent of the cropper's cash farm income, while the interest paid on those advances amounted to more than 10 percent of the total cash income.³⁸

It is this system, together with the dependence of the cropper upon the landlord for the keeping of accounts, that has fastened debt so inexorably upon the cropper class. Hoffsommer's study of 1,022 relief households in December 1933 indicated that, for approximately one-half of the years spent at sharecropping by all relief households reporting, the economic outcome was "broke even." Roughly, 20 percent of the years showed a profit on the growing of cotton and 30 percent, a loss. More than one-third of the tenants were indebted to their landlords.³⁹

4. *Instability of tenure.*—It is often asserted that, despite the low income of the cropper, there is a certain permanency about his position as a tenant which the wage laborer lacks. Undoubtedly there is some truth in this view. Once the year-end negotiations are over and the cropper is settled on a plantation with his family, he has a certain amount of security as regards the coming year. However, the regular wage hand, resident on the plantation, differs from him only slightly in this degree. Both those groups enjoy a decided advantage over the nonresident seasonal wage hand.

Unfortunately, this comparative stability does not extend in satisfactory degree from 1 year to another. The extent to which croppers move has indeed become notorious. In his study, *The Relation of Land Tenure to Plantation Organization*, Brannen states that, of all the croppers in selected counties in 1920, more than half had been less than 2 years on the farms they then occupied.⁴⁰ According to a comprehensive study in 1924 of the mobility of Oklahoma farmers, from one-half to three-fourths of all croppers in most of the cotton areas of the State were new to the farms they were operating that year; and the average period

³⁸ Vance, Rupert B., *op. cit.* p. 17.

³⁹ Hoffsommer, Harold. *Landlord-Tenant Relations and Relief in Alabama*, United States Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Division of Research Statistics and Finance, Research Section, Research Bulletin, Series II, No. 9, Washington, D. C., November 14, 1935.

⁴⁰ Brannen, *op. cit.* p. 46.

of cropper residence on a farm was about a year and a half. In seven of the crop-reporting districts of the State, between two-thirds to three-fourths of all croppers were for the first time operating the farms they were on. The direct cost of such a volume of movement was estimated to be about \$2,000,000 a year, at least half of which was of no economic or social benefit to the farmer who moves, to the owner of the land, or to the State. Useless moving was estimated to have cost the farmers interviewed, in direct cost only, an equivalent of 5.4 percent of their per capita net wealth.⁴¹

Records secured in Arkansas in 1938 showed that wage laborers and sharecroppers alike were highly mobile.⁴²

Two-fifths of all farm occupancies lasted 1 year only, while nearly three-fifths (59 percent) of the occupancies did not exceed 2 years. Moves were usually for short distances. Over one-third of the farm-to-farm moves of the Arkansas families were over distances of less than 3 miles, while 62 percent of the moves did not involve distances greater than 8 miles.

Such frequent moving, even for short distances, has a direct effect on the economic and social status of the families. Aside from the direct cost, pulling up roots may involve a change of schools for the children and the breaking of church and community associations. Farm and home improvements, moreover, are not to be expected from such transient tenants, other than those which can be fully utilized within the period of a year.

5. *Deterioration of tenure status.*—The parallel between the cropper and the wage hand has recently been increased by a new danger already referred to: Though the form of cropper status is retained, the economic reality of that status, limited as it is, may gradually deteriorate until the small advantage which the cropper at one time possessed over the wage hand disappears entirely. Under such circumstances, indeed, the cropper finds himself no better off than the wage hand as regards income and yet, because of his share relationship, is deprived of the wage hand's freedom of movement. This process appears to be taking place on a considerable scale. The chief indication is the decline in the acreage of cotton per cropper family.

Further destruction of the distinction between the cropper and the wage laborer is involved in the practice not uncommon on many plantations, of working croppers "through and through." Under this system the croppers jointly work on the combined acreage of all cropper cotton tracts under the operator's supervision. In many instances no indication of the identity of the individual cropper patches is given until the crop is ready for chopping. The "through and through" system is particularly suited to plantations on which tractors and multiple-row equipment are used extensively. Often a "through and through" system is also followed at picking time when croppers work as a gang in picking the cotton of the entire plantation, receive wages for so doing, and in turn are charged for the cost of cotton picking on their individual tracts.

This break-down of the old distinction, even in the matter of cotton acreages, between sharecropper and wage hand is undoubtedly due in part to the progress of mechanization, and in part to the reduction in cotton acreage in recent years.

6. *Displacement.*—Voluntary movement of croppers, as of tenants generally, has long been a characteristic feature of the Cotton Belt. Dissatisfaction with low income, desire to escape from a load of debt carried over from year to year, the hope of self-betterment, more restlessness, custom, and habit, all play a part in what is generally recognized as a wasteful reshuffling of the personnel of cotton production. Ordinarily, the cropper has little incentive to remain in one place. He has little livestock and no machinery; his household belongings are few; under the one-crop system, he has no interest in long-time plans.

Of late, however, the threat of complete displacement has increased the economic insecurity of the cropper, and emphasized the vagueness of the line separating him from the wage hand. Reduction of cotton acreage, increased use of mechanical equipment, the consolidation of farms and the desire on the part of planters to work the cotton crop with wage hands, have created conditions conducive to such a development.

A survey of 221 farms in three bottom land counties of Arkansas (Mississippi, Chicot, and Pulaski) showed that a definite shift from sharecropper and share

⁴¹ Sanders, J. T. Economic and Social Aspects of Mobility of Oklahoma Farmers, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Agricultural Experiment Station. Bulletin 195, Stillwater, August 1929, p. 3.

⁴² Barton, Glen T. and McNeely, J. G. Recent Changes in Farm Labor Organization in Three Arkansas Plantation Counties, Arkansas University, College of Agriculture, Agricultural Experiment Station. Preliminary Report, Fayetteville, September 1939, Processed, p. 41.

tenant labor took place between 1932 and 1938. In 1938 the number of share workers had decreased by 13.7 percent from that of 1932, while the number of wage families had increased by 44.3 percent. However, the net decrease in the number of households, including single hands, amounted to only 0.6 percent. During the period under consideration, the cropland in the 221 farms increased by 8,653 acres, due largely to land-clearing operations. Accordingly, in order to hold the land factor constant, calculations were made on the basis of the number of families in each tenure class per 10,000 acres of cropland. On this basis there had been a decline of 27 percent in the number of sharecroppers and share renters, and an increase of 19 percent in the number of wage families. The displacement, computed on this basis, was 16 percent. Most of the changes from share labor to wage labor occurred on mechanized farms. On 121 farms surveyed in three counties in the upland area of Arkansas (Clark, Pope, and Independence), there had been between 1932 and 1938 a decrease of 14 percent in the number of share renters and of 12½ percent in the number of sharecroppers, but, in contrast to the bottom land area, no increase in the number of wage families. The net reduction in the number of households, including single wage hands was 12½ percent. Calculated in relation to 10,000 acres of cropland, the decline amounted to 15½ percent in the case of share renters, and 20 percent in the case of sharecroppers, while the decrease in the total number of households, including single wage hands, amounted to 16 percent.⁴³

Expanding economic activity and employment opportunities accompanying the present war will undoubtedly provide alternative employment for some displaced sharecroppers and laborers. The social and economic aspects of labor displacement in the South will thus be different in the immediate future from those in prospect until just recently. However, farm organization adaptations to a decreased labor supply during the war may result in serious economic and social problems in the period of post-war adjustment.

The unsatisfactory character of the job status of the sharecropper, in which he is with difficulty to be distinguished from the wage hand, arises from the completeness of supervision to which his work is subjected, the lack, despite a share in the crop risks, of any share in decisions or control, the loss in some areas of any identity of interest in that part of the acreage which is formally allotted to him, and his complete dependence upon the operator for animals and tools.

The engaging of croppers as family units involves severe restrictions upon the family members. Indebtedness to the landlord, so common as to be a pattern of relationship, increases the sense of dependence.

Few deny that one of the most serious faults in plantation organization is the inefficiency of the low grade of labor employed, the lack of incentive to self-betterment and the consequent inertia and indifference. But it cannot be denied either that when opportunity to rise is present, as on tractor jobs calling for skill and resourcefulness, among the young at least inertia vanishes and a ready response to opportunity is apparent. The lack of any security in tenure, and the indeterminate legal position of the sharecropper, discourage him from improving his land or buildings since such improvements might merely be gifts to his landlord. Thus he wastes his free time in less productive activities and the land goes uncared for and the buildings unrepaired. The unsatisfactory working conditions of the cropper thus contribute to the basic land-use problems of the South, draining off natural resources, and causing failure to return fertility to the land by the growing of cover crops and the raising of livestock.

7. *Racial characteristics.*—The racial factor perpetuates and intensifies the disadvantages to which the majority of sharecroppers are subject. Sharecropping is peculiarly the lot of the Negro on the land in important areas of the South. In the United States the ratio of tenancy as a whole is much lower among white farm operators than among operators classified as nonwhite (which is virtually synonymous with Negro in the South).

In this group, 74.5 percent of the nonwhite farm operators, as against 40.5 percent of the white operators, were classified as tenants in the census returns for 1940.⁴⁴

Nonwhites represented a scant 23 percent of all farm operators in the South in 1940, but more than 55 percent of the cropper operators in that area. Considering cropping as a category of farm tenure rather than as a category of farm labor,

⁴³ McNeely, J. G. and Barton, Glen T. *Land Tenure in Arkansas: II Change in Labor Organization on Cotton Farms*, Arkansas University. College of Agriculture, Agricultural Experiment Station. Bulletin 397, Fayetteville, June 1940.

⁴⁴ U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. (a) Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930. Agriculture vol II, pt. 2. Southern States. Table 9. (b) Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940. Agriculture U. S. Summary. First series. Table VI (supplemental for the Southern States).

Negro farm operators in the South are roughly $4\frac{1}{2}$ times as likely as are white operators to be found in the status of croppers. At the present time, apparently, the absolute number of nonwhite croppers is greater than that of white croppers (299,118 against 242,173 according to the 1940 census figures). Croppers constitute some 18 percent of all the farm operators in the South (541,291 out of 3,007,170), but Negro croppers account for 44 percent of all Negro operators, according to the 1940 census figures; whereas white croppers account for scarcely more than 10 percent of all white operators.

During the decade preceding the last census, the proportional decrease in the numbers of croppers was definitely more rapid among white than among Negroes in the South. The total number of croppers as a whole declined by some 30 percent between 1930 and 1940, but within that total the number of whites fell 37 percent while the number of nonwhites fell 24 percent. Apparently the forces that forced croppers into economic positions less desirable, or in some cases permitted them to rise into positions more desirable, than cropping, were less operative among the nonwhite than the white groups.

Community and social handicaps to which Negroes are subject generally throughout the South combine to keep them cropping to a greater extent than in the case of white croppers. The Negro is likely to be at a greater disadvantage than the white cropper in any dispute that may arise with his landlord. Attitudes, dating back to the days when chattel slavery was a legal institution, underly the handicaps to which the Negro cropper is subject in addition to the usual cropper handicaps of extreme poverty, bad housing, inadequate education, etc.

The problem of the sharecropper cannot be separated into the problems of the white sharecropper on the one hand as opposed to the problems of the Negro sharecropper on the other. Rather, the general sharecropper problem exists in peculiarly intensified and aggravated form among the sharecropper majority who are Negro.

E. *The hired man.*

In the last week of March 1940, according to the census, there were 739,000 laborers working on farms who were hired by the month. How many of these were hired men, in the old sense of the word, there is no way of knowing; in the Corn Belt and dairy areas they probably constituted a considerable proportion. Even in these districts, however, their numbers were diminishing.

In the past and until recent years the hired man was regarded as one of the most permanent and typical figures on the American farm. He was characteristic of farm life in the nineteenth century while family farming still predominated and half or more of the country's gainful workers were engaged in agriculture.

The hired man was frequently the son of a nearby farmer; as such he was the social and intellectual equal of the members of his employer's family. If not so well vouched for, he could be by industry, ability, and character soon establish his own reputation and place in farm circles. He was readily accepted as a member of the farm group. In the East he was usually an unmarried man. He ate at his employer's table, lodged under the same roof, and shared the plans, work, joys, and sorrows of the household. He worked for wages, usually by the month. By saving he often acquired a farm of his own in the locality. Off his employer's farm, the hired man was a member of a closely knit community, free to attend church, socials, ball games, or carnivals.

The best of the hired men were almost professionals. Such men had judgment and initiative. They understood the handling and care of livestock. They could be trusted to carry on farm work intelligently, without constant supervision. They did not receive high money wages, but they did not have heavy expenses. They could easily save much of their income. Opportunity to climb the agricultural ladder was fostered by the cheapness of farm land, low cost of equipment, and the possibility of going West to homestead on cheap public lands.

West of the Hudson the hired man was often a family man. Accordingly, he was often given a dwelling. He frequently received, in addition to his money wages and dwelling, such perquisites as milk, eggs, fuel, flour or meal, meat at slaughtering time, vegetables and fruit in season, use of a horse, and other privileges. Sometimes he was allowed pasturage and feed for his own cow instead of milk; or land for garden and use of work stock and tools with which to work it instead of vegetables. Practices were apt to be uniform locally, but they varied regionally. The allowance of corn meal was characteristically southern; of flour, northern and western.

Of shortcomings in the life of the hired man, there were many. A farm hand's wage rates were low, for part of the pay was practice in the business of running a

farm. Often the wages were lower in winter than in summer. Sometimes in winter there was actual unemployment. Savings accumulated slowly. As the years passed, it took longer to begin farming by one's self; the agricultural ladder became harder to climb.

Often perquisites were not so good nor so generous as the hired man thought reasonable. Foods served at table were often the subject of complaint as to cooking or variety, and room and bed as to comfort. The married man's house might be small for his family, inconvenient for his wife's work, and in poor repair. He might need more than the quart of milk his employer allowed. The meat might be restricted to the poorest cuts. Vegetables and fruit might be decidedly limited in variety, quantity, and quality, particularly in winter. The hired man might have to fit his own stove wood, or even cut it from the timber. The garden space might be so small, and the man and his wife might have to work it on their own time; in addition, the employer might refuse use of work stock or equipment to work the garden, or to leave the farm on business or pleasure.

Many hired men disliked the frequent necessity of working alone. Working conditions, due to heat, dust, cold, rain, and long days, were often disagreeable. Opportunities to leave the farm for diversion and recreation were limited.

Too frequently, personal relations between the farm operator and the hired man were not of the best. Personal misunderstandings and irritations were easily magnified. The employer might not take the man into his confidence and talk over plans and difficulties; he might criticize shortcomings, and fail to compliment good work.

The hired man might not be taken into the farm family as he expected. There was also the possibility that the farmer might forget that he also was once a young man getting a similar start in life, and might look down upon his hired man as an inferior. In more recent years many farmers came to speak of all hired men as shiftless incompetents. This was a sign of the break-down of the system.

The old-time hired man is vanishing because developments in this century have changed the conditions of farm life and affected the possibilities of his advancement. Opportunities for hired men to become farmers have declined, as public land was occupied, and as other land and farming equipment became more costly. Native-born farmers' sons have been attracted away from the farm to nonagricultural work, and to town life,—and strangers (many of them aliens) have taken their places. Mechanization, often leading to consolidation of farms, has reduced opportunities for year-round employment. And where large-scale, semiindustrialized agriculture has become the dominant type of farming the old relationship between operator and workers has disappeared.

F. *Migratory agricultural workers.*

1. *Growth of the agricultural migratory labor force.*—One of the most far-reaching and significant changes in the farm-labor force over the last few decades has been the growth in the number of migrant agricultural workers. (Effects of the war may disrupt this trend temporarily or permanently.) With this increase in the size of the migrant group has come the creation of new problems for the farm-labor force. Also the old handicaps of low income and insecurity which faced the farm laborers have become intensified.

The migratory portion of the agricultural labor supply is composed of those workers who follow from place to place seasonal cycles of agricultural work. In addition, there are workers who engage partly in nonagricultural pursuits and partly in seasonal farm work. Temporary migrants in transition to a new place or type of employment are also part of this group. Agricultural migrant laborers travel as family groups, as single individuals, or in gangs.

2. *Areas of demand.*—The areas of demand for seasonal migrant workers are found mainly where production is specialized and organized on a commercial basis. The increased application of machine techniques and the growth of commercial farming have combined to alter the requirements for wage labor in agriculture. There is an ever-growing need for a large mobile reserve of short-time seasonal workers in the harvesting of many crops. The use of migratory workers in connection with cotton is a byproduct of the development of large-scale farming units in the Southwest and Far West, the existence of terrain suited to the use of tractors, and the absence of thickly populated sections from which to draw the necessary seasonal labor.

In some areas of the old South, as in southeastern Missouri and parts of the Delta, where large mechanized units have developed, nonresident seasonal workers also have been required. Migrants have long been necessary in certain fruit- and truck-crop areas which lack an adequate resident labor force. For cotton

and for small fruits and vegetables, the hand-labor requirements are exceptionally high during harvesting.

The sugar-beet areas of the North and West have traditionally depended upon migrant labor to perform cultivating as well as harvesting operations. Sugar beets demand as much hand labor during cultivation as they do during harvesting, and probably have the greatest hand-labor requirements of any crop.

The wheat areas of the Midwest also use migrant labor for harvesting. The trend here, however, has been the reverse of that found in the other crop areas enumerated. During the first quarter of this century the movement of unattached single men into the Wheat Belt of the Great Plains area was one of the country's outstanding migratory phenomena. The extended use of the small combine-harvester has reduced the amount of seasonal labor required and the adaptability of "exchange" labor has further curtailed the use of seasonally hired labor. Although the numerical significance of this movement has declined, it is still of importance, particularly in North Dakota.

Certain speciality crops, such as hops on the Pacific coast, shade-grown tobacco in Connecticut, cranberries in New Jersey and Massachusetts, and peanuts in Virginia and North Carolina, have large seasonal labor demands for nonlocal workers.

3. *Sources of supply.*—The stream of migratory agricultural workers is fed from many sources. First, there is the large body of regular seasonal migrants who follow the crops, year in and year out. Moving in and out of the main body are the removal migrants, transient refugees from drought, the tractor and curtailed farming and employment opportunities. These farm workers may be displaced farm owners, tenants, and croppers on their way to permanent settlement. Lack of opportunity, of course, has resulted in many of these entering the stream of habitual migrants. Year-round hired laborers join the ranks of transient farm workers when they are pushed out of regular employment. Unemployed industrial workers, and many who are laid off seasonally frequently seek agricultural employment. Underemployed share-croppers, tenant farmers, or farmers, and members of their families, often work in nearby farm areas to supplement their cash incomes. High-school and college students on vacation, and children who migrate to agricultural areas with their parents, are sources of seasonal labor on the farm.

4. *Types of movement.*—Although there are certain definite patterns of movement in the flow of seasonal workers from area to area or from crop to crop, the routes of individual workers are frequently varied. Thus, some migrants work on only one crop and follow it from area to area as it matures and becomes ready for harvesting. Others work on several crops, following a route that takes them from State to State. Still other migrants harvest a diversity of crops in the same geographical area; here the mobility is confined to moving about in this area, although the migration to the area may have been of considerable distance. Still others move long distances for a comparatively lengthy period of employment in a single crop, as, for example, the movement of Mexican workers from Texas to the sugar-beet fields of Michigan. Some seasonal laborers simply migrate to areas near their homes for a short period of work.

5. *Number and characteristics.*—Seasonal agricultural laborers include women and children as well as men. The employment of women and children arises out of the fact that the habitual migrant of today is frequently a married man. His family must move about with him. Even occasional migrants, those who work at agricultural pursuits only part of the year, frequently travel with their families. In the case of the removal migrants, those who are migrating in the hope of finding a new home, families usually move together because of inability to subsist apart, and because of the necessity of utilizing the labor of all members of the family.

The number of migrants in the various classes described above is unknown. Both the need for seasonal workers and the actual migration are subject to wide fluctuations. The difficulties in making an over-all estimate of the number of agricultural migrants in the United States are manifold. The Tolan committee, which is studying migration in all its aspects, has not attempted to make such an estimate. "Although monthly data showing the numbers of hired farm workers are available it is not known how many of these are permanently hired and how many are seasonally employed."⁴⁵ Moreover, it should be noted that not all the

⁴⁵ U. S. Congress, House of Representatives, Select Committee to Investigate the Migration of Destitute Citizens, 77th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 369, Washington, D. C., 1941, p. 337 (hereinafter referred to as the Tolan committee).

workers available for seasonal employment are migratory—there are many local nonmigrant laborers who find work at those occupations which hire great numbers of migrants.

It has been estimated on the basis of census figures that between 1 and 2 million workers are needed seasonally in agriculture besides those hired the year round. This figure is, of course, subject to qualifications.

In 1937, Paul S. Taylor hazarded a preliminary estimate that there were from 200,000 to 350,000 regular agricultural migrants in the United States.⁴⁶ No estimate has been made since that time. Counting the workers who enter the migratory farm labor market temporarily is also a difficult task, and not even a guess has been made as to their numbers.

It should be noted that Taylor's estimate includes packing-shed workers and their families as well as field workers and their families.

The extensive fluctuations in both demand for and supply of migrant farm laborers are best understood by a few illustrations. Thus, the movement of 20,000 workers into the Arkansas berry fields in 1934 was followed by almost complete absence of migrants in 1935 due to the poor crop. On the other hand, cotton acreage in the San Joaquin Valley of California, after more than doubling between 1935 and 1937, declined by about 40 percent under the cotton program of 1938, without any visible decline of migration into the area.

A report of the Secretary of Labor estimated that between 1930 and 1937 more than 200,000 persons emigrated from the Great Plains region, of whom more than 100,000 went to California, perhaps 60,000 to the Pacific Northwest, and about 12,000 to eastern Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan.⁴⁷ A comprehensive study of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics⁴⁸ indicates that the net migration into California during the 1930's totaled more than 1,100,000 persons. The three States of the Pacific Northwest experienced a net in-migration of 260,000 individuals during this decade. The net in-migration into Arizona during this same period totaled 31,000 persons.

These westward migrations were not predominantly agricultural in origin nor exclusively from the drought areas. "Less than one-fourth of all families enumerated in the migration survey in California had been engaged in agriculture either as farmers or farm laborers prior to migration. Pupils from one-third of the families enumerated in the Pacific Northwest and in Arizona indicated that their fathers had been engaged in agriculture either as farmers or farm laborers before migrating."⁴⁹ The male heads of the families migrating to California were classified by occupational status before and after migration to that State. There was a large decrease in the number of farmers and a large increase in the number of farm laborers. These trends bear out the observation already made that many removal migrants do not again settle on the land, but are pushed down into the status of wage laborers.

The difficulties of the removal migrants, after they have left their places of origin and have taken to the road, arise from two primary sources—first, the lack of opportunities for relocation; and, second, the effect of their entry into an already overcrowded migratory-labor market. In terms of the history of previous movements to the far West, the number of families that have moved to the Pacific coast in recent years from the Great Plains area and other places of origin is not impressive. It is only when we take into account the lack of free or low-cost lands and of employment opportunities in industry within the areas to which these people have gone that we are able to appreciate the demoralizing effect upon them of being transferred so swiftly from a settled status upon the land to one of complete dependence upon a shifting and overcrowded labor market. Their presence aggravates already existing problems of health, housing, relief, low incomes, and lack of organization among the migratory farm labor group. Removal migrants thus create a set of problems peculiar to themselves. At the same time, as migratory laborers, they must fit into established patterns of movement within and between the crop areas. So doing, they create problems for those who regularly "follow the crops."

6. *The main streams of migration.*—(a) *The Atlantic seaboard.*—Extensive seasonal labor movements take place in Florida, especially in truck and cane-sugar

⁴⁶ Taylor, Paul S., *Migratory Farm Labor in the United States*, Monthly Labor Review, U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, March 1937.

⁴⁷ *Migration of Workers*, preliminary report of the Secretary of Labor pursuant to S. Res. 298 (74th Cong.), Washington, 1938, vol. 1, pp. 60, 62.

⁴⁸ Janow, Seymour J., *Volume and Characteristics of Recent Migration to the Far West*, U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and Farm Security Administration, region XI, Department of Agriculture, printed in Tolan committee hearings, pt. 6, San Francisco, pp. 2269-2326.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 2276.

areas around Lake Okeechobee, in truck areas on the eastern shore, in scattered spots on the Gulf coast, and in the Ridgeland citrus and truck area running southwest to northeast across the center of the State. The demand for seasonal labor is greatest in the truck and fruit areas where winter and early spring vegetables of many kinds—string and lima beans, celery, tomatoes, peas, cabbage, radishes—as well as citrus fruits and strawberries, are grown in commercial volume. It is estimated that from 10,000 to 12,000 workers are used seasonally in the Ridgeland citrus and vegetable area; many of these are recruited from local residents. The greatest concentration of migratory seasonal workers is in the truck-garden and sugarcane areas around Lake Okeechobee and in the truck areas on the southeast shore of the State. A large majority of migrants in Florida are Negroes, engaged primarily in field work. The white migrants are employed principally in packing houses. In the southeastern part of Florida, where some 50,000 seasonal workers are employed, about three-quarters of the labor force are migrants; likewise in the Florida citrus industry.

The neighboring States of Alabama and Georgia provide most of the Florida agricultural migrants, the rest coming from Mississippi, Louisiana, North and South Carolina, and as far west as California. Although many of these laborers follow crops the year round, some are tenants and sharecroppers who come to Florida during the winter months.

The migratory agricultural workers generally work in several different places in the State before leaving it; most of them specialize in certain crops. Potato workers harvest the crop in Dade County between December 20 and April 30. During this period they move into Palm Beach County and up the State to St. John, Putnam, and Alachua Counties. They then leave the State and move up the eastern seaboard into North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey; some go on to Long Island, some even to Maine. At the end of the season these workers gradually sift back down the eastern seaboard into Dade County to begin their cycle of potato work over again. Strawberry pickers work from December 1 to May 15 in four counties of the State, ending up in Bradford County. From there they leave Florida and move into Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and the west coast. Some even go to the State of Washington and to British Columbia. Most return to Florida by the same route; a few take a northern route through the Midwestern States. Another group of the berry pickers migrate to Michigan and Ohio to pick berries and fruits.

Agriculture in the States immediately to the north of Florida—Georgia and Alabama—offers little opportunity to the migratory laborer aside from the Georgia peach crop and the asparagus beds of the Georgia and South Carolina Coastal Plains. In the truck- and berry-farming section of southeastern North Carolina, however, the demand for seasonal agricultural workers is marked. From 15,000 to 20,000 workers, many of whom are Negroes, are employed there.

From this area, migrant workers move north into the potato fields of the North Carolina Coastal Plains and the lower Virginia Peninsula, where from 10,000 to 15,000 workers are employed in May and June. A migratory stream then moves via the east shore of Virginia into Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, and New York.

Perhaps the greatest demand for workers in this northern movement is in New Jersey. Beginning in the latter part of April, asparagus, potatoes, strawberries, beans, and peas in southern New Jersey require between 2,000 and 3,000 non-resident workers, as compared with some 6,000 during July and August. These nonlocal workers are composed mainly of white families from the Philadelphia, Camden, and Trenton areas. In September and October some 2,000 to 3,000 are needed in the cranberry bogs. In the central potato region, at least 4,000 migratory laborers are used from July to October in harvesting the potato crop. These are chiefly unattached Negro men.

(b) *Mississippi Valley.*—As an alternative to the route up the Atlantic seaboard, some workers, after the close of harvesting activities in the fruit and truck crops in Florida, proceed along the Gulf to the Hammond strawberry area in Louisiana and thence up the Mississippi Valley. In the northward migration along the Mississippi River Negroes from the Southeast are joined by workers from the Southwest. The latter are used primarily in the strawberry, tomato, and truck areas of White, Benton, and Washington Counties, Ark.⁵⁰ Cotton chopping and cotton picking in the Mississippi Valley, as well as the fruit and berry harvests in western Kentucky and Tennessee, provide employment for migrant Negroes. About 30,000 migrants are used in the Mississippi Valley berry

⁵⁰ Arkansas Emergency Relief Administration, Transient Labor in the Berry Fields. Little Rock, 1934.

and truck regions.⁵¹ Western Tennessee and Kentucky are not only points to which workers migrate, but are sources of farm laborers who move seasonally into other agricultural areas. Migrants from this region join those from Texas and the Southwest, after the berry and truck harvests in the Missouri-Kentucky-Tennessee triangle, in a further northward movement to the fruit and truck harvests in Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan.

There are other migration patterns such as those to and from the vegetable areas in western New York. However, these are of relatively minor importance, on the basis of the number of migrant workers involved when contrasted with the two major movements along the Atlantic seaboard and Mississippi Valley.

(c) *Sugar beet migrations.*—The movement of workers in sugar beets usually is confined to a journey from the point of origin to the area of work and back again. This is in contrast to the fruit, truck, and berry migrations which afford employment to migratory workers moving through successive crops and areas.

Labor for use in the sugar-beet fields is frequently recruited by the sugar-beet factories, which exercise close control over the care of the crop and the manner of its working. California, Colorado, and Michigan are the principal sugar-beet producing States, but this crop is also important in restricted areas in Utah, Nebraska, Oregon, Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Ohio, Minnesota, Wisconsin, South Dakota, North Dakota, Iowa, Kansas, Indiana, Washington, and Illinois.

In California the labor contractor is used to recruit the necessary labor. To a lesser degree this is true also of Montana and Idaho. In the remaining States the workers are recruited through the sugar companies or beet growers' associations or are locally available.

The contract work in sugar-beet growing is done principally by Spanish-speaking people of American or Mexican birth from California, New Mexico, Texas, and Colorado.

It has been estimated by the Sugar Division of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration that about 50,000 interstate and intrastate migrant workers were employed in the sugar-beet areas in 1939. This comprised 53 percent of the contract labor force of the industry.

(d) *Wheat Belt migrations.*—During the first quarter of this century the movement of unattached single men into the Wheat Belt of the Great Plains area was one of the country's outstanding migratory phenomena. The bulk of the out-of-State laborers poured in from States to the east. There were thousands of them. The harvest began in Texas in June, and, progressed north into Canada. Comparatively few harvest hands followed it from south to north, the majority worked in only one or two States. Successive waves of workers entered and left the harvest as it swept north. Today the numerical significance of this movement has declined and the migratory pattern has changed in many respects, but it is still important. The reduction in the numbers of outside workers required to harvest the wheat crop has been brought about by two major developments. The first is the extended use of the small combine, which has reduced materially the man labor requirements of the crop. The adaptability of exchange labor has also further curtailed the use of seasonally hired labor in the wheat harvest. Whereas formerly about 250,000 workers entered the stream of migrant wheat harvest hands, now only 50,000 men move about in search of this work. Most of these migrants who obtain work are employed in the spring wheat areas of North Dakota, which utilize about 25,000 migratory workers as harvest hands.

