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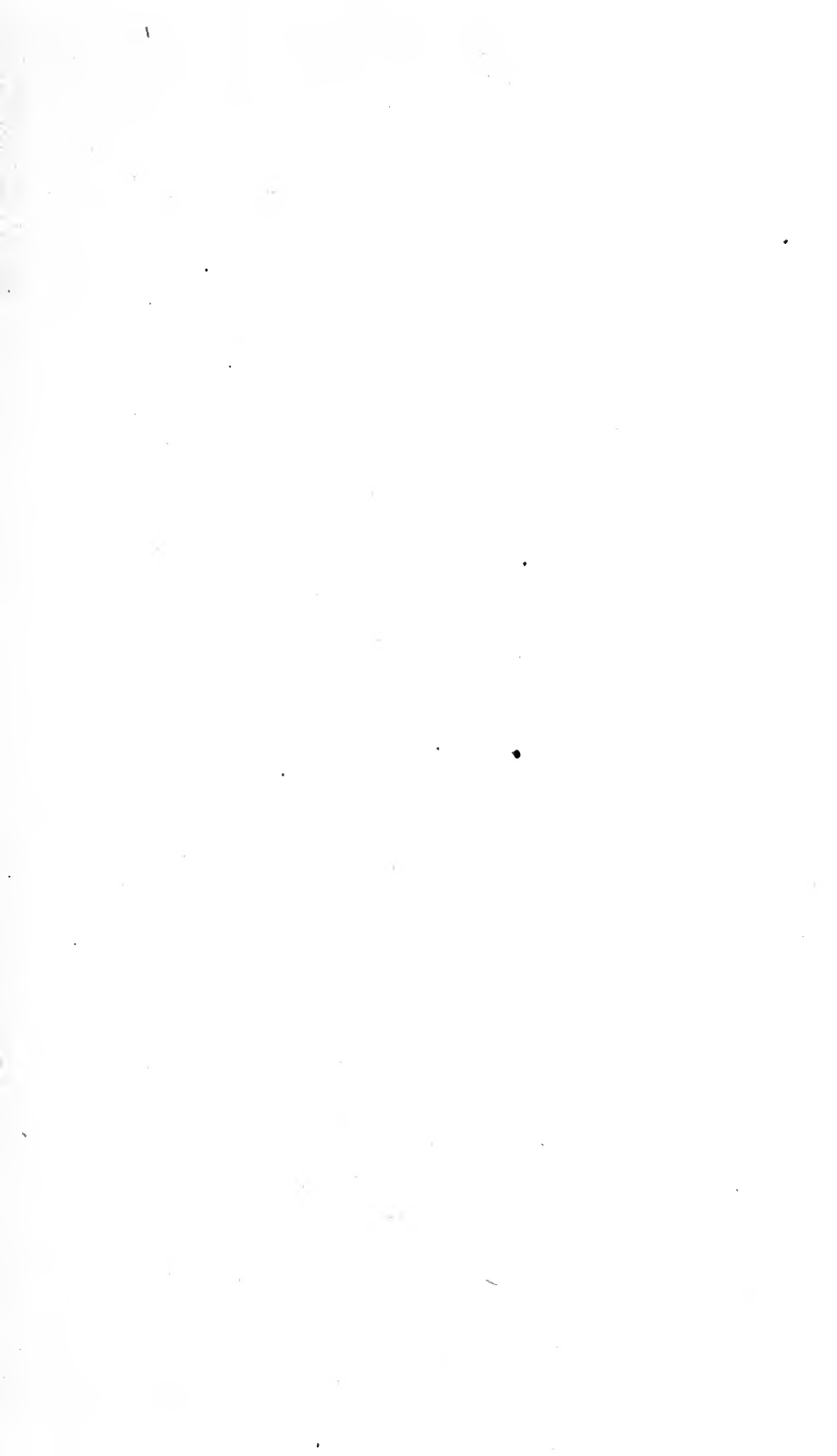
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REPORTS OF THE IMMIGRATION COMMISSION

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IMMIGRANTS IN INDUSTRIES

(IN TWENTY-FIVE PARTS)

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PART 24: RECENT IMMIGRANTS IN  
AGRICULTURE

(IN TWO VOLUMES: VOL. II)



PRESENTED BY MR. DILLINGHAM

JUNE 15, 1910.—Referred to the Committee on Immigration  
and ordered to be printed, with illustrations

## THE IMMIGRATION COMMISSION.

---

Senator WILLIAM P. DILLINGHAM,  
*Chairman.*  
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Senator ANSELM J. MCLAURIN.<sup>b</sup>  
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C. S. ATKINSON.

*Chief Statistician:*

FRED C. CROXTON.

---

*Extract from act of Congress of February 20, 1907, creating and defining the duties of the Immigration Commission.*

That a commission is hereby created, consisting of three Senators, to be appointed by the President of the Senate, and three Members of the House of Representatives, to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and three persons to be appointed by the President of the United States. Said commission shall make full inquiry, examination, and investigation, by subcommittee or otherwise, into the subject of immigration. For the purpose of said inquiry, examination, and investigation said commission is authorized to send for persons and papers, make all necessary travel, either in the United States or any foreign country, and, through the chairman of the commission, or any member thereof, to administer oaths and to examine witnesses and papers respecting all matters pertaining to the subject, and to employ necessary clerical and other assistance. Said commission shall report to Congress the conclusions reached by it, and make such recommendations as in its judgment may seem proper. Such sums of money as may be necessary for the said inquiry, examination, and investigation are hereby appropriated and authorized to be paid out of the "immigrant fund" on the certificate of the chairman of said commission, including all expenses of the commissioners, and a reasonable compensation, to be fixed by the President of the United States, for those members of the commission who are not Members of Congress; \* \* \*

---

<sup>a</sup> Died February 20, 1908.

<sup>b</sup> Appointed to succeed Mr. Latimer, February 25, 1908.      Died December 22, 1909.

<sup>c</sup> Appointed to succeed Mr. McLaurin, March 16, 1910.



## LIST OF REPORTS OF THE IMMIGRATION COMMISSION.

- Volumes 1 and 2. Abstracts of Reports of the Immigration Commission, with Conclusions and Recommendations and Views of the Minority. (These volumes include the Commission's complete reports on the following subjects: Immigration Conditions in Hawaii; Immigration and Insanity; Immigrants in Charity Hospitals; Alien Seamen and Stowaways; Contract Labor and Induced and Assisted Immigration; The Greek Padrone System in the United States; Peonage.) (S. Doc. No. 747, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)
- Volume 3. Statistical Review of Immigration, 1819-1910—Distribution of Immigrants, 1850-1900. (S. Doc. No. 756, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)
- Volume 4. Emigration Conditions in Europe. (S. Doc. No. 748, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)
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- Volume 13. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 11, Slaughtering and Meat Packing. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volume 14. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 12, Glass Manufacturing—Pt. 13, Agricultural Implement and Vehicle Manufacturing. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volume 15. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 14, Cigar and Tobacco Manufacturing—Pt. 15, Furniture Manufacturing—Pt. 16, Sugar Refining. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volume 16. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 17, Copper Mining and Smelting—Pt. 18, Iron Ore Mining—Pt. 19, Anthracite Coal Mining—Pt. 20, Oil Refining. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volume 17. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 21, Diversified Industries, Vol. I. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volume 18. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 21, Diversified Industries, Vol. II—Pt. 22, The Floating Immigrant Labor Supply. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volumes 19 and 20. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 23, Summary Report on Immigrants in Manufacturing and Mining. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volumes 21 and 22. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 24, Recent Immigrants in Agriculture. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volumes 23-25. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 25, Japanese and Other Immigrant Races in the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain States. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
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- Volumes 29-33. The Children of Immigrants in Schools. (S. Doc. No. 749, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)
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- Volume 36. Immigration and Crime. (S. Doc. No. 750, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)
- Volume 37. Steerage Conditions—Importation and Harboring of Women for Immoral Purposes—Immigrant Homes and Aid Societies—Immigrant Banks. (S. Doc. No. 753, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)
- Volume 38. Changes in Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants. (S. Doc. No. 208, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volume 39. Federal Immigration Legislation—Digest of Immigration Decisions—Steerage Legislation, 1819-1908—State Immigration and Alien Laws. (S. Doc. No. 758, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)
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- Volume 42. Index of Reports of the Immigration Commission. (S. Doc. No. 785, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)

## **IMMIGRANTS IN INDUSTRIES.**

RECENT IMMIGRANTS IN AGRICULTURE (IN TWO VOLUMES: VOL. II).

This report, which was prepared under the direction of the Commission by Alexander E. Cance, Ph. D., of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, forms part of the general report of the Immigration Commission on immigrants in industries.

# CONTENTS.

## PART III.—HEBREWS IN AGRICULTURE.

	Page.
CHAPTER I.—General survey, Hebrew rural communities:	
Introduction.....	3
Origin of Hebrew colonies.....	5
Successful colonization.....	5
The agriculture of the Hebrews.....	7
Standard of living in rural communities.....	7
The Hebrew farmer citizen.....	8
CHAPTER II.—Chesterfield and Colchester, Conn., dairying and summer-boarder agriculture:	
Introduction.....	11
Historical.....	13
Character of the colonists.....	16
The general growth of the settlements.....	18
Topography, soil, and climate.....	18
Agricultural conditions.....	20
Markets and marketing facilities.....	24
Summer boarders.....	24
Farm expenditure.....	25
Property owned and indebtedness.....	26
Opportunities for employment.....	30
Standard of living.....	30
Social conditions.....	30
Moral conditions.....	31
Educational.....	31
Political conditions.....	32
Effect on the community.....	33
CHAPTER III.—Ellington, Conn., tobacco growers:	
Introduction.....	43
History of settlement.....	44
Topography, soil, and climate.....	46
Agricultural conditions.....	47
Markets and marketing facilities.....	50
Property owned.....	51
The problem of farm labor.....	51
Standard of living.....	52
Social and educational conditions.....	52
Moral conditions.....	53
Political conditions.....	54
Statistical data for selected families.....	54
CHAPTER IV.—Holliston, Mass., and vicinity, general farmers:	
Introduction.....	61
Historical.....	62
Conditions of agriculture and country life.....	63
Farm income.....	64
Property owned.....	65
Living conditions.....	66
Citizenship.....	68
CHAPTER V.—Sullivan and Ulster counties, N. Y.—General farming and summer boarders:	
Introduction.....	69
History of the settlement.....	70
Terms of purchase.....	71
Character of immigrants.....	72
Economic history of representative families.....	72

	Page.
<b>CHAPTER V.—Sullivan and Ulster counties, N. Y.—General farming and summer boarders—Continued.</b>	
Progress of colony.....	73
Soil, climate, and topography.....	74
Agricultural conditions.....	75
Markets and marketing facilities.....	77
Opportunities for employment.....	78
Property owned.....	78
Thrift and industriousness.....	80
Standard of living.....	80
Summer boarders.....	81
Social life, race prejudice, etc.....	81
Educational conditions.....	82
Political conditions.....	83
Moral conditions.....	83
Effect of settlement on neighborhood.....	83
Second generation.....	84
General summary.....	84
Statistical data for selected families.....	84
<b>CHAPTER VI.—Alliance, Rosenhayn, and Carmel, N. J., small fruit and vegetable growers:</b>	
Introduction.....	89
History of the Alliance colony.....	90
Soil and climate.....	93
History of the Rosenhayn colony.....	94
History of the Carmel colony.....	96
The village of Carmel.....	98
Soil and climate.....	98
The character of the colonists.....	100
The colonies in general as shown by family schedules.....	100
Agricultural conditions.....	101
Manures and fertilizers.....	104
Live stock.....	105
Farming methods.....	105
Markets and marketing facilities.....	106
Business cooperation.....	107
Farm labor.....	108
Farm expenditures.....	109
Property owned, investments.....	109
Standard of living.....	112
Opportunities for outside employment.....	112
Social, educational, and religious conditions.....	113
Moral conditions.....	116
Political conditions.....	116
Hebrew aid societies.....	116
The Hebrews in the community.....	118
Statistical data for selected families.....	118
<b>CHAPTER VII.—New Jersey: Notes on the Woodbine settlement and Flemington, Hunterdon County:</b>	
Woodbine.....	125
Introduction.....	125
Location.....	126
Historical.....	126
Composition of the population.....	128
Soil and climate.....	129
Agricultural conditions.....	129
Market facilities.....	130
Property and employment.....	131
Standard of living.....	133
Housing.....	133
Social conditions.....	134
Educational conditions.....	135
Citizenship and politics.....	136
Moral and religious conditions.....	136
The second generation.....	137
General effect of the colony.....	137
Statistical data for selected families.....	138

<b>CHAPTER VII.—New Jersey: Notes on the Woodbine settlement and Flemington, Hunterdon County—Continued.</b>	
Flemington.....	141
Soil, climate, and topography.....	142
Agricultural conditions.....	142
Social conditions.....	144
<b>CHAPTER VIII.—Arpin, Wis., a pioneer colony that failed:</b>	
Introduction.....	145
The coming of the Hebrews.....	146

**PART IV.—POLES IN AGRICULTURE.**

<b>CHAPTER I.—General survey:</b>	
Introduction.....	151
Significance of the Poles in agriculture.....	154
Scope of the Commission's report.....	155
Historical.....	156
The character of Polish agriculture.....	158
The Poles as farmers.....	159
Segregation and Americanization.....	160
The future of Polish rural immigration.....	162
<b>CHAPTER II.—Portage County, Wis., potato growers—An early Polish settlement:</b>	
Introduction.....	163
Historical.....	164
Polish progress.....	165
Growth by parishes.....	166
Summary of population.....	170
Soil and climate.....	171
Where the Poles have settled.....	173
Property and size of farms first purchased.....	175
Present values, condition, and size of farms.....	178
Assessed value of taxable property.....	179
Thrift.....	181
Crops and agricultural conditions.....	182
Potatoes.....	183
Other crops.....	185
Dairying.....	187
Other produce.....	188
Land tenure.....	189
Expenditures for labor, fertilizer, and feed stuffs.....	189
Improvements and methods.....	190
Fertilizers and farm practice.....	191
Markets and marketing facilities.....	192
The Polish citizen.....	194
Social conditions.....	194
Educational conditions.....	195
Children in schools.....	196
Polish marriages and births.....	197
Standard of living.....	198
Crimes and quarrels.....	199
<b>CHAPTER III.—Independence, Wis., general farmers:</b>	
Introduction.....	211
Historical.....	212
Soil, climate, and topography.....	213
Agricultural conditions.....	214
Tenure of land.....	216
Crops raised.....	216
Dairying and stock raising.....	219
The farm income.....	220
Markets.....	220
Methods of cultivation.....	220
Building and improvements.....	221
Property owned.....	222
Opportunities for employment.....	223

	Page.
<b>CHAPTER III.—Independence, Wis., general farmers—Continued.</b>	
Standard of living.....	225
Social and educational conditions.....	226
Moral and religious conditions.....	227
Political conditions.....	228
Influence on the community.....	228
<b>CHAPTER IV.—Southern Illinois, Polish general farmers:</b>	
Introduction.....	235
History of settlement.....	235
Terms of purchase.....	237
Character of the colonists.....	238
Pioneer problems.....	238
Material progress.....	239
Soil and climate.....	241
Agricultural conditions.....	242
Improvements, buildings, and surroundings.....	244
Markets and marketing facilities.....	244
Property owned.....	245
Standard of living.....	247
Opportunities for employment.....	248
Social life.....	248
Church and religious life.....	249
Educational conditions.....	250
Political conditions.....	250
Moral conditions.....	250
Effect of colony on neighborhood.....	251
The second generation.....	251
<b>CHAPTER V.—Northern Indiana, Polish general farmers:</b>	
Introduction.....	259
History of the settlements.....	260
Otis.....	260
New Carlisle colony.....	264
Rolling prairie.....	267
Climate.....	270
The settlements as shown by family schedules.....	270
Agricultural conditions.....	271
Fertilizers and improvements.....	273
Property owned.....	273
Markets and marketing facilities.....	275
Summary of property owned.....	276
Standard of living.....	277
Opportunities for employment.....	278
Social conditions.....	278
Churches.....	279
Educational conditions.....	279
Political conditions.....	280
Moral conditions.....	280
Effect of settlement on neighborhood.....	280
Statistical data for selected families.....	281
<b>CHAPTER VI.—Berea, Ohio, Polish small farmers:</b>	
Introduction.....	287
History of the settlement.....	287
Soil and climate.....	288
Agricultural conditions.....	289
Markets and marketing facilities.....	289
Property owned.....	290
Employment.....	290
Social conditions.....	291
Educational conditions.....	291
Moral conditions.....	291
The second generation.....	292
<b>CHAPTER VII.—Sunderland, Mass.; tobacco and onion growers, a recent settlement:</b>	
Introduction.....	293
Scope of the investigation.....	294

	Page.
<b>CHAPTER VII.—Sunderland, Mass.; tobacco and onion growers, a recent settlement—Continued.</b>	
Present condition of settlers.....	294
History of the settlement.....	295
Previous occupations of settlers.....	297
Progress of the settlers.....	298
Topography, soil, and climate.....	299
Agricultural conditions.....	300
Tenure of land.....	302
Onion culture.....	303
Other products.....	304
Tobacco culture.....	305
Markets and marketing facilities.....	306
Property owned.....	306
Standard of living.....	311
Births and deaths.....	312
Opportunities for employment.....	313
Social conditions.....	314
Religious life.....	314
Educational conditions.....	315
Political conditions.....	317
General morality.....	317
Marriages.....	319
The effect of settlement on the community.....	320
The second generation.....	321
Typical families.....	321
Lithuanian.....	321
Poles.....	326
Slovaks.....	332
<b>CHAPTER VIII.—Westmoreland County, Pa.: General farmers:</b>	
Introduction.....	337
History of the settlement.....	337
Agricultural conditions.....	338
Markets and marketing facilities.....	339
Property owned.....	339
Standard of living.....	339
Employment.....	340
Social life.....	340
Churches and schools.....	340
Political conditions.....	341
Moral conditions.....	341
Effect of settlement on neighborhood.....	341
The second generation.....	341
<b>CHAPTER IX.—Sobieski and Pulaski, Wis., recent pioneer settlements:</b>	
Introduction.....	343
History of settlement.....	344
Pioneer difficulties.....	345
Origin of immigration.....	347
Agricultural conditions.....	347
Farm practice and equipment.....	350
Markets and marketing facilities.....	351
Property owned.....	351
Standard of living.....	353
Opportunities for employment.....	354
Social conditions.....	354
Church—Religious life.....	355
Educational conditions.....	355
Political conditions.....	355
Moral conditions.....	355
Summary.....	356
Statistical data for selected families.....	356
<b>CHAPTER X.—Other Polish rural settlements:</b>	
Texas.....	361
Anderson, Grimes County.....	362
Marlin, Falls County.....	362
Panna Maria, Karnes County.....	364

## CHAPTER X.—Other Polish rural settlements—Continued.

	Page.
Texas—Continued.	
Bremond, Robertson County.....	365
Chapel Hill, Washington County.....	366
Brenham, Washington County.....	367
Marche, Ark.....	367
Statistical data for selected families.....	369
Clover bottom, Missouri.....	370

## PART V.—BOHEMIANS AND OTHER RACES.

## CHAPTER I.—Bohemians and other races in agriculture: General survey:

Bohemians.....	375
Bohemians in the East.....	379
The Slovaks.....	380
Magyars.....	381
Japanese.....	381
Portuguese.....	382

## CHAPTER II.—Bohemian rural settlements in Texas:

Introduction.....	383
History of the settlements.....	384
Fayette County.....	386
Lavaca County.....	389
Austin County.....	390
Brazos County.....	391
Burleson County.....	392
Colorado County.....	393
McLennan County.....	394
Nueces County.....	395
Refugio County.....	395
Victoria County.....	396
Washington County.....	396
Williamson County.....	396
Summary.....	398

## CHAPTER III.—Tolland County, Conn.: Bohemians, Slovaks, and other races on "abandoned" farms:

Introduction.....	401
Physiography.....	402
Historical.....	403
Agricultural conditions.....	406
Crops and tillage.....	407
Tools and implements.....	408
Live stock.....	409
Markets and marketing facilities.....	409
Property owned.....	410
Assessors' valuations.....	411
Owners' valuations.....	412
Incomes.....	413
Thrift.....	416
Standard of living.....	416
Social conditions.....	417
Political conditions.....	418
General observations.....	418
Statistical data for selected families.....	419

## CHAPTER IV.—Bohemians and Slovaks in the Southwest:

Slovaktown, Ark.....	425
Historical.....	425
Soil, climate, and topography.....	426
Agricultural conditions.....	427
Markets and marketing facilities.....	428
Property owned.....	428
Standard of living.....	428
Employment and social life.....	428
Churches and schools.....	429
Political conditions.....	429



	Page.
<b>CHAPTER IV.—Bohemian and Slovaks in the Southwest—Continued.</b>	
Slovaktown, Ark.—Continued.	
Moral conditions.....	429
Effect of settlement on neighborhood .....	429
Statistical data for selected families.....	430
Bohemian farmers, Karlin, Mo.....	434
Statistical data for selected families.....	435
<b>CHAPTER V.—Durhamville, N. Y.: A recent Magyar settlement:</b>	
Introduction.....	439
History of settlement.....	439
Agricultural conditions.....	440
Standard of living.....	440
Summary.....	441
<b>CHAPTER VI.—Portsmouth, R. I.: Portuguese potato planters:</b>	
Introduction.....	443
Portuguese in agriculture.....	444
Historical.....	445
Topography, soil, and climate.....	447
Agricultural conditions.....	448
Crops raised.....	448
Farm practice.....	450
Improvements.....	451
Markets and marketing facilities.....	452
Ownership of property.....	452
Standard of living.....	454
Social, educational, and religious.....	454
Outside employment.....	454
Political conditions.....	455
Moral conditions.....	455
Influence on the community.....	455
Selected data for typical families.....	456
<b>CHAPTER VII.—Japanese rice planters and truckers in Texas:</b>	
Introduction.....	463
History of settlement.....	463
Agricultural conditions.....	465
Rice.....	465
Truck farms.....	469
Orange farms.....	470
Nursery products.....	470
Property owned.....	471
Standard of living.....	473
Opportunities for employment.....	474
Social life.....	475
Schools.....	475
General morality.....	475
Effect of the settlement.....	476
Statistical data for selected families.....	476
<b>CHAPTER VIII.—Japanese at Yanianto, Fla., a recent settlement:</b>	
Introduction.....	483
History of immigration.....	483
Soil and climate.....	484
Markets and marketing.....	485
Agricultural conditions.....	485
Employment.....	485

## PART VI.—SEASONAL AGRICULTURAL LABORERS.

<b>CHAPTER I.—Seasonal agricultural laborers: Survey:</b>	
Introduction.....	489
Race composition.....	490
Sources whence recruited.....	491
Conditions of employment.....	493
Housing conditions.....	494
Standard of living.....	496
Americanization.....	497

<b>CHAPTER II.—Geneva, N. Y., settlement of South Italians and Greeks employed in the canning industry:</b>	<b>Page.</b>
Introduction.....	499
The industry.....	499
Farm A.....	500
Farm B.....	502
Farm C.....	503
Farm D.....	503
Farm E.....	503
State agricultural experiment station.....	504
Yearly itinerary.....	504
Standard of living.....	504
Social and political conditions.....	505
General observations.....	506
<b>CHAPTER III.—Albion, N. Y., South Italians in the canning industry:</b>	
Introduction.....	507
The labor supply.....	507
Wages and conditions of labor.....	508
Standard of living.....	509
Social and political conditions.....	510
General observations.....	511
<b>CHAPTER IV.—Oneida, N. Y., South Italians, general farm laborers:</b>	
Introduction.....	513
The padrones.....	513
The labor supply.....	514
The yearly itinerary.....	514
Standard of living.....	515
Social conditions.....	516
General observations.....	517
<b>CHAPTER V.—Hammonton, N. J., and vicinity, South Italian berry pickers:</b>	
The labor supply.....	519
Yearly itinerary.....	521
The padrones.....	524
Standard of living.....	525
Wages and conditions of labor.....	528
General observations.....	529
<b>CHAPTER VI.—Orleans County, N. Y., Polish farm laborers:</b>	
Introduction.....	533
The labor supply.....	533
The industry.....	534
Wages and conditions of labor.....	536
Standard of living.....	536
Social and political conditions.....	538
General observations.....	538
<b>CHAPTER VII.—Cape Cod, Mass., Bravas, or black Portuguese, cranberry pickers:</b>	
Introduction.....	539
The industry.....	540
The labor supply.....	542
Standard of living.....	548
Social, moral, and educational conditions.....	551
Citizenship.....	552
Expenses and profits in the cranberry industry.....	552
<b>CHAPTER VIII.—Central Wisconsin, Polish cranberry pickers:</b>	
Introduction.....	555
Races.....	555
The industry.....	556
Labor requirements.....	557
The labor supply.....	558
The total number employed.....	561
<b>CHAPTER IX.—Wisconsin, sugar-beet laborers:</b>	
The industry.....	563
The labor supply.....	564
Contract for hand labor for season of 1909.....	565
Conditions of labor.....	567
Standard of living.....	567

---

<b>CHAPTER X.—Northern Ohio, Belgian sugar-beet laborers:</b>	<b>Page.</b>
Introduction.....	569
The industry.....	570
The labor supply.....	571
Wages and conditions of labor.....	571
Standard of living.....	572
Contract No. 1.....	573
Contract No. 2.....	574
Contract No. 3.....	574
List of text tables.....	577
List of maps.....	580



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PART III.—HEBREWS IN AGRICULTURE.

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## CHAPTER I.

### GENERAL SURVEY, HEBREW RURAL COMMUNITIES.

#### INTRODUCTION.

The census returns for 1900 throw no light on the number of Hebrews who were engaged in agricultural pursuits. In a measure they are included in the nationality group "Russian," but there are large numbers of Russian farmers who are not Hebrews, and, on the other hand, the variety of nativities which the Hebrews represent precludes the possibility of classifying all Hebrew agriculturists under "Russian." Allowing for certain probable errors, discussed later, the most available authoritative source of information on the number and distribution of Hebrew farmers in the United States is the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society of New York. In the capacity of administrator of that part of the Baron de Hirsch fund set apart for the aid of Hebrews engaged in agriculture, this society, by visits to the various colonies for the purpose of investigating possible loans and for other purposes, has come into touch with most of the Hebrew rural settlements. In the report of the society for 1909 an enumeration of the approximate number of farms occupied and of farmers, or farm families, in the principal States is made from the best available sources of information, by States and by colonies or settlements.<sup>a</sup>

The following table, compiled from the report of the Jewish society, estimates approximately 3,040 Hebrew farmers in 36 States. Of these, 2,329 were settled in more or less well-defined groups, the remaining 711 were either widely scattered or were living in very small groups. The geographical distribution is significant; more than 90 per cent are in 10 States north of the thirty-ninth parallel, 75 per cent are in New York, New Jersey, and New England; more are reported in New York (27.9 per cent) than in any other State, and North Dakota is the only State west of New York in which the Hebrew farmer is in any wise an important factor.

The number of farms operated is but 2,701. The difference (339) between the number of farms and the number of operators is in part accounted for by farm partnerships, either of a farmer and his grown son who operate the farm jointly or by a partnership otherwise constituted. It is probable that the actual number of partnership enterprises is greater than the number given. According to this estimate there are at least 15,000 Hebrews settled in rural communities and depending on the land, wholly or partly, for a livelihood.

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<sup>a</sup> Ann. Rept. Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, 1909, pp. 11, 12, 43, 44.

TABLE 1.—*Hebrew farmers and farms occupied by Hebrews.*

[Compiled from annual report of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, 1909.]

States	Number of groups	Number of scattered farmers.	Farms occupied.		Farmers.	
			Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Thirty-six States.....			2,701	100.0	3,040	100.0
States reporting defined groups.....	53	327	2,437	90.3	2,756	90.7
New York.....	10	85	718	26.6	847	27.9
New Jersey.....	15	61	639	23.7	703	23.1
Connecticut.....	9	47	490	18.1	575	18.9
North Dakota.....	8	17	210	7.8	216	7.1
Massachusetts.....	3	47	167	6.2	183	6.0
Ohio.....	2	19	64	2.4	75	2.5
Michigan.....	3	16	69	2.6	73	2.4
South Dakota.....	1	19	33	1.2	33	1.1
Wyoming.....	1	3	25	.9	27	.9
Washington.....	1	13	22	.8	24	.8
States not reporting defined groups:						
Illinois.....			17	.6	20	.7
Indiana.....			23	.9	23	.8
Iowa.....			22	.8	23	.8
Louisiana.....			17	.6	23	.8
Pennsylvania.....			45	1.7	51	1.7
Wisconsin.....			32	1.2	32	1.1
Other States.....			108	4.0	112	3.7

The table must be taken with a little caution. While the percentage of distribution by States is sufficiently accurate for purposes of discussion, rather careful checking with assessors lists of taxpayers in certain townships in New England show that the estimates are, in instances, 33 per cent greater than number of taxpaying farmers listed on the tax roll. In New Jersey the tax lists and the estimates in the table agree very closely in most instances, for here in some counties a very careful count was made by the Hebrew authorities. Liability to error by exaggeration in three particulars may be noted: First, in the case of small and struggling settlements, wherever investigated, the number of actual farm operators was found to be much less than the estimates; second, in that of sparsely populated settlements covering a rather wide area, as in the eastern highland region of Connecticut or Sullivan and Ulster counties, New York, especially when land changes hands frequently; third, in the case of the "scattered" Hebrews: These are hearsay estimates and invariably "common report" exaggerated the number of foreigners in the groups that came under the investigators' notice. Errors are due to the almost irresistible tendency to give the maximum figures, to inexact methods of enumeration, to counting farmers twice in places where farms frequently change hands. Deducting the probable excess due to the causes noted, the number of Hebrew farmers may be hesitantly estimated at 2,300 to 2,600 and the number of farms operated at 2,000 to 2,300.

The accounts of settlements presented in the report of the society represent perhaps 75 per cent of all Hebrews on farms in the United States and present detailed studies of by far the most important groups. Most of these are actual colonies, organized and promoted by external stimulus, others are merely unorganized, undirected settlements which are held together only by the ties of race and religion.



## ORIGIN OF HEBREW COLONIES.

Hebrew rural communities in the United States are confined very largely to Hebrews from Russia, Roumania, and Galicia; perhaps 85 per cent of the farmers interviewed are natives of these countries. The reason is evident. Most Hebrew farmers were established on the land directly or indirectly through the influence of an immigrant aid society of some sort. Nearly all of these organizations were founded for the purpose of assisting Russian Hebrews. The greatest of all such organizations was the Baron de Hirsch Fund, incorporated in 1891 to administer the trust funds of the philanthropist and banker, Baron de Hirsch, which he devoted to the amelioration of the economic condition of Russian Hebrews. Other Hebrews have been and are being aided, but the bulk of assistance has been given to those from Russia.

The very first rural settlement of Hebrews was a colony at Wawarsing, N. Y., founded in 1837 by a philanthropic Hebrew living in New York City. It lasted but a short time, for it was merely a planted colony, artificially sustained by outside support. There were no other attempts at Hebrew colonization, and very few Hebrews found their way to rural districts until 1882, following a considerable movement of Hebrews from Russia to the United States. From 1882 to 1886, a dozen or more rural colonies were planted in Oregon, the Dakotas, Kansas, Louisiana, New Jersey, Michigan, and elsewhere where land was cheap and procurable in large tracts. All were given material aid and encouragement, all met with unforeseen obstacles and discouragements, every one except the New Jersey colonies dragged out a short, unhappy existence and finally failed utterly.

## SUCCESSFUL COLONIZATION.

These failures wrought discouragement and brought rural settlements into disfavor with the Hebrews. It was about 1882 that the first successful colony was established, in southern New Jersey. This colony, at first founded on a communistic basis, located on most unpromising, uncleared land in the pine barrens, was kept afloat from 1882 to 1890 only by the unflinching generosity and material assistance of fellow-countrymen, and finally, just as the project seemed about to be abandoned, by the timely relief extended through the Baron de Hirsch Fund.

This colony, or group of colonies, presents Hebrew agriculture in America at its best. Of the several colonies of Hebrews studied none show greater apparent material prosperity, a more general dependence on agriculture for a livelihood, a more intelligent, resourceful husbandry, or a more wholesome community life, educationally, socially, or politically, in a large sense. There is no doubt that a great deal of material encouragement has been given; that many of the social and educational enterprises were conceived, organized, and supported by leaders without the community, and that cooperative business associations and marketing facilities were promoted by leaders who do not live in the settlements—but once established the colonists have entered into all these enterprises with some degree of interest and are beginning to support them. To all appearances the

colonies near Vineland, N. J., are permanently established on the basis of a commercial agriculture adapted to the soil, climate, and the demands of the market.

Woodbine, N. J., viewed in the light of its origin, aims, history, and present condition, perhaps may be called an agricultural failure. The monograph on Woodbine, which appears later in this report, presents the case in detail. Emphatically, the industrial progress of Woodbine has far outstripped the agricultural progress of the rural settlement. Whether agriculture will ever gain its lost prestige is problematic, to say the least.

The 1,000 or more Hebrew farmers in New England and New York, with a few exceptions noted elsewhere in this report, are either farm owners who depend to a greater or less extent on some outside enterprise, such as peddling, cattle trading, junk buying, speculating in real estate, keeping summer boarders, etc., for a material part of their incomes.

The demand for summer boarding accommodations is increasing more rapidly than the number of farms owned by Hebrews. The reports show that this method of disposing of farm produce is satisfactory as far as it goes, and "summer boarder agriculture" would be a legitimate designation were it not that many, perhaps most, Hebrews do not anticipate the demands created by the boarders and find it necessary to ship in or buy from native farmers the vegetables, poultry, and dairy products which for the most part might be produced on their own farms. Neither have many farmers made any attempt to make their farms attractive or to offer any special inducements in the way of superior quarters, natural attractions, or amusements. In certain favored places the Bohemians have much more intelligently adapted their system of farming to summer boarders. Nevertheless, half of the Hebrew farm families in the Eastern States have at some time or other made a practice of taking at least a few boarders or lodgers for pay for part of the summer. Whether boarders and lodgers are economically profitable or not, it is certain that their presence does much to enliven the monotonous life of the open country for two months in the year.

A brief account is given of a Wisconsin colony that has proved a failure up to the present (1909). The almost inevitable failure of groups of nonagricultural Jews, artificially planted, on cheap unimproved land has been recognized by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, which has recently been making provision for giving instruction in farming on their Long Island experimental farm to prospective rural colonists, who after a year of such instruction are likely to give up farming entirely, or continue in it with some knowledge of agriculture. Furthermore, this society is purchasing for settlement improved farms which will yield a living return during the first year of occupancy. The settlement referred to might have succeeded had the colonists been given some previous instruction in agriculture or had they been established on productive soil.

A study of the several settlements has emphasized these facts at least; that the Hebrew is not adapted by training or tradition to make a pioneer farmer; that to win success he should start with some capital on improved land; that settlement in groups is for various

reasons almost essential; that those who are likely to succeed are either those who have been farmers abroad or who have had some successful experience in agriculture in the United States previous to permanent settlement.

#### THE AGRICULTURE OF THE HEBREW.

The rural Hebrews as a whole have given little to American agriculture either in the way of crops, culture, management, or marketing; with a few notable exceptions, the agriculture is but mediocre or unsatisfactory. Crops, tillage, quality and quantity of produce show up rather more poorly than in most of the colonies of several different races investigated. In a few instances progress is shown and a growing interest in scientific agriculture and advanced methods is manifested, giving evidence of the agricultural capacity of the Hebrew when once his intelligent interest is aroused. Otherwise, except for the acreage of wild land subdued and improved in New Jersey, Jewish communities have not added greatly to the rural wealth of their respective adopted States.

On the other hand, country life and ownership has in various ways been of great benefit to the Jew as an individual.

It is characteristic of the Hebrew farms visited that the farmstead receives less attention than the farm. It is frequently asserted that it is not difficult to pick out a Hebrew farm by the unkempt, more or less dilapidated, appearance of the house, yards, and farm buildings. With some reservations this is truly said. Even where there is superior tillage the permanent improvements are likely to be in poor condition. The best buildings reported are in Sullivan and Ulster counties, where some of the farmers have built larger and better houses for the accommodation of boarders, and in a few places in Connecticut, where they have purchased fine old farmhouses with the farms belonging to them.

Hebrew farm incomes are seldom large, but all things considered, do not suffer by comparison with those of other recent immigrant farmers in the neighborhood. The largest gross incomes noted were on the tobacco farms of the Ellington, Conn., settlement, established but a few years; the largest net incomes are probably those of the Vineland farmers. It is very difficult to arrive at net incomes and accurate estimates of property owned, however. An estimate of income based on the general appearance of thrift and the evidences of prosperity displayed on the farm and its surroundings is likely to be more accurate than one based on reported sales of produce. Judged by this standard, the average farmer in the New Jersey colonies is doing better than those in almost any other community.

#### STANDARD OF LIVING IN RURAL COMMUNITIES.

It is impossible to arrive at anything definite with regard to cost of living among Hebrew farmers. Few of them keep any accounts of receipts and expenditures and there are no carefully kept family budgets; part of the household's living comes from the soil, part is furnished by the market; absolute cost or close approximations of household budgets are not obtainable.

At all events, the Hebrew farm family lives better both in respect of food and clothing than the Pole or the Italian who has been on the land for the same length of time. Those who have been accustomed to the high standard of living abroad, and this is the case of a number of recent Hebrew recruits to agriculture, are living very well indeed—as well as the majority of their American neighbors—and among the earlier settlers who entered agriculture without means of their own observers notice evidences of a rising standard of comfort.

The most noticeable fact, as contrasted with other foreigners, is the desire for the appurtenances of comfort and leisure. Rocking chairs, hammocks, books, and buggies are bought early in the career of the farmer, usually long before his farm is paid for. The immigrant ordinarily purchases necessities first, pays for his land and equipment next, and later makes his home comfortable. Most of the Hebrews buy comforts early and remain in debt longer, in order to enjoy them. The Hebrew agriculturist is a good consumer.

#### THE HEBREW FARMER CITIZEN.

In general, the Russian Hebrew has proved more apt in civic relations and in commerce than in agriculture. He is likely to become a citizen sooner than most east European immigrants and to take a more intelligent interest in politics; few are illiterate, and practically all of the American born or the minors who have been in the United States ten years can speak, read, and write English. The ownership of land and the proprietorship of a farm enterprise has developed independence, self-reliance, and self-respect. The chief objection of the Hebrew to rural life lies in the meager returns for labor expended, the isolation, and the absence of social conveniences.

The Hebrews have demanded better schools nearly everywhere they have settled. Where they are segregated with sufficient compactness, their leaders have originated social, educational, and recreative enterprises for the benefit of the community. The few who are really interested in farming realize the need for knowledge and training along agricultural lines; the others want their children to have at least a good commercial education and some are striving to send their children to college. Near Hartford there are a number of exceptionally intelligent Hebrews who have taken up farms and are engaged in dairying and market gardening. The two desires they voice most persistently are better educational facilities and more opportunities for fellowship of kind. They are not content with the financial returns from the farms they occupy, but they are less content with their educational advantages. Nearly everywhere, too, they voice an intelligent protest against an unregulated commission marketing system, against exorbitant express charges and unreasonably high railroad rates for short distances. Whatever may be said of his agriculture, the Hebrew farmer is a thinking, protesting citizen.

Americanization in the sense of desire for representative government, democratic institutions, an educated electorate, equality of opportunity, and the free agency of the individual is developed rap-

idly in the landowning Hebrew. The Hebrew on the land is peaceable and law abiding, but he does not tamely submit to oppression and has a highly developed sense of personal rights, civil and economic. The rural Hebrew has shown his capacity for self-government, and no colonies were visited whose members voted less as a unit than those where rural Hebrews made up a material part of the electorate.

The gravest charge against the Hebrew farmer as a class is that he is not strictly honest in business transactions, but these are charges simply, and there is reason to believe that the settlement of Hebrews has raised the moral tone of more than one community. Crimes are almost entirely unknown in Hebrew rural communities and the sacredness in which the family relation is held has become proverbial.

Despite these virtues, a study of several settlements does not lead to the conclusion that the Hebrew is or is likely to be an important factor in American rural life. The business of agriculture is in too many instances incidental, the farm is too often a speculative venture rather than a home, and there is too little permanence in his proprietorship. More than all, the children love the land even less than native American young people, and from the Commission's inquiries it is apparent that very few intend to spend their lives in the country. That many mistakes have been made in methods of colonizing the Hebrews all who know the facts will readily admit, but it is questionable whether, after all, the source of failure does not lie in the fact that few of the Hebrews settled were adapted to agriculture. The Jewish Aid Society is doing everything in its knowledge to promote Hebrew agriculture, to make farm life agreeable and profitable, and to establish the race as a factor in farming in the United States. If the Hebrew on the farm can be made to enjoy the same prosperity as his brother in commerce or industry, this desirable result may be brought about. Without pronounced material prosperity, however, it is doubtful whether there will be any considerable and permanent movement toward rural life.



## CHAPTER II.

### CHESTERFIELD AND COLCHESTER, CONN., DAIRYING AND SUMMER BOARDER AGRICULTURE.

#### INTRODUCTION.

The Hebrew colonies in New England are for the most part confined to the State of Connecticut although there is one colony not far from Holliston, Mass. The largest colonies are located on what is perhaps the most unfruitful soil in Connecticut. There are few places more rough, broken, stony, and barren than the height of land that runs north and south through the State east of the Connecticut Valley and including the central portions of Tolland, the western part of New London, and the eastern sections of Middlesex counties. On the summits of the ridges, in New London County, where the natural drainage carries part of the water southeast to the Thames, part south into the Sound, some west and southwest into the Connecticut, and some by a northward course into smaller tributaries, is the Hebrew settlement at Chesterfield and Oakdale. This is the oldest, the largest, and perhaps the best known of the New England colonies. The means of ingress and egress for the colony is by wagon road to New London, some 12 miles southeast of the village of Chesterfield. This colony with its environs numbers about 90 families of Hebrews, owning approximately 80 farms devoted to general agriculture, dairying, and keeping summer boarders.

Northwest of Chesterfield about 12 miles and 20 miles east of Middletown is Colchester, the center of a second settlement of Hebrews, scattered through two townships on some of the most stony, hilly, and worn-out farms in New England. In this colony there are 86 taxpayers on the tax lists, operating approximately 80 farms. The recent settlement at Ellington, Conn., is described elsewhere in this report.<sup>a</sup>

In the vicinity of Holliston, Millis, and Medway, Mass., in much more flourishing, accessible, and prosperous communities, some 40 families of Russian Hebrews pay taxes on real estate, live on farms, and carry on certain commercial and industrial enterprises that seem to be a combination of agriculture, stock buying, junk handling, and keeping summer boarders.

All the colonies or settlements mentioned above were visited by the agents of the Commission, who interviewed 41 farmers on their farms and gathered statistics from prominent Hebrews, town officers, business men, and others who were in a position to give information of value. In addition to the settlements visited there are two others in Massachusetts—one near Attleboro and a larger one in Berkshire County, and at least two in Connecticut, one of them in Fairfield County, near Stepney, where the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial

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<sup>a</sup>See following chapter.

Aid Society reports 50 families, and a small colony at Cornwall Bridge, in Litchfield County.

The estimate of Hebrew farmers in New England made by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society in their 1909 report is 748. The number of farmers actually listed on the (1909) tax rolls of the townships visited was just about 60 per cent of the society's estimate for those townships, and if that percentage holds good for the estimated 289 farmers in the townships not visited by the agents of the Commission, there are according to the tax lists, about 450 Hebrew persons who have a proprietary interest in about 410 farms in New England. There are several possible explanations of the discrepancies between the assessors' accounts and those of the Jewish society. In a number of cases the society made approximations only, while in instances it is probable that the grown-up sons and the father—all living on one farm—were listed as "farmers."

The following table compares the number of Hebrew farmers reported by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, with the number of tax-paying farmers and farms assessed, in the various New England colonies included in the Commission's inquiry.

TABLE 2.—*Hebrew farmers in certain New England settlements.*

General location.	Date of founding.	Number of farmers reported by Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, 1909 (including Norwich).	Tax lists, 1909.		Type of farming.	Supplementary income from—	General economic condition.
			Taxpayers, farmers.	Total farms assessed.			
Chesterfield and vicinity, Niantic, Salem, Montville.	1887-1893	164	93	80	Dairying and general farming.	Summer boarders.	Poor.
Colchester and vicinity, East Haddam.	1893	183	86	79	.....do.....	.....do.....	Few making more than subsistence.
Near Willimantic.....	1900	31	25	18	General farming.	None.....	Fair.
Ellington and vicinity....	1904	<sup>a</sup> 40	26	21	Tobacco and dairying.	.....do.....	Rather prosperous, good outlook.
Holliston, Millis, Medway, Mass.	1890	51	34	39	General crops.	Junk, peddling boarders, etc.	Not very prosperous.
Total.....	.....	758	264	237			

<sup>a</sup> Estimate by manager.

In addition to the settlements considered in the preceding table the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Society reports other groups of Hebrew farmers as follows: Near Hartford, 32; Stepney, Conn., 58; Cornwall Bridge, Conn., 20; Sandisfield, Mass., 68; others in New England, 111. None of these were included in the Commission's inquiry.



## HISTORICAL.

According to the Jewish Encyclopedia, the founding of the Chesterfield rural community originated in three families of Hebrews who were assisted to settle as mill hands at New London and Norwich in 1891. They were assisted by the United Hebrew Charities of New York, and the account continues, "they succeeded so well that in a short time they were able to buy cheap farms of their own near Norwich." The date of the founding of the actual colony is given as 1892, when one Hayyim Pankin, a Russian Hebrew, succeeded in persuading 28 families of Hebrews from New York to come with him to Chesterfield (not far from Norwich), and by the aid of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, purchase farms and engage in dairying. Dairy farming required some outlay for cows and buildings, but there were old houses and barns on a good many farms—farms that had been abandoned or half abandoned years before—and in some cases "stock and tools were purchased with the land." The farms varied in size from 40 to more than 200 acres, but a large percentage of the area was rough and too stony to cultivate, and another large proportion was in woodland and wild pasture, overgrown with brush and covered with moss. Perhaps one-sixth of the land was cleared. The price paid was seldom more than \$15 an acre, and a good deal of the land cost less than \$10; some was purchased for as little as \$6 in lots of 100 acres or more. It was paid for, one-half cash down and about one-half on 6 per cent mortgages. The money borrowed from the Baron de Hirsch Fund was secured by second mortgages.<sup>a</sup>

But it is evident from the information secured by the Commission that there were a number of Hebrew farmers in the vicinity before the Pankin group arrived. Of 24 farmers interviewed, 6 had bought or leased land in the vicinity of Colchester and Chesterfield in 1890 and 1891. In April, 1891, there were 19 farms (2,376 acres) operated by Hebrews.<sup>b</sup>

These farmers had all come from New York, but one or two of them had engaged in business in New London or as peddlers through the country adjacent. Few had ever been farmers before; some had been caught by newspaper advertisements of fine opportunities and cheap living on the old farms and just at a time when business was very dull and times very hard in the other cities.

Inquiry of early settlers developed the information that there were Hebrew owners in Salem and Montville townships as early as 1887. But for all practical purposes the foundation of the settlement may be dated 1890.

This first nucleus brought others, including the Pankin colony. The Jewish Encyclopedia states that in January, 1892, there were 52 farms, aggregating 7,843 acres (1,420 acres cleared land), operated by a total population of 491 Hebrew persons, or an average of 9.4 persons per farm, in Connecticut. This is an exceedingly high average household and is explained by the fact that frequently two families lived as one household, having bought the land in partnership. There was no lack of laborers, and each household was well able to do its own farm work. Indeed the problem of feeding these large families was of first concern. There were no outside industries by

<sup>a</sup> See Jewish Encyclopedia, vol. 1, p. 260.

<sup>b</sup> American Jewish Yearbook.

means of which to provide an income when farm operations were suspended during the winter, and since the ground was not very fertile and the tillage indifferent, the first returns were so meager that by the autumn of 1894 only 15 of the 28 colonized families remained, the others having removed to near-by towns.

The value of all property purchased was estimated at \$20,800, \$5,840 of which had been paid in cash April, 1891. Nine months later, the purchases amounted to \$89,600, \$36,050 of which had been paid in cash January, 1892. - According to the Jewish American Yearbook, this had increased to 600 farms, value \$2,350,000, of which \$1,100,000 had been paid in cash December, 1899. The 600 farms included all the Hebrew farms in New England.

By 1894 the Chesterfield settlement had been increased by the addition of 18 new families, and at the close of that year there were in the colony 33 farms. The population since then has been very unstable, however, and land changes hands frequently, almost always at some profit to the seller. The early days were hard. The colonists were more independent than the Alliance (N. J.) body and felt that they were established on their own resources and were not mere recipients of charitable aid. Agriculture was and is in a very depressed condition in this section of Connecticut. Grain raising is not profitable, hay production is problematic, market gardening is impossible on account of distance to market, and truck growing requires a heavy outlay for fertilizers, while the marketing of produce requires a better system of country roads than New London county possessed in the nineties. Even dairying, which the Hebrews took up first because pasturage was abundant and milk seemed more easy to produce than marketable crops, was a questionably profitable undertaking up to 1897, when the Baron de Hirsch Fund supplied money to build a modern creamery, equipped with steam power and adequate machinery, at Chesterfield. This gave a new impetus to the dairy industry.

Poverty of soil and distance to markets, as well as very poor marketing facilities for the crops that it was possible to raise, were responsible for most of the early desertions. Those who deserted almost invariably sold their farms to resident farmers and hence the land was not abandoned. Often a farmer buys a piece of land, lives on it a few years and, finding himself worth less at the end of that time than at the beginning, sells out to an inexperienced fellow-countryman at some advance, and returns to New York. Owing to these frequent purchases and sales more than to increasing productiveness the land has risen rather rapidly in value. From the beginning the Hebrews have paid the highest prices for land, frequently much more than the land was worth. Among the more recent settlers, those who have come in since 1900, one meets very many who declare they paid much too dearly for their property. One farm originally purchased for \$1,200, after three transfers sold for \$4,000 to a fourth Hebrew; and the farm has steadily deteriorated in actual productiveness since the first purchase. Not many new farms are being bought, but in general, perhaps 10 per cent or more of the farms change hands every year. Some of the original settlers remain and some have grown comparatively wealthy; they have property in the villages of Colchester and Chesterfield and money

in the banks. Of course, it is impossible to get any accurate account of the securities held by most of them. Those who have stayed through from the beginning have been the better farmers and have almost invariably increased their holdings and added to the permanent improvements.

Of the 24 heads of families in the Chesterfield and Colchester neighborhoods from whom detailed information was secured 20 were born in Russia, 3 in Austria-Hungary, and 1 in Germany. Only 1 came directly from Russia to Connecticut, however, while 22 spent some time in New York City subsequent to their arrival in this country.

Nearly all came to Connecticut with some money, and since the majority bought old farms there were fewer privations in the early days of the settlements than in the New Jersey colonies. It took a long time for most of these city-bred people, 90 per cent of whom purchased land immediately on arrival, to master the cultivation and marketing of produce. Several continued their machine tailoring, one had a butcher shop, while others worked as farm laborers or used previous savings for living expenses until they became established. Presently, however, a new industry was started that soon overshadowed legitimate agriculture. This was the summer boarder industry, which is further described under "Agricultural conditions and methods." It has proved a valuable complement to a self-sufficing agricultural system in an isolated district, has given a home market for farm products—eggs, milk, butter, and garden vegetables—and has been a source of social and economic profit. Chesterfield farmers went into this enterprise even more readily than those at Colchester, and it has become so popular that foreigners of other races, notably Bohemians, have engaged in it with considerable success. Even the American farmers are beginning to take summer boarders. The industry is not always satisfactory, but in many instances had it not been for the summer boarder there would have been no possibility of making a living on the farms occupied.

Some of these Colchester and Chesterfield farmers own some of the poorest lands in a locality where not 10 per cent of the farm land is in cultivation. Others have fairly fertile soil, but do not seem rightly to understand farm methods. They are wasteful both of capital goods and of directive energy. In short, their greatest lack is farming efficiency and ability to manage, but nevertheless there are some who seem to be achieving success. In some cases the sons have helped the parents by remaining on the farm and have applied themselves to farming in a businesslike manner. Nearly all of the farmers are intelligent and keen in many ways and desirous that their children shall obtain an education and become independent of the hard life of the farm. Several of the girls have completed courses at the normal schools and are teachers. Several of the farmers' sons have gone to the State Agricultural College, to Williams College, or to Yale University. Others have taken business courses in commercial schools.

There is not much enthusiasm for agriculture. To many it is a round of very hard work with very little return, and it is rare indeed to find a Hebrew farmer who, having passed beyond the hand-to-mouth existence, is making larger surpluses each year, adding to buildings and improvements, increasing his stock and equipment, and moving steadily upward in the scale of material well-being.

Both at Colchester and Chesterfield the annual increase in number of immigrants is rather small. Ordinarily the changes are not additions, but substitutions. There are plenty of abandoned farms to be bought and bought cheaply; but clearing and putting into tillable shape a farm that for years has been growing up to briars and trees is not a simple problem. The old houses and barns are frequently worse than none, and for years capital put into improvements and fertilizers seems wasted. There are very few good farmers. The Americans who are progressing have better land than the Hebrews, land that has never been allowed to deteriorate, and, moreover, they possess a traditional knowledge of the principles of farming. The Hebrews are neither the best, nor perhaps the least prosperous farmers, but as a whole they have not made agriculture successful in this part of Connecticut.

#### CHARACTER OF THE COLONISTS.

In the Commission's inquiry in Chesterfield and Colchester detailed schedules were secured from 24 typical Hebrew families. The families investigated included some who had been in the colony since 1890 and some who had settled there as late as 1908. Of the heads of these families only 8 had been engaged in agricultural pursuits in their native countries, while of the remaining 16, 2 were blacksmiths, 2 lumber dealers, 3 were engaged in the liquor trade, 3 were at home or in school, and among the others were a rabbi, a soldier, a shoemaker, a weaver, a charcoal burner, and a clerk in a store. Before coming to the colony these heads of families had followed various occupations in the United States. Nearly one-half were engaged in some branch of the tailoring or garment-making industry while several of the others had been in business of some kind.

All of the heads of families interviewed stated that they had brought some money to the locality. Five brought less than \$500, 7 between \$500 and \$1,000, 7 between \$1,000 and \$1,500, while 5 reported \$1,500 or more. But notwithstanding that the majority were fairly well supplied with money, all but 7 reported that they were obliged to find some outside occupation or otherwise supplement their income from the farm for at least a year—most of them three years or more, and some of them many years. The available occupations were farm labor, machine tailoring, keeping summer boarders, work (for children) in factories, butchering, or dealing in junk. The industrial opportunities in this vicinity, however, are fewer and not so satisfactory as those offered in the New Jersey colonies, and were it not for the summer boarders there would be many more Hebrews who would be obliged to make their farms yield a living or to abandon them; as it is, not more than half of them depend entirely on the income from their farms. A number receive assistance from children who have left the farm home and are employed in the cities in various occupations. These children send home part of their earnings, sometimes for a number of years, to help the old people.

Of the 24 farms studied only one was rented. Of the 23 farms purchased by the settlers 7 are between 40 and 80 acres, 3 between 80 and 100, 8 between 120 and 160, 3 between 160 and 240, and 2

over 240 acres in extent. Although half of these purchases were made since 1900 and 25 per cent of them between 1890 and 1894, no great difference appears, either in the quality of the land or in the quantity bought.

The schedules show that none bought farms totally untillable, but most of them—75 per cent—had less than one-fourth of their acreage in shape for cultivation. The ordinary farm has 15 to 30 acres under plow; few have more than 40 acres in cultivation, including tame-hay land. The remainder is in woodland, pasture, swamp, or wild meadow on which grass can be cut for hay. At the time of purchase the buildings were usually in a bad state of repair; many of them very much dilapidated. In instances these have been much improved, especially those owned by the early arrivals, but in numerous cases little has been done to improve appearances.

The price of land has gone up materially within ten years; hence the averages given in the table which follows are representative neither of the first purchases in the locality nor of the present prices of land. Most of the first purchases were made at \$6 to \$12 an acre; since 1900 prices have not often been below \$10, and \$45 and more per acre has been paid for entire farms.

In general the first settlers bought from the native owners, many of whom were glad to get rid of their farms for almost any price, one-third to one-half cash down, the balance on real-estate mortgages drawing 6 per cent interest. The incoming immigrants and the constant demand for farms in these localities raised the price of farm land very materially. Instances of farms that have been sold to Hebrews at prices 50 to 200 per cent in excess of the value of similar farms in adjoining townships might be multiplied. A good many Hebrews have proved better real-estate traders than tillers of the soil, and there has been a continuous traffic in land between resident and incoming Hebrews since the settlements were established. Each succeeding purchaser of a parcel of land pays more for it than the preceding owner, and while tales of land frauds and deceptions must be taken with some allowance, there is no doubt that many a bad bargain is passed on with interest to the unsophisticated newcomer.

The average first purchase seems to be about 125 acres in size and to have less than one-fourth of its area tillable; \$1,600 is probably a good average price for first holdings, but much more is now paid for many farms, although they are not more productive than in 1890.

TABLE 3.—*First purchase of land, condition, size of farm, and price paid, Hebrew settlers, Chesterfield and Colchester, Conn.*

Condition of land.	Number of farms.	Average number of acres per farm.	Average price per—		Average cash payment.
			Farm.	Acre.	
Under one-fourth tillable.....	18	131	\$1,565	\$12	\$339
One-fourth and under one-half tillable.....	4	111.25	2,020	18	708
One-half and under three-fourths tillable.....	1	100	1,600	16	800

\* Not including one not reporting.

## THE GENERAL GROWTH OF THE SETTLEMENTS.

The two settlements centered at Chesterfield and Colchester seem to have grown slowly and intermittently from the first. After the first few years the net annual gain was small. Some years there were more desertions than accretions. Not many of the settlers who came prior to 1895 are now on their original holdings; some have moved into Chesterfield, Colchester, or have removed to Hartford or perhaps to New York. On the other hand, especially since the development of the summer-boarder industry, there have been a good many new arrivals, some of whom have made fair livings. A few families came in in 1908 and 1909 and doubtless the influx will continue. As has been noted, there are now about 180 families of Hebrews who have a proprietary interest in the land, according to the tax reports, in the two settlements.

So far as could be learned there were no periods when there was a great exodus of settlers, but from the first the settlement has not been very stable—there have been continual comings and goings. Inability to make a living on the land, either because of the barrenness of the soil, ignorance of cultural methods, or lack of suitable markets is the principal cause assigned for the desertions, but doubtless the isolation of country life in these hill towns contributed to the dissatisfaction. The deserters have in most cases returned to their former occupations and very few retain any property interest in the land they leave.

## TOPOGRAPHY, SOIL, AND CLIMATE.

Geologically speaking, Connecticut may be divided into three sections—the eastern highland, the western highland, and the central lowland. The central lowland comprises, in the main, the Connecticut Valley south to Middletown and what may be called the Farmington-Quinnipiac Valley from Middletown southward, ending at New Haven. The highland regions represent very old formations, somewhat worn down and weathered to peneplains; the lowland is a younger formation, partially at least, built by sedimentation. The rough and broken contour of the highland regions is well known. The valleys run north and south and wagon and railroads built in the direction of the slope are fairly level and offer no serious grades or obstructions. But those, on the other hand, built from west to east are a continuous series of abrupt and grave ascents and descents, very costly to build and over which very small loads only can be drawn.

The winding curves of the railroads which run from west to east across the State is evidence of the serious nature of the successive slopes that must be cut down, filled, tunneled, or avoided. There is in the entire section under discussion practically no level land, and because of its unfitness for agriculture increasingly large areas are given up to forests, in places fully 85 per cent of the total area.

The belt of highland running north and south through the State of Connecticut between the Willimantic River on the east and the Connecticut Valley on the west, and including parts of the counties of New London, Tolland, Middlesex, and Hartford, is one of the roughest and most barren parts of the State. Tolland County is

described in the report on the Bohemians, Slovaks, and Poles in Connecticut. New London County is almost as hilly and barren, and Middlesex County east of the Connecticut River is rough, stony, and broken almost beyond description. The census of 1900 reports a little less than 30 per cent of the farm land improved in Tolland, about one-third improved in Middlesex and about 39 per cent of the farm land improved in New London County. There are tracts of woodland, not in farms, and many low, swampy areas interspersed. Probably not 10 per cent of the total acreage is in cultivation.

Chesterfield, 12 miles northwest of New London, is reached by wagon road. The southern portion of the country is fairly level and open and has a semiprospereous appearance; but as one approaches Chesterfield the contour becomes very rough, rugged, and uneven. Rocky, forest-covered hills, narrow ravines, and strait, marshy meadows are the principal features. In the vicinity of Colchester, the Hebrew farms are more or less scattered, but they seem to be located on the roughest and most infertile soils in the vicinity. In Niantic township and near Willimantic, in Columbia, Hebron, and Lebanon townships, the soil is somewhat more fertile and the contour less abrupt. In general, the Hebrew farms are in the least favorable situations, agriculturally.

The soils vary greatly. Most of them are sandy. Some are gravelly loams and there are areas of heavy red clay. The bottom soils along the stream beds are rather wet and cold, but wild grass seems to do well on them. Because of the stones and the steepness of the slopes, the fields are necessarily small and modern horsepower machines are precluded.

Practically all of the soils are very much worn; generations of New England farmers have cropped them until they have been drained of their natural fertility. To raise crops of any kind large quantities of manure and fertilizers of various sorts must be applied. Some old pastures, covered with a sparse growth of blue grass and an increasing growth of brush and small trees—birch, pines, and other forest cover—are so exhausted that 10 acres will scarcely support a cow through the summer.

The soils, of course, are glacial in origin, when there are any soils, and represent thin deposits, intermingled with boulders, laid down on solid bed rock. Frequently the ancient formation appears on the surface, bold, bare, and sterile. Glacial action, except in the central lowland, by scraping and pushing the original soil into the ocean, lessened forever the agricultural possibilities of the eastern highland region of Connecticut.