The largest group of out-of-State migrants in North Dakota in 1937 and in 1938 came from Minnesota, Iowa, and Wisconsin. Most of the harvest hands migrated from States to the south and east of North Dakota, very few transients coming from the far Western States.⁵² Most (about 85 percent) of these migratory harvesters were single, that is without family attachment. Very few family groups join the Wheat Belt migration, although some married men who leave their families at home are occasionally among these migrants.

From North Dakota, some of the harvesters go to Minnesota, Canada, and Montana for work. The great majority, however, do not move to other States for the harvest after the work in North Dakota is completed. To some extent the harvesters have been moving into the potato fields of that State.

(e) *Cotton migration.*—In the Old South the need for extra hands during the cotton chopping and picking seasons has been met through the use of the share-cropper system. In those areas of the Old South where it has proved more profit-

⁵¹ Tolan committee, op. cit., final report, p. 338.

⁵² Data from study conducted in 1938. Men and Machines in the North Dakota Harvest, by Robert M. Cullum, Josiah C. Folsom, and Donald G. Hay, Bureau of Agricultural Economics and Farm Security Administration, cooperating. Washington, D. C., April 1942. Additional sponsors of the study were North Dakota and Kansas Agricultural Experiment Stations.

able to adopt the methods of the West, as in southeastern Missouri and in parts of the Delta, workers migrate to the cotton fields from surrounding urban centers. These laborers generally are displaced sharecroppers and tenants who congregate in the towns and cities of the South from whence they are drawn into the cotton fields as needed seasonally. It is in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California that the cotton migrant is the rule and not the exception.

The greatest cotton migration lies within the State of Texas. The migratory cycle begins in the truck and vegetable crop area of the lower Rio Grande and the winter garden area in Zavalla, Frio, Dimmit, and La Salle Counties from December through March. Around the first of September the picking season in the Black Prairie and Grand Prairie areas has started and from there the workers move westward to the High Plains district. From the High Plains, where the main part of the crop is harvested in October, those who follow this complete cycle return to the winter garden or to the lower Rio Grande Valley. Although cotton production provides the most important demand for seasonal workers in Texas, large numbers of migrants are also required for winter garden vegetables, particularly spinach, citrus fruits, and onions.

It is estimated that 325,000 migrants were employed in Texas agriculture in 1939. From 60 to 65 percent of Texas migratory workers are of south Texas origin. Twenty to twenty-two percent originate in central Texas and 9 to 10 percent in west Texas. Only 2 or 3 percent are from other States. Mexicans (Spanish-speaking whites) are most important among the migratory groups, representing about 85 percent of the total. Other whites are estimated to be about 10 percent and Negroes about 5 percent of the total Texas migratory labor force.⁵³

(f) *Other Southwestern migrations.*—Workers move out of Texas to work on other crops. The movement of Mexicans to the sugar-beet fields of the Midwestern and Far Western States takes place each year, and involves anywhere from 8,000 to 12,000 workers.

Certain patterns of migration out of Texas are discernible. "According to one authority, a work pattern was to be found in Texas and Oklahoma, beginning at the southern tip of Texas and extending north into Oklahoma, and northwest and west across Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona, into California * * * Two routes cut across the Texas Panhandle from Oklahoma to Albuquerque, N. Mex. The beet and berry pickers moved from as far south as San Antonio all the way across intervening States to Minnesota, with branch routes extending out to States on either side of the main routes."⁵⁴

In New Mexico the need for seasonal workers is based on the requirements of the pea, broom corn, and cotton harvests of the Pecos River and the Rio Grande Valleys. The general scale of farm operations in New Mexico is small compared with that found in Texas, Arizona, and California. This is especially true with respect to cotton. It is estimated that at least one-half of the 8,000 to 9,000 seasonal workers required in the harvesting of the three crops must be migratory.

A study of 235 interstate migrant households in New Mexico shows that many of the migrants working these crops had recently removed from farms in Oklahoma and Texas.⁵⁵ Among the migrants in the study who had been on the move for the entire year of 1937, Texas was reported as the principal State of employment by more heads of families than any other State. Oklahoma, New Mexico, and California were also given as principal States of employment by the full-time migratory workers. Part-time migratory workers reported New Mexico, Texas, and Oklahoma as the States of principal employment. The interstate migratory workers were primarily Anglo-Americans, with some Negro workers who were found primarily in the cotton fields where they seem to be preferred for picking cotton. Very few of these migrants were of Spanish-American origin. The crops of New Mexico are regarded as sources of employment by removal migrants on the way west as well as by regular migratory workers.

Arizona similarly demands a considerable number of casual seasonal workers for the harvest of its crops and provides a temporary scene of employment for removal migrants seeking a chance to relocate on the Pacific coast. In a study of 518 cotton workers and their families in Arizona,⁵⁶ it was found that 85 percent of the migrants who first left home in 1937 originated in the four western cotton States of Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri.

⁵³ Tolan committee op. cit., pt 5, Oklahoma City, Migratory Farm Labor in Texas Agriculture, by staff members of Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, pp. 1923-27.

⁵⁴ Tolan committee, op. cit., hearings, pt. 5, pp. 1808, 1884.

⁵⁵ Sigurd Johansen, Migratory-Casual Workers in New Mexico. New Mexico Agricultural Experiment Station, and Works Progress Administration, (March 1939).

⁵⁶ Brown, M. J., and Cassmore, Orin, Migratory Cotton Pickers in Arizona, Work Projects Administration (1938).

These workers were not regular migrants coming to Arizona but were made up of new refugees moving westward to California. Oklahoma and the other three western cotton States were also the original homes of a large percentage of the full-year migrant group.

In 1937 Arizona cotton growers were dependent for the most part on removal migrants for the vast majority of the workers necessary to pick the cotton crop. These migrants work one season and then move on. They are supplanted by a new group of workers the following year. Thus, Arizona cotton is picked by workers who stream across the State in a continuous movement, a movement which is not part of a cycle of migration such as that found in Texas.

(g) *Pacific coast migrations.*—One of the most recent studies of the removal migrants in California,⁵⁷ indicates that, out of 6,655 families studied, 41.6 percent came from Oklahoma, 15.7 percent from Texas, 10.7 percent from Arkansas, 7.1 percent from Missouri, and 5.3 percent from Arizona. Of 5,295 reporting occupations prior to migration, 4,652 reported farm backgrounds. About one-third of those with farm backgrounds had been owners, tenants, or croppers. The reason most frequently given for migration was lack of work but this was fairly closely followed by drought.

Though removal migrants are currently an important source of seasonal workers in the States of the Southwest and the Pacific coast, sight should not be lost of the fact that their employment is adapted to an established need of agriculture there. With the rapid expansion of irrigated farming in California since 1890 it has been essential for the operators of the larger farms to recruit labor from cheap labor markets of the world.

The Chinese coolies, originally imported for the construction of the first trans-continental railroad, were later drafted for agriculture and were followed successively by Japanese, Filipinos, workers of Hindustan extraction, Mexicans and, during the current decade, by relocation migrants, principally from the southern Great Plains States.

In California, agricultural crops requiring significant amounts of labor are produced as far north as Tehama County and southward to San Diego and Imperial Counties. In the Sacramento Valley deciduous fruits, asparagus, and peas require the greatest amounts of labor, totaling about 33,000 workers in 1935.⁵⁸ The Central Coast Counties, including Sonoma in the north and San Luis Obispo County in the south, produce deciduous fruits and truck crops requiring about 53,000 workers at their peak. In the San Joaquin Valley, grapes, cotton, and a variety of other crops require a maximum of about 75,000 workers. In Southern California, citrus fruit is the most important single crop except in the Imperial Valley, where lettuce, peas, and melons predominate; the combined labor requirements of these plantings amount to about 56,000 laborers during the period of greatest need.

Table 15 lists the seasonal labor requirements for 53 of the State's 58 counties by months and the demand for migratory workers by months in 33 counties. The figures on seasonal labor requirements take account of the working days available, time limits for the various tasks, distance between jobs, and the mobility and versatility of workers, so that they represent the number of workers that would be needed under a rationalized use of the labor force. It will be noted that the difference between the peak requirements in September and the minimum requirements in March is over 96,000 workers, and that the maximum demand for migrants is for about 50,000 in October. Though the figures are not comparable they give an idea of the relative dependence of agriculture on resident and migrant workers.

Washington, Oregon, California and, to a lesser extent, Idaho represent a fairly continuous labor market. The Idaho areas of intensive agriculture, where sugar beets, potatoes, beans, fruits, and vegetables are grown, follow the course of the Snake River through the State. It is probable that if full advantage were taken of the available resident labor supply, little migration would be necessary. In fact there has been some decline in the once heavy migrations of Mexicans and Filipinos. However, there is still migration for beet work, and for the potato and vegetable harvests.

⁵⁷ Farm Security Administration, U. S. Department of Agriculture, *A Study of 6,655 Migrant Households in California, 1938*. Based on data from migratory farm labor grant recipients. To be eligible for these Farm Security Administration grants applicants were required to be bona fide workers in need with less than 1 full year of residence in the State of California.

⁵⁸ Figures on demand in the county groupings listed are derived from Survey of Agricultural Labor Requirements in California, 1935, State Relief Administration of California, Division of Research and Surveys, December 1935.

TABLE 15.—Seasonal labor requirements and demand for migratory workers¹ in California agriculture, 1935

Month	Seasonal workers required (53 counties) ²	Nonresident laborers required (33 counties) ³	Month	Seasonal workers required (53 counties) ²	Nonresident laborers required (33 counties) ³
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Number</i>		<i>Number</i>	<i>Number</i>
January.....	61,649	13,004	July.....	93,728	35,366
February.....	50,500	16,829	August.....	130,330	41,053
March.....	48,173	13,319	September.....	144,720	41,258
April.....	73,035	19,407	October.....	126,835	49,551
May.....	103,240	38,513	November.....	65,610	17,744
June.....	102,810	30,634	December.....	56,760	7,620

¹ Not resident in county of employment.

² Adams, R. L., Seasonal Labor Requirements for California Crops. California Agricultural Experiment Station. Bulletin 623. Berkeley, Calif., 1938. Table 5, pp. 22-23.

³ State Relief Administration of California, Division of Research and Surveys. Survey of Agricultural Labor Requirements in California, 1935. Table 3, p. 21.

The need for migrants in Oregon is based on the harvest of apples, pears, prunes, cherries, grapes, nuts, and hops in Willamette Valley and the Umpqua and Rogue drainage area. Some 45,000 workers are needed in the Willamette Valley in the early part of July and in recent years this need has been filled by removal migrants, by regular casual migratory workers moving up from California and by intrastate migrants from Portland and from the lesser towns fairly close to the area. The Malheur area with its peas and asparagus requires the importation of workers. Klamath potatoes require roughly 1,500 casually employed workers in September and October. Some of these migrate into the State from California, but many are recruited from the ranks of the unskilled sawmill workers.⁵⁹ In the Hood River and The Dalles areas, apple and berry operations require approximately 10,000 workers.

The demand for seasonal workers in Washington arises from the crops of apples and hops in the Yakima Valley and Wenatchee areas, and from the Puget Sound truck and berry areas. Yakima Valley requires a peak of about 33,000 workers in the second week in September, and about 11,000 in the third week in October, but in no other month of the year are more than 5,000 workers needed, while from the second week in November through the last week in May the number ranges from a few hundred to 2,000.⁶⁰ An estimated 4,000 to 6,000 resident laborers are available for this work. In the Puget Sound berry area the demand rises to 27,430.

7. *Problems.*—Fundamentally, the problems of migratory farm workers stem from inadequate income. Like most underprivileged groups, if their earnings were sufficient they could effectively demand better housing, sufficient food, and adequate medical care. Other disabilities of migratory workers flow from their lack of status in the community, occasioned by their disfranchisement, and their loss of settlement. They are American citizens with no voice in the community and incapable of using the polls—the traditional American method of effecting the social or economic betterment of any group of citizens. Their banishment from the political responsibilities of community life results in exclusion from the benefits ordinarily accorded residents of a community—such as adequate relief, protection of civil liberties, etc.

(a) *Earnings, income and relief.*—The cumulative effects of low agricultural wage rates, unorganized and overcrowded labor markets, irrational movements of workers, uncontrolled recruiting, time losses in movement, time losses while on the job, and seasonal unemployment, result in extremely low earnings for seasonal agricultural workers. Estimates of annual income of family groups, varying with the time and locales of the data, indicate that the median family income of migrant farm workers may be expected to range between \$350 and \$400 (tables 16 and 17).

The meagerness of these incomes is demonstrated in available data concerning the extent to which these families were forced to supplement their earnings by

⁵⁹ Basis for description of Oregon, Idaho, and Washington requirements is analysis by George B. Herington, labor relations representative, Farm Security Administration, in unpublished report, Narrative Report of Progress of Study of Agricultural Labor Status, Washington-Oregon-Idaho, 1938.

⁶⁰ Landis, Paul H., and Brooks, Melvin S., Farm Labor in the Yakima Valley, Wash, Agricultural Experiment Station, State College of Washington, Bulletin No. 343 (December 1936). Table 8, p. 29.

recourse to public relief. The Mexicans of south Texas, whose median family earnings during 1938 were high compared with most migratory workers, sought relief in that year in 9 percent of the 300 cases recorded. Along with migratory farm workers,³ need for relief goes unusual difficulty in obtaining it because of inability to meet residence requirements.

In one of the areas visited in a survey of beet workers conducted by the Children's Bureau, 97 percent of the families visited had received relief in the year prior to the survey. Six months was the most usual period over which relief was received. In a survey of migratory cotton pickers in Arizona, 110 of the 371 migrant family groups which had been on the road only part of the year, had received public assistance of some kind during 1937. Brown and Cassmore noted that it was obvious from the earnings data in the study "that the great majority of the cotton pickers finished the year either actually in need of relief or in immediate danger of becoming so."

Farm Security Administration Labor Division surveys show relief incomes for from 9 percent to 42 percent of the families included in various surveys. The median amount received ranged from \$25 to \$250 a year (table 18).

(b) *Unemployment.*—Unemployment and underemployment must be considered in any evaluation of the income of the migratory workers. The limitation that the seasons place on employment in agriculture is unquestionably of main importance in this connection. Actual travel between jobs seems to occasion a relatively slight loss of time. Johansen found that 72 all-year migrant families lost but slightly over 2 weeks of the year on the road, while Brown and Cassmore reported a loss of not more than 3 weeks on the part of the all-year cotton migrants studied.

TABLE 16.—Median family income of migratory and seasonal farm workers as reported in selected studies¹

State	Median annual income	Number of families	Year
	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Number</i>	
Michigan, Minnesota, Wyoming, Montana: Beet workers ²	430	343	1934-35
California ³	574	136	1936-37
Texas ⁴	154	(⁵)	1937
Washington ⁶	357	178	1935
Arizona: Cotton pickers ⁷	459	518	1938
New Mexico:			
All migrants ⁸	393	48	1937
Primarily cotton workers ⁹	414	28	1937
Texas: ¹⁰			
All families.....	561	300	1938
Beet work.....	611	175	1938
Cotton work.....	559	87	1938
Other farm work.....	400	26	1938

¹ See also table 22, p. 92.

² Johnson, Elizabeth S. Welfare of Families of Sugar-Beet Laborers. Does not include relief or value of perquisites.

³ California State Relief Administration, Agricultural Laborers in the San Joaquin Valley, July and August 1937, p. 5. Does not include relief and presumably does not include value of perquisites.

⁴ Hamilton, Horace N. Texas Farm Labor Study, unpublished data.

⁵ Not available.

⁶ Landis, Paul H. and Brooks, Melwin S., Farm Labor in the Yakima Valley, Washington. Agricultural Experiment Station, State College of Washington, Bulletin No. 343 (December 1936), pp. 55-56. Includes relief income.

⁷ Brown, Malcolm and Cassmore, Owin, Migratory Cotton Pickers in Arizona, Work Projects Administration (1939), p. 14, table 4. Includes relief and value of perquisites.

⁸ Johansen, Sigurd, Migratory—Casual Workers in New Mexico, New Mexico Agricultural Experiment Station, State College, New Mexico, and Work Projects Administration (1939), p. 31. Does not include relief or value of perquisites.

⁹ *Ibid.*, earnings of families engaged primarily in cotton work, p. 33. Does not include relief or value of perquisites.

¹⁰ Menefee, Selden C. Mexican Migratory Workers of South Texas, Work Projects Administration (1941), pp. 37-38. Includes income from relief and value of perquisites.

TABLE 17.—Median gross income including perquisites and days worked during a preceding year, for migratory farm worker families interviewed in selected areas by the Federal Security Agency Labor Division, 1939 and 1940

Area and year	Total number of cases ¹ interviewed	Number of migrant cases ¹ interviewed	For migrants, during year preceding interview ²	
			Median gross income	Median days employed
1940:				
Chadbourn area, N. C.	181	170	\$167	\$126
Elizabeth City area, N. C.	161	160	415	192
Northampton and Accomac Counties, Va.	159	156	376	176
Hightstown area, N. J.	313	311	412	183
Meggett area, S. C.	121	119	431	197
Paducah area, Ky.	273	196	296	191
Humboldt area, Tenn.	269	56	251	180
St. Johns County, Fla.	244	203	326	192
Burlington County, N. J.	226	220	716	111
Berrien County, Mich.	258	257	353	130
Pemiscott, New Madrid, Dunklin, southeast Missouri.	408	100	275	118
1939:				
Sanford area, Fla.	236	76	313	143
Polk County, Fla.	494	142	653	208
Okeechobee area, Fla.	532	384	417	173
Manatee County, Fla.	179	76	353	164
Hammond area, La. (Tangipahoa Parish)	327	304	212	162
Copiah, Miss.	239	77	233	240
Benton County and Washington County, Ark., and southwest Missouri.	128	125	327	149
White County, Ark.	50	50	417	139

¹ A case represents a family unit, which may consist of one or more persons.

² Does not include all cases interviewed in all areas because of incomplete answers.

TABLE 18.—Median relief income for farm workers interviewed in selected areas by the Federal Security Agency Labor Division, 1940

Area	Number of family heads and single persons interviewed	Percent of total families interviewed receiving relief	Median relief income of those families receiving relief
Chadbourn, N. C.	170	9.4	\$138.00
Elizabeth City, N. C.	160	18.8	29.75
Northampton County, Va.	156	9.0	46.25
Hightstown, N. J.	311	19.9	24.71
Meggett, S. C.	119	2.4	32.17
Paducah, Ky.	196	14.8	140.50
Humboldt, Tenn.	56	16.1	165.50
Hastings, Fla.	203	19.2	39.39
Burlington, N. J.	220	33.2	250.00
Berrien County, Mich.	257	22.5	140.50
Pemiscot County, etc., southeast Missouri.	100	42.0	90.50

Outside of time lost between jobs, there are many other factors that tend toward underemployment of migrant workers. Johansen's study indicates that in a total employment of 3,438 weeks for 72 all-year migrant families, 958 weeks or 27.9 percent, were lost on the job. Moreover, one-half the jobs held by the 89 families employed in agriculture in this study were of less than 9.7 weeks' duration. Table 17 reports median days of employment, during the year preceding, of migrants interviewed by the Farm Security Administration Labor Division in various areas. An examination of these data reveals the extent of unemployment which these groups suffered. It should also be mentioned that any work reported, no matter of how short duration, was considered a day's work. Thus workdays of 1 or 2 hours are included in the figures. The problem of full employment is thus associated not only with the intermittent character of the employment periods, but with the intermittent character of daily employment

while actually on the job. This, however, is a characteristic of seasonal employment which affects all workers, transient or local, and is discussed more intensively elsewhere in this report.

(c) *Housing*.—The living conditions of agricultural migrants have been called worse than those of any other group in the United States. During the 1930's they reached a particularly low point:

"Such families (those of agricultural migrants) probably have the worst living conditions of any group in the United States. Usually they have no homes except temporary roadside or ditch-bank camps, often without any kind of sanitary facilities or even a decent water supply. Ordinarily, their only possessions are a second-hand automobile, a tent, a few blankets, and cooking utensils. Their children have no chance for education, adequate medical care, or normal home and community life. Accumulating any reserve against the gaps between jobs or the risk of accident and illness is completely beyond their reach. Malnutrition and sickness are common among both adults and children. Though relatively free from chronic disease, and younger than the settled population they suffer from about 74 percent more disabling illness."⁶¹

Owing to the constant change which characterizes their lives, the housing of migrant workers presents unusual complications. Three aspects are of importance: First, shelter while the migrants are on the road; second, housing while waiting for employment or lying over between jobs; and third, housing while employed.

Housing on the road consists of a tent or trailer, a low-rent tourist cabin, or merely the shelter of the family car or truck, parked by the roadside. In many parts of the South, the Southwest, and the Pacific coast, it is a common practice to convert vacant lots on the edge of town into temporary squatters' camps.

"Whatever the cause, every community in Texas which is a concentration point and distribution center of migratory workers becomes, during the harvesting season, suddenly transformed into an open camp with a high fluctuating migrant population deprived of facilities, however primitive, to meet the most elementary needs of life—washing, bathing, cooking, and a decent or protected place to rest or sleep."⁶²

Commercial camps are often little better than such squatter arrangements yet cost from \$0.25 to \$1.25 for a single night's lodging. Their advantage lies in the water supply and sanitation, which are often sadly inadequate. Regulation is usually of the most casual sort, consequently they often fall far below ordinary standards of sanitation, cleanliness, and orderliness.

Housing during periods of idleness between jobs is ordinarily of a similar character, with the evils intensified because of longer period of occupancy. But on some farms during slack periods workers are permitted to continue to occupy the cabins in which they live while at work.

As regards the inadequacy of the housing furnished by most growers to their seasonal hands, all sections of the country are on much the same level, whether we refer to the colonies sometimes established by sugar-beet companies for Mexican field hands; the tobacco sheds and barns of North Carolina which house the itinerant strawberry pickers in bunks that line the walls; the strawberry shacks of Tangipahoa Parish in Louisiana; the commercial row houses of Belle Glade in Florida; the shacks near the tobacco fields of Connecticut; the apple orchards of Virginia; or the tomato fields of Indiana.

Landis' and Brooks' study of farm labor in the Yakima Valley points out that although the average size of a transient family was 3.5 persons, 66.3 percent of the transient families studied lived in one room dwellings, usually tents or tourist cabins. Of all transient families, 43.3 percent lived in tents, 32.6 percent in tourist cabins and only 11.7 percent in some more permanent form of dwelling.⁶³

Such conditions are common. Overcrowding, filth, vermin, lack of sanitation are characteristic.

In New Jersey, for migratory workers in the cranberry bogs, "crude barracks designed to house 10 to 30 families are provided. These barracks offer only a minimum of shelter with no comforts or conveniences. None of those observed had any bathing or laundry facilities. A common kitchen is provided but is usually inadequate, and cooking is done over open fires or on kerosene stoves brought by the workers."⁶⁴

⁶¹ Report to the President by the Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities, Migratory Labor, Social Security Bulletin, September 1940.

⁶² Silvermaster, N. Gregory, Summary Report and Recommendations on Migratory Labor Problems in Texas (unpublished manuscript).

⁶³ Landis and Brooks, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 43.

⁶⁴ Cruikshank, Nelson H., Notes on Agricultural Labor in Southern New Jersey based on reconnaissance trip to area, September 19-24, 1938, October 19, 1938 (unpublished manuscript).

The Texas Farm Placement Service reported the following:

"In March of 1938, the county judge of one of the principal cotton-producing counties of the Amarillo district (Texas) advised the Service that about 300 Negro workers were stranded on a large cotton plantation in the adjoining county * * *

"The living quarters for these people are known as dug-outs, about 3 feet in the ground, with weatherboard side and roof. There were 3 or 4 such places of abode, 80 feet long by 12 feet wide. Bunks were arranged in tiers and approximately 100 people were housed in each 'dug-out.' Cheap wood cook stoves were furnished and large groups used one stove. The ventilation was extremely poor, and there were no toilet facilities except surface toilets. At one time, it was said that there were over 500 Negroes in this camp. These people were piled up like hogs in these places throughout the winter; having no transportation facilities, they could not get away, and the pay received was spent for food. This particular grower made more cotton than he could pick; consequently, he had scattered cotton to pick into March of 1938.

"During the 1937 season, when cotton was good and a good picker could pull 500 pounds or more, 40 and 50 cents was the lowest paid. After Christmas, when cotton was thin and 200 pounds per day was the maximum, this grower reduced the price for pulling to 25 cents per hundred. During rainy weather, when the Negroes could not work, he would advance them 20 cents per day in merchandise from his commissary. In February, it was said that there were 23 days of bad weather when no one could work and debt to the commissary was accrued. Their condition became unbearable. The sheriff learned of the situation and visited the camp. He found two dead Negroes in one of the dug-outs, covered with old gunny sacks. They had died of pneumonia. The situation was discussed with the owner of the property and he told the officials that there was nothing to be alarmed about, that as soon as the weather warmed up the Negroes would 'fade out.'"⁶⁵

Such conditions constitute a menace to the communities that tolerate them. Inadequate sanitation makes for the breeding and propagation of diseases as does exposure to contaminated water. Crowded quarters increase the hazards of exposure and multiply the contacts so that the danger of spreading diseases to the community is greatly increased.

(d) *Health of migrants.*—In the fiscal year 1936-37 the California Bureau of Child Hygiene carried on a study of the health of migratory children in the Central Valley of California. Table 19 indicates the relative frequency of health defects between the 1,002 migrant children studied and a comparable survey made on 1,000 resident children examined in rural centers and small communities during the same year.

TABLE 19.—Incidence of health defects in 1,002 migratory children and 1,000 resident children examined by the Bureau of Children's Hygiene in rural areas of California, 1936-37

Residence status	Age groups				Total
	Less than 1	1 to less than 2	2 to less than 6	6 and over	
Percent resident children with defects.....	Percent 31.1	Percent 50.4	Percent 73.3	Percent 65.7	Percent 60.5
Percent migratory children with defects.....	56.8	79.7	85.4	91.3	83.6

Source: Faverman, Anita E. Study of the Health of 1,000 Children of Migratory Agricultural Laborers in California (Report of the Migratory Demonstration, July 1936-June 1937). California State Department of Public Health, San Francisco, 1937, p. 20.

It will be noted that the migratory children appear to suffer from health defects to a very much greater degree than resident children. While the comparative incidence of defects sheds light on the relative disadvantage of the two groups, the fact that 83 out of each 100 migrant children examined were defective in some respect is even more alarming.

⁶⁵ Texas Farm Placement Service, Annual Report, 1938, pp. 40, 41.

A total of 1,369 defects were found in the 1,002 migratory children. The largest single type of defect observed involved the tonsils and adenoids. However, there were 41 cases of communicable diseases, 32 gastrointestinal ailments, 167 nutritional defects, and 137 respiratory illnesses, or a total of 377 defects more or less directly attributable to inadequate diet and housing.⁶⁶

The public health officials of Kern County, Calif., have closely observed the migrant health problem. Their vital statistics for 1937 indicate infant deaths from prematurity are highest during months when labor requirements for agriculture are greatest. Similarly infant deaths of all kinds increased during the expansion of cotton acreage between 1925 and 1937.⁶⁷ The county depends almost entirely on an influx of migrant workers for the harvest of its cotton crop.

An expression of the Kern County Health Department as to the relationship between poor accommodations and health is found in the following statement from the Kern County Health Bulletin for June 1937:

"With adequate camp facilities available, many of the present problems of our governmental department would be mitigated. 'Squatter camps' could be quickly dissolved. The constant threat of outbreak of communicable disease would be lessened. Health authorities could enforce sanitary provisions, and disease carriers could be effectively controlled. * * * Plenty of fresh water, sanitary toilets, and camps free from flies and vermin would form a basic living condition that would tend to protect the health of the workers and would insure a healthier, sturdier employee to Kern County's greatest industry: agriculture."

The possibilities opened to the migrant groups through supervised and well-regulated camps and houses are illustrated in the experience of the Farm Security Administration's camp and labor homes for agricultural workers at Shafter, in Kern County. Through the facilities offered by the camp, public health representatives were enabled to make 1,112 home calls on camp families during the first 6 months of 1938; to hold 23 health inspections involving 785 individual examinations of children in the camp play area; to give prenatal care and instruction to 73 pregnant mothers; to hold 7 well-baby clinics with a gross attendance of 270; to give 1,882 individuals typhoid inoculations; to immunize 113 against diphtheria; and to vaccinate 819 against smallpox.⁶⁸

(e) *Education*.—Many factors prevent migrants from obtaining full educational opportunities. Some of these are the generally lower levels of rural schools, the added strain that a sudden influx of children places on existing facilities, the necessity of employing children of school age in the fields to augment the meager earnings of their parents, the interruptions in regular school attendance induced by an unsettled way of life, the indifference of parents and school authorities to the attendance of migrant children even where it is presumably compulsory, and the diffidence on the part of parents and children toward school attendance where they do not have suitable clothing.

Attendance records of schools in Imperial County, Calif., indicate the fluctuations which confront educators in communities through which large numbers of migrants pass. Since this county uses much Mexican farm labor, enrollment figures for Mexican children are revealing.

In June 1930 the number of Mexican children enrolled in the school districts with peak enrollment in the fall was 58.5 percent of the annual average Mexican enrollment, while in November of the preceding fall it had been 125.9 percent. In terms of percentage of all children attending, the Mexican element constituted 29.6 percent of the student body in November but only 16.8 percent in June of the same school year.⁶⁹

Shifts of this sort are difficult to predict and as a consequence seasonal schools are crowded and makeshift facilities are often used. In one instance 125 children were crowded into a single room where 3 teachers were trying to hold classes simultaneously and another in which an abandoned cow barn was used as a school-house for migrants.⁷⁰ Frequently, the practice of setting up classes for migrants in auditoriums, hallways, or in temporary tent annexes is resorted to by the school authorities.

⁶⁶ Study of the Health of 1,000 Children of Migratory Agricultural Laborers in California, op. cit., table IX, pp. 22-24.