The chief drawback to successful agriculture is the depleted nature of the soil. Unless the land is managed carefully, fertilized systematically, and planted to crops for which it is better adapted than for the great staples, it is almost impossible to obtain a living from it. Dairying and fruit raising are perhaps the two most readily adapted and most satisfactory lines of farming that can be followed. The Hebrews began with dairying and have kept it up. Next to the keeping of boarders dairying engages most of the attention. But even hay can not be grown very satisfactorily and to keep a numerous dairy herd over the long winter is a serious matter.

The climate of the State is not severe and although the winters are rather long, the summer is long enough and warm enough to mature the staple crops and fruit—apples and peaches. The mean annual temperature at Colchester is about 48° F., a little less than at Middletown, in the Connecticut Valley. The mean temperature, June to September, over a period of twenty-two years at Colchester is 66.6° F., according to the government records. The first killing frost in the autumn is likely to occur about September 30 and the latest in the spring about May 6, leaving a growing season of almost five months.

Winter begins in November and ends late in March or early in April, usually extending over five months of the year. The average annual depth of snowfall is more than 4 feet—51.5 inches. The records of rainfall are not available for Colchester, but the table of precipitation for Middletown shows that the annual precipitation is nearly 50 inches, fairly well distributed throughout the year. Unfortunately June is likely to be a dry month, the average rainfall being only 3.31 inches. Complaints of early summer droughts are frequent.

The table following gives the salient climatological data for Middletown and Colchester, Conn., as compiled by the United States Weather Bureau. It is noticeable that the period of "no frost" averages 11 days longer in the lowland (Middletown) than on the highlands near Colchester.

*Temperature and precipitation records, Middletown and Colchester, Conn.*

[From the Summary of the Climatological Data for the United States, sec. 105.]

Month.	Middletown, Conn., 17 years.				Colchester, Conn., records for 22 years.			
	Precipitation.	Mean temperature.	Highest temperature.	Lowest temperature.	Precipitation.	Mean temperature.	Highest temperature.	Lowest temperature.
January.....	4.22	25.7	62	-15	.....	25.6	62	-9
February.....	4.33	27.2	62	-14	.....	27.3	66	-10
March.....	4.74	34.3	68	-2	.....	36.0	72	2
April.....	3.53	45.7	90	19	.....	45.5	87	18
May.....	3.88	58.3	94	25	.....	55.9	91	26
June.....	3.31	67.5	100	38	.....	66.4	100	38
July.....	4.51	72.1	103	45	.....	69.2	98	42
August.....	4.85	70.3	98	43	.....	68.6	98	42
September.....	3.67	62.6	97	31	.....	62.2	94	23
October.....	4.05	51.4	90	17	.....	47.8	86	23
November.....	4.26	49.3	74	10	.....	42.9	74	8
December.....	3.90	28.9	66	-13	.....	30.7	63	-10
Annual.....	49.25	48.7	103	-15	.....	48.2	100	-10

Station.	Length of record, years.	Average date of first killing frost in autumn.	Average date of last killing frost in spring.	Earliest date of killing frost in autumn.	Latest date of killing frost in spring.	Annual depth of snowfall, in inches.
Colchester.....	22	Sept. 30	May 6	Sept. 25	May 14	51.5
Middletown.....	17	Oct. 2	Apr. 27	Sept. 19	May 12	51.7

AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS.

An analysis of 159 Hebrew farms in the vicinity of Colchester, Chesterfield, and East Haddam shows that the average farm acreage is not great, if the tax lists may be relied on: Under 40 acres, 23



farms; 40 and under 80 acres, 40 farms; 80 and under 120 acres, 37 farms; 120 and under 200 acres, 48 farms; 200 acres or over, 11 farms. This shows a median farm of 98 acres. The smallest farms are around Colchester and East Haddam, where 18 small farms are reported. The largest farms contain more than 300 acres.

The average holding of the farmers interviewed by Commission agents is somewhat greater than the above estimate. Two-thirds of these farms are 120 or more acres in size, the median farm containing about 150 acres.

The land is nearly all operated by owners. It is so cheap when rightly valued that there is no advantage in paying rent. Many of the holdings are assessed for \$40 or less per acre. The original New England owners found lumber and labor cheap. They built substantial houses, warm barns, and miles of stone fences around the little fields they prepared for tillage. Few of them accumulated riches; most of them made a fair livelihood from their crops of rye, wheat, and hay, their cows and other live stock, and their household manufactures. Since early in the last century, however, they have been retiring one by one, following their children to the cities, and either selling the farms or allowing them to decay.

The great body of immigrants who came into the United States during the eighties and early nineties did not remain on the eastern farms, but pushed out into the virgin areas of the West. The Irish, however, at earlier date settled in a large number of localities in New England, and many of them became good farmers, but their children in many instances were among the first to desert the farm for the city.

The most recent influx—chiefly Hebrew in this section—have in a measure taken up old, abandoned farms and are now following closely along the old lines of agriculture. The principal sub-industry is dairying. Each farmer has two or three cows; a few have as many as 16 or 20; 8 to 12 is a fair average. The cows are turned out on the old pastures or roam about the woods in the summer, and in most cases get little grain or hay during the summer months. Most of the milk is sold to creameries, one of which is at Chesterfield. A great deal of milk is consumed by summer boarders, of course, hence the average cash returns per dairy are not high.

The native New England farmers say that most of the Hebrews do not take good care of their herds, feed them sufficiently or properly, or milk them with regularity. There are some good herds, showing the Holstein, the Jersey, or the Guernsey strain, but in general the character of the dairy cows kept is very mediocre indeed.

One or two farmers were interviewed who reported returns of \$800 to \$1,000 yearly from dairy products, but very few receive an income of more than \$300 from this source. Of 23 farms among those investigated reporting sales of dairy products, 12 reported less than \$250 worth, 4 reported between \$250 and \$500, 6 between \$500 and \$1,000, and 1 between \$1,000 and \$1,500 worth annually. These are somewhat above the general average.

Very few farmers are able to raise sufficient hay or grain to feed their live stock through the winter, and nearly every farmer interviewed reported some outlay, often amounting to one-third or one-half of the total income from milk, for cow feed or hay. In some instances the feed bill and the checks received from sales of milk

practically balanced each other. No one was hopeful or enthusiastic about the milk situation except one or two men with large acreages of wild meadow and extensive pastures.

Almost no hay is sold, but nearly every farmer raises hay of some sort—tame grass, wild meadow hay, or grain cut green. The average quantity reported per farm is 23 tons. Hay sells for \$15 to \$20 per ton, baled, and were the soil carefully worked and fertilized and a careful rotation followed there is little doubt that it would be a profitable crop, even if produced some distance from market. As it is, the yield per acre is small, in instances less than one ton, and the curing is not always the best. In respect to hay the Bohemian settlers are out-doing the Hebrews.

Some rye is raised. On rare occasions a crop of green rye is plowed down for green manuring. One or two farmers were thrashing out the grain with flails, then binding the thrashed straw, unbroken, into bundles to sell for bedding in horse stables. The Hebrews have made little of this crop, which grows well even on poor soil, and handled thus, both as a grain and a straw, makes as profitable a crop as can be produced. The straw sells at about the same price as good timothy hay, and under average conditions will yield 15 to 20 bushels of grain and a ton or more of straw per acre. No one of the Hebrews raises more than a very few acres of rye. The average crop is about 25 bushels per farm.

Almost the only field crop sold is white potatoes. Every farmer has an acre or more of these, the surplus only being marketed. They are hauled to Colchester, Willimantic, New London, or even Hartford, and sold to produce dealers, or they may be shipped to these or other points. Except in a very few cases returns have not been wholly satisfactory. They require a good deal of labor for tillage and harvesting and large applications of fertilizer; the yield rarely reaches 75 bushels per acre, usually 50 bushels or less. Many of the potatoes are consumed at home. Fifteen farmers reported sales of vegetables, usually potatoes; no Hebrew grower valued his crop at more than \$250, and two-thirds reported less than \$100 per farm annually.

Most farmers have a few acres of corn, that often yield not more than 10 to 15 bushels per acre, rarely more than 25 bushels, which is all fed on the farm. About half of the farms report oats or oat hay. Oats do not mature well owing to rust and blights. Four acres, yielding 20 bushels per acre, is a fair average.

In addition there is an occasional field of buckwheat and, especially around Chesterfield, some miscellaneous garden vegetables—sweet corn, onions, summer squash, cabbage, and the like—which are sold to summer residents; or perhaps a little of the truck is hauled to the New London market at irregular intervals. The physical obstacles in the way of trucking are the long distances from market, the generally poor roads, and the infertile soil. The soil can be enriched, but the long haul by wagon is a great handicap.

One other possible source of income is poultry and poultry products. Some farmers sell a hundred dollars worth or more of poultry and eggs, most of them to summer residents. Usually the sales amount to \$50 or thereabout yearly. Very few sell any fruit, apples or peaches, but on almost all farms there are old apple orchards—not large, but sufficient if properly trimmed, sprayed, and cared for to

supply the family with good fruit and a surplus for sale. The Connecticut Hebrews are apparently not good orchardists. Only a very few report any sales of orchard products, and almost none are found with young orchards. The old orchards bought with the farms have in a very few instances been renovated, replenished, or cared for in any way. One or two young farmers seemed alive to the possibilities of fruit-raising on the hillsides of New London County, but little enthusiasm was manifested in this or, indeed, in any other form of agriculture. The tables following show the quantity and value of various crops produced and sold by 23 of the Hebrew farmers under consideration:

TABLE 4.—Average quantity and value per farm of crops raised, Hebrew farmers, Chesterfield and Colchester, Conn.

Crops.	Number of farms producing.	Average—	
		Quantity per farm.	Value per farm.
Corn.....	20	<i>Bushels.</i> 17	\$114
Potatoes.....	23	107	
Hay.....	19	a 23	
Rye.....	7	23	
Oats.....	11	82	
Buckwheat.....	4	14	
Vegetables not specified.....	7	(b)	
Fruits not specified.....	7	(b)	

a Tons.

b No report.

TABLE 5.—Classification of farms by values of specified farm products produced and sold, Hebrew farmers, Chesterfield and Colchester, Conn.

Values.	Number of farms reporting farm products.											
	Produced—					Sold—						
	Grain and forage.	Vegetables.	Fruit.	Dairy products.	Animal products.	Total produced.	Grain and forage.	Vegetables.	Fruit.	Dairy products.	Animal products.	Total sold.
Under \$50.....	2	6	4	3	9	.....	5	4	3	9	2	
\$50 and under \$100.....	1	7	1	2	3	1	1	5	1	2	2	
\$100 and under \$250.....	5	8	2	7	4	3	.....	5	2	7	5	
\$250 and under \$500.....	10	2	.....	4	2	2	.....	.....	4	2	5	
\$500 and under \$1,000.....	3	.....	.....	6	.....	11	1	.....	6	.....	7	
\$1,000 and under \$1,500.....	1	.....	.....	1	.....	2	.....	.....	1	.....	3	
\$1,500 and under \$2,000.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	
\$2,000 and under \$2,500.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	
\$2,500 and over.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	
Total.....	23	23	7	23	18	24	2	15	7	23	18	24

It will be seen that agriculture is at a very low ebb in the Hebrew quarter. Great hopelessness is manifest and much discouragement. Only here and there is there a man whose sons have remained with him or who has had capital, energy, and ambition sufficient to make agriculture successful. Of the recent arrivals—those who have arrived within ten years—the prosperous farmer, the man who is

alive to changing conditions and the exigencies of the situation, is hard to find. They cultivate from 10 to 40 acres of ground only. They sow by hand, reap by hand, and thrash with a flail. Plowing is poorly done, fertilizer is scantily applied, and meager crops are gathered from the stony fields. There has been little attempt to introduce new crops or new methods of culture. The old-time methods of tillage are still retained. In any comparison with the native and New England farmer the Hebrew suffers, but chiefly perhaps for the reason that the best lands have been retained by the American owners, who, owning their farms, buildings, and equipment are content to glean a mere living from the ancestral acres. They raise better produce and more of it than the Hebrew. Their farms are more neatly kept, more orderly, in better repair. It is not hard to pick out the Hebrew and immigrant farms as one drives through the county. There is seldom a clean, tidy, unlitteled yard, a well-painted house, a carefully kept lawn, or many of the evidences of thrift and prosperity that make New England homes pleasant to look upon, whether they really return a profit to the owner or not. Very rarely is there found a Hebrew who takes pride in the appearance of his place; shabbiness is all-pervasive. Most of the homes are dilapidated, the stone fences in poor repair, the tools and implements sky sheltered and rusty and weather beaten; few seem to acquire the knack of farming well, and only one farmer in a long journey seems to consider that a good appearance is a valuable asset. The aim is to get money out of the farm with the least possible outlay; in other words, to exploit the land. As a rule the American farmers consider themselves far above the Hebrew in point of intelligent farming and in the disposal of the products of the farm.

#### MARKETS AND MARKETING FACILITIES.

Marketing facilities are very meager, and perhaps no other handicap militates more against prosperous farming. There is a railroad branch line running into Colchester, a ferry across the Connecticut at East Haddam, connecting with the railroad north and south, but all other outlets are by wagon road to New London, Willimantic, and even to Hartford. Some truck is still sent over to Hartford by wagon from near Colchester, about 25 miles distant. There are two or three good roads through the towns under consideration, but all roads other than the main or state roads have very steep grades, are very winding, and while fairly kept up are not suited for heavy loads. The cost of marketing any produce that must be taken to a city market is excessive, but there are occasional traveling peddlers who exchange cheap dry goods, groceries, tinware, and the like for poultry, eggs, hides, rags, and sometimes butter. Some of the peddlers do a fair business in barter with the foreigners.

#### SUMMER BOARDERS.

The keeping of boarders or lodgers during the summer from the Fourth of July to Labor Day is, as has been said, an established institution, that had its inception several years ago and doubtless grew out of the customary and prolonged visits of friends who came from New York during the hot weather. In many ways the summers on

the Connecticut hills are delightful, and soon there were many calls for board and lodging for a few weeks by well-to-do urban Hebrews. As a rule the farmhouses are not well suited to the accommodation of summer boarders and at times they are overcrowded. Near Holliston, Mass., and in New York State a good many "summer hotels," with small, ceiled, bare-walled rooms are provided for the guests, of whom there are sometimes more than a hundred on a single farm. But in Connecticut there seem to be very few Hebrews who have built rooming houses of this type. Occasionally one finds a dancing pavilion constructed for the pleasure of the guests, and hammocks, swings, croquet grounds, etc., are frequently provided.

At Colchester about half of the Hebrew farm households accommodate several boarders yearly—from 5 or 6 to 50 or more each. The boarders remain about a month, perhaps, but some stay longer, the first coming about the end of June and the last departing early in September. A great many come for the week end only.

The rates for board and room vary a little, but ordinarily range from \$7 to \$10 per week for adults and from \$4 to \$6 for children. The gross incomes are of course rather large, but as few farmers are able to supply meat and eggs sufficient for the tables and are often obliged to hire additional help in dining room and kitchen to wait on the increased household, the net returns are seldom more than \$400 to \$500 for the season. The boarders furnish a use for milk, vegetables, and poultry products raised on the farms and add a great deal to the social life of the community.

In the Chesterfield district a variation of the boarding plan is encountered. Here are found many "lodgers"—people who rent rooms from the farmers, then buy raw materials from them and do their own catering. The market prices of produce sold to the lodgers are high, and perhaps there is more profit in the lodgers than in summer boarders, everything considered. But boarders and lodgers are more numerous at Chesterfield than at Colchester; at least the summer-boarder industry is more universal. Almost every Hebrew family has at least a few guests and some have 25 or more all told.

The boarders are all Hebrews and appear to be of a well-to-do class, neither wealthy nor poor. Socially and economically the summer boarder has been a great help to these Hebrew communities. They have broken up the monotony of hill country life, brought in city manners, fashions, and an urban atmosphere to the isolated countryman, turned the thoughts of the young people away from farm duties to wholesome amusement and reaction and—cityward for a little time at any rate. The joy and jollity and care-free spirit of the city youth are of great benefit to the plodding plowboy and the bashful country girl. Some evils come, of course, for not all boarders are desirable, but, generally speaking, "summer-boarder agriculture" is beneficial in almost every way on the Connecticut highlands.

#### FARM EXPENDITURE.

The principal expenditures of the Hebrew farmer are for labor and for feed and forage. The Hebrew, unlike the Italian or the Pole, is likely to hire some outside help to assist him on his farm. Farm hands are employed by the day at \$1 to \$1.50 and board, or by the month

at \$18 to \$26. Of the 22 farmers who gave information with regard to farm expenditures, 4 reported none, all their work being done by their families; 5 spent less than \$75 a year, 4 between \$75 and \$150, 6 between \$150 and \$250, and 3 between \$250 and \$350 yearly for hired labor. Practically no families hired persons for domestic service, except occasionally in the summer-boarder season.

Nearly all the Hebrew farmers use fertilizer, but only 4 of the farmers visited used more than \$75 worth in 1909. Of expenditures for feed, seed, and forage, 4 of 22 farmers reported none, 2 reported less than \$75, 6 between \$75 and \$150, 8 between \$150 and \$350, 1 between \$350 and \$500, and 1 more than \$500 for a year. None of these farms showed an average of more than 40 acres under cultivation; but 4 farmers cultivating 32.25 acres each reported expenditures averaging more than \$500 per farm, or fully \$16 per acre cultivated. Nine farms, with about 20 acres each in tillage, report total annual expenditures of \$75 to \$250 a farm, and 7 farms, with 25 to 40 acres cultivated, from \$250 to \$500 each per year. Few of the expenditures can be readily reduced. It seems very difficult to raise enough hay and grain for stock feed, and feed and forage are likely to remain fixed charges on all dairy farms.

#### PROPERTY OWNED AND INDEBTEDNESS.

As usual, the greater part of the property owned is in real estate, whose market value is rather difficult to arrive at. Assessed valuations are confessedly low and there is reason to believe that some of the owners' valuations are much too high. Farms vary so much in soil, improvements, location, tilled area, ease of culture, and other characteristics, and on each farm there is place for so many desirable and so many undesirable qualities that true average values are almost impossible to determine.

The widest discrepancies appear when one takes into consideration the values fixed by the assessor as against those given by the owners, especially in the strictly Hebrew townships.

The average farm owned by the farmers interviewed contained more than 160 acres and was valued at about \$20 an acre, improvements and improved and unimproved land all included.

The net value of individual property owned by 20 families in the two districts is perhaps best studied by noting the economic progress of those families as exhibited in the typical family tables at the close of this report, where the items of property and indebtedness are set forth in detail. There is little doubt that the items of property owned are as large as they should be and that the debts are reduced to the lowest terms. With these qualifications the reports show something of the financial condition of some of the most recent and some of the oldest Hebrew residents. More indebtedness was reported near Colchester than around Chesterfield, but in both places nearly every farmer has some debt—much or little—on his land. Seventeen of 23 farmers admitted a total indebtedness of \$31,741, or \$1,867 per farm, on a net valuation of \$95,472 on the 23 farms, or \$4,340 per farm; that is to say, the indebtedness is about one-fourth of the gross value of the property and about one-third of the net value in

the instances cited. Following is a general summary showing the financial condition, etc., of the 24 farms included in the Commission's detailed inquiry:

Farms leased and owned:	
Total farms investigated .....	24
Average size of farm (acres).....	155.63
Median farm (acres).....	150
Kind of farms, general.....	24
Farms now leased .....	
Total number of acres .....	15
Number of acres cultivated .....	2
Number of acres not cultivated.....	13
Total value of personal property.....	\$350
Average value of personal property per farm.....	\$350
First purchase of land and improvements:	
Total number of acres .....	2,903
Average acres per farm.....	126.22
Total value .....	\$37,847
Average value per farm.....	\$1,646
Average value per acre .....	\$13
Farms now owned .....	
Total number of acres .....	3,720
Number of acres cultivated .....	619
Number of acres not cultivated.....	3,101
Present value of farms now owned:	
Land and improvements.....	\$71,907
Average value of land and improvements per farm.....	\$3,126
Average value of land and improvements per acre.....	\$19
Number of farms showing indebtedness.....	
Total indebtedness .....	\$31,741
Average indebtedness per farm.....	\$1,867
Gross value of all property .....	<sup>a</sup> \$127,213
Net value of all property.....	<sup>a</sup> \$95,472
Average net value of all property per farm .....	<sup>a</sup> \$4,340

The table which follows shows the value of all farm property as reported by 22 of the 23 land-owning farmers under consideration.

While the bulk of property is in real estate, the equipment of live stock, implements, and machinery is greater than would be supposed. This showing is probably too high and represents purchase prices rather than auction values in individual cases, but the live stock, especially dairy cows, are responsible for by far the larger part of this investment. Nearly 90 per cent of all farmers declare an average total net value of property owned amounting to more than \$1,500; nearly half of all farms reporting fall in the "\$2,500 to \$5,000" class, and four farmers report property whose net value is more than \$5,000 per farm.

These are good showings when compared with the values reported by immigrants elsewhere and by other foreigners on Connecticut farms.

<sup>a</sup> Not including 1 farm not reporting complete data.

TABLE 6.—*Net value of property now owned by 22 Hebrew farmers, Chesterfield and Colchester, Conn.*

Value.	Land and improvements.	Live stock and imple-ments.	Crops on hand.	Total prop-erty.
Under \$50.....			1	
\$50 and under \$100.....		1	1	
\$100 and under \$250.....		2	1	1
\$250 and under \$500.....		5		1
\$500 and under \$1,000.....	2	10	2	1
\$1,000 and under \$1,500.....	5	4		
\$1,500 and under \$2,500.....	7	2		6
\$2,500 and under \$5,000.....	6			11
\$5,000 and over.....	2			4
Total.....	22	24	5	24

In this connection, a summary of the assessed valuations of nearly 200 Hebrew farmers in the townships near Colchester, Chesterfield, and East Haddam for the year ending October, 1908, is of interest as giving comparative figures. The percentages of the total valuations and of the real estate valuations exclusive of building and improvements are given.

TABLE 7.—*Percentage of Hebrew taxpayers with specified amounts of taxable property, Connecticut, 1908.*

[Compiled from tax lists.]

Specified values.	Percentage of taxpayers assessed, having—	
	All prop-erty.	Land ex-clusive of buildings.
Under \$50.....	0.5	0.6
\$50 and under \$100.....	.0	2.2
\$100 and under \$250.....	4.2	15.3
\$250 and under \$500.....	6.7	30.1
\$500 and under \$1,000.....	29.0	33.3
\$1,000 and under \$1,500.....	27.2	11.4
\$1,500 and under \$2,500.....	25.0	5.6
\$2,500 and under \$5,000.....	5.6	1.3
\$5,000 and over.....	2.0	.0
	100.2	99.8

These figures show that as a rule the assessor's valuations are far below those reported by the 24 farmers interviewed by the Commission's agents, but owing to the fact that the assessed valuations undoubtedly are low, and the number of farms represented in the table is much greater than the number included in the Commission's inquiry, a comparison of the two in this regard would be of little value. According to the table 81 per cent of the holdings lie between \$500 and \$2,500, 5.6 per cent are between \$2,500 and \$5,000, and only 2 per cent are assessed at more than \$5,000 each. On the other hand, the values of bare land exclusive of improvements lie largely between \$250 and \$1,000 per farm. Eighteen per cent of the holdings are assessed for less than \$250 each, and only 18.3 per cent for \$1,000 or more; none are valued as high as \$5,000, and but 1.3 per cent for \$2,500 or over.



The buildings in a few instances bear assessed valuations of \$1,000 or more, running up to \$1,500, but in the majority of cases they are assessed for \$300 to \$600 per farm. In a good many instances the assessors' valuations are much less than the purchase prices of the holdings.

The progress in material welfare is shown in some measure by the following table, which exhibits in juxtaposition the values of property brought to the locality by the Hebrew settlers and the net values of property now owned, with the number of years the immigrant has been farming in the locality. Some of the first arrivals have little more now than at the beginning, whereas some of the recent comers have done well in a short time. Further details concerning the progress made by these families are shown in the typical family table at the end of this chapter.

TABLE 8.—*Value of property brought to locality, net value of property now owned, and number of years since first lease or purchase.*

Value of property brought.	Number of heads of families.	Number of heads of families having property whose net value is—								Years since first lease or purchase			
		Under \$50.	\$50 and under \$100.	\$100 and under \$250.	\$250 and under \$500.	\$500 and under \$1,000.	\$1,000 and under \$1,500.	\$1,500 and under \$2,500.	\$2,500 and under \$5,000.	\$5,000 or over.	1 and under 5.	5 and under 10.	10 and under 15.
Under \$50.....	1				1					1			
\$50 and under \$100.....													
\$100 and under \$250.....	2			1								1	1
\$250 and under \$500.....	2								1				2
\$500 and under \$1,000.....	7					1			4	2	1	2	1
\$1,000 and under \$1,500.....	7								4	2	2	3	1
\$1,500 and under \$2,500.....	3								1	2	1		
\$2,500 and under \$5,000.....	2								2			1	
Total.....	24			1	1	1		6	11	4	6	7	3

Almost all of the Hebrew farmers in Chesterfield and Colchester have horses—one or two—and a very few drive oxen. Several farmers have two teams of horses. The average value placed on their horses by the Hebrew owners interviewed was \$86 a head. Of milch cows there were 212 on 24 farms, valued at \$35 per head. Very few beef cattle are produced, the calves being sold when a few weeks old to the local butcher or stock buyer.

No sheep are kept, and only one of the farmers interviewed reported hogs raised for sale.

The general aspect of buildings, farmsteads, and crops in the settlements under consideration is depressing. With few exceptions the homes do not speak prosperity and progressiveness. The attempts at farming seem amateurish, and many of the farmers seem to be discouraged and pessimistic.

On the other hand the men are shrewd, seem to be hard, almost indefatigable, workers and good bargainers. They save persistently, not to establish savings-bank accounts, but to buy income-producing property. They try all sorts of means to supplement the farm income. But the number of the well to do is not great, and of settled prosperous farmers still less.

The children usually work in the neighborhood or in the cities and contribute to the common fund. The women do little work out of doors, but the indoor work when boarders are kept is heavy.

#### OPPORTUNITIES FOR EMPLOYMENT.

There are not many opportunities for employment in the vicinity of Colchester or Chesterfield. A few Hebrews were reported as working by the month on farms, at wages of \$18 to \$30 a month and board. A number of cotton factories and one or two paper mills in the vicinity employ immigrant labor, but Hebrews are employed therein. As a rule the children remain at home during the school age, but afterwards a good many go to New London, Willimantic, Hartford, or New York City to find employment, frequently in tailoring shops. Some children and a few of the adults work in a woolen mill at Niantic, Conn., receiving from \$5 to \$10 per week.

#### STANDARD OF LIVING.

The standard of living among the farmers under consideration seems to be somewhat higher than in many of the immigrant colonies visited by the Commission's agents, but it does not appear that they are unduly extravagant in the matters of dress and food.

So far as could be learned the Hebrews eat a wide variety of meats and vegetables, consume a good deal of milk, butter, and poultry products, and maintain as abundant tables as the ordinary Connecticut hill farmer—perhaps with a better variety of food. The advent of the summer boarder has improved the daily dietary, according to some Hebrew authorities. The boarders wanted plenty of fresh, wholesome foods. The family did not wish to live less well than their boarders, and after the boarder departed the adopted standard remained, until now a better standard is universal in the Hebrew districts. This at least is the testimony.

#### SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

The social and recreational side of life is, of necessity, little developed, owing to distance and poor roads. Socially isolated and economically handicapped, the opportunities for recreation, relaxation, and community sociability are limited to occasional neighborly meetings, to visits to the neighboring towns or the larger cities, and to the activities incident to the presence of summer boarders. The means of recreation are less varied than in the New Jersey colonies, where a good deal of effort has been put forth to organize several forms of social activity. The public recreation halls, the numerous lectures and entertainments, and the variety of extra educational classes such as are found in New Jersey are not in evidence here.

There are four farmers' associations in the district, all branches of, or with purposes similar to, the Federation of Jewish Farmers of America of which account has been made in the New Jersey report. Officers of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society visit these organizations and give occasional lectures. In general their

purposes are social and educational; the members meet bi-weekly or monthly for entertainment and discussion. They hope to organize later on a business basis, but up to date little has been done in this direction with the exception of the cooperative buying of paris green and some seeds and fertilizers. Perhaps 30 to 40 per cent of the farmers belong to these organizations.

The social diversions of the non-Hebrews do not draw many young people from the Hebrew colonies. There is little commingling of races, and the Hebrew young people must provide their own amusements. There are almost no intermarriages. For these reasons, where the settlements are not large in numbers nor compact, the Hebrew country boys and girls have been under the necessity of seeking congenial associates and marital mates in the cities. This draws from the country many of the more desirable young people and maintains a constant shift from city to country and from country back to city again.

The family relations are held very sacred, usually, and there are practically no scandals of any sort connected with family life. The children either remain with the parents during minority or send home their wages for the fathers' use.

#### MORAL CONDITIONS.

Except for the occasional accusation that some of the farmers are not strictly honest the moral tone in the colonies is high. Disputes over boundary lines or quarrels about the trespassing of cattle are rather frequent and occasionally there are cases of perjury or violations of peddlers' license laws, but during the entire history of the settlement practically no crimes have been recorded against the Hebrews. Cases of petty larceny are reported, but few complaints lie against the old Hebrew settlers who seem to be held in high esteem in most instances. In fact some of these are now considered to be among the first citizens of the community.

#### EDUCATIONAL.

In every instance within the scope of the Commission's inquiry the native-born children over 6 years of age are able to speak English and all over 10 years are able to read and write English. Of the foreign-born, about 80 per cent of all interviewed (90 per cent of the males) over 6 years are able to speak English, and 94 per cent of the males and 84 per cent of the females over 10 years of age can read and write either English or their native language. Nearly all read Yiddish. The children are frequently able to speak none but the English tongue, but a few know three languages—Yiddish, Russian, and English. In most homes there are a number of books and papers, usually one in Yiddish and one or more English periodicals or newspapers. The tables following show in considerable detail the data collected by the Commission in this regard.

TABLE 9.—*Ability to speak English of persons 6 years of age or over, by sex and general nativity, and race of individual, 24 typical Hebrew farm families, Chesterfield and Colchester, Conn.*

General nativity and race of individual.	Number reporting complete data.	Male.		Female.		Total.	
		Number.	Number who speak English.	Number.	Number who speak English.	Number.	Number who speak English.
Native-born of foreign father, by race of father, Hebrew.....	35	20	20	15	15	35	35
Foreign-born, Hebrew.....	76	38	35	38	29	76	64
Total.....	111	58	55	53	44	111	99

TABLE 10.—*Literacy of persons 10 years of age or over, by sex and general nativity, and race of individual, 24 typical Hebrew families, Chesterfield and Colchester, Conn.*

General nativity and race of individual.	Number reporting complete data.	Male.			Female.			Total.		
		Number.	Number who read.	Number who read and write.	Number.	Number who read.	Number who read and write.	Number.	Number who read.	Number who read and write.
Native-born of foreign father, by race of father, Hebrew.....	25	15	15	15	10	10	10	25	25	25
Foreign-born, Hebrew..	73	35	33	23	38	34	32	73	67	65
Total.....	98	50	48	48	48	44	42	98	92	90

There are fairly good schools in Colchester and all the Hebrew children of school age are enrolled. Of the 279 pupils in the elementary and grammar schools of Colchester in 1908-9, 159 were of Hebrew or Polish origin, according to the school committee. In the high school are 66 pupils, but a slightly smaller proportion of Hebrews, owing to the distance at which many of them live from the village and the further fact that a number are sent away to school in Willimantic, Hartford, or elsewhere, where better educational opportunities are offered. There are some Hebrew pupils in every high school graduating class, and all evidence goes to show that they are quick, apt, very intelligent, and carry off many honors. There are several who have attended a normal school, the State College, and a few have entered universities—Yale or Harvard—or Williams College.

#### POLITICAL CONDITIONS.

Out of a total of 24 males interviewed, who have been in the United States five years or more and were 21 years of age or over at time of arrival in this country, 6 are aliens; 8 have first papers, and 10 are fully naturalized.

In Colchester out of a total of 50 farmers who paid taxes and several additional adults of voting age, native and foreign born Hebrews, the town clerk reports 26 voters of Hebrew origin. In

Montville, Salem, and Niantic townships (the Chesterfield settlement) of approximately 94 males 21 years of age and over, 37 had filed first papers, 26 had their second papers, and 31 were aliens. This is not as good a showing as that made by the New Jersey Hebrews, and it is rather hard to account for the apparent political apathy. There have been a number of Hebrew township officers at one time or another, but usually they are reported as manifesting little interest in local political affairs.

#### EFFECT ON THE COMMUNITY.

It can not be said that the advent of the Hebrew has been of great material benefit to this section of the State. They took up exhausted farms and a declining, decaying agriculture. In most instances the farms have not been rendered much more productive and, as has been said, the present higher values are in a large measure speculative. The city Hebrew, eager to get out into the country on a piece of land of his own, like that on which he spent his summer vacation, is likely to compare land values with those in the vicinity of New York City rather than with the actual productivity of the farm. The shrewd seller knows this and makes the most of it. The Hebrews have introduced no new crops and almost no new methods. In fact, they have been not altogether successful imitators of the old-time farmers in most lines of farming.

In some senses they have raised the social, moral, and educational standards of the settlement. They are ambitious, if pessimistic, and a good many have more energy than some of the native stock. A more or less healthful discontent pervades the communities, but the desire to get on materially leads to more or less shifting and short tenures. Very little race prejudice manifests itself in business or educational affairs. There is a social race cleavage that is mutually respected and generally observed. And, of course, there are no religious affiliations with Gentiles. In general, the Hebrews are respected, especially the early settlers, as neighbors and citizens, but the opinion prevails that the majority are not good farmers.

The summary table following shows the economic history and present financial condition of 10 of the typical Hebrew families interviewed by Commission agents in Chesterfield, and a like number in Colchester.

TABLE 11.—Economic history and present financial condition

Data reported.	Family 1.	Family 2.	Family 3.	Family 4.
Years in locality:				
Head.....	18.....	19 <sup>a</sup> .....	1.....	18.....
Family.....	18.....	19.....	1.....	18.....
Present household size.....	3.....	4.....	3.....	7.....
Number of members 10 years or over.....	3.....	4.....	3.....	5.....
Male.....	2.....	2.....	1.....	3.....
Female.....	1.....	2.....	2.....	2.....
Previous location.....	New York, N. Y.....	New York, N. Y.....	New York, N. Y.....	New York, N. Y.....
Previous occupation.....	Shirt maker.....	Tailor.....	Pants presser.....	Jeweler.....
Value of property brought.....	\$400.....	\$500.....	\$500.....	\$4,000.....
First land leased:				
Date.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Number of acres.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Terms.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Condition.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
First land bought:				
Date.....	1891.....	1890.....	1908.....	1891.....
Number of acres.....	125.....	60.....	100.....	150.....
Price.....	\$1,000.....	\$700.....	\$607.....	\$3,300.....
Terms.....	\$300 cash and mortgage.....	\$300 cash and mortgage.....	\$500 cash and mortgage.....	\$2,500 cash and mortgage.....
Condition.....	25 acres till- able.....	10 acres tilla- ble; balance woodland.....	12 acres till- able, balance woodland.....	25 acres till- able.....
Occupation until living could be made from land.....	None.....	Husband kept a butcher shop.....	Not making a living yet.....	Savings and summer boarders.....
Number of years.....	.....	4.....	1.....	1.....
Earnings per day.....	.....	Not reported..	Not reported..	Not reported..
Acres of land now owned.....	140.....	202.....	100.....	150.....
Acres cultivated.....	16.....	30.....	8.....	30.....
Number of apple trees.....	75.....	20.....	Not reported..	12.....
Live stock now owned:				
Cattle.....	6.....	6.....	2.....	20.....
Horses.....	2.....	1.....	1.....	2.....
Financial condition:				
Value of land and improvements.....	\$1,500.....	\$3,500.....	\$607.....	\$3,500.....
Live stock.....	\$325.....	\$345.....	\$100.....	\$650.....
Tools and implements.....	\$100.....	\$125.....	\$30.....	\$100.....
Crops on hand.....	\$75.....	.....	\$30.....	.....
Other property.....	\$50.....	\$50.....	\$40.....	\$75.....
Gross value of all property.....	\$2,050.....	\$4,020.....	\$807.....	\$4,325.....
Indebtedness—				
On land.....	\$550.....	.....	\$107.....	\$800.....
Other.....	.....	.....	\$9.....	.....
Net value of all property.....	\$1,500.....	\$4,020.....	\$691.....	\$3,525.....

• Head is widow.

of certain typical Hebrew families, Chesterfield, Conn.

Family 5.	Family 6.	Family 7.	Family 8.	Family 9.	Family 10.
18.....	6.....	17.....	6.....	12.....	6.....
18.....	6.....	17.....	5.....	12.....	6.....
7.....	7.....	6.....	6.....	5.....	7.....
6.....	7.....	3.....	5.....	4.....	3.....
3.....	2.....	2.....	3.....	3.....	1.....
3.....	5.....	1.....	2.....	1.....	2.....
New London, Conn. Grocer.....	New York, N. Y. Milk merchant..	New York, N. Y. Commission clothing mer- chant.	New York, N. Y. Cloak maker....	New York, N. Y. Shoemaker...	New York, N. Y. Tailor.
\$1,000.....	\$1,500.....	\$500.....	\$500.....	\$160.....	\$1,200.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	1892	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	150	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	\$150 per year	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	Not reported	.....	.....	.....
1891.....	1903.....	1898.....	1903.....	1897.....	1903.
100.....	150.....	260.....	150.....	70.....	175.
\$1,600.....	\$4,000.....	\$1,600.....	\$2,300.....	\$710.....	\$3,000.
\$800 cash, bal- ance 15 years.	\$1,200 cash and mortgage.	Not reported...	\$800 cash, and mortgage.	\$160 cash; first mortgage, \$300; second mortgage, \$250.	\$1,200 cash; first mortgage, \$900; second mortgage, \$900.
70 acres tillable, balance wood- land.	30 acres tillable..	40 acres tillable, 220 acres brush.	30 acres tillable, 120 acres brush.	5 acres tillable, 65 acres woodland.	75 acres tillable, 100 acres woodland.
None.....	None.....	Not making liv- ing yet; sum- mer boarders.	None.....	Not making living; chil- dren in fac- tory.	Tailor.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	1.	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	Not reported	.....	12.....	4.
100.....	150.....	260.....	150.....	75.....	Not reported.
25.....	35.....	40.....	38.....	12.....	175.
10.....	10.....	50.....	30.....	None.....	22.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Few.
14.....	9.....	24.....	7.....	4.....	15.
1.....	2.....	3.....	2.....	1.....	2.
\$2,000.....	\$4,000.....	\$2,000.....	\$2,000.....	\$1,200.....	\$3,000.
\$760.....	\$430.....	\$995.....	\$400.....	\$230.....	\$530.
\$300.....	\$125.....	\$200.....	\$200.....	\$50.....	\$60.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
\$200.....	\$100.....	\$600.....	\$100.....	\$50.....	\$100.
\$3,260.....	\$4,655.....	\$3,795.....	\$2,700.....	\$1,530.....	\$3,690.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	\$1,800 <sup>b</sup> .....	\$1,000.....	Not reported...	\$550.....	\$1,600.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
\$3,260.....	\$2,855 <sup>b</sup> .....	\$2,795.....	Not reported...	\$980.....	\$2,090.

<sup>b</sup> Approximated.

TABLE 11.—*Economic history and present financial condition of*

ANNUAL FARM INCOME (AVER

Products.	Value.		Value.		Value.		Value.	
	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.
Corn.....	\$50		\$145		\$20		\$220	\$25
Hay.....	83		165		41		(b)	
Oats.....							25	13
Potatoes.....	40		145	\$100	20		160	105
Rye.....							35	23
Vegetables (not itemized).....	25	\$25	100	100	25	\$25		
Orchard products.....	13	13						
Dairy products.....	250	250	200	200	75	75	300	300
Live-stock products.....	60	60	300	300				
Poultry products.....	50	50	100	100			20	20
Total.....	571	398	1,155	800	181	100	(b)	486
Supplementary income.....			c \$20		(d)		e \$120	
Farm expenditures:								
Farm labor.....	\$42		(b)		(b)		\$175	
Fertilizer.....	16		(b)		(b)		25	
Stock feed.....	50		(b)		(b)		120	
Total.....	108		(b)		(b)		320	

a Crops reported for one year.

b Not reported.

c Rent from pasture land.

d Received assistance from children not at home; amount not reported.

e Boarders.



certain typical Hebrew families, Chesterfield, Conn.—Continued.

AGE FOR TWO YEARS).

Value.		Value. <sup>a</sup>		Value. <sup>a</sup>		Value.		Value.		Value.	
Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced. <sup>a</sup>	Sold.	Pro-duced. <sup>a</sup>	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.
\$62	.....	\$240	.....	\$160	.....	\$28	.....	\$28	.....	\$120	.....
225	.....	(b)	.....	(b)	.....	376	.....	141	.....	192	.....
40	.....	32	.....	50	.....	14	.....	(b)	.....	(b)	.....
50	\$10	250	\$103	90	.....	75	.....	115	.....	73	.....
40	.....	72	.....	90	.....	(b)	.....	.....	.....	11	.....
20	20	72	72	90	\$90	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	\$10
400	400	175	175	600	600	175	\$175	50	\$50	1,000	1,000
100	100	30	30	.....	.....	100	100	28	28	38	38
937	530	(b)	380	(b)	690	(b)	275	387	103	(b)	1,138
f \$300		g \$808		h \$1,300		i \$150		(j)		k \$65	
\$25	.....	(b)	.....	\$150	.....	\$10	.....	(b)	.....	\$275	.....
40	.....	(b)	.....	.....	.....	48	.....	(b)	.....	45	.....
150	.....	(b)	.....	250	.....	75	.....	(b)	.....	200	.....
215	.....	(b)	.....	400	.....	133	.....	(b)	.....	520	.....

f Husband's earnings and boarders.

g Daughter's earnings; boarders.

h From summer boarders.

i From children away from home; not reported.

j From summer lodgers.

TABLE 12.—Economic history and present financial condition

Data reported.	Family 1.	Family 2.	Family 3.	Family 4.
Years in locality:				
Head.....	18.....	4.....	4.....	9.....
Family.....	18.....	4.....	4.....	9.....
Present household size.....	6.....	6.....	7.....	7.....
Number of members 10 years or over.....	5.....	4.....	4.....	5.....
Male.....	2.....	2.....	2.....	3.....
Female.....	3.....	2.....	2.....	2.....
Previous location.....	New York, N. Y.	Brooklyn, N. Y.	New York, N. Y.	New York, N. Y.
Previous occupation.....	Broom dealer.	Laborer sugar refinery.	Skirt braider.	Tailor.
Value of property brought.....	\$350	\$1,400	\$1,000	\$750
Occupation in locality previous to purchase.....	None.	None	None	None.
Wages per week.....				
Years employed.....				
First land leased:				
Date.....				
Number of acres.....				
Terms.....				
Condition.....				
First land bought:				
Date.....	1891.....	1905.....	1905.....	1900.....
Number of acres.....	145.....	90.....	68.....	150.....
Price.....	\$1,000.....	\$1,600.....	\$1,450.....	\$1,300.....
Terms.....	\$350 cash and mortgage at 6 per cent.	\$1,400 cash and mortgage at 5 per cent.	\$800 cash and mortgage at 4 per cent.	\$500 cash and mortgage at 4 per cent.
Condition.....	140 acres in brush and woodland.	75 acres in woodland.	63 acres in pas- ture.	135 acres in woodland and pasture.
Occupation until living could be made from land.	Father worked as tailor in New York.	Farm laborer..	None.....	Son worked as tailor in New York.
Number of years.....	3.....	4.....		3.....
Earnings per day.....	Not reported..	Not reported..		Not reported..
Acres of land now owned.....	460.....	90.....	68.....	150.....
Acres cultivated.....	60.....	20.....	10.....	36.....
Number of apple trees.....	216.....	10.....	216.....	15.....
Live stock now owned:				
Cattle.....	17.....	7.....	7.....	15.....
Horses.....	3.....	None	1.....	2.....
Swine.....		2.....		
Financial condition:				
Value of land and improvements.....	\$10,000.....	\$1,600.....	\$2,000.....	\$6,000.....
Live stock.....	\$980.....	\$270.....	\$270.....	\$950.....
Tools and implements.....	\$1,200.....	\$100.....	\$100.....	\$300.....
Crops on hand.....	\$500.....			\$600.....
Other property.....	\$32,625 <sup>b</sup> .....	\$50.....	\$100.....	\$500.....
Gross value of all property.....	\$45,305 <sup>b</sup> .....	\$2,020.....	\$2,470.....	\$8,350.....
Indebtedness:				
On land.....	\$650.....	\$200.....	\$600.....	\$1,000.....
Other.....	\$18,000.....			
Net value of all property.....	\$26,655.....	\$1,820.....	\$1,870.....	\$7,350.....

<sup>b</sup> This includes some peach and pear trees.

of certain typical Hebrew families, Colchester, Conn.

Family 5.	Family 6.	Family 7.	Family 8.	Family 9.	Family 10.
3.....	16.....	13.....	8.....	19.....	16.
3.....	16.....	12.....	8.....	17.....	16.
2.....	4.....	2.....	5.....	4.....	5.
2.....	4.....	2.....	5.....	4.....	5.
1.....	2.....	1.....	3.....	2.....	3.
1.....	2.....	1.....	2.....	2.....	2.
New York, N.Y.	New York, N.Y.	New York, N.Y.	New York, N.Y.	Russia.....	New York, N. Y.
Cloak maker....	Worked in meat market.	Cloak maker....	Grocer.....	Clerk in store..	Blacksmith.
\$1,500.....	\$780.....	\$1,000.....	\$4,000.....	\$100.....	\$600.
None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	Peddler.....	None.
.....	.....	.....	.....	\$10.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	1.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	1891.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	75.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	\$60 per year...	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	15 acres in cul- tivation.	.....
1906.....	1893.....	1896.....	1901.....	1899.....	1893.
75.....	45.....	165.....	250.....	150.....	50.
\$3,500.....	\$430.....	\$1,000.....	\$2,500.....	\$1,150.....	\$1,100.
\$1,000 cash and mortgage at 6 per cent.	Cash.....	Cash.....	\$1,600 cash; mortgage \$900.	\$200 cash, bal- ance mort- gages.	\$550 cash and \$550 mort- gage.
25 acres in culti- vation.	33 acres brush and wood- land.	40 acres tillable, 125 acres woodland.	60 acres tillable, 190 acres woodland.	50 acres in cul- tivation.	2 cultivated, 8 tillable, 40 woodland.
None.....	Meat market, New York.	Previous sav- ings.	None.....	Summer board- ers.	Summer board- ers.
.....	5.....	1.....	.....	3.....	5.
.....	Not reported	.....	.....	Not reported..	Not reported.
75.....	275.....	165.....	250.....	150.....	160.
15.....	50.....	48.....	Not reported ..	60.....	30.
25.....	12.....	162.....	250.....	108.....	25.
12.....	23.....	20.....	32.....	19.....	10.
2.....	1.....	3.....	6.....	1.....	7.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
\$4,000.....	\$4,000.....	\$5,000.....	\$3,500.....	\$2,500.....	\$3,500.
\$580.....	\$665.....	\$925.....	\$1,530.....	\$725.....	\$705.
\$125.....	\$125.....	\$400.....	\$350.....	\$150.....	\$100.
.....	\$225.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
\$350.....	\$450.....	\$200.....	\$250.....	\$500.....	\$200.
\$5,055.....	\$5,465.....	\$6,525.....	\$5,630.....	\$3,875.....	\$4,505.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
\$2,200.....	None.....	\$500.....	\$800.....	\$50.....	\$1,475.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
\$2,855.....	\$5,465.....	\$6,025.....	\$4,830.....	\$3,825.....	\$3,030.

• Real estate in Hartford, Conn., valued at \$32,500.

TABLE 12.—*Economic history and present financial condition of*  
ANNUAL FARM INCOME (AVER

Products.	Value.		Value.		Value.		Value.	
	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.
Buckwheat.....	\$25	\$25						
Corn.....	66		\$4		\$24		\$144	
Hay.....	630		40		150		488	
Millet.....								
Oats.....	315	315					425	
Potatoes.....	158	158	45		45		250	\$75
Rye.....	150	150						
Vegetables (not itemized).....	45	45						
Orchard products.....	112	112			9	\$9		
Cord wood.....	250	250						
Dairy products.....	500	500	25	\$25	200	200	600	600
Live-stock products.....	125	125					38	38
Poultry products.....	45	45	15	15	100	100		
Total.....	2,421	1,725	129	40	528	309	1,945	713
Supplementary income.....	b \$3,536		c \$239		d \$60		e \$2,425	
Farm expenditures:								
Farm labor.....	\$150				\$25		\$265	
Fertilizer.....	160		\$1.50					
Stock feed.....	156		75.00		150			
Seed.....	200							
Total.....	666		76.50		175		265	

a Not reported.

b Rent from property in Hartford, Conn.

c Earnings of father and son.

d Rent from rooms to summer lodgers.

certain typical Hebrew families, Colchester, Conn.—Continued.

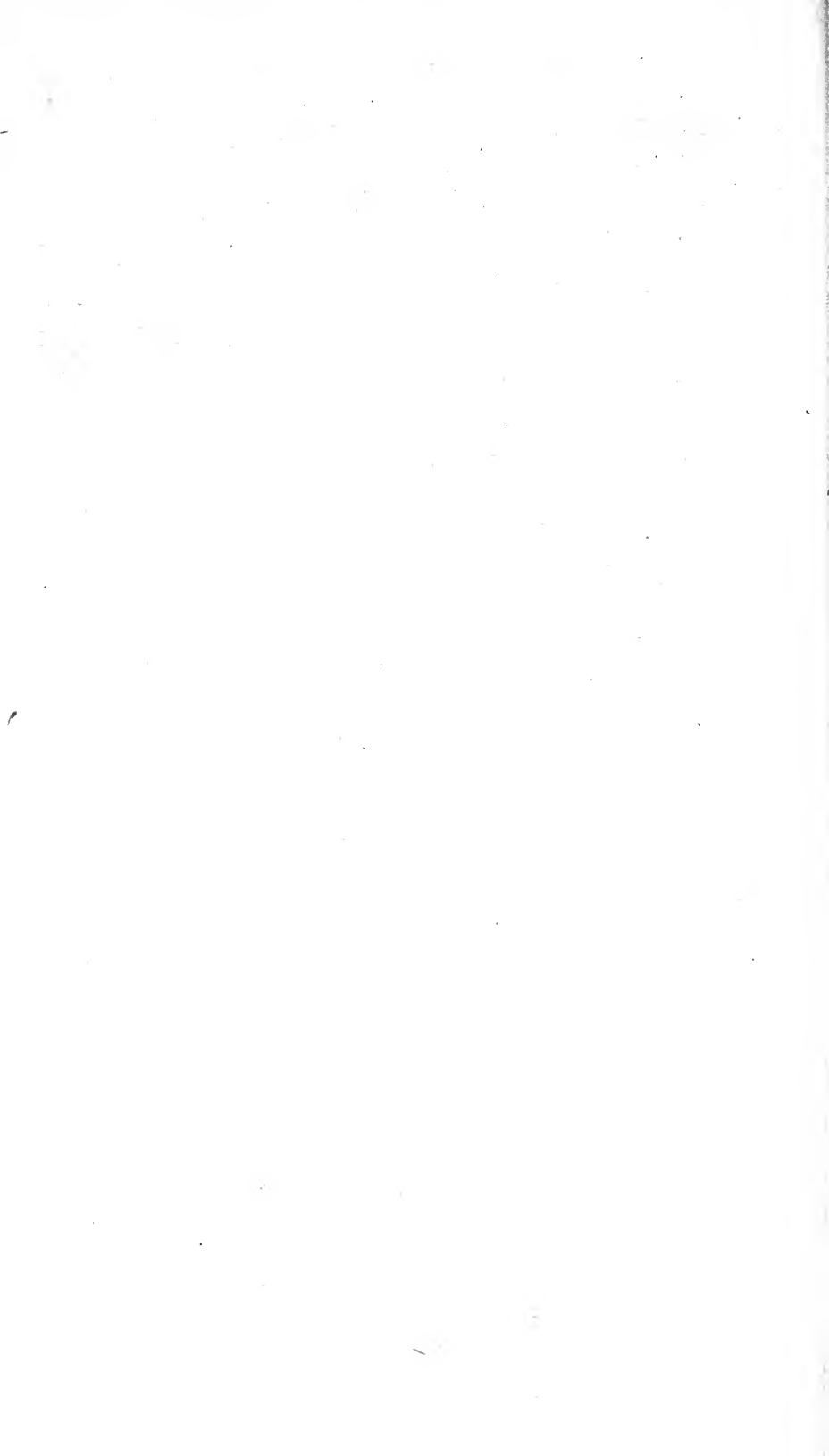
AGE FOR TWO YEARS).

Value.		Value.		Value.		Value.		Value.		Value.	
Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.
		\$240		\$250		\$160		\$5		\$17	
\$100		328		525		690		193		75	
		80						203		105	
53				(a)		40		25		20	
165	\$100	73	\$50	95		50	\$25	130	\$80	190	\$75
23				15							
				53	\$53			5	5		
100	100	800	800	750	750	600	600	350	350		
		88	88							45	45
		200	200					25	25		
741	200	1,809	1,138	(a)	803	1,540	625	936	460	452	120
<i>f</i> \$820				<i>g</i> \$1,600		<i>g</i> \$800		<i>g</i> \$400		<i>g</i> \$800	
\$150		\$144		\$150		\$250		\$75		\$150	
		100		75		60		24		75	
		325				120		180		300	
		25									
475		869		225		430		279		525	

*e* From summer boarders and earnings of son.

*f* Earnings of head and from boarders.

*g* Summer boarders.



### CHAPTER III.

## ELLINGTON, CONN., TOBACCO GROWERS.

### INTRODUCTION.

For purposes of description the Ellington settlement of Jews may be said to include the settlers in Vernon and Ellington townships, close to the Tolland County line. This is sometimes referred to as the "Rockville Settlement," Rockville, Conn., with a population of 10,000, being the county seat and the nearest city of importance. The settlement is about 20 miles northeast of Hartford, and has easy communication with that city both by trolley and by steam trains on the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad. Every one of the Hebrew settlers is within 2 miles of a railway station, and some are distant little more than a few rods. Transportation facilities are very conveniently arranged, and the service is exceptionally good.

Ellington lies just east of the Connecticut Valley proper as outlined by the United States soil survey, but the characteristics of the Valley agriculture are retained. The western part of the township is a beautiful farming region and is devoted principally to tobacco culture. The whole township, of course, was settled many years ago, and until within recent years the entire population was of New England stock. The old, substantially built farmhouses, large farmsteads, and fine yards, with the great rows of maples and elms, make a fine showing of thrift and prosperity. The settlement of Hebrews consists of some 16 farm families operating 14 farms in Ellington, 4 or 5 families in Vernon, and perhaps as many more in East Windsor townships. Twenty-five families all told, make up the entire number. Those in Ellington and Vernon only will be considered.

There is another important foreign element in the Ellington farming population. Since early in the nineties something like 25 families of German-Swiss, several of them directly from their native land, have come into the township. They have been remarkably successful farmers, and some of them are among Ellington's best citizens.

Both Hebrews and Swiss are engaged in tobacco growing and dairying, both have been settled in the community but a short time, both have been operating old farms, bought in a fair state of cultivation at good prices from well-to-do owners; the surroundings—permanent improvements and beautiful farmsteads—are the work of previous owners. The Hebrews have moved in since 1904. They are of a well-to-do class of Russian Hebrews, practically all of them men who had been independent proprietors abroad, and who brought from \$2,000 to \$18,000 with them to the locality. In general, they represent the best type of Hebrew agriculturists investigated. Their investment, both in land and improvements, in capital equipment, and in labor per farm is greater, their gross returns are larger, and

the general farming efficiency is of a more advanced type than in most other Hebrew colonies. Some are paying the penalty of ill-advised investments in equipment; some have planted too large acreages of tobacco for the labor force, and some have not been successful as milk producers. But as a general rule all are alert and apt to learn and have made a decided improvement in farming conditions since their arrival.

#### HISTORY OF SETTLEMENT.

The Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society has played a helpful part in the settlement of Hebrews at Ellington. Only a few settlers have borrowed money from the funds controlled by the society, but practically all have received advice both in purchasing land and in methods of culture. In fact, several of the farms were chosen and the price determined through the instrumentality of the society. Because of this aid and advice few men have paid too much for their land and, in consequence, most of them are hopeful and cheerful.

The first Hebrew farmer to settle in Ellington was a farmer from Colchester, Conn. He had lived a good many years on one of the poor farms near that place, but had an opportunity to sell out to advantage in 1904, and bought an old farm near Rockville. The second Hebrew farmer came from Groton, Conn., in the same year and bought land near Ellington. Both were practical farmers and men of intelligence; one went into dairying and sold milk in Rockville; the other took up an old farm of 140 acres that for years had been practically abandoned, and, although tillable, had grown up to wire grass and other foul vegetation. He began to produce tobacco and milk for the Hartford market. At present this man is cultivating 70 acres of land in hay and crops and raising a gross value of \$4,000 worth of dairy and vegetable products yearly. His bill for labor and fertilizers in 1908 was \$1,125.

After the arrival of the first two families the locality was brought to the attention of the Jewish Agricultural Society as a desirable place for settling incoming Hebrews, and since then several newcomers, Russian Hebrews, have been located on two roads on the border line between East Windsor and Ellington townships. In the majority of cases these newcomers were farmers or men who had been accustomed to handle capital in industry. They have put their money into land as a productive investment; they are commercial farmers and look for more than mere subsistence; they expect handsome returns.

It is too early to forecast the future; some have been on the land but one year, and the 1909 crop was their first; some made mistakes at the outset, and almost all have been reinvesting their surplus profits in permanent improvements—tobacco barns, silos, or repairs—or in live stock, tools, and equipment. Nearly all purchased the land with "stock and tools" and nearly all who bought found the "stock and tools" a poor bargain. One man who purchased a farm with 30 cows in 1907 found them a losing proposition, and in 1908 sold the whole number.

The settlement is still growing, although land is advancing in price, owing to the increased demand for it, and present indications



point toward a permanent, progressive settlement of Hebrew farmers in the neighborhood.

To be accurate, there are two distinct settlements, with very different economic aspects. On one road, where within a distance of two and one-half miles six or more Hebrews have bought farms, they have acquired the holdings of well-to-do owners who sold them farms on which they were living, cultivating well, and raising good crops. They sold to Hebrews and German-Swiss because their children had left them and the labor problem had become so acute that it was impossible for them to make a surplus over living expenses. The Hebrew newcomers purchased these farms in lots of from 85 to 265 acres. The price paid for land varies, of course, but runs from \$40 to \$90 per acre, including all improvements, and frequently \$1,000 worth of tools and stock per farm. Most of the land in the neighborhood is held at \$60 to \$70 an acre. It is rich heavy land, somewhat rolling, or a fine sandy loam, more level and suitable for tobacco. The six Hebrew farms on this road lie between German-Swiss and native New England homesteads of the very best type.

The other settlement is 1 mile from the first, just west of the ridge bounding the Connecticut Valley on the east. Here six years ago were half a dozen or more semi-abandoned farms which had once been well tilled, but that had for some years been allowed to fall into decay. A few acres, out of a possible 60 or 70, were cultivated in potatoes, corn, and rye, a few cows were kept and a hog or two, but there was little or no farming for profit, and the section seemed to be passing into an agricultural decline. The land is somewhat rougher, more stony, and in part very sandy, the sand being a coarser variety than that first mentioned. The farms in this vicinity were bought more cheaply, since the houses and barns were in poor repair and much of the land had reverted almost to its original condition. Some land was purchased for as little as \$15 an acre, most of it for \$30 to \$40. Most of the farms are 100 to 150 acres in extent, and aside from the woodland practically the entire acreage is capable of cultivation, after a little of the recent growth of briars and wire grass has been cleared away.

This second settlement is barely well started. The Hebrews have gone into tobacco growing and dairying, and at the present time at least three silos are in process of construction. Tobacco has proved fairly profitable, but dairying, which necessitates a systematic rotation and a considerable acreage in general crops for feed and forage, has been of greater advantage in restoring the fertility of the land and clearing it of wild grass and vegetation. Although the houses and barns do not give that impression, probably greater progress in agriculture has been made on some of these farms than on any in the vicinity within the past few years.

A detailed study was made of 11 families of Russian Hebrews and, for purposes of comparison, 5 families of German-Swiss, who occupy adjoining farms. The typical family table at the end of this chapter gives the economic summaries of 7 of these Hebrew farmers and 5 of the German-Swiss. A careful inspection of the table shows something of the progress they have made in the course of a few years on the land.

The figures used and statistics quoted in what follows, however, refer to the total number of Hebrew farm families investigated and are not limited to those exhibited in the table referred to.

#### TOPOGRAPHY, SOIL AND CLIMATE.

The whole section of country included in west Ellington township presents a very diversified contour. The wagon road from Ellington to Rockville runs below a ridge of hills, lying north and south, an extension of the upland which bounds the Connecticut Valley. Parallel to this and 1 mile nearer the valley is a second ridge 200 to 300 feet above sea level, once covered with hard wood, of which small tracts still remain. Between the two ridges and along the eastern face of the second are the farms of the first group of Hebrew settlers. Still farther west on the western slope of the second ridge, extending down into the outer rim of the Connecticut Valley, is the second group.

Practically all of the farms are on the two sides of this secondary ridge, which rises somewhat abruptly from the basin of the Hockanum River and the valley of the Connecticut. The farmers on the eastern slope look across a pretty valley, somewhat wet in its lower portions, on account of numerous springs, but producing good crops of hay. The slopes rise gently and the land is given to the culture of tobacco, corn, and vegetables. The eastern slope, on which the Hebrews are located, rises gently to the west, so gently, in fact, that several of the farms are almost level. The drainage, with a few exceptions, is excellent to the basin of the valley.

The soil is a sandy loam—a fine sand, which in places gives way to rather heavy clay. There are few stones except on the brow of the ridge; the sand is reddish brown, almost silty in places, and being well drained is an excellent soil for potatoes, vegetables, and especially tobacco. The clay land is adapted to hay, both clover and timothy, and raises good corn; the uplands are almost entirely cleared, and when too steep for cultivation are used for pasturage. Those who have wet ground near the lower level of the little valley use it for meadow, and cut fair crops of hay in good seasons.

On the western side of the ridge, where lies the poorer soil, previously mentioned, there is a good deal of second or third growth timber on the highest points—much of it a sort of scrub oak. On the lower levels the land is sandy and stony, more or less broken and irregular in contour, less easily cultivated, but fairly well drained. There are places where a heavy clay appears, white or brownish, but the greater part is a sandy loam of coarser texture.

Here tobacco grows well, but corn is not so rank and hay not so productive as on the first-mentioned soil. Here were a few years ago the greater number of the semi-abandoned farms.

The climate is such that with proper cultivation corn and tobacco fully mature before frost, if the season is normal. The temperature during the growing season ranges from 56° in May to 61° in September. July is the warmest month, with a mean temperature of 70°. The rainfall is normally heaviest during the growing season, 4.5 inches monthly.

## AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS.

The size of farms ranges from 85 to 265 acres (the average being about 120 acres), and two-thirds of the acreage is in tame hay or cultivated crops. A number of the farms are of the original size, but some immigrants have added more land and a few have cut down the original holding by selling a portion of their cultivated land. The remainder of the acreage is in woodland or wild pasture, a great deal of which is on the higher and rougher areas.

The Hebrew farms are of very much the same size as the others in the community, and the type of agriculture followed differs very little from that of the original farmer—the New Englander, or the German-Swiss element. The Swiss acreage per farm is usually less, and nearly every rod of the land they occupy is in cultivation, if the land is at all fit for cultivation. But the Swiss have been in the community for a longer period.

The two crops of universal commercial interest are tobacco and Irish potatoes. Tobacco is raised by every farmer whose land is at all adapted to it, but there are no large growers. The average area planted to tobacco by a Hebrew farmer is from 6 to 10 acres, and the production ranges from 1,400 pounds to 2,000 pounds per acre. It does not appear that the Hebrews average less tobacco to the acre, or that, on the whole, the quality of the cured leaf is inferior to the average in the neighborhood. The variety grown almost exclusively is the wrapper leaf, of which there are two sorts, the so-called broad leaf and the short Habana leaf. The broad leaf is less grown now than formerly, and in the neighborhood of Ellington is raised on the sandier soils.

Tobacco requires very careful preparation of the soil, good tillage, and close attention from planting to shipment. It is very susceptible to climatic changes and weather conditions in every stage of its growth, and even after it is ready for shipment, the fluctuations of the market are a source of anxiety to the tobacco tiller. Heat or frost, drought or excessive humidity, hail or wind, a hundred animal pests and diseases, and finally the fancy of the consumer, all seem in league against the grower. The Hebrews, unfamiliar with tobacco, have met these untoward conditions with varying degrees of success. They employ all the implements, planters, cultivators, smoothing harrows, and fertilizer distributors used by the other planters, apply large quantities of high-grade fertilizer, and give the same cultivation that other growers do. They have not been in the community long enough to introduce any innovations in the way of methods or new varieties. Several have built new tobacco barns of the usual type. To build a shed capable of holding the product of 10 acres of tobacco costs from \$1,000 to \$1,300.

The selling price of tobacco varies from year to year for reasons that need not be discussed here. The bulk of the 1906 Hebrew crop sold for 17 cents a pound, the 1907 crop at 11 cents, and the 1908 crop from 11 to as low as 8 $\frac{3}{4}$  cents.

Potatoes, in general, have proved profitable. They are not raised in large quantities, but every farmer produces them; the larger growers sell from \$500 to \$800 worth yearly. Very few have more than 10 acres of them, the average lying between 4 and 7 acres a farm. Not all

the soil is adapted to potatoes, and a fair yield is 100 bushels to the acre.

Very few other vegetables or truck crops are grown for market, and practically no fruit of any kind is sold. Cabbages and tomatoes were reported by two or three farmers, but the total commercial acreage did not exceed 4 acres in 1908.

Rye and rye straw find a ready sale, grow well on the light sandy or stony soils, and bring good returns. The straw is sold in bundles and is used for bedding in livery stables. Only a small acreage is grown by the Hebrews, however.

All of the other crops—corn, oats, hay, corn stover, and ensilage—are accompaniments of the dairy industry. There are several silos, more are being built, but the chief reliance for forage is mixed timothy and clover hay—of which some farmers raise 40 acres—and corn stover. One of the Hebrew farmers raises the best corn in that section of country. The average yield is almost 40 bushels of flint corn per acre; 50 bushels is considered a very large crop. Corn follows oats or rye in the rotation of crops and precedes clover and timothy “mowing;” the grass seed is sown between the corn rows after the last cultivation.

Oats do not make a very good showing, and are dropping out of the rotation. Frequently they are not threshed, but are cut green for hay, or harvested and fed in the bundle. Taken together—oats, hay, and ensilage—hardly enough grass and clover are grown to supply the stock. It is usual to buy some mill feed to supplement the feed and forage produced on the farm. Tame hay averages  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 tons per acre, wild meadow yields about 1 ton of poorer hay. One or two crops are cut from one sowing, and then the field is turned into pasture for a year, or broken up for potatoes or some other hoed crop.

Both the Hebrews and the German Swiss have gone rather extensively into the dairy industry. There are some good cows, but few well-bred dairy cattle of either milk or butter strains. The herds range from 5 to 25 cows, and the value of dairy products sold annually from \$75 to \$1,500 per farm. In addition to this, there is, of course, the butter and milk used by the family. The product sold is milk. One or two farmers sell to local milk dealers or retail the milk in Rockville, and some cream is sold; but the bulk of the product is shipped from the local station to the Hartford market. One or two farmers sell butter to private customers in New York or Hartford and get better returns than those who sell the milk directly. The question of disposing of the skimmed milk in these instances has been solved by one Hebrew, who raises hogs on the by-products of the dairy.

All Hebrew farmers in Ellington have from two to six horses, some of them fine draft animals. Two or three good horses are required to draw the heavy plows and cultivators used. No sheep are kept, and few cattle other than milk cows.

The investment in tools, implements, wagons, and farm machines is larger and the equipment more modern and complete than on many American farms. It is almost impossible to obtain sufficient farm laborers, and the substitution of machinery for manual labor has been going on for some time. The Hebrews came in ignorant of the methods of specialized agriculture, and have taken it up after the manner of the farmers in the neighborhood. Having money, they invested

heavily in this capital equipment. Under the best of conditions a great deal of human labor is necessary in tobacco culture and dairying. On one farm an outlay of \$1,500 for labor is noted.

Manures in large quantities are composted on the farms. First collected in manure pits or cellars under the barns in the New England fashion, then deposited in great piles in the fields, where it is allowed to rot, the manure is finally applied with a spreader or a fork in the spring or fall. Barnyard manure suffices for top dressing hay land, for potatoes, and for corn. For tobacco and potatoes commercial fertilizers of several sorts are applied at an annual expense of \$250 to \$1,200 yearly, or, in some cases, more than \$50 per acre. In the application of fertilizers of all sorts, there is some evidence that the Hebrews are using somewhat better judgment, both in the kind and in the quantity applied, and one or two, at least, are making some practical experiments; in general, however, they are content to follow the methods of their American neighbors.

The buildings and permanent improvements on nearly all of the better farms are excellent. The houses are large, well built of wood or brick, with plenty of porches and piazzas, and almost always surrounded by fine old trees and a large yard. The barns are more or less out of repair, but are large basement structures, with a wood house and machinery and carriage shed attached. A few of the old New England style—barn, carriage house, woodshed, and dwelling all under connecting roofs—are seen. On the poorer farms the buildings are very much dilapidated and very much in need of extensive repairs and of paint. In general, the Hebrew does not give as much attention to repairs on buildings and fences, or to care of his tools, as does his neighbor. There is a thriftless aspect to several of these farmsteads that ill accords with good farming. The barnyards are cluttered and disorderly, the lawns and gardens are not mowed or neatly kept, and the outbuildings and gates need paint, hinges, and a general freshening. In this respect both the German-Swiss and the American are in advance of the Hebrew. There is good reason for this lack of attention to little details of neatness and order, but in the midst of general prosperity, and neighbors who take pride in the appearance of their farms, the Hebrew farm home is unfavorably conspicuous, in a number of instances. There are some exceptions, and on two of the farms, in particular, great improvements have been made, not only in the number of buildings, but in the whole appearance of the farmstead.

The fact that the Hebrews are traders and bargainers has militated against permanent progress in some cases. Within five years some of the farms have changed owners three times. The hard labor, close attention, and the necessity of remaining confined on a dairy farm every day in the year, is a great hardship to the Hebrew whose life has been spent in commercial enterprises—unless the surplus returns from the farm flow in steadily. But nearly all these men are hopeful; those who have secured a little foothold are developing into efficient farmers and fairly successful dairymen. True, some have been investing all profits and some reserve capital in improvements and equipment, but some, too, have been receiving good returns. When one considers that they have learned all they know of American life and American agriculture in four years, their present stage of progress is gratifying.

## MARKETS AND MARKETING FACILITIES.

Transportation service is very good, railway depots are convenient to every farmer in the community, and wagon roads are usually in excellent condition. There is some complaint of exorbitant freight charges and discriminations, but there is opportunity to dispose of any product at almost any time.

The milk and butter market has been referred to. Tobacco is sold, as is customary in the Connecticut Valley district, to buyers from the tobacco warehouses, who visit the farmers in the autumn, sometimes before the tobacco is cut, and purchase the crop at a certain price, delivered in winter or spring. There is much complaint by growers that these buyers are not competitors, that the price is fixed by the tobacco trust, and that the smaller growers are completely at the mercy of the tobacco dealer. The Hebrew grower suffers as much as but probably no more than other tobacco men from such exactions and discriminations. From the standpoint of the farmer neither the milk nor the tobacco markets are satisfactory, but in general the Hebrew is on the same plane as his neighbors.

Potatoes are sold at a flat rate to Rockville dealers, or to grocers, or are shipped to wholesale produce merchants in Hartford or Springfield. The potato market is excellent and the fluctuations are due largely to variations in the supply. In most years this crop is a paying one. Many farmers store their potatoes in cellars and sell in the spring.

There is a flourishing local grange in the neighborhood, but up to date the grange has paid little attention to cooperative selling. Some hostility to the grange has developed on the part of the Hebrew farmers, because, as one of the prominent Hebrews reported, the grange was not willing to admit all Hebrews to membership. There was no opposition to certain of the farmers, but the Hebrews wished to come in in a body, if at all. The objection made was that several of the foreign farmers could speak no English, or at least not enough to make themselves understood. At any rate, some of the Hebrews feel that they are not acceptable to the grangers, and as a whole they are inclined to criticise grange methods and granger hospitality.

In 1908, partly owing to the feeling in regard to the grange, a branch of the new farmers' organization, the American Federation of Jewish Farmers, was formed. There are now about 30 members. The society is far-reaching in scope and purpose, and includes cooperative selling of produce, cooperative buying of supplies, mutual aid for the sick and unfortunate, social and educational features and discussions of farm topics. Another feature that bids fair to become an established institution is a sort of peace or arbitration committee of five members, who are empowered to decide and settle disputes of various sorts between members. A saving in expenses of litigation and in consequent bad feeling is hoped for through this instrumentality.

In developing business cooperation not much has been done. The members propose to buy fertilizer and to market tobacco, perhaps, cooperatively, in an endeavor to deal as directly as possible with manufacturers. At this point it may be well to mention the social advantages of the organization. Both men and women belong

to the federation. Meetings are held once a week in winter, and semi-monthly in summer. They are held in the evenings at the houses of members, and the social opportunities afforded are much enjoyed. About twice a year a farmers' picnic is planned. If all works out well, the association bids fair to become a powerful factor in the social life of the rural community.

#### PROPERTY OWNED.

One of the Hebrew farms noted in the table at the end of the chapter is owned by two brothers. The others represent typical investments made by individual Hebrews. The values of land and improvements as given are perhaps too high in one or two instances, but in others the amount given represents a fair valuation, \$4,500 to \$14,000, with an average of \$8,714 per farm. The values in tools, implements, live stock, and crops of hay and grain in the barns and granaries show the comparatively heavy capital equipment that must be carried, in instances more than \$4,000. The amount of indebtedness is large, both in proportion to the value of the land and in the aggregate. Of the 11 Hebrew families investigated every one reported indebtedness varying from one-sixth to four-fifths of the value of the land. Four of the 11 have debts for supplies and equipment; the remaining indebtedness is part of the purchase price of the real estate. Despite the indebtedness, which is not of long standing, and which in most cases has been reduced somewhat since the purchase was made, the showings for the net values of property owned are gratifying, and signify that these men are not financially helpless, like some who have settled on cheap lands in certain other places. In most instances they compare very favorably with their Swiss neighbors, some of whom have been in the locality for twenty years.

The neighbors almost invariably speak well of the industry and integrity of the Hebrew farmers. They are hard workers for the most part, ambitious and saving along certain lines. That is to say, money is carefully invested and little foolishly expended, but many wastes are apparent to the shrewd New England farmer. It is said that there is a tendency to replace a broken implement with a new one rather than to repair it; that cows are often fed more expensive rations than are justified, and that hay and grain are spilled and destroyed. However, it is agreed most are energetic, alert, active, and anxious to advance.

The women give most of their time to the affairs of household; few or none work in the fields, as do the women from Switzerland. Children, too, are sent to school during its sessions rather than kept out to work in the potato or corn fields.

#### THE PROBLEM OF FARM LABOR.

A large number of laborers are required by the dairymen and tobacco growers at some time during the season. The Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society has done a great deal toward getting newly arrived immigrants onto these farms. Many of the

laborers hired by the year or month are secured in this way; but many of the day laborers are Polish or, occasionally, Italians who reside in the vicinity. The inexperienced Hebrew immigrants receive \$15 to \$20, occasionally as much as \$25 a month, and board, the highest rate being paid during the summer season. Day laborers are paid \$1.50 to \$2 per day, usually without board. The largest force is required in the season for cutting tobacco, when some of the Hebrew farmers employ a dozen men. Farm laborers are very hard to secure, especially by the month or season, and the green hands remain but one summer often, then betake themselves to some other employment. Several men have grown sons or other relatives who aid them, and two farms are handled by partners, chiefly on account of the difficulty in securing the requisite number of hired men to carry on farming operations. Both the Poles and the Hebrews work well and willingly, but neither can handle horses to advantage, and have difficulty in operating almost any sort of farm machinery.

#### STANDARD OF LIVING.

As previously noted, the majority of the Hebrews are of the well-to-do class of Russian Jews, men who have had money and independent positions in the United States or abroad. For this reason, perhaps, there are fewer marks of the foreigner about them than of many of the Hebrews on the land. The food used is "kosher" in most instances, but is not less abundant than the American or essentially different in variety. Perhaps less attention is given to quality of food and manner of serving than in some households, but this is not characteristic.

The homes are not alike in appointment. Some have well-furnished houses, with pianos, carpets, pictures, books, and tasteful furniture and decorations, more modern in equipment than the ordinary Valley farm houses. Other homes are very dirty and ill kept; there is only the most necessary furniture. In almost all instances, however, there are hammocks, swings, lawn seats under the trees, and some rocking chairs or porch seats, all denoting a desire to be comfortable and to enjoy leisure.

The old men do not all speak English well, nor do the older women, but all make the attempt. They purpose to get command of English as quickly as possible. The young people, whether born in the United States or abroad, all speak English and are very desirous of adopting American standards of life and becoming Americans as quickly as possible.

#### SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS.

The most amicable relations seem to exist between the Hebrews and the rest of the community. The only distinctions emphasized are the foreign tongue and the failure to keep the first day of the week as the Sabbath. Some have been in the community long enough to meet on open, neighborly terms with Americans, others who are yet halting in speech keep quite to themselves in all matters except business. The grange has been spoken of as objecting to a Hebrew contingent. This was partly a personal matter between the leaders, but largely a matter of language. Some granges objected to the



admission of those obviously ignorant of the English tongue. Aside from this and a certain ingrained prejudice against the Hebrew and a widespread opinion that a Hebrew farmer is an anomaly, this settlement bears an excellent reputation in Ellington and vicinity.

Among themselves there is a great deal of neighborly visiting, occasionally a dance or a merrymaking, frequent Sunday gatherings, and a good deal of intercourse with Hartford, where are many relatives and friends. The proximity of Rockville and Hartford, with easy means of communication, does much to relieve the monotony of farm life and provide a means of recreation. Another opportunity for social relaxation is opened by the Hebrew farmers' organization before mentioned. Then, in the summer, there are numerous city visitors coming and going from July to October. None of the farmers keep any summer boarders for profit.

All seem eager to secure the best education possible, and one of the common complaints was the lack of adequate school facilities. There is a good public school near Ellington, and ample accommodations in other district schools—schools that have satisfied rural Connecticut for many years. But the Hebrew is not satisfied. The children of the Hebrews have made good progress in the schools and no prejudice is manifested against them. There are practically no illiterates among those interviewed; all can read and write their native language. Some are acquainted with Hebrew, Yiddish, and Russian. Very few of the younger children—or those born in the United States—can read or write anything but English; at home the language spoken is Yiddish or English.

#### MORAL CONDITIONS.

Morally there is much to be said in their praise and little in their disparagement. They are said to be shrewd bargainers, but there was no complaint of cheating or dishonesty. Dealers who buy their produce find it, in general, up to specifications. Those who profess to know declare that the Hebrews of Ellington stand well in business morality. That the economic independence of most of these colonists has had much to do with this comparatively high moral standard is a safe assumption.

No crimes have been committed and very few lawsuits have arisen in the settlement. Questions of boundary lines, trespass of stock, failure to keep up line fences, and nonfulfillment of contract obligations have been causes of litigation here and elsewhere more often among the Hebrews themselves than between Hebrews and Americans.

To sum up, most of them are honest, hard-working, law-abiding people, seeking prosperity, desiring American citizenship in the best sense, and aiming to educate their children in American ways. Opportunities to realize this condition are afforded at Ellington in greater degree than in many places. There is fertile soil, good marketing facilities, large possibilities for the educated, practical farmer. There is no real segregation by race. Nearly every Hebrew has a neighbor who is a non-Hebrew. Prejudice is dying out rapidly, and the "Hebrew farmer" is making himself respected as a farmer and as a citizen.

## POLITICAL CONDITIONS.

The great majority of the men have been in the United States less than five years; most of them between two and four. All interviewed, who have resided here five years, are full citizens, but more than one-half are necessarily aliens. A few have their first papers and all who can intend to take out full papers at the earliest moment possible. No one expressed a desire to remain an alien. The difficulty in the way is inability to speak and read English fluently (for to vote in Connecticut one must read and write), but all who are able, at the end of five-years' residence—and many will be—purpose to make application for citizenship papers.

## STATISTICAL DATA FOR SELECTED FAMILIES.

A detailed study was made of 11 families of Russian Hebrews and, for purposes of comparison, 5 families of Germans from Switzerland who occupy adjoining farms. The table following shows the economic history and present financial condition of all of the German and 7 of the Hebrew families.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

TABLE 13.—Economic history and present financial

Data reported.	German-Swiss.				
	Family 1.	Family 2.	Family 3.	Family 4.	Family 5.
Years in locality:					
Head.....	7.....	8.....	13.....	15.....	21.....
Family.....	7.....	8.....	13.....	11.....	21.....
Present household size.....	10.....	4.....	3.....	9.....	8.....
Number of members 10 years or over.....	9.....	2.....	2.....	3.....	8.....
Male.....	3.....	1.....	1.....	2.....	5.....
Female.....	6.....	1.....	1.....	1.....	3.....
Previous location.....	Switzerland.	Switzerland.	Illinois.....	Switzerland.	Switzerland.
Previous occupation.....	Farming for self.	Farming for self.	Farm laborer	On father's farm.	On father's farm.
Value of property brought.....	\$10,000.....	\$3,000.....	\$2,500.....	N. R. <sup>b</sup> .....	\$1.....
First occupation in locality.....	Farm laborer	Farm laborer	Farm laborer	Farm laborer	Farm laborer.
Wages per week.....	\$5.83.....	\$7.....	\$7.....	\$7.....	\$7 <sup>d</sup> .....
Years employed.....	1.....	1.....	8.....	4.....	4.....
First land bought:					
Date.....	1902.....	1902.....	1896.....	1902.....	1892.....
Number of acres.....	174.....	45.....	135.....	45.....	50.....
Price.....	\$9,500 <sup>c</sup> .....	\$2,700 <sup>f</sup> .....	\$5,500.....	\$3,200.....	\$2,250.....
Terms.....	\$4,750 cash, balance secured by mortgage.	\$1,700 cash, balance secured by mortgage.	\$2,000 cash, balance secured by mortgage.	\$1,200 cash, balance secured by mortgage.	\$500 cash, balance secured by mortgage.
Condition.....	All cultivated; house and barn.	20 acres cultivated, 25 woodland; 2 houses and barn.	30 acres tillable; house and barn.	22 acres tillable; house and barn.	25 acres tillable, 25 woodland and swamp.
Occupation before living could be made from land.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	Worked in woolen mill.	Farm laborer and previous savings.
Number of years.....	.....	.....	.....	2.....	1.....
Earnings per day.....	.....	.....	.....	N. R. ....	\$1 <sup>g</sup> .....
Acres of land now owned.....	174.....	51.....	45.....	45.....	44.....
Acres tillable.....	174.....	30.....	16.....	22.....	30.....
Apple trees.....	12.....	12.....	12.....	12.....	432.....
Pear trees.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Live stock now owned:					
Cattle.....	25.....	5.....	7.....	10.....	14.....
Horses.....	4.....	2.....	2.....	2.....	3.....
Swine.....	12.....	2.....	.....	.....	.....
Financial condition:					
Value of land and improvements.....	\$10,500.....	\$6,500.....	\$4,000.....	\$3,200.....	\$3,500.....
Live stock.....	\$1,645.....	\$445.....	\$485.....	\$500.....	\$740.....
Tools and implements.....	\$850.....	\$200.....	\$200.....	\$100.....	\$2,000.....
Crops on hand.....	\$750.....	\$200.....	\$160.....	\$300.....	\$375.....
Other property.....	\$400.....	\$500.....	\$150.....	\$500.....	\$200.....
Total gross value of property.....	\$14,145.....	\$7,845.....	\$5,095.....	\$4,600.....	\$6,815.....
Indebtedness—					
On land.....	\$3,500.....	\$1,000.....	.....	\$2,000.....	\$1,000.....
Other.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Net value of property.....	\$10,645.....	\$6,845.....	\$5,095.....	\$2,600.....	\$5,815.....

<sup>a</sup> Occupation abroad.

<sup>b</sup> \$3,000 sent to him from native land.

<sup>c</sup> \$4,000 was sent to him soon after he came to United States.

<sup>d</sup> Lived on savings for 1 year.

condition of certain typical families, Ellington, Conn.

Hebrews.						
Family 1.	Family 2.	Family 3.	Family 4.	Family 5.	Family 6.	Family 7.
3.....	5.....	4.....	2.....	3.....	2.....	2.....
3.....	5.....	4.....	2.....	3.....	2.....	2.....
5.....	8.....	5.....	10.....	3.....	5.....	5.....
4.....	6.....	5.....	6.....	3.....	5.....	2.....
2.....	3.....	2.....	3.....	1.....	2.....	1.....
2.....	3.....	3.....	3.....	2.....	3.....	1.....
Russia.....	Willington and Crystal Lake, Conn.	Russia.....	New York, N. Y.	New York, N. Y.	New Haven, Conn.	Norfolk, Va.
Manager of a farm.	Farming for self.	Dealer in lumber.	Plumber's helper.	Contractor, road con- struction. <sup>a</sup>	Grocery mer- chant.	Grocery mer- chant.
\$5,000.....	\$3,500.....	\$2,000 <sup>c</sup> .....	\$18,000.....	\$2,000.....	\$3,000.....	\$2,000.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1906.....	1904.....	1905.....	1907.....	1906.....	1907.....	1907.....
125.....	140.....	265.....	265.....	130.....	115.....	85.....
\$9,000.....	\$4,000.....	\$12,000.....	\$12,500.....	\$4,500.....	\$7,000.....	\$7,500.....
\$3,000 cash, balance se- cured by mortgage. 60 acres cul- tivated, 25 woodland, 40 tillable.	\$1,000 cash, \$3,000 bor- rowed. 5 acres cul- tivated, bal- ance till- able.	\$5,000 cash, balance se- cured by mortgage. 125 acres till- able; house and barn.	\$2,500 cash, balance \$700 per year. 25 acres cul- tivated, balance tillable; house and barn.	\$1,800 cash, balance se- cured by mortgage. 10 acres cul- tivated, balance run down; house and barn.	\$2,000 cash, balance \$300 per year. 90 acres cul- tivated, bal- ance till- able.	\$2,000 cash, balance \$200 per year. All culti- vated; house and barn.
None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
1 <sup>d</sup> .....	.....	.....	1 <sup>d</sup> .....	.....	.....	.....
125.....	170.....	170.....	265.....	84.....	115.....	85.....
72.....	65.....	125.....	105.....	60.....	115.....	85.....
108.....	12.....	25.....	50.....	12.....	40.....	10.....
.....	.....	25.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
21.....	16.....	29.....	5.....	5.....	10.....	19.....
4.....	3.....	.....	6.....	3.....	3.....	2.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
\$8,500.....	\$8,000.....	\$14,000.....	\$12,000.....	\$4,500.....	\$6,500.....	\$7,500.....
\$2,075.....	\$875.....	\$1,205 <sup>b</sup> .....	\$1,465.....	\$385.....	\$1,000.....	\$700.....
\$350.....	\$700.....	\$1,500.....	\$1,200.....	\$900.....	\$900.....	\$300.....
\$1,000.....	\$750.....	\$1,200.....	\$900.....	\$300.....	\$350.....	\$300.....
\$200.....	\$300.....	\$300.....	\$500.....	\$50.....	\$800.....	\$200.....
\$12,125.....	\$10,625.....	\$18,205.....	\$16,065.....	\$5,325.....	\$9,550.....	\$9,000.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
\$5,000.....	\$3,000.....	\$8,700.....	\$4,600.....	\$700.....	\$4,400.....	\$5,200.....
\$200.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
\$6,925.....	\$7,625.....	\$9,505.....	\$11,465.....	\$4,625.....	\$5,150.....	\$3,800.....

<sup>c</sup> Including stock and tools.<sup>f</sup> Including stock valued at \$75.<sup>g</sup> And board and lodging.<sup>h</sup> Not including value of horses not reported

TABLE 13.—*Economic history and present financial condition*

## ANNUAL INCOME FROM FARM PRODUCTS

Products.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.
Apples.....										
Buckwheat.....										
Cabbage.....										
Corn.....	\$485		\$150		\$120		\$225			
Hay.....	1,000		150		225		150		\$375	
Oats.....	48		18				13			
Potatoes.....	210	\$95	200	\$200	35	\$35	145	\$80	90	\$50
Rye.....	108									
Rye straw.....										
Silage.....									168	
Tobacco.....	1,350	1,350	675	675	230	230	250	250	400	400
Other garden products not specified.			40	40						
Dairy products.....	800	800	240	240	225	225	1,100	1,100	1,100	1,100
Live stock.....	150	150								
Poultry products.....	50	50	50	50	68	68	100	100	100	100
Total.....	4,201	2,445	1,523	1,205	903	558	1,983	1,530	2,233	1,688
Supplementary income.....									(a)	

## EXPENSES FOR

Farm labor.....							\$180		
Fertilizer.....		\$250		\$80		\$115	45		\$125
Seed and forage.....		25				c 70	c 400		c 300
Total.....		275		80		185	625		425

a \$386 earnings of son.

b \$96 per year, rent of part of house.

of certain typical families, Ellington, Conn.—Continued.

(AVERAGE FOR TWO YEARS).

Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.
\$86	\$86											\$75	\$75
363		\$200		\$10		\$63	\$63	\$450		253		\$295	
300		500		240	\$10	713		1,200		613		300	
				388		563		165		103	103		
225	163	420	\$420	107		588	588	675	\$675	775	775	215	\$185
				250		65				113	113	40	
				225						138	138		
1,500	1,500	750	750	1,500		1,350	1,350	500		1,450	1,450	3,250	3,250
				20									
				20	1,500								
350	350	650	650	775		613	613	1,375	1,375	400	400	75	75
175	175	50	50	60				115	115	450	450		
25	25	50	50	100				50	50				
				100									
3,024	2,299	2,620	1,920	3,450		3,955	2,614	5,980	3,665	6,170	5,304	1,575	910
					2,690								
									(b)				

1 YEAR (1908).

\$600	\$80	\$700	\$400	\$800	\$1,500	\$150
800	750	700	675	500	1,100	500
		100	50	100		
1,400	830	1,500	1,125	1,400	2,600	650

\* Stock food.





## CHAPTER IV.

### HOLLISTON, MASS., AND VICINITY, GENERAL FARMERS.

#### INTRODUCTION.

Three towns, situated in the eastern part of Massachusetts, about 25 miles west by south of Boston, well located with reference to markets, excellently provided with both steam and trolley service, with a very fair quality of soil and many substantial and prosperous country dwellers have since 1898 or thereabout been the home of two or three small settlements of Russian Hebrews. One man has been living there for twenty-five years, but the greater number seem to have arrived since 1899.

In Holliston the number of farmers seems to have diminished. There are now (1909) but 7 Hebrews engaged in farming. In Medway there are 13 or 14 families who live on the land and engage in agriculture to a greater or less extent. In Millis there are 13.

There are in all about 39 parcels of land, or "farms," owned by Hebrews and about 34 operating, tax-paying farmers, all counted, in the three townships. But actually there are almost none who depend entirely upon the farm income for a living. Cattle buyers, junk gatherers, butchers, peddlers, summer-boarder hotel men, poultry buyers, day laborers, and absentee owners are among the number. Almost everyone depends as much on his outside occupation and several depend more upon it than on the products of the farm for a livelihood. There are a good many Hebrews in the neighborhood. A new synagogue is building at Millis, and it is said the attending congregation numbers 40 families. There are in addition synagogues at Holliston.

Personal visits to 13 of the Hebrew owners in those townships developed the fact that not half were enthusiastic farmers, although the most of the farms present a good appearance and the country seems fairly prosperous. The Hebrew farms lie between West Medway and Holliston and between West Medway and Millis. A considerable proportion have bought old farms with some very good buildings thereon. The average farm is a little less than 60 acres in Millis and the average value is something over \$2,500, including the improvements. In Medway the average holding is less than 40 acres and the average assessed value of real estate with improvements is about \$2,500.

The form of agriculture most extensively carried on is dairying. A few of the farmers in Medway, and almost all those near Millis keep herds of dairy cows, from 10 to 16 or 18 in a herd, and sell milk to the Boston milk contractors. Some of these men sell as much as \$1,000 worth of milk yearly, and one reported receipts of \$1,500 from milk sales, but most of the dairymen handle less than \$500 worth of farm products of all sorts each year. Supplemental occupations of the nature previously referred to add materially to the income of these farmers.

## HISTORICAL.

The oldest settler seems to have come to the neighborhood of Holliston about 1886 from the vicinity of Boston, after he had been engaged in peddling dry goods for two years. He arrived from Poland in 1884, and having been a farmer abroad, after a little experience in the peddling business, he bought a small tract of uncleared land, mostly on credit, and tried to make a home and a living by agriculture. While he has succeeded in clearing some land, has built a comfortable little home, given a good education to a family of children, and maintained his health he still pays interest on the original mortgage and peddles dry goods to make ends meet.

Others settled a little later; land was not abnormally dear and a few took up small parcels, frequently buying out the old farmers. Transportation is convenient and living in the country is cheap. Schools are good, and the children are able to do something on the small cleared acreages, while the father gathers junk or trades in cattle.

Only one man of those interviewed came directly from abroad to his present home in the locality. The others had been in the United States for one or more years engaged in various mercantile pursuits—restaurant keepers, bakers, peddlers, tailors, junk dealers, or the like—before selecting land in the neighborhood. They have kept coming and going. A good deal of land frequently changes ownership in the Hebrew section. Hebrews there as elsewhere are alive to the speculative advantages and the unearned increment in their land holdings, and though few sell out at a loss, few are unwilling to take advantage of an opportunity to sell at a profit. But there are a number of recent comers, especially in and about Millis and West Medway, and the incoming tide is not likely to cease as long as summer boarders are taken. Out of the hundreds who come during the summer for a few weeks there is usually one or more who is pleased with the place—for the countryside there is beautiful—and who then or later buys a farm and becomes a member of the Hebrew community. Some few own land, but do not live on it, holding it as a speculative investment.

There is no great influx, no steady flow of immigrants, but there are increases year by year and the numbers are being slowly augmented by Hebrews dissatisfied with urban conditions, although the settlement can not be called altogether prosperous.

There have been, as has been noted, a good many desertions, usually because of failure to make a living on the land. There seems to have been no great exodus at any one time, but the great drawback to substantial growth has been the transitory nature of the settlements in certain places. In this respect the Millis group seems much more solid and stable, more like an enduring community, than those who have settled nearer Holliston. All told, the numbers are small and the only prospect of increase or of maintaining the present population is from without, for practically none of the children seem to have any intention of remaining on the paternal acres or of farming at all.

## CONDITIONS OF AGRICULTURE AND COUNTRY LIFE.

There is a large acreage of land with good soil, well drained, freed from rocks and apparently capable of raising grain and grass in paying quantities in these three towns. The native farmers have good homes and appear for the most part fairly prosperous.

The Hebrews raise little vegetable produce for sale; one or two sell hay, of which every farmer raises a few tons, and for which there is a ready market; two men reported sales of vegetables and one of sweet corn, in no case more than a few dollars' worth annually. Potatoes, millet, corn, rye, and hay are grown, but chiefly for home use or for feed for farm stock. Vegetables and poultry products are consumed in large quantities by the summer boarders or lodgers, but many farmers do not produce nearly enough for their tables and buy large quantities of produce, often from the Boston market.

The average Hebrew farm has less than 10 acres, often less than 5 acres, in staple agricultural crops other than hay, and it is noticeable that the larger portion of all crops is destined for grain or roughage for live stock. Oat hay, corn fodder, ensilage, millet, rye hay, as well as the ordinary hay grasses, are utilized as stock feed. No wheat is raised for grain, and oats are not often a satisfactory crop.

From 10 to 20 acres are devoted to the production of tame grasses to be cut for hay. The yield is from 1 to 2 tons per acre in a normal year, and, in addition, a crop of rowen is sometimes cut when there has been a favorable summer with plenty of rain after the first mowing. Hay finds a ready sale at good prices both in the immediate vicinity during the winter and, when baled, in Boston and Providence. Many of the Hebrews sell no raw products of any kind, but those who do commonly report sales of hay. Not many farmers raise enough feed for their own stock, and in several instances the purchases of grain and forage exceed the sales of vegetable products. One farmer, for example, reports \$960 worth of grain bought for cow and horse feed in 1908. His sales of milk amounted to \$1,500 during the same period.

As was said, milk products, i. e., whole milk and a little cheese and butter, are the chief products disposed of. In Millis 7 of 13 farmers report 12 to 18 head of dairy cattle, as shown by the books of the assessor. The other 6 are assessed 5 to 10 head each. Several have large, well-built barns and house their cows by night and feed them grain or meal during the entire year. None of the dairy barns visited were models of neatness or cleanliness, and while many of the dairy cows are more than average milkers, Hebrew dairymen with a single exception seem to devote themselves to no one breed. Perhaps there are more grade Holsteins than any other one strain, but since almost no farmer raises his own cows, but depends on the public market to keep up his herd, he is likely to possess cows of several different breeds.

The butter and soft cheese which some make are sold locally. Milk is carried to the nearest railroad station every morning and shipped to Boston. Returns, though certain, are not satisfactory. It is doubtful whether any of the dairymen, American or Russian Hebrew, in this section is making any surplus whatever over cost of production from the whole milk he sells, winter and summer both considered. For example, one farmer whose annual milk sales

amounted to \$600 paid out \$720 for stock feed of various sorts. Another, who sold \$250 worth of milk, purchased \$175 worth of cow feed and forage during the year; a third, with a dairy herd of 16 cows, and sales of milk aggregating \$1,500, reports nearly \$1,000 worth of grain bought for feed in 1908.

It is not surprising that there are few who are enthusiastic about the milk situation. Several American farmers in the neighborhood stated that the Hebrews are poor stockmen, and do not seem capable of judging, handling, feeding, or breeding stock in a satisfactory manner. This is not wholly true, for there are a number of cattle buyers and butchers in the settlement who are sufficiently well versed in the art of stock judging to make fair profits as cattle dealers. It is probably true that there are few or no expert dairymen among them. The farmers in Medway and Holliston keep fewer cattle and several sell no milk in the market. The summer boarders consume all the dairy products produced during the summer on most of their farms, and the winter products are consumed by the families themselves.

A like condition is true of the poultry products of the settlement. Those who keep no summer boarders find a quick sale for eggs and chickens on the farms of those who do so. Even in that way the community produces less poultry than it requires and many cases of eggs are shipped in from Boston every summer.

In a general way a good many of the Hebrews do not compare favorably with American farmers either in the quality or quantity of produce marketed, and certainly, in most instances, compare very unfavorably with them in the appearance of their fences, yards, and buildings, and the general atmosphere of thrift and substantial prosperity, but they do compare well in all economic aspects with their brethren in Connecticut.

The general appearance of the Hebrew farmers' places is prima-facie evidence that farming is to most a secondary occupation. Yards littered with old machinery, loads of old iron, car lots of bottles and broken glass, the junk and peddlers' wagons frequently seen, the cheap buildings, newly built, for the accommodation of summer boarders—all indicate that the Holliston Hebrew is a trader rather than a farmer. Most are free to say that they can provide a living only by outside employment or occupation of some sort. In this respect they differ from the Americans, their neighbors.

They have cleared little wooded land and have broken up very few acres of old pasture since purchasing their farms. There are a few exceptional instances but, speaking generally, the foreigners have added nothing in the way of improved acreage nor have they even conserved the cultivated acres found on their first purchases. No new crops, no improved methods of culture, no superior live stock or farm machinery, no system of drainage or scientific crop rotations have been brought in.

#### FARM INCOME.

Farm income, as here considered, includes the legitimate income, or returns from produce sold from the farm, and, in addition, the returns from the outside occupations as well as the income from summer boarders and lodgers.

The greatest amount reported by any farmer was between \$2,000 and \$2,500 annually. In addition to his milk sales, this farmer made a clear profit of \$400 to \$550 from buying and selling cattle, about \$100 from poultry and fruit, and a little more from vegetable produce. Another farmer, owning 25 acres of land, sold less than \$200 worth of milk and other products, but received \$2,000 or more from summer boarders and lodgers. The net profits from the boarders were probably not more than one-sixth of the gross receipts. A third runs a bakery in connection with his 14-acre farm, and the bakery, doubtless, much more than doubles his income from farm products, which in the year ending September, 1909, amounted to about \$200. A fourth farmer, who sells about \$650 worth of milk and vegetable products, handles junk and clears something like \$8 to \$10 a week by this means, and during the summer receives \$250 for rooms rented to summer lodgers.

A few Hebrews have gone rather extensively into the business of keeping summer boarders. One man, who has built a cheap lodging house especially to accommodate these transient summer residents claims to receive in the gross \$1,000 a week when the season is at its height. This means nearly 150 boarders, young and old. A second man, who has entered the business extensively, reports a gross income of from \$4,000 to \$5,000 each summer and a profit approximating \$1,000. A great many Jews come here for the "week end," and from Saturday until Monday this man has frequently more than 200 persons to lodge and feed. Another farmer, who reported 80 to 85 boarders during the week, said he frequently entertained 150 over Sunday. There seems to be no doubt that the net income from boarders and lodgers represents the difference between a fair living and a failure in the case of several Hebrew farmers.

#### PROPERTY OWNED.

In addition to their farms, which run from 10 or 12 acres of unimproved land up to 114 acres, one-half or more tillable, and the buildings and improvements thereon, a number own "stores," shops, or other buildings, and all have a few head of live stock. The largest Jewish assessment recorded for 1909 was \$7,400, but there were a few under \$500. The greater number of assessments lie between \$2,000 and \$4,000, with two or three over \$5,000.

A comparatively large amount of indebtedness is shown. Nearly all of the farmers made very small cash payments on their first purchases, giving mortgages on the land for the unpaid balances. Many of the original mortgages, some given several years ago, have not yet been released. Of those interviewed, nearly all reported heavy debts, aggregating fully three-fifths of the reported value of their land. Not all the farmers were interviewed, but there is no evidence to show that those from whom data were not procured are in any better financial condition than the others. Seven typical farmers stated that their debts aggregated \$18,000; their gross property they estimated at \$30,000. Not many have greatly increased the value of their properties since they came to the locality; some have not increased the value of property at all; most are rather dissatisfied and more or less discouraged over the agricultural situation, and only one or two newcomers were found who are very enthusiastic.

Some have invested in other enterprises and a number have bought live stock instead of paying off the debts on their real estate. They pay their interest (usually at 5 per cent) with some degree of promptness, but Hebrew notes, as a rule, are not considered high-class securities. According to business men, there are few who have large bank accounts—either savings or checking accounts. Merchants are not ready to extend them a heavy line of credit, and as far as possible try to do a cash business with them.

#### LIVING CONDITIONS.

It can not be said that the Hebrews are actually segregated, though they live in their more or less concentrated communities. Their neighbors are native New England farmers, Irishmen, Germans, and one or two Italians. A few have bought adjoining farms facing a common highway, but there is no strictly Jewish colony or "quarter."

A few of the farmsteads present a very cheerful, prosperous, and homelike appearance; the interiors of some homes are well planned, well furnished, and very neat and orderly. Others, especially of the few recent comers, are very dirty and untidy. Nearly all the houses are of good size, having been built by New England farmers. Some of these, however, are great barn-like affairs, and one in particular, that had been totally abandoned for twenty years and is now occupied by a Jewish-Russian household, looks like a weather-beaten ruin.

The newcomers have taken little pains to make either the interiors or the exteriors presentable or homelike. This is largely owing to poverty, of course, for the well-to-do Hebrew seems to have a lively sense of the comfortable and the artistic. The furniture is scanty, but there is usually a "best room," or parlor, where some attempts at decoration and the furnishings of leisure are evident.

In the matter of food they live as well as they can. The gardens, dairies, and poultry yards supply the table fairly well, and it appears that the Hebrews here live better than on the barren Connecticut ridges. Many of the families are large and the food supplied yearly for home consumption is not inconsiderable, but it is said that only the newcomers live poorly. It is commonly said that the Hebrew families seldom stint or deny themselves an abundance of wholesome food. They may sleep uncomfortably or dress insufficiently in order to accumulate money or pay debts, but their tables are said to be as well filled as their means afford.

Socially, they take most of their amusements and recreations in trips to town, visits to neighbors or city friends, and in the lively social life ushered in each summer season by the summer boarders. Most of the amusements—dances, parties, excursions, and picnics—are confined to the Hebrews. The young Americans attend some of the dances, but there is not much intermingling. Several of the settlers belong to Hebrew fraternal organizations, but none reported membership in the better known lodges to which their American neighbors belong. There is little race prejudice, but no intermarriages have occurred. The average American in the community feels that he is superior to the Hebrew, both socially and as a farmer.

He admits the commercial ability of most of these foreigners, but is inclined to ridicule their attempts at farming. To this again there are exceptions. A few of the early arrivals have proved their honesty, industry, integrity, and general worth, and are highly respected by all, but even these do not enter fully into the social life of the community.

So far as education is concerned, the Hebrews here, as elsewhere, have high ideals. The children are all sent to school without necessity of compulsion, and very many of them attend high school after completing the common-school course. Some of the girls attend the State normal school at South Framingham, and at least one of the boys is at college. In school they are known as very prompt and regular in attendance and very apt and intelligent in their studies. It is not an uncommon occurrence for a Hebrew child to win prizes or attain first rank in scholarship. It is an interesting fact that men who declared they are unable to make more than a bare living, and that the clothing of the younger children at home is provided by older children at work in the cities, were sending daughters to a normal school or sons to high school or business colleges.

The matter of outside employment is closely connected with education. It is true that few of the young people seem inclined to the farms. A poll of 58 sons and daughters of the Hebrew farmers in Holliston and vicinity taken somewhat at random shows that 28 are in schools of some kind and 30 are either at work in cities or are married to husbands employed in cities or towns. Most of those at work are either workmen or independent proprietors in some branch of the clothing trade or are engaged in clerical pursuits. A few of the younger children are employed rather irregularly in the shoe factories near by.

There seem to be no farm laborers among the sons of farmers, few or no independent farmers, and no farmers' wives among the daughters. They are not staying on farms, and it seems clear that rural life does not appeal to the younger generation. Plenty of opportunities for labor in almost any line of industry are readily available and the young people seize them quickly. There is little likelihood that the next generation of Hebrews in this community will be farmers. In matters of personal morality, family integrity, and in their political relations there is little criticism of the Hebrews among their American-born neighbors. They are home loving, and in family affairs the authority of the father is almost unquestioned. In fact, their home life is such that their children are more carefully brought up than those of many American families.

The records show no crimes or misdemeanors committed by them, and while there are occasional, perhaps rather frequent, lawsuits not many are of a serious nature. As everywhere in rural communities studied, they are peaceable, law-abiding, and sober.

## CITIZENSHIP.

A number of the males have been here but a few years, and the most of these are still aliens. About half of the entire number of foreigners of voting age have received their first naturalization papers, but have gone no further, in some instances because of inability to read and write English, while in others there is no apparent reason except apathy or indifference.

The number of naturalized Hebrew citizens is small, probably not more than six or eight in the three towns. They take some interest in town affairs, taxes, and town meetings, and there are one or two influential men who are said to be effective politicians. The few grown-up boys take an interest in state and national politics and in most homes there are a number of newspapers, English and Yiddish, daily and weekly.



## CHAPTER V.

### SULLIVAN AND ULSTER COUNTIES, NEW YORK—GENERAL FARMING AND SUMMER BOARDERS.

#### INTRODUCTION.

Sullivan and Ulster counties lie in the southeastern portion of the State of New York. According to the last census Sullivan County had a population of 34,795 and Ulster County 86,660. Along the line of the New York, Ontario and Western Railroad, traversing the two counties, numerous Russian Hebrews have settled in recent years and have engaged in farming and other pursuits. The towns in and near which Hebrews reside in considerable numbers are Liberty, Ferndale, Fallsburg, Centerville, Parksville, Summitville, Mountaintale, Hurleyville, and Monticello, in Sullivan County, and Ellenville, Greenfield, and other places in Ulster County.

In Sullivan and Ulster counties there are perhaps from 500 to 700 Hebrew farmers, while a large number of Hebrews are engaged in running summer hotels and boarding houses, and each town and village has Hebrews in all lines of business. In most cases these people are Russian born, although very few families have come directly from that country. It may be accurately stated that they are practically all from New York City, where they had been engaged in various pursuits for several years before coming to this section.

On account of the altitude, the summers are cool and pleasant, and for this reason the section is very popular as a summer resort, and the farmers are doing a profitable business in taking summer boarders.

The following table, taken from the annual report (1909) of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, will show the approximate number and distribution of Hebrew farmers in Sullivan and Ulster counties, according to estimates made by the society:

TABLE 14.—*Number and location of Hebrew farmers in Sullivan and Ulster counties, N. Y.*

[Compiled from annual report of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, 1909.]

County and town.	Farmers.	County and town.	Farmers.
Sullivan County:		Sullivan County—Continued.	
Liberty.....	97	Mountaintale.....	81
Hurleyville.....	54	Summitville.....	33
Ferndale.....	30	Ulster County, Ellenville.....	190
Fallsburg.....	40		
Monticello.....	91	Total.....	700
Centerville.....	84		

The number of farmers shown in the above table is considered too high, some boarding-house keepers who own a few acres of land, but who make no pretense of farming, and laborers on Hebrew farms evidently having been enumerated. It is safe to say that at least 200 individuals shown in the preceding table are not actual farmers.

The general contour of the country in the section under consideration is very rugged, the two counties being traversed by the ranges and foothills of the Catskill Mountains. The soil, as a general thing, is poor and worn and not very productive, being covered with stones and badly eroded. Nearly all the farms and fields are inclosed by stone fences, built of material gathered on the land. The winters are long and severe, and it is impossible to produce a diversity of crops on account of the shortness of the season. The principal crops are hay, buckwheat, rye, oats, corn, millet, and potatoes.

On account of these adverse conditions, the yield per acre is small and the quality of the crops produced poor. Dairying was formerly carried on to a considerable extent, but in recent years this branch of farming is on the decline and little live stock is kept. Because of the low production of the farms, farmers are augmenting their meager incomes by taking summer boarders, who come to the section in large numbers from New York City.

#### HISTORY OF THE SETTLEMENT.

The first Hebrews to settle in the section under consideration came as early as 1837 and formed a small colony in Wawarsing, Ulster County. Within a year the settlement grew to 10 families, but they soon became discouraged and returned to the city. In 1899 a few farms were owned by Hebrews in Ulster and Sullivan counties, but not until about five years ago (1904) did they begin to come in large numbers; from then until the present time (1909) they have increased each year, and now in many localities all of the farms are owned by Hebrew people. The counties in question have always been popular as a summer and health resort, and many Hebrews from New York City had been in the habit of spending their vacations there. One or two families bought farms and began to take summer boarders. Their success was so great that many other Hebrews at once began to purchase property. Each Hebrew on becoming a resident immediately engaged in the real-estate business and got the neighboring native farmers to list their property with him for sale; eager purchasers were found in New York City, and the country rapidly filled with Hebrews, the native farmers moving either to the cities or to other farming sections. As the Hebrew population increased, there was a demand for Hebrew storekeepers, physicians, lawyers, and men of this race in all branches of trade. The newcomers settled in the small towns throughout the two counties, and now many of the villages have an almost exclusively Hebrew population.

Various reasons have been given for the migration of the Hebrews in Sullivan and Ulster counties. On account of the altitude, the locality is considered very beneficial to those who suffer from weak lungs or tuberculosis, and it is said that many Jewish families have come to the locality on that account. Some have been attracted by the opportunity to take boarders during the summer; others have sought the country because of the belief that their children would be more healthy there than in the crowded tenements of the city, while many have settled with the sole purpose of farming in view. The Hebrews have not confined themselves to any particular locality, but have

settled all along the line of the Ontario and Western Railroad, usually not more than 3 or 4 miles from a town or railroad station.

#### TERMS OF PURCHASE.

In nearly all instances the land has been purchased and very few leases are made. It is said that the price paid has usually been very much in excess of the true value of the land. On account of the high prices offered by Hebrews the American farmers have been eager to sell and values have advanced steadily for the past five years, owing to the demand created. The terms of purchase have been peculiar. The native farmers, because of the high prices they were receiving for their land, were often careless of the terms given and many have had cause to regret their hastiness in selling their farms. Hebrews in buying property have usually made a small cash payment, the balance being payable after long or indefinite periods. The native, who was usually unfamiliar with any line of business other than farming, was often ruined by selling out. The cash payment received was not enough to purchase a farm in any other locality, and the annual interest was not sufficient to support his family; consequently some men who were formerly property owners and independent farmers in this section are now employed as farm laborers.

In several instances, Hebrews in making a purchase bought the farm with all stock, machinery, farming implements, poultry, etc., included. In some of these cases, it is asserted, American farmers have neglected to take a chattel mortgage, and the purchaser, after holding the farm through the boarding season, has sold all the live stock, poultry, machinery, and other personal property for more than the cash payment, so that the native has been left with a farm, much run down for lack of cultivation, but without his live stock, machinery, and equipment; meantime the Hebrew has disappeared from the locality. Only in rare instances have Hebrews paid cash for their farms, and most of the property to which they hold title is mortgaged heavily.

The Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, which has been mentioned in several preceding chapters, is doing all in its power to establish immigrants on farms throughout different sections of the country. To the efforts of this society, the Hebrew farmer owes in a great measure whatever success he may have attained. One of the greatest benefits is the granting of loans to enable the farmer to purchase land; 51 farm loans were granted in New York in 1908, amounting to \$27,750, while in 1909 Hebrew farmers in the same State secured 56 loans, amounting to \$20,554.15. A total of 242 loans have been granted by this society to Jewish farmers in New York, amounting to \$100,274.15; 212 of these loans have been closed, amounting to \$89,860.44; the principal outstanding is \$53,677.65, and interest in arrears amounts to \$190.63.<sup>a</sup>

The following table, made up from information secured from 24 Hebrew farmers in the region under discussion, will give a clear idea of the prices paid for farms by immigrants; also of the size and condition of farms when first purchased. One farm was not tillable, 5 were tillable but at the time of purchase were not under cultivation,

<sup>a</sup>Annual Reports, 1908 and 1909, Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society.

and 17 were cultivated in whole or in part. As previously stated the prices paid were in excess of the true value of the land from an agricultural standpoint, but on account of the demand for farms on which to establish boarding houses, prices have advanced and are advancing steadily.

TABLE 15.—*First purchase of land, condition, size of farms, and price paid, 24 Hebrew families, Sullivan and Ulster counties, N. Y.*

Condition of land.	Number of farms.	Average number of acres per farm.	Average price per—		Average cash payment.
			Farm.	Acre.	
None tillable.....	1	27	\$500	\$19	\$500
Tillable but not cultivated.....	5	77.80	3,600	46	1,540
Three-fourths or more cultivated.....	17	106.90	5,852	54	2,123
Not reported.....	1	112	5,000	45	(a)

<sup>a</sup> Not reported.

#### CHARACTER OF IMMIGRANTS.

All immigrants in the section are Russian Hebrews and the great majority of them lived in New York City before engaging in farming. Their previous occupations have been various; the majority have owned some kind of business, either clothing stores, second-hand stores, pawn shops, or furniture stores; some have been real estate agents, one or two were contractors, and several owned restaurants. Those who had formerly worked for wages were clerks in stores, traveling salesmen, workers in garment manufacturing establishments, etc. None have been general or farm laborers in the United States, and very few had had any farming experience in Europe.

Most of the settlers had been in some line of business which was closely confining, so that only a small number were physically fit to endure field labor in the hot sun or the generally hard work on the farm. In consequence, the first years of farm life were hard for many. Not having a thorough knowledge of farming, and being unable to do the work themselves, they were obliged to employ hired help; this was a necessary expense, which added greatly to the financial burden of the settlers. In many instances, crops failed, live stock died owing to ignorance and lack of proper attention, dairy and poultry products fell off greatly for the same reason, and very often the settler expended more money in producing a crop than it was worth in the market after being harvested. If it had not been for the revenue derived from summer boarders, it is scarcely probable that the Hebrews could have retained their farms, for the crops they raised were entirely inadequate to support their families.

#### ECONOMIC HISTORY OF REPRESENTATIVE FAMILIES.

In the settlements of Sullivan and Ulster counties a special study was made of 24 representative families. They represent families that have engaged in farming at different times since the settlements were first made. The heads of all the families were foreign-born, 22 being natives of Russia and 1 each of Roumania and Austria-Hungary.

Immediately prior to engaging in farming, 23 families were located in the United States, 21 were residents of New York City, and 2 of Brooklyn. Only 1 family came to the locality direct from Russia.

The great variety of occupations followed by immigrants both in Europe and the United States before engaging in farming is noteworthy. The 24 heads of families from whom information was secured reported 12 different occupations abroad and 15 in the United States. In Europe 5 men were engaged in farming for themselves, 1 worked on the farm of his father-in-law, and 1 was a farm laborer. One was a baker, 1 a clerk in his father's shop, 1 a cattle trader, 1 a common laborer. There were also a butcher, a painter, a salesman, a watchmaker, a tailor, a peddler, and a contractor. In the United States, 4 worked in factories, 5 were proprietors of stores. There were also a contractor, a manufacturer, a baker, a restaurant keeper, a saloon keeper, a street vender, a painter, a butcher, a furrier, a tailor, a peddler, and a real-estate agent. Six followed the same occupations in the United States that they had been engaged in abroad.

No supplementary occupations were entered in by the 24 heads of families from whom information was secured; after purchasing farms a living was made from the start either from the farm or revenue derived from summer boarders.

#### PROGRESS OF COLONY.

The progress of the Sullivan and Ulster County settlement from an agricultural standpoint has been slow. The art of farming can not be acquired in a short period of years, and the Hebrew farmer is slowly learning through adverse experiences the proper care, preparation, and cultivation necessary to success. Each year a little progress is made, and a few families are now depending upon the farm alone for support, but the vast majority must still look to boarders to supply a livelihood.

From time to time many families have deserted the different settlements. It is impossible to state the number, as each year farms are changing hands and new families are coming in. In all cases, as far as can be learned, the deserters have returned to New York City and have taken up their old pursuits. The usual cause of desertion is lack of success as farmers or dissatisfaction on account of their isolated condition in the country. Many who own boarding houses or hotels go to the city in the fall and return in time for the boarding season the following summer. Very few of those who have deserted the settlements retain their land; they have usually turned it over to some other Hebrew family, who assume the mortgage. Others have left the locality when the payments fell due, and in consequence the land has reverted to the original owner.

As before stated, at the present time there are in the two counties from 500 to 700 Hebrew farmers, the total population engaged in farming being approximately 2,500, including men, women, and children. Besides those who own farms, there is a considerable village population of Hebrews in different lines of business, sufficient to bring the total number of Hebrew inhabitants in Sullivan and Ulster counties close to 5,000.

## SOIL, CLIMATE, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The general topography of Sullivan and Ulster counties is broken and mountainous. Between the hills streams have cut deep valleys through a long period of time. The highest elevations in the section where Hebrew immigrants have settled are at Liberty, Parksville, Ferndale, and other places along the line of the New York, Ontario and Western Railroad, the altitude at these points ranging from 1,400 and 1,800 feet above sea level.

The rocks which underlie the soil consist of sandstone and shales. These rocks, while influencing the soil conditions, have not given rise to the soils directly. This region lies near the southern limit reached by the invasion of the great continental glacier, which once covered the northern part of the United States. During this glaciation the local rock, both shale and sandstone, was thoroughly ground up at the surface, and this pulverized material was mixed with a considerable amount of earth and stones brought in by the glacial ice from regions farther north. The resulting soil of the upland, therefore, consists of a small proportion of material of other localities mingled with a considerable amount of detritus from underlying rock. Scattered through this mass of soil material are numerous fragments and chips of the original rocks of the region, and this combination of glacial deposits and of the local material gives rise to the chief upland soil, a silt loam. Through years of erosion the hills have been denuded of this soil to a great extent, and on the steeper slopes the bed rock is very near the surface, having only a thin coating of soil mixed with loose rocks, a fact which makes it very difficult to cultivate.

Along the streams in the valleys the soil is better adapted to agriculture. There materials brought down from the uplands have been deposited, and the bed rock is deeply covered with earth, which in some places is very productive, but there, as in the uplands, boulders and loose stones are mixed with the soil.

Most of the land is cleared, though only a small percentage is under cultivation. Of the crops raised, potatoes succeed best and yield from 75 to 125 bushels per acre of tubers of good quality both for eating and storing. However, potatoes are a remunerative crop on this soil only by comparison, and this type is not to be regarded as a very desirable soil for their production. Corn is grown to some extent, but usually does not mature and is used for silage. The growth is short. Root crops are not grown extensively, and vegetables only in quantities sufficient to supply home demands. Wheat, very little of which is grown, yields from 12 to 20 bushels per acre. There is a larger proportion of oats, of which the yield ranges from 25 to 40 bushels. Buckwheat is extensively grown, from 10 to 20 bushels per acre being the range of yield. A small acreage of rye is sown.

Of all the crops raised, grass is best suited to the soil and climatic conditions, and a very large proportion of the typical soil is occupied by hay meadows and pastures. As a rule these lands are not carefully seeded, and the stand is often poor and weedy. Consequently the yields are low, ranging from one-half to one and one-fourth tons per acre.

Small orchards are found on the farmsteads and the trees make a fair growth. Plums and berries do well, but pears and peaches give indifferent results. On the whole, little attention is given to horticultural crops.

#### AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS.

The 24 farms included in the detailed investigation of the Commission range from 7 to 236 acres. Only 1 farm is under 10 acres, 1 is between 20 and 40 acres, 8 between 40 and 80 acres, 8 between 80 and 120 acres, 1 between 120 and 160 acres, and 5 between 160 and 240 acres each. Two of the farms are tillable but not cultivated, 4 have an average of one-fourth and under one-half under cultivation, 4 farmers cultivate between one-half and three-fourths of their total acreage, and 14 three-fourths or more.

The approximate production per acre of the average Hebrew farmer is below that of the neighboring American farmer. In fact, it is stated that the immigrant on land equally as good as that of the native does not raise one-half the produce per acre, and that the crops are usually very inferior in quality. The condition of the farm owned by the immigrant, as compared with the neighboring farms of Americans, is much inferior. Most of the Hebrews attempt to raise only enough to supply feed for live stock, and sufficient vegetables for the table, consequently much of the land on the larger farms is not under cultivation and is suffered to grow up in brush and weeds; moreover the Hebrews are very negligent with respect to their fences and rarely repair them. On the other hand, the farms of Americans are generally well cared for; most of the available land is under cultivation, fences are usually in good repair, and crops are not allowed to suffer from lack of cultivation. During the summer months, when crops require a great amount of work, the Hebrew as a rule has his house full of boarders, cultivation is neglected, crops are not harvested at the proper time, and much loss is occasioned. Very often the hay is not cut until early in September, and by that time has become so ripe, dry, and woody that it is almost useless; corn is not plowed often enough and is allowed to grow up in weeds; very few gardens show signs of care and the vegetables are of a very inferior quality. In many cases, on account of failure to repair the fences, live stock has done considerable damage to growing crops.