⁶⁷ Kern County Department of Public Health, Division of Vital Statistics, Excerpts from Graphic Presentation of Birth, Death, and Other Vital Statistics, for Kern County, year 1937 (mimeographed), p. 12.

⁶⁸ Rowell, Edward J., *The Child in the Migratory Camp—Health, California Children*, vol. 1, No. 9, September 15, 1938.

⁶⁹ Cf. Taylor, Paul S., and Rowell, Edward J., *Patterns of Agricultural Labor Migration Within the State of California, Monthly Labor Review*, November 1938, table 1. Apparently monthly "enrollment" data were gathered specially in Imperial County.

⁷⁰ Study of the Health of 1,000 Children of Migratory Agricultural Laborers in California, op. cit., p. 37.

The conflict between earning power of the children in the fields and school attendance has been aptly stated by a superintendent of public instruction in a Florida county—"Education is in competition with beans in this county—and beans are winning out."

One device used to ease this conflict is the establishment of special schools for migrants, as is done in some counties in Texas and California, which begin classes at 8 o'clock in the morning and dismiss at 12:30, in order to leave the afternoon free for picking cotton. Another is the closing of schools entirely in some areas where there is a short sharp peak of operations. This latter is of some benefit to the children of resident seasonal workers since it permits the children to work without loss of school time. Frequently, where the time of harvest permits, the closing of the schools is accomplished through the extension of the period of the teachers' institute.

The indifference of attendance officers toward the enrollment of the children of the mobile seasonal workers is frequently a measure of the attitude of the communities toward the migrants. The Department of Labor notes an instance in which a cotton grower was fined \$50 on each of two charges of employing resident children in the fields, but a third charge was dismissed when it was revealed in the trial that the child was a member of a family from another State.⁷¹ Generally this indifference does not appear so openly, but is reflected in the attitude that a district must first take care of its own.

Inevitably the result of such circumstances surrounding the education of migrant children is retardation. Even where a conscientious effort is made to educate them, their retardation and irregular attendance make adjustments to the schools' routine and discipline most difficult.

Each of the several field studies reporting on this aspect of migrations confirms the failure of our educational systems to reach migratory seasonal workers. In the Washington hop fields, less than half the workers enumerated in one study had advanced beyond the eighth grade and one-fifth had not reached the eighth grade.⁷² The California State Relief Administration's study of migratory workers in the San Joaquin Valley divided the children of school age as follows: Advanced, whites, 8.0 percent; Mexicans, 1.5 percent; normal—whites, 22.5 percent, Mexican, 12.3 percent; retarded—whites, 69.6 percent, Mexican, 86.2 percent. The same distribution for all California School children was reported as being: Advanced, 5.2 percent, normal, 45.0 percent, retarded, 49.8 percent.⁷³ "Migratory-Casual Workers in New Mexico"⁷⁴ indicates that of 185 migratory children from 7 to 15 years of age 13.6 percent were advanced, 21.6 percent normal, and 64.8 percent retarded. These figures tally very closely with the experience reported in the California study.

(f) *Special handicaps of the migratory workers.*—The loss of "settlement" which results from the migratory life places the migrant in a position in which he cannot exercise the fundamental right of all American citizens—the right to vote. Even in cases where he has maintained settlement in a State, the difficulties involved in casting an absentee ballot usually prevent him from voting.

Inextricably bound up with the exercise of the franchise is the treatment accorded the migrant, who is an outsider in the community, in matters involving civil and political liberties. This, of course, stems also from community attitudes toward the poor or destitute transient who, until the depression, was frequently considered a "hobo." It also flows from the resentment of local workers toward outside laborers who, the former believe, will work under conditions unacceptable to residents.

The preference of many employers for an outside labor force is frequently expressed and is based on the fact that these workers will accept lower wages and generally worse conditions of employment than will local workers. Of course there are instances in which the local labor supply is not sufficient to meet the peak seasonal demands of a crop, and farmers, regardless of preferences, are forced to resort to nonlocal labor. Uncontrolled recruiting frequently results

⁷¹ Migration of Workers, op. cit., p. 154.

⁷² Reuss, Carl F., Landis, Paul H., and Wakefield, Richard. Migratory Farm Labor and the Hop Industry on the Pacific Coast. Bulletin No. 363, Agricultural Experiment Station, Pullman, Wash., August 1938, p. 41.

In the Landis and Brooks study, op. cit. p. 60, it is suggested that even in the field of farm labor there may be some correlation between education and earning capacity or at least adaptability to environment. At least it points out that for the families studied there was greater tendency to be on relief for those of less education; 63.4 percent of those who had not passed the eighth grade reported receipt of relief; 48.1 percent of those who had had some high-school education; and only 27.8 percent of those who had gone beyond high school.

⁷³ California State Relief Administration, op. cit., p. 14.

⁷⁴ Johansen, op. cit., p. 40.

in oversupply and in depression of wage rates, forcing the local worker to accept wage rates offered or be passed over in favor of a migrant.

In 1939 reports of a good harvest brought an excessive number of transient workers to North Dakota. Many of them rode the freights. Along the two mainline railways these laborers congregated in the transient centers of the larger towns and made their "jungles" behind warehouses. They constituted a problem for the communities. In some towns, the police kept transients moving. In others, they were fingerprinted, given a meal and a bed in the county jail, and then told to clear out. The transient "jungles" on the outskirts of one city were raided at noon each day.⁷⁵

"Exclusion of the migrants from normal community life is an evil which marks them as a group apart"⁷⁶ Thus, even sugar-beet migrants who are established in the community for 6 and 7 months each year, are physically and socially isolated from the population around them. Elizabeth Johnson found with regard to these workers:

"In most if not all communities visited the beet workers were isolated from the rest of the population, occupationally, socially, and residentially, consequently they were often looked upon as a distinct and inferior social class * * *. The low social status of beet laborers appeared to be partly due to their willingness to do the arduous, monotonous hand labor of the beet fields at the wages offered and to the poverty and living conditions associated with their occupation * * *.

"The feeling against the 'Mexicans,' as both Spanish-Americans and Mexicans were locally designated, had apparently been definitely increased during the depression years. When times were good, labor badly needed, and earnings from beet work high enough to support the families the year round, the Spanish-speaking families were comparatively welcome in the beet areas. Under depression conditions, however, they had frequently to be supported during the winter months by communities that resented the need to care for the 'sugar company's Mexicans.' Likewise, willingness of the 'Mexicans' to 'work for half wages and eat half rations' were seen as a threat to the employment opportunities and living standards of the other wage earners of the community * * *."⁷⁷

In his statement to the Tolan committee, John Beecher, supervisor of Farm Security Florida Migratory Labor Camps, stated with regard to the status of migrants and community attitudes toward them:

"* * * Into whatever community the migrant goes his status is the lowest in the social scale? His labor is welcome, but he is not. He and his family are feared as possible sources of physical and moral contagion, and even more as possible public charges should they become stranded there. In no sense does the migrant 'belong'—he has no political rights and his civil rights have proved to be more theoretical than real on the rare occasions when he has tried to assert them. He and his family seldom participate in the normal social life of the communities through which they pass—they do not as a rule attend the local churches, or frequent the local parks and amusement places. Special recreational devices are sometimes provided to catch their spare pennies—low-grade bars and dancehalls, cheap fairs, medicine shows, and the like."⁷⁸ In instances where the migrants are of foreign extraction or nonwhite, they are ostracized and denied the privileges of the ordinary American citizen to an even greater extent.

The hostility of a New Jersey community toward migrant Negro potato pickers is illustrated by the following occurrence. Some 1,000 southern Negroes were imported into Cranbury for its potato harvest in 1939. On August 12, 15 masked men wrecked a shack in which 7 Negroes were living. The raiders then drove the potato pickers across a field under a barrage of shotgun fire. Five of the seven were ordered to strip and their hands were then taped behind their backs. The only woman in the group and her husband were taken farther afield and daubed with white paint. The terrified pickers were then warned "to get back down South where you belong."⁷⁹

"Official restrictions on the personal liberties and free movement of migrants have taken various forms."⁸⁰ The methods used have been passage of vagrancy laws and the establishment of border patrols and "bum blockades."

Some of the most serious denials of civil liberties have been in connection with organization by migratory workers to improve their working conditions and terms of employment. This problem is shared by all types of hired farm labor, and is discussed in more detail in a later section. (See p. 139.)

⁷⁵ Cullum, Folsom and Hay, op. cit.

⁷⁶ Tolan committee, Report, op. cit., p. 39.

⁷⁷ Johnson, op. cit., p. 80.

⁷⁸ Tolan committee, op. cit. hearings, pt. 2, Montgomery, Ala., p. 536.

⁷⁹ Typewritten ms. in files of Labor Division, F. S. A., entitled "Granbury, New Jersey," August 1939.

⁸⁰ Tolan committee report, op. cit., p. 393.

II. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STATUS OF FARM WAGE WORKERS

A. *Earnings and incomes.*

A "shift from farming as a way of life to farming as a commercial enterprise"⁸¹ is believed by some writers to have been caused by technical changes in agricultural production, and by increase in the number and productive importance of large farm enterprises. This shift in turn is associated with important alterations in economic relationships among men and women engaged in agriculture. Says one writer, "the trend toward the introduction of business methods on the farm indicates a more extensive use of labor-saving machinery, a reduction in the number of small farmers and the traditional hired men, and the creation of a large landless agricultural working class."⁸²

In spite of the size and importance of this class, information is scanty concerning its standards and problems of living. The farm laborer is the forgotten man in American agriculture. What little material is available indicates that farm laborers, as a group, receive lower average incomes and have lower standards of living than most other occupational classes in America.

Moreover, the birth rate among farm laborer groups is higher than that in any other major occupational class in the Nation. One-fifth of all farm families in the Nation are farm laborer families. The scope of the problem of their earnings and levels of living becomes apparent.

1. *Incomes and levels of living.*—Income is the greatest single factor influencing the living standards of farm labor. Incomes of farm laborers are far below what is needed for a decent standard of living for their households.

The farm laborer family must spend most of its income for bare necessities—food, clothing, and shelter, but above all, for food.

Summarizing many studies of standards of living, Carl C. Taylor and others conclude:⁸³

* * * when the income is below \$1,000 per year, 59.9 percent of the entire budget must be spent for food and 92.8 percent must be spent for purely physical needs excluding health. Families with income as low as \$600 per year cannot even have adequate food, clothing, and shelter, and their lives are inevitably robbed of practically everything except these bare physical necessities. In areas where 50 percent or more of the families live on this low income level, the area can hardly be described as anything but a rural slum. In such areas low-income families not only live under disadvantages themselves, but tend to pull down the level of the social and institutional life of the communities in which they live.

When gross farm income is at the low level of \$600 per year, an increased proportion of the income naturally must go for food to provide even the barest essentials to sustain life. The housing of families at this income level offers only the very minimum of shelter and comfort, and the clothing is anything but adequate. After the items of food, housing, and clothing are accounted for in the family budget, very little, if any, remains for so-called 'advancement' items, including education, religion, recreation, charity, insurance, and health."

In part, the low income of farm laborers is caused by low wage rates, but in even greater degree by insufficient employment, attributable to the inevitable seasonality of agriculture, and to the surplus of farm labor manpower which has existed in rural areas in relation to the opportunities for its effective use.

Available data on incomes received by hired farm workers, although scattered and incomplete, acquire added significance when compared with the annual incomes that would be received if workers were able to secure full-time employment at rates reported by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the Department of Agriculture⁸⁴ (table 20). Full-time individual earnings at monthly rates without board would have ranged in 1940, under these conditions, from \$280 in the East South Central States, to \$793 on the Pacific coast. Similarly, earnings at daily rates, without board, would have been \$208 and \$558, respectively, in these areas.

It is revealing to compare such possible earnings with those actually reported in a series of 11 uniform field studies conducted in 1936. These showed average annual earnings of adult farm laborers plus dependents, ranging from \$131.06 in a Louisiana parish, to \$650.99 in a California county (table 21). Such sums are low for laborers without families, and seriously deficient for those with families.

⁸¹ Tolan committee report, op. cit., p. 276.

⁸² Hopkins, William S., Social Insurance and Agriculture, Social Science Research Council, Pamphlet Series No. 5, Washington, September 1940, p. 2. [Italics supplied.]

⁸³ Taylor, Carl C., Wheeler, Helen W., and Kirkpatrick, E. L., Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Social Research Report No. VIII, Washington, D. C., April 1938, p. 8.

⁸⁴ These figures, it is admitted, furnish a more accurate picture of the average rates paid to laborers in the general farming areas of the country than they do in the specialized crop areas, where casual employment and piece rates prevail and labor is hired to a considerable degree through contractors. However, they are the only continuous and Nation-wide series of wage rate data available.

TABLE 20.—*Earnings in terms of reported wage rates assuming full-time employment, 1940*¹

Regions	Average wage rate per month without board	Earnings if fully employed	Average wage rate per day without board	Earnings if fully employed
	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Dollars</i>
New England.....	57.62	691	2.64	528
Middle Atlantic.....	46.61	559	2.37	474
East North Central.....	41.64	500	2.12	424
West North Central.....	38.75	465	2.01	402
South Atlantic.....	26.90	323	1.22	244
East South Central.....	23.30	280	1.04	208
West South Central.....	28.17	338	1.24	248
Mountain.....	51.89	623	2.25	450
Pacific.....	66.07	793	2.79	558
United States.....	30.68	440	1.59	318

¹ Full-time employment for monthly wage rate assumed to be 12 months; for daily wage rate, 200 days.

Source: Crops and Markets, vol. 18, Nos. 1, 4, 5, 6, January, April, May, and June 1941.

TABLE 21.—*Average annual income of farm workers from agricultural and nonagricultural sources in 1 county in each of 11 States, and proportion of single workers, 1935-36*¹

County, State, and area	Total earnings ²	Agricultural earnings	Nonagricultural income	Average relief receipts	Percentage with no dependents
	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Percent</i>
1. Fentress County, Tenn., self-sufficing area.....	111.57	69.06	42.51	15.21	43.2
2. Concordia Parish, La., cotton area.....	131.06	100.04	31.02	6.21	49.0
3. Karnes County, Tex., cotton area.....	170.54	162.13	8.41	1.36	25.6
4. Todd County, Ky., tobacco area.....	187.70	168.60	19.10	3.36	36.1
5. Lac qui Parle County, Minn., wheat area.....	206.33	185.26	21.07	3.49	94.2
6. Pawnee County, Kans., wheat area.....	254.41	212.05	42.36	7.48	67.5
7. Archuleta County, Colo., stock-ranch area.....	341.18	224.13	117.05	19.66	63.6
8. Livingston County, Ill., corn area.....	307.92	286.36	27.01	9.55	55.0
9. Hamilton County, Iowa, corn-hog area.....	311.68	292.57	19.11	5.02	68.8
10. Wayne County, Pa., dairy area.....	353.29	285.96	67.33	1.31	73.4
11. Placer County, Calif., fruit area.....	650.99	626.95	24.04	7.49	30.7

¹ Sources: Surveys of agricultural labor conditions in the respective areas, and published with titles similar except the area names. For example, that for Tennessee is: Vasey, Tom, and Folsom, Josian C., Survey of Agricultural Labor Conditions in Fentress County, Tennessee. U. S. Department of Agriculture. The Farm Security Administration and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Washington, D. C. Data are arithmetic means.

² Total gross earnings, exclusive of relief receipts. Data on perquisites and home-use goods and on travel expenses not secured.

Other recent studies, though not uniform with the foregoing, confirm the inadequacy of total earnings of farm laborers in a variety of crops over many areas (table 22).⁸⁵

For example: In the Yakima Valley, Wash., the median annual cash income of farm laborer families interviewed in 1935-36, was between \$500 and \$600; of single workers, between \$350 and \$400. The median number of weeks worked per year ranged from between 40 and 50 for families; to only 36 to 39 for heads of families or workers without families. The foregoing were all nonrelief cases. The plight of relief cases was far more serious. Their median annual earnings for families was between \$200 and \$225; for family heads, between \$170 and \$180; for single laborers, between \$135 and \$155. Total annual employment ranged from 11 to 20 weeks; that is, from less than 3 to perhaps 5 months.⁸⁶

2. *Wage rates.*—Wage rates alone are of little value as indicators of the economic position of workers who receive them. Earnings are products of two factors: wage rates and time employed. Irregular employment at relatively high wage

⁸⁵ For earnings of sharecroppers see pp. 47-51.

⁸⁶ Landis and Brooks, op. cit., p. 59.

rates frequently yields lower annual earnings than continuous employment at relatively low rates.

The only continuous statistical series on farm wage rate is that compiled quarterly by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the Department of Agriculture, which reports wage rates on per day and per month bases, with and without board. Wide regional variations are revealed by these data.

3. *Time rates versus piece rates.*—The employer usually chooses whether time rates or piece rates shall be paid. Piece-rate pay usually has advantages for him over time rate, because the former makes easier the employment of workers of varied speed and degree of skill. Under piece rates women and children may frequently be used to supplement adult male labor, which might not be practicable under time rates. Piece rates remove any incentive for the individual worker to permit work to “drag along” in the hope of prolonging the period of employment. Piece rates offer a further advantage to the employer by making uniform the costs attributable to each unit of production.

TABLE 22.—*Earnings of farm laborers; Various studies, 1935-39*¹

Area, type of agriculture, and labor	Median annual cash earnings exclusive of relief income	Area, type of agriculture, and labor	Median annual cash earnings exclusive of relief income
1. Sugar beet labor families, 1935 ² (resident and nonresident; Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Wyoming).		3. New Jersey:	
A. From sugar beets only.....	\$340	A. Truck, general, dairy, 1935 ⁶	\$ 431
B. From all sources.....	430	B. Truck, 1938 ⁷	\$ 265
2. Yakima Valley, Wash., 1935-36:		4. Texas, 1937: ⁸	
Resident:		A. Migratory labor.....	228
A. Fruit and general farms: ³		B. Resident labor.....	228
Single workers.....	217	5. California: Nonresident, 1935 ⁹	10 261
Family heads.....	198	6. Florida, 1938-39: ¹¹	
Nonresident:		A. Migratory truck labor,	
A. Fruit and general farms: ³		Okeechobee area.....	12 399
Single workers.....	334	B. Migratory truck labor,	
Family heads.....	297	Manatee area.....	12 345
B. Hop pickers, 1936-37: ⁴		C. Citrus labor, Polk County....	12 688
Single persons:		D. Celery labor, Sanford area....	12 281
Earning in agriculture only....	\$ 352	7. Louisiana, 1938-39: ¹¹ A. Migratory	
Earning in agriculture and elsewhere:		tory strawberry labor, Hammond	
Nonrelief cases.....	\$ 620	area.....	12 203
Relief cases.....	\$ 566		
Families:			
Earning in agriculture only....	\$ 496		
Earning in agriculture and elsewhere:			
Nonrelief cases.....	\$ 826		
Relief cases.....	\$ 549		

¹ See tables 16 and 17, pp. 74-75, for income data more specifically concerning migratory farm laborers.

² Johnson, Elizabeth S., *Welfare of Families of Sugar Beet Laborers*, Bureau Publication No. 247, Children's Bureau, Department of Labor, 1939, pp. 61-68.

³ Landis, Paul H., and Brooks, Melvin S., *Farm Labor in the Yakima Valley, Washington*, Washington Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 343, 1936, pp. 54, 70. The differences in income of resident and transient groups is probably partly explainable by an abnormally large proportion of relief cases among the resident group. Relief cases have much lower income than others.

⁴ Reuss, Carl F., Landis, Paul H., and Wakefield, R., *Migratory Farm Labor and the Hop Industry in the Pacific Coast*, Washington Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 363, 1938, p. 56.

⁵ Arithmetic average.

⁶ Folsom, J. C., *Farm Labor Conditions in Gloucester, Hunterdon, and Monmouth Counties, New Jersey*, April-May 1936. U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Washington, D. C., 1939, p. 44.

⁷ A Summer in the Country, National Child Labor Committee, New York, N. Y., Pub. No. 377, 1939 p. 18.

⁸ Unpublished data obtained by Texas Agricultural Experiment Station in 1938.

⁹ *Migratory Labor in California*, California State Relief Administration, San Francisco, 1936, p. 121.

¹⁰ The arithmetic average was \$289.

¹¹ Unpublished data obtained by the Farm Security Administration early in 1939. The families were working predominantly in the types of production named. Earnings of white families were considerably higher, sometimes nearly double those of colored families.

¹² Includes some perquisites, which were received in rare instances.

From the employee's point of view the piece-rate enables him to earn as much each day as his physical abilities permit and to increase total earnings by using his entire family to add their output to his own.

When care and quality are essential, or where the work done does not lend itself to standard measurement by the piece, time rates are preferred. Where labor has gained sufficient organized strength, it has called for the adoption of time rates as the first step toward winning the principle of the living wage; because time rates ignore variations in the output of workers. Where work is steady, as in the case of a permanent "hired hand," the time rate is paid in the form of a daily or monthly wage.

The seasonal worker, however, is usually paid on a piece-rate basis, minus possible penalties. Deductions for work not up to a set standard may be made before piece rate wages are paid out.

On some farms where small numbers of hired laborers work with their employers, efforts have been made to increase efficiency by sharing profits. Sometimes this has been done by granting a bonus on the total net profits of the farm, but more often by sharing returns on certain enterprises which have been made the responsibility of the hired worker. Profit sharing of this kind is really an attempt to apply the principle of the piece rate to the more varied farm operations that do not lend themselves to unit measurement. However, this bonus method has never been widely practiced. Most frequently it has been used as an incentive to profitable farming practices on the part of hired managers, rather than hired hands as such.

4. *Speed of work.*—The prevailing method of payment in modern industry is by the hour. Sometimes the speed of workers is stepped up and maintained by linking their activity to the operations of a machine. This method of boosting production has often resulted in harm to workers' health.

Agricultural processes offer little opportunities for "speed-ups," though in some instances similar practices have been applied. On one large farm in the wheat belt the operator reported that a tape recording device was attached to the tractor so as to record every minute of idle time. In other cases where mobile equipment is used together with labor, the machine can be employed to set the pace for the worker. In California, for example, workers digging potatoes are assigned "spaces," usually about 75 paces apart, behind the tractor-drawn digger.

Sometimes the speediest workers are used to set a pace for others. In hoeing corn and cotton, and in cutting cane, "row men" are employed, sometimes at slightly higher rates of pay, to set the pace. In California fruit groves a "pacer" is assigned one row of trees, and pickers are discharged if they do not keep up with him.

5. *Variations in regional wage rates.*—Reasons for regional variations in wage rates for similar work are not easy to isolate. It has been suggested that they "appear to be due to differences in the effectiveness with which productive resources and equipment are used in relation to manpower; such factors as the industrial competition for labor, the opportunity for some degree of permanence of employment, the efficiency of the laborers and their standards of living, also have influence."⁸⁷

The ranking of geographical divisions according to wage rates in agriculture follows roughly the order according to (a) gross, and (b) net farm income.⁸⁸

6. *Forms of wage payment.*—Throughout the country, cash is the predominant form in which agricultural wages are paid. Scrip and token money have been used frequently, but, other than cash, the only important form of payment is that of "perquisites." Because of their variations, perquisites complicate greatly the problem of determining just what real wages are actually being paid to farm workers.

"In industry, cash wages prevail and variations are likely to apply to a considerable number of workers. In agriculture, on the other hand, perquisites make up nearly two-fifths of the wages of noncasual hired farm hands the country over and their nature may vary from farm to farm. Perquisites are ordinarily defined as emoluments given in addition to wages at the going rate. In agriculture, however, they are looked upon by both worker and employer as emoluments in place of cash wages, the two together constituting total wages.

"Perquisites may include a wide range of goods and services, such as board and room, housing, dairy and meat products, flour and meal, and various privileges,

⁸⁷ Ham, William T., *The Status of Agricultural Labor, Law and Contemporary Problems*, vol. IV, No. 4, October 1937, p. 564.

⁸⁸ Black, John D., *Agricultural Wage Relationships: Geographical Differences, Review of Economics Statistics*, vol. XVIII, No. 2, May 1936, pp. 68-69.

such as that of keeping livestock, with feed or pasturage. The precise combination is determined by custom."⁸⁹

The practice of giving perquisites is widely prevalent. In 1925, it was found that 97.5 percent of the noncasual and 85.5 percent of casual farm laborers received them. Board was given to 50.5 percent of the noncasual laborers, and to 74.1 percent of the casual laborers. Lodging was provided for 74.3 of the former and for 61.7 percent of the latter.⁹⁰

B. Causes of inadequate employment.

Failure of the agricultural worker to secure enough employment, even though wage rates are at a reasonable level, to make possible a living at minimum standards for himself and family the year round may be due to competition for jobs available, or to that seasonal irregularity which is a part of agriculture itself. Competition for farm employment comes from two sources—first, from other wage workers of rural or industrial origin, and second, from workers who are unpaid members of farm families. There appears to be a tendency for the competition from unpaid farm family workers to increase during periods of economic depression. Unfortunately, this is also the time when wage earners, ordinarily employed in industry, flock to the country to compete with the bona fide agricultural wage workers for the decreased number of jobs.

1. *Seasonality of work.*—The necessarily seasonal character of many types of agricultural work is usually offered as an explanation of the irregular character of much farm employment. Cotton must be picked before it becomes discolored or lost; wheat must be harvested within a few days of its ripening if it is not to fall or be damaged by rain. Fruit must be gathered before it falls or rots. The farmer's return from a year's investment of management, labor, and cash depends largely upon his ability to get the crop harvested at the right time. Seasonal help, often in considerable volume, is frequently indispensable for a short period. The type of farming and the kinds of crops produced largely decide how much labor will be hired during the busy seasons of the spring, summer, and fall.

The employment of hired helpers is subject to much greater seasonal variation than is the employment of farm families. Analysis of data for the years 1925–36 indicates that the employment of hired labor will usually range from a low of 70 percent of the annual average in January to highs of 119, 120, and 122 percent of the annual average in the months of June, July, and October, respectively. The seasonal variation in employment of family workers on the other hand is less, usually ranging from 84 percent of the annual average in January to 115 percent in June and 111 percent in July and October.⁹¹ The demand for seasonal labor varies greatly in the different crop producing regions.

Indicative of the seasonal nature of such employment, even for owners and operators, are the census data on off-farm employment for pay or income. Of the 6,096,799 farm operators in 1940, 28.7 percent had worked thus in 1939. The average number of days in such employment was 137 per operator reporting any. Two out of seven who worked part-time away from their farms did some work on other farms. It is estimated that 13 percent of the available working time of the operators was spent in off-farm employment for gain.

2. *Climatic conditions.*—Aside from the basic alternations of season, variations from the normal climatic cycle may affect employment drastically. A retarded season at planting time may result in a shift from one crop to another in an area, marked by changing the labor demand later in the season. For example, either weather conditions or anticipated market conditions in truck-growing areas may cause a shift from a crop (such as green beans or tomatoes), calling for large amounts of labor later in the season, to a crop (such as cabbage) which will call for about one-third as much labor in harvesting operations, and at a different time. After the crops are planted the amount of labor needed remains uncertain. Excessive rain, hail, or windstorms, frosts, droughts, insect pests, diseases, or other of the numerous unpredictable hazards of farming, may render useless further expenditure for labor. There is no uniformity in the distribution of these causes for crop damage from year to year and the workers who come into the area from outside have no way of knowing the conditions of the crop in particular sections, so they frequently go to a locality where in previous seasons

⁸⁹ Ham, William T., *The Status of Agricultural Labor, Law and Contemporary Problems*, vol. IV, No. 4, October 1937, p. 564.

⁹⁰ Folsom, Josiah C., *Perquisites and Wages of Hired Farm Laborers*, Technical Bulletin No. 213, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., January 1931, pp. 52-54.

⁹¹ Bowden, Witt, *Farm Employment, 1909 to 1938*. *Monthly Labor Review*, vol. 48, No. 6, June 1939, p. 1251.

they have had plenty of work, only to find that crop losses have wiped out the need for them.

3. *Marketing conditions.*—Irregularity of work of the farm laborer is also due in part to changes in market conditions, especially in the case of perishable crops. Lettuce, which requires a large amount of hand labor in its harvest, provides one of the most striking illustrations of these fluctuations. In the harvesting of deciduous crops such as apricots and peaches, the grower finds his prices contingent upon conditions similar to those in the lettuce market. When the prices for fruit for canning and for fresh fruit fall sharply, the grower finds he is better off not to go to the expense of harvesting the crop. Such conditions are disastrous to growers and laborers alike. The hardship to the worker is more akin to that experienced by the operator than is sometimes recognized. Just as the grower has his investment in the crop and is dependent on the harvest for the return of his earlier outlays as well as for a profit, so the worker has come to the area in anticipation of receiving employment, frequently having spent for travel all he could save from other jobs through the season, only to find on arrival that there is no demand for his labor.

However, the irregularity of employment from which hired agricultural laborers frequently suffer cannot all be laid at the door of seasonality or market conditions or type of farm organization. Much of it, as will be indicated later, is due to lack of proper facilities for getting men to jobs and finding jobs for men.

4. *Hours of work.*—In nonagricultural industries the average length of the normal work day declined from 11.5 hours in 1850 to about 8.1 hours in 1937.⁹² There has also been wide acceptance of the 5 or 5½-day week.⁹³ In 1890 the normal work week was 58 hours.⁹⁴ In 1940 the normal work week was 40 hours for workers coming under the provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act. It has been estimated that more than 12,600,000 are affected by this work week.⁹⁵

In agriculture the problem is not only that of a long work day but also that of a short work day. In the case of the hired man, the long work day is the general practice, but the problem of the seasonal worker is quite different. In a situation in which there is an excess supply of labor, with farm workers competing with each other for jobs, the farm operator can maintain a long work day when conditions are favorable for a quick harvest, but when conditions are not favorable he can employ his labor for only part of the day.

A study of hours of work of farm operators and hired men in the principal farming areas in the United States shows that the work day on farms in 1936 was practically as long as that a century earlier in industry and manufacturing. The data collected do not indicate great differences in the length of the work day as between areas or as between the three busy seasons. The longest days for operators (13.2 hours) are reported for the summer season in the winter wheat area and the shortest—excepting those for specialized farms—for the spring season in Mississippi, Arkansas, Texas cotton area (10.4 hours). For hired workers the longest days (12.5 hours) are reported for the spring season in the western dairy area and the shortest—excepting specialized farms—for the spring and fall seasons in the eastern cotton area and the spring season in the Mississippi, Arkansas, and Texas cotton area (11.4 hours).⁹⁶

The seasonal worker, who follows the harvest from one area to another with the result that he is generally employed in a series of rush periods, is also subject to long workdays. Frequently because of the condition of the market, the harvest hand may work only a small part of the day, but must remain available for work. In some crops like citrus fruits, the harvest may be delayed or spread over a considerable period when the prices are low, but when good prices are reported, growers become anxious to get as much as possible delivered to the market before it breaks. During the potato harvest in central New Jersey, harvesting operations are "irregular and feverish. If weather and market conditions are favorable for digging and picking, operations usually begin at 4 or 5 a. m. and last till 10 or 11 a. m. During the late morning and early afternoon usually no work is performed because potatoes are subject to scorch from the sun. Work usually resumes at about 4 p. m. and continues until dark. No potatoes are dug, picked, or graded, however, until they are sold. The major requirement

⁹² Daugherty, Carroll R., *Labor Problems in American Industry*, New Ed. Cambridge, 1938, p. 192.

⁹³ The Bureau of Labor Statistics, in a survey of 395 plants in 11 industries, showed that 210 of these plants were on either a 5 or 5½-day week. *Monthly Labor Review*, March 1941, p. 541.

⁹⁴ Daugherty, Carroll R., *op. cit.*, p. 192.

⁹⁵ *Monthly Labor Review*, December 1940, p. 1470.

⁹⁶ Hopkins, John A., and Newman, Wm. A., *Length and Changes in the Farm Work Day, Report No. 54, National Research Project, Works Progress Administration, 1937*, pp. 6, 11, 13, 16.

for workers in potatoes, according to the farmers, is the ability to "stand hard work and heat," and workers must be willing to work at any hour when needed for the wages offered.⁹⁷

In the hop yards of the Yakima Valley, Wash., over three-fourths of a group of 443 pickers interviewed were in the field for 10 or more hours a day. One-fifth of them worked 12 hours. Hop picking is back-breaking work, paid for on a piece-rate basis, so that the cost of any rest periods or inefficiency due to fatigue is borne by the pickers.⁹⁸

Sugar-beet workers, practically all of whom are employed on an acreage-contract basis, work during the two rush seasons as many hours each day as human endurance will permit. In the thinning and hoeing operations pressure for long hours arises from the provision in the contract that the grower may hire extra help and deduct its pay from the contract price. In "topping" there is added pressure arising from the necessity of leaving the beets in the ground as long as possible to insure a high sugar content, and yet of getting them out of the ground before freezing weather. Thus, the harvesting season is telescoped into a very short period. Hours of labor, according to a survey made in 1935 by the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, were at least 12 a day for half of the fathers of families at thinning time and at least 11 hours a day for half of them at topping time. The workweek has 6 and sometimes 7 days.⁹⁹

Hours of work for those employed in the seasonal labor of harvesting the vegetable and fruit crops in the southern part of New Jersey are frequently longer than those for regular hired workers.¹ Here, also, since piece rates prevail, there is no standard workday. The hours of work are determined by the conditions of the market, the weather, the available labor supply, and the limits of human endurance. In a study of 251 families employed in this area in the summer of 1938, 10- and 12-hour days were found to be common. The longest hours were worked in asparagus, tomatoes, potatoes, and string beans.²

Thus, the usual objectives of farm workers, as far as hours of work are concerned, are twofold: First, to decrease the length of the workday without reducing total earnings, and second, to provide for some form of compensation for days in which they report for work but learn that there is little or no work available.

In nonagricultural industries this problem has been lessened to some extent by the recognition by business of its responsibility toward its workers, by the enactment of Federal and State maximum-hour laws, and by contracts negotiated between employers and labor organizations. It is not uncommon for union contracts to limit the length of the workday and to provide for compensation to the worker when he reports for work and finds no work is available. This practice exists in the shipbuilding, aircraft, rubber, railway, coal, and newspaper industries.³

5. *Labor turn-over.*—Labor turn-over in agriculture is high as compared with that in other industries—higher, indeed, than can be accounted for by strictly seasonal considerations. In some areas of high seasonal labor requirements, a new working force is recruited each day. Little attention has been devoted by farm operators to the costs involved in a high rate of turn-over or to means of reducing it.

Use of perquisites to reduce turn-over: Some types of agricultural enterprises, however—such as dairying—which afford relatively long periods of employment, recognize that a high labor turn-over involving constant training of new personnel may be more costly than the effort to reduce it. Accordingly, such enterprises often emphasize the necessity of providing satisfactory living quarters for farm workers and their families, sometimes at no cost to the worker, or at a relatively low cost, provided he remains throughout the season. Permission is usually given to occupy the quarters during periods when there is no work on the farm. Electric light, water, and other facilities and perquisites may be provided free of charge.

On the other hand, where seasonal labor is employed and a surplus of labor exists, the farm operator does not feel responsible for providing decent lodging for his workers. When workers are paid on a piece-rate basis and the harvesting

⁹⁷ Liss, Samuel, *Farm Migrants in New Jersey*, Land Policy Review, June 1941.

⁹⁸ Reuss, C. F., Landis, P. H., and Wakefield, R., *Migratory Farm Labor and the Hop Industry on Pacific Coast*, Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 363 (1938), pp. 24-25.

⁹⁹ Wages, Employment Conditions, and Welfare of Sugar Beet Laborers, *Monthly Labor Review*, February, 1938, p. 332.

¹ Folsom, Josiah C., *Farm Labor Conditions in Gloucester, Hunterdon, and Monmouth Counties, New Jersey*, April-May 1936, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., 1939.

² *A Summer in the Country*, National Child Labor Committee, New York, 1939, p. 22.

³ For a discussion of the exclusion of agriculture from legislative limitations on hours of work, see p. 170.

requires little or no skill, the farm employer is not particularly concerned over the labor turn-over and does not find it necessary to offer any inducements for labor to remain on the job.

Use of penalties to reduce turn-over: However, during certain seasons in areas in which it is necessary to keep seasonal labor at hand, especially in areas remote from centers of population, penalties rather than inducements are resorted to. One of the most common is the "hold-back," or "bonus," as it is often called by those who favor its use. Under the "bonus" a portion of the payment for work performed early in the season is withheld until completion of work scheduled to be performed later in the season. This system is used most extensively in the sugar-beet States, where by custom the grower holds out \$1 per acre of the amounts earned by the beet worker in the spring or early summer for "blocking, thinning, and hoeing," as a guaranty that the same worker and his family will be on hand to take care of the harvesting, or "topping" of the beets in the fall.

Pea pickers in Colorado, California, and Idaho, hop pickers in the Yakima Valley, Wash., strawberry workers in North Carolina, and many other groups have become accustomed to being paid on a piece-work basis, with a "bonus" to follow if they stay until crops are harvested. Objection to this system on the part of the worker is common, on the ground that the "bonus" is not an extra wage payment, but is rather the arbitrary withholding of a payment already due.

Other methods of keeping laborers on the job depend on credit advances by operators or labor contractors, so designed that the worker falls into debt and is kept in that status until his payments at the end of the season permit him to "pay out." This system is by no means confined to cotton sharecropping, where it has long been in use, but is also found frequently in all systems of labor contracting. The labor contractor is, of course, in a very advantageous position in the collection of his loans, for the worker depends upon him for future employment. In a report on conditions in New Jersey truck-crop farms in 1938, the National Child Labor Committee states that the "padrone" is further fortified in his control over the movements of workers through the fact that he is able to give or withhold information which will affect the granting of relief.⁴

6. *Inefficient recruiting.*—An additional cause of inadequate employment among agricultural workers is the inefficiency in recruiting workers in many areas. This inefficiency results in much lost time and labor turn-over and is discussed under The Farm Labor Market, beginning on page 117.

C. Wage payments and collections.

Most wage earners, completely dependent upon their pay envelopes, need to receive pay regularly and at comparatively short intervals. Yet it is not uncommon for farm employers to pay wages at long intervals, or withhold them for considerable lengths of time, or even fail to pay them in full. The resident industrial worker and his family who loses a week's wages may suffer want and privation, or remain dependent on borrowing. The seasonal agricultural worker and his family may be hopelessly stranded by delay or failure in payment of wages (as in the case of many Dust Bowl migrants who were recruited to pick cotton in New Mexico in 1936, and were unable to return to their homes). If workers move, on the other hand, they may never get paid. The practice of withholding wages until it suits the convenience of the employer to pay, often means that workers, despite their own narrow margins, are obliged to help finance for considerable periods of time the farm which employs them.

Farm workers are sometimes deprived entirely of wages due them for work they have done. In some cases farm operators do not pay seasonal workers in agriculture until all other obligations are taken care of. In other cases, wages are withheld to insure that workers remain until the close of the harvest season. Often, because of the eagerness for employment, farm workers fail to come to an understanding as to the amount they are paid. Legitimate wage claims are often never pressed because the workers fear retaliation. In many States lack of civil rights has handicapped Negro, Mexican, Spanish-American, and Filipino workers in taking advantage of legal means to obtain what is theirs by right.

A study by the National Child Labor Committee revealed that in Oregon and Washington hop growers withhold from 10 to 25 percent of the wages of hop pickers, to be paid to the worker only if he stays on the job until the end of the season.⁵ In paying wages, most hop growers use a ticket on which is punched

⁴ A Summer in the Country, National Child Labor Committee, New York, 1939, p. 15.

⁵ Sidel, James E., Pick for Your Supper, A study of Child Labor Among Migrants on the Pacific Coast, National Child Labor Committee, June 1939, p. 17.

or written indelibly the number of pounds in each bag weighed. Hop tickets are cashable at a company store, at which pickers are expected to buy. Failure to do so sometimes results in delay in the payment of wages.

Another investigation of about 250 migrant agricultural workers employed in southern New Jersey during the summer of 1938 showed that in many cases wages were held back, in full or in part. The workers felt "this was done to force them to remain on the farm whether they were earning anything or not." The investigation also revealed that "for the most part the families were in debt for living expenses and had no choice but to remain until they could collect earnings and pay their bills." One family received nothing for picking beans because the farmer "forgot" about it. Another family was "still trying in mid-October to collect \$85 for day work done in June."⁶

D. Housing.

The great majority of the million and a half houses occupied by farm laborers and sharecroppers are below standards of health and decency.

1. *Typical areas.*—Here are some significant examples:

(a) *Missouri.*—In southeast Missouri, 85 percent of the white farm laborer families and nearly all the Negro families lived in small unpainted box houses.⁷ A box house is a single-wall house, constructed without wall studding. Strips are sometimes placed over the cracks, but frequently not. Many of the houses do not have glass windows; those that do very often have broken window panes.

(b) *Texas.*—In a Texas study of 573 laborers' houses,⁸ the typical residence was a two-room box house. Half of these were unscreened and most of the remainder were either inadequately screened or the screens were in poor condition. Nineteen percent of the houses had no glass windows; 79 percent were in fair condition; and only 18 percent were in good condition; 53 percent were valued at less than \$150 and 70 percent at less than \$250; 7 percent had no privy of any kind and 87 percent had unsanitary unimproved outdoor privies. Nine and a half percent of occupants owned their homes; 54 percent received their houses rent free; and 36.5 percent paid an average of about \$3 per month rent. The above facts apply to the permanent homes of Texas farm laborers. When these families go on the road to pick cotton, as over half of them do, they have practically no housing facilities at all. Of 283 such families surveyed away from home, 162 had no housing whatever; 2 were rooming and boarding; 13 lived in their trucks; 41 lived in open sheds; 11 lived in barns; 18 lived in little labor shacks; and 36 lived in houses similar to their permanent homes.

(c) *Sugar-beet areas.*—Housing conditions in the sugar-beet areas are likewise very unsatisfactory.

"Forty-seven percent of the families interviewed at their residences were found to be living in quarters of not more than 2 rooms and only 29 percent lived in as many as 4 rooms. Some families shared their few rooms with 1 or 2 other families during the working season. Since the rooms of the typical 2-room shack or adobe houses were not more than about 12 feet square there was usually no space for more than 2 beds. The large families would lay mattresses on the floor at night for the children to sleep on, and in the daytime stack these extra mattresses on top of the 1 or 2 bedsteads. It was customary to many families for more than 2 people to sleep together in 1 bed or on 1 mattress, and this was a particularly trying situation when there was illness in the family. In nearly two-fifths of the families interviewed at their residences there were 3 or more persons to a room, and in two-thirds there were 2 or more to a room. Twenty-five families (4 percent of those reporting) actually had 6 or more persons to a room and a few had 10 persons to a room. There were 3 or more persons to a room in 52 percent of the migratory families interviewed at their beet-season residence, whereas the corresponding proportion for the nonmigratory families were 35 percent."⁹

A report by the Secretary of Labor¹⁰ states:

"Living quarters for seasonal agricultural laborers are to a large extent furnished by the growers. This is general throughout the Southwest, West, and Northwest

⁶ National Child Labor Committee, *A Summer in the Country*, Publication No. 377, New York, March 1939, pp. 16-17.

⁷ White, Max R., Ensminger, Douglas, and Gregory, Cecil L., *Rich Land—Poor People*, Research Report I, Farm Security Administration, Region III, Indianapolis, Ind., January 1938, pp. 40-43.

⁸ Data from an unpublished study made in Texas in 1938 by the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, the Works Progress Administration, and the Farm Security Administration.

⁹ Johnson, Elizabeth S., *Welfare of Families of Sugar Beet Laborers*, U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Bureau Publication No. 247, Washington, D. C. 1939, pp. 76-77.

¹⁰ U. S. Department of Labor, *Migration of Workers*. Preliminary Report of the Secretary of Labor to 75th Cong., 1st sess., pursuant to S. Res. 296 (74th Cong.), Washington, D. C. 1938, pp. 137-138.

in the areas in which large numbers of seasonal laborers are employed. The housing furnished by the growers has long been a subject of discussion and concern. The standards of the agricultural labor camps (in California) have declined steeply in the last years notwithstanding their being subject to the inspection of the State commission of immigration and housing. In the words of the report of the National Labor Board, in 1934, speaking of Imperial Valley:

"We found filth, squalor, an entire absence of sanitation, and a crowding of human beings into totally inadequate tents or crude structures built of boards, weeds, and anything that was found at hand to give a pitiful semblance of a home at its worst." * * *

"At a tent camp visited by the Children's Bureau representative in an extensive cotton area of Arizona (near Phoenix) there were 18 tents arranged in a square with a vacant space in the center. This space was used for parking cars, and apparently for piling up refuse, as it was littered with old boxes and rubbish at the time of the visit. The tents were located only a few feet off the highway and an irrigation ditch ran along one side of the camp. There were no screens for the tents. A small two-lid wood stove was furnished for each tent. The rest of the furnishings had to be supplied by the workers. Only a few of the workers had beds. Most of them slept on blankets on the ground or made pallets from long grass hay gathered nearby. In practically none of the tents visited were there chairs—wooden boxes being used for this purpose. Most of them had a table of some description and makeshift shelves and cupboards."

2. *Regulation of farm workers' housing.*—In 1931 President Hoover's Committee on Farm and Village Housing of the Conference on Home Building and Ownership, found that conditions approached a satisfactory level only when State authorities assumed some responsibility in the matter.

Thirteen States have regulations covering at least some labor camps,¹¹ but probably not all of these apply to camps for farm laborers.

In California, New York, and Pennsylvania, labor camps operated by employers are under the jurisdiction of the State departments of labor. In New York, however, a detailed code is in force only for cannery camps. In Pennsylvania regulations issued by the industrial board apply to labor camps in general. The division of immigration and housing of the California Department of Industrial Relations has jurisdiction over all labor camps and over auto and trailer camps in unincorporated areas, but not over squatter camps.

The codes which have been issued in these States require that bunkhouses, tents, or other sleeping and living quarters be constructed to meet certain general standards; that eating and cooking quarters be kept in a clean and sanitary condition with screened openings; that convenient and suitable bathing facilities and toilet facilities be provided; that garbage and refuse disposal, bedding, and ventilation satisfy stated requirements. Persistent efforts over a considerable period of time have brought improvements in all three States.

3. *Federal housing for agricultural workers.*—The general failure of the States to provide decent housing created a need that has been met in part by a Federal agency, the Farm Security Administration. The Farm Security Administration has developed a twofold housing program: (1) Camps for migratory seasonal workers, and (2) "labor homes."

Camps for migratory seasonal workers: In 1935 construction was started on the first migratory labor camps of the Federal Security Administration, at Marysville and at Arvin, Calif.; the former opened in December of that year.

Each camp provided facilities to accommodate about 100 families. These facilities included: Tent platforms grouped about toilet, laundry, and bathing facilities; a small building for the isolation of workers afflicted with communicable diseases; a warehouse; and a home for the manager.

The operation of the camps brought to light the complete isolation of the migratory workers from normal community and social relations. Accordingly, additions were made to the original physical lay-out so as to contribute to a healthy social life. Community buildings were provided so that campers might hold assemblies and recreational meetings. In each camp clinic facilities were built so public health authorities might operate efficiently.

Camp design and construction has become fairly standardized during the past 7 years. The typical camp is laid out in streets, with an entrance facing the main route of travel.

¹¹ Arkansas, California, Delaware, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wisconsin.

Nearby is the office and residence of the camp manager. In the center of the camp stands a utility building with hot and cold running water, shower baths, laundry and ironing rooms. Every family has access to sanitary toilet facilities.

Attached to some camps are small farm plots on which are produced subsistence crops to augment the variety of foods available to the campers. These plots are usually operated under the direction of the camp manager, the produce being sold on a cooperative basis to the occupants.

Management of Federal Security Administration camps: Management of the camps is carried on in as democratic a manner as possible. The campers elect a central camp committee which serves as the governing body, represents them in all relationships with the manager and establishes such local rules as are necessary to maintain harmony. All problems of discipline and all controversies are taken care of by this committee. The camps are subject to local laws and to police and health inspection by accredited officers, but they are not subject to entry by "vigilantes" or deputies acting beyond the limits of the law. Camp managers are appointees of the United States Government and are responsible for the operation of the camps. To them are referred for final determination all decisions and recommendations of the camp committee.

Care of children: One of the problems of migratory agricultural workers' families is that of the care of younger children during working hours. Ordinarily the only choice is between taking them into the fields and leaving them alone in the roadside camp or jungle. In a number of Farm Security Administration camps nursery schools have been established. These operate from 9 in the morning to mid-afternoon 5 days a week, under the direction of trained nursery school teachers assigned by the Work Projects Administration and assisted by young people in training from the National Youth Administration. The daily program in the schools includes a health check by the camp nurse, a hot lunch at noonday, guided play, and rest periods. In one of the Florida camps there are arrangements for the children to sleep at the school, at least for the early hours of the night, since the workday in the vegetable fields often lasts until 10 o'clock in the evening.

Regular school attendance by older children is difficult to arrange, even in the Government camps, since the necessity of moving from place to place remains. But at each camp efforts have been made to work out arrangements with local school authorities so that these handicaps may be reduced to a minimum.

Farm Security Administration camps and job placement: The migratory labor camps are located at terminals on the main routes of migration between crop areas. Those now in operation on the west coast constitute a chain, the activities of which are closely coordinated.

In Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Texas, where the State employment services are well established, the Farm Security Administration camps make use of their information. An Employment Service man operates in each camp as farm placement agent. On entering the camp, migrants register with the agent, and in this way every effort is made to use to best advantage the available employment opportunities. Working relationships between the Farm Security Administration and the State Employment Service in California, Arizona, and the States of the eastern seaboard were developed for the 1942 season.

Farm Security Administration mobile camps: As a part of the Farm Security Administration camp program, 23 mobile camps have been constructed. These are portable units designed for use in establishing camps in areas where work is available only for short periods. After the season is over, the camp is dismantled and moved to another area. During the 1941 season these 23 mobile units served 47 areas. The units are equipped with portable power, water and bathing units, offices and clinics built into trailers, and portable tent platforms. These camps, accompanied by management personnel, are set up each season on a chain of leased sites.

Farm Security Administration labor homes program: Another phase of the Farm Security Administration farm labor program is the attempt to stabilize some of the migrant families by providing cottages, with garden plots attached. Thus the family acquires a base from which the older members, during certain seasons of the year, may go out to seek work, possibly at some distance. Rentals for labor homes vary somewhat in different parts of the country. Monthly rentals range from \$3 in Missouri to between \$5 and \$9 in Florida, Oregon, Texas, Washington, and California.

As opportunities present themselves, some of the families occupying labor homes are assisted to obtain farms on which they can establish themselves with the aid of rehabilitation loans.

As of January 1, 1942, there were 35 permanent and 23 mobile camps in operation. These 58 camps are capable of serving 13,674 families at any one time. Since harvest peaks occur at different times in different parts of the country, it is not expected that all camps will be fully occupied at all times. Because of the constant movement in and out of camps, however, it is estimated that the number of persons benefiting from use of Farm Security Administration camps facilities in the course of a season is about two and one-half times the total capacity at any one time.

Funds were provided for the construction during 1942 of additional facilities to house approximately 7,000 families. This included 16 additional standard camps and 27 mobile camps. Without new units completed there would be a total of 101 migratory labor camps capable of serving 20,607 families at one time. Additional camps are also under consideration.

Value and prospects of Farm Security Administration camp program: While the sponsors of this camp program do not claim for it any efficacy other than that of a palliative, it is clear that during a period of acute maladjustment of conditions in the seasonal labor market, it is a palliative of importance. To sense how important, one need only visit a Farm Security Administration camp, such as that at Tulare, and then for purposes of comparison spend a time at the extensive shanty town area near Farmersville, Calif. At the present time the migratory camp program reaches hardly 10 percent of those who are in need of its aid. But as an example of what can be done and of the response of migrants to the effort to do it, the camps have exerted much influence upon communities and large-scale agricultural undertakings. It is hoped that the program can be expanded to assist in most effective use of the available labor supply, which is so vital during this period of national emergency.

E. Food and subsistence.

Data on food and subsistence resources on farm laborers are scanty. Most of the available information relates to wage hands and sharecroppers of the South, of whom it can be said without exaggeration that no other large rural group in the United States has so low a standard of diet. The usual fare is meat (mostly fat pork), meal, and molasses. Garden products are rare.

A study of 141 farm wage worker families in the Arkansas River Valley¹² showed that the average value of family living produced on the farm was \$106, which was supplemented by \$293 cash wages. Sharecroppers in the Arkansas River Valley produced \$152 worth of family living items and earned \$296 of additional cash income.

Another Arkansas study of 423 Arkansas wage-labor and sharecropper families found that home-use products amounted to \$129 per family; \$58 of which was for house and fuel; \$18 for garden and other vegetables; \$50 for livestock and livestock products; and \$3 for miscellaneous items. Most studies indicate that over one-half and frequently two-thirds of all cropper expenditures are for the purchase of food, such as it is. The remainder of their expenditures must pay for the clothing, health, education, and other requirements of the families.¹³

Under these circumstances hygiene and medical care are practically impossible, and victims of ill health are forced to resort to home and patent remedies. Little of the income can be spent on clothing. The tenant farmer, his debts to his landlord often absorbing all his cash income, pleads for a little money, at least enough to buy his wife a dress. Each year in the Black Belt thousands of farm mothers chop cotton and pick cotton and then fail to get a new cotton dress at the end of the year. The clothes for the children in many of the families are strikingly inadequate.¹⁴

F. Health.

Where such conditions prevail it is small wonder that wage hands and croppers are often ill-clothed, undernourished, unhealthy, and illiterate. "The effects of low income with attendant poor housing and manager diet are evident when measures of health are applied to the cotton tenant household. The lack of

¹² Leonard, O. E., and Loomis, C. P. A Study of Mobility and Levels of Living Among Negro Sharecroppers and Wage Laborer Families of the Arkansas River Valley. Farm Population and Rural Welfare Activities, vol. XIII, No. 2, April 15, 1939, p. 9.

¹³ Barton, Glen T., and McNeely, J. G. Recent Changes in Farm Labor Organization in Three Arkansas Plantation Counties. Preliminary report, Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station, Fayetteville, September 1939, pp. 21, 29-31.

¹⁴ Taylor, Carl C., Wheeler, Helen W., and Kirkpatrick, E. L. Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture, United States Department of Agriculture, Social Research Report No. VIII, Washington, D. C., April 1938, p. 117.

screening facilitates the spread of malaria; the primitive water supply and sanitary facilities contribute to typhoid epidemics. The lack of balance in the diet is a major factor in the incidence of pellagra, a disease almost entirely confined to the poor classes in the South. Inadequate food also contributes to digestive disorders."¹⁵

Health needs of farm laborers are bound up with health needs of the farm family and the rural community as a whole. Only in the case of certain special groups, such as the seasonal workers drawn from other areas, is there need for special measures other than those which should be undertaken for the benefit of low-income farm families generally. The regular farm hands and the seasonal workers who are local residents stand to gain no less than the farm families from the extension of rural public health services, and the growth of rural medical centers and hospital facilities.

1. *Relationship between health and housing.*—Problems of housing and health can hardly be separated. In Kern County, Calif., for example, a serious health situation arose in 1937 because of the large numbers of migrants living in so-called squatter camps, with shelter of the most primitive sort, lacking proper facilities for sanitation. A vigorous campaign for the elimination of these camps was carried out. The result was twofold, according to a report of the Kern County Health Department issued on July 1, 1939. On the one hand, there was a development, in the more remote areas, of ranch accommodations for workers—a tent camp for newcomers, a cotton shack camp for less recent arrivals and some two- or three-room houses for more permanent workers. On the other hand—in the ranch districts adjacent to Arvin, Shafter, Delano, and several other towns, as well as in the two new communities, Lamont and Weedpatch—there was a heavy concentration of low-income workers. In the city of Bakersfield there were several new subdivisions occupied almost entirely by people from Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri. Some of these communities had no satisfactory water supply, drainage systems, or means of sewage disposal. The large squatter camps had disappeared but in their stead appeared rural and suburban slums.

Under such conditions the promotion of community health means, first of all the promotion of low cost, soundly financed housing programs. As the report above referred to points out, the people in these rural slums are anxious enough to cooperate with the sanitation inspector, and to learn from the health department nutritionist the selection and preparation of healthful and economical foods. But development of health consciousness among these families will not suffice until it is possible for individuals, or cooperative groups, to finance the building of low cost, durable houses with proper water supply, sewage disposal, and drainage.

2. *Medical aid for migratory farm workers.*—No general program has been initiated in the United States to meet the health and medical aid requirements of hired farm workers and members of their families, who, because of their low income status, cannot avail themselves of other facilities. But because of the special situation and the acute nature of the needs existing among the migratory workers in California, Arizona, Texas, Florida, Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, the Farm Security Administration has been instrumental in launching a health program among the farm workers in these States.

With the beginning of the great influx of migrants into these areas in 1934 and 1935, the problem of bad health, already serious, became even more acute. Disease was common among the people uprooted from relatively sheltered modes of living and forced to live in trailers, woodside camps, and jungles. It was soon discovered that special health deficiencies developed as a result of the economic destitution, the living conditions, and the mobility of this group.

The unsanitary living conditions in private migrant camps, which commonly afforded only the barest essentials for sanitation, are responsible for a large amount of preventable sickness among members of migrant families. For example, 90 percent of the cases of typhoid reported in California in 1936, occurred among these people.

The Farm Security Administration began its health program among the migratory farm workers in February 1938. The first aid was given in the form of grants to farm laborers' families needing relief, but lacking residence status. During the first 4 months, 27,800 grants were made in California and Arizona. But there was no way to be sure that grants given for medical service were used for that purpose, and there was no way to guarantee that payment would be made to the physician

¹⁵ Wooster, T. J., Jr., et al., *Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation*, Research Monograph V, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., 1936, p. 105.

when he had rendered the service. Moreover, the grant program could not be so controlled as to place the needed emphasis on preventive measures.

The California State Department of Health had been sending doctors, nurses, and social workers to follow the movements of the migrants and to vaccinate and inoculate from 60,000 to 70,000 families every year; and the State department of immigration and housing had been sending inspectors to visit private camps and issuing warnings to owners of properties where sanitary conditions are found to be below State standards. The great influx of migrants overtaxed the staff of this agency and in the long periods between the visits of inspectors, sanitary conditions in the private camps often became so bad as to constitute a menace to public health. Furthermore, in the rush of a harvest season, the condemnation of the worst camps and the wholesale evictions from the most unsanitary sites did little to improve health conditions, for wherever the army of homeless migrants settled the conditions from which they had come were soon reproduced.

Farm Security Administration medical program: In order to establish more effective health control and medical-care facilities for migrants and to assure physicians and hospitals payment for services rendered, the Farm Security Administration in March 1938, with the cooperation of the California Medical Association, the State department of health, and the State relief administration, formed the Agricultural Workers' Health and Medical Association (AWHMA) incorporated under State laws. Each of these agencies has a representative on the board of directors of this nonprofit association. Clinics were set up and administered by the association with funds supplied by the Farm Security Administration. The association has been expanded to include Arizona.

The Farm Security Administration medical care program is no longer confined to California and Arizona although most of this work has been done in these two States. By January 1, 1942, 35 standard camps and 23 mobile camps were in operation in California, Arizona, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Texas, and Florida. Each standard camp has a health center with a public health nurse in charge and an isolation unit for contagious diseases. Each of the larger mobile units has a mobile clinic with a nurse in attendance. The various State health departments assist in preventive and immunization work.

By June 1941, there were nine clinics in California and seven in Arizona. Fifteen other emergency clinics or referral offices had been set up in the two States at points of migratory concentration. A migrant may apply for membership in the association. When approved, he is given a card, good for 1 year, entitling him and his family to receive the care of the local physicians (who serve in rotation at the clinics) or to care on a referral basis. In the latter case he may choose from a panel of participating doctors and dentists. Services include surgical and other specialist care, X-rays and other diagnostic services, prescription drugs, hospitalization, and limited dental care.

During the fiscal year, 1940-41, the Agricultural Workers' Health and Medical Association reported 118,309 clinic visits, 41,951 referral cases, and 11,394 cases of hospitalization. The clinic visits cost the association \$1.44 per visit. Cases referred to physicians and dentists averaged \$11.18 per case, and hospitalization averaged \$37.39 per case. A total of \$1,431,242 was spent during the year. Physician and hospital expenses accounted for the largest expenditures with a total of \$310 out of every thousand spent being paid to the former and \$298 to the latter. Another \$114 went to the clinics, \$18 to dentists, and \$5 to nurses. Drugs accounted for \$35, miscellaneous expenditures for \$11, and operating and administrative costs for \$209 of every thousand dollars spent.