Few of the Hebrew settlers had any previous agricultural experience, and settled on their farms utterly ignorant of everything that a successful farmer should know. American farmers say that they know of numerous instances where Jews have purchased large farms and have been obliged to hire men to show them how to milk a cow, harness a horse, and operate a plow, mower, or harrow; that many of them do not know at what season to plant the various crops, what amount of seed to use per acre, and how to apply fertilizers to the land; that they are also ignorant of the proper feed or care of live stock necessary to secure the best results. It is said that seven or eight cows in the care of a native farmer will generally produce more milk and butter than twice that number managed by a Hebrew.

Of the 24 farmers from whom detailed schedules were secured, 4 own only 1 horse, 17 have from 2 to 3 horses, and 3 from 4 to 6.

Two farmers have only 1 cow, 1 has 3, 7 from 4 to 6, 3 from 7 to 9, and 9 have more than 10. Very few young cattle are kept. The average value of the horses, as given by the farmers themselves, is \$100 each, but probably this is in excess of the true value. The average value of the cows as reported by the farmers was \$33 each.

Some Hebrew farmers, owning from 70 to 100 acres of land and from 5 to 10 cows, were buying milk, butter, eggs, and vegetables to supply food for their boarders. This condition is entirely due to the ignorance of the Hebrew concerning methods of farming, dairying, and poultry raising; in all cases efficient farmers similarly situated would be able to supply food for their tables from the products of the farm at a much less cost than these farmers now procure it.

A number of the Hebrew farmers in the section employ Polish farm laborers and are more successful than their neighbors who try to do the farm work themselves. The Poles have been farm laborers in Europe, are familiar with agricultural conditions, and thus are able to advise the Hebrews as to the proper cultivation of crops; they are also good dairymen, and few Hebrews who employ Polish labor are forced to buy supplies from native farmers. Other Hebrews have secured American managers to oversee their farms; these also have been fairly successful and produce crops equal in quality to those of natives. In a few rare instances Hebrews who have been farmers in Europe devote themselves exclusively to farming and are doing well. A Hebrew farmer near Parksville said that he had been reared on a farm in Russia and had agricultural experience; that upon buying a farm in the section he at first took boarders, but soon saw that he could not maintain a boarding house and conduct his farm properly. He soon abandoned the summer boarder business and devoted all his energies to farming, with the result that, according to his statement, he clears more money from his farm each year than he was ever able to do previously.

The Hebrew settlers, though undoubtedly unsuccessful as farmers, are making money out of keeping boarders, and each year are learning more about farming. On the whole, the outlook for a successful settlement throughout the two counties is fairly bright. Farming is a calling which requires years of experience and a thorough knowledge on the part of the farmer if he is to be efficient. The Hebrew immigrants as a general rule have lived in the large cities for generations and have had absolutely no training for farm life, and it is not to be expected that they can take up farming and be successful from the start. Nevertheless, they are unusually bright and intelligent, are quick to learn, and without doubt will in time master farming and become as successful as their American neighbors.

All the settlers have engaged in general farming and none give exclusive attention to one crop. The immigrant plows his land, puts in his crops of corn, rye, oats, potatoes, or millet, and, as a rule, there all cultivation ends. The boarding season begins about the time the crops need most attention, and they are neglected for the more profitable business of keeping summer boarders. The machinery and tools used by the Hebrews are the same as those of Americans, and include farm wagons, plows, harrows, mowers, and occasionally a reaper for rye and oats. Immigrants show little judgment in the fertilization of land, and many use no manure or fertilizer, although



some applied plant food is absolutely necessary on the poor and worn land.

As has been explained, Hebrew farmers sell little of their crops, and nearly everything produced is kept for home consumption.

None of the 24 farms investigated annually produced any one crop to the value of more than \$350, and only one reached that amount, the crop in this case being apples. Nineteen farms were reported as producing hay to the average value of \$191 per farm; 12 were reported as producing potatoes to the average value of \$129 per farm, and 1 produced garden truck to the value of \$125. These were the only instances where the average value of any single crop per farm exceeded \$100.

Improvements and buildings are in all cases good. The Hebrew, upon purchasing a piece of property in this vicinity, at once sets to work to improve the dwelling, and usually enlarges it so as to accommodate as many summer boarders as possible. As a rule the dwelling houses in all the settlements are kept in excellent repair. Barns and other outbuildings are not given much attention, but in several instances have been converted into very comfortable dormitories. In some cases dancing pavilions had been erected. The value of property bought by Hebrews has generally been greatly enhanced not by improving the land, but by the addition of large dwellings or summer hotels.

#### MARKETS AND MARKETING FACILITIES.

Markets and marketing facilities are very good. New York City is near enough to Ulster and Sullivan counties to afford a splendid market; this is especially true in regard to dairy products. Milk trains run regularly over the road connecting the two counties with the city. There is also a large local demand for garden truck, poultry products, dairy products, and fruit during the summer months to supply the hotels and boarding houses. Local production is not equal to the demand, and butter, eggs, and vegetables are shipped in from other places. In winter it is necessary to ship in hay and corn, as the quantity of these crops raised does not supply the demand.

The dwelling houses of all the settlements under consideration are good and are kept in excellent repair. Outbuildings and barns may sometimes be neglected, but in no instances the dwellings. Many houses have been so added to and enlarged that they are really summer hotels, and are provided with modern improvements.

The sanitary condition of the cheaper boarding houses generally is not good, and quite often the interior of the dwelling is very unclean. There is said to be considerable overcrowding of sleeping rooms in this class of houses, often from six to eight adults being quartered in one apartment. These conditions obtain, however, only in the cheaper boarding houses; those charging higher prices are in all cases more cleanly and there is less congestion.

## OPPORTUNITIES FOR EMPLOYMENT.

There are few existing opportunities to secure employment in the section except at farm labor, and as such work is not acceptable to the Hebrews, most of the younger generation seek employment in the city; in fact, none of the men, women, and children on the farms work for wages or seek employment in the neighborhood, and the farm laborers of the locality are either Americans or Poles.

With the growth of the settlement there are opportunities for immigrants in all lines of business, and as the population is increasing there is a demand for more Hebrew stores of all kinds. Physicians, dentists, druggists, carpenters, blacksmiths, harness makers, and men in almost every trade can find good openings. Hebrews experienced in farming can find an excellent market for all farm products—there is a special demand for milk, butter, poultry, and eggs; a farmer can demand almost his own price for all kinds of fresh vegetables, and hay, oats, rye, corn, and buckwheat always command good prices. For the first-mentioned products the highest prices are paid during the summer months, while in the winter the staple crops are in demand. Thus the farmer has a splendid market for the entire year, and there is a fine opportunity for those who will devote themselves to farming alone to win profitable returns.

No industries other than farming, keeping boarding houses, stores, and summer hotels are being developed. Many Hebrews are in business in the different towns and villages, owning clothing, grocery, drug, and general stores, butcher shops, harness and shoe shops, news stands, etc. In business they are more progressive than natives, and handle a better and more diversified line. The American storekeeper has not branched out and improved his business as the population has increased, but has been content with the old methods of keeping a "country store." Hence the Hebrew has quickly outdistanced him and secured the trade lost by the native on account of his obsolete methods. Americans in business say that when immigrants first came into the section they extended them credit at their stores, but so many accounts were lost that they ceased to credit any Hebrews; on the other hand, Hebrew storekeepers give credit to people of their own race, and seem to have no difficulty in collecting money.

## PROPERTY OWNED.

Property owned by Hebrews in Sullivan and Ulster counties consists of farms, hotels, and stores, and real estate in the different towns and villages. Most of the investments made by immigrants have been in farms or some form of business enterprise. Debts owed by immigrants consist of unpaid balances on farm purchases. These obligations are covered by mortgages on the land.

The table given below shows land and improvements now owned, condition of land, size of farm, and average value per farm and per acre in 24 typical cases. It must be borne in mind in going over the table that on nearly every farm there is a large and improved dwelling or summer hotel, which greatly increases the value of the farm and accounts for the high average price per acre.

TABLE 16.—*Land and improvements now owned, condition of land, size of farms, and average value, 24 typical Hebrew farms, Sullivan and Ulster counties, N. Y.*

Condition of land.	Number of farms.	Average number of acres per farm.	Average value per—	
			Farm.	Acre.
Tillable but not cultivated.....	2	29	<sup>a</sup> \$4,500	<sup>a</sup> \$158
One-fourth and under one-half cultivated.....	4	73	<sup>b</sup> 6,125	<sup>b</sup> 84
One-half and under three-fourths cultivated.....	4	124	6,175	50
Three-fourths or more cultivated.....	14	107	5,871	55

<sup>a</sup> Including a hotel.

<sup>b</sup> On each farm is an expensive dwelling enlarged to accommodate boarders.

The next table shows net property values of the 24 farms under consideration. The valuations shown were given by the Hebrew farmers themselves, and in most instances undoubtedly they are high, and it is probable that in many instances the owner has over-valued his buildings and put a low estimate on the value of his land.

TABLE 17.—*Number of heads of families owning personal and real property of specified net value, 24 typical Hebrew farms, Sullivan and Ulster counties, N. Y.*

Value.	Land and improvements.	Live stock and imple-ments.	Crops on hand.	Total property.
\$100 and under \$250.....		2	1	
\$250 and under \$500.....		5		
\$500 and under \$1,000.....	1	12		
\$1,000 and under \$1,500.....	2	4		
\$1,500 and under \$2,500.....	9			4
\$2,500 and under \$5,000.....	7			13
\$5,000 or over.....	3			5
Not reported.....	2	1		2
Total.....	24	24	1	24

The statement shows the average size of farms to be 97.75 acres, the middle or median farm having 84 acres. It is further shown that the total real-estate value of 24 farms and improvements, with an aggregate of 2,346 acres, is \$140,400. The gross value of all property is \$170,929. The amount of indebtedness is large, amounting to \$61,600 on 17 farms. Two more farms of the 24 show indebtedness, but do not report the amount. The average indebtedness per farm is \$3,624. Part of this sum is owed on land and part for the erection and improvement of dwellings. Following is a general summary showing the financial condition, etc., of the 24 farms included in the Commission's inquiry:

Farms leased and owned:	
Total farms of race.....	24
Average size of farm (acres).....	97.75
Median farm (acres).....	84
Kind of farms, general.....	24
First purchase of land and improvements	
Total number of acres.....	2,346
Average acres per farm.....	97.75
Total value.....	\$123,000
Average value per farm.....	\$5,125
Average value per acre.....	\$52

Farms now owned.....	24
Total number of acres .....	2, 346
Number of acres cultivated .....	a 1, 693
Number of acres not cultivated .....	a 528
Present value of farms now owned:	
Land and improvements.....	\$140, 400
Average value of land and improvements per farm .....	\$5, 850
Average value of land and improvements per acre .....	\$60
Number of farms showing indebtedness.....	19
Total indebtedness .....	b \$61, 600
Average indebtedness per farm.....	b \$3, 624
Gross value of all property.....	\$170, 929
Net value of all property .....	c \$96, 704
Average net value of all property per farm.....	c \$4, 396

#### THRIFT AND INDUSTRIOUSNESS.

In comparing immigrants with natives in regard to thrift and industriousness on the farm, it is safe to say that in general the native surpasses the Hebrew in both particulars. The Hebrew is careless of his machinery and implements, allowing them to stand out in the weather and suffer for lack of repairs; he is wasteful with his crops, and occasions much loss by improper harvesting and lack of care of his products, and by poor judgment in feeding live stock. The Hebrew seems to be averse to the manual toil of the farm and will employ laborers rather than do the work himself; hence by his superior industry the native farmer is enabled to cultivate a much larger acreage than the Hebrew and at no expense for farm labor.

#### STANDARD OF LIVING.

The cost of living in immigrant houses is perhaps a little higher than in the home of the average American farmer. The food consumed in Hebrew boarding houses is abundant and of good quality. As a Hebrew farmer expressed it: "The boarders from the city are not particular where they sleep, as they rather expect to 'rough it' when they come to the country, but they insist on having good, wholesome country fare, and in order to be successful the farmer must set a good table."

The menu consists of the usual meats and vegetables; pork, of course, being excepted. Hebrew women are not as good housewives as Americans; the food not being cooked or served in as cleanly a manner, nor is the proper care or attention given to the interior of the home.

Clothing worn by Hebrews is of about the same quality as that of neighboring American farmers. Few women or children work on the farm; this fact at once strikes one who has visited a typical Italian farm where all the women and children are busy in the fields. A large percentage of the children upon reaching an age where they would be useful on the farm go to the city to secure employment.

a Not including 1 farm, 125 acres, not reporting condition of land.

b Not including 2 not reporting amount of indebtedness.

c Not including 2 not reporting net value.

## SUMMER BOARDERS.

Summer boarders from whom most of the Hebrew farmers secure their living, come from New York City. There they are engaged in various confining occupations and are eager to spend their vacation in the country. On account of the altitude, the section is considered very healthful, and the proximity of Sullivan and Ulster counties to New York City, leads people to flock to these counties during the summer months.

The price of board and lodging varies from \$7 to \$15 per week, according to accommodations, and very few Hebrew families have less than thirty or forty boarders for the season, which usually lasts about two months. Board and lodging at \$7 to \$10 per week means crowding, sometimes from six to eight persons sleeping in the same room, and many occupying cots in the barn and tents near the house. Where the price of board is higher, there is less crowding and the houses are usually fitted with modern conveniences.

## SOCIAL LIFE, RACE PREJUDICE, ETC.

The amusements and entertainments among immigrants are much the same as those of Americans. During the winter there is a great deal of visiting among the farmers, and meetings of various clubs, and societies are held. But the Hebrew social season opens in reality with the arrival of the summer boarders and continues until they return to the city. The boarding houses have tennis courts, croquet grounds, etc., for the entertainment of their guests, while the hotels have ball rooms and the frequent dances attract the Hebrew people for miles around. Picnics, excursions to different points of interest, baseball games, and other outdoor amusements are indulged in, and tend to draw the people from all parts of the two counties. There are also various societies among the Hebrew farmers which encourage social intercourse and are the means of bringing the people together.

There is a strong local prejudice against Hebrews, which has its foundation in various causes. First, there is the natural racial prejudice; then when Hebrew immigrants first began to come into the region they traded at American stores, and spent their money among natives, but as the immigrant population increased they entered all branches of business and the Americans gradually lost their trade, and this added to the local ill feeling against the race. Furthermore, many disputes have arisen because live stock owned by Hebrews has been allowed to overrun the farms of Americans, thus helping to increase their unpopularity. On account of this general prejudice, Americans are averse to associating with Hebrews, and as soon as several immigrant families secure a foothold in a locality American farmers begin to sell their property and leave the section. They can generally find ready Hebrew purchasers and in a short time the particular community is entirely Hebrew. Associating little with Americans and apparently wishing to have only people of their own race around them, after buying a piece of property they at once influence friends or relatives to purchase the adjoining farms if possible, and as the prices offered are usually good the owners are nearly always willing to sell.

The tendency of the colonists seems to be to congregate in certain localities, and in the villages of Parksville, Centerville, Fallsburg, South Fallsburg, Greenfield, and other small places, there are relatively large Hebrew populations. The reason for such congregation is that around the places mentioned there are many farms and boarding houses owned by Hebrews; these created a demand for supplies of all kinds, and Hebrew people quickly established places of business in the villages. These new establishments soon diverted trade from the native establishments, and in some instances practically forced the native tradesmen to sell out and go to neighboring towns. The Annual Report of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society (1908) says:

- There is another element in this section which is rapidly increasing, and that is the village population. Some of the hustling villages, such as Centerville and Parksville, have an almost exclusive Jewish population. Nearly every one of them has its physician, dentist, druggist, and all that goes to make up a typical Jewish rural settlement in the old country, but so unlike the native American village.

#### EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS.

Sullivan and Ulster counties are supplied with good schools, which are well attended by Hebrew children. Teachers say that immigrant children are very bright and eager to learn, that they make as good progress as Americans; and often the brightest scholars are Hebrews; moreover, the Hebrew children are more regular in attendance than Americans, and the truant officers have no complaint to make against Hebrew parents.

The presence of the Hebrew immigrant has undoubtedly had a strong influence in raising the educational standard of the section and in the improvement of schools; the attendance has often been doubled; schools which had been closed for lack of attendance have again been opened and the teaching force increased. Hebrew farmers are well represented on the local school boards, and in several localities all of the school officers are of that race.

The Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society is also taking great interest in instructing and educating the farmer in agriculture. In this regard the annual report of the Society for 1908 says, in part:

To put the Jewish farmer on at least an equal footing with his Gentile neighbor is the purpose of the comprehensive educational campaign inaugurated this year. We consider our educational work of far greater importance and as more fully carrying out our object than the mere granting of loans.

The Society publishes a monthly farming journal in Yiddish, known as "The Jewish Farmer." The aim of this paper is to provide for the non-English reading Hebrew farmer expert advice on agricultural subjects not otherwise available. A bulletin is issued from time to time, known as the "A, B, C of Farming," which treats of some special subject of timely agricultural importance. The organization of Hebrew farmers' associations is also encouraged in the different rural communities. There are associations of this nature in Sullivan and Ulster counties. Their aim is to accomplish the cooperative buying of supplies and selling of products, improvement of farming methods, arbitration of disputes, and social intercourse. The society has also established free scholarships for the benefit of the children of Hebrew farmers in the agricultural colleges

of various States. These scholarships are awarded by competition, open to those who reside and work on their fathers' farm or farms.

The following agricultural associations have been established in Sullivan and Ulster counties: Parksville Farmers' Association, Sullivan County League of Hurleyville, Ferndale Farmers' Association, Sullivan County League of Centerville, Sullivan County League of Mountindale, Hebrew Aid Society of Briggs Street, and Ulster County Jewish Farmers' Association.

#### POLITICAL CONDITIONS.

Most of the Hebrew farmers show considerable civic interest; they subscribe to newspapers and seem to keep abreast of the times on all questions of public interest. The majority have taken out either first or second papers and it is said all are eager to become American citizens. A great deal of interest is shown in elections, and Hebrews have been elected to different local offices and have generally given good service.

#### MORAL CONDITIONS.

Concerning the sobriety and general moral character of immigrants, it is generally stated that they are no more addicted to the use of alcoholic beverages than Americans, and the general moral character of the different settlements is excellent. The universal opinion seems to be that the Russian Hebrew is below the native in honesty, and the complaint that petty larceny and minor crimes have been on the increase since the coming of Hebrews to the section is insistently made. Local merchants and livery men claim they have lost many accounts by crediting Hebrews, and in many cases it is difficult for Hebrews to secure credit from Americans in business. It should be noted, however, that several prominent citizens state that they attribute the petty crimes to summer visitors from the city, rather than to the permanent Hebrew residents.

#### EFFECT OF SETTLEMENT ON NEIGHBORHOOD.

The advent of the Hebrews has had an obvious effect on the region. Before their coming the native farmers each season had many boarders from the city; people who patronized American stores; and the summer hotels in the neighborhood were always full of wealthy tourists, who each summer brought much money into the section. Since the influx of Hebrew immigrants the number of Gentiles coming to the locality has fallen off greatly. Hebrews buy only at stores owned by people of their own race, and as many of the summer hotels have passed into the hands of Hebrews, little trade is given to Americans in the community. Consequently the native in business has suffered. On the other hand, on account of the demand created by Hebrew purchasers, the price of farm land and other real estate in the section has almost doubled, schools have been enlarged and improved, the price of dairy products, poultry, eggs, grain, fruit, and feed for live stock has greatly increased, and the American who has retained his farm finds himself in a better position to make money than ever before.

A shift in population has also been caused by the coming of the Hebrews; native farmers who have sold their farms have moved to other localities, and certain places which six or eight years ago had an exclusively American population now are entirely Hebrew.

#### SECOND GENERATION.

Hebrews of the second generation associate little more with natives than the older immigrants; very few of them remain on the farms of their parents, and as soon as they are old enough to go to work they seek employment in New York City. None have intermarried with natives.

#### GENERAL SUMMARY.

Very little money is sent abroad each year, and that sent is for assisting friends or relatives to come to this country.

Without doubt, farming holds out many advantages and benefits to the Hebrew immigrant. Hebrews who have been on farms some years say that they have enjoyed a higher degree of prosperity in Ulster and Sullivan counties than ever before in their lives. Of course, they have great difficulties to overcome, owing to ignorance of agricultural conditions, racial prejudice on the part of the natives, etc., but each year they are making progress, and undoubtedly it will only be a question of time until the Hebrew farmer will become an influential factor in agricultural communities throughout this part of New York.

#### STATISTICAL DATA FOR SELECTED FAMILIES.

The table following shows the economic progress and present condition of 12 typical Hebrew families out of the 24 from whom detailed schedules were secured by agents of the Commission.



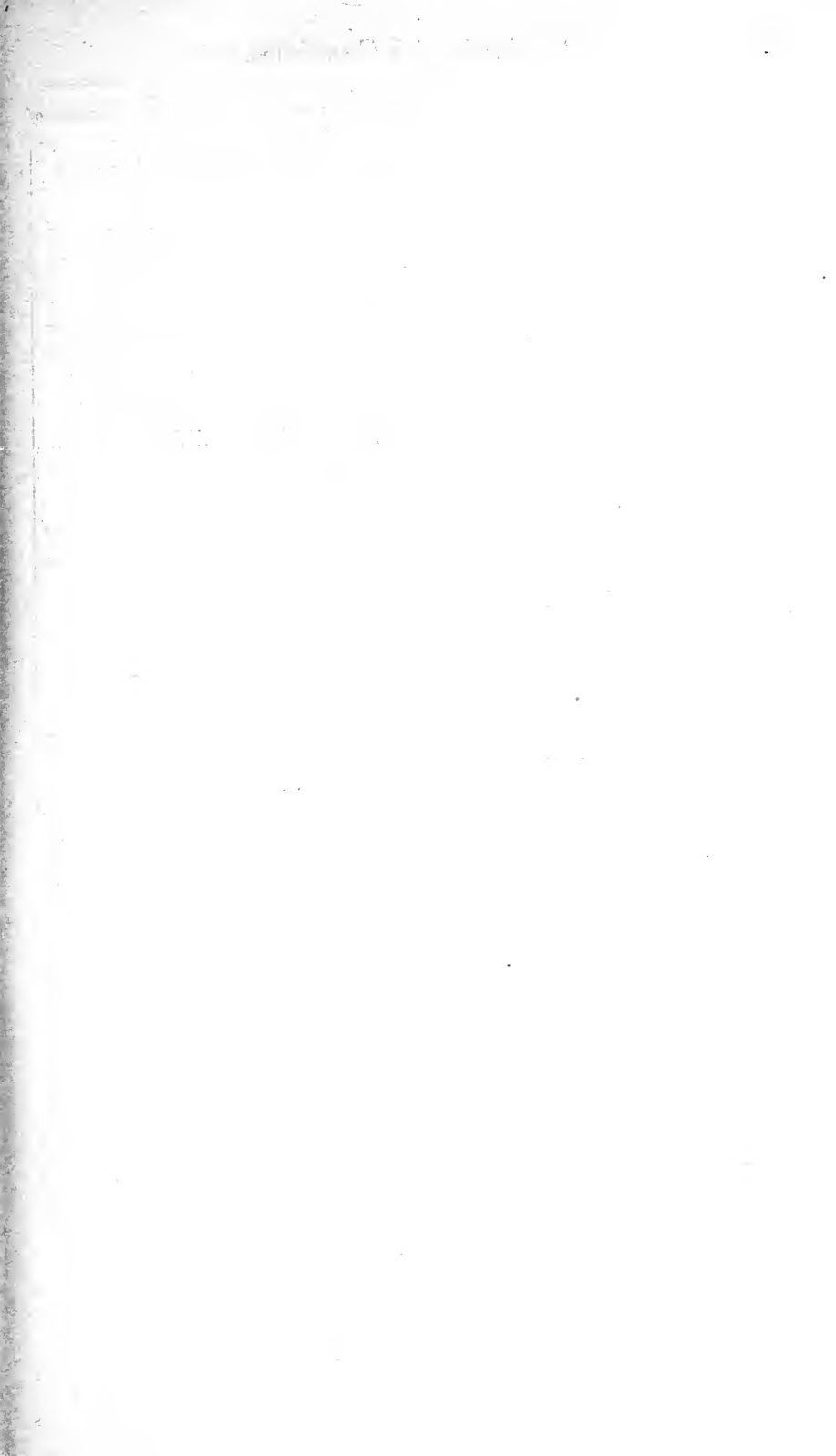


TABLE 18.—*Economic history and present financial condition of*

Data reported.	Family 1.	Family 2.	Family 3.	Family 4.	Family 5.
Years in locality:					
Head.....	6.....	3.....	1.....	4.....	6.....
Family.....	6.....	3.....	1.....	4.....	6.....
Present household size.....	6.....	2.....	7.....	6.....	9.....
Number of members 10 years or over.....	6.....	2.....	7.....	4.....	4.....
Male.....	2.....	1.....	2.....	2.....	1.....
Female.....	4.....	1.....	5.....	2.....	3.....
Previous location.....	New York, N. Y.	New York, N. Y.	New York, N. Y.	New York, N. Y.	New York, N. Y.
Previous occupation.....	Baker.....	Owned store.	Street vender	Ran restaurant.	Butcher and grocer.
Value of property bought.....	\$2,000.....	\$1,500.....	\$3,000.....	\$2,500.....	\$2,000.....
First land bought:					
Date.....	1903.....	1906.....	1908.....	1905.....	1903.....
Number of acres.....	85.....	50.....	175.....	160.....	70.....
Price.....	\$4,000.....	\$3,500.....	\$6,500.....	\$5,500.....	\$1,300.....
Terms.....	\$1,000 cash and mortgage.	\$1,500 cash and mortgage.	\$2,000 cash, \$500 per year until paid.	\$1,000 cash and mortgage.	Cash.....
Condition.....	Land stony..	Poor and stony.	Hilly and stony.	Fair condition.	Stony and not under cultivation.
Acres of land now owned.....	85.....	50.....	175.....	160.....	70.....
Acres tillable.....	85.....	50.....	125.....	100.....	70.....
Number of apple trees.....		Not reported			Not reported
Live stock now owned:					
Cattle.....	6.....		19.....	17.....	10.....
Horses.....	2.....	1.....	4.....	2.....	2.....
Financial condition:					
Value of land and improvements.....	\$4,500.....	\$3,500.....	\$6,500.....	\$5,500.....	\$3,000.....
Live stock.....	\$450.....	\$100.....	\$702.....	\$636.....	\$485.....
Tools and implements.....	\$200.....		\$300.....	\$200.....	\$200.....
Other property.....	\$500.....	\$500.....	\$275.....	\$350.....	\$375.....
Gross value of all property.....	\$5,650.....	\$4,100.....	\$7,777.....	\$6,686.....	\$4,060.....
Indebtedness on land.....	\$2,000.....		\$4,500.....	\$3,500.....	
Net value of property.....	\$3,650.....	\$4,100.....	\$3,277.....	\$3,186.....	\$4,060.....

## ANNUAL FARM INCOME

Products.	Produced.		Sold.		Produced.		Sold.		Produced.		Sold.	
	Produced.	Sold.	Produced.	Sold.	Produced.	Sold.	Produced.	Sold.	Produced.	Sold.		
Buckwheat.....					\$40		\$36	\$18	\$13			
Corn.....									28			
Hay.....	\$132				300		215	108	160			
Millet.....	80				100							
Oats.....	40				36		78	39	30			
Potatoes.....	155				160		140	70	83	\$83		
Rye.....					160				(a)			
Orchard products.....												
Dairy products.....	b 75	\$75			b 400	\$400	b 305	305	50	50		
Live stock products.....							b 34	34	b 38	38		
Poultry products.....									b 30	30		
Total.....	482	75			1,036	400	808	574	(a)	201		
Supplementary income.....	c \$1,000		c \$1,800		c \$576		c \$624		c \$1,100			

a Not reported.

b Not including amount consumed at home.

certain typical Hebrew families, Sullivan and Ulster counties, N. Y.

Family 6.	Family 7.	Family 8.	Family 9.	Family 10.	Family 11.	Family 12.
4.....	1.....	6 months.....	6.....	7.....	Under 1.....	2.....
3.....	1.....	do.....	6.....	7.....	do.....	2.....
5.....	4.....	8.....	2.....	5.....	7.....	4.....
2.....	2.....	8.....	2.....	5.....	5.....	3.....
1.....	1.....	4.....	1.....	3.....	3.....	1.....
1.....	1.....	4.....	1.....	2.....	2.....	2.....
New York, N. Y.	New York, N. Y.	New York, N. Y.	New York, N. Y.	New York, N. Y.	Brooklyn, N. Y.	New York, N. Y.
Worked in knitting mill.	Owned store.	Real estate agent.	Saloon keeper	Presser in clothing factory.	Foreman in shirt fac- tory.	Housewife.
\$1,200.....	\$4,000.....	\$5,000.....	\$5,000.....	\$2,000.....	\$10,000.....	\$2,500.....
1905.....	1908.....	1909.....	1903.....	1902.....	1909.....	1907.....
90.....	125.....	236.....	7.....	187.....	100.....	84.....
\$1,800.....	\$6,700.....	\$12,000.....	\$3,100.....	\$7,000.....	\$7,000.....	\$5,500.....
\$600 cash, bal- ance on time.	\$2,000 cash, balance on time.	\$5,000 cash, balance on time.	\$1,000 cash, balance on time.	\$1,000 cash, balance on time.	\$3,000 cash, balance in 5 years.	\$1,000 cash, balance on time.
Fair.....	Very good...	Good.....	Tillable.....	Tillable.....	Stony.....	Tillable.....
90.....	125.....	236.....	7.....	187.....	100.....	84.....
40 cultivated.	125.....	All tillable, 50 culti- vated.	7.....	187.....	Tillable, 30 cultivated.	70.....
Small orchard	Not reported	Fine orchard.	Not reported	Not reported	Small orchard	Few trees.
2.....	7.....	10.....	.....	19.....	14.....	3.....
2.....	2.....	3.....	2.....	4.....	3.....	12.....
\$3,000.....	\$6,700.....	\$12,000.....	\$5,500.....	\$7,000.....	\$7,000.....	\$5,500.....
\$811.....	\$375.....	\$600.....	\$200.....	\$795.....	\$745.....	\$680.....
\$100.....	\$225.....	\$300.....	.....	\$300.....	\$300.....	\$175.....
\$450.....	\$600.....	\$900.....	\$700.....	\$600.....	\$450.....	\$400.....
\$3,761.....	\$7,900.....	\$13,800.....	\$6,400.....	\$8,695.....	\$8,495.....	\$6,755.....
2800.....	\$4,700.....	\$7,000.....	\$1,100.....	\$5,000.....	\$4,000.....	\$4,300.....
\$2,961.....	\$3,200.....	\$6,800.....	\$5,300.....	\$3,695.....	\$4,495.....	\$2,455.....

(AVERAGE FOR 2 YEARS).

Pro- duced.	Sold.	Pro- duced.	Sold.	Pro- duced.	Sold.	Pro- duced.	Sold.	Pro- duced.	Sold.	Pro- duced.	Sold.	Pro- duced.	Sold.
\$33	.....	.....	.....	(a)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	(a)	.....	.....	.....
25	.....	(a)	.....	(a)	.....	.....	.....	\$38	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
140	.....	(a)	.....	\$300	.....	.....	.....	150	.....	.....	.....	\$135	.....
65	.....	(a)	.....	(a)	.....	.....	.....	24	.....	(a)	.....	40	.....
.....	.....	(a)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100	.....	(a)	.....	125	(a)
.....	.....	b \$75	\$75	b 38	\$38	.....	.....	b 200	\$200	.....	.....	b 125	\$125
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	b 25	25	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
263	.....	(a)	75	(a)	38	.....	.....	647	225	(a)	.....	425	(a)
c \$2,000	.....	c \$1,200	.....	c \$2,000	.....	c \$2,800	.....	c \$1,250	.....	c \$1,100	.....	c \$1,000	.....

From boarders and lodgers.



## CHAPTER VI.

### ALLIANCE, ROSENHAYN, AND CARMEL, N. J., SMALL FRUIT AND VEGETABLE GROWERS.

#### INTRODUCTION.

Two old Hebrew colonies, chiefly agricultural, are centered about Rosenhayn, in Cumberland County, and Alliance, in Salem County, New Jersey, included in the adjoining townships of Deerfield and Pittsgrove, respectively. Some recently established settlements have been started near at hand, and in all there may now be noted the following centers:

TABLE 19.—*Number and location of Hebrew families in southern New Jersey colonies.*<sup>a</sup>

Location.	Number of families.	Number of persons.	Number taxpayers, from tax lists (1908).	Number agricultural families.	
				Hebrew estimate.	Tax list (1908).
Alliance.....	48	219	.....	40	.....
Norma.....	78	391	.....	12	.....
Brotmanville.....	34	211	.....	00	.....
Six Points.....	12	60	.....	12	.....
Willow Grove.....	5	22	(b)	5	.....
Total Pittsgrove Township.....	.....	.....	181	.....	101
Millville Township.....	.....	.....	c 50	.....	c 41
Rosenhayn.....	98	475	.....	48	.....
Carmel and vicinity.....	122	663	.....	62	.....
Garton road.....	22	132	.....	22	.....
Total Deerfield township.....	.....	.....	250	.....	99
Grand total.....	419	2,173	481	d 201	241

<sup>a</sup> The figures in the first and second columns are estimates made by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society and by Professor Mounier, director of educational work for the colonies; the township figures in the third and fifth columns are from the assessors' duplicates for 1908; the other figures in column 4 are partly from Professor Mounier and partly from local Hebrews of prominence.

<sup>b</sup> About 8.

<sup>c</sup> 1909.

<sup>d</sup> Report of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society for 1909 (p. 42) estimates 275 farmers.

Since the boundaries of the colonies are not coincident with township limits, comparisons are not easily made, and since all the figures except those from assessors' lists are approximations there are a number of discrepancies, but the table gives a fair estimate of the strength of the two colonies.

Taking the assessors' lists as a basis, 481 taxpayers or polls and 241 farm families of Hebrews are settled in this section within a radius of 7 miles from the most central point.<sup>a</sup>

This particular section lies about midway between Bridgeton, Vineland, and Millville, N. J., and is about 35 miles southeast of the city

<sup>a</sup> The Annual Report of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society for 1908 reports 273 farms; 500 all told in New Jersey, pp. 19-20.

of Philadelphia. Within the limits of the colonies the greater portion of the inhabitants are Russian Hebrews, although there is a fair sprinkling of Americans, about 60 families of Italians who have settled within four years, a number of Germans, a few Poles, and here and there an Irishman. The total population of Pittsgrove Township in 1905 was 2,154; of this number, according to J. C. Reis, who made a census personally, there were 165 Hebrew families with a total of 891 persons. The present numbers show no great increase over Reis's figures.

In some sense the history of one of these colonies is the history of all with some little differences of detail, but for purposes of definiteness it will be well to consider the Alliance and the Rosenhayn groups separately.

#### HISTORY OF THE ALLIANCE COLONY.

The Alliance colony was the first successful Hebrew agricultural colony in America, and is a direct outcome of the Hebrew emigration from Russia in 1880, 1881, and 1882.

In 1882 the Jewish Emigrant Aid Society (a society formed in New York to give aid to immigrant Hebrews) tried the experiment of settling 25 families of newly arrived people on a small tract of land in Salem County, N. J., the site of the present village of Alliance. The first contingent came in May, 1882, and began operations, the whole company working together on 30 acres of wild land, covered with a heavy growth of brush and third growth white and black oak. By the first of June they had some land cleared and planted in corn and potatoes. The Emigrant Aid Society, which afterwards developed into the Alliance Land Trust, built several large buildings or barracks with little 8 by 14 foot rooms, into which they crowded the entire colony, soon grown to 33 families. The society provided food for the colonists, who ate at a common table. Very soon about 1,100 acres was bought, and for six months the colonists worked with great energy under a superintendent and an instructor in agriculture almost as ignorant of New Jersey conditions as the colonists themselves. The work was hard, the matured crops rather disappointing, and the communistic programme not entirely satisfactory.

In the autumn of 1882 the land newly acquired was divided into lots from 13 to 15 acres in size and distributed by lot in clusters of four "farms" to the various groups in the colony. Groups of four congenial families settled together on adjacent lots, again distributing their four parcels by lot among the members of the group. It was thought that four families working together might make use of the same horses and implements, thus saving capital and taking advantage of cooperative endeavor. Seventy-two houses were built, each 12 by 14 feet, one and a half stories high, of two rooms; the cost was \$188 each, and one was built on each lot. Old settlers say that every one was occupied the first fall, 250 persons, at least, being brought there in 1882.

To supply the wants of the colonists during the fall and winter of 1882-83, each family was given a cash monthly allowance which varied from \$8 to \$12, depending on the size of the family. Each family was furnished with a stove, household furniture, and utensils, and in the spring of 1883, was given \$100 or its equivalent for

tools, seed, plants, and implements. The nominal value of each 15-acre tract was \$360. Of this amount the society paid one-half and the settler was supposed to pay the remaining \$180. Interest was fixed at 3 per cent per annum, but interest promptly paid was deducted from the principal. Despite these favorable terms and conditions, however, the first winter was one of great hardship, especially to the women of the colony.

The settlement was in a wilderness, the nearest town and post-office being at Vineland, 5 or 6 miles distant. There were no suitable roads through the tract, no industries of any sort to support the newcomers, and no near neighbors from whom to obtain work or to learn methods of culture. Had it not been for the determination of the first comers and the timely but meager aid given by the Society, the entire colony must have starved or deserted before the summer of 1883. As it was, not more than a third of the 72 original families remained on the land by the fall of 1884. Nearly every one of these survivors, however, remained permanently; many are still there, nearly all with a larger acreage, and all with improved farms, farm buildings, and increased capital. During the second summer much more land was cleared, and the farmers learning from the Vineland farmers rather than their agricultural instructors, set out many acres of strawberries, blackberries, and, later, grapes.

The system of working in partnership did not prove successful, and horses owned in partnership were soon sold. For a time the farmers hired their horse labor from their Gentile neighbors, the more prosperous gradually acquiring stock of their own. Many of the men gave up the clearing of new land, left most of the cultivation to their families, and hired out to Gentile farmers in Vineland, frequently 10 miles distant. This schooling in local methods was a great help to the inexperienced colonists, many of whom knew nothing of farming. In this way the products of the region were introduced and in a few years grapes, berries, and sweet potatoes were the staple crops of the Hebrew farmers.

Other opportunities for seasonal labor were supplied by a cigar factory and a shirt factory, both set up in one of the first buildings for housing the colonists in the autumn of 1883. The cigar factory gave employment to 26 hands, the tailoring establishment to 40 sewers. These factories burned down in 1884, but home tailoring began the following winter, the goods being brought out from New York and Philadelphia to be finished in the farmers' homes. Leonard Lewisohn, a New York philanthropist, provided each family with a sewing machine, free, to further this industry.

With the weeding out of the incapables in 1884 farming in the hands of the more energetic and able took on a brighter aspect. The society gave \$50 per farm to provide fruit trees, grapevines, and berry bushes. The first berries had not done well, the land being badly prepared and the farmers very inexperienced. Now the work was done more thoroughly, new implements and some horses were bought and the better farmers took a fresh start. There was still much distress during the winters, however, and much relief seems to have been given by charitably disposed Jews in aid of the struggling settlement during these early years.

By 1886 and 1887 several farmers were receiving incomes varying from \$300 to \$700 yearly from their little farms and were greatly

encouraged. A new cigar factory had been established, tailoring had come to be a regular winter occupation, and later a large brick tailoring factory, which now employs 50 to 60 hands, was built by outside capital. Several newly arrived immigrants made their way to the colony and were employed as farm laborers both by Hebrews and Gentiles during the summer. In the winter they found steady employment as machine tailors. A number of these laborers later settled at Rosenhayn and Carmel. In 1889 the Sunday Mercury of Philadelphia wrote a glowing account of the colony and its prosperous aspect after having made a thorough investigation. One important feature of the article was a statement that 70 of the Alliance settlers had, in October, 1889, appeared at Salem, N. J., and received their final naturalization papers.

From 1889 to 1897 the colony suffered some reverses owing to the lean years accompanying the money stringency of the nineties, but in 1897 there was a population of 96 families, 512 persons in Norma, the railway station town, and Alliance. "Of this number," says J. C. Reis, the historian of the colony, "33 families are devoted exclusively to farming; 12 to farming and tailoring combined; 36 to farming and other workshop occupations; 15 to tailoring exclusively."<sup>a</sup> They owned over 1,500 acres of land, 530 in fruit and 577 in various truck crops; the remainder was unimproved.

During this period many farmers had mortgaged their farms to a certain Salem (N. J.) building and loan association to build better houses and to buy live stock. These mortgages could not be paid, and many farmers would have been sold out by the mortgagees had not the trustees of the Baron de Hirsch Fund intervened to buy up the paper and take over the debts of the farmers. A branch organization under the name of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society now holds most of the unpaid mortgages in the colony.

The colonists all seemed more prosperous after 1897. In 1899 the berry and fruit crop was valued at \$40,000, and the sweet potato crop at \$18,000. About one-third of this amount was raised by the Alliance farmers.

Considerable improvement has been made in the condition of the colony since 1900. A number of farmers have added to their acreage; a new outlet for crops is the Alliance canning factory, established in 1901. Markets in the near-by towns, Rosenhayn, Bridgeton, Elmer, and Vineland, have developed, and there is now no question about the disposal of every bit of good produce raised. The dearth of local markets was one of the greatest handicaps to the successful development of agriculture up to 1900. Produce could not be disposed of or only at a price too low to pay marketing crops, and consequently agriculture languished and farmers grew discouraged.

New tailoring industries have been established at Brotmanville and Norma, one at each end of the colony, furnishing employment for a considerable number of hands and also increasing the local demand for farm produce. New settlements, notably at Six Points, are springing up, new farmers are coming in, and on the whole the colony is more prosperous now than ever before. In 1905 there were

<sup>a</sup> Report of Bureau of Statistics of New Jersey, 1901.



165 families, with 891 persons, now (1909) there are at least 180 tax-paying polls, 101 being farm owners.

It is difficult to imagine the condition of this region twenty-seven years ago, when the first colonists came there. Nearly all the land has been cleared and is in a very good state of cultivation; corn-fields, berry patches, fields of sweet or white potatoes, lima beans, or vineyards take the place of the forests of brush and timber that formerly covered the land. Several good roads—and some poor ones—are laid out at frequent intervals, many good houses and prosperous farmsteads appear, and everywhere one sees evidences of hard work and fair returns, if not always neatness, economy, and thrift.

As stated in other chapters of this report, there are a number of reasons why the Hebrew as a rule is not a successful farmer. Here there are good reasons for the early failures in the wild condition of the land, the ignorance of American methods of farming, the distance to successful neighbors, the blind leadership in farm methods, the inadequacy of local markets, and consequent dependence on commission sales and, perhaps, in the partial pauperization of the colonists by charitable societies.

The new Hebrew farmers now settling are men with some little capital. They are at once established on cleared and improved land and consequently with diligence can make a living and a surplus the first year. The earlier comers stand ready to give aid and instruction in methods they have been taught by hard experience. Good roads, obliging neighbors, convenient markets, and the advantage of a thrifty rural community assure their success from the start if they are willing to work faithfully. It has become a settled policy of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society to establish "green" farmers on improved land only. The pioneer work of clearing up wild land and waiting for a first crop has proved too severe a strain on the patience and endurance of many a prospective Hebrew farmer.

The Italian is a much better pioneer than the present Hebrew immigrant to the land. His standard of comfort is not so high, perhaps, but in any case his patience and endurance are greater. Hard, unremitting toil is necessary if one would with his own hands clear and improve a field of brush or heavily forested land. The Italians are doing it near Rosenhayn to-day. The Hebrew finds it more feasible to pay more and acquire fields ready for the plow.

#### SOIL AND CLIMATE.

The soils of south Jersey have been described in the report on Vineland.<sup>a</sup> The Alliance tract lies west of the Maurice River and along Muddy Run. Vineland lies east of the river. Most of the land is as high or higher than the Vineland tract, and there is no swamp or marsh land. Along the streams and running back from the junction of Muddy Run and Maurice Rivers for some miles the soil is generally very sandy, somewhat abruptly rolling in contour, and devoid of humus. Northeast of Norma and surrounding the village of Alliance, a loam appears, often mixed with gravel, technically known as Sassafras gravelly loam. About Six Points the soil is a sandy loam, fre-

<sup>a</sup>See Volume I, pp. 60-62.

quently intermingled with clay or the famous New Jersey marl. These heavier soils raise large crops of white potatoes, corn, clover, and timothy, while the lighter soils and coarser sands are adapted to sweet potatoes, grapes, and berries.

It is difficult to characterize these soils accurately. Some are very thin and poor, responding but feebly to large applications of fertilizer. Some compare favorably with the best marl soils of south Jersey. Some of the fields of corn and white potatoes are not inferior to those cultivated anywhere in the State. Most of the land (perhaps 80 per cent) included within the limits of the colony is cleared and improved. Nearly all improved land is in tillage or grass for hay. The uncleared or brush land grows up rapidly to white oak, ash, scrub oak, and pine. To clear this land costs from \$18 to \$30 per acre, if the stumps are all removed. The ordinary method, called "stumping," is to clear out the brush and small trees, cut off the larger ones close to the stump, burn over the field, plow it, and set it out to berries. If the sprouts are kept cut off, the stumps decay and are very easily removed by a stump machine after four years, or by hand a little later. In six years many can be plowed out. In the early days of the colony the land was fully cleared at once. Many of the Italians still practice this method. Now "stumping" is all but universal among the Hebrews. Nearly all the cultivated land in the vicinity was cleared by the individual owners and their families, and under proper cultural conditions very little of the soil is unfit for either truck crops or berries; there is not necessarily much waste, although some areas are little better than beds of white sand.

The climate is usually favorable for the early maturing of berries, tomatoes, lima beans, and white potatoes. The actual statistics of temperature and rainfall are given in the Vineland report and are repeated with the Bridgeton records in the description of Rosenhayn and Carmel.

About the salubrity of the climate there is no doubt. Malaria and typhoid are scarcely known, and the death rate from ailments aggravated by climatic conditions is very low, indeed.

#### HISTORY OF THE ROSENHAYN COLONY.

The village of Rosenhayn, in Deerfield Township, Cumberland County, was established and given its name by a certain J. W. Morton about 1868. Morton's idea was to found a settlement of Seventh-Day Baptists exclusively, but recruits of that faith did not come rapidly enough, and in a few years the idea of a denominational colony was abandoned. A great many of the original settlers came from New England, but only two of the first comers remain to this day. The name of the town (the German equivalent of "field of roses") owes its origin to a great field of wild roses that bloomed on a low tract of ground near the present site of Carmel.

The settlement was not very prosperous, although recruits continued to be added during the seventies. By 1880 a good many members had become rather discouraged and began to move away; the influx of Hebrews accelerated this movement, and by 1895 very few of the old settlers remained. They were old-fashioned farmers, who raised corn, rye, and other grain crops, planted potatoes for home use, kept a little poultry and a few cows, and marketed very little of

the produce of their farms. Many of them held comparatively large tracts of land at one time, much of which was left untouched in its original uncleared state.

In 1882 or 1883, six or seven Hebrew families were settled by the New York Emigrant Aid Society in Rosenhayn through the instrumentality of the former owners of the land settled by the Alliance colony.

At this same time it appears that the men from whom the land was purchased attempted to start a colony on their own responsibility at a place called Sunnyside, not far from Rosenhayn. The site was a bed of sand, almost utterly worthless for agricultural purposes; nevertheless the land was surveyed and staked out in lots of 10 and 15 acres, on each of which the proprietors built the regulation 12 by 14 house and dug a well. Seventeen families came at one time. For a number of years they struggled on, clearing the worthless land and endeavoring to make a living. It was a vain attempt. The colonists gradually deserted, the promoters lost nearly all they put into houses, and now there are but two families of Hebrews on the original plot, neither of whom were of the initial settlement.

The Hebrew settlement at Rosenhayn grew slowly. The Aid Society bought land in the vicinity, and many of those who settled were recruited from the number of newcomers who first worked as farm hands at Alliance. In 1887 the original six families were joined by about as many more farmer-tailors, who worked on the farms a little, but for the most part drew their incomes from wages they earned in the tailoring establishments of Philadelphia. Thirty-seven more arrived in 1888, and in 1889, according to the Jewish Encyclopedia, the colony had increased to 67 families—294 people. Of these 294 persons, 113 were males and 112 females 10 years of age or over. They owned 1,912 acres of land, of which they were cultivating less than 300 acres, on which, as at Alliance, they had planted strawberries, raspberries, blackberries, grapevines, and corn. They lived in 23 houses, 6 of which were built by Hebrew carpenters. The land was purchased uncleared on the stipulation that the purchaser erect a dwelling and clear a certain number of acres within a specified time. Fifteen of the settlers had been farmers in Russia, but many of them knew nothing about agriculture, and almost none had any money to invest in improvements. Had it not been for the fact that a large building was equipped with sewing machines to accommodate forty or more operators on clothing sent in from Bridgeton and Philadelphia, it is almost certain the settlers must have starved or deserted before the land produced sufficient to support them.<sup>a</sup>

For some reason the colony did not flourish very well. The farms of the colonists were close to those of American farmers, and while there was some prejudice in the first days, many of the Hebrews worked on Gentile farms and learned Gentile methods. There were no factories of any sort for several years. The Bridgeton tailoring companies continued to distribute cloth and to send out garments to the farmers to be made up during the winter, the clothing establishments furnishing the sewing machines as well as the goods. Notwithstanding this source of employment, many of the colonists failed to make an adequate livelihood, and during the early nineties many

<sup>a</sup> See Migdal Zophim, by Moses Klein, pp. 50 et seq.

of them deserted the colony for other lines of work in the cities. Most of the later comers spent some time in the larger towns before attempting agriculture.

A number of the farmers got very heavily in debt to a building and loan association in Bridgeton, chiefly for supplies and fixed capital. When these mortgages began to be foreclosed about 1890, some deserted and some called upon the Baron de Hirsch Fund for aid. This was granted and was secured by mortgages drawn on very favorable terms—long-time payments at 4 per cent. Later on, a number of the deserters returned.

In 1896 the colonies at Carmel and Rosenhayn had but 70 failiesm remaining of the original 300.<sup>a</sup> In 1899 the population of Rosenhayn was 800, and of these, 47 families only made their living wholly from the land. Since 1899 the colony has increased by 23 the number of farm families. Including Garton road, a part of Rosenhayn, where 22 farmers have settled, Sunnyside, and a few outlying families, there are now 99 farm families.

#### HISTORY OF THE CARMEL COLONY.

The location of Carmel, which is situated midway between Bridgeton and Millville, was first determined by a hotel or road house, built many years ago, 6 miles out of Bridgeton, for the accommodation of travelers on the solitary road running from Bridgeton to South Vineland. The owner, who had in the meantime accumulated hundreds of acres of wild land in the neighborhood, committed suicide, and the entire property passed into the hands of one W. H. Miller, a German living in Philadelphia. Miller at once secured a number of German farm families, brought them to his wilderness of sand and swamp, and set them at work to put the land into shape for cultivation. He built houses, provided equipment, and did all in his power to make the project successful. Despite his efforts, the Germans soon grew discouraged, and before the year was out returned to their former homes in Pennsylvania, leaving the place as much a desert as before.

In this condition it remained until 1882, when 17 families of Russian Hebrews, encouraged by the reports from their brethren at Alliance, settled on the land. The encouragement and material aid given by Michael Heilprin of New York, made the colony possible. Unlike the others, this was an independent enterprise. Land was bought from Miller, much of it either wild swamp or rather stony soils about 3 miles south of Rosenhayn, and the place was called Carmel.

Mr. Miller took great interest in the colony from the start, rented to them several houses which he had built for the Germans, and afterwards built others on reasonable terms. The land itself cost \$12 to \$20 an acre, and for a time the settlers were merely tenants. But money was scarce, crops did not turn out well, and 7 of the 17 families deserted within a year or two. Their places were taken by a number of other Hebrew families whom Mr. Heilprin established on leased land.

Perhaps no one Hebrew settlement passed through more trying circumstances. When it was found impossible to live on the land while clearing it, some hired out as farm laborers and many found

<sup>a</sup> American Jewish Yearbook, 1899-1900, p. 48.

work making shirts and women's garments for city manufacturers during the winter; in 1889, 63 found employment on sewing-machine work most of the year. Even this did not suffice to build homes, and it was necessary to enlist the aid of a building and loan association in erecting some cheap houses, the loans being covered by mortgages on the entire property in each case. Few of the purchasers paid their instalments promptly, and many paid nothing whatever on the loans.. When the mortgages fell due, the building and loan association began promptly to foreclose, since the colonists had no other property to fall back on. By 1889 they were hopelessly in debt. In 1890 they turned to the Baron de Hirsch Fund for financial aid, which was granted.<sup>a</sup> Baron de Hirsch gave \$5,000, the Mansion House committee, London, \$500, and \$250 was received from other benevolent sources. Fifteen hundred additional acres of land were bought, and forty new houses were erected by Hebrew carpenters at \$800 each, another loan association having come to the aid of the colonists. So badly did the loan association fare as a result of the enterprise, however, that some years later it went into bankruptcy. The Jewish Colonization Association, as well as the Baron de Hirsch Fund, extended aid both to Rosenhayn and Carmel more than once, otherwise they must have collapsed during the hard times of the nineties. In 1889 the Hebrews at Carmel numbered more than 300 persons, 82 of whom attended the public school. They owned about 900 acres of land (not to speak of the 1,500 acres bought shortly after this), 240 acres of which was in cultivation, in whole or in part. The families numbered about 60, of whom only 17 seemed to raise enough produce on their farms to support themselves through the year.

In 1891 clothing factories were set up at Carmel, employing nearly 100 hands. Four factories are now engaged in clothing manufacture, in which, during the busy season, 165 operatives find work. Nearly the entire population of the village is engaged in this industrial pursuit.

A special census, made about 1899, enumerated 89 Hebrew families—471 persons in all, and these families depended for support upon various occupations as follows:

	Families.
Exclusively farming.....	19
Farming and tailoring.....	14
Farming and other pursuits.....	23
Exclusively tailoring.....	33

The settlers owned 1,073 acres of land—113 acres in fruit, 504 in truck crops, 456 not in cultivation.

At the same time there were reported 47 settlers at Rosenhayn, holding 1,388 acres of land, 948 of which were in cultivation. At present the number of farm families at or near Carmel or Millville is about 62, out of a total of 160 Hebrew households. Some of these farmers now hold large tracts of land and are farming on a large and improved scale. Fully 40 families have settled near Carmel, Millville, or at Rosenhayn within three years, aided by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society.

Both of these colonies are now on a secure footing. Fewer outward evidences of prosperity are visible than on many of the smaller

<sup>a</sup> American Jewish Yearbook, 1899-1900, p. 48.

farms at Alliance. More houses are paintless, dilapidated, and disreputable in appearance; a number of farms and farm-yards are ill cared for, and there are, in instances, painful evidences of a long-standing lack of thrift. The village of Rosenhayn itself is a weather-beaten, broken-down, decadent village, with a population 90 per cent Hebrew. Little or no enterprise is evident among the so-called business men. Of the three small clothing factories, only one is now in operation, and that without a full complement of workers. There is, however, a good market for farm produce, and local buyers carry on a brisk trade at the railway station, buying the produce on the platform and loading it into cars immediately.

#### THE VILLAGE OF CARMEL.

Carmel is in a much better general condition. The clothing business is lively, and the village has a thrifty, well-to-do appearance; the residences are comparatively large and well built, with good lawns, neatly kept and fenced or ornamented with trees. Some thrifty business men live here and give an enterprising tone to the place that Rosenhayn does not possess.

There is considerable Hebrew immigration to the country near Carmel at the present time. Within a year preceding the Commission's investigation, which occurred in 1909, at least 29 new farm families, aided by the New York society, settled there, and several came in during 1907 and 1908. These are men with more money than the early comers, and they are settling on improved and cultivated farm land in a better farming section, some of them being located not far from Bridgeton, N. J.

#### SOIL AND CLIMATE.

In the following tables are given some of the essential climatological features of this section of New Jersey. The tables contain the normal monthly and annual temperature and precipitation so far as available in the records of the United States Weather Bureau stations located at Bridgeton and Vineland.

*Normal monthly and annual temperature and precipitation for Salem area, New Jersey.*

[United States Department of Agriculture. Field Operations of the Bureau of Soils. Soil survey of the Salem area, New Jersey, 1901.]

Month.	Temperature.		Precipitation.	
	Bridgeton.	Vineland.	Bridgeton.	Vineland.
	° F.	° F.	Inches.	Inches.
January.....	34.7	31.6	3.30	4.45
February.....	36.7	33.3	4.29	4.03
March.....	41.7	39.5	4.76	4.29
April.....	52.8	50.5	3.58	3.29
May.....	64.7	62.2	5.18	3.94
June.....	73.8	72.2	3.72	3.49
July.....	77.2	76.8	4.74	4.62
August.....	75.6	73.8	3.85	4.81
September.....	68.6	66.8	3.03	3.80
October.....	56.0	55.2	4.27	3.44
November.....	46.1	43.6	3.57	2.65
December.....	38.1	34.5	3.37	3.70
Normal annual.....	55.5	53.5	47.66	47.47

In the table below the average dates, as well as the first and last reported dates, of killing frosts in the fall and spring are given for the same stations.

*Dates of first and last killing frosts.*

Station.	Last in spring.		First in autumn.	
	Average date.	Latest date.	Average date.	Earliest date.
Bridgeton.....	Apr. 16	May 10	Oct. 18	Oct. 1
Vineland.....	Apr. 19	May 13	Oct. 19	Oct. 2

The soil does not differ materially from that observed about Alliance, but a good many types appear. The whole tract (including both Rosenhayn and Carmel) is practically level, with just enough swells and low hillocks to give good drainage. In the vicinity of Carmel the land is low, wet, and marshy, and needs extensive outlays for drainage before it can be made serviceable for field crops. Some stones and boulders are found—in places sufficient to make cultivation difficult. South of Carmel a coarse, porous sand somewhat gravelly—a type called Windsor sand—is characteristic. Northeast and south of Rosenhayn the soil is very light and sandy, some of the sand being coarse, loose, and unstable, but the finer sand type prevails. Garton road on the west, where 22 good farms are located, has a clay or sandy loam soil called Sassafras gravelly loam, much heavier than the usual variety. It seems well adapted to corn, Irish potatoes, and truck crops, and is perhaps as favorable for peaches, pears, and plums as any soil in south Jersey. Intermingled, there is a great deal of poor white sandy soil, large portions of it covered with brush and young oaks, white and black. The land owned by the Hebrews is of all types, but so far they have obtained but little foothold on the heavier loam soils a few miles north and west of Rosenhayn.

The poorer soil is now being taken up by the Italians, who buy it in small parcels and begin to clear it and plant it to berries. There are from 40 to 50 families of Italians (the assessor reports over 60 polls), all settled on the land within four years. They make a living from the start, and seem much better fitted for pioneer work than their Hebrew neighbors. They own parcels not to exceed 30 acres, usually, but often not more than 10. Many of them moved from the vicinity of Vineland in search of cheaper land. Brush land costs them from \$15 to \$25 an acre, and old farms with buildings are on the market for \$30 to \$40 an acre, a short distance from the railroad.

The Hebrew farms run from 10 to 100 acres in size, most of them from 20 to 40 acres, and vary in assessed value of land from \$10 to \$30 an acre, depending very largely on location, partly on the quality of the soil. The Alliance land is assessed fully 25 per cent higher on the average, the values running from \$20 to \$60 an acre. The farms are about the same size as at Rosenhayn—the median farm about 27 acres, the largest noted 165 acres, the smallest 9 acres in extent. When first purchased, nearly all this land was uncleared, and some of it was bought as low as \$5 an acre. Much can still be bought for

\$10 an acre. The Aid Society paid the top price for the land, but sold it as at present, at actual cost to Hebrew settlers, after some improvements in the shape of outbuildings had been made.

#### THE CHARACTER OF THE COLONISTS.

Of the entire number of Hebrew settlers now in these colonies, more than 90 per cent are Russian Hebrews. Occasionally there is found a German Hebrew, a Polish Hebrew or a Pole, or a Galician, but nearly all are Roumanian or Russian Hebrews. With reference to agriculture, neither the early nor the present settlers had much acquaintance with farming in the Old World, none owned any land, and the majority were villagers or small tradesmen.

Those who are now taking up lands or have been coming since 1900 differ financially and spiritually from the earlier settlers; they are men who have some money, often a considerable sum. They buy for investment or with the idea of making a good home and a fair profit at the same time on the land. They do not wish to clear wild land; they want cleared fields ready for the plow and the first spring's seeding. As a matter of fact, while the Aid Society buys farms, builds houses and barns, and sells at cost to the newcomer, it is almost essential that the prospective farmer have at least \$700 or \$800 to start with. This difference in character and financial condition explains the larger holdings and the better crops of some of the more recent comers. They use more land and more capital, and returns begin to come in at once. On the whole, nearly all are good workers; not so slavish or persevering as the Italian and not so ready and resourceful, at first, as the American, they work diligently and thrive on the long hours and the outdoor labor. Most of them are quick and intelligent, and as soon as they learn the English language or are shown the correct methods of cultivation they get on rapidly and work effectively.

#### THE COLONIES IN GENERAL AS SHOWN BY FAMILY SCHEDULES.

In the three colonies under consideration 42 representative families were selected for investigation. They represent farm families that have settled in the locality at various times since 1882, some of them being of the older settlers and others of the more recent arrivals.

Thirty-two of the heads of families studied were born in Russia, and 6 in Austria-Hungary, and one each in Germany and Roumania. Seven of the Russian Hebrews came from the vicinity of Kiev.

Twenty-seven of the heads of families under consideration came to the colonies from other parts of the United States and 15 came directly from Europe. Of those who came from other parts of the United States 12 were from New York City and 13 from Philadelphia.

The colonists had followed a great variety of occupations both in Europe and in the United States before coming to the settlements in New Jersey.

Eleven of the 42 heads of farm families investigated seem to have made a living from the land from the first occupation, the remainder engaged in some supplemental occupation for various periods, ranging from one to eight or ten years, and some are not yet deriving their incomes wholly from the soil. Of those who engaged in suppli-



mental occupations 8 were tailors, 8 farm laborers, 5 worked at various occupations, 2 were teachers, 1 an actor, and 5 borrowed money or lived on previous accumulations. The hardships previously described were not the lot of all of these, some of whom came with money, but a great many have found the way of the farmer anything but smooth, even after the land was cleared, subdued, and planted to bearing crops.

Of the land first bought or rented by these 42 farmers 37 per cent was untillable—that is, uncleared—land, covered with a forest growth of oak, scrub pine, and second or third growth hard wood of various sorts. The first comers bought small farms, varying from 10 to 20 acres, and the allotments were from 13 to 15 acres. There were a few partially cleared farms secured around Rosenhayn and Carmel, but the bulk of the ground was wild.

A large percentage of these farmers paid too much for their land. Despite the care taken by the Hebrew societies it is not possible to prevent people ignorant of everything American from being cheated when purchasing land. During the eighties and nineties, this waste land was worth perhaps \$6, \$8, or at most \$10 an acre. Those who received aid from the various philanthropies got their farms reasonably enough; those who bought independently and those who now buy ignorantly, pay dearly for their ignorance. The following table shows the variations in size of farms bought by the 42 families under consideration and the prices paid for them. Sixty-nine dollars an acre, the average price paid for 12 of the farms under consideration, is high for land of any sort on the tract; but the green Italians who are coming in to buy small, uncleared parcels are paying nearly one-half of that for them. The values Hebrew farmers with small tracts—up to 40 acres—place on their fairly well improved farms is nearly \$100 an acre, but an intelligent buyer would not offer as high a price for many of them.

TABLE 20.—*Condition, size of farms, and price paid, 42 typical Hebrew farms in southern New Jersey.*

Condition of land.	Number of farms.	Average number of acres per farm.	Average price per—		Average cash payment.
			Farm.	Acre.	
None tillable.....	15	18.65	\$534	\$29	a \$214
Under one-fourth tillable.....	4	35.25	1,031	29	438
One-fourth and under one-half tillable.....	2	51.00	2,500	49	2,500
One-half and under three-fourths tillable..	9	44.50	1,569	31	a 953
Three-fourths or more tillable.....	12	35.17	2,604	69	a 923

a Not including one not reporting.

#### AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS.

Nearly all of these farmers were at first settlers on 15 to 20 acres of wild land, about twenty-five years ago. Most of them began without capital and with no buildings or improvements except a house costing about \$200; everything was new and everyone inexperienced and awkward about matters of the farm; many of their crops are necessarily commercial crops, and markets were very inadequate up to ten or twelve years ago.

Data taken at random from the tax collector's files for 1908 shows the average acreage of 45 representative farmers, 21 near Alliance, 24 in the vicinity of Rosenhayn, to be  $32\frac{1}{2}$  acres, and the median or middle farm, 27 or 28 acres in size.

Of the 42 farms included in the commission's detailed inquiry, 6 were between 10 and 20 acres, 18 between 20 and 40 acres, 15 between 40 and 80 acres. Only 3 farms were above 80 acres, and none there had more than 120 acres. The average acreage reported is 40, and the actual middle or median farm is 35 acres in extent.

The staple crops are grapes, strawberries and blackberries, sweet potatoes, lima beans, and, less frequently, tomatoes, rhubarb, white potatoes, peppers, and various truck crops. Nearly everyone raises a little field of corn to provide fodder and meal for his live stock, and some have a little meadow land for hay. Very few, however, raise enough roughage for their own needs, hence most must buy hay and corn in the market to supply the deficiency. Few of these crops, except potatoes, involve much outlay for tools, implements, or horse labor. Most of the work may be done by hand with the aid of one horse. Some of the more progressive farmers use two-horse cultivators and plows and modern disk harrows and potato diggers. The majority, however, use one horse only and employ the hoe rather than the cultivator.

The growing of grapes has been greatly stimulated by a vineland grape-juice manufactory, which provides a steady market for all that are grown. The principal variety is the Ives Seedling, the variety that seems best fitted to withstand rot and phylloxera. Every farmer has a few grapevines, the average acreage varying from 3 to 12 acres. They are trained to stakes almost universally, but on a farm near Norma a method of wire trellising is being introduced that will save labor and make possible a free circulation of air about the vines. It also gives a much better opportunity for spraying, since it affords access to every part of the vine without difficulty. The Hebrew farmers are likely to adopt the new mode more quickly than the Italians.

Both blackberries, of the dewberry variety, and strawberries, are grown in all of the colonies and have been since the beginning. From 4 to 6 acres of strawberries are raised on many of the farms. Both late and early varieties are found, some growers making three pickings in a season. Neither these nor the blackberries are as profitable as formerly. There is the usual complaint concerning the decadence of the Wilson blackberry. The Hebrew farmers employ Italian pickers and find them very satisfactory. They have persevered in berry growing longer than the American farmer, possibly because they can use their own families to gather the berries. Neither at Rosenhayn nor at Norma, the Alliance station, is the berry market satisfactory; at Rosenhayn there are local buyers and sometimes direct sales, but in nearly all cases berries are sold on consignment with very unsatisfactory returns. Since 1901 the canning factory at Norma has consumed a large acreage of berries raised both by Hebrew and by American farmers.

It does not appear that the Hebrew farmers raise fewer quarts per acre or a poorer quality of fruit than the Americans. At Rosenhayn commission men are inclined to the opinion that the Italian is a better grower than either.

Sweet potatoes are another staple, 6 to 12 acres being raised per farmer. The larger number of these, perhaps, are stored in houses erected on the farms and disposed of during the winter, but many are sold directly from the field.

Lima beans are raised by nearly every farmer. They are trained to poles or stakes and require a great deal of care and much hand labor. The early market is, of course, the best, but the canning factories pay 5 cents a pound, or about 75 cents a hamper for them throughout the season. They are ready to pick immediately after the blackberry and the white potato harvest and continue for several weeks. The first beans sell for \$2 to \$2.50 a hamper, and some farmers have made gross sales of \$200 an acre from them; \$125 an acre gross is a large average, however. Those who have a large acreage, say 10 to 12 acres, hire Italians, who pick the beans at the rate of 10 cents a hamper. The hampers cost 8 cents each. When shipped on consignment the necessary cost of picking and marketing in New York is 35 to 40 cents a hamper and commission charges. Some commission houses furnish the hampers. Most of the beans produced in this section are grown on Hebrew farms.

White potatoes are a new crop in this region. Farmers in Deerfield have been raising them for three or four years and find them profitable. The Hebrews are just beginning to take up their culture. Some are finding the industry profitable and others are having little success. This is partly due to the soil, since white potatoes need a heavier soil than sweet potatoes to make much headway. When the Commission's inquiry was made one progressive farmer was marketing 325 baskets an acre, the equivalent of 195 bushels. The bulk of the crop sold for 65 cents a bushel. A number of the better farmers are doing fully as well as this—a good average even for specialists in potato culture. The growing of potatoes requires careful culture, spraying apparatus, and usually horse machinery. Several Hebrews at Carmel and Rosenhayn were buying digging machines and some machines were at work near Alliance. After digging, the potatoes are placed in hampers or baskets holding about three-fifths of a bushel and are brought to the local markets directly from the fields. There they are sold by weight at a flat rate. A few of the Hebrew farmers hold over their potatoes, but the major part sell at once.

Since 1901 tomato growing has made considerable progress as an industry, for since that time there has been a good market for the crop. A canning company contracts for the larger part of the product at \$9 per ton, delivered at the factory, which is situated at the nearest railway depot, Norma. As with other crops, the first fruits are shipped to Philadelphia or New York and sold to commission men. When the market becomes dull, the tomatoes are disposed of at the canning factory. A reasonable profit is assured, if the crop is fair, at a market price of \$9 a ton. The factory handles about 300 acres yearly, 40 per cent of which are reported from Hebrew farmers. The acreage per farmer runs from 4 to 6 among the larger farmers.

Very little orchard fruit is raised here. There are small orchards of peaches, pears, and several varieties of apples on nearly every farm, but few produce fruit for market. There are not many young orchards, showing that horticulture is scarcely holding its own. The chief reason for the failure to develop commercial orchards

is found in their unreliability—especially in the case of peaches. Frosts and pests of various sorts make the crop a very precarious one. There are a few exceptions, however, and some excellent young orchards are seen, more frequently in the vicinity of Rosenhayn. In 1899, 7,215 fruit trees were enumerated at Rosenhayn. It is doubtful whether there are as many at the present time. Horticultural experts give it as their opinion that the soil near Rosenhayn is most admirably adapted to orchard fruits. It would seem that some demonstration and education in scientific horticulture could be given Hebrew owners to very good advantage.

Corn, cowpeas, and crimson clover are grown in limited quantities. Corn is used for forage and grain, but most of the cowpeas are turned under for green manure or serve as an orchard cover crop.

Hay and pasture are difficult to procure, and every farmer must of necessity buy at least part of his hay and feed. There has been no attempt at soiling crops nor is there any considerable acreage of red clover. In a few places on the heavier soils clover does fairly well, but on the whole the soil is not adapted to clover, and grass of any sort is an expensive crop. The table which follows shows the average quantity and value of the various crops produced on farms which were included in the Commission's inquiry.

TABLE 21.—Average quantity and value per farm of crops raised, typical Hebrew farmers, southern New Jersey.

Crops.	Number of farms producing.	Average per farm.	
		Quantity.	Value.
Sweet potatoes.....	38	195 barrels.....	\$545
Irish potatoes.....	13	266 bushels <sup>a</sup> .....	152
Tomatoes.....	27	16 tons <sup>b</sup> .....	149
Lima beans.....	32	2 tons <sup>c</sup> .....	196
Peppers.....	5	Not reported.....	85
Corn.....	30	223 bushels.....	193
Hay.....	18	6 tons.....	69
Blackberries.....	12	49 crates.....	79
Strawberries.....	30	151 crates.....	204
Grapes.....	7	2½ tons.....	104
Grape wine.....	4	292 gallons ( <sup>c</sup> ).....	225
Orchard products <sup>d</sup> .....	11	Not reported.....	70
Garden truck.....	5	do.....	81
Oats.....	3	142 bushels.....	118

<sup>a</sup> Not including 1, not reporting complete data.

<sup>b</sup> Not including 3, not reporting complete data.

<sup>c</sup> Not including 2, not reporting complete data.

<sup>d</sup> Including peaches, apples, pears.

#### MANURES AND FERTILIZERS

Green manure, barnyard manure, and commercial fertilizers are employed. Cowpeas and crimson clover are utilized to some extent, although American farmers use this means of restoring fertility much more than do the Hebrews. Manure is shipped in large quantities from New York and is used on all truck crops. The cost is about \$2 per ton and freight. When it has to be hauled several miles from depot to farm it makes a costly form of fertilizer, but truck farmers think the use of this heating horse-stable manure essential if truck is to be raised successfully.

Several grades of fertilizers are employed. Years ago there was much ignorance, and a great deal of low-grade stuff was foisted upon farmers by unscrupulous dealers; now, experience and carefully prepared literature, scientific analyses, and lectures on fertilizing materials by representatives of the State Experiment Station and the Jewish Agricultural School at Woodbine, educate and protect the fertilizer consumer. High-grade chemicals of various sorts are applied to potatoes, tomatoes, and other truck crops at a cost of \$30 per ton. This fertilizer is bought on credit, usually, from agents of fertilizer companies. With the application of these fertilizers many of the older Hebrew farmers are not less conversant than many of the Americans.

#### LIVE STOCK.

As previously stated, the settlers began at Alliance with one horse to each four families. In a short time this partnership was broken up, and for a time the colonists depended upon hiring horses from their Gentile neighbors. By 1889 nearly every farmer had one horse, several had two, and there were 125 horses and 290 cows in the three settlements. At present one good horse to each farm of 15 tilled acres (or less) and two horses, if the farm is larger, seems to be the general rule.

Few farmers have more than two cows, but there is almost always one cow to each family. No dairy farms are managed either by Hebrews or Gentiles near Alliance or Carmel. It is not a profitable dairy region, chiefly owing to scarcity of grass and clover.

Practically no hogs are raised, but there is more poultry than on the average Italian farm, although there are no poultry farms, devoted either to fancy or commercial stock.

#### FARMING METHODS.

With rather frequent exceptions, the Hebrew farms are well and thoroughly cultivated, free from weeds, and bear evidences of thrift and skillful husbandry. Many of the older farmers and some sons of farmers who make agriculture a study discuss with intelligence the newer phases and methods of farming, but they do not always apply their knowledge in a practical way.

In connection with the State Experiment Station, a Cumberland county society for farming demonstration was organized in November, 1908. Professor Mounier, director of educational work in the colonies, is secretary, and the society depends on private contribution for its support. The purpose is much the same as that of the educational demonstration work carried on under the United States Department of Agriculture in the cotton growing States. On selected farms demonstration plots are set aside, on which proved varieties of seeds, modern methods of tillage and culture, or tested fertilizers are used to show their superiority over the customary varieties and methods. A demonstrator from the State Experiment Station has charge of the work, and the most expert advice and assistance is freely given.

At present (1909) 98 demonstrations are under way on 57 farms. Twenty of these are Hebrew farms. The demonstrator reports

that these farmers are taking hold of the matter with commendable zeal and enthusiasm. The Grange, the Vineland Grape Juice Company, and the director of the State Station are back of the movement, which bids fair to aid materially in the development of a more scientific, purposeful, and profitable agriculture in this region.

There are many, of course, who are very inferior farmers, either because they are new arrivals who have not yet learned how to farm or because they have not the enterprise necessary to make farmers. A good many struggle along in an apathetic way, living a hand-to-mouth existence, and ready at the first opportunity to give up and sell out. The number of "marginal," no-profit men among these farmers is apparently greater than among the neighboring Gentiles, and gives rise to the impression that the Hebrew is not born a farmer and can not be made an agriculturist. Another noticeable fact that tends to confirm this opinion is the carelessness of the average Hebrew about the appearance of his house, barnyard, and buildings. Even when the fields show care and thrift, the outbuildings are likely to be dilapidated and paintless. The yard fences are seldom neat, well built, or in good repair; the barnyards are littered with broken lumber, junk, worn-out implements, and trash of all sorts. Many of the lawns have trees, shrubs, and flowers in them, but few are well trimmed or well cared for. The original 12 by 14 houses have nearly all disappeared, and most of the present farm houses are as pretentious, if kept in good repair, as those of the average Jersey farmer with the same acreage of land. More than any other one thing, perhaps, the thriftless appearance of the farmstead detracts from the beauty and the value of these farms.

The canning company and the commission agents who buy their produce say that tomatoes, potatoes, beans, and berries grown by Hebrew farmers are in quality well up to the average. There are more Americans who bring in good products, few who bring in better than the best grades of Hebrew produce, and, on the other hand, few who bring in anything more inferior in quality than some marketed by the least efficient Hebrew farmers.

The Hebrew is not as hard nor as steady a worker as the Italian, and is probably less resourceful than the younger generation of American farmers, but he is far from representing an agricultural failure in this section of New Jersey. Not half a dozen command large capital or operate farms on an extensive scale and few have secured much more than a competence, but one can say very little more for the ordinary American farmers. However, if the material encouragement granted the Hebrews had been extended to the American farmers possibly they would now make much the better showing.

#### MARKETS AND MARKETING FACILITIES.

At Rosenhayn and Carmel there are two or three local buyers who buy produce at the Rosenhayn station, less than 5 miles distant, over very fair roads, from any farmer in the colonies at Rosenhayn or Carmel. These buyers pay very close to wholesale market prices for produce delivered to them, and ship to their commission houses in New York, New England cities, and Philadelphia. Berries, beans, and tomatoes are exceptions. These are consigned to commission men, either by the farmers themselves or by local commission agents,

and sold in the city markets. The returns are as unsatisfactory as in other places where this method is in vogue.

White and sweet potatoes are sold at the station directly to buyers. There are no complaints on either side. Since there are other competing markets within a few miles, the prices at Rosenhayn are well up to wholesale city prices, and since it is possible to inspect potatoes sold in baskets or hampers, there is little cause for complaint on the part of the buyers. Weighing is done on public scales.

A great many tomatoes, beans, and berries go to the canning factories at Bridgeton. These factories usually pay fair prices.

The buyers at Rosenhayn are Hebrews, one of them a progressive and influential farmer. At Norma (or Alliance) there are no marketing facilities worthy of mention except those furnished by the canning company. A few berries and potatoes are sold at the depot platform to agents from the outside markets, but nearly all produce goes forward on consignment by the farmers themselves. There is complaint of false returns, of perfect shipments reported damaged, of failure properly to ice cars, and of extortionate freight rates. Practically every man claims to have experienced some unjust dealing with New York and New England middlemen.

In 1901, a Hebrew philanthropist and business man, who has helped the Alliance colony in many ways, established a modern canning factory between Norma station and his model farm of 600 acres on the outskirts of the Alliance colony. The factory is equipped with all practical modern improvements and furnishes an outlet for the best produce raised by Hebrew farmers. The original cost was great, and up to date there has been no dividend and no surplus. Last year (1908) was a very prosperous one, however. Over \$22,000 worth of produce was bought from farmers in the vicinity, \$11,350 from 105 Hebrew farmers. This year (1909) the raw material purchased will reach \$25,000, 60 per cent from the farms of Hebrews.

It is worth while to note that the Hebrews of Rosenhayn and Carmel sell very little produce to the canning company at Alliance. Both socially and economically there seems to be a well-defined line of division between the colonies.

Markets for any and all products at fair prices are comparatively recent in this section, and the rise of markets marked the beginning of a very real prosperity. Besides the markets immediately at the door, Elmer, Bridgeton, Millville, and Vineland furnish outlets for a good deal of produce, affording a sale for perishable fruits and vegetables and bidding competitively for potatoes and peppers. Frequently a farmer will haul to one market place to-day and to another to-morrow if there are prospects of a better price in the second. The wagon roads direct to all these places are well graveled which makes hauling comparatively cheap, but many of the crossroads are very sandy and are not kept in good repair.

#### BUSINESS COOPERATION.

There are no effective business organizations among the farmers at Alliance either for the purchase or sale of goods. The canning company, however, deals in fertilizer and seeds, selling on a very close margin of profit. Last year the sales of fertilizer by this company amounted to \$4,815, and nearly \$600 worth of seeds were sold to

farmers. In a measure, this not only reduces cost to the farmer, but maintains a standard of purity and excellence in so far as a large, intelligent buyer has an advantage in these respects over a small one.

Attempts to cooperate have come to nothing, owing in great measure to poor leadership, suspicion, and lack of confidence in one another. The American Federation of Jewish Farmers, with headquarters at Hartford, Conn., has some local branches in New Jersey. The purposes are mutual aid, education, discussion of local topics of current, general, and agricultural interest, and social entertainment.

In Rosenhayn and Carmel two farmers' associations of this sort were established early in 1909, with both educational and business purposes. The Carmel association has 20 members. Meetings are held twice a month to consider topics of interest to farmers. Fertilizers, cultural methods, seeds, tillage, packing, and marketing produce are discussed both from the standpoint of local experience and scientific findings. There is a social side, too, for the women gather with the men and visit while the men debate. More than this, they have bought their fertilizer in large lots, securing a discount for quantity. One of the members, who is the prime mover in the new organization, bought the fertilizer for the members and received their notes in payment. These clubs are also buying their hampers, berry boxes, and the like at some discount, the advantage accruing to all members, according to the amount of their purchases. No selling operations have been attempted, although cooperative marketing has been discussed.

#### FARM LABOR.

The expenditures for farm labor runs to a formidable sum on many farms. There is some yearly help employed at a wage varying from \$10 to \$15 per month and board. These yearly workers are frequently Russian Hebrews just landed who have relatives or friends in the colonies or who are directed thither by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society—or less often, an Italian of the neighborhood is employed as a farm hand.

Seasonal labor by the month, for six or eight months in summer, is supplied by Italians and sometimes Hebrews. The wage paid is from \$15 to \$20 a month with board and washing. These same classes supply the demand for day labor for potato digging, pepper picking, staking berries, and for other services where a few hands are needed for a few days. Wages for day labor run from \$1 to \$1.25 and occasionally \$1.50 per day of ten hours, without board. For picking berries and lima beans, sometimes tomatoes, Italian pickers are imported from Philadelphia as in other berry sections. Italian hired men are well spoken of by the Hebrews. Another source of supply of help are the relatives—men and women who sometimes come to the farm for the summer and assist in gathering the crop. It does not appear that these receive any stipulated wage for their services.

The women work in the fields to some extent, but rather less than the Italian wives and daughters. Probably none work for wages on the farms, and where the farmer is in comfortable circumstances, the women labor very little out of doors.



## FARM EXPENDITURES.

The following table gives a partial account of the chief items of expense incurred by the 42 farmers under consideration for labor, including general monthly or day labor, but omitting all labor paid by the piece, such as picking lima beans, berries, peppers, etc. No account is taken of the board or lodging furnished. The item "fertilizer" is fairly accurate, since each farmer pays his fertilizer bill after an account has been rendered by the fertilizer companies, and the amount is thus a matter of record. The items for feed, seed, and forage are less accurate, but are fairly reliable.

TABLE 22.—*Farm expenditures, 42 typical Hebrew farms, southern New Jersey.*

[Annual average for two years.]

Amount.	Number of farms reporting specified expenditures.					Average number of acres cultivated.
	Farm labor.	Fertilizer and paris green.	Feed, seed, and forage.	Rent.	Total.	
No expenditures.....	8	2	20	39		
Under \$25.....	1			2		
\$25 and under \$50.....		1	2			
\$50 and under \$75.....	3	4	1	1	2	9.00
\$75 and under \$100.....	2	3	1		1	13.00
\$100 and under \$200.....	9	5	5		4	15.75
\$200 and under \$400.....	9	12	3		13	22.12
\$400 and under \$500.....	1	1			3	19.67
\$500 or over.....	2	4			12	37.46
Not reporting.....	7	10	10		7	22.21
Total.....	42	42	42	42	42	

It will be noted that all the farms investigated report some expenditure. Thirty report expenditures for fertilizer and paris green, 12 of this number having expended \$200 to \$400 for these items. Twenty-seven farms show expenditures for farm labor, 9 having expended \$100 to \$200, and the same number \$200 to \$400. Twelve farms report expenditures for feed, seed, and forage, and 3 report expenditures for rent. Thirteen farms show total expenditures of \$200 to \$400, the average number of acres cultivated on these 13 farms being 22.12. Twelve farms, with an average of 37.46 acres in cultivation, show total expenditures of \$500 and over. Four farms, with an average of 15.75 acres in cultivation, show total expenditures of \$100 and under \$200. Of the 35 farms showing expenditures, none report a total less than \$50.

## PROPERTY OWNED, INVESTMENTS.

On the tax list of Deerfield Township, which includes the Rosenhayn colony and some of the farmers at Carmel, 250 names of Hebrew taxpayers occur out of a total list of 660 assessed persons in 1908. That is to say, nearly 38 per cent of the taxpayers are of Hebrew origin. Of the 250 about 100 own farms, some own town property of some value, and many are employed in the clothing manufacturing or in some other occupation.

In Pittsgrove Township 181 Jews were taxpayers in 1907-8. The percentage of Hebrew taxpayers is about 40. One hundred of those enumerated are owners of real estate in farms.

It is difficult to get at the real value of the property owned by these taxpayers, since neither the assessments nor their personal estimates of property owned can be entirely relied upon. However, it is possible to present data from two sources upon this point. These data are shown in the two tables which follow. The first table shows the range of assessments of 45 farm properties selected at random from the 200 farms listed in the two townships, while the second table presents estimates made by 42 farmers of the property they owned in 1909.

TABLE 23.—*Range of property assessments, 45 Hebrew farmers, southern New Jersey, 1908.*

[Compiled from official tax lists.]

Valuation of real estate.	Alliance owners.	Rosenhayn owners.	Total.
Taxpayers with specified assessments:			
Under \$500.....	2	9	11
\$500 and under \$1,000.....	7	8	15
\$1,000 and under \$1,500.....	5	4	9
\$1,500 and under \$2,000.....	6	2	8
\$2,000.....	1	1	2
	21	24	45

The assessed valuation, as shown in the above table, is supposed to be real market value, but probably in most instances does not approximate more than two-thirds or three-fourths of that amount.

As will be seen from the next table a widely different valuation was placed by their owners on the 42 farms studied by Commission agents.

TABLE 24.—*Land and improvements now owned, condition of land, size of farms, and average value, 42 typical Hebrew farms, southern New Jersey.*

Condition of land.	Number of farms.	Average number of acres per farm.	Average value per—	
			Farm.	Acre.
One-fourth and under one-half tillable.....	3	53.00	\$3,400	\$64
One-half and under three-fourths tillable.....	11	52.09	3,264	63
Three-fourths or more tillable.....	28	33.81	3,264	97
Total.....	42			

It should be understood that the two preceding tables do not necessarily concern the same farms, and consequently the two sets of data can not be compared except in the most general way. However, the farms in both cases may fairly be considered as typical of the colonies, and the wide difference in values, as represented in the two tables, naturally creates doubt as to the actual values.

A few recent sales of property near Rosenhayn will give some idea of exchange prices. A Hebrew farmer recently added 20 acres of uncleared land to his farm a half mile from the depot for \$300.

The Baron de Hirsch Fund bought 300 acres of improved farm land with fair buildings a few miles from Carmel for \$40 per acre. An Italian bought 38 acres, very little improved, near Rosenhayn in 1908 for \$2,800, but it is stated that the actual value was about \$1,500. A farm of 32 acres of cleared land with a small orchard and a good two-story frame house on it sold for \$2,600 in 1908. Farther out from town a newcomer—a Hebrew—bought 28 acres of land, nearly all unimproved, with a poor house on it, for \$900. About 2 miles from the railway station is a farm of 84 acres with a fair house, good barns and outbuildings, some grapes, and a small apple and pear orchard. It has nearly all been tilled and is tillable. A short time ago it was disposed of at a sheriff's sale. A Hebrew had bought it a few years before for \$5,000, and was unable to meet his payments. It sold for much less—some \$3,000—at auction. Two recent sales of improved land near Carmel, each a lot of 15 acres, are noted. One with good buildings and fertile soil brought \$2,200; the other, with a poor house, \$1,100. While these actual sales show great variation, owing to difference of soil, location, improvements, and bargaining skill, it is patent to an investigator that land is selling at a price higher than that shown by the tax duplicates, but much lower than land owned by Gentile farmers a few miles distant. The farms owned by Americans near Woodruff and Deerfield, 3 and 8 miles distant, are somewhat heavier and raise white potatoes well, but in large lots sell for \$75 to \$100 per acre, with ready buyers, a difference in market value not wholly accounted for by better soil or character of crop.

The 42 farmers included in the Commission's detailed inquiry reported the value of all property, including land and improvements, live stock and implements, and crops on hand as follows: \$500 to \$1,000, 4; \$1,000 to \$1,500, 3; \$1,500 to \$2,500, 8; \$2,500 to \$5,000, 21; \$5,000 and over, 6. The value of live stock and implements in most cases is quite small. On 8 farms the value of these items was placed by the owners at from \$100 to \$250; on 20 farms from \$250 to \$500, and on 12 farms from \$500 to \$1,000. In two cases only was the value placed as \$1,000 or more.

It will be seen from the above that the bulk of the property is in land and improvements, but it may be said that the ratio of personal to real estate is greater in the majority of instances among the Hebrews in this locality than on the Italian farms at either Vineland or Hammonton.

The statement which follows presents in a condensed form the general financial condition, etc., of the 42 farmers under consideration. It shows a total real-estate valuation of \$137,500 on 42 farms with an aggregate of 1,679 acres of land in farms. The gross value of all property aggregates \$188,106. The proportion of farms showing indebtedness is large; 35 farms, or 83 per cent of all investigated are charged with an aggregate indebtedness of \$40,030, or an average of \$1,144 a farm. There is no doubt that this reported indebtedness is below the true figures. Most of it is on land, but at least 20 per cent was incurred for improvements and equipment. It is significant, however, that a number of farmers who have been settled many years have not yet paid off the original mortgage given for the very first purchase of land. A great deal of this indebtedness is carried by the Baron de Hirsch Fund at a low rate of interest. The

old settlers, it is said, feel that this is not a debt but a gift, the repayment of which is not an obligation, but a matter of choice. Of course, the impression is false, but in a measure the colonists have acted on it; hence their tardiness in paying their obligations. It is safe to state that the total indebtedness amounts to more than 25 per cent of the real value of the property.

Farms leased and owned:	
Total farms investigated.....	42
Average size of farm (in acres).....	<sup>a</sup> 40.48
Median farms (in acres).....	35
Kinds of farms:	
Vegetable and truck.....	41
Grain.....	1
First purchase:	
Total number of acres.....	1,346
Average acres per farm.....	32.05
Total value.....	\$58,328
Average value per farm.....	\$1,380
Average value per acre.....	\$43
Farms now owned:	
Total numbers of acres.....	1,679
Number of acres tillable.....	1,325
Number of acres not tillable.....	354
Present value of farms now owned:	
Land and improvements.....	\$137,500
Average value of land and improvements per farm.....	\$3,274
Average value of land and improvements per acre.....	\$82
Number of farms showing indebtedness.....	35
Total indebtedness.....	\$40,030
Average indebtedness per farm.....	\$1,144
Gross value of all property.....	\$188,106
Net value of all property.....	\$148,076
Average net value of all property per farm.....	\$3,526

A number of the Hebrews have good bank accounts, but most of them have nothing aside from their property in the farm and its equipment. Those who do acquire a surplus are likely to move away and invest in some enterprise other than farming.

#### STANDARD OF LIVING.

The standard of living among the Hebrew families of southern New Jersey is not essentially different from that of native families of the same economic status, except that, as a rule, their houses are not so well appointed and are not kept as clean. The kind and grade of clothing ordinarily worn does not differ materially from that of their neighbors, and the food consumed is also much the same. Nearly all the Hebrew families possess some books, and as a rule some papers or other periodicals are taken. The women and children do some work in the fields, but this practice is not nearly so general as among the Italians in rural communities.

#### OPPORTUNITIES FOR OUTSIDE EMPLOYMENT.

In all these colonies there are opportunities for labor sufficient to employ the full number of available laborers, chiefly in tailoring and clothing establishments. The number of these establishments varies from year to year, depending somewhat on the subsidies offered by

<sup>a</sup> Including 21 acres of land rented by three farmers in addition to the land they own.

the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society to operating companies. In 1909 there were fewer shops in operation than in 1905 in Rosenhayn and Carmel, but at Brotmanville, a little hamlet near Alliance, entirely populated by machine operators on clothing, the number of workmen had somewhat increased.

In 1909, when the Commission's inquiry was made, there were 8 garment factories in Alliance, Norma, Carmel, and Rosenhayn, employing approximately 350 Hebrew operatives. At the same time a canning factory at Norma furnished to about 100 workers, all or most of whom were Italians.

In 1905 there were four clothing and knit goods factories, a brickyard and an iron foundry at Rosenhayn, employing a total of 190 persons. In 1909, however, only a small clothing factory employing about 35 persons was in operation. A considerable part of the labor used in these establishments comes directly from abroad, or from New York and Philadelphia, and as a rule these form a very shifting element in the population. The farmers use the factories less and less as a means of supplementing the farm income, and almost none of the farm owners now work in any of the factories after the first two years on the land. Surprisingly few of the farmers' sons and daughters are found in the factories, although there are some who work with great regularity, and add materially to the family income. In the Carmel factories many more farmers' children are found than in the Alliance or Rosenhayn colonies. More than one-half of the employees at Carmel are women and girls.

The wages paid at Carmel are representative. The work day is nine and one-half hours. Wages are chiefly piece wages, and range from \$3 to \$10 a week. Very few receive more than \$6 a week, this being the wage paid examiners and foremen. Some work is taken home, and in the winter in most homes the sewing machine is kept busy the greater part of the time.

It appears that many of the young people from the farms are leaving the colonies and entering other occupations in the cities and elsewhere, although a number of excellent farms are managed by farmers' sons. Those who go away do not become farmers elsewhere, as a rule, but having once left the farm, never return to it. A great difference of opinion exists as to the capacity of the young Hebrew for agriculture. Some feel that he is taking up farming as a last resort, and that all who can find any other outlet for their talents, especially along commercial lines, are doing so. A few of the young men have taken advantage of the opportunities offered by the Baron de Hirsch Agricultural School of Woodbine, N. J., for training in scientific and specialized agriculture, but many more display an interest in a business education.

#### SOCIAL, EDUCATIONAL, AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS.

The social side of life is made prominent in these Hebrew communities, and family gatherings, dances, theatricals, picnics, or excursions are frequent and do much to foster sociability and make rural life enjoyable.

Another factor in the social life of the colonists is the annual influx of summer boarders. These city dwellers not only bring in an urban atmosphere, but add much to the gaiety and social enterprise and

recreations afforded. Boating, swimming, camping out, picnicking, all follow in the wake of the city boarders, and all who can get a little leisure participate in these recreations. There is little class or caste among the Hebrews in the settlements. The rich and poor meet together on terms of amicability and good feeling.

Then there are athletic clubs and women's societies in all the settlements, which provide in an organized way for recreations. The young enter heartily into these, and while the farm families have a little less time and are more distant from the village centers, they take advantage of them to an unusual degree. At Alliance the sociability of the place centers in the synagogues. Here weddings are held and dances and festivities take place in the basement of the larger edifice. These gatherings, religious meetings of various sorts, the library, and the school make it a real social center for old and young.

At Carmel the fine recreation hall is the social meeting place, and an athletic association, several lodges, a young ladies' aid society, a woman's mutual aid society, and the Federation of Jewish Farmers are among the organizations existing in this village.

The same may be said of Rosenhayn, where Franklin hall furnishes a meeting place for social and other purposes. A library is maintained here.

The Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society through their educational director, Professor Mounier, is working along a number of lines for the educational and social welfare of the various colonies. With the aid of Mr. Fels, who has provided a manual training instructor at Alliance, he has organized childrens' school gardens at Carmel, where 50 pupils have joined; at Rosenhayn, where there is a class of 25; and at Alliance and Norma, where there are large and fairly successful classes. In addition, manual-training classes for both boys and girls, and domestic science classes for girls, in a cottage built for that purpose, are conducted by special teachers. These classes are instructed in the planting of home gardens, nature study, elementary botany, and simple things in agriculture; the home gardens in summer and classes in nature study and botany in winter are the order; prizes of various sorts are offered. This garden work enlists the interest of the children both summer and winter. Further, under the direction of Director Mounier, large buildings, well constructed and conveniently arranged, called educational halls, have been built at Carmel, Rosenhayn, at Norma, and on Garton road, for the purpose of providing a place for social gatherings, lectures, private theatricals, and for holding special-study classes. These halls are two-story buildings provided with a lecture room on one floor, rest rooms, toilet, cloak, and study rooms below. They are plainly built, but are substantial additions to the villages where they are located. The hall at Carmel is the finest of the number, and was built at a cost of over \$3,000. The building at Rosenhayn is open to the public with all its privileges for the mere payment by the colony of the janitor's charge of \$72 a year; at Carmel the hall is partly subsidized for current expenses by the association. It is the policy of the Aid Society, which owns the buildings, to make them available at a nominal charge, but to extend no privileges free. It is evident that the Society is at considerable expense annually, for which it receives no

reimbursement, but on the other hand the people pay something, if only a mere pittance, for value received.

In Norma, at the time the Commission's inquiry was made, Mr. Fels was constructing some cottages to be used as schools of instruction in domestic science and home making for the benefit of the Hebrew girls of Alliance.

Provision is also made by the Jewish Agricultural Society for giving instruction in vocal and instrumental music and in the rudiments of art at a very nominal cost. The aim of the society is to provide cheaply for instruction in various branches not taught in the public schools. In this way the children in these colonies enjoy advantages much beyond those offered in many places with three times the population.

The Hebrew children rank well in the public schools, and frequently advance more rapidly than those of American parentage. There is not much truancy, for both parents and children are eager for an education, and unless there is great need for the children's service at home the attendance is very regular.

Opportunities are given for the study of Hebrew, and some take advantage of them. High-school privileges are wanting in the colonies, but a number attend in Vineland and Bridgeton, where they have proved exceptionally bright pupils. The elementary schools are fairly adequate. Near Alliance, five public schools are provided. The accommodations at Rosenhayn and Carmel are not less adequate. Carmel has two public schools and one private school, and Rosenhayn has a large school building equipped for five teachers. There were two private institutions of learning in 1905, and one at least was open in the fall of 1909.

A Hebrew school is maintained at Alliance in the basement of the synagogue. A library with Hebrew literature and a free circulating library of English books are housed in the same place. At Brotmanville, a suburb of Alliance, a Hebrew school with 28 pupils is held in the synagogue, which was built in 1903. At Norma, the Alliance railway station, a night school was started in December, 1909, and gave promise of success. There is also a Hebrew school with 35 pupils, and 2 private tutors with 10 pupils each.

Carmel maintains a public library with a membership of 40. Loans of English books are free. There seem to be no successful classes for the study of Hebrew at this place.

At Rosenhayn a very satisfactory English circulating library is maintained under the personal supervision of the educational director. This library is conducted on the same plan as the ordinary free public libraries in the smaller cities. It is housed in the recreation hall and is well patronized. There is a flourishing Hebrew school held in the schoolroom of the hall.

Near Alliance there are four synagogues, built at a cost of nearly \$9,000, although the entire congregation of 150 families might well be accommodated in one. The number of buildings is more for convenience than because of any division or schism, although both the orthodox and reformed branches of the Jewish faith are represented.

## MORAL CONDITIONS.

Moral conditions in the settlements, as in other Hebrew rural communities, are good. In general few crimes against persons are noted. At Norma there have been none for a considerable time. There is very little intemperance and exceedingly few cases of excess. Home-made wine is found in most houses—sour wine—where it is a staple beverage. At christenings, weddings, and the like there is feasting and drinking, but officers of the law report very few disturbances or drunken brawls and as few intoxicated persons.

There is, however, considerable litigation concerning contracts, property rights, trespass, etc. Petty larceny, thieving, profanity, or gross immorality are not at all common—less common, perhaps, than in the average New Jersey rural community. Morally there are few defections among either young or old.

## POLITICAL CONDITIONS.

It is to be noted that nearly all of these Hebrews are citizens. Perhaps 90 per cent have taken out either second or first papers within six years after landing. This is in marked contrast to the incoming Italians in New Jersey, who have little care about the prerogatives of citizenship. The Hebrews are ardent adherents of any cause they adopt. Their interests are both in local and national affairs, and many of them are intelligent students of theoretical questions of government. A good many of them have held local public offices of one kind or another and performed their duties well.

## HEBREW AID SOCIETIES.

The Hebrews in New Jersey very seldom apply for public aid, and there are no Hebrew paupers in Pittsgrove or Deerfield townships. This does not mean that no charity is dispensed in the community, but that here, as elsewhere, the Hebrews very largely care for their own dependents. In many ways and through many Hebrew organizations these farmers have been given a helping hand from the beginning of the colonies.

The organization particularly in charge of the welfare of agricultural colonies is the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, with headquarters at New York, which has at its disposal considerable amounts from the Baron de Hirsch fund. Aside from the buying of land and selling it to Hebrew settlers at cost on very favorable terms at various points in the United States, the Society lends thousands of dollars every year to settled farmers who need money for additional land, improvements, and equipment. In 1908, 83 loans, aggregating \$73,647.88, were made to New Jersey farmers, and since the organization of the society in 1899, 373 loans, aggregating \$219,000, have been made to farmers in that State. In both instances the figures represent loans both to new and to old farmers. The interest charged is 4 per cent, and the loans are secured by second mortgages. Efforts are made to have principal and interest paid promptly, but the Society pursues a very lenient policy and is a very patient creditor.

But this does not end the material assistance given. Industrial enterprises have been subsidized by the Society to provide oppor-



tunities for employment until a living can be made from the land or for farmers during the winter. Educational halls and schools have been built and actual gifts of money made by the Society or by Hebrew philanthropists for industrial, educational, or religious institutions and to individuals when there was need of it.

One of the most important contributions to the welfare of the three colonies is the services of Mr. L. Mounier, director of educational work, who gives his whole time and that of some assistants to the educational, moral, and social welfare of the young people especially. In a letter to the author of this report Professor Mounier commented on his work as follows:

In harmony with the wishes of the men who are at the helm of the Baron de Hirsch Fund and the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, my aim is to work for the betterment of the social and educational conditions of the colonists. Their aim, and consequently mine, is not only to impart education as ordinarily understood but to make local conditions more agreeable to old and young, while gradually Americanizing the colonists by methods which neither hurt their feelings nor interfere with their religious beliefs, all in perfect harmony with the work of the public schools, yet not in official connection with them, but rather supplementary in many respects to their field of action and achievements. Libraries were organized in each village to which the fund donates free English literature and duplicates what sums the colonists raise for the purchase of Yiddish books. Night schools were founded, and have only been discontinued in the hope that the colonists will take advantage of the laws recently passed by the State of New Jersey. Music lessons subsidized by the fund to the extent of one-half their cost have been quite a feature of the work and will remain so until the end of this year, when it is believed the colonists will continue as well without the subsidy. I am more and more convinced that music is one of the most potent forms of education and the greatest agent of social life in these colonies. \* \* \*

I deliver each season several rounds of lectures illustrated with stereopticon slides, and always supplemented with a higher class of music than the mere popular. \* \* \* I also give personal and other aid in arranging debates and theatricals, flower exhibitions, etc. One of the most important features of my work is the "nature study" in winter classes preparatory to the children's gardens in summer. Arrangements are also made with Yiddish lecturers for the special benefit of the old folks and the "green-horns." I also form literary clubs or teach certain groups of young men and women expression reading, current events, popular sciences, etc.—anything that may amuse, educate, please, at the same time develop nascent patriotic feeling or fervor, or help to create it. \* \* \*

Eight years ago the directors of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society thought of me for this work. \* \* \* My first work was the designing of halls for each place, and, thanks to them and other factors and the untiring efforts of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society's directors, the villages grew and improved steadily ever since. \* \* \*

On the agricultural side, the Society for Farming Demonstration, the model farm of 600 acres maintained by Maurice Fels, the Jewish Farmer, an agricultural paper, printed in Yiddish, containing the gist of the best things in farm papers and government bulletins in practical agriculture, the Jewish farmers organization and the agricultural school at Woodbine, are some of the enterprises carried on by the Society and by the Hebrew philanthropists to give aid and encouragement to the Hebrew farmer. Formerly, perhaps, a good deal of this encouragement was misdirected or impractical. Now the purpose is to make it applicable to the needs of the most inexperienced farmer and to make him feel that it is worth paying something for.

## THE HEBREWS IN THE COMMUNITY.

It is plain that all Hebrews do not thrive in agriculture any more than all Americans or all Germans. This is partly a racial trait, growing out of generations of commercial environment, no doubt, but partly, too, because many have not had the opportunity to test their capacities on the land. The ability to succeed on unpropitious soil has also been proved by the persevering and intelligent. Many of the returns shown by the agricultural schedules of small farms collected by the Commission compare very favorably with the results secured by the average eastern farmer. But it is also evident that the Hebrew will not be content with a mere subsistence in return for hard labor, but that he wants to enjoy the advantages that should accompany leisure and independence. He wants his children to be educated and to enjoy the comforts of life; he wants to receive some surplus return from the toil of his hands, and to exercise the prerogatives of a citizen of his country. Because of poor returns, from poor methods of culture on poor soil, a good many have given up farming for occupations with certain wages in cash.

For this reason the children, as a rule, have turned their intellectual abilities to commercial lines, where they saw quicker opportunities for advancement although it may be doubted whether they are more inclined to leave agricultural pursuits than are the children of American parents.

When there was necessity, the children went into the clothing shops or worked at home on making garments and contributed their earnings to the family fund. Now there is less need of this, and few of the children of well-to-do farmers are found working in these shops.

In the future the intelligent farmer on good soil will advance, but probably it is going to be harder year by year for the newcomer without means to make a good living. As already noted there is a steady influx of Hebrews onto farms in this section. Those with some capital are likely to advance, and no doubt the settlement will continue to grow slowly, unless too much is paid for the land purchased.

## STATISTICAL DATA FOR SELECTED FAMILIES.

The table which follows shows the economic progress and general financial condition of a number of families, selected at random from households furnishing detailed information to the Commission. No comment on these is necessary, but it may be said that a careful study will reveal much detail that is significant and enlightening concerning both the early and the recent comers.

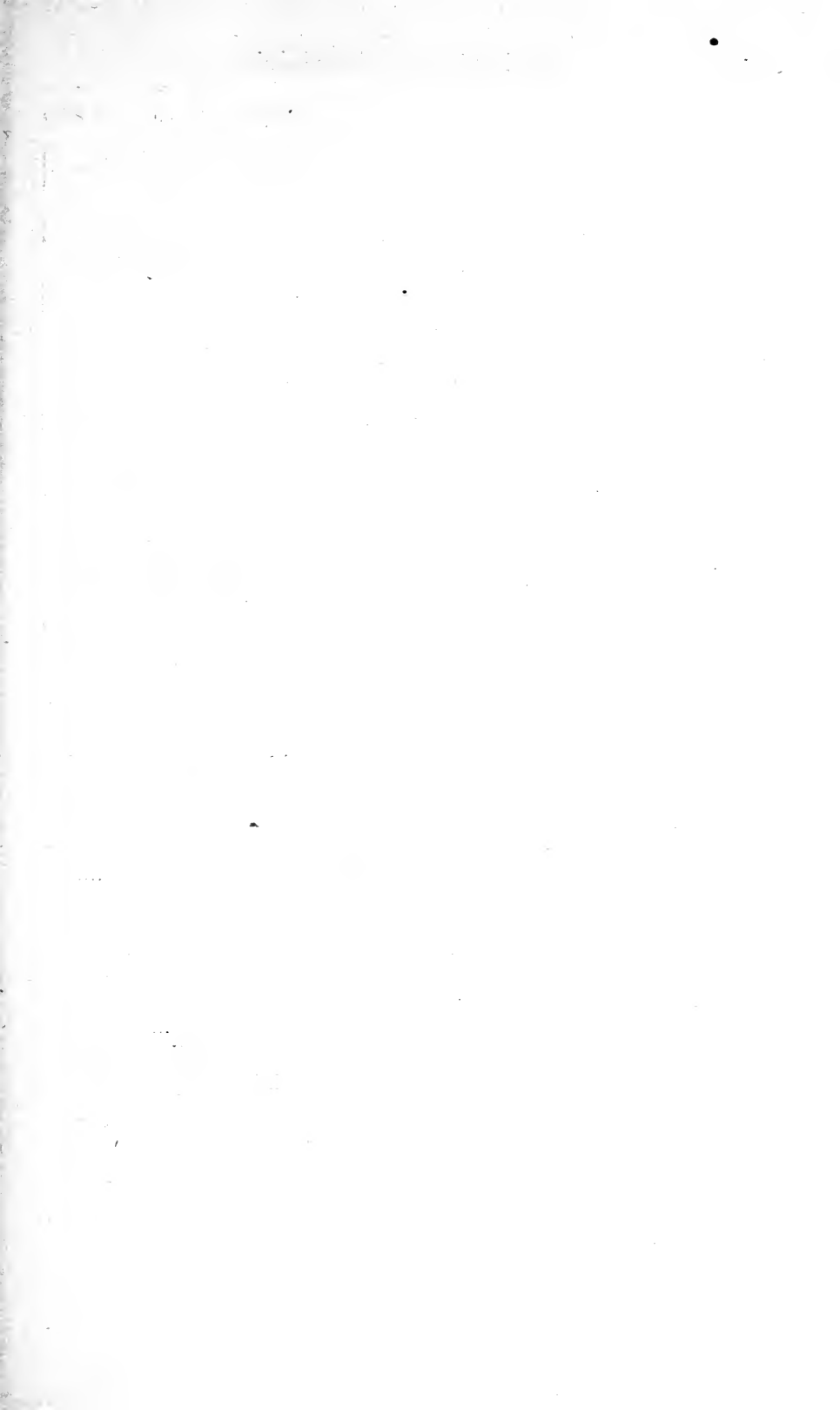


TABLE 25.—*Economic history and present financial condition*

Data reported.	Family 1.	Family 2.	Family 3.	Family 4.	Family 5.
<b>Years in locality:</b>					
Head.....	8.....	4.....	19.....	18.....	20.....
Family.....	8.....	4.....	19.....	18.....	12.....
<b>Present household size.</b>	7.....	5.....	9.....	6.....	7.....
Number of members 10 years or over.	4.....	5.....	8.....	5.....	3.....
Male.....	2.....	4.....	4.....	1.....	2.....
Female.....	2.....	1.....	4.....	4.....	1.....
<b>Previous location.</b>	Baltimore, Md.....	Philadelphia, Pa.....	Philadelphia, Pa.....	Russia.....	New York, N. Y.....
<b>Previous occupation.</b>	Tailor.....	Varnisher and furniture dealer.....	Manufacturer of vests and cloaks.....	Farming for self.....	At school.....
<b>Value of property brought.</b>	None.....	\$1,500.....	\$600.....	Not reported.....	None.....
<b>Occupation in locality previous to purchase.</b>					On father's farm.....
<b>Wages per week.</b>					None.....
<b>Years employed.</b>					Not reported.....
<b>First land bought:</b>					
Date.....	1901.....	1905.....	1890.....	1891.....	1897.....
Number of acres.....	62.....	30.....	9.....	20.....	24.....
Price.....	\$900.....	\$1,050.....	Not reported.....	\$600.....	\$700.....
Terms.....	Cash.....	\$250 cash; balance \$100 per year, 6 per cent.....	Credit.....	Credit secured by mortgage.....	\$150 cash; balance \$100 yearly payments.....
<b>Condition.</b>	45 acres cultivated; 17 acres woodland.....	15 acres cultivated; 15 acres woodland, house and barn.....	5 acres cultivated; 4 acres woodland, house and barn.....	All woodland.....	21 acres cultivated; 3 acres swamp.....
<b>Occupation until living could be made from land.</b>	None.....	None.....	None.....	Tailor and farm laborer.....	None.....
<b>Number of years.</b>				5.....	
<b>Earnings per day.</b>				Not reported.....	
<b>Acres of land now owned.</b>	62.....	30.....	25.....	59.5.....	51.....
<b>Acres cultivated.</b>	35.....	20.....	18.....	45.....	45.....
<b>Number of fruit trees:</b>					
Apple.....	100.....	12.....	60.....	972.....	
Pear.....			40.....	972.....	300.....
Peach.....			60.....		
Cherry.....			40.....		
<b>Acres of grapes.</b>				2.....	5.....
<b>Rented land.</b>	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
Acres.....					
Terms.....					
<b>Live stock now owned:</b>					
Cattle.....	2.....	3.....	1.....	1.....	4.....
Horses.....	2.....	2.....	1.....	1.....	2.....
<b>Financial condition:</b>					
Value of land and improvements.....	\$4,000.....	\$2,000.....	\$3,000.....	\$4,750.....	\$3,700.....
Live stock.....	\$385.....	\$175.....	\$200.....	\$125.....	\$300.....
Tools and implements.....	\$500.....	\$100.....	\$100.....	\$100.....	\$75.....
Other property.....	\$40.....	\$150.....	\$150.....	\$100.....	\$75.....
Gross value of all property.....	\$4,885.....	\$2,315.....	\$3,450.....	\$5,075.....	\$4,150.....
Indebtedness on land.....	\$700.....	\$550.....	\$600.....	\$1,500.....	\$850.....
Net value of all property.....	\$4,185.....	\$1,765.....	\$2,850.....	\$3,575.....	\$3,300.....

• His father gave him \$150.

of certain typical Hebrew families, southern New Jersey.

Family 6.	Family 7.	Family 8.	Family 9.	Family 10.	Family 11.	Family 12.
6.....	20.....	16.....	17.....	27.....	17.....	4.....
6.....	8.....	16.....	17.....	27.....	10.....	4.....
11.....	7.....	10.....	2.....	7.....	3.....	9.....
7.....	2.....	8.....	2.....	5.....	2.....	7.....
5.....	1.....	4.....	1.....	3.....	1.....	4.....
2.....	1.....	4.....	1.....	2.....	1.....	3.....
New York, N. Y. Bricklayer.....	New York, N. Y. Tailor.....	New York, N. Y. Tailor.....	New York, N. Y. Dealer in coal and wood.	Russia..... At school....	Russia..... At home....	New York, N. Y. Presser in pants fac- tory.
\$4,600.....	\$500.....	\$3,000.....	\$700.....	None..... Worked on brother's farm and tailor.	None..... Ran sewing machines in waist factory.	\$3,500.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	None.....	\$7.50.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	6.....	5.....	.....
1903.....	1889.....	1893.....	1892.....	1888.....	1897.....	1905.....
59.....	26.....	32.....	17.....	10.....	20.....	50.....
\$2,600.....	\$500.....	\$3,000.....	\$1,500.....	\$300.....	\$400.....	\$2,000.....
Cash.....	\$250 cash; balance 1 year.	\$1,000; bal- ance se- cured by mortgage.	\$600 cash; balance 10 years.	\$100 cash; balance \$50 per year.	\$50 cash; \$50 per year.	\$1,000 cash; balance 6 years.
30 acres tilla- ble; 20 acres brush, 9 acres wood- land, house and barn.	5 acres tilla- ble; 21 acres woodland.	All culti- vated; house and barn.	All wood- land.	All brush and wood- land.	All wood- land.	12 acres culti- vated; 38 acres brush, house and barn.
None.....	Tailor.....	None.....	Farm laborer	Tailor and farm la- borer.	Machin e man in waist fac- tory.	None.....
.....	12.....	.....	4.....	6.....	5.....	.....
.....	Not reported	.....	Not reported	Not reported	\$1.25.....	.....
18.....	26.....	75.....	17.....	27.....	30.....	50.....
18.....	20.....	52.....	17.....	27.....	30.....	27.....
.....	.....	50.....	6.....	.....	.....	25.....
15.....	.....	60.....	.....	.....	.....	20.....
10.....	.....	100.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	1.5.....	3.....	.....	3.....
None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	.....	None.....	None.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	9.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	\$18.....	.....	.....
1.....	2.....	4.....	2.....	1.....	1.....	2.....
1.....	2.....	3.....	1.....	2.....	1.....	4.....
\$2,700.....	\$4,000.....	\$6,500.....	\$2,500.....	\$2,500.....	\$2,000.....	\$2,300.....
\$175.....	\$355.....	\$600.....	\$280.....	\$295.....	\$110.....	\$575.....
\$275.....	\$200.....	\$900.....	\$75.....	\$150.....	\$100.....	\$300.....
\$3,685.....	\$150.....	\$650.....	\$100.....	\$100.....	\$200.....	\$300.....
\$6,835.....	\$4,705.....	\$8,650.....	\$2,955.....	\$3,045.....	\$2,410.....	\$3,475.....
\$1,000.....	\$1,500.....	\$300.....	.....	\$1,425.....	.....	.....
\$5,835.....	\$3,205.....	\$8,350.....	\$2,955.....	\$1,620.....	\$2,410.....	\$3,475.....

TABLE 25.—*Economic history and present financial condition of*

## ANNUAL VALUE OF FARM INCOME

Products.	Pro- duced.	Sold.	Pro- duced.	Sold.	Pro- duced.	Sold.	Pro- duced.	Sold.	Pro- duced.	Sold.
Blackberries.....					\$20	\$20	\$50	\$50		
Corn <sup>a</sup> .....	\$160		\$160		54		124		\$60	
Hay.....	135								20	
Irish potatoes.....			30	\$30						
Lima beans.....	190	\$190	315	315	190	190	200	200		
Strawberries.....	80	80	100	100	175	175	275	275		
Sweet potatoes.....	500	500	280	280	353	353			1,900	1,900
Tomatoes.....	200	200	100	100						
Other garden products not specified.....										
Orchard products:										
Apples.....	13	13	13	13					20	20
Grapes.....									25	25
Peaches.....							400	400		
Pears.....							200	200		
Wine.....									25	25
Dairy products.....			25	25	5	5				
Live stock.....	20	20								
Poultry products.....	25	25	45	45			65	65		
Total.....	1,323	1,028	1,068	908	997	743	1,314	1,190	2,050	1,970
Supplementary income.....										

<sup>a</sup> Corn and hay raised for own use.<sup>b</sup> \$156, earnings of head.

certain typical Hebrew families, southern New Jersey—Continued.

(AVERAGE FOR TWO YEARS).

Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.
		\$30	\$30					\$175	\$175				
\$240		90		\$153						\$90		\$105	
55				63						25			
416	\$416			78	\$78			15	15				
100	100	138	138	260	260	\$200	\$200	58	58	125	\$125	300	\$300
		200	200	400	400	300	300	50	50	375	375	264	264
1,138	1,138	813	813	463	463	263	263	945	945	300	300	275	275
35	35	50	50	250	250			37	37			180	180
50	50												
								24	24			25	25
				38	38								
				5	5	30	30	75	75	75	75		
53	53	25	25	63	63							20	20
250	250			5	5	15	15	75	75				
2,337	2,042	1,346	1,256	1,778	1,562	808	808	1,454	1,454 (c)	900	875 (e)	1,169	1,064

c \$100, earnings of head, justice of peace.





## CHAPTER VII.

### NEW JERSEY: NOTES ON THE WOODBINE SETTLEMENT AND FLEMINGTON, HUNTERDON COUNTY.

#### WOODBINE.

#### INTRODUCTION.

Perhaps the best known of the so-called Hebrew agricultural colonies is Woodbine, N. J. No other colony was more carefully planned or more amply financed, none represents better the execution of the philanthropic purpose in the mind of the late Baron de Hirsch when he bequeathed millions of dollars of his great fortune to be devoted to the assistance of Russian Hebrew immigrants in various parts of the world. The proceeds of this legacy have materially aided every one of the agricultural colonies of Hebrews, but Woodbine was the first colony organized, planted and fostered by means of its beneficent instrumentality. Partly because it was the first colony so assisted and partly because the place has been widely advertised as the seat of the Hirsch Agricultural School the settlement has been widely known in the eighteen years of its existence.

Although some have attempted to minimize the agricultural purpose of the founders in establishing Woodbine, the Jewish Encyclopedia,<sup>a</sup> perhaps the highest authority, states that "the primary intention of the founders of Woodbine was the establishment of an agricultural colony for Jewish immigrants from eastern Europe." This authority says further that farming was the chief motive, but that later a village was laid out to provide a local market for farm products, and as at Carmel and Alliance, for the establishment of factories to give supplementary employment to the members of farmers' families and to farmers themselves until a living could be made from the land. This ideal of the founders has not been fulfilled, for instead of a farming community with the village as an adjunct, Woodbine has developed into an industrial center with a few outlying farms, which occupy perhaps one-eighth of the original "Woodbine tract" near the borough of Woodbine.

In 1892 there were between 50 and 60 farm families in the colony, in 1901 there were 52 Hebrew farmers, in 1905 the number of farmers who "derived their living in whole or in part" from agriculture had fallen to 20 families,<sup>b</sup> and in 1909 there were between 25 and 40 farm families in the colony.

For the reason that Woodbine is more important industrially than agriculturally, because full report has been made of several Hebrew colonies and so much has been written concerning this colony both in official documents,<sup>c</sup> in the public press, and in Hebrew reports, the

<sup>a</sup> Vol. XII, pp. 558-559.

<sup>b</sup> See Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. I, p. 262, and Vol. XII, p. 588.

<sup>c</sup> See report of the United States Industrial Commission, Vol. 15, Annual Report of New Jersey Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Industries, 1900, pp. 290 et seq.

Commission made a much less detailed and careful investigation of Woodbine than of the other Hebrew colonies in New Jersey. The colonies at Rosenhayn and Carmel are similar in many respects, hence this report deals summarily with the points of likeness and presents in a general way the salient facts of the history, progress, characteristics, and present condition of the agricultural part of the Woodbine settlement, based on a personal survey of the community, inspections of the Hebrew farms,\* schedules of a few farm families, and interviews with Hebrew farmers, officials, prominent Hebrews in Woodbine, and Gentile agricultural experts, former instructors in the Baron de Hirsch Agricultural School.

#### LOCATION.

Woodbine is a borough of about 2,300 inhabitants, about 94 per cent Hebrews, in the northwestern corner of Cape May County, some 15 miles from the seacoast and 56 miles southeast of Philadelphia on the West Jersey and Seashore Railroad. The town is now a manufacturing center of some importance, with prospects of future development. Three clothing and hat manufacturing establishments and two manufactories of machinery and hardware, employing more than 525 hands were in operation in 1909.<sup>a</sup> The annual report of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society for 1909 reports in addition 3 knitting factories established in 1909. The town has no banking facilities, but the transportation service is very good, and Millville and Vineland, a few miles northwest, are utilized as banking points. Woodbine is well laid out, on a town site of 800 acres, with good natural drainage; the town has no sewers, but an excellent water supply is piped to all its parts.

The town site was laid out in 1897 across one side of the Woodbine tract on which the colony has been located since its foundation and is easily accessible to all the Hebrew farms in the community. In 1909 the agricultural part of the settlement consisted of less than 40 households, cultivating approximately 600 acres of land, on small adjoining farms not far from the town. The agricultural aspect is not prepossessing. Truck crops, garden vegetables, and some apples, peaches, and grapes are raised in small quantities, but the returns have not been very satisfactory, hence the houses and buildings have not been kept in repair and present in general a very dilapidated, weather-beaten appearance. In the entire colony there are perhaps 375 families of whom the Gentiles constitute about 6 per cent.

#### HISTORICAL.

In 1891 the Baron de Hirsch trustees for the Woodbine settlement, incorporated under the title of the Woodbine Land and Improvement Company, purchased a tract of 5,300 acres of uncleared land for \$37,500. The tract is comparatively level, but, like most of the land in this section, very sandy and devoid of humus. When purchased it was covered with scrub oak and stunted pine, very few of the trees having any value except for fuel or fencing. On the entire tract, there was not an acre of tilled land and but three or four

<sup>a</sup> Industrial Directory of New Jersey, 1909.

inhabitants—section hands on the railroad that ran through the purchase. The fact that the land was cheap, that there was a railroad at hand, and that there were other struggling Hebrew settlements in southern New Jersey led the founders to choose this locality.