Because of a lack of suitable hospital facilities at Eleven Mile Corner in Arizona, the association established a 55-bed convalescent home there which reported, during its first 5 months of operation, 455 persons hospitalized, with a total of 2,678 days of hospital care provided.

Plans are under consideration for the establishment of similar centers at Fresno, Calif., and in the Okeechobee region in Florida.

Programs administered by the Farm Security Administration in cooperation with the local and State health authorities have been organized for Florida, Texas, Oregon, Washington, and Idaho.¹⁶ These latter programs differ from that of the Agricultural Workers' Health and Medical Association of California and Arizona in that the clinics are located in the migratory camps. Consequently medical aid is readily available only to occupants of the camps and to migrants in the surrounding vicinity. As the programs develop, however, the scope of their operations will be expanded.

¹⁶ In Florida, the Migratory Labor Health Association; in Texas, the Texas Farm Laborers Health Association; and in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, the Agricultural Workers' Health Association.

The details of the programs vary in each region, though the main outline is similar. The migrant population in Florida, for instance, is fairly stable, making possible some emphasis on preventive and corrective care. All persons registered in the camps are expected to undergo physical examinations. An attempt is made to correct physical disabilities, to encourage proper prenatal, delivery, and postnatal care, to give immediate treatment for nevereal disease and to provide other necessary medical, dental, and hospital care. Local physicians hold daily sessions in the camp clinics and are on call for emergencies. Owing to a lack of qualified doctors in the areas surrounding the camps, cases are not referred to outside physicians.

In the Pacific Northwest region and Texas, where the migrant populations are continually on the move, the camp programs cannot hope to engage in anything more than emergency care. In these areas local physicians hold regular session in the camp clinics. Cases needing special attention are referred to other physicians, surgeons, and nearby hospitals. Actually, the program in Washington-Oregon, and Idaho had only been in operation since July 1, 1941. (During the preceding year medical care was extended through the direct grant system to migrant families).

Figures for the medical aid programs in these latter areas do not cover a year's period. However, where comparable, the costs are similar to those experienced in California and Arizona. A considerable expansion of the program is contemplated for the present year. School lunches and nursery meals are provided as part of the various medical aid programs.

Although the migrant workers are obligated to repay the cost of services if so requested, their economic status in most cases precludes any possibility of repayment, but some workers have been able to repay a few dollars.

Analysis of the cases treated indicates that many of them suffered from an accumulation of chronic ailments long neglected because of lack of the wherewithal to pay for medical services. The operation of the various medical aid associations shows that migrant farm workers' families without money to pay doctors' bills will more readily apply for aid to a public agency set up for the purpose than to a private physician.

When measured in relation to the needs, the present medical program is inadequate. It should be expanded to preserve the health and usefulness of other thousands of workers, and to prevent the spread of epidemics.

PART THREE

I. THE FARM LABOR MARKET

A. Men and jobs.

1. *Hiring practices.*—A lack of efficient procedures for bringing together workers and jobs characterizes the farm labor market. The haphazard methods in operation in this field reflect factors which have already been discussed—the oversupply of farm workers and their lack of organization. These haphazard methods also contribute to the basic difficulties of hired farm workers; low earnings, intermittent employment, and consequent low levels of living. The characteristically wasteful employment practices of the farm labor market are thus part of a vicious circle of disorganization; disorganization permits them and, in so permitting, becomes accentuated.¹⁷

The following discussion of hiring practices applies primarily to the hiring of seasonal workers, since the most difficult hiring problems in agriculture relate to seasonal employment.

An excellent start was made in developing methods of farm placement during the war period, 1917-18, and such methods were advocated in the twenties by such experienced students of farm employment as Prof. D. D. Lescohier, of Wisconsin. Nevertheless, although the farm placement work of the United States Bureau of Employment Security is expanding rapidly, personal methods of securing work and of securing workers are still prevalent.

A farmer puts up a sign; he advertises in the paper or over the radio, or through the filling station men; or he goes with a truck to the labor quarter in town. Sometimes he does these things through an agent or a growers' committee. Sometimes he turns the whole matter over to a contractor or padrone.

In any case, his sole concern is to secure an abundance of labor to apply for work; if there is much more labor than is needed, so much the better, for he will be safe from having to pay high wages. The laborer on the other hand, at the very same

¹⁷ Tolan committee report, op. cit., pp. 364-365.

time may be anxiously searching for work, relying on personal inquiry, a chance handbill, or the well-known grapevine, usually quite uncritical of the source of information and unsuspecting that the grapevine telegraph may lead him to an area where there is a hopeless surplus of labor.

The results of numerous surveys indicate that personal, informal ways of bringing together workers and jobs predominate in the farm labor market. In Karnes County, Tex., in 1936, 92.9 percent of the operators interviewed said they engaged in an active search for farm laborers when they needed them.¹⁸ In the same county, 89.5 percent of the workers employed stated that they found their jobs through personal search. Eight percent of the remainder said they secured their jobs through a friend, and less than 1 percent (0.6 percent) said they found their jobs as a result of the operator's search for labor.

A similar situation was reported for Wayne County, Pa., in the same year.¹⁹ Four out of five (80.8 percent) of the workers interviewed reported they had secured their jobs by personal search, while nearly 9 out of 10 (88.3 percent) of the operators stated that they sought out workers, themselves, when they needed labor. In fact, 71.4 percent of 2,200 workers (who responded to 11 studies in as many States) stated they found their jobs by their own efforts or through the activities of a friend. At the same time, 75.1 percent of the 1,477 employers who responded stated they engaged in personal search for labor. In 1935, 967 of 1,220 jobs (79.3 percent) secured by 252 transient workers in the Yakima Valley²⁰ were located by workers inquiring at the place of employment. The proportion for resident workers was practically the same.

Ten farm-wage-worker surveys undertaken by the Farm Security Administration in 1940 corroborate the findings of these earlier studies. Questioned on the way in which they found their current jobs, only 1.3 percent of the responding workers said that they had used public employment services.²¹ Nearly three-tenths of them indicated they had secured their employment through direct or indirect farmer solicitation—solicitation by farmer, or his agent, newspaper advertisements, or labor contractors. The rest of the workers indicated that their employment resulted from their own initiative.

The very informality of employment practices in the farm labor market, however, leads to ambiguity of responses in schedule surveys. For example, in the Karnes County survey mentioned above, the great majority of the farm operators said that they actively sought their workers. At the same time, the great majority of the workers said that they found their jobs through personal search. All this bears witness to the same situation: an absence of systematic methods of farm employment.

Recruiting practices of various kinds are often used in combination. In Arizona, for example, the Farm Bureau Federation sponsors the Farm Labor Service which carries on an extensive recruiting campaign on behalf of growers in the intensive cotton-growing districts of Maricopa and Pinal Counties. In the fall of 1937, advertisements for cotton pickers and news releases describing the demand for workers, the advantages of Arizona climate, and the favorable living conditions were carried in newspapers in Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, and southern California. In addition, agents left word at poolrooms, lunchrooms, road stands, and filling stations that cotton pickers were wanted. These activities were augmented by paid radio announcements.

In addition to the activities of the Farm Labor Service in 1937 Arizona growers put up signs along the road, advertising for cotton pickers, and occasionally went into neighboring States with trucks to recruit workers. Many truck loads of people were also brought west by independent Arizona truck owners who recruited in Oklahoma. Sometimes these truck owners collected fees ranging from \$10 to \$20 a head for adults, and \$5 for children. At other times they arranged with the growers to supply workers and were paid a per capita fee which the growers subsequently deducted from the workers' earnings.

It is not, however, necessary to recruit actively all, or even a large part, of the seasonal farm labor force for many work locations. Such a situation is that of Berrien County, Mich., where, it is estimated, some 10,000 migrant workers are annually employed. Prior to 1941, the farmer employers of Berrien County did

¹⁸ Vasey, Tom, and Folsom, J. C., Survey of Agricultural Labor Conditions in Karnes County, Tex., U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., November 1937, p. 14.

¹⁹ Vasey, Tom, and Folsom, J. C., Survey of Agricultural Labor Conditions in Wayne County, Pa., U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., 1937, p. 10.

²⁰ Landis, Paul H. and Brooks, Melvin S., Farm Labor in the Yakima Valley, Wash., agricultural experiment station, State College of Washington, Bulletin No. 343, p. 45.

²¹ A total of 2,312 farm wage workers responded to this question.

not find it necessary to solicit workers for their increasingly large summer harvests. A stream of migration annually brought workers to their farms. Behind this stream were the pressures of depression and drought distress, and a chance act which gave it direction.

"This attraction to Berrien County can be explained very largely by publicity the county received in Arkansas in 1931. At that time many people in Arkansas were suffering seriously from the effects of the severe crop failure of the 1930 season. Citizens of Berrien County undertook the task of alleviating this suffering by collecting and shipping to Arkansas truck loads of food, clothing, and other necessities. This gesture of good-neighborliness was widely publicized in Arkansas. Berrien County, Mich., became to many people in that region of the South an oasis toward which they turned their conveyances when dislodged from their land. A small initial migration was sufficient to stimulate a large movement. Reports of high wages filtered back by letter and by word-of-mouth. Reports of earnings of \$5 and \$6 a day picking cherries or peaches failed to mention that these earnings were made on special days which were few in number. The movement grew steadily throughout the decade."²²

Started originally, perhaps by rumor or chance discovery of employment, and developed by repeated experience, these habitual farm-worker migrations constitute one of the major mechanisms for bringing workers to seasonal farm jobs. Though the initiative in such cases comes from the worker, the lack of information or alternative experience often results in an oversupply of farm workers at particular job locations. A paper published in the congressional hearings on interstate migration described the effect of uncontrolled and, for the most part, unsolicited migration to Berrien County:

"It is becoming increasingly common to place large numbers of workers in the field for a few hours rather than turn some away and permit the balance to work regularly. This situation works a hardship on the workers because their wages are very small for a day's work. Under these circumstances there is no [sic] oversupply of labor, and the more workers that are available the better it pleased the producer. At times when there is a large supply of labor because of increased migration or a partial crop, these conditions have an effect on the prices that are paid. Naturally when there are two or three workers where only one can be used, these workers compete for the job, and wages can be driven down to very low levels."²³

While worker initiative is a factor in bringing workers to agricultural jobs, farmer employers seldom rely entirely upon the unsolicited, yet expected, appearance of workers.

Curbstone labor markets: In many cities near truck and fruit areas, certain locations have come to be accepted as hiring places for workers. Usually these are vacant lots or city squares where the growers' trucks can load and unload. As the workers are recruited, they board the trucks and are transported directly to the field.

In the summer of 1938 such a market was observed in Trenton, N. J., where hundreds of Negro workers were recruited each day. Another was observed at Millville, N. J., where workers, most of whom were white, were recruited to harvest the vegetable crops on nearby farms. Apparently no bargaining regarding the wages took place, the growers or their agents simply announcing the hourly or piece-work rate in effect.

Some of these labor markets, though not formally designated and under no community control, have come to be accepted community institutions. Some take on certain aspects of a labor auction. In the so-called business section of the Negro quarter in Belle Glade, Fla. (in the heart of the Okeechobee vegetable-growing area), each morning between 6 and 7:30 o'clock during the green-bean season, appear 10 to 50 trucks belonging to growers in search of pickers. Each grower is represented by an agent, usually a Negro, whose function it is to recruit at the lowest piece-work rate possible, a sufficient labor force to meet the day's demands. Milling about these trucks are from 1,000 to 3,000 field hands who are seeking work at the highest rate obtainable.

The growers' agents harangue the crowd through megaphones or through their cupped hands, stating whether it is a first or second or late picking, giving the length of rows and condition of the crop as well as the piece-work rate offered. At first the workers appear to be indifferent. Sometimes when the operators

²² 77th Cong., 1st sess., House Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, pt. 19, Detroit hearings, p. 7926.

²³ Tolson committee, op. cit, Chicago hearings, pt. 3, p. 1243.

are known to be under the necessity of harvesting their crop immediately, the workers by holding back can force a slight increase in the piece-work rates.

At the end of the first half-hour the trucks begin to load up and in another 20 minutes the situation changes so that the competition for workers gives way to a competition for jobs. When the trucks are finally loaded to capacity, which often means a load of from 50 to 80 persons, they drive off to the grower's field, where each worker is assigned his row. At the end of the day he is paid off in cash and the next morning he goes through the same process of locating his day's work. Seldom do the employers make any effort to hold their pickers from one day to the next, so the process of recruiting an entire force is gone through each day during the season.

No comment is necessary to make clear what a far cry this is from the employment procedure of the operator of a family farm when he engages his hired man.

Advertising for help: Other recruiting mechanisms are necessary when the labor supply is separated from the demand for it, either by geographic or racial-linguistic barriers. Newspaper advertisements, inspired newspaper stores, radio announcements, and other means of making known the demand for labor comprise one type of recruiting. These techniques have the common characteristic of uncontrolled broadcasting. They often lead to the appearance of excessive labor supply at advertised points of demand.

These techniques and their resultant situation work to the advantage of the agricultural employer. In a report submitted to the congressional committee investigating interstate migration, the Texas State Employment Service stated:

"Local organizations, such as chambers of commerce, local and State newspapers, labor and emigrant agents, flashed notices and ads and bulletins calling for labor or promising labor to demanding farmers. Some farmers, needing perhaps from 50 to 100 workers, would cry loudly for 1,000 merely to assure themselves an abundant supply from which to pick and choose. The employer's interest in a plentiful labor supply is, obviously, twofold. He desires a mobile labor reserve large enough to handle his peak operations; he desires, equally, a supply that must accept low wages, long hours, and poor working conditions. With a labor market entirely unorganized, the farmer-employer had to depend upon deliberately scattered rumors and advertising to achieve his two desires."²⁴

2. *The labor contractor.*—Frequently the farm operator, to be relieved of the responsibility of securing his seasonal hands, makes an agreement with a labor contractor, who undertakes to supply, either for a lump sum or on a per capita basis, the number of workers required. In some of the older sections of the country this system has long been in vogue. The cranberries in the bogs of New Jersey, eastern Long Island, and Cape Cod have long been picked by gangs recruited by the "padrones" from the foreign-speaking people of the nearby metropolitan centers. For work in the hop yards of the Pacific Northwest, Indians²⁵ are recruited through the chief of the tribe. Mexican workers for the truck fields of Alameda and Santa Clara Counties, Calif., are secured by contract; also Filipino labor for the lettuce fields of the Salinas Valley and the asparagus fields of the Sacramento delta.

In the western cotton sections, the labor contractor furnishes a truck and recruits a gang of laborers. He transports them, presumably free of charge, after the cotton and fruit harvesting season. He acts as recruiting agent, contact man, and business agent for the laborers and takes the responsibility of collecting the laborers' earnings from the farmer and of weighing and hauling the cotton or truck crops. In Texas the contractor receives from the workers from 5 to 10 cents for each hundred pounds of cotton picked, and from the farmer, about \$1.50 per bale.²⁶

For picking strawberries in the Florida west coast area, labor contractors supply gangs of Negroes recruited in Sarasota, Tampa, and Fort Myers. For this same crop in southeastern North Carolina, Negro laborers are recruited in Wilmington, N. C., and as far away as Greensboro and Charlotte. In this case, the labor contractor does nothing more than recruit the workers, charging the growers from 50 cents to \$1 a head for transportation. Frequently nothing in the agreement specifies how the workers are to get back to their homes. At the end of

²⁴ Tolan committee, op. cit., Oklahoma City hearings, pt. 5, p. 1809.

²⁵ Reuss, Carl F., Landis, Paul H., and Wakefield, Richard: Migratory Labor in the Hop Industry on the Pacific Coast, Washington Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 363, p. 30.

²⁶ Hamilton, C. Horace, The Social Effects of Recent Trends in Mechanization of Agriculture, Progress Report 579, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, December 1938, p. 10 (mimeographed).

the strawberry season these same workers are often picked up by other contractors who take them to the potato-growing areas of the coastal plains, or to the melon fields and peach orchards of the sand-hills region of North Carolina.

Labor contractors also operate at an advantage where there is a geographic barrier between sources of labor supply and labor demand. At times this barrier may be the wide distances between crop areas, as in Texas and in California. Sometimes it may be a congested area through which it is difficult for workers to move independently. Because the contractor can take truckloads of workers by ferry from Norfolk, Va., to the Virginia Peninsula for the potato harvest, he is in an advantageous position since it would cost several dollars for the worker to go over in his own car. A somewhat similar situation exists in southern New Jersey, accessible from the South only by ferry or by a circuitous route involving miles of extra travel and payment of tolls, and in eastern Long Island and on Cape Cod.

The abuses of the system spring from the lack of definite arrangements about transportation charges. When the settlement is made, the worker is usually far from home, often with his family and at the mercy of the contractor for return transportation. It is not unusual for disclosure of additional charges and deductions from wages to be made by the contractor at this time.

Another evil arises from the practice of the contractors of making cash advances to unemployed workers in slack periods, with the understanding that they will work in his gangs during the next season. The contractor deducts the loans from the wages paid him by the farmer, together with interest and other charges. This loan business can be quite remunerative to the contractor. Consequently he often makes loans to more people than those for whom he has steady jobs. Since his interest is primarily in getting for his people only enough work to pay back their debts to him, he puts more people to work than the job would normally require, thus reducing the period of employment per worker.

Frequently, both the workers and communities suffer as a result of the fly-by-night operations of some contractors. Ordinarily the contractors' obligations are fulfilled when they have recruited and delivered to the operator the labor force agreed upon. If, due to weather or market conditions, the work does not materialize, the workers are left stranded in a strange community.

The system, moreover, operates to the disadvantage of laborers resident in the locality, who are deprived of the employment which, reasonably, ought to be theirs.

Concerning some of the abuses of the labor-contractor system, the Secretary of Labor, testifying before the House Committee Investigating Migration of Destitute Citizens, stated:

"Migratory workers are often preyed upon by unscrupulous labor contractors who are nowhere, as yet, subject to any effective regulations. Whole families may be brought long distances from homes by these contractors and forced to remain even under intolerable conditions, because the contractor has advanced the money for transportation and food, or because the worker will lose his season's earnings, if he goes back, assuming he can finance the return journey. Incidentally, farmers, too, are often victims of the contractors' practice of labor stealing.

"The transportation facilities provided for migratory workers by labor contractors and others, for which fares are collected, are in many cases not only disgraceful but dangerous to the migrants themselves and to others on the highways. Much of the transportation concerning which we have received complaints is in overcrowded, open trucks, making long journeys, crossing one or more State lines. Some of it is intrastate. The collision in Texas between a railroad train and a truck carrying 44 farm workers, the youngest being 7 years old, is a striking illustration of the prevalent abuses. This particular accident did not come under the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission, but many trucks similarly loaded are known to operate in interstate commerce."²⁷

The need for regulation: The record of the hearings of the Committee is replete with examples of useless migration stimulated by the spreading of misinformation with regard to the existence of jobs; the charging of excessive fees both for transportation and for obtaining jobs for workers; the charging of high prices in stores operated by contractors; the operation of unsanitary and overcrowded housing in order to secure greater profits.

As a result of this investigation, the committee has recommended that there be established Federal regulation of private employment agencies and labor contractors engaged in interstate commerce.

²⁷ Tolan committee, op. cit., Washington hearing, pt. 8, pp. 3332, 3333.

Although a few States have enacted and have enforced laws which regulate such operations, such practices have not been curbed where the contractor operates in interstate commerce.

A bill was introduced in the first session of the Seventy-seventh Congress (H. R. 5510), which would provide for the registration of employment agencies engaged in interstate commerce. Such registration involves the payment of a fee and the filing of a bond with the Secretary of Labor. The bill prohibited—

(1) The dissemination of false or misleading information with respect to employment or opportunities for employment.

(2) The charging of a fee which is in excess of that provided for in a statement filed with the Secretary of Labor. Such fees must be just, reasonable, and nondiscriminatory.

(3) The splitting of fees with employers or associations of employers.

It called for:

(1) The furnishing of a complete statement to the employee concerning the conditions of employment.

(2) The furnishing to each employee of a statement of the existence of a strike or lockout, if such exists.

(3) Regulation by the Secretary of Labor of lodging houses or stores serving people seeking employment.

Provision was made for the enforcement of the law, and penalties are listed for all violations of the law.

The enactment of such a bill would eliminate the major evils of labor contracting.

Variants of the labor contractor system of recruitment occur in some localities. In the strawberry areas of Louisiana and North Carolina, for example, labor "runners" are utilized. Labor runners are, in a sense, labor contractors for one crop season each year. In the areas referred to they are usually Negroes living in towns removed from the strawberry areas. During the off-season, a grower keeps in touch with his runner, often strengthening the relation with holiday gifts. When the strawberries are ready to be picked, the grower notifies his runner to assemble a crew of pickers. The runner usually receives a small commission for his services and enjoys a favored position at the work location. He serves as a go-between both prior to and during the harvest.

3. *The employment committee.*—In Michigan, the sugar beet growers delegate recruitment to their "employment committee." This committee, on which the sugar beet processing plants are represented, recruits Spanish-American workers from urban centers in New Mexico and Texas. Employees of the sugar companies sometimes go to New Mexico and western Texas to recruit the necessary labor supply. These agents circulate handbills, put up posters, or directly solicit individual workers. Frequently, railroad expenses or reimbursements for travel by automobile are met, or advanced. Investigation by the Michigan State Department of Labor and Industry in 1938 revealed that labor was recruited from New Mexico and Texas even when unemployment was severe in Michigan.

The methods of bringing together men and jobs in the farm labor market are highly inefficient and socially wasteful. Overlapping efforts of the grower, or his agents, to find labor and the job-seeking activities of the workers themselves create a situation in which controlled use of labor is impossible and consequent hardships for the workers are unavoidable.

In the 1936-37 Report of the Farm Placement Service in Texas, there is cited an illustration of the results of this uncoordinated method of seeking employment. In Lubbock County, Tex., the peak of the cotton-picking season is reached in the latter part of October and in November, and workers begin to move into the area as they finish picking in the other sections. In 1935, by the tenth of October, exaggerated reports of the cotton yield resulted in great numbers of workers pouring into Lubbock from every direction, though the picking had not yet actually begun and the growers were not ready for their labor.

There were no housing facilities and no camping grounds. About the time the great mass of workers reached Lubbock, cold rain set in, leaving hundreds of families, without means of shelter, camping in the open spaces. The situation grew more serious as sickness developed, especially among the small children. No aid was available for them from public services; they were ineligible for relief; and the growers would do nothing for them because they could not go to work until the rain ceased.

The extreme distress among the many workers coming to this area in search of work was alleviated only when the Employment Service arranged with the Salvation Army to find and allocate all available shelter and to open soup kitchens.

More than a week elapsed before the rain stopped and it was dry enough for the workers to go into the fields.

B. Methods of supervision of farm labor.—Problems of supervision for farm laborers are varied. For the hired man, the problem of supervision on the farm does not exist. Such supervision as is required is immediate and direct. For the greater part of each working day the employer and the hired man work side by side at the same, or similar, tasks.

Moreover, the farm operator desires a worker to be able to carry on certain phases of the work without supervision. For example, the hired man may have the responsibility of feeding and caring for the workstock while the farm operator reserves for himself the tasks and chores incident to caring for the other live-stock. When the labor of the operator and that furnished by the members of his family and his regularly hired help is supplemented by additional labor hired for seasonal work, the supervision may still be direct.

On general farms operated by hired managers, supervision is usually direct, as also on many smaller fruit, truck, and dairy farms where more hired workers are likely to be employed than on general farms of comparable size or scale.

However, serious personnel problems are found on the large-scale farms where (as the census of 1935 showed) even in January a considerable force of hired workers is employed. Here, as in industrial concerns where many workers are gathered under one roof, importance attaches to questions relating to efficiency of management in terms of output, routing and distribution of labor, specialization, hours of work, fatigue, and the effect of all these factors upon employer-employee relationships. At the present time, it is true, many farm managers regard as the essence of good labor management merely the securing of a plentiful supply of labor at the proper periods. For the rest, they are content to divest themselves altogether of management and supervision functions, transferring these to a labor contractor, a padrone, the field man of a sugar company, or the agent of a cooperative growing, packing, or shipping association. The result is that the manager thus escapes direct responsibility, not only for the management and supervision in the fields but also for the welfare of the laborers during their work on the farm, and for the effects of their presence in the community.

The work in a large agricultural enterprise can be organized on the basis of division of labor, certain gangs being assigned to specific tasks, or on a unit basis, each gang being held responsible for a complete unit of the enterprise. On some large-scale farms there is a combination of both of these methods. A study of large-scale farms in the Corn Belt²⁸ found that labor gangs under foremen responsible to the general managers of the farms were divided into two groups. Some of the smaller gangs were assigned year-round responsibilities, such as the care of work animals or the swine herd. Other gangs were assigned to various jobs, differing according to the season.

On a large sugar plantation in Florida where 4,200 Negro workers are employed, field foremen are responsible to the general farm manager; each has charge of about 100 men. Responsible to the foremen are gang leaders, each over 7 to 15 men. These gang leaders work with the men and are paid on a piece-work basis, with a small bonus for good production by their gang. Each is responsible for the organization and supervision of his gang in the field. He cannot hire or discharge, but can make recommendations to the superintendent.

On cotton plantations the supervision exercised by the landlord may be general, consisting only of advice to the tenant or cropper in regard to agricultural methods; or the supervision may be very close. Of 215 plantations studied in 1924,²⁹ 68 percent reported close supervision, 30 percent general supervision, and 2 percent no supervision. On the closely supervised plantations every activity is controlled by the management. A rising bell is rung in the morning and the bell is rung again at the beginning and end of the work day. The riding boss, in charge of 15 to 30 tenants, croppers, and wage hands, gives constant attention to their work. Frequently the owner, or general manager, visits each work site at least once a day. The owner or manager has direct charge of all the varied plantation enterprises, including purchasing, marketing, and credit arrangements. He supervises the accounting office, the store commissary, and the gin. Responsible to him are the overseers of the tenant and cropper farms. These men have charge of the blacksmith shop, the garage, the tractor shop, and the grist mill. Responsible to them are the assistant riders, each with direct

²⁸ Mumford, D. Curtis, *Economic Aspects of Large-Scale Farming in the Corn Belt*, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, January 1930. (Unpublished manuscript.)

²⁹ Brannen, C. O., *Relation of Land Tenure to Plantation Organization*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bul. 1269, Washington, D. C., 1924, p. 2.

responsibility for the work of 20 to 30 croppers. The overseers and their assistants lay out the work each worker or tenant is to perform on a day-by-day basis and direct the work as closely as foremen on construction work or in manufacturing plants direct the work of the men over whom they are placed.

Supervision by agents of shippers or processors: The practice of transferring the functions of labor management from the farm operators to representatives of a shipping or processing concern is common in the fruit and vegetable-growing areas of the country.

In citrus groves much of the picking is done by crews recruited and organized by the packing or canning companies or by the cooperative marketing agencies of the growers. The pickers assemble each day at the packing house rather than at the groves and are organized into crews, each crew composed of a foreman, a loader, a truck driver, and a gang of pickers numbering from 10 to 40. The foreman has supervision over detailed work assignments and over preliminary inspection of the fruit to determine as to its size and ripeness according to standards set by the packing house tester. He may also adjust the piece work rate in the field, depending upon the quantity of fruit of the desired size or color.

In the areas where vegetables are grown for preserving, it is frequently the practice for canning companies to purchase a vegetable crop in the field, in which case supervision of the harvesting operation is assumed by the company.

A type of indirect supervision is prevalent in the sugar-beet-growing areas. Frequently the sugar company, having recruited labor for the grower, does not terminate its relationship to the beet workers when they arrive in the fields. Though direct supervision is left to the grower, the company usually requires that its representatives have access to the fields to inspect the growing crops. The enforcement of what the sugar company regards as good farming practice thus may put the grower in the position of a field foreman over his contract laborers carrying out the instructions of the company. The contracts between the growers and the workers usually stipulate that in the event of any dispute between the parties with respect to the interpretation of the terms of the contract or the amount or character of the work performed, the arbiter shall be the "agricultural superintendent" or "fieldman" of the sugar company.

Supervision by labor contractors: The functions of labor contractors in the hiring of farm labor have been discussed. However, contractors also serve as supervisors of work in some areas.

In the California fruit and truck areas, for example,³⁰ the grower makes a contract with a "picker," who provides and supervises a gang of field workers. Usually the grower reserves the right to insist on an adequate force of men, to discharge men whose work is unsatisfactory, and to decide the time and method of harvest. The grower remains the judge of the execution of the contract and has the right to terminate it. The contract specifies the amounts to be paid the contractor, the living quarters to be furnished, and the piece and time wage rates of the workers. Complete payment by the grower is deferred until the end of the season, as a guarantee of fulfillment of the contract.

In the case of Mexican labor employed under the contract system, the contractor usually agrees both to provide the required labor force and to supervise the field work. Sometimes he is on the payroll of the grower as a foreman. Sometimes he agrees to harvest the crop for a flat sum agreed upon in advance; out of this he pays his workers, depending for his profit on the margin between the amount paid the workers and that paid to him for the harvesting of the crop. This profit is sometimes augmented by means of a charge to the workers for their transportation. Sometimes the contractor supplies the labor and supervises the field work, and is paid a percentage on the piece-rate, the actual payments to the workers being made by the operator.

The system generally in use with Filipino labor contractors differs somewhat from that of the Mexicans. The Filipino contractor usually supplies workers on an hourly basis and provides the supervision. He furnishes lodging and board either at his own or at a grower's camp. Where he is not paid wages as a field boss, he depends for his return on his charges to the workers for board. He handles the time sheets and pays the men. In some cases he reserves for himself a percentage of the piece-rate payment, in addition to the charge for board.

In the cotton areas of Texas the supervision of pickers is left entirely to contractors.³¹ The contractor, usually a Mexican with a truck, takes responsibility

³⁰ Rowell, Edward J., Unpublished report to Director, Labor Relations Division, Farm Security Administration, on The Background and Problems Affecting Farm Labor in California.

³¹ Hamilton, C. Horace, Social Effects of Recent Trends in Mechanization of Agriculture, Progress Report No. 579, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, College Station, Tex., 1938.

for harvesting an entire crop, weighing and hauling the cotton and collecting the laborers' earnings from the farmers. For these services, the farmer pays him a stipulated sum for each bale of cotton, and the workers pay him a percentage of their piece-work payments.

Although the contract system may operate to the advantage of the farm worker by providing some continuity of employment because the contractor is able at times to secure jobs better than an individual), the delegation of supervision by the actual employers to his labor contractor is subject to abuses that injure both working and living conditions of farm laborers.