The land was surveyed and divided into 15-acre lots, upon which the land company began to erect five-room frame houses to accommodate the settlers as fast as they arrived. During the summer of 1892, a house and two small outbuildings were built on each of 50 lots; by December, 1892, all the houses were occupied by families of Russian or Roumanian Hebrews. The company agreed to clear or pay for clearing 5 acres of land on each 15-acre "farm" free of charge to the buyer. The farms were sold, with buildings, at actual cost—\$650 each—without regard to location. It may be said in passing that 15-acre lots are now sold for \$650, \$750, or \$850 each, depending on their proximity to the borough.

Since the land was almost absolutely unproductive for some time after occupancy, it was found necessary to introduce some industry to provide a livelihood for the farm families. In the fall of 1892, the first cloak factory was subsidized; it employed 100 hands, nearly all from the Hebrew farm homes in the neighborhood. In 1893, owing to the financial crisis, the factory was obliged to shut down and great distress ensued in the colony. Many deserted the settlement, others began to cut and sell cord wood from their land; the children gathered wild berries for market or found work in the cannery at Ocean View. Indeed the second year was the testing time. Most of the colonists were Russian Hebrews who had come to New York almost penniless and had lived in that city for one or more years before they were brought to Woodbine. Very few had been farmers abroad and practically all were ignorant<sup>a</sup> of all that pertained to New Jersey agriculture. They had been engaged in all sorts of occupations abroad, but most had been sweat-shop "tailors" in New York City.

The soil was very infertile and required skillful husbandry and careful application of fertilizer before a crop could be raised. Frequently a period of four years elapsed before the farm produced sufficient to support a family. From 1895 on the prospects of the colony were brighter, especially along industrial lines. In 1894 the agricultural school was organized; in the spring of 1895 there were 15 students in attendance; the fall term opened with 22 enrolled. The school grew out of the exigencies of the situation. It was designed to give the farmers in the colony the most practical and simple instruction in farm methods, application of fertilizers, handling farm machinery, and cultivating farm crops suited to the region. Whatever may be said of its later clientage and usefulness, in its first years it exercised a most salutary influence on the farmers and farm methods of the locality.

As has been intimated the industrial activities developed more rapidly than the agricultural. The town was laid out in 1897, and since then its growth has been almost uninterrupted. In 1901 there were 175 single and double cottages in Woodbine. Of these 14 were owned by the Hirsch Fund and 161 by private individuals, built at an aggregate cost of \$157,400, of which a little less than 40 per cent

<sup>a</sup> See Pincus, *The Independent*, vol. 55, 2338.

had been paid. The entire population was about 1,400. The farmers numbered 52 (a total rural population of 400 persons), owning 785 acres of land, 500 acres in cultivation. The aggregate value of farms and improvements was estimated at \$50,000; this was ten years after the founding.

In 1903 Vineland borough was incorporated and the residents became a self-governing body. In 1905 there were 223 private houses in the borough and a total of 325 families, 1,900 persons, 6 per cent of whom were Gentiles, in the colony; there were but 20 farmers.<sup>a</sup> At present (1909) the total population has been estimated at 2,300, of whom 60 to 75 per cent own their homes, while the others are tenants.

#### COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION.

In 1909 the composition of the colony was approximately as follows:

	Families.
Southern Russian Hebrews.....	225
Polish, North Russian, and German Hebrews.....	105
Roumanian Hebrews.....	10
Poles.....	15
Native Americans.....	20

All these groups are represented by farm families who came to Woodbine penniless and ignorant, practically direct from Europe. Most of the first comers were immigrants from southern Russia; later arrivals came from Lithuania and Roumania. The company first gave them employment at \$1.25 a day, clearing and developing the land; later they and their children found work in the industrial enterprises established in the borough. Whether the industries have drawn the rural population away from the farm or not, it is certain that only the subvention of industrial establishments has kept the colony alive. Since none of the farmers could pay cash for their farms, land was, and is, sold on very easy terms. For three years only the interest, at 4 per cent, on the net cost of the land need be paid. After three years 1 per cent of the principal with interest is payable monthly. These terms in the case of the deserving debtor have never been strictly enforced, indeed most of the officers of the Industrial Aid Society declare frankly that the Society has been too lenient in most instances. However, in spite of all that has been done for the farmers, probably not more than 10 per cent of the population are now engaged solely in agriculture, for a great many children of farmers are employed in the Woodbine factories. In 1899 or 1900 it was estimated that 40 per cent of the population was rural.<sup>b</sup>

Both the present and the initial immigration were engaged in many different occupations abroad, more industrial than agricultural. The occupational composition may in a measure account for the apparent drift to the factories and shops.

There have been a large number of desertions from the colony, especially from the farming portion of it. During the first ten years many farmers, discouraged by their meager returns, went back to

<sup>a</sup>Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. I, 262, and Vol. XII, 558-559.

<sup>b</sup>Twenty-third (1900) Annual Report of the New Jersey Bureau of Statistics of Labor, p. 300.

their former occupations or moved into the village. Their places were quickly filled, however, by newcomers, who tried their hands at farming, at least for a short time. Immigration still continues, and the colony grows both from within and by additions from Europe and by migration from the large cities. The migratory percentage of the population is not inconsiderable, but there is an increasing body of permanent residents, especially in the borough.

#### SOIL AND CLIMATE.

The physiography of the pine barrens is rather fully described in the other New Jersey sections of this report and will not be repeated here. The climate, somewhat modified by the ocean, is generally mild in winter and not extremely hot in summer. The growing season is comparatively long and the precipitation ample for farm crops. The typical soils are sands or sandy loams, most of them rather coarse and very porous. They contain very little humus and retain neither moisture nor fertilizer satisfactorily. The texture is such that they are easily worked, but in many places they seem to contain few more elements of fertility than a bed of sand.

The natural unproductiveness of the soil, unless skillfully fertilized, was a source of great discouragement to the early settlers. General grain crops are little adapted to the region and grass is ordinarily a failure. One account of the colony says that the first settlers engaged enthusiastically in grape culture, but the soil was so ill adapted to vines that the attempt proved a failure.<sup>a</sup> In this connection, however, it is of interest to recall the success of the Hammonton South Italians in viticulture on soil having essentially the same characteristics. Since then the agricultural school has taught the farmers a great deal about New Jersey soil and New Jersey crops.

Owing partly to the contour, partly to the porous nature of the soil, the natural drainage is very nearly adequate and little or no artificial drainage has been necessary. The installation of a system of irrigation to supply moisture in the mid-summer months has been discussed and may become a reality in the near future. Despite the high normal depth of rainfall the sandy soil dries very quickly, and unless showers are frequent and copious vegetation suffers greatly during July and August.

#### AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS.

As previously stated the first farms were each 15 acres in extent. Some farmers have added to the original allotments. A few own as many as 50 acres, but the greater part of the holdings are still 15 acres in extent. In 1901 49 of the farms contained 15 acres each, 2 contained only 10 acres each and one had 30 acres. About 66 per cent of the land in farms was cultivated.

There are, in 1909, some 55 men engaged wholly or partly in agriculture. Hence the average of cultivated land is just about 11 acres

<sup>a</sup> David Blaustein, Ph. D., superintendent of the Jewish Educational Alliance, The Circle, September, 1907, pp. 138-140.

per man. It is evident that land has not been cleared very rapidly<sup>a</sup> and that the small area in cultivation per family precludes the possibility of extensive agriculture or even of dairying on a commercial scale. No cereal crops are raised for market, and an average of but one or two cows are kept per farm. The Hirsch Agricultural School has a fine herd of Jersey cows, which in the absence of natural pastures, must be fed largely on silage, but dairying is not a practicable possibility in the colony.

Truck farming and small-fruit growing are the chief farming industries. Strawberries, blackberries, grapes, and some peaches are the principal fruits. Some of the grapes are made into wine; others are shipped to the grape-juice factory at Vineland. Peaches are but partially successful. Sweet and white potatoes, tomatoes, corn, lima beans, onions, and several other staple vegetables are produced. The first three are perhaps the most important money crops. All these crops can be made to produce excellently, both in quantity and quality under careful husbandry. Some of the Hebrews are very efficient husbandmen and have specialized in fruit or some variety of truck crop. Others are but mediocre and are inclined to depend chiefly on their industrial earnings for their incomes. It is very difficult to estimate the average farm incomes of the community. As a whole they are comparatively low, probably lower on the average than those of Hebrew farmers at Rosenhayn.

The farms in general seem well tilled and in good order. A number of the farmers have had some instruction in the agricultural school and display the results of it in their farming. The farms are not fenced, fences being unnecessary; even garden fences are wanting in many cases. As is noticeable in other Hebrew communities, the houses and buildings, by their evidences of neglect and lack of repairs and paint detract much from the prosperous aspect of the farming community. The farmsteads are often unkempt and uncared for. Litter of various sorts is scattered about, machinery is not always housed, not much attention has been paid to lawns or yards, and the old houses are sadly in need of fresh paint.

#### MARKET FACILITIES.

Woodbine farmers are well supplied with markets. The local demand would seem to be sufficient to consume larger quantities of several vegetable, dairy, and poultry products than are now produced. This home market needs to be further developed. The seashore resorts require large quantities of all kinds of farm products throughout the year. Most vegetables are shipped to points on the coast, but numerous farmers haul great loads of vegetables to Cape May, Ocean View, and other seacoast points, taking a whole day for the trip. The market is usually good, especially if the farmer has a number of customers whom he regularly supplies. Some produce, especially berries and potatoes, is shipped to commission men in New York and Philadelphia. Transportation facilities are adequate, but transportation charges are high unless for carload

<sup>a</sup>In this connection it will be of interest to compare the report on St. Helena Italians (Vol. I. chap. 7) established since December, 1905, under conditions very similar to those of the Woodbine Hebrews.

lots, and cooperative shipping and marketing has not been developed.

The grapejuice company at Vineland provides a market for all surplus grapes, and the entire tomato crop goes by contract to the two canning factories in Dennisville. It is not easy to calculate the profits of any of these crops, but there is seldom difficulty in disposing of the entire Woodbine output. By shipping when prices are high and selling direct to the consumer when prices are low, the Woodbine grower has an advantage over those truckers who are not in touch with the local trade and must ship all produce whether the market is up or down. The small grower under the régime of independent shipments must of necessity sell in the home market.

The produce raised on the school farm has taken several prizes at the country fairs in competition with native farm products. It is said that the quality of the tomatoes and grapes raised by the Hebrews is fully equal to the average produced by the American farmers who contribute to the supply. Yields are not greater in all cases, but some of the Hebrew husbandmen who have had training at the agricultural school are proficient farmers and intelligent men. Unfortunately, the number of school-trained farmers in the community is limited. The haphazard farmer who engages in a highly specialized form of agriculture is almost certain to fail, and no other system of agriculture seems possible near Woodbine.

Compared with native farmers in the same financial group, the Hebrew appears well. It must be remembered, however, that a native farmer with the same debts, acres, and income as the Hebrew farmer in Woodbine is not considered very prosperous or progressive. The cultivated fields and the fruit areas present a much better appearance than the farmhouses, many much better than those of Jersey farmers. But when all is said, it appears that the average net returns of all farms in the community are not high. This is another reason why the marginal farmer is giving up and entering industrial pursuits where the returns are at least fairly certain and regular. On the other hand, competent observers say that the Hebrews have made great progress in the art of farming, if not in number of farmers within fifteen years. Great credit must be given the colonists and their leaders.

The native farmers own slightly larger orchards of peaches and apples than the colonists and fewer grapevines. Whether this is due to the fact that the Jerseymen are more skillful pomologists or that the Hebrews are not inclined to orchard husbandry does not appear. Both are engaged in raising berry and truck crops. The native farmers keep more live stock, but owing to lack of natural pasturage this industry is not significant in south Jersey.

#### PROPERTY AND EMPLOYMENT.

The value of property owned by farmers has not appreciated rapidly in recent years. The figures quoted for 1899 in a state report give \$75,000 worth of farm property; for 1901 the corresponding figures are \$50,000 worth of farm lands and improvements, an average of \$100 per acre for cultivated land. The aggregate has probably

increased but little since then. A comparatively large percentage of the farms carry encumbrances, in instances equal to more than one-half the value of the land. The Land and Improvement Company holds practically all of the mortgages, and reports greater activity in collecting payments of principal and interest for the past few years, denoting, it is said, a greater degree of prosperity and a somewhat more businesslike attitude toward these debts. Many Hebrews formerly regarded the advances from the Baron de Hirsch Fund as gifts rather than loans and made their payments with reluctance. In fact, it is said, some refused to acknowledge any indebtedness to the Fund.

The farm property consists largely of land and the improvements on it. Not many farmers are reported as having bank accounts and not many have invested in commercial securities, additional land, or city property. The Woodbine Building and Loan Association has appealed to the thrifty instincts of the Hebrew, especially in the borough, and has aided many to acquire their own houses. The value of farm property can not be given with accuracy, but the total assessed valuation of taxable property in the town was \$404,783 in 1908. The tax rate was \$2.28.

The opportunities for industrial employment in the vicinity have been cited. Clothing and hats, machinery and hardware, knit goods, and canned vegetables give a variety of occupations. Most of the companies are granted subventions, consisting of power, light, and heat, by the Jewish Aid Society, but the amount of the subsidies is being gradually diminished. On account of the concessions and the usually abundant supply of labor factory conditions are very favorable, and although wages are somewhat less than in New York the surroundings are very pleasant and cost of living is rather low.

Men are employed in all the factories, by the Borough of Woodbine and by the Land Company, both as skilled and unskilled laborers. About 350 to 375 males 16 years of age and over find employment for approximately nine months of the year. The cannery at Dennisville runs fewer months, and the machine shops are usually in operation the year around. The average rate of wages is \$1.60 per day, varying from \$1 to \$2 a day for a 58-hour week. (One machine company has a 56-hour week.)

Women are employed only in the factories; the total number of female laborers 16 years of age and over is approximately 150 to 200. They find employment for about nine months at wages averaging about 35 cents lower than men, approximately \$1.25 per day. Wages run from about 75 cents to \$1.40. These wages are approximations only, since no pay rolls were examined. A number of the young men and women from the farms work in the factories the greater part of the year. Most of them prefer factory work to labor on the farms, chiefly because of the regular and shorter hours and the companionship. Actual wages of farm laborers are almost or equally as high as factory wages. The girls, of course, can find no gainful employment on farms, and fully 75 per cent of the working women are between 16 and 21 years of age. No children under 16 years of age are employed in any of the Woodbine industries.

Earnings are not easy to estimate, but the results of an inquiry, frequently referred to, made by Hebrew authorities in 1901, indicate



that the average income per household in the entire colony is some \$675 annually. Since all households are included this is a good showing. In 1899 a similar inquiry showed the average annual earnings of each family to be a little more than \$500.<sup>a</sup>

#### STANDARD OF LIVING.

Living conditions among the Woodbine Hebrews do not differ greatly from those described in the other New Jersey colonies, nor are they very different from those of the native farmer. It is the general opinion that the rural homes have fewer comforts, and that, if anything, the conditions of life are less favorable; less attention to the cleanliness of the home, to matters of dress, to preparation and quality of food, as compared with native farmers, is the impression gained by visits to rural homes. The lack of care of the house has been observed elsewhere. In dress there is nothing foreign, and the men are even better provided than native farmers. Of food, there is a wide variety of both meat and vegetables, but it is less well cooked and served than in the American rural homes. A storekeeper in Woodbine states that the consumption of meat per family on the farms is much less than in the borough, the deficiency in meat being made up by a greater consumption of vegetables. Poultry furnishes the only meat the farmer produces on his farm. The chief beverage is tea, which is extensively used.

The cost of board is rather difficult to ascertain in the farming section, for very few farmers take boarders or lodgers, and inquiry must be confined to the members of the family who live at home, usually in the borough, and work in the factories. The rate depends somewhat on the earnings and is based partly on the cost of the food; prevailing rates vary from \$10 to \$20 for board and lodging. Very few farmers receive any income from boarding either children or outsiders. Where a boarder is kept he pays \$10 to \$12 a month for board and room. Farm hands are not boarded except in a few extraordinary instances.

#### HOUSING.

The farmhouses as a rule are four or five room frame buildings, plastered inside. Roofs are shingled, and some houses have small side porches. The houses and outhouses have been in many cases added to and bettered, generally by the more prosperous class.

Taken as a whole the houses are in fairly good condition; the majority of them are practically new, ranging from 7 or 8 to 18 years old. Some, principally among the farmers, are in bad repair. Plaster is falling, the paint is practically all worn off, and the outhouses are dilapidated. The floors and walls are very greasy and unclean. Refuse is strewn about in close proximity to the houses, making very insanitary conditions. This description applies only to the less prosperous people; the more prosperous and progressive apparently take some pride in keeping such things in order and repair. Their furniture is modern and in good condition. The floors are covered with carpets and mattings, and the walls are in many cases papered.

<sup>a</sup> See Twenty-third Annual Report of Bureau of Statistics and Labor, New Jersey, 1900, p. 302.

Many of the women of the settlement continue to labor in the fields, although few of the girls over 16 years of age are so employed. The farmers' wives, however, care for the poultry, manage the dairy, milk the cows, and aid in planting, hoeing, and gathering the crops. It is observed that Hebrew women give up this work sooner than the Italian-born women or the Poles.

Educationally, the standard of living is relatively high. There is very little illiteracy, and, as elsewhere, the Hebrews consistently support schools and other educational institutions. Books and newspapers, both in Hebrew and English, are seen in almost every home, and sometimes musical instruments. In Woodbine there are two libraries, both well patronized. One library is supported by the public schools and is for the use of the pupils only; all the works are in the English language. Books may be withdrawn by any pupil, hence the library is practically open to the community. The other library is managed by a literary club and is supported by the members and by private contributions; both English and Yiddish books are on its shelves.

#### SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

Amusements and entertainments are developed to a greater extent than in most towns the size of Woodbine. The Hebrew leaders have recognized the necessity for mental stimulus and wholesome recreation if the young people are to be kept away from the great cities and reared happily and morally. To the end of supplying some of these needs, the agricultural college gives frequent stereopticon lectures on various informative topics; social meetings and entertainments are held; the students of the school contribute athletic exhibitions, chiefly of football, baseball, basket ball, and tennis. The town hall is open for amateur theatricals, and lectures and traveling theatrical shows are given. A social and athletic club of 40 members provides dances, entertainments of various sorts, and athletic games. There is a girls' physical culture club, and several ladies' social and charitable clubs are connected with the church. Several beneficial and fraternal orders are represented by local lodges or branches. The Woodbine Brotherhood and the Woman's Aid Society are relief associations. All in all, there is an active social life in which the borough Hebrews chiefly, and the rural community less actively, participate.

But one distinctively agricultural society has been organized—the Woodbine Farmers' Association. It is affiliated with the larger organization of Hebrew farmers whose aims have been stated in other reports. Not much has been accomplished by this society except in promoting social intercourse among the farmers and farmers' wives and emphasizing the educational purposes of the organization. Cooperative business endeavor, either marketing produce or buying supplies, has not been developed to any degree.

In addition, there is much informal amusement and many unorganized recreative enterprises—neighborly visiting, family parties, home entertainments, and the like. The presence of the rather large number of young people who are employed in the village or attend the agricultural school and who commingle freely adds greatly to the social life and gayety of the colony.

## EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS.

In education as in social enterprises the Hebrew colony is in advance of most communities of its size in New Jersey. The first kindergarten in Cape May County was established in Woodbine, and in 1904 a public school, modern in its equipment, was constructed at a cost of \$15,000; more than one-half of the taxes are for educational purposes.

There are now in the colony four public schools, one private school, and the Baron de Hirsch Agricultural and Industrial School. It is possible for a pupil to go from kindergarten through the second year of high-school work in the public schools. After this the agricultural school or the Millville High School is open to him, the State of New Jersey paying his transportation to Millville. About one-half of the pupils who graduate from the Woodbine schools continue their high-school education; a comparatively large percentage enter colleges or universities.

The total enrollment in the Woodbine schools in 1907-8 was 530 pupils; in 1908-9, 565. The percentage of attendance in 1908-9 was 96; 3 per cent of the absences were due to minor ailments and temporary illness. The high percentage of attendance denotes active interest both on the part of the parents and the pupils.

Great emphasis is laid on the elementary English subjects and the commercial branches. The work of the schools is said to be thorough and the pupils exceptionally apt. Those who attend the Millville High School easily keep abreast of their Gentile schoolmates in all branches. The private school is small, having an attendance of but 20 pupils, who are taught Hebrew language, literature, and history chiefly.

The Baron de Hirsch Agricultural and Industrial School, established in 1894, is endowed and supported by the Baron de Hirsch Fund. Its purpose is to give a very practical education in agriculture and industrial branches to Hebrew pupils. The membership is open to Hebrews anywhere in the United States and but 5 per cent of the students are from Woodbine and vicinity. The school does not draw heavily from any of the New Jersey colonies. The enrollment in 1895 was 22; in 1900 there were 100 students, 12 of whom were girls; and in 1909 82 pupils were enrolled. To all appearances the limit of probable attendance is about 100. The plant consists of a farm of about 300 acres, several very good buildings, equipped for instruction in agronomy, dairying, and animal husbandry. Poultry raising, bee culture, greenhouse management, and study of farm machinery are subjects of study. A large herd of Jersey cattle, a number of well-bred horses, and several varieties of poultry are kept. Some 40 acres of land are in orchards and a comparatively large area is devoted to garden vegetables, truck, small fruit, and general crops.

The school is an endowed institution and tuition and board are provided for a one-year or a two-year course. About 90 per cent of the pupils who enter leave at the end of the first year. The failure to continue further seems to lie in the fact that only a small percentage are actually desirous of establishing themselves on farms. They get the general instruction and then hasten to enter industrial pursuits. The studies are elementary, but pertain largely to agri-

culture. Practical farming is taught daily, for the students are required to do a certain amount of work on the farm every day; and most of the crops are cultivated, harvested, and prepared for market by the pupils.

#### CITIZENSHIP AND POLITICS.

After a great deal of discussion and agitation the village of Woodbine was incorporated as a borough in 1903. Since then all the officers of the town have been Hebrews. The people of the colony, however, have taken more or less interest in civic matters from the first and a village improvement society was in active operation before the borough was incorporated.

The number of adults in the rural district who have secured naturalization papers could not be determined accurately, but it was estimated by the superintendent of the land company, who is well acquainted with every member of the colony, that of the 800 males in Woodbine 21 years of age and over approximately 250 are fully naturalized citizens and perhaps 75 others have filed their first papers. There are a number of males in the colony who have not resided in the United States the five years necessary to obtain second papers. That all permanent residents intend to become citizens there is little doubt, but from what could be learned the average lapse of time between landing and filing first papers has been perhaps three years; from six to ten years' residence has been usual before securing second papers. The farmers in the community, having less local interest, are less active in political matters than the people of the village.

#### MORAL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS.

The general moral tone of the community is high in many respects; the family institution is sacredly regarded and the morals of the children are carefully guarded. There is said to be little personal immorality, and few or no social scandals. The colonists have a reputation for political honesty, and there was no report of vote selling or political venality. As citizens they are peaceably disposed and generally law abiding. In proportion to its population the percentage of criminality in Woodbine is low. During the year ending June, 1909, eight cases came before the justice of the peace; one was a case of criminal assault, the others were arrests for petty larceny. One half of the arrests were of natives, the other half of immigrants, but there were no altercations between the races. In the rural districts there is practically no criminality.

The only community disturbance in the history of the settlement occurred about seven years after its founding. Led by socialist propagandists, a number of settlers refused to make payments on their land or to acknowledge their obligation to pay the purchase price of the land they occupied. They went so far as to make an armed resistance, and several cases of assault and battery occurred. The officers of the land company, representing the Hirsch Fund and the promoters of the colony, were for a time obliged to go armed. The spirit prompting this manifestation of lawlessness was soon quelled, however, and now no traces remain.

A lack of business morality is alleged by business men who deal with Hebrews in Woodbine. Most dealers, it is said, make it a rule

to require cash payments or carefully drawn notes or agreements. While in part the unfavorable opinion is undoubtedly due to prejudice against foreigners, native business men apparently have some ground for the charges made.

The Hebrews indulge in intoxicating liquors to some extent, but few drink to excess and cases of public intoxication are very infrequent in Woodbine.

There are two synagogues, one small Polish mission and a Baptist Church in Woodbine.

The church is in some sense a community center, and some benevolent and social organizations are maintained under its auspices, chief among them the Woodbine Brotherhood, a relief fund association with some social purposes, and the Ladies' Aid Society.

#### THE SECOND GENERATION.

It is significant that very few of the settlers' children who have arrived at maturity are found on the farms. The ambitious and progressive ordinarily get at least a high school education and go to New York, Philadelphia, or other large cities to engage in commercial pursuits. It has been estimated for the colony as a whole that perhaps 25 per cent of the children between the ages of 18 and 25 years depart in this way. Most of the others are content to remain, not on the farms usually, but in the village, while they work in the factories.

A number of the young men trained in the agricultural school have entered agricultural pursuits elsewhere; some are engaged in scientific work in agricultural colleges, some in large farming operations as employees, and a few are independent proprietors of farms elsewhere in the United States. The number who engage in farming permanently near Woodbine is very small. The children reared in Woodbine are in no sense "foreign," and the barriers between them and the natives are slowly breaking down. Nevertheless cases of intermarriage between Americans and Hebrews have been very few; only four or five seem to have occurred since the founding of the colony. This does not necessarily mean that the young people do not intermarry to a greater degree, for, as noted above, a large number do not remain in the colony.

#### GENERAL EFFECT OF THE COLONY.

Agriculturally the settlement has had the economic result of putting into cultivation about a thousand acres (including the school farm) of wild land and improving it to the value of \$75,000 to \$100,000 (including for the school property only the improvements necessary for the organization of the school farm). There has been an awakening, too, on the part of both natives and Hebrews to the needs and possibilities of agriculture in the Pine Barrens. Land that the native farmers passed by as worthless has been made fairly productive and crops of great value have been introduced. The colony, with the school, has stimulated agriculture to some degree.

Industrially Woodbine has become one of the very best towns in Cape May County. It now supports some permanently established industries and increases its output yearly. Something like \$8,000 of taxes are paid annually.

Perhaps the greatest influence has been effected by the uplift in education and social institutions. Good schools, fair libraries, public baths, and numerous social enterprises help to make the town a center of comparatively broad culture. It is to be regretted that the agricultural development, which was the purpose of the founders, has been disappointing in many respects. On the other hand, the experiment has taught the benefactors many truths concerning the Russian Hebrew in his relation to the land and meanwhile has proved the advantages of an industrial settlement in a comparatively rural environment.

#### STATISTICAL DATA FOR SELECTED FAMILIES.

The following table, compiled from schedules secured by the Commission, shows the economic history and past and present financial condition of certain typical agricultural families in the Woodbine colony.

The period the several heads of families have been in the locality varies from three to eighteen years. One came directly here from Russia, three from New York, two from Long Island, and one from Philadelphia. The head of family No. 3 brought \$1,300 to the locality, no other family bringing more than \$300. The first purchase consisted in each instance of 15 acres, with usually about 5 acres cleared for cultivation. Family No. 2 paid \$750, the other families paying only \$650 for the first purchase. The only increase in the holdings of real estate is shown by family No. 3, which now owns 30 acres, 20 of which are tillable. Families 5 and 7 have all their land in cultivation. Family No. 1 exemplifies a feature typical probably of a large number of families having abandoned the colony and the first purchase of land made in 1901, returning in 1908 and purchasing a different tract. The gross value of land and improvements amounts to \$1,000 or over for the six families who remained in the colony, family No. 3 reporting a valuation of \$2,500, and families 5 and 7 a valuation of \$2,000, the latter two having probably overestimated the value of their land slightly. The highest gross valuation of all property is shown by family No. 3 with \$3,285, and family No. 1 has the lowest amount with \$925. The total gross valuation of all property varies from \$1,275 to \$2,550 for the remaining families.

Indebtedness exists on each farm both on the land and for other obligations, three families having made no payments on their land. Family No. 3 owns property with a net valuation of \$2,930 and No. 5 has a net valuation of \$2,020. Three families own property less than \$500 in net value.

Farm income is derived from market-gardening crops, dairy and poultry and animal products. The average income from the sale of farm products amounted to \$994 for family No. 3 and was between \$500 and \$600 for families 4 and 5, the other families reporting an income less than \$300 from farm products.

Families No. 1 and 4 have a supplementary income from the earnings of children.

TABLE 25.—Economic history and present financial condition of certain typical Hebrew families, Woodbine, N. J.

Data reported	Family 1.	Family 2.	Family 3.	Family 4.	Family 5.	Family 6.	Family 7.
Years in locality:							
Head.....	8 <sup>a</sup>	3	15	18	14	3	3
Family.....	3	3	15	18	14	3	3
Present household size.....	7	7	3	3	5	3	3
Number of members 10 years or over.....	5	4	6	6	4	5	6
Male.....	2	1	2	2	2	2	2
Female.....	3	3	1	4	2	1	1
Previous location.....	New York, N. Y.	Long Island.....	New York, N. Y.	Philadelphia, Pa.	New York, N. Y.	Long Island.....	Russia.
Previous occupation.....	Fruit peddler.	Agricultural school.	Tailor.	Proprietor of grocery store.	Blacksmith.....	Agricultural school.	Storekeeper.
Value of property brought.....	\$75	\$50	\$1,300	\$200	\$100	\$200	\$300.
Occupation in locality previous to purchase.....	None.	None.	None.	None.	None.	None.	Farm laborer.
Wages per week.....							\$7.50.
Years employed.....							Less than 1.
First land bought:							
Date.....	1901.	1906.	1894.	1891.	1895.	1906.	1906.
Number of acres.....	15.	15.	15.	15.	15.	15.	15.
Price.....	\$650.	\$750.	\$650.	\$650.	\$650.	\$650.	\$650.
Terms.....	Unlimited time; interest 4 per cent.	Unlimited time; interest 4 per cent.	Unlimited time; interest 4 per cent.	Unlimited time; interest 4 per cent.	Unlimited time; interest 4 per cent.	Unlimited time; interest 4 per cent.	Unlimited time; interest 4 per cent.
Condition.....	3 acres cleared, rest brush and land; no fences.	All brush land; house fairly good.	5 acres cleared, rest brush and timber.	5 acres cleared; house good condition.	5 acres cleared, rest in timber; house.	5 acres cleared, rest in brush.	2½ acres cleared, house fairly good.
Provision until living could be made from land.....	Aided by Hirsch Fund.	Aided by Hirsch Fund.	Worked in clothing factory.	Farm laborer.....	Machine shop; children worked in factory.	Money saved and Hirsch Fund.	Aided by Hirsch Fund.
Number of years.....	Been on this land one year.	Not making living yet.	6.....	Not reported.....	5.....	Less than one.....	Not making living yet.
Earnings per day.....			Not reported.....		Not reported.....		
Acres of land now owned.....	15.	15.	30.	15.	15.	15.	15.
Acres tillable.....	3.	10.	20.	12.	15.	10.	15.
Live stock now owned:							
Cattle.....	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	2.
Horses.....	1.	1.	2.	1.	1.	1.	1.
Financial condition:							
Value of land and improvements.....	\$750.	\$1,000	\$2,500	\$1,600	\$2,000	\$1,000	\$2,000.
Live stock.....	\$45	\$325	\$135	\$175	\$175	\$125	\$135.
Tools and implements.....	\$20	\$20	\$100	\$150	\$125	\$35	\$40.
Other property.....	\$110.	\$105.	\$360	\$350	\$250	\$195	\$110.
Gross value of all property.....	\$925.	\$1,275	\$3,285	\$2,460.	\$2,550	\$1,355	\$2,285.
Indebtedness—							
On land.....	\$650.	\$750.	\$225	\$500.	\$450	\$650.	\$650.
Other.....	\$10.	\$210.	\$160.	\$80.	\$80	\$215	\$150.
Net value of all property.....	\$265.	\$315.	\$2,930	\$1,900	\$2,020	\$490.	\$1,485.

<sup>a</sup> Settled first in 1901; left, and returned in 1908.

TABLE 26.—*Economic history and present financial condition of certain typical Hebrew families, Woodbine, N. J.—Continued.*

ANNUAL FARM INCOME FROM PRODUCTS SOLD (AVERAGE FOR TWO YEARS).

Products.	Family 1.	Family 2.	Family 3.	Family 4.	Family 5.	Family 6.	Family 7.
Beans.....		\$5		\$33			
Beets.....		8		35			\$10
Berries.....			\$35				
Carrots.....		10			\$73		
Grapes.....			205	105			
Irish potatoes.....		15	25	23	25		
Lima beans.....		25	113	80	75	\$20	30
Melons.....		18				40	
Onions.....		20					
Sweet potatoes.....		20	300	25	130	35	10
Tomatoes.....		50	33		30	30	30
Vegetables not itemized.....			205	188	125	138	80
Dairy products.....			5	18			18
Animal and poultry products.....	\$25	25	73	72	33	28	
Total.....	25	196	994	579	521	291	218
Supplementary income.....	e 256			b 130			

e Earnings of children.

b Earnings of daughter.



## FLEMINGTON.

One of the most recently established Hebrew agricultural settlements in the United States is located about 6 miles southwest of Flemington, the county seat of Hunterdon County, N. J.

In 1909 the colony numbered approximately 18 families, or about 125 individuals. With the exception of one or two Hebrews from Austria-Hungary, the settlement is composed of Russian Hebrews who have been in the United States only a few years. The immigrants had pursued various occupations before coming to the United States, though few had had experience in farming abroad. In the group, merchants, tailors, and carpenters and various other occupations were represented.

The first settlement was made in 1906, one family locating there in the spring and another in the fall of that year, while three or four families followed in 1907 and the remainder in 1908 and 1909. These families were each brought there by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, in the administration of the Baron de Hirsch Fund. Before coming to this locality a number of the immigrants were employed as farm laborers for a year at the experimental or training farm conducted by the Jewish Aid Society on Long Island. The year on the farm was intended as a test of their capacity for farming; where a satisfactory record was made, the immigrant received the limited financial assistance of the society in establishing himself on a farm.

Most of the present settlers came directly to New York from Russia, and after a year at the Long Island training school were settled on farms near Flemington. A few families, though settled here by the Jewish society, did not take the year of training, but were engaged in different occupations in New York. Some had been merchants and tailors, and others worked as carpenters or iron workers. In establishing the immigrants the Jewish society in each instance first acquired the title to the property and sold it to the settlers, allowing them from ten to fifteen years in which to complete the payments and charging 4 per cent interest; cash payments seldom exceeded \$100, and many of the settlers paid no cash and purpose to make no payments until the farms have been placed on a profitable basis. The price paid for the land varied from \$25 to \$50 an acre, depending on the location and the fertility of the soil. The farms generally ranged in size from 50 to 100 acres, but a few purchases of less than 50 acres were made. The immigrants were located on improved land, though in some instances the farms had been vacant for several years, allowing the buildings to fall into disrepair and the land to grow up to briars and bushes. Through the agency of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society the immigrants were protected from imposition and enabled to acquire their property at a fair valuation.

Personal interviews with seven Hebrew farmers at Flemington revealed the fact that the colony is already enjoying a fair degree of prosperity, several having succeeded in making a living from the land during the first year. One had purchased only 5 acres and relied for a living on the income received from summer boarders, and in two families outside employment was necessary to supplement the

income from the farm. Three or four families had been unsuccessful and returned to New York. The Society endeavors to locate other families on farms so abandoned.

#### SOIL, CLIMATE, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The Hebrew landowners are located 6 or 7 miles southwest of Flemington and a slightly greater distance northeast of the Delaware River at the nearest point. The topography of the country presents a marked contrast to the level sandy areas of south Jersey. High ridges, heavily wooded with second-growth timber traverse the territory settled by the Jews and give the country a somewhat mountainous aspect. The soil is classed in the government reports as the "Pennsylvania loam" and consists of an Indian-red yellow or brown loam having a depth of 10 inches and underlaid by heavy loam or clay of the same color resting upon bed rock. Other phases of the Pennsylvania loam are gravelly loams and a heavy yellow clay loam, the latter being slightly more productive than the typical soil. The slopes are usually too steep for general farming, but are adapted to fruit culture. The Pennsylvania loam, where free from stone and not too steep, is largely used for general farming, but is best adapted to grass and grain, and has a particular value for stock raising, although comparatively little is done in that industry. Dairying is an important interest, and the Hebrews, following the example of the natives, have engaged in general farming, dairying, and poultry raising.

#### AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS.

Though some of the Hebrews purchased farms 100 or more acres in area, a large proportion of the land was frequently unimproved and sometimes too rough and broken to admit of agricultural development, although in some cases well adapted for pasturage. The area of land in cultivation on the different farms seldom exceeds 40 acres and is considerably less than this amount in some instances. The Hebrews have followed the natives closely both in methods of agriculture and in the variety of crops grown, and all are devoting much attention to poultry raising and dairying. General farming is followed almost exclusively, though a few families who take summer boarders have devoted their attention to vegetable crops, chiefly with the view of supplying their own tables. Hay, corn, wheat, oats, and rye are staple crops, and buckwheat is also grown to some extent.

The average yield of corn is about 35 bushels an acre, though some of the farmers who were interviewed reported a considerably higher yield. The average production of wheat and rye is about 10 bushels per acre and of oats 15 to 20 bushels. The yield of hay is about one and one-half tons to the acre. Data collected from 6 landowners showed a total value of all crops produced in 1908 of \$2,796, or an average of \$466 per farm. The total sales for the same year amounted to \$1,080, an average of \$180 for each farm. The greater part of the crops produced on the farm are fed to the cattle and poultry. Rye and some of the other crops of small grain are sold in Flemington. Rye brings about 75 cents a bushel, wheat commands a

somewhat higher price, and oats bring about 50 cents a bushel. During the season of 1909 corn was worth 75 cents a bushel, and hay \$12 to \$16 a ton.

The sale of poultry and dairy products is important in this locality, and the Hebrews, following the example of the natives, have acquired stocks of cattle and poultry. A local creamery furnishes a market for the milk, and eggs and poultry are shipped to New York, 50 miles distant, and reached by three different lines of railway. The total value of dairy products sold from 4 farms in 1908 amounted to \$880. The total value of poultry products sold from the same farms amounted to \$615, the average value of dairy and poultry products for the 4 farms amounting to about \$374.

Fruit culture is receiving little if any attention, though small sales of apples were made by some of the farmers from orchards in bearing when the farms were purchased; several Hebrews sold a small number of live stock. The total value of all products sold from 6 farms in 1908 aggregated \$4,681, or an average of \$750 a farm. The showing is not discreditable in view of the short time the immigrants have been in the locality and the limited experience many have had in farming.

The expenses incurred by the immigrants in the production of farm products are for fertilizer, feed for live stock, and a small expenditure for farm labor. Data are not available for the amount expended for stock feed, although that probably constitutes one of the largest items of expense. Five of the 6 farms investigated had a total expenditure for farm labor and fertilizer of \$520, and one farm reported no expenditures for these items, making an average of \$86.67 for the 6 farms.

The live stock kept by the immigrants consists of horses and cattle, and one farmer was fattening a drove of 7 hogs for the market. The general average for each farm is about 3 horses, of little value, and 6 or 7 cows. The cattle are carefully selected for their value as dairy animals, and are of the best breed that can be purchased in the locality. Jerseys are the most popular variety and have an average value per head of about \$50. The live stock sold consists principally of the surplus animals from the dairy herds. The Hebrew farmers do not equal the natives in the amount of dairy and poultry products marketed, but the settlement is yet in its infancy and it is too early to make a fair comparison.

The general appearance of the farms occupied by the Hebrew immigrants does not compare favorably with that of the homes of the native farmers. The dwellings, outhouses, and fences are usually unpainted and out of repair, and there is a general lack of order and neatness about the premises. A partial explanation of these conditions is found in the fact that many of the immigrants settled on farms which had been abandoned for several years and were in an advanced state of decay and neglect, and the immigrants have yet had but little time to devote to renovating and cleaning up the premises.

Opportunities for outside employment are rather limited in the immediate neighborhood, but a few return to New York during the winter months and secure work with numbers of their own race, usually as tailors.

## SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

While the older Hebrews of this colony are with few exceptions members of some religious order, there is a pronounced lack of social organization in the settlement. Many of the families are in isolated localities, which makes communication with the other Hebrews inconvenient; they have no synagogue and no religious services. The children between the ages of 6 and 14, and in some instances those 15 and 16 years of age, are sent to the public schools of the county. Many of the children attended school in New York before coming to this locality, and with few exceptions those over 10 years of age are able to read and write both the English and Yiddish languages. Yiddish is usually spoken in the home. The adults generally are able to speak English, but few read and write that language. Each family usually takes several newspapers. Two Jewish papers each have a number of subscribers in the settlement, and an agricultural newspaper, as well as one of the American dailies, is found in many of the houses.

The Hebrews have not identified themselves to any large extent with the political life of the community, though it is significant that approximately 90 per cent of the adult males in the families interviewed have taken out their first naturalization papers. The percentage fully naturalized is very small, but few of the immigrants have been here longer than the period required by law before second papers can be secured. The number of male adults 21 years of age or over in the settlement at present probably does not exceed 25, a number hardly sufficient to be a strong factor in politics, and few have been in the United States a sufficient time to acquire the knowledge of the language and customs of the country necessary for participation in public affairs.

The Hebrews are industrious and their reputation for honesty and sobriety is good. While the social intercourse between the natives and immigrants is limited, no prejudice or antipathy to the Hebrews seems to exist further than the general sentiment due to the difference in religious belief.

It is too early in the history of the colony to discuss its probable effect on the neighborhood. The reclamation of abandoned farms to a condition of fertility and productiveness, however, can not fail to be of material benefit to the community should no other good effects be noted. The prevailing spirit among the present settlers is one of optimism; they have applied themselves with energy, have faith in the future of the community, and are hopeful that there will be material accessions to the colony, with a consequent increase in social enjoyment and prosperity.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### ARPIN, WIS., A PIONEER COLONY THAT FAILED.

#### INTRODUCTION.

The village of Arpin is a former lumber or sawmill town in Wood County, Wis., about 150 miles northwest of Milwaukee, and 15 miles northwest of Grand Rapids. Until six or eight years ago the principal industry of the village and surrounding country was lumbering and logging. At the present time there is a population of perhaps 200 persons. The village can be reached by three lines of railroad, but the surrounding country is still undeveloped agriculturally.

The pine timber was cut off long ago, but a great deal of hard wood has been taken out during recent years. Now there remains very little timber suitable for any purpose except cord wood, which finds a ready sale at the railway depot in Arpin. The sawmill, established in 1894, was shut down several years ago, after the merchantable lumber had been removed. The whole section was heavily wooded with pine and hard wood, the stumps of which are scattered thickly over every acre of land in the region. The country presents a very level appearance, gently rolling in places, but with comparatively little swamp and no rough or hilly land.

The soil is a heavy clay, somewhat gravelly at intervals. It is of glacial origin and, like most of the soil in north central Wisconsin, is naturally adapted to tame grasses and clover. Small grains do well and corn can be raised, but the soil is rather heavy for potatoes, and truck crops do not find ready market.

The native farmers have recently gone into dairy and stock raising with considerable success. Abundance of grass can be raised among the stumps on the unbroken land as soon as the brush, windfalls, and sprouts have been cleared away and the ground burned over. These tame pastures among the great stumps make excellent feed for dairy cattle, grass can be cut with mowing machines, and hay of superior quality put up as soon as the smaller stumps have rotted and have been removed.

To clear land entirely is possible only by great expenditure of labor and money. The stumps can be taken out in part by use of stump-pulling machines, but these are not powerful enough to remove the great pine roots and fire and dynamite are the usual means of removing these obstacles in the way of intensive agriculture. The labor that must be put on an acre of raw land before it is freed from stumps is almost incredible. Clearing land in this region is a task for the strongest and most patient men. Nevertheless it is just such land as this throughout northern Wisconsin that hundreds of Germans, Scandinavians, Poles, and Swiss have been buying, clearing, and making good livings on since the early nineties.

## THE COMING OF THE HEBREWS.

In 1904 the Milwaukee Jewish Agricultural Society under the management of its president, a wealthy and philanthropic Hebrew, secured 720 acres of wild land just north of Arpin with the purpose of settling Hebrew immigrants thereon. The Society first planned a compact settlement of 18 families, assigning to each 40 acres of land, which was to be sold to them on very favorable terms. The money for the original purchase and primary improvement of this land was in part contributed by the president of the Society and in part appropriated by the Industrial Removal Office of New York from the Baron de Hirsch Fund.

Frame houses were constructed, one on each 40-acre tract, and a small shed—roofed barn, or cow stable built near each. These houses were cheaply but fairly well built, one and one-half stories, four rooms, with a small shed or "lean to" for a woodshed or summer kitchen. They have good stone foundations and cellars, and on the whole are very respectable homes for pioneer farmers. Their cost was \$450 or \$500 each. Some of these houses were put up in August, 1904, and others vacated by the lumbermen were secured, so that there were ample accommodations for housing the immigrants before the first contingent arrived.

In November, 1904, 6 or 8 families of Russian and Roumanian Hebrews, numbering perhaps 45 persons, were settled on the tract and the number was later increased to 14 families, practically all immediately from the city of Milwaukee. Only one seems to have had any previous acquaintance with farm life or agricultural methods, and that across the ocean.

Coming in the fall of the year with very little money it was necessary to provide some means of livelihood until a living could be made from the land. For this purpose \$5 a week, nominally as wages, was advanced to each family throughout the first year for household expenses. This seems to have been a mistake, for although these advances were called the "wages" of the settlers there was really no material service that could be rendered to the Society in return therefor, and the amount was sufficient in itself to support a family in a poor way. With sustenance assured, it is said that few of the settlers were willing to do any very hard work, relying solely upon the advances made by the Society. Each family was further supplied with one or more cows, according to the size of the family, a horse and wagon, and a few necessary farming implements. In short, full but simple provision seems to have been made for all the immediate needs of the new comers. The tract secured is just on the outskirts of the village of Arpin, where a good district school afforded the children opportunity for English instruction in the elementary branches.

To teach these inexperienced farmers something about clearing new lands and raising crops, the Society employed as a superintendent or foreman a young man who had had considerable practical experience as a farmer and a woodsman. At the outset the superintendent attempted to have the entire colony work together to cut up cord wood for sale and to clear a little patch of ground on each 40-acre tract. The men were ignorant of even the simplest operations. No one could handle or sharpen an ax or a saw, or milk a cow, care

for stock or conduct any sort of farming operations. "Ask one to dig a post hole and he would as likely dig a well," said a man who had worked with them from the beginning.

"The plan of working in common did not succeed," said the superintendent. "As long as I remained in sight, work went on, but whenever my back was turned soldiering began." There was a great deal of jealousy and some trouble over the division and distribution of lots. Finally each family was assigned for his individual use one 40-acre tract, with the house and improvements. This was valued at about \$1,000, or \$25 an acre.

Very few were able to make any cash payment on the land at the time of purchase. But the Milwaukee society, as a branch of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, granted the same very easy terms accorded to Hebrew colonists elsewhere. This is to say, no payments of principal for two and one-half years; after that small semiannual payments with interest at 6 per cent. According to the plan, full title to the land would be secured in ten to thirteen years. In addition to the advances of weekly cash payments, the president of the Society furnished cows and horses as needed, the advances for stock being on the same very favorable terms. Despite these easy conditions, or because of them, the colony did not succeed. At the outset not an acre of land was cleared, the houses were set up in the woods, and there were no other Hebrew people and no synagogues in the near neighborhood. The newcomers, soon increased to 11 families, were unaccustomed to the hard work and the very slow returns. Some money was made by the sale of cord wood and during the summer of 1905 the superintendent taught some of them to raise a little garden truck, corn, and a few potatoes. Cream found a ready market, being shipped from the station a mile distant, and those who had a few cows derived a small income from them. By the spring of 1906 it was estimated that there were more than 100 acres sufficiently well cleared to plant to grass, corn, potatoes, and other vegetables.

But the colonists grew tired, lonesome, and discouraged, and when the promoting society felt that it was best to discontinue the weekly payments, several packed their household goods and returned to Milwaukee. A few families early proved undesirable for various reasons and three or more of these were soon removed in accordance with a well-defined probationary system that was part of the original plan. New recruits took their places, only to desert in their turn. When the Commission's inquiry was made in 1909, there were but three families on the ground, but it was expected that three more would come up from Milwaukee in the spring of 1910. Some have departed, remained away from a year to two, and returned again to their lots. Those who put any money into the land seem to have been reimbursed by the Society, to which the land reverted, according to agreement, when abandoned by the possessors. There were a few ambitious, energetic men, capable of enduring pioneer life who made some payments on their allotments and the present possessors continue to clear some land. But not one of the original settlers now remains.

After the first exodus, the society secured the services of a young Hebrew agriculturist, a graduate of the Doylestown (Pa.) Agricultural

School, who unfortunately was entirely unacquainted with the methods of farming on comparatively unimproved land in this section of the United States, and did not prove a successful leader. A large, well-built barn, constructed with society funds at the instigation of this man, stands practically unused to-day. His experimental or demonstration plots of garden vegetables and market truck also failed and the Hebrews grew disheartened.

The best farm of the whole number has now not a dozen acres of well-cleared and broken land. A large quantity of timber has been removed, but no one ever raised a large acreage of any farm crop. One man makes reasonable profits from an acre or two of cucumbers, others put in an acre or thereabout of potatoes, and a few received some returns from the sale of cream, but as a whole the colony has been at no time in a flourishing or prosperous condition.

Just what the future of the colony will be can not be predicted with certainty. The reasons for failure up to the present seem to lie largely, first, in physical conditions—uncleared land, hard to bring into cultivation, distance from markets and isolation and, second, in the nonagricultural character of the colonists and their very evident unfitness for succeeding under pioneer conditions. It may be suggested, with hesitancy, that the extension of advances and other gratuitous aid, while apparently necessary, was not calculated to develop independence, self-reliance, or individual responsibility. The establishment on improved land of Hebrews with greater capital resources and a better knowledge of farm life seems to be proving the only satisfactory method of Hebrew colonization at the present time.



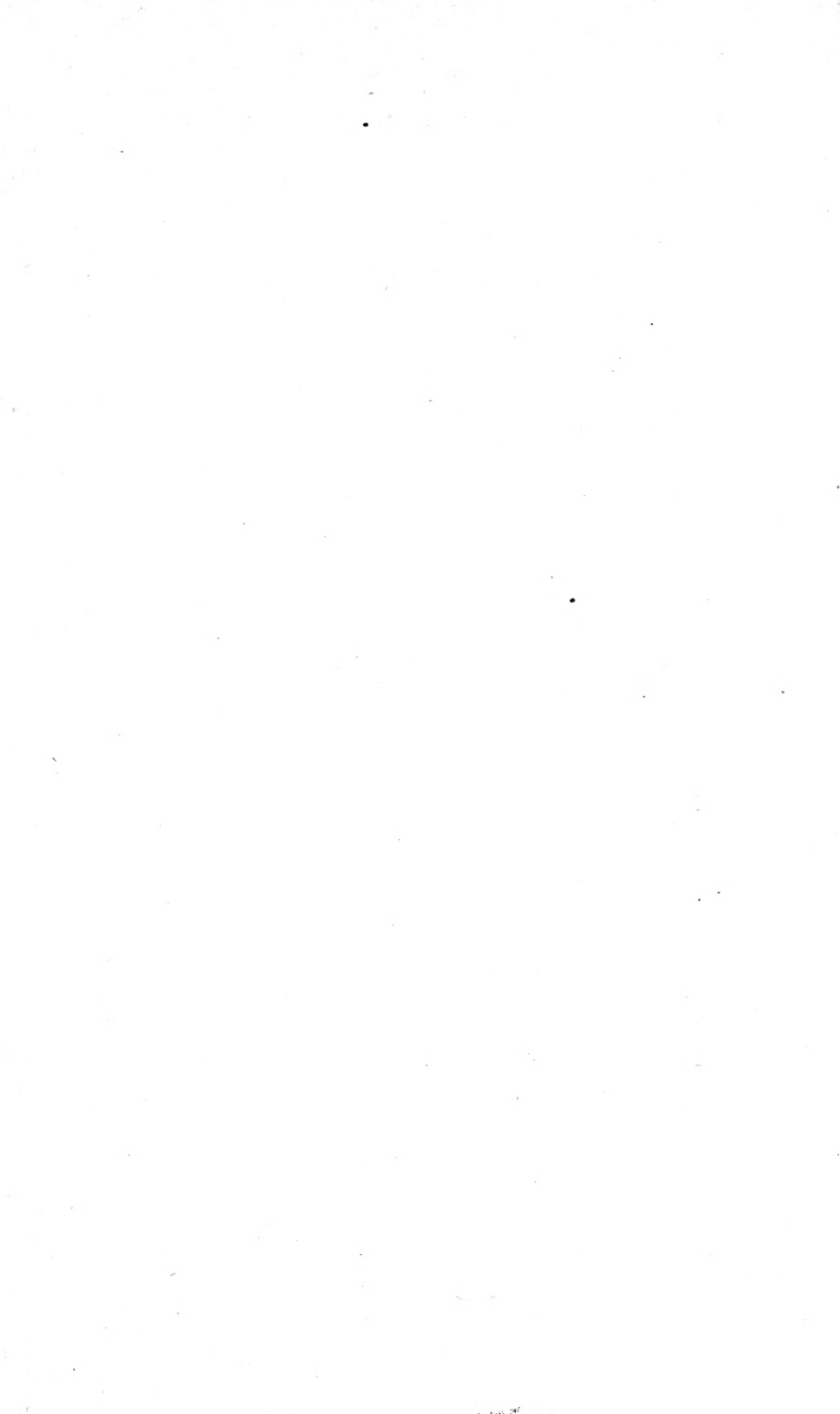
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PART IV.—POLES IN AGRICULTURE.

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## CHAPTER I.

### GENERAL SURVEY.

#### INTRODUCTION.

Statistical studies of Poles are peculiarly liable to error, since almost all official enumerations have been made on a basis of nationality as indicated by country of birth. In recent United States censuses Poland has been regarded as a political entity, and persons who reported Poland as the country of their birth were so recorded in the census returns. It is not contended, however, that even an approximately correct count of persons of the Polish races was accomplished by this method. Poland as a nation has not existed for more than a century, and even though the census returns show the number of persons in the United States who were born in the Polish provinces of Germany, Austria, and Russia it would avail little, for the reason that a large proportion of immigrants who were born in such provinces are not Poles by race. Waclaw Kruszkza, in his *History of Poles in America*,<sup>a</sup> estimates that, including both first and second generations, one-fifth of all Poles in answer to the question "Where were you born?" or "Where was your father born?" answered "Poland," and were enumerated by the census accordingly; two-fifths answered "Germany," "Russia," or "Austria," and were so recorded. According to this authority the census returns of Poles must be multiplied by five to arrive at a reasonable approximation. Whether this method of procedure can be relied on with reference to Poles in the aggregate it is impossible to say.

The census returns for 1900 give a total of 687,671 persons one or both of whose parents were born in Poland.<sup>b</sup> This would mean, according to Kruszkza's method of calculation, a Polish population of more than 1,720,000 (first and second generations) in 1900.<sup>c</sup>

According to the figures of the Twelfth Census there were 209,030 male breadwinners whose parents were born in Poland; of these 183,055 were foreign-born and 25,975 were males of the second generation. Of this number nearly nine-tenths of the first generation and more than three-fourths of the second generation were engaged in other than agricultural pursuits. Next to the Italians the foreign-born Poles report a larger percentage (29.1) of general laborers than any other race group. The second generation enumerate a smaller percentage (15.7), but larger than the percentage of general laborers of the second generation of any other race.

In agricultural pursuits 19,256 males of the first generation, more than one-tenth of all foreign-born Polish breadwinners, were reported;

<sup>a</sup> *Historya Polska W. Ameryce*, Part I, Vol. I, Chapter IV.

<sup>b</sup> U. S. Census, 1900, Population, Vol. I, Table LXXXIV, p. CXCIV.

<sup>c</sup> See Kruszkza op. cit.—Kruszkza estimates nearly 2,000,000, arriving at the statistics in various ways.

about half of these were farmers and the remainder were agricultural laborers (4.3 per cent of all male breadwinners in the generation) or belonged to some other occupation group classified as agricultural. Of the second generation 6,236, or 24 per cent, were in agriculture; the percentage of farm laborers is relatively high (18.2 per cent), doubtless owing to the large number of Polish children between 10 and 21 years of age on farms of their parents who were enumerated as agricultural or farm laborers. The corresponding percentage of the first generation is 4.3. The number of farmers and other agriculturists of the second generation is 1,507 (5.8 per cent) as compared with 11,461 (6.3 per cent) of the first generation. These numbers seem small in the aggregate and multiplication by four would probably be short of the actual number on farms.

The table following shows that only 6,236 Poles of the first generation and 658 of the second were engaged in agricultural pursuits in the seven States specified, although nearly 70 per cent of the first generation and 45 per cent of the second generation who were breadwinners were living in those States.

TABLE 1.—*White male breadwinners in the United States and certain specified States, having one or both parents born in Poland, by general occupations, 1900.*

[Compiled from United States Census Reports, 1900.]

	All occupations.		Agricultural pursuits.			
	First generation.	Second generation.	First generation.		Second generation.	
			Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
United States.....	183,055	25,975	19,256	10.5	6,236	24.0
Massachusetts.....	11,129	399	1,375	12.4	4	1.0
New York.....	31,389	2,737	2,311	7.4	100	3.7
New Jersey.....	7,415	284	544	7.3	12	4.2
Pennsylvania.....	34,730	2,352	412	1.2	23	1.0
Ohio.....	8,342	965	171	2.0	45	4.7
Illinois.....	32,662	4,768	1,345	4.1	430	9.0
Iowa.....	370	106	78	21.1	44	41.5
All other States.....	57,018	14,364	13,020	22.8	5,578	38.8

	Agricultural laborers.				Farmers, planters, overseers, and others in class.			
	First generation.		Second generation.		First generation.		Second generation.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
United States.....	7,795	4.3	4,729	18.2	11,461	6.3	1,507	5.8
Massachusetts.....	1,270	11.4	3	.8	105	.9	1	.3
New York.....	1,994	6.4	89	3.3	317	1.0	11	.4
New Jersey.....	496	6.7	11	3.9	48	.6	1	.4
Pennsylvania.....	260	.7	18	.8	152	.4	5	.2
Ohio.....	67	.8	38	3.9	104	1.2	7	.7
Illinois.....	286	.9	318	6.7	1,059	3.2	112	2.3
Iowa.....	17	4.6	25	23.6	61	16.5	19	17.9
All other States.....	3,405	6.0	4,227	29.4	9,615	16.9	1,351	9.4

A better presentation of the distribution of Poles in rural districts is made in the following table:

TABLE 2.—*Geographical distribution of male breadwinners, farmers, and agricultural laborers, of Polish parentage, by States specified, 1900.*

[Compiled from occupations of the First and Second Generations of Immigrants in the United States. Reports of the Immigration Commission, Vol. 28.]

State.	First generation.				Second generation.			
	Farmers, planters, etc.		Agricultural laborers.		Farmers, planters, etc.		Agricultural laborers.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
United States.....	10,480	100.0	7,795	100.0	1,389	100.0	4,729	100.0
States specified.....	9,509	90.7	4,340	55.7	1,277	91.9	4,450	94.1
Wisconsin.....	3,175	30.3	672	8.6	484	34.8	1,496	31.6
Minnesota.....	1,985	18.9	541	6.9	158	11.4	770	16.3
Michigan.....	1,488	14.2	291	3.7	190	13.7	737	15.6
Texas.....	787	7.5	222	2.8	210	15.1	409	8.6
Nebraska.....	625	6.0	128	1.6	74	5.3	315	6.7
Illinois.....	463	4.4	286	3.7	74	5.3	318	6.7
Indiana.....	289	2.8	57	.7	24	1.7	187	4.0
New York.....	284	2.7	1,994	25.6	10	.7	89	1.9
North Dakota.....	258	2.5	108	1.4	39	2.8	72	1.5
South Dakota.....	155	1.5	41	.5	14	1.0	57	1.2
All other States.....	971	9.3	3,455	44.3	112	8.1	279	5.9

A glance at the figures makes evident the concentration of Polish farmers and farm laborers in the North Central and prairie States. Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin reported 63.4 per cent of all Polish farmers of the first generation and approximately 60 per cent of the second generation in 1900. In the 10 States specified, of which New York is the only eastern representative, 90.7 per cent of the foreign-born Polish farmers and 55.7 of the agricultural laborers were found. The figures for the second generation are similar; 91.9 per cent of the farmers and 94.1 of the Polish agricultural laborers were reported in these States in 1900. The increase in the percentage of Polish farm laborers in the second generation is noticeable. In Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin the increase is from 19.2 per cent in the first to 63.5 per cent in the second generation. In part the increasing percentage is explained by the number of native-born Polish children less than 21 years of age who lived at home and were classified as farm laborers. This explanation is patent when it is recalled that Polish immigration in a large way began after 1870. But it is also true that large numbers of Polish boys 15 to 20 years of age find employment on farms, Polish or American, in the neighboring communities. American farmers living near Polish rural settlements in the West recruit most of their farm labor from the native-born Polish boys. Until 1900 few Poles of either generation remained farm laborers very long. Land was practically free, and the young man very soon entered on a homestead or claim or purchased wild land and set up a home. There are very few farm owners less than 25 years of age, and since a large percentage of the native-born rural Poles were less than 25 years old in 1900, census statistics can throw

little light on the question of farm ownership among sons of Polish farmers.

Wisconsin early became the goal of Polish immigration to the United States. Kruszk estimates 101 Polish groups or settlements and 150,000 Poles in Wisconsin in 1901.<sup>a</sup> The census figures show that 30.3 per cent of the 10,480 Polish farmers were settled in Wisconsin in 1900; 18.9 per cent were in Minnesota, 14.2 per cent in Michigan, and 7.5 per cent in Texas. More than three-fifths of all foreign-born Poles on farms were located in the three adjoining States, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. The farm laborers of the first generation showed a very different distribution. The greatest concentration was in New York State, where 25.6 per cent of the 7,795 Polish farm laborers were located. Only 8.6 per cent were found in Wisconsin and less than 7 per cent in Minnesota. The numerous Poles engaged in seasonal occupations, on truck or berry farms, farms of canning companies, on fruit farms (to pick apples), and the like account for many of the 2,000 foreign-born Polish farm hands in the State of New York.

The Polish farmers of the second generation, like those of the first, are located in Wisconsin (34.8 per cent), Minnesota (11.4 per cent), Michigan (13.7 per cent), and Texas (15.1 per cent). The total number of farmers in this generation was but 1,389, and 1,042 of them were living in the four States specified. The increase in the proportion of farmers in Wisconsin from 30.3 per cent in the first generation to 34.8 per cent in the second would be significant were the aggregate of native-born Polish farmers sufficiently large to be important. It means that some of the children are keeping the old farms, or, with the assistance of parents, buying new farms not far away. The significance of this movement is brought out in the next chapter of this report.

The percentages of native-born Polish farm laborers in Wisconsin was 31.6, somewhat less than the percentage of farmers of that generation. In Minnesota, with 16.3 per cent, and in Michigan, with 15.6 per cent, the percentages of farm laborers are greater than of farmers; in Texas the percentage is less, 8.6 per cent agricultural laborers, as compared with 15.1 per cent of native-born Polish farmers. The differences in distribution shown by these percentages must not be taken seriously. It is certain that the enumeration by birthplace of father fails to account for a considerable proportion of the Poles, and it is likely that the omissions were not consistent—second-generation Poles may have been enumerated as of German, Austrian, or Russian parentage, while their parents were enumerated as Poles, or vice versa. Moreover, the small numbers dealt with make the percentages misleading, or at least gives them a significance not warranted by the facts.

#### SIGNIFICANCE OF THE POLES IN AGRICULTURE.

The Poles as enumerated by the census are not numerically important in agriculture. The north European races report many times greater numbers of farmers, and of the south and east European races the Austrians, Hungarians, Italians, and Russians engaged in agricultural pursuits are exceeded by the Poles. The 25,492 Polish

<sup>a</sup> Kruszk—op. cit., Vol. I, p. 101.

males in agriculture represented but little more than 1 per cent of the total males of foreign parentage engaged in agricultural pursuits, and but 12.2 per cent of all male breadwinners of Polish parentage in 1900.

Some of the significant facts of the last decade with regard to Polish farmers have been the increasing influx of Poles into the farming sections of the East, both as farmers and as farm laborers, the growth of new settlements of Poles on the western prairies and the movement onto farms, either as owners or tenants, of a large number of Poles of the second generation, whose parents have been living in rural districts.

That the Poles on farms are far more numerous than would appear from the census returns is very evident, when a study of particular rural settlements is attempted. In 1901 the estimate made by Kruszkas is 900 colonies of Poles, of which 700 are village or agricultural communities, averaging 100 families each.<sup>a</sup> This would mean at least 70,000 persons in agricultural pursuits, reckoning one breadwinner to a farm. This estimate of farm families is probably too large, but perhaps it is as close to the truth as any official estimate available.

#### SCOPE OF THE COMMISSION'S REPORT.

The investigation planned by the Commission covered a study of the principal Polish rural settlements in every State where Poles are an important factor in agriculture. Three phases of settlement were to be emphasized—the older, spontaneous settlements made by large groups of immigrant Poles on new, wild, cheap western land; the later settlements, originated and fostered by owners of large tracts of land for the purpose of selling the land and developing it agriculturally; and the newer rural immigration, particularly in the East, to long settled communities, where the Poles are establishing themselves on old, partly improved or semi-abandoned farms, and taking the place of American farmers. There is a fourth phase—the Pole in seasonal agricultural occupations—that has been touched on in the reports on the Poles in Orleans County, N. Y., and the cranberry pickers in Wisconsin.

In the execution of the above plan the principal Polish rural communities in Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Texas, and a few scattered settlements in Pennsylvania and the Southwest were visited. The investigation was closed, however, before any of the large settlements in the North Central Division west of the Mississippi River could be reached. In Minnesota, the Dakotas, and Nebraska are some of the largest and most prosperous Polish rural parishes in the United States.<sup>b</sup>

Community reports, based on family schedules, statistics gathered on the field and a first-hand investigation of conditions are submitted. They cover nine distinct settlements in the Northern States, including 34 parishes, and represent, approximately, 4,856 families of first and second generation Poles. The investigation of the Polish colonies in Texas was not made in any detail, and the report is very general, covering merely a few facts concerning the numbers, the founding, and the present condition of a number of the more important settlements.

<sup>a</sup> Kruszkas, *op. cit.*, Vol. VIII, p. 111, etc.

<sup>b</sup> See Kruszkas, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 90, etc.

A total Polish population of perhaps 36,500 persons was reached in the nine settlements or groups of settlements visited in the Northern States. The approximations are, in the main, compiled from church records or from official tax lists or poll lists. Where town tax lists were used, the town officials were relied on to determine the race when this was not evidenced by the name. Both first and second generation Poles are included. In Texas and the Southwest 12 rural settlements, populated by 1,350 families, numbering at least 5,600 persons, were visited.

There are numerous other Polish farm settlements in the States visited, but the reports cover the largest and the most important.

TABLE 3.—Polish rural settlements visited by agents of the Commission.

NORTHERN GROUP.

State.	County.	Name of group.	Number of parishes.	Approximate number of families.	Approximate number of persons.	Date of establishment.
Wisconsin.....	Brown, Oconto, Shawano.	Sobieski and Pulaski.	6	665	a 4,400	1883 to 1893
	Portage, Waushara.....	Portage County...	11	b1,983	12,910	1858 to 1898
	Kewaunee.....	Kewaunee.....	1	50	a 320	1878
Illinois.....	Trempealeau.....	Independence.....	3	610	a 4,000	1864 to 1875
	Jefferson, Perry, Washington.	Radom.....	5	716	a 7,700	1875 to 1902
Indiana.....	Laporte, St. Joseph.....	New Carlisle.....	3	327	1,930	1892
New York.....	Orleans.....	Orleans.....	2	295	1,681	.....
Ohio.....	Cuyahoga.....	Berea.....	1	118	c 3,000	1873
Massachusetts.....	Hampshire.....	Sunderland.....	2	92	625	.....
Total.....	.....	.....	34	4,856	36,566	.....

SOUTHERN GROUP.

Texas.....	Karnes, Wilson, Falls, Grimes, Brazos, Robertson, Washington.	Texas.....	10	1,245	6,600	1855 to 1902
Arkansas.....	Pulaski.....	Marche.....	1	60	300	1884
Missouri.....	Washington and Gasconade.	Clover Bottom and Owensville.	2	58	325	1866 to 1873
Total.....	.....	.....	13	1,363	7,225	.....
Total northern group.....	.....	.....	34	4,856	36,566	.....
Total southern group.....	.....	.....	13	1,363	7,226	.....
Grand total.....	.....	.....	47	6,219	43,792	.....

a Estimate (1901-1903) by Kruska, *Historia Polska W. Ameryce*, Vol. II.

b Including Stevens Point.

c Including entire parish. Kruszyka op. cit

HISTORICAL.

Poles have been known in the rural United States since the settlement of Panna Marya, Tex., by 300 Silesian peasants in 1855. There had been a few Polish immigrants, who previous to 1850, emigrated chiefly for political reasons, but what may be called the colonization of Poles in America did not begin until the Panna Marya colony. The



first settlers on Wisconsin soil came via Canada and Chicago to Portage County shortly after 1850 and in larger numbers after 1859. The records of the Roman Catholic Church show that from 1854 to 1870, 16 Polish parishes were established in Wisconsin, Michigan, and Texas, most of them rural colonies. Previous to 1860 the movement of Poles had been more or less sporadic, and during the decade 1860-1870 there was little change in this regard. According to census reports there were 7,298 natives of Poland in the United States in 1860, and 14,436 in 1870.

It was after 1870, however, that the real immigration of Poles began. During this decade the "natives of Poland" increased by more than 34,000, the total of foreign born from Poland being 48,557 in 1880. While much of this immigration found its way to the cities, there was also an important movement westward to the free wild land, mostly in timbered regions, where building materials, water, and fuel were easily obtained and where it was possible to earn a good living by working in the lumber camps and sawmills. The movement to the farms of Wisconsin, Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois assumed large proportions during the decade. In 1880 there were 16 Polish churches in Wisconsin, 17 in Texas, and 6 each in Michigan and Missouri.

In 1887, Kruszkka says, the Polish records show 50 agricultural settlements in the United States, but estimates the number to be much greater.<sup>a</sup> After 1885 when the stream of Slavic immigration had set in very strongly and Polish rural colonies began to dot the prairies of Minnesota and the Dakotas as well as the Lake States. Many of the newer farm colonies differ from those established in earlier years. The character of the colonists has changed, a smaller percentage of immigrants are Polish peasants directly from Europe, seeking homes for themselves, more of them are day laborers, who have been engaged in mines, steel mills, quarries, or other industrial pursuits in cities of the United States and have been attracted to farms by advertisements in Polish newspapers or by the solicitation of Polish land agents in the employ of some real-estate firm or large landowner. They come in small groups, their location is directed, they bring more money usually than did the first arrivals—savings from their earnings in industrial pursuits. Most of them have at some time been farmers or farmers' sons abroad; hence a very large percentage of them prove good pioneers, and there are few desertions. In Wisconsin they have been purchasing cut-over timber land in the northern part of the State previously owned by speculators or by lumbermen. In the Dakotas they frequently settled on prairie land of the poorer sort, and for the same reason they bought unproductive land in Illinois and Indiana—because it was cheap.

The settlement of Poles on Eastern abandoned farms is a more recent movement which has not yet assumed large proportions, but is one that in favored sections is sure to increase. The significant fact is that this movement to Eastern farms originated with Poles direct from their native land, who began as farm laborers, and that the immigration is kept up by direct immigration rather than by recruits from the ranks of New England industrial laborers. Advertising by

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<sup>a</sup> Kruszkka, *Historia Polska W Ameryce*, Vol. III, Chap. VIII.

real-estate men is drawing some factory workers to the poorer hill farms of New England, but only a few, and those very recently. The number of Poles who leave industrial establishments and engage in agriculture either in the immediate locality of the industry or at a distance is small. The scattered colony at Berea, Ohio, is typical of the comparatively small contingent of Poles who engage in farming to supplement their earnings in industry.

#### THE CHARACTER OF POLISH AGRICULTURE.

The first Poles became farmers because they wished to be owners of land rather than laborers. They migrated westward because land was free or very cheap. Of necessity they engaged in a self-sufficing, diversified, extensive form of agriculture. Those who came early have changed the form of agriculture in response to changing economic conditions, but somewhat more slowly than the Americans and perhaps the Germans. In certain sections dairying has taken the place of grain raising. In Portage County, Wis., the potato industry has developed to large proportions where the soil is peculiarly adapted to the crop; but the Poles have in but few instances proved more skillful or resourceful than the native growers. The later Polish settlers and settlements have followed along the lines of agriculture previously introduced. In the Western States wheat, flax, barley, peas, hay, dairy products, live stock, or some other special commercial crop is emphasized according to the market conditions of the locality. It can not be said that the Poles excel in any one line because of racial adaptability. That there are very few vegetable or fruit growers in the regions where the colonies visited are located is perhaps the best explanation of the fact that few Poles are truckers or orchardists. In Texas they are reputed better cotton growers than the negroes or the native tenants—the distinctive feature of a Polish cotton farm being that it is self-sustaining to a large degree. In New England the Poles have engaged in highly specialized forms of agriculture—onion and tobacco growing, crops requiring special soils, intensive culture, and a high degree of technical skill and business ability. They are succeeding remarkably well, but they are learning by observing their neighbors, by working as farm hands on tobacco and onion farms, and by questioning their countrymen who have succeeded.

The Pole has been called a lover of land; usually the Polish peasant hungers to possess landed property. He falls a little in his own estimation when he leaves peasant life in Europe for day labor in America. But the ability to acquire land for little or nothing has been the prime factor in making the Pole an owner rather than a tenant, so far as one may generalize from the colonies investigated. In Texas, where tenancy or "cropping" predominates, there are many Polish tenants. In Illinois and Indiana many were tenants before they became owners. In the Connecticut Valley there are a number who rent land on shares or at a high cash rental on which to raise onions, because the land is too valuable for them to purchase. In Illinois and Indiana an increasing number are renting high-priced land either for cash or on shares, because the purchase of a farm and equipment requires more capital than the foreigner possesses. Not only is land more valuable, but the capital equipment

required on more valuable land is much greater than that required on cheap land, where the culture is crude and extensive.

In north central Wisconsin many of the Poles of the seventies and early eighties, and even more recently, purchased land and began to farm with less than \$500, and sometimes with less than \$300, of capital. There are few places where a foreigner can make a satisfactory beginning in agriculture with less than \$1,500 and up to \$5,000, or more is required where population is more dense. In a few instances in old settlements boys of the second or even of the third generation are renting land from their relatives or countrymen, since they have not been able to save enough by "working out" to purchase improved farms.

#### THE POLES AS FARMERS.

The Poles have made excellent pioneers. They have most of the qualifications, excepting, perhaps, resourcefulness and a high degree of initiative. They are independent and self-reliant, though clanish. No Polish colony visited needed artificial stimulus or charitable aid to support it. Some individuals have increased their incomes by working as farm laborers or as lumbermen when there was little work on the farm, but in general the farm has been the sole support almost from the first. Practically every Pole who owns a farm is exclusively a farmer, the members of the Ohio colony previously mentioned being the most notable exceptions.

They become more efficient husbandmen as time goes on. The sons are outdoing the older generation and are growing more skillful year by year. The contrast between the first and the third generations is very noticeable in the careful tillage, well-constructed houses and barns, fine herds of cattle, and the general evidences of thrift and prosperity. Brick houses are common in some old settlements that a few years ago contained none but rude log huts or unpainted frame dwellings. With hardly an exception the Polish communities have shown material progress; in instances advance has been slow, but in frequent cases fully as rapid as in the agricultural groups of Swedes, Germans, or Swiss.

The Poles studied are not students of agriculture; they work by rule of thumb; fewer of their sons are found in the state agricultural colleges than of the Germans or Scandinavians, and as a whole they practice less intelligent farming. Nevertheless the evidences of thrift, prosperity, and rising standards of comfort displayed in some of the early colonies, for example, at Radom, Ill., or Independence, Wis., are decidedly encouraging. Here the second stage of agricultural development is getting underway. The original owners, grown well-to-do through hard labor and the unearned increase in the value of landed property are turning their farms over to their sons, whose cooperation has been responsible for much of the prosperity of the parents; the sons rent the old farm and the parents move into the neighboring village, or live in a separate house on a few acres near the farm. In these communities large red barns, numerous well-constructed outbuildings, and many excellent frame or brick farmhouses line the country roads. Land that twenty years ago was heavy forest or unproductive swamp is now 80 to 90 per cent in tillage, producing profitably.

Compared with native or north European farmers in the same neighborhood, the best of the Polish farmers raise as large crops of produce and of equal quality. There are not many American pioneers in the settlements investigated, however, and the Polish pioneer can not with justice be compared with the well-established farmer. Then, in many instances the Poles have bought up large tracts of poor land, land that American or German or Norewegian farmers had avoided as impossible for agricultural purposes. It has taken a long time to bring these lands into cultivation and more years to make agriculture profitable, facts that must be borne in mind when estimating the progress of the Pole. Like the Italian, the Pole is a steady, untiring day laborer. He is a good drudge, and where these qualities were needed, as in clearing land, ditching, draining, and grubbing, he has succeeded as have few others, even north Europeans.

#### SEGREGATION AND AMERICANIZATION.

The clannishness of the Pole is perhaps not more noteworthy than the race consciousness or national loyalty of many of the other races in agriculture, but it is more important in its outcome than the clannishness of the Scandinavian or the German. It may be conceded that the Polish immigrant is less literate, intelligent, or progressive than the foreigners mentioned when he first arrives in America; it is further true that Poles are bound by stronger ties to a common church; that their priests and leaders endeavor to keep alive the spirit of national loyalty, the love of Poland and Polish traditions, and that some of the best men would keep the Polish language intact. "We would be Americanized but not Anglicized," writes a Polish leader, and in consequence where the community is isolated, where the Polish church is the community center, where the parochial school is the only school that many of the children attend, where the spirit and traditions of Poland are kept alive by foreign-born leaders, it is a long time before the English tongue becomes the common medium of speech, before the children come to learn the facts of American history, the spirit and principles of American government, and come into touch with the currents of American thought, American business, and American life. Where the colonies or settlements are extensive, it is not uncommon to find their centers composed of large unassimilable groups where even the second generation are able to speak only Polish, where the education, even in Polish, is most elementary, and where ignorance of American ideals and institutions is profound. It goes without saying that such groups, however peaceable and law-abiding they may be, are unprogressive, economically and socially. Child labor and labor of women in the fields continue to be as prevalent as in the early days of the colony. Agriculture remains on the same low level of hand labor; there is little interest in citizenship, few voters, and many aliens. No doubt geographic segregation and social isolation have militated against the progress of the Polish farmer in certain settlements.

On the other hand, it is noteworthy that there is developing a spirit of protest against the exclusive policy of the old leaders. Many men interviewed expressed a desire for a public-

school education for their children; in fact, were sending them to public rather than church schools. They were taking English newspapers and farm journals and drawing English books from the school libraries that their children might read and learn of matters American. The third generation, however, will, in many rural settlements be the first to be really saturated with American ideals, to become truly American in thought and purpose. There are some well-known German settlements and some Scandinavian of which the same statements might be made, but in the Western States visited there are few localities in which the north European and Teutonic immigrants do not become factors in American commercial, political and social life much more quickly than the Poles.

Politically most of the agricultural foreigners from non-English-speaking countries are strongly influenced by racial considerations. Perhaps this tendency is unusually strong among the Poles, for a Polish office seeker, as a rule, is assured of the support of most of his countrymen. There have been comparatively few Polish office-holders in places of authority and the rural Polish vote has the reputation of being easily influenced by a political leader. In contrast with the Poles of the smaller towns and cities in the rural sections, the Polish farm population learn the English language less quickly, take less interest in education of their children, and are less imbued with the idea of proportional representation in politics and in industry than their city fellows. This is true of the small rural towns, say of 2,000 to 12,000 population.

In comparison with the Poles in the larger cities where the Polish population is engaged in industrial pursuits, the economic and social condition of the urban Pole is less favorable, on the whole, than of those in the country. It is questionable whether in the closely concentrated Polish quarters of such a city as Milwaukee, assimilation takes place more rapidly than in an isolated rural community. Certainly the conditions of wholesome living are much more frequently found in the country. In the less segregated country populations, sections where the Poles have been obliged to buy farms in mixed communities, or where the Poles are few and often come in contact with American or other farmers, the country environment offers much more favorable conditions for Americanization, fusion, or assimilation. Here the Pole soon loses his distinctive characteristics and is merged with the mass. Intellectual stimulus arises from the intimate contact of different ideas, and responsibility and self-respect are developed through business relations with fellow-owners of property. Often these mixed communities represent a high type of agricultural development.

There is a noticeable tendency for nearly all farmers to regard the Pole as inferior socially, morally, and intellectually. In the communities visited, farmers of German, Scandinavian, Irish, Bohemian, Belgian, Swiss, and American origin were found living in juxtaposition to Poles. In practically every instance the Pole was considered one degree lower than his neighbors. Where social intercourse, or perhaps intermarriage, did occur it occurred between the most advanced and progressive Poles and members of other races affiliated with the same church. Neither the Poles as a body nor the others desired to fuse, socially, and the Bohemians felt well above their Slav brethren.

## THE FUTURE OF POLISH RURAL IMMIGRATION.

The rural sections investigated showing the largest accretions of Poles at the present time are the New England Polish settlements and the newer colonies in Wisconsin, which are being stimulated by immigrant agents and real estate men. The influx in the latter case seems to be from industrial centers rather than direct from abroad. Once the way is open, real estate agents who sell land on commission readily induce small companies of mill workers, who have once been farmers and who have accumulated a little money, to visit the land open for purchase, especially in times of industrial depression. The land is sold at a rather high price, but on very reasonable terms. The successful Polish farmers are pointed out to the land seekers and many inducements are offered to prospective buyers. Frequently the Pole trades his city property for unimproved land. By these means many are induced to settle, and if the real estate man is square and really desires to develop the land there are no foreclosures, few disappointments, and a steady inflow of immigrants.

In a number of townships in northern Wisconsin small Polish colonies of this type have been founded. Most of them are progressing slowly, and although some of the farmers are discouraged, few are giving up their farms. A number of Polish business men were found who are contemplating the purchase and colonization of tracts of cut-over land in north-central Wisconsin. It is of interest that numerous small settlements in Minnesota, the Dakotas, and in north Wisconsin, composed of young men from the older Polish settlements, are growing up. Land in the original locality is too high to purchase and the sons have gone West.

In the East the influx is directly from abroad, and while the increase in number of Polish farmers is not great, the movement to New England farms seems steady and permanent. There is an increasing number of Polish farm laborers in the North Atlantic States, partly seasonal laborers and partly permanent farm hands. The Pole usually does not care for employment that keeps him busy but two or three months in the year, nor does he desire uncertain employment. Consequently, most of the Poles soon leave seasonal employment and become permanent farm laborers and later (usually) farmers for themselves.

There has been and is no important stream of Polish immigration to the South or Southwest. The Texas settlements are not growing rapidly by accretions from without, but there are some new colonies forming and it is said that others are underway. The future successful farm colony in the South seems likely to originate in the ability of immigration or land agents to induce industrial workers to move in groups to cheap land and settle in compact colonies.

## CHAPTER II.

### PORTAGE COUNTY, WIS., POTATO GROWERS—AN EARLY POLISH SETTLEMENT.

#### INTRODUCTION.

Portage County, situated not far from the geographical center of the State of Wisconsin, has for more than fifty years been the objective point of a considerable Polish immigration, who came thither, first from Prussian Poland and later from the cities of Chicago and Milwaukee, settled on farms northward and eastward, from Stevens Point, and who, with their descendants, now (1909) constitute at least one-third of the population of the county. The period of first rapid influx was from 1870 to 1885. Of the second generation, the first-born on American soil, the greater portion now control, or at least operate, the farms bought and cleared by their fathers.

A careful estimate made from an investigation of tax lists and assessment rolls for 1908 and 1909, leads to the conclusion that 70 per cent of the Polish families in the county are farm families. Most of the remainder live in Stevens Point and are engaged in various mercantile and other pursuits. Some are day laborers, others railroad employes, paper-mill hands, and lumbermen. Some of the townships north and east of Stevens Point are settled almost exclusively by Poles. In the township of Sharon, for example, with a voting list of 417 at a recent election, the town clerk reported 2 New Englanders, 4 Irishmen, 19 Germans, and the remainder Poles or Russians. There are 8 townships (embracing nearly 12 standard 36-section townships) in which there is a preponderance of Polish population, and a ninth township with a growing Slav colony. Every township in the county has a smaller or larger number of Polish families settled within its boundaries.

How this large colony of Polish people came to dwell in this county, the lines of industry they follow, something of their economic and social conditions and their effects and counter effects on agriculture and American institutions are the principal themes of this study.

For a description of soils and climate the writer is indebted to bulletins of the United States Bureau of Soils, and to Bulletin No. 11 of the Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey; for other matters, to papers and collections of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, notably, "A Study of the Poles," presented by Prof. A. H. Sanford in 1907. Other material facts were gained by a first-hand study of the people and the district, by interviews with prominent observers, town and county officials and real estate men, and finally, from a search through the tax lists, assessment rolls, statistical returns, town treasurers' stubs, records of marriage certificates, vital statistics, and the like, on file in the county offices.

## HISTORICAL.

From data gathered from the collections of the Wisconsin Historical Society it appears that the first Polish families, four or five in number, who settled in Portage County, came there in 1857 and 1858, a few years after the coming of the first Poles to Milwaukee. The trail of the German immigrants to Marathon County, north of Portage, was followed by the first Polish settlers. The Marathon County land was very heavily wooded. "It took ten years to break 40 acres of land; no harvest could be raised for the first three or four years, and until 1861 wages were only 50 cents a day."<sup>a</sup> On account of the severe character of the land, the Polish newcomers returned to the vicinity of Stevens Point, where the light, easily worked, more sparsely timbered sands gave quicker returns to the tiller and were more readily converted into farms. The first settlers worked for the settled farmers in the vicinity of Stevens Point at extremely low wages, not to exceed 50 cents a day for cradling, the hardest labor on the farm. "The wife of one of these first comers worked for a loaf of bread a day; and a 16-year-old girl hired out for \$15 and board for a year."<sup>b</sup> Coarse rye or middlings were used for making bread, and this, with potatoes and milk, constituted the chief articles of diet. The life was very hard, and only by the most strenuous exertions could the mere necessities be secured.

Land alone was cheap. Government lands were at first preempted; after 1862 many quarter-sections were entered under the homestead act. The State had land for sale at \$40 to \$50 for 40 acres. Years afterwards there were hundreds of acres of delinquent-tax lands sold by the county; the owners having cut off the timber considered the land worthless and refused to pay taxes on it. Much of this land was bought for as little as 50 cents an acre and now includes some of the best Polish farms. The Fox and Wisconsin River Improvement Company also sold lands at \$1.25 and \$2.50 per acre to bona fide settlers and farmers.

The first settlement of Poles at Ellis and Polonia, 10 miles northeast of Stevens Point, formed the nucleus around which gathered the oldest Polish colony of farmers in Wisconsin. A Roman Catholic Church, built in that vicinity early in the sixties, is said to be one of the first Polish churches in America. It has now been superseded by a brick structure of elaborate design and finish, costing \$70,000.

Once started, the stream of immigrants flowed in rapidly. Some seem to have come on account of a widely known Polish priest who was established at Polonia.<sup>c</sup> Others were induced to come because of friends and relatives who early settled and aided them, or at least encouraged them, to migrate to the cheap lands of the West. The original settlers were largely from East and West Prussia, and data collected by Commission agents show that some came from Posen. For this reason, perhaps, census takers and other officials have confused them with Germans, the records of the reporters of vital statistics being particularly liable to error in this respect.

<sup>a</sup> Kate Everest Levi, Wisconsin Historical Collections, 14: 359.

<sup>b</sup> A. H. Sanford, Proceedings Wisconsin State Historical Society for 1907, p. 261.

<sup>c</sup> Kruszkza, *Historia Polska w Ameryce*, 6, pp. 21-23.



They seem to have come directly from abroad and made their way on foot through Wisconsin to Portage, prior to the building of the railroad in 1871. The greater portion came from the working class of Prussia and were either day laborers for wages or sons of farmers who emigrated to better their economic condition. Wages were low up to 1870, though not as low for farm labor as in Prussia, but woodsmen and sawmill hands were soon in demand and many eked out a livelihood while clearing land and accumulating a few head of stock and a little machinery by occasionally working on the neighboring farms during the summer or in the lumber camps and sawmills. Wages in the lumber camps were good—from \$20 to \$35 a month and board, which, it is said, was several fold greater than the prevailing wage in their native country at that period.

Free land and the opportunity to become independent owners attracted many, who learned of conditions in America from those who came before them. Others still speak enthusiastically of the exemption from military exactions and the freedom from governmental regulations which they found in the United States.

There were among the immigrants some skilled workmen, artisans, and men who had served an apprenticeship as carpenters and masons and at small trades. There were also men among them who had been landowners or proprietors in Poland, and who made a much better and easier living there than they did for years after arriving in Portage County. To most, however, escape from the lot of the Prussian farm laborer or the farm tenant, with his mere subsistence wages and hard service, was a decided step in advance, both morally and economically. The wages earned in the woods, sawmill, or on the river during the winter and spring months of each year formed a large part of the income of most of the settlers for a considerable time, and most of the immigrants even of later date have taken this means of supplementing their farm incomes.

As these newcomers came in they clustered about two points, Polonia, still an inland town without a railroad, and Stevens Point; but the country settlement made the more rapid growth. As in many western settlements, there was no colonization in the strict sense. The families came singly or in groups; there was no promoter, no outside stimulus to bring about settlement at that point. The newcomers drifted in or gravitated toward their countrymen, often learning of Stevens Point after they arrived in America. The civil war checked immigration somewhat, and some are said to have removed to Canada until the war was over.

#### POLISH PROGRESS.

Detailed inquiry was made concerning the history and the economic and social status of about 60 families not far from Stevens Point; 47 of them were foreign born, and the salient facts concerning these immigrant families are presented in what follows.

The 47 heads of farm families under consideration represent both the early and the later immigration and all shades of economic condition from the poorest farmer to those in most comfortable circumstances. Twenty have been farmers in Portage County twenty years or more, 11 from fifteen to twenty years, 3 from ten to fifteen years,

6 from five to ten, and 7 are newcomers who have been farming less than five years in the locality. Of the heads of families studied 43 were born in Germany and 4 in Russia.

Twelve came directly from abroad to Portage County, and 8 States were represented among those who came from other parts of the United States. Fourteen were from Illinois and 11 of these from Chicago, while New York, Nebraska, Michigan, California, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and other parts of Wisconsin were represented.

A variety of occupations were followed by these settlers both abroad and in the United States before they came to Portage County. It is significant that about one-half were farmers, farm laborers, or had worked on their fathers' farms before coming to the United States. Only eight were engaged in gainful occupations other than farming abroad, and there were teamsters, unskilled laborers, or carpenters, while one woman, who is counted among the 47 heads of families under consideration, was in domestic service.

In the United States the list of occupations followed is nearly as long as the list of individuals represented: Farmers, farm hands, miners, saloon keepers, iron-mill men, sawmill men, carpenters, firemen, a tanner, hod carrier, railroad hand, and others are among the occupations given.

More than 60 per cent of those interviewed purchased land as soon as they arrived or before arrival in the locality, but others worked at various unskilled employments for ten years or more before acquiring farms.

More than one-half of the newcomers were unable to make a living immediately from the new, uncleared farms, some could not make a living for ten years, and some of those who arrived from 1880 to 1890 still work for wages part of the year. About one-half of those from whom data were secured supplemented the farm income in this way for three years or more. They were employed for the most part as sawmill hands, teamsters, farm hands, and general day laborers. The majority are now independent and depend for an income on their farms alone.

#### GROWTH BY PARISHES.

The easiest way to follow the growth of the settlement is by parishes. Practically all the Poles in Portage County are Catholics, and as soon as a sufficient number of families gathered at any point a parish was formed, a church built, and a regular priest supported. The first parish was the one mentioned at Polonia or Ellis and was really established in the late fifties for the benefit of the Irish and French Catholics who had previously settled there. A church was built in 1862 or 1863 and has already been referred to. In this township, Sharon, in 1908 there were 375 Poles who paid taxes out of a total of 408 taxpayers. In 1907 327 families were reported in the parish.<sup>a</sup>

It was not until after 1870 that the settlement of Stockton township by the Poles was begun. This township was early settled by a considerable number of Irish-American and German farmers, who still continue to hold some of the best farms in the western and south-

<sup>a</sup> Wisconsin State Historical Society, Proceedings, 1907.

ern sections of the township. The Kubisiak family came with the first families to the vicinity of Fancher in 1872. Since then the cheap land having been taken up, the incoming Poles have been buying improved farms from the original owners. One old Irish settler counted the names of a dozen prominent Irish farmers who have sold their land and departed within the last ten years, leaving Polish farmers in possession.

The land in that part of the township is a heavier loam than that nearer the Wisconsin River. Farmers are very prosperous, land is productive and valuable, and large crops of potatoes are raised. Few of the farmers are in debt except for recent purchases of land, and the farm homes—many of them of brick—and out buildings bear testimony to the assessor's assurance that "Everyone is doing well and laying up money."

In Stockton township more than 300 of the 400 voters are Poles or of Polish descent. In 1908, 306 persons paid taxes on both personal property and real estate, as shown by the town treasurer's books—211 of these were Polish.

Just north of Stevens Point, bounded on the west side by the Wisconsin River and lying almost wholly within the soil area known as the Wisconsin River sand, is the township of Hull. It is not by nature a fertile area, and is popularly known as the poorest township in the county, although there are those who maintain that Belmont, another township with an increasing Polish population, is no less infertile. As early as 1858 a settlement of Poles was begun at Casimir, now included in Hull township, a few miles north of Stevens Point. The first settlers came from other points in the United States and by 1871 the parish of Casimir was established. This whole region is very level, and while the soil is light, it is not difficult to clear and subdue, and practically all of it is now owned and inclosed. Of 110 farms, taken in order from the 1909 tax roll, more than one-half contained less than 80 acres each and only seven were larger than 160 acres, including both the improved and the unimproved areas; 60 per cent of the land may be classed as unimproved. This means that few more settlers can find a place in the township, since an acreage of 80 or 100 acres of the thin soil is not much more than adequate to support a large family in comfort. The town clerk reports that for some time very few new settlers have been added. There are, in 1909, a few more than 200 farms enumerated by the assessor in the township. Polish farmers own and operate about 160 of these; some of the farms, too, are owned by nonresident Poles. The parish of Casimir has a congregation of more than 160 families, but the parish limits are not coincident with those of the township.

Before 1880 there was formed the nucleus of a Polish settlement west of the Wisconsin River, called Mill Creek, in what is now the township of Carson. This was originally a heavily timbered section. The soil is much heavier there and most of it is of the type known as Marathon loam, perhaps the most fertile and durable soil in north central Wisconsin. The original forest growth was white pine, hemlock, and hard wood, and the first Polish settlers, doubtless, were employed in the sawmills set up on Mill Creek to convert this timber into lumber. After the timber had been cut off, these men bought the cut-over lands very cheaply and made homes for themselves.

About the same time a settlement was made a few miles north of the original one at a place called Junction City, also on cut-over lands. This settlement spread out northward into Eau Pleine township and now covers about one-third of the area in the central and southern parts of Eau Pleine. The northwestern third of Eau Pleine and the southwestern one-third of Carson township, both in the heavy clay loam area, are settled mainly by Germans, Bohemians, and Austrians. The eastern portions of these townships along the Wisconsin River, where there is a considerable area of light sandy loam, are well populated with Poles. There are also a small number of Russian farmers in this section.

Two parishes are located west of the river—Junction City, founded in 1881, and Mill Creek in 1833. In both there are about 200 Polish families at the present time.

After 1880 there was a steady flow of Polish immigrants into the county, but, as previously stated, they differed somewhat in character from the earlier settlers. Whereas the initial immigration came directly from abroad, mainly from Prussian Poland, an increasing percentage of the immigrants who arrived after 1880 came from primary points in the United States—Chicago, Milwaukee, Buffalo, the coal mines of Pennsylvania or Illinois, or some other point where the prospective landowner worked a few years in order to accumulate a small sum before buying a farm.

The period of most rapid influx was over by 1885, possibly by 1882. Since 1885 there have been fewer arrivals per year and at the present time there are very few newcomers to Portage County. Several men, who should be able to speak intelligently on this point, notably the editors of the Polish newspaper, real-estate dealers, and township assessors, agree that about 50 persons per year may be fixed as the limit of Polish immigrants from the outside. There is a movement of significant proportions from country to city, chiefly of retiring farmers. Some farmers' sons are taking up the farms of older settlers, but this is the extent of the movement in any large way; it is a shift in population rather than an introduction of new elements. Real estate transfers show that some new lands in the county are bought every year by Polish non residents, and that very few Polish nonresidents or resident Polish farmers sell out to buyers of any other nationality; but the immigration to this county directly from abroad or from other States is now practically at a standstill.

The several settlements toward which Polish immigration was directed after 1880 were in Plover Township, south of Stevens Point, along the Wisconsin River; in the township of Dewey, just north of Hull; in Alban Township, in the extreme northeastern part of the county; and at Heffron, in the township of Belmont, along the southern boundary between Waushara and Portage counties.

The parish of Plover was not created until 1896, but there has been a settlement south of the Wisconsin River in Plover Township since early in the eighties. The land is level and sandy and contains but little humus. The original growth of jackpine was cut off and burned for charcoal and the cheap cut-over lands were rapidly taken up by Polish settlers, some from the outside and some from other parts of the county. These lands had little to recommend them except cheapness and ease of clearing and cultivating. The county treasurer

states that much of this land and that in the township of Dewey was sold for 25 cents an acre by the county, it having been taken over for delinquent taxes. After the timber had been removed the owners did not consider it of sufficient value to pay taxes on and hundreds of acres in this and other parts of the county were "sold for taxes" at the rate of \$10, or perhaps a little more, per 40 acres. None of these lands are well adapted to general farming, but frequently good crops of potatoes are raised. Somewhat more than 100 persons of Polish descent now own and operate in this township. Very few Poles are now buying land there, but the Polish farmers represent more than two-fifths of the farming community. The Poles are settled on the poorest lands in the township, but the schedules taken by agents of the Commission show that most of them are making fair livings, some of them on farms which American farmers years ago gave up as hopelessly barren.

The township of Dewey was settled by the Poles before 1890. Many came from the neighboring townships. A separate parish, including a part of Sharon Township, was set apart in 1897. But little more than 26 per cent of the land is improved and nearly all of the 125 farms are owned by Polish farmers. The contour of the region is level, a great deal of the land is Wisconsin River sand, but there is some stony, sandy loam, some clay, and large areas of muck. Many acres of delinquent-tax land in this township, which is now being cleared and improved by the Poles, sought purchasers for years, although the county was willing practically to give it away to anyone who would engage to pay taxes on it.

The township of Alban had enough Poles to establish a parish in 1894. The land there is sandy in places, but a great variety of topography and soils appear. Some excellent clay-loam lands have been settled by Polish farmers, but there is much rough, stony ground suitable only for grazing. In general, it is a very prosperous settlement. There are nearly 180 families, partly from Polonia and partly from the later Polish immigration from abroad and from cities in the United States.

It remains to speak of a small settlement in the southern part of the county in the town of Belmont. About 1890, or a little earlier, a real-estate dealer began to sell some poor lands, of which he owned large tracts along the Portage-Waushara county line, to Polish newcomers from Chicago and Milwaukee. Many were mill hands. Soon he made a specialty of selling to these people, and by means of Polish agents in Chicago, who accompanied parties of prospective buyers to Stevens Point, he was able to sell every parcel of land he owned in that locality to Polish buyers. Most of these men had a little money, some very little; in instances farmers were sold land on a cash payment of \$200, and horses and stock valued at more than that amount were advanced to them. In all his dealings with these newcomers, the seller has never had to make a foreclosure. He has been lenient and patient, but has not been a dispenser of charity. The land was sold at high market prices; frequently instruction was given in clearing land and cultivating it; houses were planned for the prospective farmers and stock and tools advanced on liberal terms. At present the same real estate dealer is engaged in establishing a similar colony on lands owned by him in Marathon County, about 14

miles north of Stevens Point. The settlement at Heffron, according to its founder, includes about 125 farmers. This settlement was partly the result of liberal advertising in Polish papers and solicitation on the part of the Polish agents in Chicago, but some immigrants seem to have come because others came before them. Chicago and the coal fields of the East are responsible for most of these settlers.

#### SUMMARY OF POPULATION.

From the above statements it will be noted that there was a steady influx of Poles into Portage County from civil-war days up to close to the end of the century. By 1875 there was a strong Polish contingent, especially in the rural districts north and east of Stevens Point. In 1890 the federal census reported 2,070 Polish inhabitants of foreign birth in the county; in 1900, 2,750 were enumerated; and the state census of 1905 shows a total of 2,961, of whom 2,469 are accredited to Germany, 169 to Russia, and 323 to Austria. There seems to be good reason for discrediting the Austrian and Russian estimates, however, as very much too large. On the other hand, there is no question that many persons of Polish descent were enumerated as Germans because they gave their birthplace as Germany; indeed it is probable that fully one-half were so enumerated.

The distribution of the Polish families, by parishes, appears below. The figures are taken from Professor Sanford's estimates made in 1907.<sup>a</sup>

TABLE 4.—*Estimated number of families of Polish origin in Portage County, Wisconsin, in 1907, by parishes.*

Parish.	Township.	Number of families.	Children in parochial school.	Remarks.
Ellis.....	Sharon.....	8		Parish mostly German. \$70,000 church.
Polonia.....	do.....	320	246	
Fancher.....	Stockton.....	200		\$50,000 church and parish house.
Casimir.....	Hull.....	160		
Mill Creek.....	Carson.....	100		Several Russian Poles.
Junction City.....	do.....	95		
Alban.....	Alban.....	175	60	
Plover.....	Plover.....	93		Some in Waushara County. Many retired farmers.
Torun.....	Dewey.....	96	69	
Heffron.....	Belmont.....	125		
Stevens Point.....	City.....	500	350	
Total.....		1,872	725	
Excluding Stevens Point.....		1,372	375	

The tax rolls of the townships for 1908 and 1909 give a list of Polish taxpayers based on an enumeration of the Polish names recorded somewhat exceeding the numbers given above. Both the tax-roll enumeration and the count of families by parishes are liable to error, but both are more useful for the present purpose than the census returns, for in this count the children born of Polish parents in the United States are included. These form a very substantial part of the Polish community. It is safe to assume, conservatively, that Portage County has within its boundaries approximately 10,000 persons of Polish origin.

<sup>a</sup> Wisconsin Historical Society, Proceedings, 1907.

## SOIL AND CLIMATE.

The climate of Portage County is said to be salubrious, although the winters are long and somewhat severe and the extremes of temperature are widely separated. In the winter temperatures below 30 degrees Fahrenheit have been recorded, and the summer heat is sometimes 100 degrees Fahrenheit. The monthly averages of temperature as recorded by the Weather Bureau for the twelve years preceding 1906 vary from 14.1 degrees in February to 69.6 degrees in July, with a yearly mean average of 43.6 degrees at Stevens Point. At Amherst, in the eastern part of the county, the corresponding figures are 13.9 degrees in January to 70.8 in July, the average of the annual means being 42.8 degrees.

The rainfall is abundant and well distributed throughout the year, but there are occasional droughts. The nature of the soil over large areas is such that a great deal of rain may fall without injurious effects, and long dry spells are not always fraught with disaster. The potato crop needs frequent and well-distributed rains during the summer. Occasional hailstorms and tornadoes are noted, and heavy thunderstorms are rather frequent during the summer, especially in July and August. According to reports of the United States Department of Agriculture, the first killing frosts occur about September 24, and the last in the spring, about May 25, leaving a growing season of about four months. The following table, compiled from the records of the Weather Bureau, is taken from the report of the United States Department of Agriculture on the soil survey of Portage County:

*Normal monthly and annual temperature and precipitation, Stevens Point and Amherst, Wis.*

[United States Department of Agriculture. Field operations of the Bureau of Soils, survey of Portage County.]

Month.	Stevens Point.		Amherst.	
	Temperature.	Precipitation.	Temperature.	Precipitation.
	° F.	Inches.	° F.	Inches.
January.....	15.9	0.77	13.9	1.12
February.....	14.1	1.75	14.4	1.73
March.....	28.3	1.26	27.7	1.75
April.....	47	2.50	44.5	2.74
May.....	57.6	4.13	55.5	4.23
June.....	66.2	3.70	65.4	4.24
July.....	69.6	3.42	70.8	3.76
August.....	67.5	2.55	67.2	2.96
September.....	59	3.55	59.3	3.21
October.....	48.3	2.68	47.5	2.78
November.....	31.5	1.48	31.1	1.52
December.....	18.4	1.04	17.9	1.39
Year.....	43.6	27.83	42.8	31.43

The report of the Bureau of Soils, from which the preceding table is taken, comments on the physiographic aspect of Portage County as follows:

Portage County is from 1,200 to 1,300 feet above sea level in its northern part, slopes gently toward the south, and has an elevation of 900 to 1,100 feet at the southern boundary. The country is from 500 to 600 feet above Lake Michigan. North and south through the central part of Portage County the surface is quite

level or plainlike. In the southern part of the county this level area is approximately 18 miles in width and extends northward along the western border of the county about as far north as the Wisconsin River. As it extends northward it becomes narrower, and on the northern boundary line is about 12 miles wide.

All of the country east of the plainlike area is part of a terminal moraine, and includes fully one-third of the county. Here the surface is for the most part very uneven; rounded or hummocky hills and boulder ridges being prominent features of the topography. The boundary between the moraine and the more level area to the west is very distinct. The difference in elevation between the two areas is from 50 to 100 feet. The northwest portion of the county (west of the Wisconsin River) has a level to rolling topography. The principal river of the county is the Wisconsin, which flows from the north through the more level area of the central part of the county.

Plover River and several small streams in the central, western, and southwestern portions flow into the Wisconsin and thence to the Mississippi River. East of the divide, passing north and south through the eastern part of the county, the Waupaca River and the Little Wolf River, with their many smaller tributaries, reaching throughout almost the entire eastern part of the county, flow to the southeast and finally reach Lake Michigan.

Many small lakes or old lake beds now filled with layers of peat or muck are noticeable in the moraine area. There are some small marshy areas among the moraine hills, and in the southwestern portion of the county a swampy tract of 55,000 acres. Across the Wisconsin River in the northwestern portion many marshy areas occur.

The eastern part of the county is a typical glacial area, its surface for the most part being made up of rounded drift hills and ridges. The materials forming these drift deposits are boulders, gravel, sand, and clay, sand being the most prominent material.

The soils in the northwestern section are much heavier than in other parts of the county, being formed from older glacial drift. The marks of erosion are much more plainly seen here than in the eastern part. The swollen glacial streams from the melting ice carried with them great quantities of material, and it was in this manner that the greater part of the soils of the southern and southwestern portions of the county seem to have been formed.

*The Amherst sandy loam area.*—Speaking generally, it may be said that the two tiers of townships in the eastern part of the county have sandy loam soils, intermixed with varying quantities of clay and gravel, the level contour broken more or less at intervals by rounded hills; there are considerable areas over which great quantities of rounded stone and large boulders are strewn. Toward the north, to the uneven, broken contour are added many small lakes and swamps. Most of the soil is strong and productive, although the muck is more or less waste and the stony hills are fit for nothing but grazing. Some of the best land is in the vicinity of Ellis and southward, where the first Polish settlement was made. Corn, oats, rye, and potatoes are raised, and on the heavier soils where grass can be grown easily, dairying is an important subindustry. Potatoes are the chief commercial dependence, however. These sandy loams are popularly known as the potato soils of the State.

*Wisconsin River sand.*—Lying along the Wisconsin River on the west, and covering, together with a large marshy tract, two townships in the southwestern portion of the county, is a level area, very gently rolling in places, covered with a thin, sandy loam soil. Most



of it is known as Wisconsin River sand. There are two or three varieties of this river sand and, as noted, a very considerable intermingling of marsh lands and peaty soils in the southwestern portion. The aspect is very level, and where unimproved is broken by forests of scrub oak, black oak, birch, and poplar. The jack and white pine, formerly on this tract, have been cut off, and no hardwoods of any importance ever grew there. There is little strength in these soils unless more than the ordinary 5 to 10 per cent of clay is present or the ground water is close to the surface. Where either of these conditions is present, the moisture which otherwise percolates quickly through the porous sand is conserved and good crops may be raised. Potatoes and rye are the chief commercial products, but enough corn and oats and sufficient hay (mostly wild) are raised for the stock necessary to the farm. It is on these river sands that the greatest number of Poles are settled.

*Bancroft gravelly sandy loam.*—Between the two sandy soils just described and extending north and south through the center of the country from Ellis to the southern boundary is a comparatively level strip of soil somewhat heavier than the Wisconsin River sand, and much less broken and uneven than the ridge of terminal moraine lying just east of it. The soil is a gravelly loam, heavier in the north, with a larger percentage of clay in its composition. This soil is productive, easily worked, and capable of raising good crops of potatoes, all the cereals, and red clover. The early settlers—Irish, Norwegians, and others—chose this soil in preference to those on either side, and some of the finest farms in the county are found on this "prairie" strip. Dairying has obtained a strong foothold near Ellis, where there is a greater intermixture of clay, but in the southern portion potatoes still hold their own. More recently many Poles have bought out the original owners and are doing well on these strong fertile lands, which are now very valuable.

*Marathon loam.*—West of the Wisconsin River, in the northwestern townships of the county, with the exception of a narrow strip of sand along the river and a number of low, somewhat marshy tracts, the soil is a much heavier clay loam than any previously described. The surface is level or slightly rolling, and where cultivated, produces heavy yields of grain; wheat, barley, oats, corn, and some rye being the chief crops; dairying is carried on extensively, and good crops of hay, both clover and timothy, are raised on the uplands. Close to the river on the sandy soils rye and potatoes, chiefly, are grown. No barley and little or no tame hay is there produced.

#### WHERE THE POLES HAVE SETTLED.

The Polish people have settled largely on three soil areas. The largest settlements in Dewey, Hull, and Plover townships are on the Wisconsin River sand, the poorest soil in the county, which they bought cheap. The blackjack land in Plover and the cut-over pine and hardwood land in Dewey were sold, in large part, for delinquent taxes. The hardwood land in Dewey is good, but the heavy stumpage makes clearing a matter of many years, and only the Polish farmer with small means and unlimited capacity for hard work has attempted to turn the land into farms. The farmers in the hardwood sections

are getting on very slowly, but in all probability American farmers would not get on at all. The sandy soils were cheap, but even now with a well-cleared, fully-paid-for farm, it requires much industry to maintain a numerous family. Mention has already been made of the character of the lands in Hull and Plover townships.

The Poles in the eastern tiers of townships, chiefly Sharon, Stockton, and Belmont are settled on the Amherst sandy loam. For the most part this is terminal moraine area, rough, hilly, and frequently stony—with much gently rolling fertile land interspersed—a series of abrupt ridges and narrow ravines or cup-shaped hollows. When the Poles first came to Polonia the Norwegians had taken up the land along the eastern border of the county, now New Hope township; other nationalities occupied the level prairie soils in the central part, which were more valuable because more desirable and more largely improved; hence the Poles were in a manner compelled to resort to these rougher and cheaper lands. After clearing, it is questionable whether any soil east of the Wisconsin River is naturally more productive or durable in elements of fertility than the land first occupied by the Poles. The occupation of these lands was determined by the prior occupation of the then more desirable lands and by the financial limitations of the Polish settlers.

There are settlements on two clay sections, one situated in Alban township, where the soil, Chelsea clay loam, is described as a "clayey loam mixed with some boulders, hilly land containing some swamp and ponds," was formerly covered with hemlock, pine, and a dense growth of hard wood. The character of the soil as described gives the key to the situation. This land was cut-over timber land, more recently offered for sale, hard to clear, and otherwise uninviting to American settlers. It was cheap for these reasons and because it was isolated, with poor roads and long distances to market. The other clay area, the Marathon loam west of the Wisconsin River, has been already described. Some of it is said to be as good soil as any in the Mississippi Valley. The occupation of this by the Poles is due to the fact that when the lands were stripped of timber they were sold at ridiculously low prices by their lumbermen owners, who were glad to get rid of them at any price. The Polish mill hands seized the opportunity and were encouraged by the mill owners to buy extensively.

The clearing of many of these lands meant years of labor. Men told the writer of twenty or more years of struggle with great stumps, large undrained areas, miserable roads, and a soil that must be humored and worked with the utmost care. Plow it wet and it solidifies into large and very hard lumps so that a well-cleared farm means a great amount of the hardest and most patient toil. Once in shape for cultivation, however, and wisely treated there is no better land in the State.

The cheapness of the land seems to have influenced the direction and location of Polish immigration more than the immediate productivity of the soil. True, the earliest Polish settlers chose Portage County rather than Marathon because of the initial difficulty of preparing the Marathon loam for cultivation; they chose poor lands more easily put in shape for tillage. But very much of the land was rough, stony, and hard to clear. They took it up because the initially more desirable and hence more valuable lands had been previously

preempted and they had not money to buy them. They made good pioneers. In the first place, they seem to have the capacity for hard, unremitting toil and incessant drudgery. They worked early and late, summer and winter, and were content to see the small clearing eat into the forest and grow slowly into a farm.

There are farms in Portage County that have been cleared by the wife and children, while the father was working for wages to support the family or buy a horse and a few implements. This European custom of field work by women still prevails. Polish women and children may be seen working side by side with the men of the family in the potato fields every working day in the week, as American women and girls do not labor in the field. The Pole has a great economic advantage over the American, no matter how industrious the latter may be. It may be said, however, that the native-born Polish girls work in the fields with increasing reluctance.

There is a third factor. To be a good pioneer one must be willing to accept a low standard of comfort. Simple food, sometimes little of it, a coarse and unvarying diet, no luxuries, and few comforts must be the share of the pioneer. Food, clothing, and housing must all be reduced to terms little above subsistence, at any rate for a time. The Polish peasant, who finds it no hardship to eat coarse rye bread and cheese, to go barefoot, and to live in a two-room cabin, has the advantage of his neighbor who demands a higher standard of living. His wants are few and he is willing to wait for their gratification and to work to satisfy them.

Most of the Poles are thrifty. A good deal of money is spent at the saloons, and the saloons are numerous; but there are not many who waste much in riotous living, at least until their debts are paid on their parcels of land. Very little produce is wasted that can be utilized on the farm or otherwise turned to profit. The Poles are said by some to compare favorably with the Norwegians and Germans in respect to thrift, although popularly they have a different reputation. It is said of them that the products of the farm are sold until the family is pinched to live on what remains. This spirit of thrift remains even after prosperity comes, and one finds some of the older settlers working hard and saving every possible penny to purchase more wild land that can bring no fruit or material enjoyment during their lifetime.

#### PROPERTY AND SIZE OF FARMS FIRST PURCHASED.

In what follows are summarized the facts concerning the acquisition and ownership of property and the present income of 47 typical Polish families from whom data were secured by agents of the Commission. These data are the statements of owners themselves and in most cases are fairly accurate. Perhaps values are distorted one way or the other in individual instances, but the averages are probably nearer the truth than the assessors' figures which are also presented. Incomes are difficult to obtain with any degree of completeness in the very nature of the case, but the averages given are for two years, and as they were collected with care it is certain that they closely approximate the truth. They err in underestimating the yearly incomes, since a great deal of garden produce, milk, eggs, meat, and

the like are consumed on the farms, and perhaps a considerable quantity, of which no account is kept, is sold. It is very difficult to approximate fairly the farmer's cost of food; and it may be said that, generally speaking, the food products grown on the farm and consumed by the family are not included in the figures given. Pasture and much of the feed for live stock is certainly not included, although it was purposed to obtain an estimate of all products fed to animals on the farm.

Following is a general financial summary of the 47 Polish farm families under consideration. All of the farmers own real estate, the average farm being 134 acres and the median, or middle, farm being 120 acres in size. The acreage now owned by these farmers has increased from a first purchase of 4,027 acres to a present ownership of 6,198 acres, or more than 50 per cent. This increase in holdings is typical. Most Poles have purchased more land within recent years—in fact almost as soon as the first purchases were largely paid for.

Land values have increased from \$63,410 at the time of purchase to \$175,350 at the present time, land and improvements only considered. The total gross value of all property held is given as about \$217,976, indebtedness on land and other property \$38,207, leaving the total net value of all property owned about \$180,000, or \$3,825 per farm. This is a good showing. There are many wide variations from the average property, some much better, several with values far below, but all have made marked material progress, and despite many discouragements have held their own when the profit in potatoes was nothing and have saved money when the returns were good.

Scarcely three-eighths of the 6,200 acres of land owned is in cultivation, devoted either to hay or to tilled crops. The remainder is in woodland, cut-over land, wild pasture, and natural meadow from which wild marsh hay is cut. The financial statement referred to follows.

Farms leased and owned:	
Total farms investigated .....	47
Average size of farms, acres.....	134. 21
Median farm, acres .....	120
Kind of farms, general.....	47
First purchase of land and improvements:	
Total number of acres .....	4, 027
Average acres per farm.....	85. 68
Total value .....	<sup>a</sup> \$63, 410
Average value per farm.....	<sup>a</sup> \$1, 409
Average value per acre .....	<sup>a</sup> \$17
Farms now owned .....	
Total number of acres.....	<sup>b</sup> 6, 198
Number of acres tillable .....	<sup>b</sup> 2, 272
Number of acres not tillable.....	<sup>b</sup> 3, 926
Present value of farms now owned:	
Land and improvements.....	\$175, 350
Average value of land and improvements per farm.....	\$3, 731
Average value of land and improvements per acre.....	\$28
Number of farms showing indebtedness .....	31
Total indebtedness .....	\$38, 207
Average indebtedness per farm.....	\$1, 232
Gross value of all property.....	\$217, 976
Average net value of all property per farm .....	\$3, 825

<sup>a</sup> Not including 2 farms not reporting complete data.

<sup>b</sup> Not including 110 acres rented.

The following statement shows the financial condition of the heads of families on their arrival in the locality:

TABLE 5.—Number of heads of families bringing to locality property of specified value, 47 typical Polish farms, Portage County, Wis.

Value of property brought.	Number of heads of families.	Value of property brought.	Number of heads of families.
No property.....	19	\$1,500 and under \$2,500.....	4
Under \$50.....	1	\$2,500 and under \$5,000.....	1
\$50 and under \$100.....	1	\$5,000 and over.....	1
\$100 and under \$250.....	6	Not reported.....	1
\$250 and under \$500.....	4		
\$500 and under \$1,000.....	6	Total.....	47
\$1,000 and under \$1,500.....	3		

It will be seen that nineteen of the newcomers, or 40 per cent, came with nothing; three or four of these were farmers' sons, of course; nearly four-fifths of the whole number came with less than \$1,000; and only nine had \$1,000 or more each.

The details of the first purchase of land bear out the statements previously made in regard to the condition of the purchased land and the price paid for it. Nearly one-half bought totally uncleared land, forested tracts, or cut-over areas, buying usually in tracts 40 to 100 acres in size; another two-fifths settled on land with part of the acreage—less than three-fourths of it—tilled and cultivated. The area of farms first purchased were as follows: 10 and under 20 acres, 1; 20 and under 40 acres, 3; 40 and under 80 acres, 13; 80 and under 120 acres, 17; 120 acres and over, 13.

The average price paid ran from an average of \$6 an acre for uncleared, stump-covered land to \$27 an acre for 10 farms one-half to three-fourths tillable. Several of the 15 farms bought with more than 50 per cent in tillage were purchased within comparatively recent years, a fact that in part accounts for the higher prices paid. The details of cost of lands are as follows:

TABLE 6.—First purchase of land, condition, size of farms, and price paid, 47 typical Polish farms, Portage County, Wis.

Condition of land.	Number of farms.	Average number of acres per farm.	Average price per—		Average cash payment.
			Farm.	Acre.	
None tillable.....	21	69	<sup>a</sup> \$473	<sup>a</sup> \$6	<sup>b</sup> \$304
Under one-fourth tillable.....	5	122	1,282	11	<sup>c</sup> 1,250
One-fourth and under one-half tillable.....	6	104	2,029	19	1,296
One-half and under three-fourths tillable.....	10	104	2,805	27	1,660
Three-fourths or more tillable.....	5	60	1,560	26	1,160
Total.....	47				

<sup>a</sup> Not including 2 not reporting complete data.

<sup>b</sup> Not including 5 not reporting complete data.

<sup>c</sup> Not including 1 not reporting complete data.

## PRESENT VALUES, CONDITION, AND SIZE OF FARMS.

Two sets of illustrative figures are presented to exhibit the present ownership of property—the owners' valuations and the township valuations made by the assessors. The owners' values are for 47 farms from which data were collected.

Only three of these farms are less than one-fourth tillable, nearly 37 have between 25 per cent and 75 per cent in tillage, and seven contain 75 per cent or more improved area. The number of acres in the farms at present owned by the 47 Polish farmers under consideration may be classified as follows: 20 and under 40 acres, 2; 40 and under 80 acres, 2; 80 and under 120 acres, 17; 120 and under 160 acres, 11; 160 and under 240 acres, 11; 240 acres and over, 4. The average farm is 134 acres. One-third of the farms visited are farms of a quarter section or more. In certain townships the farms are comparatively large, notably in Sharon and part of Stockton, where the larger potato growers are located.

Land values average from \$22 to \$37 per acre, depending as much on location and fertility of soil as on clearing and improvements. The next table shows in detail the present value of the 47 farms as stated by their owners. These values are not excessive for farms in fairly convenient locations with respect to main-traveled roads and markets.

TABLE 7.—*Land and improvements now owned; condition of land, size of farms, and average value, 47 typical Polish farms, Portage County, Wis.*

Condition of land.	Number of farms.	Average number of acres per farm.	Average value per—	
			Farm.	Acre.
None tillable.....				
Under one-fourth tillable.....	3	108	\$2,800	\$26
One-fourth and under one-half tillable.....	22	160	3,586	22
One-half and under three-fourths tillable.....	15	125	4,650	37
Three-fourths or more tillable.....	7	70	2,614	37
Total.....	47			

The next table summarizes the net values (gross values less all indebtedness) of land, live stock, and equipment, and crops on hand.

The values for personal property in the way of live stock and equipment are practically all less than \$1,000. The average is somewhere near \$500 per farm; 21 farms have equipment worth \$250 and less than \$500, and 22 are placed in the group "\$500 and less than \$1,000." Crops on hand include hay, rye, other grains, and potatoes. In some instances, no doubt, part of the 1909 crop of potatoes was included, but in general these were still in the ground. The grain and hay are the 1909 crop. Thirty-eight of the farms returned between \$100 and \$500 worth of crops on hand; 21 reported between \$250 and \$500, and 7 farms had crops on hand representing values between \$500 and \$1,500.

The total net property owned by 28 of the farmers investigated lies between \$2,500 and \$5,000 per farmer; and 10 farmers report total property values averaging more than \$5,000 each. Only one farmer reporting has less than \$1,500 of property.

TABLE 8.—*Net value of all property now owned, 47 typical Polish families, Portage County, Wis.*

Net value.	Land and improvements.	Live stock and im- plementations.	Crops on hand.	Total property.
\$50 and under \$100.....			2	
\$100 and under \$250.....		3	17	
\$250 and under \$500.....		21	21	
\$500 and under \$1,000.....	1	22	5	
\$1,000 and under \$1,500.....	5	1	2	1
\$1,500 and under \$2,500.....	9			7
\$2,500 and under \$5,000.....	24			28
\$5,000 or over.....	7			10
Not reported.....	1			1
Total.....	47	47	47	47

## ASSESSED VALUE OF TAXABLE PROPERTY.

The following table, compiled from the assessment rolls and tax receipts for 1908 and 1909, shows the average acreage of 228 Polish farms selected at random from three representative townships with large Polish populations.