C. *Farm placement and stabilization of employment.*

Irregularity and uncertainty of earnings are the particular curse of the workers in the special-crop areas where relatively high day or piece rates may be offered for short periods. The causes of this irregularity of employment are to be found partly in the inevitably seasonal character of agriculture, partly in the adoption of crop systems which result in the piling up of seasonal requirements, and partly in the disorganization of the farm labor market which results in the presence in a crop areas of an unnecessarily large supply of workers. Thus the measures for promoting continuity of employment fall into two main groups—(1) those which are intended to help in adjusting the supply of farm labor to the demand for it, and (2) those which are aimed at flattening out peaks in the demand for labor and making it more uniform.

Of these two sorts of measure, the former has thus far received most attention and has attained the greatest measure of success. The problem of seasonal employment, and the difficulty of keeping the supply of laborers in proper relation to the demand for their services are not peculiar to agriculture; they have appeared and in varying degree have been overcome, in the construction industry, in long-shore work, and elsewhere. In agriculture, because of the scattered character of the work units, the organization of effective employment exchanges is more difficult than in industry, but the difference is only one of degree. As a matter of fact, in certain farm areas of the United States very considerable success has been attained in fitting the right men to the right jobs in proper numbers. In Australia, also, where in some areas conditions are similar to those in the United States and Canada, seasonal farm labor arrangements have been very effectively worked out. Especially noteworthy are the well-managed "traveling gang" systems in the pastoral industry, in grain threshing, fruit harvesting, hay making and ensilage operations, and in scrub clearing.

1. *Development of the Farm Placement Service.*—The United States Farm Placement Service was created by the Wagner-Peyser Act of 1933 as a part of the United States Employment Service. Farm placement supervisors in States using large numbers of farm wage workers advise the respective State employment services concerning placement programs for agricultural workers. The actual farm placement work, however, is performed by the State employment services. The financial support for these services comes from grants-in-aid from Social Security Board funds and from funds appropriated under the Wagner-Peyser Act.

The director of the Bureau of Employment Security in the Social Security Board stated the objectives of the farm placement program in the following terms:

"Employment service facilities can also be used effectively to direct the movement of workers who migrate in response to seasonal demands for labor. This is especially true in agriculture where the objective of the Service is to meet the needs of both growers and workers and at the same time to avoid unnecessary and fruitless migration. Functioning in the agricultural labor market, and in cooperation with other agencies, the employment service can be a means of stabilizing farm-labor resources, providing a more adequate income to a limited number of qualified workers, eliminating the irresponsible recruiting practices of labor contractors, and providing growers with workers who are experienced in a particular type of crop activity."³²

Prior to 1941 the Farm Placement Service was handicapped by limited funds, few offices, and general indifference on the part of farmer-employers. Under the stress of war conditions with a fear of farm labor shortage growing, the Farm Placement Service has been expanded and growers have gone to it more frequently with their needs. In addition, national coordination of the program has been advanced by federalization (on January 1, 1942) of the formerly autonomous State offices. Hence the Farm Placement Service is just now beginning to reach a position in which it can accomplish its objectives.

³²Tolan Committee, Op. Cit., Washington hearings, testimony of Ewan Clague, pp. 3562-3563

In the records of the Tolan committee appears an example of the way in which in the past local employment offices have sometimes found it necessary to discard the usual interview and registration procedure, and thus were unable to make and control placements. In his testimony before the congressional committee the district manager of the Tennessee Employment Service stated:

"Various truck drivers, both those from the plantations and independent drivers, visit the office, state how many workers they desire to secure, and as fast as possible trucks are loaded and sent out. A referral card, which is an introduction to the employer, is given to the truck driver, and in case of an independent driver who has no particular destination, directions are given to him as to where to take the labor.

"Generally, orders have been sent in in advance by many plantation owners and if none are on hand the telephone is used in calling various plantation owners whom we believe are in need of labor. Orders are secured and information is given to these independent drivers as to where to go. An independent driver is generally paid a commission for hauling labor at the rate of so much a person for transportation charges. He is also generally used by the plantation owner the balance of the day on hauling operations during the day and brings workers back at night. * * * Trucks and automobiles of all makes and sizes are lined up for over three blocks on the streets leading to the bridge and also on the side streets. Thousands of workers start gathering at an early hour of the morning and mill about from truck to truck deciding as to where they wish to go and for a couple of hours there is a bustling scene as workers are loaded into the trucks and trucks pull out.

"Quite often a number of trucks are left over and several hundred pickers. The interviewer calls various plantations until he can locate a plantation to send this surplus labor to. In this way, many more workers are placed for the day than would otherwise be."³³

However, even in the pre-war years, the Farm Placement Service was able to make some progress. The record of the Texas Farm Placement Service was particularly noteworthy. The accomplishments of the Texas organization were summarized in the Tolan committee's record as follows:

"In 1939 the Texas service made more than 350,000 agricultural placements. According to the statement submitted to the committee by the assistant director of the State employment service, the Farm Placement Service has been careful to verify the authenticity of requisitions for labor. It has rejected or only partially filled requisitions which it believed to be excessive, has attempted to provide fuller employment over the year for the workers it serves, and has given placement preference to workers resident in the vicinity of job opportunities. While these policies have resulted in many instances in the refusal of employers to use the Service, and in the use by employers of other devices for the purpose of creating local surpluses of labor, the Farm Placement Service has been successful in gaining a wide degree of acceptance among employers. The increasing number of placements made by the Service each year suggests that it is growing in importance and influence in the farm labor market of the State. The Service has eliminated evils associated with earlier methods of labor recruiting, and has served workers and employers in reducing the amount of aimless migration and in avoiding, to some extent, local shortages and oversupplies of labor which formerly resulted from the complete lack of organization in the farm labor market of the State."³⁴

Past experience would seem to indicate quite definitely that grower acceptance of the Farm Placement Service is a necessary condition before the Placement Service can stabilize farm employment in any reasonable degree. This acceptance is growing as the acquiring of seasonal farm workers becomes increasingly a problem.

2. *The need for regularizing farm labor demand.*—The effort to improve the methods of job-finding and labor distribution is one approach to the problem of increasing the continuity of farm employment. The second logical line of attack is to try to regularize the demand for labor on the farm so as to flatten as far as possible the seasonal peaks in labor requirements. To this end proposals to modify farm practices and cropping systems have appeared from time to time during the last 30 years, only to be quite generally ignored. Despite notable examples of individual accomplishment, too little attention has been given this problem to make clear what can be done.

³³ Tolan committee, op. cit., Montgomery hearings, pt. 2, testimony of E. M. Norment, pp. 784-785.

³⁴ Tolan committee, op. cit., Report, pp. 122-123.

In the opinion of most farm management experts, the opportunities for absorbing more laborers through alterations in farming systems and changes in farm practices are so limited as to be negligible. By adding to their present undertakings others designed to utilize labor during slack seasons, farmers could stabilize employment. By eliminating the capital investment in labor-saving equipment and by performing on the farm processing that is now done elsewhere, farmers could employ a greater number of workers. Such developments would probably result in higher production costs and for this reason would not be generally adopted except at low wage rates for labor. Changes in types of farming such as those which follow the development of irrigation, the opening of range and forest land for crop production or the development of new-labor-consuming enterprises, as vegetable production, have only limited possibilities of increasing the use of laborers.

The trend, for economic reasons, has been in the direction of decreasing, rather than of increasing, the demand for farm labor. In most of the areas in which hand labor is employed on a large scale, the movement has been toward greater specialization in production, the growing of fewer kinds of products on farms, and the use of equipment which replaces labor. Improvements such as the tractor and tractor equipment, milking machines, and spraying equipment, have all tended to reduce the amount of regularly employed labor used in production. On the other hand, with the exceptions of the corn picker and the combine harvester for small grain and seeds, few developments have reduced the need for harvest labor. The effect has been to increase the need for hired labor for short periods and to reduce the time during which such hired labor will be required.

The trend toward larger farms, accompanying improvement in equipment, has served to increase the size of the farm units and to accentuate further the need for seasonally hired labor. The larger farm calls for an investment in equipment which reduces rather than increases the amount of labor used. Much of the work on cotton is still done by hand labor but the time required has been reduced for all operations except picking. Tillage and harvesting machinery has reduced the total labor for small grains. The combine harvester has nearly eliminated seasonal labor for harvesting and threshing of small grains. Corn machinery, particularly in the Corn Belt, has increased the acreage that could be handled by one man. For such crops as fruit and truck, the transformations brought about by large unit operation have undoubtedly increased the need for hired workers but have at the same time eliminated many small-scale producers. Although the increase in production of fruit and vegetables may have increased the amount of labor used in truck and fruit areas, the tendency to specialization by areas has been increasing the concentration of seasonal labor rather than providing permanent employment.

On family farms adjustments can be made and lines of production can be developed which will utilize more fully the available supply of labor. Such supplementary enterprises as dairying, poultry production, beef-cattle feeding, and to some extent the production of truck crops, can be developed to obtain a better utilization of family labor. Consequently, there may be some possibility in limited areas for developing enterprises to use year-round hired labor, but the returns from such enterprises are likely to be too low to justify them unless markets for these products are at the same time expanded. Diversification, carried to a commercial scale, offers limited possibilities for absorbing unemployed workers except at very low rates of pay.

A limited possibility for expansion may be found in those areas in which the farm enterprise is expanding. The development of fruit and truck production or other products requiring a great deal of hand labor may be feasible in some instances. An illustration of this is the recent development of such enterprises in the Pacific Northwest with the resulting demand for a greater number of workers. The substitution of crops for native grasses in some range areas has opened new fields for farm employment. The expansion of the dairy industry in general farming and in grain-producing areas likewise has offered additional employment.

For those areas offering semipermanent employment to workers, the development of part time or subsistence farms may offer a desirable alternative to the present system of part-time employment of migrant labor. The practicability of part-time farming by farm laborers, however, depends upon their ability to secure employment on other farms or from sources outside agriculture for a great part of the year.

D. Collective bargaining.

For the last hundred years, workers in countries of the Western World have resorted to organization as a means of improving their working and living conditions. Most of these efforts, however, have been made by nonagricultural workers. In the United States, particularly, union organization has been confined in the past to workers in nonagricultural establishments. Indicative of a scarcity of farm-labor unions in the United States is the observation made as recently as 1935 by a foreign observer and student of the subject: "There are no organizations of agricultural workers whatever in Canada or the United States of America," although she noted that beginnings were appearing.³⁵ This observation is valuable not so much as a strictly accurate statement, but rather as a reflection of the difficulties involved in establishing permanent unions of farm wage workers. The obstacles confronting such an achievement have been formidable in the past and to a large extent remain so today. Nevertheless, at various times, organized industrial workers in this country have found it desirable and even necessary to support labor organization in the field of agriculture. The danger existed, it was believed, that rural workers who remained unorganized constituted a potential competitive supply of cheap labor that could undermine the labor standards industrial workers had achieved through union organization.

In some European countries the state itself has assisted in the organization of agricultural laborers as a means of furnishing a basis for a system of wage boards or for implementing other measures of social legislation. Thus, in contrast with the United States, where only a small fraction of the approximately 4,000,000 farm wage workers and sharecroppers are organized, farm laborers in these European countries had been successful in establishing relatively permanent and influential unions as early as the 1880's, and by the 1920's these unions could claim memberships totalling about 3,000,000.³⁶

The purposes of union organization in agriculture, as in other industries, are of a varied character—economic, cooperative, educational, fraternal. On the economic side the purpose is twofold. On the one hand, the aim is to establish a standard rate of wages; on the other, to define and standardize the amount and kind of work to be performed for the standard rate. In addition, however, there is hardly any method for improving the lot of laborers, which has not, at some time or other, served as an objective of trade-union action. Regulation of working conditions has been made, so far as possible, a part of the collective agreements with the employer. But the provision of union benefits such as payments made in the event of unemployment, illness or death also has played an important part in improving worker welfare through union organization. In some countries, as with "approved societies" in England, unions and their cooperating associations have been used by the State as a mechanism for social insurance systems.

1. *Factors retarding union organization.*—A number of difficulties are usually pointed out to account for the slow growth of unionism in agriculture. Hired men on farms are widely scattered and lack the close and regular contacts with one another that encourage and effectuate organization. Where these farm workers have close personal ties with their employers or have good prospects of rising up the agricultural tenure ladder, they constitute poor timber for organizational efforts. Seasonal workers, particularly in areas of crop concentration, have close contacts with one another, but the irregular character of their work, especially if they are migrants, makes relationships so casual that lasting organizations are difficult to form. Moreover, the low wages and intermittent earnings of these workers do not permit them to pay dues regularly and in sufficient amount to sustain their union, extend its activities, and create a financial reserve out of which unemployment and other benefits may be paid. Where such organizational attempts have been supported financially by fellow unionists in other industries or by interested groups of urban persons, relatively stable union locals have been set up.

The strong resistance of large farm employers to union organization has also handicapped the development and stability of unions among the agricultural

³⁵ Howard, Louise E., *Labor in Agriculture*, London, Oxford Press, 1935, p. 183.

³⁶ Collective bargaining in agriculture developed steadily in some of the European countries after the first World War and by 1933, it has been estimated, covered about 5,000,000 agricultural workers. One of the largest and most influential farm laborers' organizations today is the Scottish Farm Servant's Union founded in 1912.

The international movement among agricultural workers unions also followed the war. In 1920 two organizations were established: (a) The International Landworkers' Federation and (b) The International Federation of Christian Landworkers' Trade Unions. These two bodies claimed a combined membership of over 3,000,000 farm workers in the 1920's. (Louise E. Howard, *Labor in Agriculture* London, Oxford Press, 1935, p. 185.)

workers. The record of attempts to organize unions among farm workers has been marred by violence. Small farm operators also have opposed unions in agriculture. This opposition has rested on the fear that the union organization would put an end to the flexibility of wages, the one remaining flexible factor in their costs of production.

The fact that agricultural workers are not guaranteed the same rights as non-agricultural workers under the National Labor Relations Act has also been an obstacle to the development of unions among farm workers.

Because of these unfavorable circumstances organization of agricultural workers has not been the energetic concern of the labor movement in this country. Where such attempts were made, the organizational and structural methods customarily used among urban workers have proved inadequate for use among farm wage laborers. In spite of the foregoing very tangible and formidable obstacles, attempts at unionism in American agriculture have been made in the past, and in more recent years such efforts have made some headway.

2. *Development of farm labor unions*—(a) *Prior to 1914*.—The history of trade unions among American workers outside of agricultural occupations extends back to early in the nineteenth century. Unions of farm workers, however, date only from the beginning of the present century, although protective and fraternal organizations among minority racial groups or unions organized on the basis of foreign national origin or language of their members were founded before 1900.

One of the first general unions for farm laborers was the Sheep Shearers' Union of North America, organized along craft lines in 1903, incorporated in Montana 10 years later, affiliated as a federally chartered union with the American Federation of Labor in 1932, and merged with the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchers Workmen of North America (A. F. of L.) in 1940. Prospective members were required to be able to shear 100 head of sheep per day. In 1935 this union reported a membership of about 1,500. It is, apparently, the oldest functioning agricultural union in the country today.

Little organizing was done among farm workers by the American Federation of Labor prior to the First World War. A few city central bodies and State federations of labor called for farm labor organization at a number of national conventions of the American Federation of Labor during the period 1909 to 1913. These bodies argued that seasonal farm hands competed for jobs with American Federation of Labor organized craftsmen in small communities where skill and specialization was not, as yet, at a premium. Others supported such action on more humanitarian grounds, pointing to extremely poor conditions among the migratory harvest workers on the Pacific coast.

Because the federation was trying to create a rural market for its union-label goods by cooperating with agricultural groups, it was not disposed to begin in the rural areas an organizing campaign that would antagonize the farmers. The American Federation of Labor executive council devised plans for union organization in agriculture, but no action was taken.³⁷ Thus on the eve of the First World War the job of organizing labor in the field of agriculture was left to a younger organization which had entered the farm scene during the first decade of the present century, chiefly in the corn and wheat areas of the Middle West and in the fruit districts of the Pacific coast—the Industrial Workers of the World (I. W. W.).

(b) *World War period (1914-18)*.—At that time, single or unattached seasonal harvest workers were numerically more important than they are today. It was natural, therefore, that the Industrial Workers of the World should have concentrated its efforts on this type of farm laborer which, in the main, was migratory in character. The economic situation created by the First World War, moreover, favored a drive to better the conditions of these workers. Farm-commodity prices had risen, the corresponding movement of farm wages lagged, and the increased demand for farm products strengthened the bargaining power of farm labor.

Farm labor activities of the Industrial Workers of the World were restricted almost exclusively to the far and Middle West and it was in these areas that it achieved its greatest success between 1915 and 1917. Although the social philosophy of the Industrial Workers of the World touched the roots of our economic system, propounding, among other things, the abolition of the wage system, its immediate program of action lay within the framework of the prevailing economy. It sought to abolish illegal restraint of all kinds, demanded for workers

³⁷ Lorwin, L. L., the American Federation of Labor, 1933, pp. 110-111.

proper board and lodging, a 10-hour workday, a standard wage of \$4 a day during the harvest season, and free transportation where the latter proved necessary.³⁸

The organizational structure of the Industrial Workers of the World included a "department of agriculture, land, fisheries, and water products," and an Industrial Union for Agricultural Workers.³⁹ It has been estimated that in California in 1914 the Industrial Workers of the World had a number of paid and unpaid organizers, 5,000 dues-paying members in 40 branches, and a large following among thousands of other unskilled and migratory agricultural workers.⁴⁰ In 1916 the Industrial Workers of the World claimed some 18,000 workers in its Agricultural Workers' organization.⁴¹

The Industrial Workers of the World did not lay any basis for a permanent system of collective bargaining in farm and rural areas, but its activities resulted in obtaining higher wages in a considerable number of cases and led to general improvement in the working and living conditions of migratory agricultural workers. A number of reasons are generally offered to explain the decline of this body. The principal ones are (a) the agricultural depression of the post-war years; (b) the loose structural form of its organization; (c) the failure to consolidate its gains; (d) the concerted and violent opposition of farmers against some of its syndicalistic tactics; and (e) its suppression by the public authorities. The Industrial Workers of the World gradually disappeared, and after the war few remnants of organized existence remained.⁴²

(c) *The 1920's.*—Farm labor organizational activities in the 1920's were feeble and desultory. Interest of the American Federation of Labor in this field after the war was limited to the action which it took in 1922 in chartering a National Agricultural Workers' Union. No actual organizational work seems to have taken place and the charter was withdrawn the next year.⁴³ An attempt was made also to establish a closer relationship between the American Federation of Labor and the Fruit and Vegetables Workers' Union of North America, an independent union organized in 1922. This union claimed about 1,900 members when it affiliated with the American Federation of Labor the same year it was organized.

The next year, however, it was disbanded.⁴⁴ No agricultural unions seem to have been affiliated with the American Federation of Labor during this period until 1932 when the Sheep Shearers' Union of North America joined the federation.

In 1928 two independent unions of Mexican workers were organized, one with a membership of 1,200 among the fruit and vegetable workers in the Imperial Valley of California, the other with a membership of 2,000 in the sugar-beet areas of Colorado and neighboring States.⁴⁵ These were practically the only organizations of agricultural workers of any importance formed during the decade 1920-30. Neither union survived.

(d) *Since 1930.*—(1) The Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union of the Trade Union Unity League: The economic depression which began in the fall of 1929 brought a new period of organizational activity among agricultural workers. Between 1929 and 1933 wage rates paid to hired farm labor dropped by more than half, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics index declining from 180 in 1929 (1910-14=100) to 85 in 1933.⁴⁶ Earnings were cut still further as the farm labor market became glutted with former farm workers returning from the economically depressed urban centers.

At this juncture, in California's chief crop-growing regions, leadership in organizational work was taken by the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union (C. A. W. I. U.) during the period 1931-33. In 1933 alone, according to the union, its representatives led more than 40,000 workers in 22 strikes throughout the agricultural valleys of California. The Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union was affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League (T. U. U. L.). Like the older Industrial Workers of the World, the Trade Union Unity League and its affiliated union organizations sought elimination of an economy based on

³⁸ Veblen, Thorstein, *Essays in Our Changing Order*, p. 32.

³⁹ U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *United States Handbook of American Trade Unions* (1929 ed.), Bulletin 506.

⁴⁰ State Relief Administration of California, *Migratory Labor in California*, 1936, pp. 56-57.

⁴¹ Brissenden, P. F., *The Industrial Workers of the World, A Study of American Syndicalism* (Columbia University Studies), p. 338.

⁴² See 1929 *Handbook of Labor Statistics* and S. S. Gamb's *The Decline of the Industrial Workers of the World*, 1932.

⁴³ Sufrin, S. C., *Labor Organization in Agricultural America*. *American Journal of Sociology*, 43:544-559 (1938).

⁴⁴ Lorwin, L. L., *op cit.*, pp. 474, 476, and 482.

⁴⁵ Report of Gov. C. C. Young's Mexican Fact-Finding Committee, *Mexicans in California*, 1930.

⁴⁶ U. S. Department of Agriculture, *The Agricultural Situation*, January 1942, p. 24.

private profit and ownership of the means of production. Unlike the syndicalist philosophy of the Industrial Workers of the World, however, the principles of the Trade Union Unity League called for greater attention to bread-and-butter problems of trade-unionism and to political action as an adjunct to industrial organization.

The brief life of the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union was marked with a succession of strikes, on a scale larger than any previously seen on the farms of the Pacific coast. However, it was unable to maintain and stabilize its membership after strikes were ended. When a number of the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union leaders were arrested, tried, and convicted on charges of violating the California criminal syndicalism law, the union was dealt a severe blow from which it failed to recover. In 1935 it was dissolved when its parent organization, the Trade Union Unity League, recommended that its members join the American Federation of Labor.

(2) Federal locals of the American Federation of Labor and independent unions: The National Recovery Administration campaign of 1933 gave new strength to efforts to establish unionism among agricultural workers. Farm workers in many parts of the country applied for charters as Federal locals, that is, as locals to be affiliated directly with the national American Federation of Labor organization. Independent agricultural laborers' unions also sprang up. They were established among onion pickers in Ohio, cranberry pickers in Massachusetts, and sugar-beet workers in Michigan, Ohio, and the Rocky Mountain area. California saw the growth of many new American Federation of Labor locals as well as the rebirth of many old independent unions. Arizona and Washington were also affected. Cotton workers' unions evolved in Alabama, Arkansas, and Oklahoma.⁴⁷ In 1935 it was estimated that there were 98 agricultural labor unions of which 54 were affiliated with the American Federation of Labor as Federal locals.⁴⁸

Although neither the National Recovery Administration nor the Agricultural Adjustment Administration assumed responsibility over the working conditions of farm labor, the workers themselves thought they were included under the acts, and many of the newly organized groups appealed to the National Recovery Administration Labor Advisory Board to establish labor standards. Others sent in proposed labor codes of fair competition to the National Recovery Administration. In 1933, for example, some 35,000 Negro and white citrus workers in Florida joined an independent union which appealed to the Labor Advisory Board for protection under the codes.⁴⁹

By 1936, it was reported, that American Federation of Labor had given Federal charters to 62 locals of which 40 were field workers and 22 were cannery and packinghouse unions paying per capita taxes on 7,600 members.⁵⁰ The chief request of the 13 delegates representing farm workers at the 1936 American Federation of Labor convention was for an international charter so that agricultural workers could set up their own staff with their own funds and thus render better service to the local unions. This request had the support of several State Federations of Labor. The matter was referred to the executive council which in 1937 turned down the request for an international charter but agreed to set up a national agricultural workers' council, presumably a preliminary step before deciding whether to issue such a charter. Dissatisfied with this decision, most of these locals met at Denver, Colo., in July and formed a national organization of farm and food processing workers; this body assumed the name of the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, which voted to affiliate with the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

At the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor held in October 1937, after many of its former federal farm laborer locals had joined the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the executive board was instructed to call a conference of all its remaining federal locals of agricultural, packing, and cannery workers. There is, however, no record of such a conference having been called and in 1938 the question of organizing agricultural workers was not discussed at the convention. The president of the American Federation of Labor reported at the time that there were 64 local unions of agricultural, cannery and citrus workers with a total membership of about 22,000.⁵¹ Most of these locals were in canneries in

⁴⁷ Unions mentioned in different issues of the Rural Worker, August-December 1935.

⁴⁸ Sufirin, S. C., Labor Organization in Agricultural America, the American Journal of Sociology, January 1938, p. 548.

⁴⁹ Labor Fact Book II, Labor Research Association (International Publishers), p. 163.

⁵⁰ Proceedings of the 1936 Convention of the American Federation of Labor. One delegate at this convention stated that the high per capita tax led these locals to pay for only one-tenth of their actual membership.

⁵¹ Proceedings of the 1938 American Federation of Labor Convention, p. 84.

California and Washington, a few were located in Florida. Not many of these were locals of field workers.

In 1939 the executive council reported that the American Federation of Labor had chartered 13 new locals of agricultural, canning, and citrus workers since July 5, 1938. The proceedings of the 1939 annual convention of the federation that year listed the following unions in this field: Fruit and Cannery Workers' union, Olympia, Wash.; Fish Cannery Workers, Pittsburg, Calif.; Agricultural Laborers, Orange County, Calif.; Cannery Workers' Union, San Pedro, Calif.; Beet Sugar Workers' Union, Santa Ana, Calif.; Cereal Workers' and Allied Industries, Battle Creek, Mich.; Cotton Workers' Union, Chattanooga, Tenn.; Fruit and Vegetable Workers' Union, Salinas, Calif.

Others listed in the 1940 convention proceedings were: Cannery Workers' Union, Hayward, Calif.; Packers and Preserve Workers' Union, San Francisco, Calif.; and Vegetable Packing House Employees' Union, Princeton, Fla.

At the 1940 convention of the federation, the delegates from the California State Federation of Labor introduced a resolution that the American Federation of Labor approve the establishment of an autonomous National Council of Fruit and Vegetable Cannery Workers, Preserve Workers, and Dried Fruit and Nut Workers. It was claimed that locals of these workers had a combined membership of 60,000 which over a period of 3 years had paid in a total of about \$225,000 in per capita taxes to the American Federation of Labor. The resolution also provided that all federal chartered locals in this field be requested to become part of such a council and that a definite proportion of the per capita tax paid by them be allocated back to the National Council for organizational work. This resolution was referred to the executive council of the American Federation of Labor.

In the spring of 1941, the American Federation of Labor assisted the striking lemon pickers in Ventura County, Calif., in forming a local and then chartering it under the name of the Agricultural and Citrus Workers Union.⁵² In the spring of the same year, the American Federation of Labor seems to have secured a foothold in the agricultural and food processing field in southern New Jersey. The Seabrook Farms signed a written agreement with the Amalgamated Meat Cutters' and Butchers' Workmen of North America, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor. The agreement established practically a closed shop since all the field and shed workers employed by the company were to become members of the union. The lowest pay under the contract was to be 35 cents an hour for unskilled farm labor. Wage increases, among other benefits, were provided in the agreement.⁵³

(3) *Sharecroppers' and tenants' unions*: Organization of sharecroppers in the South began in Tallapoosa and Lee Counties, Ala., in 1931. In the spring of that year a union of sharecroppers and day laborers, mostly Negroes, was formed under the name of the Sharecroppers' Union of Alabama. Branches were later set up in Florida, Georgia, and in the Carolinas. Its activities on behalf of sharecroppers and other disadvantaged tenants and farm workers were forcibly resisted by planters and much violence resulted.

In the spring of 1935, the union led a strike of a few hundred cotton choppers in Alabama and claimed success in boosting wages on a number of plantations up to 75 cents and \$1 a day. In the summer of the same year, it conducted a strike of a few thousand cotton pickers in central Alabama where harvesting wages were reported as low as 35 cents a day. In more recent years, the union has attempted to eliminate abuses under the Agricultural Adjustment Administration crop control program.

In 1936, this union claimed a membership of about 12,000 in Alabama, Louisiana and North Carolina.⁵⁴ Most of it, however, was in Alabama where the organization originated. In that year it merged with the Alabama Farmers' Union which is affiliated with the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America, more commonly known as the National Farmers' Union.

⁵² George Meany, Peonage in California, American Federationist, May 1941, p. 5.

⁵³ New York Herald Tribune, March 16, 1941; southern New Jersey is the area in which the Agricultural Workers' Union, an American Federation of Labor federal chartered union, seems to have had jurisdiction since the early 1930's. This union, under the name of the Agricultural and Cannery Workers' Union of Southern New Jersey, was originally one of the Trade Union Unity League affiliates before it was chartered by the American Federation of Labor in 1935. With the formation of the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America in 1937, it was one of the American Federation of Labor federal chartered unions which transferred its affiliation to the Congress of Industrial Organizations. In 1934, this union claimed membership of about 1,000 seasonal truck farm workers in eight locals. A strike, which the union conducted against the Seabrook Farms in April 1934, increased hourly wage rates from 12 and 15 cents to 25 and 30 cents, thus strengthening the organization. A subsequent strike in June of the same year against the company seems to have prevented wage cuts but the union apparently suffered organizationally. Its present strength is not known.

⁵⁴ Labor Research Association, Labor Fact Book III (International Publishers), p. 145.

A group similar to the Alabama Farmers' Union and affiliated to the National Farmers' Union, is the Louisiana Farmers' Union. The latter has local organizations which include sharecroppers and small tenant farmers who work in the cane fields during the harvest period. This union has been active in filing wage claims for its members under the provisions of the Sugar Act of 1937.

Another sharecroppers' and tenant farmers' union, organized in the South in the early 1930's, was the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union. It originated in eastern Arkansas in the summer of 1934 chiefly as a group opposing reported abuses under the Agricultural Adjustment Administration crop control program in the South, adversely affecting sharecroppers and small tenants. In 1935 it conducted a cotton pickers strike in Arkansas and Texas which resulted, it was claimed, in raising wages on a number of plantations to 75 cents and \$1 per hundred pounds of cotton picked. By 1937 this union claimed an enrolled membership of about 30,000 in more than 300 locals located in 7 Southern and Southwestern States. About 90 percent of its locals and membership were in Arkansas and Oklahoma, 60 percent of them being in Arkansas.⁵⁵ Locals were also established in Texas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Missouri, and North Carolina. This was the year the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union reached its organizational peak, being recognized then as the largest union of agricultural workers in the South.

In the same year (1937), the union abandoned its independent status by affiliating with the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, but this affiliation lasted less than 2 years, the withdrawal being made in March 1939. It lost an appreciable number of its locals and members to the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America at the time of and since the split. The union claimed 40,000 members in over 100 locals in the summer of 1940.⁵⁶ Since 1934, the composition of the membership of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union has undergone a material change. In the early years, some 90 percent of its members were sharecroppers or tenant farmers; today over 75 percent are day laborers.

(4) United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, Congress of Industrial Organizations: In January 1935, a number of American Federation of Labor federal locals, impatient with the progress being made toward obtaining a national charter, established a National Committee of Agricultural and Rural Workers to coordinate their efforts and to work toward the establishment of one Nation-wide union of all agricultural and rural workers. Their ultimate objective was to obtain a national charter from the federation. This committee sent out organizers, helped develop unions in a number of areas through the country, published a union organ (the Rural Worker), and agitated for lowering the per capita tax levied on farm-worker locals by the American Federation of Labor.

By 1937 this committee succeeded in setting up or in helping to bring together joint organizations of agricultural workers' unions and cannery and packing-shed locals in various parts of the country. Such organizations were the California Federation of Cannery and Agricultural Workers' Union, the Northwest Council of Cannery, Packing House and Agricultural Workers, New Jersey State Committee of Agricultural and Cannery Unions, and the Colorado Conference of Beet Field and Agricultural Unions.⁵⁷ In California, the Federation of Cannery and Agricultural Workers took a stand for Congress of Industrial Organizations affiliation, after the State Federation of Labor (which desired the organizational separation of field workers from cannery workers)⁵⁸ turned down a request for a State-wide union including both types of labor.

In June 1937, 44 American Federation of Labor federal local unions and 8 independent unions issued a call to all agricultural, cannery, and packing-shed unions to attend a national convention in Denver to form an international union and to decide whether affiliation should be with the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The call to the meeting stated:

"The policy of the Congress of Industrial Organizations in successfully organizing in industry-wide unions and their policy of aggressively assisting the organization of the unorganized with advice, funds, and organizers make it necessary for us to seriously consider affiliation to the Congress of Industrial Organizations."⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Proceedings of the 1937 Convention of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union.

⁵⁶ House Committee Investigating the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens. Montgomery hearings, August 14-16, 1940, pt. 2, p. 826; also Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, Report of the Secretary, January 1940.

⁵⁷ Rural Worker, July 1937.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

It appeared at the start, therefore, that the Congress of Industrial Organizations, with its emphasis upon industry-wide organization, rather than the American Federation of Labor, with its policy of preserving craft-union interests, would be the choice for affiliation.

In July 1937, 97 delegates representing, it was claimed, about 100,000 workers from 78 different locals (50 of which were stated to be agricultural field workers' locals) from 21 States met in Denver, Colo., and organized an international—the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America (U. C. A. P. A. W. A.). Of the 78 locals represented, 45 were chartered American Federation of Labor locals, a few were Congress of Industrial Organizations industrial locals, and the rest independent unions, the latter including the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union and racial unions of Filipinos, Mexicans, and Japanese on the Pacific coast. The vote to join the Congress of Industrial Organizations was practically unanimous. The chief strength of the new union was in California, Washington, Colorado, New Jersey, eastern Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Missouri. The delegates voted to admit "all types of agricultural workers, all fruit, fish, and vegetable canning and packing workers in allied fields." They further set forth as a basic aim "to work concertedly with the general labor movement to bring about a higher standard of living to all workers and small oppressed families."⁶⁰

The President of the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, in making his report to the second national convention, listed as the major accomplishment of the organization since its founding "the establishment on a stable trade-union basis of a Nation-wide organization."⁶¹ This stable basis, it was observed, did not rest on the agricultural field workers' locals, but rather on the organized food and fish processing workers. The experience of their union and of other agricultural unions had already demonstrated that although field workers might join farm labor unions in considerable numbers, their adherence was often unstable and their dues payments irregular; in short, they formed a very poor basis for a strong labor organization. Consequently, the union adopted the strategy of expanding its major efforts in organizing workers in semi-industrial food establishments such as packing sheds and canneries. Because of their more certain job tenure, higher earnings, and greater stability of location, workers in these plants it was argued, could form more closely knit organizations, could successfully bargain collectively with their employers, and could serve to launch effective organizational work among farm field laborers. Once the industries on the border line between farming and nonagricultural enterprise were strongly organized, the union maintained the way would open to the successful organization of the field workers. According to this plan of organization, large locals of canning and processing workers, with steady dues-paying memberships, would enable the union to continue the organization of farm laborers who could not be expected to be self-supporting in the early stages of union organization.

It was held also that cannery and packing-shed workers, if organized, would refuse to cross the picket lines of field workers or to work on nonunion agricultural produce, and thus would increase the bargaining power of the field workers. A number of incidents in California illustrate this strategy. Mexican lemon pickers in San Fernando, it was alleged, were helped in a strike situation resulting in a wage increase, when girl shed workers refused to cross picket lines.⁶² At Bryte pear pickers, in was held, won a wage increase after a short strike in which they participated with the packers and truck drivers in the orchard.⁶³

In spite of the fact that the claimed 38,300 processing workers in 1938 make up the main financial and organizational strength of the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, they were that year outnumbered by the agricultural field worker members who, according to the union, totaled about 86,000.⁶⁴ Of the field worker membership, about 15,000 were said to be located in the Colorado, Wyoming, Nebraska, and Montana sugar-beet areas, 38,000 were classified as cotton field workers in Arkansas, Oklahoma, Missouri; Alabama, and Texas; the rest were distributed among fruit and vegetable field locals in California, Washington, and New Jersey, among a small number of

⁶⁰ Proceedings of the First National Convention of the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, 1937.

⁶¹ Report of the General President, Second Annual Convention, United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, December 1938.

⁶² Congress of Industrial Organization News, United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America edition, October 17, 1938.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, August 20, 1938.

⁶⁴ Report of the General President, Second Annual Convention, United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, December 1938.

citrus workers locals in Florida, and among a few locals of sugar-beet workers in the Michigan-Ohio area.

At the national convention of this union held in December 1940, a total membership of over 100,000 was reported for the United States, Canada, Hawaii, and Alaska. Of this total, about 26,400 represented the industrial membership in 86 locals and about 75,000 were agricultural field workers organized in 159 locals.⁶⁵ The agricultural workers' locals comprised, for the most part, sharecroppers, fruit and vegetable workers and sugar-beet workers. It was stated that the industrial membership figures were "conservative and reliable" while those of agricultural field workers were rough estimates largely because it was difficult to ascertain precisely the number of these workers who, in large part, were seasonal and migratory.

The union's major gains in 1939 and 1940 were made in the industrial section. The largest percentage increases in membership were recorded by locals in the semi-industrial establishments which processed food, dried fruit and nuts, tobacco, and grains. For the first time, a tobacco division was established within the framework of the union. This move was an outgrowth of the jurisdiction over the tobacco industry granted the union by the Congress of Industrial Organizations in January 1941. Gains were reported also in cotton processing, compressing, and ginning. These gains were important to the union since as recently as 1938 the industrial membership was almost exclusively in fish-canning and sea-food establishments. The activities of the union in 1939 and 1940 also resulted in expanding its operations outside of the west coast districts, where formerly the major efforts of the union were concentrated. The total rise in the industrial membership in December 1940 over December 1938 was claimed to be slightly over 80 percent.⁶⁶

For 1939, 1940, and the first half of 1941, the union reported a total of more than \$1,500,000 in wage increases achieved through the international's contractual agreements with employers. It will be noted that the average number of workers per contract and per company covered is very small. "This means," the officers of the union pointed out, "that a very large number of companies have been organized and contracts signed, but that the great majority of these have been very small companies." Below is a tabular presentation of the number of contracts and the number of companies, plants, and workers covered under them.⁶⁷

	1937	1938	1940	June 30, 1941
Number of contracts.....	30	65	158	189
Number of workers under contract:				
Normal.....	7,035	9,003	13,169	20,269
Seasonal peak.....	8,625	11,909	19,670	31,670
Number of companies covered.....	88	125	223	253
Number of plants covered.....	153	181	276	307

Source: Proceedings of the Third National Convention of United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, December 1940.

As of December 1940, 153 union contracts covering about 18,000 semi-industrial workers were distributed as follows:⁶⁸

Industry	Number of contracts	Workers covered
Fruit and vegetable canning, processing, and packing.....	36	2,416
Fish canning and processing.....	10	5,480
Cotton and cottonseed processing, compressing, and ginning.....	5	500
Dried fruit and nut processing.....	11	5,785
Grain processing and milling.....	13	475
Horticulture (greenhouse, nursery, cemetery, etc.).....	17	443
Tobacco.....	50	990
Others.....	11	1,965
Total.....	153	18,054

⁶⁵ Proceedings of the Third National Convention of United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, December 1940. Since the third convention, 17 new locals were reported to have been chartered. (United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America News, August 8, 1941.)

⁶⁶ This percentage increase does not correspond to the membership figures reported for 1938. It is assumed that a different 1938 base was used in this computation.

⁶⁷ As of August 1941, negotiations were in progress in 14 other plants where National Labor Relations Board elections had been won or organizational work completed.

⁶⁸ United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, third convention, proceedings, op cit.

Between November 1939 and December 1940, United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America had been a party in 48 National Labor Relations Board elections, in 42 of which it polled a majority of the vote and was designated as the collective bargaining agent of almost 9,000 workers.⁶⁹ Since the third convention in December 1940, it has won 14 out of 17 such elections. Between November 1939 and October 1940 the union engaged in 42 strikes involving about 24,000 workers.

The union reportedly won 26 of these strikes, affecting about 22,000 workers.⁷⁰ Most of the strikes were called by industrial locals⁷¹ as a result of refusal by employers to renegotiate new contracts calling for improved conditions.⁷²

3. *Strikes and employer-union relationships*—(a) *Strikes*.—Strikes in agriculture have attained numerical importance only since 1933. That low wages, long hours, and other grievances did not result in a greater number of strikes before is partly explained by the observation that "discontent may be greatest precisely when and because workers exist so precariously that they have no hope of bettering their immediate position through the use of economic weapons."⁷³

During the period 1927-39, 42 strikes involving more than 1,000 workers each occurred, and 7 which involved more than 5,000 workers each. Two strikes of cotton workers in California affected approximately 10,000 workers each. Agricultural strikes during this 13-year period included, on the average, 775 workers each. More than one-half of these strikes occurred in fruit and vegetable areas where large groups of field workers are employed. Although by far the largest number of such strikes occurred in California, their widespread incidence is indicated by the fact that 30 States and the District of Columbia were affected by one or more strikes during the 6-year period 1933-38.⁷⁴

Data on the outcome of 197 strikes reported for the 12 years (1927-38) indicate that clear-cut gains were won by workers in 47 cases and partial success in 75. Thus, total or partial objectives were achieved in 62 percent of the strikes in which the outcome was known. The record of strikes in agriculture between 1927 and 1941 is shown in the following table:

Strikes in Agriculture, 1927-41

[Covers field workers only; packing-shed and cannery workers are excluded]

Year	Number of strikes	Number of workers involved	Number of man-days idle during year	Year	Number of strikes	Number of workers involved	Number of man-days idle during year
1927-----	2	322	694	1935-----	19	14,888	139,494
1928-----	4	410	2,770	1936-----	28	15,369	259,120
1929-----				1937-----	28	5,080	32,842
1930-----	5	2,905	26,080	1938-----	34	11,023	94,040
1931-----	5	2,020	15,225	1939-----	25	26,207	194,880
1932-----	10	1,762	28,687	1940-----	14	2,130	37,359
1933-----	35	34,012	516,900	1941 (11 months)---	22	10,070	388,747
1934-----	27	25,943	244,753				

Sources: Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, *Strikes in the United States 1880-1936*, Bulletin No. 651, p. 159, also, monthly issues of *Monthly Labor Review*, 1938-41.

About 85 percent of the strikes which occurred before 1940 were concerned primarily with demands for higher wages or opposition to wage cuts. It can be assumed that those in 1940 and in the first half of 1941, were, for the most part for higher wages as farm commodity prices and cost of living rose. The fact that union recognition was the major issue in but few cases indicates that organized collective bargaining on a long-run basis was not clearly envisaged by either the farm operators or the workers.

⁶⁹ It lost 5 elections and tied in the other; slightly over 10,000 workers were involved in the 48 elections.

⁷⁰ The union lost three strikes and the rest were indecisive.

⁷¹ Five agricultural workers' locals and 37 industrial locals participated in these strikes.

⁷² U. C. A. P. A. W. A., Third Convention, Proceedings, op cit.

⁷³ U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Strikes in the United States, 1880-1936*, Bulletin 651, p. v.

⁷⁴ Data compiled by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Department of Agriculture, from all available sources. The data may include some small strikes not recorded by the Bureau of Labor Statistics and sometimes other than field workers.

Strikes in agriculture are costly to all concerned: Farm operators stand to lose their perishable crops; ⁷⁵ striking workers are likely to lose much of their wages, as other laborers are taken on to complete the harvest; the community stands to lose because of reduction in business and labor, of lowered tax revenues, of increased relief burdens, and of lowered political morality which accompanies strikes and often results in violation of civil liberties. Unions and farm employers have become keenly aware of these difficulties and more and more have had recourse to the United States Conciliation Service to mediate their disputes. Between 1933 and 1938, the Conciliation Service was called upon 51 times to aid in the settlement of agricultural labor controversies.

(b) *Employer-union relationships.*—While written union agreements between agricultural field workers and growers are rare, they are not totally unknown. However, agreements that have been reached usually lasted only during a specific job and provided no basis for peaceful and orderly negotiation to meet future problems. Perhaps the most important field agreement concluded in recent years was the Blissfield, Mich., closed field contract of 1935. In June of that year the Blissfield Beet Growers' Association of Michigan, representing about 1,400 growers, signed a closed field agreement with the Agricultural Workers' Union, an American Federation of Labor Federal chartered local. About the same time, another American Federation of Labor local at Findlay, Ohio, signed an agreement with the Findlay sugar beet growers. This agreement, however, was not a closed field contract. The Blissfield agreement, which was in force until January 1, 1936, was described by the union as a model contract.

A number of agreements were signed by organized poultry and dairy workers and employers in California in 1937. One of these agreements was signed by the largest poultry farm in the United States, the Taylor Runnymede Farms of Reseda, Calif., with the Valley Poultry Workers Union, affiliated with the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America. The contract was in force from October 1937 to October 1938 and was renewed for another year at the expiration date. In 1939 and 1940 these farms were struck because of failure to renew the contract on conditions favorable to both parties. In 1937 and 1938 at least 10 written agreements were in force between the Dairy Workers' Union in Los Angeles, affiliated with the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, and farm and dairy companies located in a number of California cities.

Two written agreements were on record in 1938 and 1939 between pea and bean field workers represented by United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America in Seattle, Wash., and the Japanese Association of Brain-bridge Island, Wash. Another, affecting pea pickers, was negotiated in Colorado in 1938. On November 4, 1939, a written agreement was signed by a United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America local representing cotton pickers and the Mineral King Cooperative Farms Association of Visalia, Calif. Also, following a strike for a 5-cents-an-hour wage increase by some 2,700 celery cutters and shed workers near Stockton, Calif., in 1939, employers signed an agreement with the Filipino Agricultural Laborers' Association (an independent union). Two other written union agreements covering cotton pickers were in force in Kern County, Calif., in 1937-38.

4. *Other union activities.*—For the most part, agricultural unions have used methods other than economic weapons to gain their objectives.

In nearly all of the hearings held under the Sugar Act of 1937 on the determination of wage rates for workers in sugarcane and sugar beets, existing agricultural unions have appeared on behalf of the workers. In line with their legislative programs, the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union are on record in favor of extension of certain Federal and State labor and Social Security laws to agricultural labor. In the case of Federal legislation, these organizations favor such extensions of the Social Security Act, the National Labor Relations Act, and the Wages and Hours Act. Agricultural workers' unions have also urged amendments or clarification of the provisions in the Agricultural Adjustment Act and the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Acts which would eliminate administrative discriminations against sharecroppers and share tenants. They also favor the establishment of farm labor standards as a condition for growers receiving benefit payments similar to those which now obtain under the sugar act. About 325,000 agricultural workers in the sugar growing industry, about 160,000 of them being in the continental United

⁷⁵ The gravity of the strike problem is indicated by the estimate that approximately 65 percent of California's entire crop value was involved in the 1933 strikes. House of Representatives Committee on Labor, Hearings on the Labor Disputes Act, 1935, H. R. 6288, p. 342.

States, are covered by this act which provides for "fair and reasonable" restrictions on the employment of child labor.

Agricultural labor unions have also attempted to secure work relief for members during periods of unemployment and to prevent their removal from relief rolls unless they are paid wages equal to those paid to unskilled workers on relief projects in the locality. These unions also favor a Federal uniform election law which would enfranchise many farm and rural worker now deprived of their votes by some State laws.

Some unions in agriculture have made studies on the working and living conditions of farm wage workers and have engaged in general educational activities in the interest of their members and for the enlightenment of public officials. During the present war emergency, agricultural unions have volunteered their services in meeting farm labor supply problems.

II. LEGISLATIVE PROTECTION

It is now generally agreed that even if a worker receives fair wages and works under satisfactory conditions, there are certain chances of life against which it is difficult for him to make adequate provision. On the job, an accident may occur involving inability to earn for a period, unforeseen expenses, and possibly permanent disablement. Even if the worker has contributed by his own carelessness to this event, and might therefore, as some think, be left to suffer the consequences, there remains his family to support and educate. In a similar manner, sickness may descend upon the wage earner or his dependents, creating problems with which he is unable to cope. The danger of unemployment lurks always in the background, with malnutrition, crowded housing, ill health, and family disorganization as its consequences. Finally, of course, there is the looming shadow of old age, the fear of insecurity and dependency at a time when failing powers render self-help difficult.

Among the measures which have been developed to assist in meeting these hazards of working-class life, there are a number which involve in greater or lesser degree the principle of insurance. This principle is simply that of distributing among many the losses sustained by a few. By the common method of fire insurance each individual in an organized group is assured that in case of the destruction of his property he will be reimbursed from a fund gathered little by little from the whole group by the insuring agency. Similarly people in many lands have cooperated for the purpose of building up funds out of which sickness, accident, unemployment, or death benefits are to be paid in case of need.

A. Wage regulation.

Efforts to increase income for farm workers—as well as income for other workers—commonly are aimed at raising wage rates. This offers a convenient point of attack.

The object of wage rate regulation is to bring about an increase in total earnings by means of an increase in wage rates; to standardize such rates over a given area so as to avoid underbidding among workers seeking employment; or to standardize them over a period of time so as to avoid the wide fluctuations which occur, especially in seasonal work.

In the United States, governmental action for the standardization of wage rates may be Federal—as in the case of the determination of wages of sugar beet and sugarcane workers under the Sugar Act of 1937; or the action may be in the nature of State minimum wage legislation.

Nongovernmental regulation usually takes the form of agreements between voluntary associations of producers and laborers or between a single producer (individual or corporate) and such an association of the laborers employed by that producer.

1. *Government regulation in other English-speaking nations.*—In Australia and New Zealand: "Minimum wages" in the modern sense appeared first in the Antipodes as part of a campaign to relieve conditions in "sweated" trades. In 1894 New Zealand gave its district conciliation boards power to set minimum wage rates for underpaid workers. The first real minimum wage law was passed in 1896 by the State of Victoria; it established boards in six notoriously underpaid trades, including furniture making, baking, and bootmaking. The purpose was to raise to a minimum level of subsistence certain depressed classes so situated that they were incapable of bargaining for themselves—rather than to establish higher standard wage rates for all workers.

Later, in 1900, the Victoria Act was expanded to cover other occupations in which there was no evidence of "sweating"; it thus became the regular method for fixing the standard wage rates.

In the other Australian States the development was similar. In those States minimum wage awards were closely connected with the system for arbitrating disputes between employees and employers.

In Australia there is separate and independent arbitration legislation for the whole Commonwealth and for each of the six States constituting the Commonwealth. The original Commonwealth Act of 1904 excluded agriculture but later any association of 100 or more workers in any industry was permitted to register and to apply for wages awards. Among agricultural workers only the pastoral and fruit workers have done so, the former for the first time in 1907, the latter in 1912. At first the Commonwealth pastoral award applied only to sheep shearers and other such skilled workers, but in 1917 the relatively unskilled shed hands were included. Awards in the separate States may supplement the Commonwealth awards, as by the grant of higher wages or by bringing in other groups of workers. In some States agriculture is expressly excluded from the operation of the Acts; in others, although not formally excluded, farm workers have seldom asked for awards.⁷⁶

Although the original Conciliation and Arbitration Act of New Zealand formally included agriculture, the Court made no award applicable to ordinary farm workers during 40 years' experience; however, it did include the pastoral industry and such industrialized agricultural occupations as the frozen meat trade. In 1936 the labor government of New Zealand undertook to combine the enactment of a statutory minimum wage for agricultural workers with the provision of administrative machinery for raising this minimum, and, subsequently, also for reducing it, if necessary, but not below the minimum fixed by the statute.⁷⁷ The Agricultural Workers Act sets out a schedule for workers on dairy farms: Section 20 of the act sets forth that its provisions may be applied by order of council, with the necessary modifications, to any specified class of agricultural workers in addition to those on dairy farms. Under this section, an order in council was issued in February 1937, extending the provisions to workers employed in orchards, and in April 1937 to agricultural and pastoral workers employed on farms engaged in the commercial production of wool, meat and/or grain. Subsequently, the question of including workers on tobacco farms was under consideration.

The Agricultural Workers Act links the wages of agricultural workers—at present only those of dairy farm workers—with the price of agricultural produce, as fixed by the Primary Products Marketing Act. The latter established a fixed price for butter and cheese and lays down the principle that prices may also be fixed for any other agricultural produce.⁷⁸

Great Britain: In England, where the Victoria system was adopted in 1909, the development was similar. The English law applied first to four "sweated" occupations; then to others with "exceptionally" or "unduly" low wages; and in 1912 the regulation of coal miners' wages was undertaken for the purpose of promoting industrial peace rather than for the purpose of protecting a "sweated" group. During the war, extension to additional trades was rapid, agriculture being included from 1917 to 1921. In 1924 a new Agricultural Wages Act was passed which, with modifications, is still in force. In 1937 it was extended to Scotland.

The proportion of agricultural wage workers in relation to farmers is larger in Great Britain than in the United States. In 1937 about 740,000 British workers, of whom 110,000 were Scottish, fell within the scope of the Agricultural Wages Acts. Of the 644,000 male workers employed in agriculture, about 75,000 were casual workers and nearly 125,000 were under 21 years of age.⁷⁹

According to the Agricultural Wages Acts the primary duty of the 58 local agricultural wage committees was, under the general guidance of a central board, to determine minimum time rates of wages for all agricultural workers in each county. In addition to this duty, which is mandatory, the committees have power to fix minimum piece rates as well as to order payment of arrears. The committees are required to set forth what items in kind (such as board and lodging, fuel, potatoes, milk, etc.) may be reckoned as part payment of wages in place of cash, and they

⁷⁶ Howard, L. E., *Labour in Agriculture*, Oxford University Press, London, 1935, pp. 301-303.

⁷⁷ Primary Products Marketing Act, May 1936; Agricultural Workers Act, September 1936.

⁷⁸ International Labour Office, *Social Problems in Agriculture*, Studies and Reports, Series K (Agriculture No. 14, Geneva, 1938, pp. 81, 82.

⁷⁹ Sells, Dorothy, *British Wage Boards*, Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C., 1939, p. 145.

are required to evaluate such items when supplied. In connection with the determination of the wage rates, the committees deal with hours, with holidays, with perquisites, and with permits of exception.

The success of the Agricultural Wages Acts from an administrative standpoint is attested by the fact that in 1937, after a trial of 13 years in England and Wales, the provisions were extended to Scotland. This success is all the more noteworthy in view of the difficult circumstances in British agriculture during the period. Although British farmers have complained of the rates of wages fixed under the statutes as exceeding their ability to pay, their dissatisfaction in years preceding the present war was in part allayed by the increase in agricultural prices due to the preferential treatment accorded to agriculture through regulation of imports, through marketing reorganization and through Government subsidies. The farm workers, on the other hand, expressed disappointment that the minimum wage rates were maintained at so low a level. Some complaint was also raised over the failure to coordinate wage rates between adjoining counties and lack of complete effectiveness in measures of enforcement. However, in 1938 wages were nearly double the level preceding the first World War, and the real wages of male agricultural workers showed an increase of some 35 percent over the level of 1924 when the Agricultural Wages Acts came into effect. In addition to this, average weekly hours of work diminished during this period, the majority of farm workers received weekly half-holidays and additional pay for overtime; practices regarding the difficult matter of payments in kind were standardized; and the organization of workers and employers, in spite of adverse economic conditions, was stimulated.

In Ireland: In Ireland an Agricultural Wages Act, passed in November 1936, set up a Central Agricultural Wages Board, the chairman of which is also chairman of the committees of the "wage areas" into which Ireland was divided for purposes of the act. The Central Wages Board was given power to fix minimum wage rates for agricultural workers after consulting the appropriate wage-area committee. Parliament retained the right to nullify such wage rates within 21 days. The first order issued under the act came into force on August 9, 1937, when a flat minimum wage was laid down covering all the wage districts in Ireland.

The Irish system differs in principle from the English system in that it is the central wages board and not the local committee which has the authority to fix minimum wages and, also, in the lack of any assumption, in the Irish legislation, that employers and workers are organized.⁸⁰

2. *Government regulation in the United States.*—In the United States minimum-wage legislation, based upon the principles of the British Act of 1909, was initiated in Massachusetts in 1912. By 1923 some 17 States had laws of this kind. After the Adkins decision of the Supreme Court in 1923, which declared unconstitutional a minimum wage statute of the District of Columbia, there was a lull until 1937, when the Supreme Court reversed its earlier decision. In May 1940, 26 States, the District of Columbia, Alaska, and Puerto Rico had minimum wage laws, but all of these, with the exception of the Oklahoma statute, apply only to women and minors.

No State has a minimum wage law that applies to agricultural field workers: In California, Oregon, and Washington there is a minimum wage order for women and minors in fresh-fruit packing; and California had an order covering agricultural occupations, but it was rescinded in 1922.

Under 12 of the present 29 laws agricultural labor could be covered, since it is not specifically exempted. Orders, if issued, could however apply only to women in three of these States, and to women and minors of both sexes in the remaining nine. In no case could orders in any State apply to adult male farm workers.

The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, which aims at establishing a floor for wages and a ceiling for hours in the United States generally, does not apply to agricultural laborers.

The only instance of agricultural wage setting by Federal law is that embodied in the Sugar Acts of 1934 and 1937. The Act of 1934, known as the Jones-Costigan Amendment to the Agricultural Adjustment Act, gave the Secretary of Agriculture the power to determine the total flow of sugar into the United States market, to establish production quotas for continental and off shore producers, and to make payments to producers of sugar beets and sugar cane who cooperated in the program. Among the conditions which producers had to satisfy in order to receive such payments were provisions relating to wage rates, the time and method of payment, the adjudication of labor disputes, and the employment of children below the age of 14 years.

⁸⁰ Social Problems in Agriculture, op cit., pp. 80-81.

The Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 contained no provisions relating directly to the establishing of labor standards for agricultural workers, nor was the inclusion of such standards contemplated during the period prior to its enactment. The inclusion of labor provisions in the Jones-Costigan Act was, therefore, an innovation in agricultural legislation.

The need for the adoption of labor standards for sugar workers grew out of the disclosure of the distress of this group at the hearings on the subject of a Code for the Beet Sugar Industry under the National Recovery Act in August 1933. In the spring of 1934 the Secretary of Labor noted that "wages for beet workers have fallen so deplorably that the Government is financing workers even during their term of employment," and suggested that "if now the Government is to give benefit payments to farmers, it seems only reasonable for the Government to make it a condition of such benefit that the farmers shall do something to relieve the United States of the burden of caring for the farmer's own employees."

At the suggestion of the National Recovery Act administrator, the President authorized the appointment of a committee to take immediate steps to formulate with representatives of the beet sugar industry, the beet growers, labor and the public, a plan for reorganization of labor policies in the sugar beet fields.

This committee made the recommendations which formed the basis of the labor provisions of the Jones-Costigan Act.

Prior to the passage of the Sugar Act of 1937 the President stated: "It is highly desirable to continue the policy which was inherent in the Jones-Costigan Act, effectuating the principle that an industry which desires the protection afforded by a quota system or a tariff should be expected to guarantee that it will be a good employer. I recommend, therefore, that the prevention of child labor and the payment of wages of not less than minimum standards be included among the conditions for receiving a Federal payment."⁸¹

Under the act of 1934 the Secretary of Agriculture had the right to set minimum rates of wages and to determine the time and method of wage payment when and if the occasion arose. The policy was adopted of exercising this right only when the growers and laborers were themselves unable to come to terms. Wage rates were established under the 1934 act only on one occasion: April 1935, for the beet-growing areas in the four States Colorado, Nebraska, Wyoming, and Montana. Before the next season came around, the pertinent provisions of the act had been invalidated as a result of the Supreme Court decision of January 1936. Under the Act of 1937 wage determinations by the Secretary of Agriculture were made mandatory for all sugar beet and sugar cane producing areas. Accordingly, in 1937 and subsequent years fair and reasonable rates of pay were established for workers in these crops not only in continental areas, but also in Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and the Virgin Islands.

Substantial increases in rates were given the sugar workers under the wage provisions of the sugar acts, resulting in considerable increases in their incomes; however, the standards applied as to what constituted "fair and reasonable" wage rates took into account in the utmost detail all available data as to the relation of wage rates to the returns from beets and cane received by the growers in previous years. The determinations of the Secretary of Agriculture, in other words, represented an effort to return from the low levels of the depression period to the wage rates paid in more normal times. It was relatively easy to do this because of the fact that the growers of sugar beets and sugar cane were receiving payments under the sugar acts which reestablished their incomes from these crops on levels comparable with those received before the depression. And the further fact that, through its control of the import quotas, the Government was able to influence the price of sugar, underlay and serve as justification for, the whole proceeding. Had sugar, like cotton or wheat, been on an export basis the story would have been different.

3. *Non-governmental regulation.*—The second method of wage regulation is based on arrangements, usually established by collective bargaining between farmers, organized or individual, and associations of laborers. The initial organization of agricultural laborers is a difficult undertaking, and the maintenance of an organized group offers still further obstacles, so collective bargaining in agriculture has hitherto achieved only limited success.

(a) *In pre-war Europe.*—In some countries agricultural trade unions have found it advisable to go no further in the direction of establishing terms of employment than to issue guiding principles to workers. In Denmark, for example, schedules

⁸¹ United States Congress, House of Representatives, Recommendations Regarding Enactment of the Sugar Quota System. Doc. 156, 75th Cong., 1st sess., Washington, D. C., March 1, 1937.

of wage rates published twice a year, indicate what is regarded by the union as a reasonable wage. In Scotland, such schedules are drawn up by the union in collaboration with the employers. The rates, however, are not binding for individual farmers. In Czechoslovakia a system of this kind came into existence with the direct assistance of the state.⁸²

Despite the difficulties of union organization, in some European countries, notably the Netherlands and Sweden, collective agreements have been arrived at by free negotiation between farmers' and workers' organizations without the support of any special legislation regulating agricultural wage rates. In the Netherlands the typical collective agreement is highly localized in character. In 1936 there were 326 of these, covering 20,677 farmers and 65,616 workers, as compared with only 66 such agreements covering 3,810 farmers and 15,185 workers in 1930. In Sweden, on the other hand, there is one national agreement covering southern and central parts of the country with which are connected local agreements negotiated by local branches of the national unions of employers and of workers, the wage rates being fixed in the latter. In June 1937 over half of the farms of over 100 hectares (247 acres) were affiliated with the employers' union.

In some countries collective bargaining in agriculture is definitely encouraged by the government. For example, in Czechoslovakia representatives of employers' and workers' organizations were periodically called together by the government to confer with each other and reach an agreement on guiding principles for employment in agriculture. In Poland special legislation was passed in order to encourage collective bargaining. In Italy, the charter of labor makes it obligatory for organizations of employers and workers, whether agricultural or industrial, to negotiate collective agreements, the provisions of which are applicable to employers or workers in the region, whether organized or not.

(b) *In Australia.*—It is interesting that in Australia, where arbitration of labor difficulties has been carried further than in any other country, the organization of workers is assumed to be the basis of procedure, since only an organization is entitled to claim an award by an arbitration court. In contrast to the usual procedure in European countries, however, the organizations of workers ordinarily do not themselves attempt to negotiate collective agreements with employers but appeal directly to the arbitration courts.

In the United States there has been no development of labor organizations in agriculture sufficiently powerful or permanent to conclude lasting agreements regarding wages. There has been numerous occasions in which by a strike, or a threat of strike, an organization of farm workers has secured higher wages for a given seasonal operation. Such concessions, however, have seldom been embodied in a formal agreement of long duration. At the present time a few written agreements between field workers, dairy workers, and farm operators are in existence, mostly on the Pacific coast. Written agreements are fairly common in the canning and processing industries, on the borderline between agriculture and industry.

4. *Summary of experience with wage regulation.*—From the foregoing it appears that the two systems of farm wage regulation—by governmental action and by collective bargaining—both have shown a tendency toward expansion in recent years. The fixing of minimum wages in agriculture through procedures established by law has been developed in greater or less degree in England and Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Hungary, Germany, Cuba, Mexico, Uruguay, Argentina, Australia, and New Zealand. Methods of wage regulations through collective bargaining have been developed to some extent in all the Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands, France, Italy, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland.

In countries where collective bargaining exists, the number of farms and workers covered has increased considerably in recent years, although in no country have either the whole farm area or all kinds of agricultural workers been brought under collective agreements.

The reasons for this twofold development vary with the countries concerned. In most western countries during recent years the principle of collective bargaining has gained ground. Efforts to apply this procedure in agriculture have been due in part to the example and influence of organizations of industrial workers, in part to the growing interest among farm workers themselves; but the special difficulties of accomplishing collective bargaining in agriculture, the narrower range of such action and the resulting limited success of the efforts of the workers to improve their conditions, have led to action on their behalf by the State. This has been the case particularly in the countries threatened with rural overpopulation and in those in which agricultural wage rates sunk so low during the depres-

⁸² Social Problems in Agriculture, op. cit., pp. 73-78.

sion that even a minimum standard of living was threatened. State action affecting wages has in several countries been a part of the emergency policy carried out during the depression for the benefit of agriculture in general.

The question naturally arises: Which is the more important method of agricultural wage regulations—governmental or nongovernmental? The answer thus far is governmental. Regulative methods involving recognition of a duty on the part of the State to assist agricultural workers in maintaining minimum standards of life up to now have had a wider range and have contributed more to worker welfare than have the nongovernmental methods.

The latter are still in their infancy. During recent years effective methods of collective bargaining in agriculture have not been developed with sufficient speed to meet the needs arising from the rapid changes in agriculture. This seems to have been recognized by the organized agricultural workers themselves. In 1935 the International Land Workers' Federation supported the setting up of a permanent agricultural committee by the International Labour Office, for the purpose of studying the application of national legislation to agricultural workers' wages.

Regulation of farm workers' wages, whether by governmental action or collective bargaining, is likely to be especially helpful in increasing earnings in highly seasonal farm work where a considerable number of workers are called for. In such cases effective wage regulation is likely to require effective farm-labor placement and direction of the movements of job-seeking farm labor from State to State and area to area.

In those cases in which governmental authority is in a position to influence or control the price of a farm product, governmental regulation of the wage rates for labor contributing to that product is greatly facilitated. In this connection attention may be called to the widespread development of wage regulation in connection with the production of sugar in several different countries.

In the past, farm workers—especially those who work in the fields—have been unable to organize themselves to any great extent. Such self-organization is today probably the method by which they can best secure improvement of condition and extent of employment.

Before effective organization can take place, several requirements must be met:

(a) Legislative protection, both Federal and State, of farm workers in their right to organize, thereby ending violations of civil liberties and threats of the use of force and violence which in the past have been employed in many localities to discourage or counteract such organization.

(b) Continuity of employment in one area and the congregation of a large number of workers within that area. The typical "hired man" has such continuity, but such workers are usually scattered thinly through an area. The seasonal worker, on the other hand, though usually working together with masses of other farm workers, is mobile and does not remain long in any one area, unless sufficient work opportunity can be found there.

As more and more farms in given areas go over to large-scale and mechanized operations calling for the utilization of many hired workers, there is likely to be a growing tendency for such workers to become more or less resident and to organize so as to secure for themselves standards of living comparable to those enjoyed by workers employed in nonfarming industries.

B. Wage Payments and Collections.

In 16 States the State departments of labor now have power to assist wage earners in the collection of wage claims which, in the opinion of the departments, are valid and enforceable.⁵³ However, some of these States (for instance, New Mexico, Utah, and Wisconsin) specifically exclude agricultural workers from the scope of the law. The wage claim adjuster in Utah reports numerous letters and personal visits by agricultural laborers asking assistance which he is powerless to render. More than 12 percent of all claims filed in writing were from agricultural laborers. The Wisconsin Industrial Committee also has commented on the volume of these claims which it is without authority to collect.

California's law has meant millions of dollars saved for wage earners. In the single fiscal year 1938-39 the State labor commissioner's office collected over half a million dollars for claimants, of whom approximately 15 percent were agricultural workers, farm laborers, gardeners, fruit pickers and packers, milkers, and stablemen.

⁵³ Arkansas, California, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Nevada, New Jersey, New Hampshire, New Mexico, New York, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wisconsin, and Rhode Island.

One difficulty, even where the powers of the labor department are adequate, is that rural workers can use its facilities less easily than urban workers. Farm workers are seldom familiar with labor laws and with the services of a department of labor, and are not within convenient reach of the offices.

A type of law often utilized by labor departments to secure the payment of wages due, is that which requires employers to observe regular pay days. Two States (Massachusetts and California) specifically include agricultural workers. In 9 States agriculture is tacitly included in the law without specific mention; in 13, the wage payment laws apply to corporations only; in 14, the laws apply in enumerated industries, not including agriculture.

This law is enforced by complaint rather than by inspection, so there is no difficulty in making this type of law applicable to farm labor, unlike other types of legislation which are hard to enforce because of the need for inspection. There is just as much reason to protect the agricultural worker against nonpayment of wages as there is to protect any other type of employees.

C. *Hours of work.*

Federal legislation, limiting the hours of work, specifically excludes agricultural labor from its coverage.

State legislation, with a few exceptions, also excludes agricultural labor, as far as limiting the length of the working day is concerned. With the exception of Vermont and Hawaii, all States and Territories have passed such laws applying to men in private employment, in certain enumerated industries including employment on public works projects, the transportation industry where the public safety is involved, and certain occupations which are considered dangerous and unhealthy. Only Puerto Rico includes agriculture as coming under the 8-hour-day law. The other States and jurisdictions do not take in agriculture, either through the failure to include it specifically under the listed occupations or through specific exclusion.

In nearly all the States, including the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico, measures have been passed designed to protect women from unduly long hours of work in certain enumerated employment. Only three States (Mississippi, Nevada, and Utah) and Puerto Rico apparently do not exclude women engaged in agriculture. This inclusion appears to be merely nominal, as approximate orders have not been issued, nor have the laws been enforced for the benefit of women workers on the farms.⁸⁴

D. *Workmen's compensation laws.*

Experience with workmen's compensation laws in this country covers a period of about 25 years. Such laws are designed to give an injured worker prompt medical care and money payments at a minimum of expense and inconvenience, and to relieve the employer from liability for damage suits. Before the enactment of such laws the only recourse available is an injured worker was a damage suit based upon the common law principle of negligence. Under this procedure the injured employee had to prove not only that the accident resulted from the employer's negligence but that he himself had not assumed the risk of injury and that the accident had not resulted from his own or a fellow employee's negligence. Under workmen's compensation the question of blame for the accident is not raised. The cost of work injuries is considered part of the cost of production; the employer may insure his liability either with a private insurance company or a State fund. Most States also allow self-insurance.

None of the compensation laws attempts to cover all employments. Moreover, in 25 States, in Alaska, and in Puerto Rico employers of fewer than a stipulated number of employees are exempt; the minimum exemptions range from less than 2 employes in Oklahoma to less than 16 in Alabama.

The accident hazard in agriculture.—There is no systematic accident reporting for agricultural employment, largely because of lack of coverage by workmen's compensation laws, and for that reason, comparisons of frequency and severity rates with other industries are not possible. Nevertheless indications are that agriculture is a decidedly hazardous employment.

"More people are killed in the course of farm work than in any other one industry," says the National Safety Council.⁸⁵ Occupational deaths in agriculture were estimated at 4,500 in 1937, which represented over one-fourth of the total fatalities in all industries and more than twice the number killed in manufacturing industries—although the employment in the latter is more than one-third greater

⁸⁴ Legislative protection of child workers in agriculture is discussed briefly on pp. 43-44.

⁸⁵ National Safety Council, *Accident Facts*, 1939.

than in agriculture.⁸⁶ In 1936, 6,100 agricultural workers received permanent disabilities (partial and total), and 253,000 were temporarily disabled.⁸⁷ In 1937, it is estimated, there were 13,500 permanent injuries and 252,000 temporary disabilities in agriculture.⁸⁸

In Wisconsin, during 1938, 526 workmen's compensation cases in agricultural employment were reported to the industrial commission and probably many others were not reported. The largest group of injuries (168) occurred to farm hands on general farms; grain threshing and hay baling accounted for 80 accidents; dairy farms, 57; fruit growing and orchard work, 47. In California, 10,333 tabulatable accidents occurred to agricultural workers during a single year (1938).

It is a common belief that accidents which occur on the farm are usually of a minor nature. The experience of a number of States does not support this belief. In Minnesota, the duration of temporary total disability reported is as long for accidents in agriculture as for many other types of employment. The compensation costs, however, ran much lower on the average, except for accidents in operating agricultural machinery, which are evidently apt to be extremely serious, for they averaged \$1,115 per case. Only three groups of industries exceeded this figure—mining, ore reduction and smelting, rolling mills and steel works. The average for all industries is \$208. The average medical expense per case was higher in general farming than the general industry average:

General farming-----	\$44
Dairy farming-----	17
Stock farming-----	32
Garden and truck farming-----	25
Operating agricultural machinery-----	143
Average, all industries-----	⁸⁹ 32

In Ohio, in 1929, there was 1 fatality for every 77 claims filed; in agriculture, 1 for every 42 claims filed. In that State accident trends in agriculture have been growing worse whereas there has been marked improvement in industry.

Such data indicate the need for workmen's compensation, both to assure the injured worker and his dependents medical care and hospitalization and some support in place of lost wages, and also to serve as a basis for accident-prevention work. It would seem that there is just as much reason to apply the principles of workmen's compensation—which have been accepted in industry for a generation—to injuries arising out of agricultural employment as to those arising in the course of other types of employment. A leg injury from a cutting tool used in harvesting is just as disabling as one sustained in a factory. Boiler explosions sometimes occur on farms—as do injuries from falls, falling objects, injuries caused by animals, tractors, and motor vehicles. In fact a modern farm uses a great deal of complicated machinery. Harvesting and picking involve lifting and carrying heavy objects, such as crates loaded with fruits and vegetables, the use of knives and other cutting tools.

If agriculture were to be treated in the same manner as other types of employment, coverage even then would not be complete. There are still very large gaps in the coverage of nonagricultural workers under workmen's compensation laws. It is estimated that in 1938 one-third of all those employed in mechanical, manufacturing, and mining industries (which everyone would agree are hazardous) were excluded from coverage by exemption of employers having less than a certain number in their employ. In addition, many establishments are omitted because more than two-thirds of the laws are elective instead of compulsory, and many employers do not elect to come under them; still others neglect to insure their risks. Thus, if agriculture were given the same treatment as industry, there would still be many unprotected workers, until such time as the laws are improved in those respects.

Only four States, at the present time, however, treat agricultural employment on the same basis as nonagricultural employment. These States are Connecticut, New Jersey, Ohio, and Vermont. In addition, California, which has a compulsory type of law for nonagricultural employment, permits agricultural

⁸⁶ 1930 Census—Number gainfully employed in agriculture, 10,482,323; in manufacturing and mechanical industries, 14,317,535.

⁸⁷ Monthly Labor Review, July 1938, p. 20.

⁸⁸ U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Problems of Workmen's Compensation Administration in the United States and Canada, Bulletin No. 672, p. 37.

⁸⁹ Minnesota Industrial Commission. Twenty fifth Biennial Report of the Department of Labor and Industry, 1935-36. (St. Paul) (1936).

employers to elect coverage and presumes that they do so elect if their pay rolls exceed \$500 a year. Even in these States, not all agricultural workers are covered.

No State has issued a code of safety regulations designed to apply to farm machinery.

Eight States provide for coverage of certain types of agricultural employment connected with machinery—harvesting, threshing, silage cutting, and cotton ginning and baling⁹⁰—either by law, administrative ruling, or court interpretation. Forty-two State workmen's compensation laws exclude or fail to cover agricultural employment (save for the few mechanical operations already referred to). Thirty-one of the forty-two permit agricultural employers voluntarily to come under the act, but 11 do not even permit voluntary election.

It is not known to what extent agricultural employers elect coverage under the permissive acts. Judging by experience in industry, however, the probability is that in the absence of compulsion or strong inducement, few take the trouble to comply and to insure their risks.

Further extension of the State workmen's compensation laws to agricultural laborers is highly desirable, but at present the tendency seems to be in the opposite direction. In 1937 the State of Florida excluded the following from its workmen's compensation law, which already excluded agricultural and horticultural farm labor and canning: The production and distribution by producer of dairy products, and all labor employed in the production and handling of agricultural and horticultural products in their natural or fresh state and whether the same be engaged in picking, gathering, harvesting, processing, packing, canning, or handling thereof, or in the hauling of same from the grove or field to the packing house or cannery.

Along these lines there can also be noted the exemption from workmen's compensation laws in Oklahoma of construction, repair or demolition of farm buildings. In Virginia, machinery used on farms is exempted from the safety laws.

In Puerto Rico, since 1925, there has been practically full coverage of farm workers under workmen's compensation, but operation of the law has not been very successful because adequate rates have not been maintained and premiums have not been collected.

Thus, mere inclusion of farm workers under workmen's compensation laws is not enough. Provision must be made for adequate administrative machinery and maintenance of standards.

E. *Social insurance.*

Since organized society has come to recognize a social responsibility in these matters, and since wage earners are themselves frequently unable to provide the resources out of which their needs can be met, in some countries the insurance principle has been expanded by making contribution compulsory rather than voluntary, and modified by making the employer, or the State, or both, contributors to the funds from which benefits are paid to insured workers.

Accidents, for example, are bound to occur where machinery is used and one may therefore conclude that industry, and ultimately the consumer of the goods produced, rather than the injured worker, should bear the cost. Thus the entire burden of an accident compensation system may be placed upon the employer, as the party best able to bear it temporarily, and ultimately, perhaps to pass it on, as well as to take such measures as will reduce the accident hazard in the plant to a minimum. In a system of insurance against illness or unemployment on the other hand, it may seem desirable to have the costs divided between the workers and the employers, though in some countries the State also contributes.

The extension of the benefits of social insurance to industrial workers has proceeded rapidly during the last half century. Given their first great impetus in Germany in the eighties under Bismarck, during the next three decades measures designed to furnish a cushion against the impact of sickness, accident, and old age were adopted in most of the European countries. England pioneered in unemployment insurance in 1911; her system has been gradually extended until it now covers over 13,000,000 workers, including those in agriculture. Germany introduced unemployment insurance in 1927. In 1939 there were 9 nations with optional plans for subsidizing trade-union and unemployment relief societies and 11 with governmentally subsidized unemployment insurance systems of a compulsory character; many European countries had workmen's compensation acts, frequently including agricultural workers. Eighteen nations now have some system of governmentally instituted compulsory illness insurance.

⁹⁰ Kentucky, Louisiana, Arizona, Minnesota, New York, Oklahoma, South Dakota, and Wisconsin.

In this elaborate network of social insurance legislation in foreign countries, the agricultural workers have been included only to a limited degree. The difficulties of doing so are numerous. Political considerations are among these. Industrial employers may be expected to oppose legislation calling for contribution. But the chances of overcoming such opposition are greater if it is not reinforced by similar opposition from the farmers of the country.⁹¹ Hence, to enlist agricultural support for social insurance of any kind, it frequently has seemed necessary to exempt agriculture from such insurance. Furthermore, serious administrative difficulties grow out of the widely scattered character of agricultural employment (as compared, for example, with work in factories), from its frequently seasonal character, and from the fact that agricultural workers are often paid partly in kind, partly in cash. Finally, it often appears, even to proponents of social insurance, that there is in agriculture no need for this protection comparable to the need in industry. In most of the western countries in which systems of social insurance have come into being, the number of bona fide agricultural wage earners (as distinct from the number of members of farm owners' families) constitutes only a small percentage of the gainfully occupied of the country. Moreover, regular farm hands have relatively steady employment.

The fact that despite these difficulties in a modern industrialized country like Great Britain, farm workers in recent years have been included in systems of unemployment insurance and old-age insurance is evidence of the feeling that after all the position of the farm worker when unemployed, injured, ill, or without support in old age, differs, if at all, only in degree from that of the urban worker, and that if effective administration is possible, justice demands equal treatment in such matters. Furthermore, in some countries there has been much concern over what has been called "the flight from the land," one manifestation of which is a relative shortage of farm workers. It was felt that to deny to farm workers the benefits of social legislation enjoyed by industrial workers would increase the attractiveness of employments, away from the land and lead to further flight.

In the United States the development of a comprehensive system of insurance for the protection of wage earners against the unavoidable vicissitudes of life is only now beginning, after the passage in 1935 of the Social Security Act. For several decades after such legislation had become characteristic of western industrialized countries, prevailing opinion in the United States remained opposed. In 1928 unemployment compensation was still being stigmatized as the dole system and called alien to the genius of America, whose rugged individualism and abundant resources were pointed to as assurances that every worthy person could provide for a rainy day. Failure to do so was *prima-facie* proof of personal shiftlessness. True, some circles held it was wrong to underestimate the importance of unemployment to the average working class family, and equally wrong to accept the seemingly fatalistic attitude ascribed to supporters of the European unemployment insurance systems—namely, that unemployment was neither preventable nor reducible. Hence the development of what was regarded as a characteristically American approach to the unemployment problem—that of prevention, as embodied in such pioneer schemes as the Wisconsin Unemployment Compensation Act of 1932. This plan, however, lacked real opportunity to prove itself under drastic circumstances ushered in by the depression which began in 1929. After an unprecedented outpouring of relief to destitute unemployed, the need revealed led to the passage of the Social Security Act of 1935, which provides for the development of a comprehensive system of old-age assistance, unemployment insurance, and aid for certain special needy groups.

1. *Unemployment compensation.*—Under the Social Security Act of 1935 cooperation is provided for between the States and the Federal Government in the establishment of State unemployment compensation laws. If such a State law meets a few general requirements, and so is approved, the administrative costs are covered by a grant from the Federal Government. The Social Security Act also provides for a Federal excise tax on employers who employ eight or more workers for certain specified periods. Employers in States with approved unemployment compensation laws are allowed credit against the Federal tax levied in title IX of the act for State contributions made under an approved unemployment compensation law.

⁹¹ Douglas, Paul H., *Standards of Unemployment Insurance*, Social Service Monograph No. 19. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill. 1933. pp. 48-49.

The Social Security Act, title IX, relating to unemployment compensation, originally exempted agricultural labor, without more precise definition. The State laws did likewise. But this proved too vague for purposes of pay roll and excise tax collection. The Treasury Department's Bureau of Internal Revenue, hence, issued regulations defining agricultural labor and State administrative agencies followed suit.⁹²

As in the case of the exclusion of agricultural laborers from other forms of legislation protection, difficulties of administration were advanced as the reason for barring them from the Federal Social Security Act. It was alleged, for example, that small-farm employers would find it hard to keep satisfactory pay-roll records for purposes of tax collection especially where perquisites constituted a substantial portion of the wages paid to farm hands. Even if such records were kept, it was argued, collection of taxes would be arduous and expensive in view of the employment of farm labor in rural sections situated considerable distances from commercial centers. It was further pointed out that the migratory casual farm worker with his short-term job and frequent movement across State lines, could be handled administratively under an insurance plan only with great difficulty.

The Committee on Economic Security appointed by the President in 1934 to make recommendations for a social-security program in the United States, must have considered all these arguments. Nevertheless it "felt that agriculture should not be excluded as an industry—the large agricultural operations should be covered."⁹³ In the end, Congress did not include any agricultural workers.

It appears, however, that in excluding agricultural workers from the Federal Social Security Act, Congress did not necessarily intend this exclusion to be permanent. It charged the Social Security Board with "the duty of studying and making recommendations as to the most effective methods of providing economic security through social insurance."⁹⁴ In accordance with this congressional mandate, after 3 years of study and experience, the Board submitted a report to Congress and to the President in which it stated:⁹⁵

"It is * * * recognized that the complete inclusion of employees engaged in agricultural labor is fraught with great administrative difficulties. However, the Board believes that the inclusion of large-scale farming operations, often of a semi-industrial character, probably would reduce rather than increase administrative difficulties."

Accordingly, the Board recommended "that the language of the present exception relating to 'agricultural labor (under the old-age insurance and unemployment compensation titles of the act) be modified to make it certain that this exception applies only to the services of a farm hand employed by a small farmer to do the ordinary work connected with his farm.'" It further recommended that "with a reasonable time allowed before the effective date, the 'agricultural labor' exception be eliminated entirely."⁹⁶

At about the same time, similar findings and recommendations were made by an Advisory Council on Social Security appointed in May 1937 by the Senate Committee on Finance and the Social Security Board. This council, whose task was to study the advisability of amending the 1935 act for the purpose of extending old-age insurance to groups which up to that time were excluded, reported as follows:⁹⁷

"Recent studies indicate that the additional cost of extending coverage of the system (to farm wage workers)⁹⁸ will be considerably less than originally estimated since a larger number of such workers are already coming under the system through employment in covered occupations on a seasonal or part-time basis. Intermittent coverage of this character is not only unsatisfactory in the benefits afforded, but is a factor of uncertainty in financing the program."

⁹² United States, Treasury Department, Bureau of Internal Revenue, Regulations 90 relating to the Excise Tax on Employers under title IX of the Social Security Act, Washington, D. C. Government Printing Office, 1936.

⁹³ United States, Congress, Senate, Economic Security Act, hearings before the Committee on Finance, 74th Cong., 1st sess., on S. 1130, January 22 to February 20, 1935 (revised). Washington, D. C., 1935. See testimony of Edwin E. Witte, Chairman of the President's Committee on Economic Security, p. 219.

⁹⁴ Social Security Act of 1935, Public Law No. 271, 74th Cong., title VII, sec. 702.

⁹⁵ United States, Congress, House of Representatives. Report of the Social Security Board Recommending Changes in the Social Security Act, H. Doc. 110, 76th Cong., 1st sess., Washington, D. C., January 1939, p. 9. See also testimony by Arthur J. Altmeyer, Chairman, Social Security Board in Social Security Act Amendments, hearings on H. R. 6635 before the Senate Committee on Finance, 76th Cong., 1st sess., Washington, D. C., June 12, 13, 14, 15, 26, and 29, 1939, p. 17.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 17.

⁹⁷ United States, Senate, Advisory Council on Social Security: Final report. December 10, 1938, S. Doc. 4, 76th Cong., 1st sess., Washington, D. C., 1939.

⁹⁸ The full statement included also domestic employees in its recommendations.

Accordingly, the council stated that the coverage of farm employees under the Federal old-age insurance program was desirable, and recommended that it take effect by January 1, 1940,⁹⁹ if administratively possible.

Despite these recommendations, congressional amendments to the Social Security Act in 1939 not only failed to include the services performed on the large-scale industrialized farms, but, by broadening the definition of the term "agricultural labor," exempted from coverage under both old-age insurance and unemployment compensation, an estimated 300,000 to 500,000 additional persons¹ (engaged in the commercial harvesting of crops or in processing, packing, packaging, and other preparing of farm products for markets).

Comparatively few State legislatures have as yet had opportunity to revise their laws since the Federal amendments were enacted on August 10, 1939, at which date practically all of the 1939 sessions were over, and in 1940 only 8 legislatures convened in regular session. The great majority of States are still operating under the old definition. If these amendments are adopted in State laws the effect, in the words of the Chairman of the Social Security Board, will probably be, "to exclude persons employed by nonfarm employers such as large-scale business firms that purchase and harvest an entire crop" (such as chain stores or commission houses) * * *. The new language is also intended—"to provide exemption for central plants that clean, grade, pack, and prepare products for market, store and transport the products to market or a carrier. In the case of fruits and vegetables, the exemptions are intended to services 'incident to marketing' which is intended to include preparation and transportation to a carrier or market, whether done by a group of producers or by a commercial handler. * * *

"The regulations (also) specifically except farmers' cooperatives with respect to marketing as well as handling, planting, drying, packing, packaging, processing, freezing, grading, and storing, even though 49 percent of the produce handled is on behalf of nonmembers."²

Such sweeping exemptions are prejudicial, not only to farm workers but to large groups of employees of industrialized concerns handling agricultural products.

It is argued, of course, that inclusion of such workers tends to increase the merchandizing spread between producer and consumer, and thus to lower prices to farmers or result in a smaller retail demand. This argument exaggerates the effects of such workers' benefits upon the prices the farmer receives for his products, and it ignores the important effect on such prices of the consumers' power to buy. Recipients of benefits from such compensation plans bulk large among the consumers of farm products.

Exclusion of some classes of farm workers from the benefits of the Federal Social Security Acts may possibly be justified by: (1) Administrative difficulties connected with the scattered nature of bona fide agricultural operation, (2) the high ratio of employers to employees, and (3) the prevalence of systems of partial payment in kind, perquisites. In such matters, effectiveness of administration, and that alone, should be the determining factor. To employees of processing, packing, handling, and distributing concerns, however, such considerations do not apply, for no unusual administrative difficulty is involved.

No doubt it is tenable that farm laborers need assistance to achieve an improved economic status and a greater degree of security. So far as administratively practicable, such legislative aid should be granted them.

There is need for better knowledge of the relevant aspects of rural life and for more careful investigation of the techniques to be employed if the economic insecurity of farm laborers is to be dealt with on a social insurance basis.

With reference to the present law (which applies only to employers of eight or more workers for 20 or more days, each in a different calendar week), it is to be noted that even if agricultural workers were not specifically excluded, relatively few of them would be included. In January 1935 the census reported only 16,840 farms employing as many as or more than eight workers; that is, only 1.74 percent of the farms which hired labor and 0.25 percent of all farms. Later in the season the number of such farms would be greater, but even so it can hardly be maintained that the burden upon agriculture would be a crushing one.

2. *Old-age insurance.*—Federal old-age benefits as established by the Social Security Act, are administered, not by the States, as in the case of unemployment

⁹⁹ Advisory Council on Social Security, op. cit., p. 22.

¹ Estimates of the Social Security Board.

² Letter A. J. Altmeyer written May 2, 1940, to Hon. John W. McCormack, House of Representatives Washington, D. C., in Congressional Record, vol. 86, pt. 5, May 3, 1940, p. 5488.

compensation, but by the Federal Government. Agricultural laborers are excluded from participation in these benefits, also, and presumably on similar grounds. In the case of old-age assistance the administrative difficulties are much less troublesome. Some of the problems, that do not arise here are:

(a) The need to be able to establish the past existence of a definite employer-employee relationship in order to define employment status.

(b) The need to determine the availability and competence for "suitable" work of the claimant for benefit in order that he may be reemployed as quickly as possible.

(c) The necessity for maintaining a network of public employment offices.

It is worthy of note that in Great Britain agricultural labor was included in both the contributory health and the old-age insurance systems from their first enactment in 1911 and 1925, respectively. In that country this development was aided by the prior existence of approved societies, which were made the administrative vehicle for these schemes. No such local groups exist generally in the United States.

In closing this discussion of farm workers and of social insurance methods, the words of the Committee on Economic Security in its report to the President may be quoted:

"Agricultural workers, domestic servants, home workers and the many self-employed people constitute large groups in the population who have generally received little attention. In these groups are many who are at the very bottom of the economic scale. We believe that more attention will have to be given to these groups than they have received heretofore. We cannot be satisfied that we have a reasonably complete program for economic security unless some degree of protection is given these groups now generally neglected."³

³ United States, Congress, House of Representatives, Message—the President Recommending Legislation on Economic Security. H. Doc. 81, 74th Cong., 1st sess. Washington, D. C., January 1935, p. 40.

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