TABLE 9.—*Size of farms owned by Polish people and value of land and improvements per farm, Portage County, Wis.*

[Compiled from tax rolls for 1908 and 1909.]

Acreage and value.	Number of owners.		
	Hull.	Sharon.	Stockton.
<b>Acreage of representative farms:</b>			
20 acres and under.....	5	0	1
21 to 40 acres.....	8	4	3
41 to 80 acres.....	47	11	17
81 to 120 acres.....	22	14	21
121 to 160 acres.....	21	15	7
161 to 240 acres.....	7	10	7
Over 240 acres.....		6	2
Total farms.....	110	60	58
Median farms, acres.....	77	128	94
<b>Value of land and improvements per farm:</b>			
\$500 or less.....	16	7	2
\$501 to \$1,000.....	54	20	6
\$1,001 to \$1,500.....	22	15	13
\$1,501 to \$2,000.....	15	5	17
\$2,001 to \$3,000.....	3	9	13
More than \$3,000.....		4	7
Total.....	110	60	58
Median value.....	\$850	\$1,100	\$1,730
<b>Approximate assessed value of personal property:</b>			
Under \$300.....	82	24	15
\$301 to \$500.....	22	30	30
Over \$500.....	6	6	13
Total.....	110	60	58

The average acreage of all farms, including those of all races and calculating on a basis of all land, improved and unimproved, in the township of Hull, according to the State census of 1905, was 112. The average improved acreage was 43 acres per farm. This is a

township of poor soil and farms of small acreage. In Sharon the land is rougher, but more productive. In 1905 the average farm contained a little more than 126 acres, of which 56 were improved; the median Polish farm, according to data gathered by the Commission, is about 128 acres. Land, of course, is more valuable here, the assessed valuation per 40 acres averaging about \$450. The township of Stockton contains a number of large farms, owned principally by Irish, Americans, and Germans. These farms average 200 acres and some contain over 400 acres. Many are in the "prairie" belt of Bancroft loam. Altogether the average farm, according to the State census of 1905, contains about 126 acres, with an improved area of 81 acres. The median Polish farm, as shown in the preceding, is about 94 acres; the median of 18 farms owned by the Irish and Americans 194 acres. In the townships where other races are found it is true, as a rule, that they own the larger and frequently the choicer farms. This has been notably true in Stockton; but the Poles seem to be acquiring rapidly the larger and better farms, while the descendants of the original owners are selling out at high prices and moving away.

The values given for land and improvements represent the assessed rather than the actual value. Wisconsin has been making a serious and sustained effort for a number of years to bring the assessments of real estate up to market value. In some townships it is declared that the values on the tax roll are fully 75 per cent of the real value, while in others it is conceded that they have never succeeded in getting assessments above 60 per cent of the real value. In general, it will be safe to add one-half or two-thirds more to the values given in the table. The statistics for personal property do not include household furniture. In Wisconsin there is an exemption of \$250 worth of household goods, not including pianos, and no household goods are assessed in the country districts. "It goes without saying that no farmer has \$250 worth of household goods," said the county treasurer. At any rate it is said that few assessors ask concerning this item. In Hull personal property runs from \$40 to \$750, with a mean of perhaps \$200; about one-fourth of the valuations are more than \$300. Few cows are kept and the assessments are on horses, wagons, tools, and implements. Cows are not very valuable, few being assessed for more than \$18 per head.

The personal property in Sharon includes better horses, more cows and young cattle, and more implements and machinery. Most of the assessments are for more than \$300; the median assessment is about \$340. No Polish assessments are above \$750.

In Stockton there are some Polish farmers who own \$1,250 worth of personal property; 20 per cent of them own more than \$500 worth, and three-fourths of them are assessed for \$300 or over; the mean assessment is somewhat more than \$400. Those with the large assessments are the dairymen and stock farmers. Those who raise only potatoes have less personal property. In this connection a comparison with the Irish and American farmers, 18 typical cases, will be of interest. None of these have personal property valued at less than \$300, three have \$500 worth or less; six between \$500 and \$800 worth; six between \$800 and \$1,000, and three more than \$1,000 worth. The median personal property assessment of these typical properties of other races is between \$800 and \$900. More



stock and better and more farm machinery and vehicles accounts for the higher aggregates. It means that whereas the Americans and Irish are using horse machinery and keeping more horses, the Polish farmers are still depending on hand labor, notably that of their wives and children, to raise and harvest their crops. There are obstacles in the way of large horsepower machines on some farms in the shape of bowlders, steep inclines, and stiff, stony soils; but the fact remains that the Polish farmer gets out of debt by employing hand labor before he buys a potato digger, whereas the American buys one to save hiring hand labor and to help himself out of debt.

#### THRIFT.

The greater part of a Pole's property is in real estate and farm appurtenances, and it is of interest to note some of the individual acquisitions of property since arrival in the locality. The economic progress of 12 typical Polish families is shown in detail in the general table at the end of this chapter. Most of the heads of these families came to Portage County from 20 to 35 years ago and have experienced most of the hardships and vicissitudes of pioneer life. One man, who came in with nothing and worked for three years at 50 cents a day and board, bought 40 acres of land for \$100 in 1884. He now owns 180 acres of land worth \$6,000, and a total property valued at \$7,700 entirely clear of debt. Others who bought land about the same time have done as well. Some have not made as rapid progress, but nearly all have become the owners of valuable pieces of real estate. They are neither the best nor the most unprogressive farmers—they are typical of the Polish farmers of Portage County.

In this table three biographies of recent settlers are exhibited. These bought land in 1904 and paid rather dearly. One of them, who came with more than \$8,200, now owns property worth just about one-half that amount. His farm of 200 acres, for which he paid \$14,000, he values at but \$8,000 to-day. The other two men have done better; one who came with nothing holds property whose net value is \$3,165; the other came with \$2,000, bought 100 acres, and paid all he had for it; since then he has acquired 80 acres more and is now worth \$3,755 net.

A summarized view of the progress of the 47 Polish farmers under consideration is given in the following table. It will be noted that of the 19 men who came without property, 12 of them twenty or more years ago, 16 now own property whose net value is \$2,500 or more and 7 claim more than \$5,000 worth of property. Seventeen men in this group have been in the locality fifteen years or more. Sixteen heads of families brought to the locality between \$100 and \$1,000 each; 13 of these now report properties ranging from \$2,500 to \$5,000, and of this 13, 3 own properties worth \$5,000 or more. Twelve of this group of 16 have been in Portage County fifteen years or more, 8 twenty years or more. The 9 men who came with larger sums, ranging from \$1,000 to, in one case, \$8,000, have been in the locality a comparatively short time, 4 less than five years, and 4 between five and ten years. Seven own properties valued between \$2,500 and \$5,000 and 2 report between \$1,500 and \$2,500 each. With two exceptions, every one reports material progress.

While net wealth is a clean, convenient measure of prosperity, indebtedness incurred in the purchase of more land and better buildings or equipment may be quite as truly a favorable feature and as sure a sign of progress.

TABLE 10.—Value of property brought to locality, net value of property now owned and number of years since first lease or purchase, 47 typical Polish farmers, Portage County, Wis.

Value of property brought to locality.	Number of heads of families.	Number of heads of families having property whose net value is—					Years since first lease or purchase.					
		\$1,000 and under \$1,500.	\$1,500 and under \$2,500.	\$2,500 and under \$5,000.	\$5,000 and over.	Not reported.	1 and under 5.	5 and under 10.	10 and under 15.	15 and under 20.	20 or over.	
No property.....	19	1	1	9	7	1	1	1			5	12
Under \$50.....	1			1							1	
\$50 and under \$100.....	1		1								1	
\$100 and under \$250.....	6		1	4	1		1				1	2
\$250 and under \$500.....	4		1	3			1					3
\$500 and under \$1,000.....	6		1	3	2						3	3
\$1,000 and under \$1,500.....	3		1	3				2			1	
\$1,500 and under \$2,500.....	4		1	3			3	1				
\$2,500 and under \$5,000.....	1			1			1					
\$5,000 or over.....	1			1				1				
Not reported.....	1			1				1				
Total.....	47	1	7	28	10	1	7	6	3	11	20	

#### CROPS AND AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS.

Over the county as a whole there is no question that the potato crop holds first place among money crops. Practically every farmer raises some potatoes for sale and some raise 3,000 bushels or more. This industry has grown up since 1885. Previous to that time wheat and hops were more important than potatoes. The following table shows the growth of the potato industry in Portage County between 1879 and 1905, in comparison with the production of other crops:

TABLE 11.—Acreage and production of specified crops, Portage County, Wis.

Crop.	1879.		1885.		1889.		1899.		1905.	
	Acres.	Bushels.	Acres.	Bushels.	Acres.	Bushels.	Acres.	Bushels.	Acres.	Bushels.
Wheat.....	21,853	204,778	(a)	175,744	4,342	54,814	6,373	85,910	(a)	11,568
Hops.....	371	6178,861	(a)	6155,367	329	6127,413	68	636,700	(a)	612,100
Potatoes...	(a)	144,126	(a)	382,091	12,904	1,324,761	29,099	1,978,314	25,985	2,993,880
Rye.....	10,144	111,659	(a)	(a)	15,151	186,155	20,409	217,780	16,254	(a)

a Not reported.

b Pounds.

The table shows the decline of wheat and hops as leading products and the advance of potatoes to first place. Portage County leads all the counties of the State in the production of potatoes, and in 1899 it stood fourth among the counties of the United States in this regard. Rye has taken the place of wheat in the crop rotation, especially on the sandy soils. In 1899 Wisconsin stood first as a rye-producing State and Portage ranked fifth among the counties of the State.

## POTATOES.

Since the potato crop holds so prominent a place in the farm economy of this county, and since the Poles compare favorably with or even surpass their neighbors in profits gained from this crop, a short account of methods pursued will be of interest.

The rotation on the better class of farms is planned with reference to the potato crop, and on nearly all farms it follows the same general lines, although with much irregularity. The old potato field is cleared of vines and sowed to wheat, oats, or rye—usually oats—and in the spring clover with a mixture of timothy is so wedged among the young grain. Hay is cut from this one or two years following, and the clover and timothy sod is used one year as a pasture; the sod is top-dressed with barnyard manure late in the fall, winter, or spring, and the ground is again planted to potatoes. This completes the four or five year rotation. Corn may take the place of potatoes, and when it does, fall rye is usually sowed between the shocks of corn on the corn stubble. Frequently two crops of small grain or two years of pasture are placed in the rotation, especially where dairying and general farming are competing sharply with potato culture, as in the towns of south Sharon and Stockton, or on the heavy loams of Carson.

The land for potatoes is plowed deeply in May or early June, carefully prepared and marked in rows about 3 feet apart. Sometimes the rows are checked into squares and sometimes the potatoes are planted in such a way as to be cultivated in but one direction, 18 inches to 2 feet apart in the row. They are planted about 4 to 6 inches deep by hand or horse planters. Horse planters are not very common among the Polish farmers; not one in four appears to have one. As soon as the potatoes show above the ground or even before, if there is need, the ground is thoroughly harrowed to loosen the upper soil layer and to free the land from weeds. Several harrowings may be given without injury to the young potatoes.

"Level" cultivation is generally practiced, a two-horse plow being used to keep the soil stirred and free from weeds. Potatoes require a little more cultivation than corn, and the corn plow is run through them frequently if the season is favorable for weeds. Some of the Poles with but few acres planted use a one-horse walking cultivator, and most of them find time to make some use of hoe culture. Spraying is always necessary; both power and hand sprayers are used. Nearly every farmer interviewed by the Commission's agent mentioned paris green as an item of expense. Except in Stockton and around Ellis, in Sharon township, few of the Polish farms have any power appliances for spraying; the hand sprayer seems to give the better satisfaction.

Potatoes are dug in September and October. In Stockton and in parts of Plover township potato diggers, handled by one man and two or three horses, are employed; in the other Polish settlements comparatively few of the farmers use them, partly on account of stones, in certain localities, but mainly because hand labor is believed cheaper. The children and women pick the potatoes into crates holding about a bushel. Frequently five or six of these crates are placed end to end on a low sled or stone boat and dragged by a horse between the rows of potatoes. The pickers work on each side of this boat of empty

crates and throw the potatoes into them, sorting them into two or three sizes—merchantable potatoes and seconds. When filled, the crates can be hauled to the storehouse directly or loaded upon a wagon.

Those who are financially able usually store their potatoes in cellars and sell them during the winter and early spring, when the demand is brisker and the price better in consequence. A great many potatoes, especially if not fully ripened, are hauled at once to market and loaded into cars for shipment. The usual method of delivery is to haul them in bulk in wagons, whence they are shoveled into baskets (the dealer discarding any rotten, green, or undersized potatoes he sees as they are shoveled out) and emptied into bins in the potato warehouse or into cars. They are sold by weight at a flat rate per bushel, almost all to local dealers, who are either agents of commission men in the cities or who sell to commission men or produce merchants. These local dealers have storage warehouses in which several carloads of potatoes can be held on speculation for an advance in prices. Both warehouses and potato cars are equipped with stoves in the winter, and danger from freezing is slight. Farmers deliver potatoes all winter long.

The largest expense in potato growing is the labor item, and of late years the largest labor item is for digging and gathering the crop. Growers say that with a normal yield (80 to 100 bushels per acre) the tubers can be placed on the market for 25 cents per bushel; some think this price will leave a small surplus over cost of producing. The American growers are confident that the Polish farmer who raises no more than the members of his family can take care of, and keeps sufficient cows to supply barnyard manure, can raise potatoes for less than 20 cents a bushel. This year, 1909, the price paid for potatoes directly from the field was 30 to 33 cents a bushel. Last year the potato crop of the country was short, and the prices realized by farmers in Portage County were from 65 to 70 cents a bushel. The yield is very variable, both from year to year and in different localities in the same year. In 1909 some Polish growers had such poor returns that they did not dig their potatoes at all. In other sections, a few miles distant, the yield was 20 to 30 bushels per acre; the bulk of the crop ran 50 to 75 bushels, with a few farmers who reported 100 bushels or more per acre.

The potato-digging season is a busy one for every member of the family. Schools, which frequently open August 1, are closed for a month or longer during the potato harvest; other schools do not open until potato picking is over. No rural school is in session while potatoes are being dug. Some children hire out to neighboring farmers, but most find plenty of work in the home potato fields.

The acreage in potatoes varies. In Carson, where the ground is heavy, less than 40,000 bushels were raised in 1908. The average potato acreage of Polish farmers is about three, and no one plants more than 10 acres. In Sharon the average Polish potato field is 10 acres in size, and a large percentage have from 12 to 35 acres planted. In Stockton the potato acreage per farm is more than 15; more than a third of the farmers enumerated have 20 acres or more. The total potato crop in 1908 amounted to 40,575 bushels in Hull, 116,800 bushels in Sharon, and 198,450 bushels in Stockton townships. It was a poor year so far as production was concerned.

In acreage and yield the Polish farmers in Stockton are doing somewhat better than the Irish and Americans, who are gradually dropping out of the potato industry and turning their attention to hay and dairying. It is a frequent observation in Stockton that the Americans are the better dairymen, but that the Poles surpass the rest of the township in raising potatoes. At the present time there is more profit in the dairy industry, and of course it does not prove so exhausting to the soil.

One condition that always faces the potato grower, aside from the wearing out of the land, is the chance of a glutted market. When the season is good and there is a slight local overproduction, the market is soon overflowed, and since potatoes are bulky, perishable, and expensive to handle, store, or ship long distances, the price soon drops below cost of profitable production and the labor of a season is lost. Then, too, frosts or unseasonable weather at the picking season leave unmerchantable potatoes on the farmer's hands. Some ready method of disposing of the oversupply or the damaged stock is a grave want. A corporation is being formed at Stevens Point to establish a distillery at that place. The project has been taken up with alacrity and the greater part of the stock has been subscribed for by Poles, many of whom are farmers. Seconds, frozen or sun-burned potatoes, or those too green for sale can be utilized at a distillery. The growers hope that this new market will give certain returns and new life to a somewhat uncertain industry. The finished product will be denatured alcohol.

#### OTHER CROPS.

Of the other crops little need be said. In Hull, Plover, and Dewey, where the soils are thin, rye is the only small grain that can be grown with certainty. In Hull more bushels of rye are produced than of any other crop except potatoes, more than 17,000 bushels being reported in 1908. Sharon raises twice as many bushels of oats as of rye and Stockton four times as manv. A great deal of the rye is used for food, rye bread being a staple article of diet. Rye is sowed in the fall, usually on corn stubble. Sometimes cattle are turned on to the rye in the spring, and later it is plowed under as a sort of green manure, but this is not usual.

The thrashed straw is carefully saved and commands a profitable price if sold. Usually it is utilized for bedding stock and goes back to the field with the manure. The yield per acre of rye is small and probably did not average more than 8 or 9 bushels on the sandy soils and scarcely more than 10 bushels in Stockton or Sharon in 1908. The acreage per farm averages about 6, many farms on the heavier soils raising none whatever.

Corn is raised and cut for fodder. There are very few silos on Polish farms, but after the stover is husked it is cut up for the cattle. Some of the farmers on the large farms use corn binders, but the greater part of the Polish farmers cut their corn by hand, using an old-fashioned corn knife. Corn husking is usually done in the field after the potato crop has been put out of the way; very little corn is raised for sale. Oats are grown in every township, but for feed only. There is no oat hay such as is common in the East, but the grain is much better and the crop more certain. Barley was

reported in quantity in but two townships, Carson and Eau Pleine, in the Polish farming section in 1908. Barley takes the place of rye in the rotation and is found where the potato and rye acreage is small, on the stiff Marathon loam west of the River. It is better adapted to the soil than potatoes and makes good feed for stock; very little is sold, but some is hulled and used for making barley soup. The total production of these two townships in 1908 was a little more than 10,000 bushels. In 1899 the production of the entire county was 7,500 bushels. Wheat raising has been almost entirely abandoned; only here and there a Pole is found who raises a few acres of wheat. Winter-killing is the alleged reason for failure to cultivate this crop, but it never was possible to raise this cereal in profitable quantities on the Wisconsin River sandy soil.

The next table gives a summary of the crops raised on the 47 farms under consideration, with the average quantity and value produced on each farm, giving in each case the average for two years. It will be seen that the number of crops is small in the aggregate and that almost every farmer produces all of the five staples: Potatoes, rye, oats, corn, and hay. Only one farmer produced barley.

The average value of even the most important crop—potatoes—is not great; while there are a few of the farmers who report between \$500 and \$1,000 worth of potatoes sold, the average for the whole is only \$303 per farm. Rye is the only other crop that has an average farm value of more than \$100.

TABLE 12.—Average quantity and value per farm of crops raised, 47 typical Polish farms, Portage County, Wis.

Crops.	Number of farms producing.	Two-year average.		Crops.	Number of farms producing.	Two-year average.	
		Quantity	Value.			Quantity	Value.
Barley.....	1	<i>Bushels.</i> 50	\$25	Irish potatoes.....	47	<i>Bushels.</i> 531	\$303
Corn.....	41	166	91	Oats.....	42	197	97
Hay.....	43	a 9	82	Rye.....	43	174	122

a Tons.

The classification of products raised and products sold really gives the gross incomes of the farmers, no account being taken of the quantities of produce consumed on the farms. A few farms failed to report any produce whatever sold and 8 farms, or 17 per cent, reported less than \$100 each. Of the farms actually reporting produce sold, 25 per cent each sold products amounting to between \$100 and \$250; 35 per cent between \$250 and \$500; about 20 per cent between \$500 and \$1,000; and one farm reported sales of more than \$1,000.

The chief commercial products are potatoes and dairy products, although a little rye and hay, and some live stock and poultry products are raised for sale. The percentage of farms producing specified total values of grain, hay, and potatoes, taking a two-year average, may be tabulated as follows :

Farms raising less than \$50 worth, none.  
 Farms raising \$50 to \$100 worth, 2 per cent.  
 Farms raising \$100 to \$250 worth, 10 per cent.  
 Farms raising \$250 to \$500 worth, 36 per cent.  
 Farms raising \$500 to \$1,000 worth, 32 per cent.  
 Farms raising \$1,000 to \$1,500 worth, 15 per cent.  
 Farms raising \$1,500 to \$2,000 worth, 2 per cent.  
 Farms raising \$2,000 to \$3,000 worth, 2 per cent.

In addition there is the dairy produce and the poultry and meat products. Probably some of the potatoes and much of the grain yet remained in storage and granary waiting a better price before being disposed of in the market.

A classification of the 47 farms under consideration, according to the value of certain products produced and sold, is shown in the following table:

TABLE 13.—*Classification of farms, by values of specified farm products produced and sold, 47 typical Polish farms, Portage County, Wis.*

Values.	Number of farms reporting farm products.									
	Produced.					Sold.				
	Grain and for- age.	Veg- eta- bles.	Dairy prod- ucts.	Animal prod- ucts.	Total.	Grain and for- age.	Veg- eta- bles.	Dairy prod- ucts.	Animal prod- ucts.	Total.
Under \$50.....		2	8	22	.....	6	4	8	22	2
\$50 and under \$100.....	3	8	4	5	1	3	8	4	5	6
\$100 and under \$250.....	20	13	12	1	6	2	12	12	1	11
\$250 and under \$500.....	12	17	4	1	13		14	4	1	15
\$500 and under \$1,000.....	10	6	.....	.....	14	.....	5	.....	.....	8
\$1,000 and under \$1,500.....	2	1	.....	.....	9	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
\$1,500 and under \$2,000.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
\$2,000 and under \$3,000.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	47	47	28	29	47	11	43	28	29	43

#### DAIRYING.

The dairy industry has grown up within a few years, practically since 1895. In 1895 there were but three cheese factories and no creameries in the county; in 1900 there were 18 creameries and no cheese factories; in 1905 the creameries had increased to 26 and 1 cheese factory was reported. At present (January, 1910) there are 2 cheese factories in the county and 28 creameries. The dairy industry is not particularly flourishing in the southwestern townships nor in Hull or Dewey in the light sandy areas; but in Carson, Eau Pleine, Stockton, and Sharon the dairy industry is fast coming to the front. Every farmer has a few cows. In Carson the average number per Polish farmer on the uplands is about 7; in Sharon the number is the same; in Stockton the Polish farmers average between 5 and 6 cows per farm, the Irish and Americans average more than 8 each, with some farmers owning herds of 20 or more milkers. The Polish farmers are not taking up dairying as rapidly as their neighbors, but where clovers and grasses grow well there is no doubt that the day of the Polish dairyman is coming. One of the great drawbacks is

lack of good cows. Few have any well-bred dairy cattle, either grade stock or pure-bred animals. The value of cows is usually fixed at about \$15 to \$20 per head, and the production of milk per cow is small. The typical cow is a scrub of some nondescript breed. As has been noted, the creamery indicates the line of development the industry has taken. As there was no outside influence of previous custom to turn the industry in either direction, the fact that the creamery has been developed instead of the cheese factory argues that it is expanding on lines of sound economic growth. Just why the creamery is more satisfactory than the cheese factory is difficult to say. The creamery is not often of the farmer's cooperative type. It is owned by some person who hires a butter maker and buys cream from the farmers on the basis of butter-fat content. The milk is brought in by the patrons in the morning, the fat is separated by a power machine, and the skimmed milk is carried home at once. A good many farmers have separators of their own and haul only the cream to the factory. The number of Polish dairymen who own their machines is, however, comparatively small. The milk of the patrons who live at some distance is hauled in by a milk gatherer who collects the product of several farms every morning. It is to be noted that not more than 60 per cent of the 47 schedules taken report any income from milk sold in 1908 and 1909. This is because of the large percentage of schedules taken from farmers who live in the sandy-land townships, where grass and hay can not be grown in sufficient quantities to feed large dairy herds.

Dairying combines well with potato raising, for barnyard manure is necessary if a good crop is to be grown. Potato growers depend in the main on manure rather than on fertilizer, and the Polish growers use barnyard manure exclusively. In this way the cow is supplementary to potato culture and stock not profitable in themselves may be profitable in conjunction with the growing of potatoes.

#### OTHER PRODUCE.

There is little or no attempt to raise vegetables for the market. A few farmers report some sales of onions or cabbage, but this is only a surplus from the family garden. Hay, wood, vegetables, chickens, and other produce is disposed of in Stevens Point, a good deal of it at the Polish market—a great, open, brick-paved square near the center of that city, where the Polish farmers bring their wagonloads of produce on Thursday and sometimes on Saturday of each week and expose it for sale. Those who know, say that these market days resemble the markets of Poland. Many of the farmers bring in cord wood cut from their wooded acres, and the returns from this source are frequently sufficient to pay for the land. Now nothing is left but second-growth timber, scrub oaks, and soft woods fit only for firewood.

Hay in many places is cut from the marshy and low-lying peaty soils. The grasses are wild, and the hay is of poor quality, but timothy, clover, and tame grasses do not grow well, and wild hay is necessarily the main reliance of many. Not many acres of root crops are grown, and very little ensilage is put up on the farms operated by Polish farmers.



## LAND TENURE.

The farms are not large. The foreigner is a home maker. Few have land to lease to others. When more land is bought it is for wood or pasture or because an increasing family is able to cultivate more land in crops.

With very few exceptions the Polish farmer owns the land on which he lives. With one stride he passes from the status of a day laborer to that of landed proprietor, instead of moving up by means of land tenancy as an intermediate step. When once he has invested a few dollars in a piece of land, he holds to the property tenaciously until he gets his money out of it. There are a few men who rent land. Of 50 farmers interviewed, 1 rented all the land he occupied, 160 acres. Five others rented some land, from 10 to 50 acres, but all of the 5 owned land of their own which they occupied at the same time.

All who rented at all rented on shares. Two forms of share rent are customary: (1) The landowner furnishes only the land and improvements and receives one-third of all the crops grown as rent. A modification of this form is found where the owner furnishes the potatoes and rye for seed and receives as his rent one-half of the produce of these crops at the thrashing machine, or (of potatoes) in the crates on the field, and one-third of the other crops raised; (2) by a second plan, the landlord furnishes tools, seed, and cows and receives one-half of all the produce, including a share of the returns from the sale of milk and cream. This is not a frequent method, however; indeed, renting seems to be merely a method of supplementing the owned areas by hiring a near-by piece of land. There seems to be no cash-rental system and no peasant or tenant class. Land has been too cheap, up to date, to make tenancy necessary or profitable, and up to this time sons of farmers have been given the old farms or have purchased them for sums so small that they are having no difficulty in paying for them. No significance is to be attached to the few instances of land rental.

## EXPENDITURES FOR LABOR, FERTILIZER, AND FEED STUFFS.

As far as possible every farmer endeavors to get his work done without outside assistance. The farmers "change help" at thrashing time and hire men by the day for potato harvest, but in general not much hired help is required. The hired hands are invariably Poles, frequently new arrivals. Five of the 47 farmers reported no expenses of any sort. Only 6 reported any outlay whatever for farm labor; 3 reported less than \$50 per annum each, and only 1 spent as much as \$100 for hired help. Ten did not report.

Very little commercial fertilizer is used, but 18 farmers each expended small sums for fertilizer or paris green. Sixteen, or 34 per cent of all, report less than \$25 each. Nearly every one of these represents items for paris green only. This is a fixed, regular expense. The 2 who report between \$25 and \$50, probably bought a little commercial fertilizer.

The chief items of expense are seed, feed, and forage. About one-half of the farmers buy seed potatoes and some feed for cows or hogs. Eighteen spent \$25 or more, 9 bought to the value of \$50

and less than \$75, while only 2 farmers report between \$100 and \$200 expended for grain and seed during the year. Ten did not report, and 12 reported no expenditures.

In a general way the expenditures reported increase with the acreage in cultivation, but the correspondence is not very close. Including the 5 who report no expenditures, nearly 59 per cent of all reporting have total expenses of less than \$50 and cultivate 44 acres or less each; 11 expend between \$50 and \$75 each annually and cultivate 50 acres; 3 report expenditures between \$75 and \$200; 1 reports more than \$200 of expenditures and cultivates 138 acres.

#### IMPROVEMENTS AND METHODS.

The first industry to be carried on in this whole region was lumbering. Pine first, then hemlock, hardwood, and finally the inferior timber was cut off and sawed into lumber. The farm was at first a mere adjunct to the lumber camp. Many of the early farmers were first woodsmen or "lumber jacks." The pioneer, skillful with his ax, shaped the logs for his cabin and his stable; his first fences were made of brush, poles, rails, or stumps. Where the ground was wet or "boggy" he built a corduroy road of logs and brush. He removed the smaller trees and stumps first and worked around the others until they began to decay, when he was able to remove them with his cattle. A good many of the first "story and attic" log houses and a larger number of log barns or outhouses remain, especially on the more recently opened lands in the northern and northwestern sections of the county. The majority of the farmsteads and barnyards are not well arranged nor well kept. The buildings and fences are in poor repair, and the yards are neither neat nor orderly. Hog pens, chicken houses, and well-arranged cow barns are conspicuously absent.

In Dewey, Carson, Eau Pleine, and parts of Sharon and Hull townships the lack of capital in the form of good buildings of modern type and of up-to-date equipment is more evident than in south Sharon and Stockton, where are seen many brick houses, large basement barns, and other well constructed outbuildings. The difference is largely one of larger economic returns from the more bountiful soil of the latter townships. The log barn, the well-built log house, low and undignified, but warm and picturesque when well constructed, is passing, often giving way to a capacious successor of red brick.

The fences, if modern, are built of wire; a few farmers are beginning to use woven-wire fences of various patterns, but only a few. Every field is fenced, because every field becomes a pasture or next neighbor to a pasture in regular rotation. There are all grades of fences, however, of every design, material, and state of decrepitude. Occasionally there is an amateur attempt at a stone fence, but most farmers are content to pile their "hardheads" in great heaps in the middle of the tilled fields. The log fence, built some time ago of great logs and unsplit poles, laid sometimes in a straight line and sometimes after the fashion of the Virginia rail fence, still abides. The Virginia split-rail fence surrounds hundreds of acres, but only here and there is there a new rail. In number of rods the stump fence in the former heavily timbered sections closely follows the barb

wire. This fence, built of great pine or hardwood stumps rolled up side by side, their root bases facing inward and their great network of roots extending at every angle and interlocking, presents a formidable, if not precisely a thrifty or picturesque, appearance. Because they are cheap, efficient, and durable many miles of stump fences are built. Stake-and-rider fences, and occasionally a pine or hemlock board fence, are also found on some farms.

One notes that little attempt has been made to inclose the gardens or lawns with ornamental fencing. There are not many well-kept lawns, well sodded and ornamented with trees, shrubs, and flowers. The lilac and the rosebush are sometimes seen, and frequently the native trees are allowed to remain in the door yard; but, on the whole, the aspect of most Polish homes and yards is not homelike, inviting, nor indicative of thrift. Unpainted houses, dilapidated barns, poorly drained, ill-kept barnyards, sagging gates, and weed-ridden lawns and fence corners are typical marks of Polish farmsteads. This is not peculiar to the Poles, of course; the average western farmer does not spend much time in beautifying his place until his last debt is paid, and he has reached a state of leisure and assured competency. The Poles come more slowly to a realization of the value of beauty, neatness, and comfort.

#### FERTILIZERS AND FARM PRACTICE.

Practically no attention is paid to commercial fertilizers of any sort. Potatoes draw heavily on the soil and some of the better class of American growers have found a judicious application of commercial fertilizing materials very well worth while, but the majority of all potato growers in the county, and nearly all of the Poles, depend entirely on barnyard manure, made on their own farms or hauled out from the city.

In addition to this, rye, clover, occasionally, and mixed pasture is regularly plowed under for humus and green manure. A more or less regular rotation is practiced, and, in short, all that practical observation has taught is done to maintain the fertility of the land. The settlers plow deep, work the soil into a good tilth, and, in general, keep the ground free from weeds during the growing season. As with all peoples, there are good, bad, and indifferent farmers among them. It may be that a few more belong to the last two classes than one would find in a similar colony of Germans. Clannishness, and the apparent disinclination to mix with the Americans, inability to speak the English language, and so come in contact with advanced thought on agriculture and agricultural methods, are responsible for a good deal of backwardness and lack of initiative. The local Polish newspaper is remedying this condition somewhat by timely articles on pertinent topics, and the next generation may be more receptive to innovations in agricultural methods.

Few could converse with much intelligence on any line of agriculture other than potatoes. Experience had given them most of the knowledge they possessed, some information had been gained from contact with American neighbors, and a little had been absorbed at farmers' institutes, but most were doing as they had always done.

The necessity for better stock, the waste and loss incurred in keeping cows that do not give returns equal to the value of feed consumed, the relation of dairying to potato growing, the study of rotations suited to both stock raising and general farming, had evidently not been prominently before them. The stock kept is very poor indeed, hardy of course, but unprofitable for beef, and not up to the mark for milk or cream. These things are not altogether peculiar to the Poles, however. Few good herds are owned by farmers of any race in the section investigated.

The principal differences in method between the American farmer and the Pole in the same neighborhood lie in the latter's reliance on hard work and his substitution of a muscular and family labor for capital, equipment, and brain activity. Intelligence will remedy this condition, and the younger generation in the midst of agricultural literature, research, and institutions will be much better farmers than their fathers. At present very few of the boys are taking advantage of existing opportunities to study improved farming methods, but nevertheless many of the younger men are showing more initiative and have more appreciation of the value of leisure than their parents.

#### MARKETS AND MARKETING FACILITIES.

The city of Stevens Point is not far from the east-and-west center of the Polish settlement and is the great central market for all kinds of farm produce, but there are several other marketing points. Three railroads penetrate the central and northern townships and four run across the county in different directions. The main line of the Wisconsin Central, Chicago to St. Paul, takes on quantities of Polish produce at Amherst Junction, Custer, Stockton, Stevens Point, and at Junction City, west of the Wisconsin River. The Green Bay and Western runs through the county from east to west, with a branch from Plover to Stevens Point; shipping stations are found every few miles; Amherst Junction, Arnott, Fancher, Plover, and Meehan all have a certain Polish clientele. The Northwestern line runs from Antigo south to Rosholt in the town of Alban, and a second division passes within a few miles of the Polish colony at Heffron, with an outlet to Chicago. The Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul, which passes north and south through the two townships west of the river, takes quantities of raw material from the farmers in Eau Pleine and Carson townships. Of the strictly Polish townships, Dewey, Sharon, and Hull, speaking generally, have no railroads. The market for Dewey and Hull is Stevens Point, from 1 to 14 miles distant over wagon roads.

Many of the roads are very sandy unless clay or broken stone has been placed on them, there is a macadamized road about 12 miles long between Polonia and Stevens Point. Another good macadamized road runs into Junction City; a third hard-bottom pike extends through Hull into Dewey Township. Over these highways heavy loads can be hauled, but the crossroads, branch roads, and lanes are often very heavy, owing to the deep loose sand that prevails. This fact makes hauling and marketing very expensive to the man in the outlying districts, and it is a noteworthy fact that those sections

with poor public roads and distant or poor marketing facilities are very slow to improve or advance economically.

The State has taken up the matter of good roads, and counties and towns are fully realizing their importance. The board of trade of Stevens Point is alive to the advantage of good roads and sometimes materially aids in bettering communication between that city and the surrounding country. An instance of the board's activity in this regard may be cited. A Polish farming colony has recently been established at Knowlton, in Marathon County, about 16 miles north of Stevens Point. To get to Stevens Point directly it is necessary to cross the Wisconsin River. There is no bridge, and the township of Knowlton is not able to build one. To divert this Polish trade to Stevens Point the merchants by private subscription raised funds to construct a bridge across the river.

The greater part of the shopping of the entire colony is done at Stevens Point, where there is a real Polish quarter. Sales of produce are made at the Polish market in the open court of the city. The staple products—rye, other small grains, and potatoes, are sold to local shippers at the several local shipping points. Potatoes are frequently stored at fixed rates for the farmers who have no storage facilities by the potato buyers. The stored potatoes are held for such time as the farmer wishes and are then sold to the buyer. As the potatoes are bought by certain standard grades, it is not necessary, usually, to hold the identical stock, though some buyers do this absolutely.

Markets for all farm produce are excellent. Few farmers have undertaken the development of a market for any special product or any special grade of produce. There is an opening for specialized vegetable products.

The cash system of payment at regular intervals for milk and cream has been a great help to dozens of poor farmers, who otherwise had nothing to turn into cash from one potato crop until the next, and despite poor cows and small herds prosperity has followed the creamery.

Cooperative marketing and associated endeavor in any line has made little progress. The Society of Equity, as it is called, a farmers' organization, has been rather active in the county. The Polish membership has always been small, unprogressive, and apathetic. At the present time there is very little activity. A Polish mutual insurance company has assumed almost all the Polish fire risks in the farming communities. It is controlled by Polish people entirely and is very successful. There are a few purely Polish creamery associations, notably the Sharon Creamery Company and the Lake Thomas Creamery Company.

In Stevens Point there are a large number of Polish firms, and business men declare that every year more business is going over to Poles. There is a brewing company, an automatic cradle company, a large, well-equipped printing plant, a brick and construction company, and others, all distinctly Polish, located at Stevens Point. Not five per cent of the members of the Business Men's Association and few city officials outside of the fourth, or Polish ward, are Poles, but in local politics they have become a considerable power.

## THE POLISH CITIZEN.

Competent authorities and a comparison of voting lists and tax rolls indicate that nine-tenths of the males are voters, which means in Wisconsin that they have their first papers. The editor of the *Polnik* told of the rush of Poles to the circuit court four or five years ago, just after more comprehensive regulations for suffrage in Wisconsin were passed. Fearing they would lose the privilege of voting and holding office, some 500 or more made application for second papers at one session of the circuit court sitting in Stevens Point. The incident was recalled and confirmed by county officials. A large number still have only their first papers. Hereafter all new voters, according to a recent law, must be citizens of the United States who can speak the English language.

There have been township officers of Polish birth in Polonia since the beginning, and in all the so-designated Polish townships several of the Polish people are in office. They make good officers as a rule and hold closely to the letter of the law, a trait attributed of foreign-born officials of more than one race in rural communities studied by the commission.

## SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

Socially there is a spirit of clannishness that somehow sets the Polish people apart from other nationalities. The marriage statistics, discussed later, afford one evidence of this spirit. There are very few intermarriages between the Poles and any other nationality. In business, too, there is the tendency to deal with members of their own race. Politically, in the city of Stevens Point, and throughout the county of Portage, it is said that a Polish candidate will usually receive the entire Polish vote, no matter what his political principles are.

Social affairs, dances, weddings, church meetings, and celebrations of various kinds are the chief social enterprises of the Poles. They gather by themselves for the most part. Neither the Polish people nor their neighbors seem desirous of promiscuous social intermingling, and it can not be denied that among the other races there is an ingrained feeling that the Poles are socially inferior. The German or Scandinavian stands on the same footing as his business or trade associates, who are native Americans; differences in language alone seems to be the only bar to complete social intercourse. But the Pole is not so considered. Failure to speak English is partly a cause, partly a result of this nonintercourse.

The working out of this feeling is noticed when Polish people begin to buy farms in a long-settled community. When the Poles have gained a little footing, the non-Poles prefer to sell out and move away, although there may be no apparent racial or social antagonism. The Poles do not seem to resent this feeling, although the better class of the younger generation think that it handicaps them somewhat in their social progress. However, as the younger people become educated, speak the English language, and gain entrance into higher business pursuits this clannishness and the feeling of difference on both sides very gradually disappears.

It is sufficient to note the fact that the Polish people are clannish; that this accounts for their close segregation in farm settlements; that

when the Poles come into a neighborhood the non-Poles sell out to them; and that there is a constant extension of the Polish farming area and a continued decrease of the farm area and the farming population of other nationalities. It is often predicted that Portage County farms will at no distant day be owned exclusively by Poles or natives of Polish descent.

Church celebrations and social organizations connected with the church provide opportunities for social recreation. There seems to be no beneficial societies, but a few of the younger generation are connected with some of the various fraternal orders.

There is very little social enjoyment for children except the games at school. The childhood of the Polish boy or girl has in it little of recreation and a great deal of hard work. Families are large, but there is plenty of work for each member as soon as he is old enough to do it.

#### EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS.

The children attend school with considerable regularity. The State law requires an attendance at some school six months of the year of all children between 7 and 14 years of age. This law is not strictly enforced, the county superintendent admits, and the law is satisfied if the child attends parochial school the required time and receives instruction in the Polish language. As a matter of fact, this has been the method pursued in a large percentage of districts up to within very recent years. Even in some of the public schools in the Polish districts very little English was spoken until within late years, according to the county superintendent. "The children get on faster when the teacher uses both Polish and English," said he. It was not uncommon two or three years ago to find geography, arithmetic, history, catechism, reading, and composition taught in the Polish language in the parochial schools. Now English is gradually being substituted, although Polish still finds a large place. This being true, with the further fact that many children receive little or no education outside the parochial schools, one can readily understand why it is that numbers of young men and women under 25 years of age, born in the United States, educated under the Wisconsin school laws, are unable to read or write or even to speak intelligently or to understand the English tongue. Many of the children can not speak or understand simple English. In this respect the Italian children in the New Jersey colonies make a very favorable contrast. Few of the latter, even of the primary grades, can not understand English.

An exception must be made of Stevens Point schools, which, to a great extent, employ the English language. The people demand it, because the children learn it on the streets and all see the advantage of a working knowledge of the English tongue. The city is much less conservative than the country, and customs, forms, ceremonies, and traditions cling much more tenaciously in isolated rural colonies. There always arises the question of how far the advantages of segregated foreign settlements are overshadowed by the disadvantages, especially to the second generation. In the case under discussion, there is no doubt that much could be done to improve the situation and to advance the Americanization of these Poles, or at least of their American-born children.

It must be noted, however, that the conditions discussed are not universal. Some children are reported who can not speak Polish; some who will not learn that language. Most of these are in Stevens Point or in the smaller towns, where they are outnumbered by other nationalities in the schools attended by the Poles.

#### CHILDREN IN SCHOOLS.

On June 30, 1909, there were 8,872 children between the ages of 4 and 20 years reported in the county of Portage outside of Stevens Point. This represents the total school population in the rural districts and small towns. Of this number, approximately 3,730, or more than 42 per cent, were of Polish origin. As has been noted, some districts are entirely Polish. The figures given above are those furnished by the county superintendent of schools.

The Poles are not eager to gain educational advantages for their children, with, of course, some notable exceptions. In consequence, very few pupils in the country districts complete the eight grades, and except in Stevens Point almost none enter the high schools, of which there are two in the county. In Stevens Point the children are said to compare favorably with others in intelligence and aptness. They learn readily and have good memories; the boys are especially ready with practical subjects, those that have some bearing on their earning capacity. The country schools are not very satisfactory and the teaching ability is not high. Most of the teachers are high-school graduates, but many have no education other than that of a grammar school and do not even hold legal certificates.

There are some of the Polish young people who have studied at the State Normal School at Stevens Point, a few who have finished the normal course, and several who have attended one of the county training schools in the adjoining counties. A few boys have taken a course at some business college, and some of the girls are clerks, stenographers, and bookkeepers. One farmer has three girls and a boy who had attended the normal school. All have been or will be teachers. Most of those who aspire to education beyond the grammar school are residents of the city of Stevens Point, however. The county superintendent reports three Polish pupils in the eighth grade at Plover this year and last, and perhaps one in the high school at Amherst. Half a dozen female teachers in the county are of Polish descent. There is a Polish school or academy conducted for girls under the auspices of the church, and the attendance was between 50 and 75 pupils in 1909.

The Polish children, as already noted, are kept out of school whenever there is need of their services on the farms. Child-labor laws are unknown in the farming districts, and the school waits upon the potato field. Economic improvement, the rise in the financial status of the farmer, is doing a great deal to improve intellectual conditions, however, and when there is less necessity for child labor the school-houses will be better filled. There are few children who go from the farms to the factories, although some of the older boys work in the sawmills and paper mills and a number of girls find employment as domestics in Stevens Point.

One of the educational forces of the community, both from an agricultural, political, and intellectual standpoint, is the Polish



newspaper, *The Rolnik*, already referred to. It was established in 1892, is published weekly, and has a circulation of about 6,000, more than one-third of which is in Portage County. There are many subscribers in the West and in Michigan. The progressive policy of the paper has done a great deal to bring the Polish patron into harmony with his American environment.

#### POLISH MARRIAGES AND BIRTHS.

The standard of living and of morality is closely connected with the family life. Among the Polish people the family is preeminently the economic and social unit. Marriage ties are strong; both church, tradition, and economic welfare favor early marriages, large families, and few divorces. The marriage statistics for a recent period are presented below, including the urban and the rural figures. The total number of marriage certificates issued from October 1, 1907, to October 1, 1909, in Portage county was 396. Of this number, 213 were issued to applicants one or both of whom were of Polish descent. Of the certificates, 199, or about one-half of all, were granted to contracting couples, both Polish. The figures up to this point need no comment. Plainly, Polish marriages occur more frequently than non-Polish, both absolutely and in relation to population. The small number of mixed marriages, 14 in all, or 7 per cent, is evidence of the fact that there is not much Polish intermarriage.

Since October 1, 1907, births in Wisconsin have been reported to a department of vital statistics at Madison. Prior to that date all births in the county were recorded at the office of register of deeds at each county seat. For that reason the tabulation of births noticed below was made not for 1908 and 1909, but for a period of two years and nine months prior to October, 1907—that is, from January 1, 1905, to October 1, 1907. The total number of births and some other interesting related items, concerning Poles and persons, of Polish descent in Portage county, are shown below:

Total number of births recorded .....	1,898
Number of Polish births .....	1,106
Number of births of doubtful race.....	14
Number of twin births, Polish.....	10
Number of stillborn, Polish.....	19
Number of stillborn, non-Polish.....	6
Number of illegitimate births, Polish .....	4
Number of illegitimate births, non-Polish.....	8
Total population of county, 1905.....	30,861
Approximate Polish population, 1905 (including Russian).....	10,000
Percentage of Polish in population.....	33
Percentage of Polish births (not including doubtful).....	58.25

The showing is of interest as pointing out the very much greater fecundity of the Polish than the non-Polish population. With approximately one-third of the population, they are credited with nearly three-fifths of the number of births. In other words, the Polish birth rate is annually 40 per thousand of total Polish population, while the non-Polish birth rate is about 14 per thousand, or as 3 to 1. Attention is called to the comparatively small number of illegitimate children reported among them, less than four-tenths of 1 per cent, while among the non-Polish population the proportion is 1 per cent. The number of stillborn or premature births is close to 2 per cent of all Polish

births; for the non-Poles the figure is three-fourths of 1 per cent. There are some errors, of course, and some failures to report births, but on the whole the figures are the best that can be obtained.

Taken in connection with the statistics of marriages which show a lower age and a higher rate than other nationalities in the county, the figures are significant as illustrating the much more rapid increase of the Polish element in the population. It shows why the Polish farmer is able to compete successfully with his non-Polish neighbor, why the value of land increases rapidly in Polish neighborhoods, and why, since there is little racial intermarriage, Polish traditions, Polish spirit, and Polish language are preserved.

The death rate among the Polish people in the county is not very much higher than among the remainder of the population.

#### STANDARD OF LIVING.

Standards of living are so closely related to social, educational, religious, and moral conditions, and to the economic welfare of any people that the reader is referred to chapters dealing with those topics for most that will be said in this connection. It remains to speak briefly of the food, clothing, and manner of life in the home.

The Poles have now lived in this county for so long a time that there remain very few distinctive marks, either in person or clothing, or of physique or physiognomy to differentiate the Polish farmer from his American, German, or Scandinavian neighbors. Owing to the continued use of their native language, and to their clannishness, however, they continue to be regarded by their neighbors as a foreign element in the population.

The women have nearly all given up the bright shawls or handkerchiefs they formerly wore as head dresses, but some cling to the provincial way of dressing and work without shoes when the weather is warm and they are in the fields. In dress the young women are not different from other American-born girls except in that they usually wear rather gaudy combinations of color in Sunday and holiday attire. On the whole, the country Poles do not dress as well as the Poles in the farm settlements of the Connecticut Valley, although the latter have been in America a shorter period of time. There is, too, the usual urban-rural contrast between the Poles of the rural districts and those in the city of Stevens Point, a contrast that is especially marked in the younger generation.

Many of the girls work as domestics in the best homes and hotels, and, in general, they are said to be excellent housekeepers and willing, efficient servants. These domestics are quickly Americanized, soon learn to speak good English, wear clothes well, gain self-confidence, and become socially adaptable. Some of the girls refuse to work as domestics and seek positions as clerks, stenographers, and the like. After reaching a certain stage in their social ascent they become less satisfactory in the homes, demand many privileges, and grow critical and discontented. This is to say, that the social evolution and Americanization of the Polish girl in the city is very rapid in most instances if the environment is at all favorable.

So far as food is concerned, the rural Poles live very well indeed, judged by the culinary standards of other rural communities in this

county. Some rye bread is eaten, sometimes a great deal of it, comparatively speaking, since rye is a staple crop and wheat does poorly on these soils. But the use of wheat flour is increasing steadily. Much meat, both pork and beef, is consumed. Farmers usually raise their own meat, some families slaughtering several hogs for home use every year.

The gardens are not especially good, but plenty of potatoes, onions, cabbage, sweet corn, tomatoes, pumpkins, and all the more ordinary vegetables are raised by nearly every family. There are not many who raise small fruits and probably comparatively little fruit of any kind is found on their tables. They are hearty eaters and live much better than the South Italians who were visited in various agricultural colonies.

The manner of cooking and serving food varies greatly. There were homes which were neat, clean, orderly, and very homelike. Food was well cooked and as well served as among the well-to-do American farmers of the neighborhood. Others were anything but homelike and attractive, but it must be said in justice that these latter houses were few.

On the whole, the interiors of the houses are fairly satisfactory as far as cleanliness is concerned; and ordinarily the quality of food was good. In Stevens Point the poor portion of the town is the Polish ward, which presents anything but a thrifty appearance. The houses are small frame dwellings, built with little attempt at ornament, and usually surrounded by bare ill-kept yards. The farmhouses, however, are ordinarily surrounded with shade trees, and have something in the way of lawns and ornamental shrubs and flowers or fruit trees to relieve the bareness.

The standard of living among the Polish families of Portage County strikes the observer as midway between that of the ordinary South Italian immigrant and that of the second generation of farmers of north European origin. They live much better than the Poles of Milwaukee or the newly arriving Polish immigrants of Shawano and Oconto counties, Wis., but the second generation of Poles, of whom there are a large number in Trempealeau County, Wis., are far beyond the average Portage County Polish farmer in houses, surroundings, manner of living, and general evidences of prosperity and the appurtenances of leisure.

#### CRIMES AND QUARRELS.

The number of criminal suits involving Poles is comparatively large. Professor Sanford<sup>a</sup> says that fully one-half of the criminal cases, both in the justice courts of Stevens Point and in the municipal court of Portage County, involve Poles. This authority states that in the circuit court, during the six years, 1902 to 1907, inclusive, 67 criminal cases were tried against Poles, 69 against non-Poles. Continuing, he says, "It is the opinion of many observers that the first generation of Poles have in this county a much larger proportion of offenders than the original immigrants."

No statistics of criminality were compiled by the writer, but the above statement may be regarded as authoritative. The opinion is

<sup>a</sup>Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin (1907), p. 285.

almost universal, not only near Stevens Point, but in Kewaunee, Brown, Shawano, and Trempealeau Counties, Wis., as well as in the settlements visited in Illinois, Indiana, and Massachusetts, that the Poles are quarrelsome, especially when intoxicated; perhaps 75 per cent of the criminality arises from strong drink. However, as compared with the other Polish communities, notably Sobieski and Pulaski, near Green Bay, Wis., the Portage County people are rather more peaceable, honest, and law-abiding. Not many serious complaints were made against them, and public officials were inclined to consider their misdemeanors in the light of racial aberrations rather than heinous offenses or marks of criminal degeneracy. The rural Poles, both foreign-born and of the first generation born in this country, are more quiet and law-abiding than those in the city. There is less rowdyism and rioting and more sobriety.

There seem to be a good many quarrels and feuds between neighbors, and it is said that these ordinarily have their origin in disputes or fights usually arising in a saloon or at some festivity of their own. It is further said that most of the Polish men drink, and that the money expended for drink alone, to say nothing of the crimes to which it leads, is relatively very large.

It is a hopeful sign that the third generation is better morally, as far as one can judge at present, than the second generation, who are just beginning to feel their importance, but have not yet arrived at a sense of social responsibility.

Because there is a large percentage of Poles who give evidences of good manners and morals, and increasing intelligence and culture, it is hard to say just where the Polish people of Portage stand when judged by the best standards known among them. Two facts partly explain the criminal conditions: There are many who are poor, ignorant, and illiterate, and this poverty and ignorance is responsible for a large share of crime; second, the younger people, the second generation, have not yet found themselves, and the emerging transitional class or generation are likely to be the socially irregular. It seems certain that with increasing prosperity, education, and the sense of responsibility which property and intelligence give there will be greater social stability and less crime.

In the two tables which follow are shown in condensed form the economic history and present financial condition of 12 typical Polish families, the heads of which were foreign-born, and of 10 typical Polish-American families—that is, families whose heads were born in the United States of Polish parents.

It will be noted that one of the chief points of difference between the two groups of families is in the size of households, the 10 Polish-American families having an average of 7.1 persons per household compared with an average of 9.4 persons in the 12 households the heads of which are foreign-born. The average holdings of real estate are 135.33 acres for 9 families of Polish-Americans compared with an average of 141 acres for the 12 families of foreign-born Poles.

The households, the heads of which are foreign-born, also show a slightly higher average net value of property owned than the Polish-Americans.



TABLE 14.—*Economic history and present financial conditions of*

Data reported.	Family 1.	Family 2.	Family 3.	Family 4.	Family 5.
<b>Years in locality:</b>					
Head.....	28.....	4.....	5.....	25.....	28.....
Family.....	28.....	4.....	5.....	25.....	18.....
Present household size.....	7.....	10.....	11.....	12.....	9.....
Number of members 10 years or over.....	7.....	4.....	9.....	9.....	6.....
Male.....	5.....	2.....	5.....	4.....	5.....
Female.....	2.....	2.....	4.....	5.....	1.....
Previous location.....	Germany.....	Stevens Point, Wis.	Illinois.....	Sharon, Wis.	Hull, Wis..
Previous occupation.....	Farm laborer.	Foreman in gas plant.	Laborer zinc furnace.	Farmer.....	Farmer.....
Value of property brought.....	None.....	\$2,000.....	\$3,250.....	\$500.....	\$800.....
Occupation in locality previous to purchase.....	Farm laborer.	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
Wages per week.....	\$3.50 <sup>a</sup> .....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Years employed.....	3.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
First land bought:					
Date.....	1884.....	1904 <sup>b</sup> .....	1904.....	1884.....	1881.....
Number of acres.....	40.....	103.....	200.....	120.....	80.....
Price.....	\$100.....	\$2,000.....	\$14,000.....	\$1,500.....	\$900.....
Terms.....	\$50 cash, balance mortgage.	Cash.....	\$8,000 cash, balance mortgage.	\$500 cash, balance mortgage.	\$800 cash, balance mortgage.
Condition.....	All woodland.	75 acres tillable, 25 pasture.	120 acres cultivated, 80 swamp.	60 acres tillable, house and barn, 60 woodland.	28 acres tillable, 52 woodland, house and barn.
Occupation until living could be made from land.....	Farm laborer.	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
Number of years.....	5.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Earnings per day.....	Not reported.	.....	.....	.....	.....
Acres of land now owned.....	180.....	183.....	200.....	120.....	120.....
Acres cultivated.....	60.....	83.....	140.....	100.....	80.....
Live stock now owned:					
Cattle.....	12.....	5.....	12.....	10.....	6.....
Horses.....	4.....	5.....	6.....	3.....	2.....
Sheep.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Swine.....	8.....	17.....	18.....	8.....	8.....
Financial condition:					
Value land and improvements.....	\$6,000.....	\$3,750.....	\$8,000.....	\$6,000.....	\$4,500.....
Live stock.....	\$775.....	\$455.....	\$695.....	\$630.....	\$625.....
Tools and implements.....	\$150.....	\$100.....	\$300.....	\$200.....	\$125.....
Crops on hand.....	\$600.....	\$500.....	\$1,000.....	\$300.....	\$250.....
Other property.....	\$175.....	\$50.....	\$150.....	\$200.....	\$200.....
Gross value of all property.....	\$7,700.....	\$4,855.....	\$10,145.....	\$7,330.....	\$5,700.....
Indebtedness—					
On land.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	\$1,500.....
Other.....	.....	\$1,100.....	\$6,000.....	.....	.....
Net value of all property.....	\$7,700.....	\$3,755.....	\$4,145.....	\$7,330.....	\$4,200.....

<sup>a</sup> And board and lodging.

certain typical Polish families, Portage County, Wis.

Family 6.	Family 7.	Family 8.	Family 9.	Family 10.	Family 11.	Family 12.
33.....	5.....	25.....	18.....	35.....	27.....	30.....
33.....	5.....	25.....	18.....	30.....	21.....	30.....
12.....	7.....	10.....	11.....	9.....	9.....	6.....
9.....	5.....	7.....	5.....	6.....	6.....	6.....
5.....	3.....	3.....	3.....	3.....	4.....	3.....
4.....	2.....	4.....	2.....	3.....	2.....	3.....
Germany.....	Chicago, Ill.	Milwaukee, Wis.	Chicago, Ill.	Germany.....	Brooklyn, N. Y.	Illinois.
Father's farm.....	Carpenter.....	Excavating for sewer.	Laborer in tannery.	At school.....	Unskilled laborer in oil mill.	Pick coal miner.
None.....	None.....	\$250.....	\$200.....	None.....	\$800.....	\$350.....
Farm laborer, railroad construction.	None.....	None.....	None.....	Farm laborer	None.....	None.....
\$19.20.....				\$1.75 <sup>a</sup> .....		
15.....				12.....		
1891.....	1904.....	1884.....	1891.....	1886.....	1882.....	1879.....
80.....	40.....	40.....	80.....	120.....	17.....	92.....
\$1,100.....	\$1,550.....	\$180.....	\$675.....	\$560.....	\$175.....	\$300.....
\$700 cash, balance mortgage.	Exchanged property valued at \$1,200, balance mortgage.	Cash.....	On credit.....	Credit mortgage.	Cash.....	Cash.....
20 acres tillable, 60 woodland, house and barn.	None tillable, house and barn.	All brush land.	40 acres tillable.	10 acres cultivated, 110 swamp and woodland.	All woodland.	All brush and small timber.
None.....	Teamster for lumber company.	Farm laborer	Laborer.....	Railroad shop.	Working in sawmill.	Farm laborer and sawmill.
.....	4.....	6.....	6.....	6.....	3.....	10.....
.....	Not reported.	Not reported.	Not reported.	Not reported.	Not reported.	Not reported.
80.....	106.....	110.....	120.....	104.....	197.....	172.....
45.....	54.....	60.....	76.....	60.....	111.....	30.....
14.....	13.....	9.....	5.....	10.....	8.....	11.....
2.....	2.....	2.....	4.....	2.....	4.....	3.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6.....
10.....	4.....	9.....	7.....	2.....	13.....	3.....
\$4,000.....	\$2,750.....	\$3,000.....	\$3,000.....	\$5,000.....	\$4,000.....	\$3,000.....
\$700.....	\$390.....	\$292.....	\$480.....	\$550.....	\$401.....	\$405.....
\$150.....	\$400.....	\$75.....	\$250.....	\$500.....	\$100.....	\$200.....
\$400.....	\$375.....	\$300.....	\$250.....	\$500.....	\$350.....	\$250.....
\$200.....	\$300.....	\$100.....	\$75.....	\$200.....	\$75.....	\$200.....
\$5,450.....	\$4,215.....	\$3,767.....	\$4,055.....	\$6,750.....	\$4,926.....	\$4,055.....
.....	\$950.....	\$1,000.....	\$1,400.....	.....	\$1,400.....	.....
.....	\$100.....	\$100.....	\$25.....	.....	.....	.....
\$5,450.....	\$3,165.....	\$2,667.....	\$2,630.....	\$6,750.....	\$3,526.....	\$4,055.....

<sup>a</sup> He purchased one year before settling in this locality.

TABLE 14.—*Economic history and present financial conditions of*

## ANNUAL FARM INCOME FROM PRODUCTS

Products.	Pro- duced.	Sold.	Pro- duced.	Sold.	Pro- duced.	Sold.	Pro- duced.	Sold.	Pro- duced.	Sold.
Corn.....	\$138	.....	\$123	.....	\$200	.....	\$125	.....	\$56	.....
Hay.....	168	.....	275	.....	360	.....	124	.....	85	.....
Irish potatoes.....	775	\$775	488	\$425	790	\$600	600	\$500	395	\$325
Oats.....	307	.....	100	.....	565	100	163	25	125	25
Products not itemized.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Rye.....	103	.....	165	.....	183	.....	210	100	228	100
Dairy products.....	.....	313	.....	.....	.....	250	.....	163	.....	.....
Live stock.....	.....	220	.....	25	.....	75	.....	15	.....	64
Poultry products.....	.....	15	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	1,491	1,323	1,151	450	2,098	1,025	1,222	803	889	514
Farm expenditures:										
Farm labor.....			\$25		\$100					
Fertilizer and Paris green.....	\$12		7		30		\$15		\$9	
Seed, feed, and forage.....					100		15			
Total.....	12		32		230		30		9	



certain typical Polish families, Portage County, Wis.—Continued.

SOLD (AVERAGE FOR TWO YEARS).

Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.
\$113		\$60		\$100		\$110		\$175		\$120		\$50	
95		180		80		80		150		52		80	
400	\$263	425	\$325	413	\$300	690	\$638	345	\$190	700	\$525	313	\$263
223	50	54		117	25	140	38	150		200		55	
	15												
		50		105	25	118		120		325	75	168	38
	300		150		105		45		275				100
	100		56		33		15		40				6
	25				10		10		25				
831	753	769	531	815	498	1,138	746	940	530	1,397	600	666	407
\$13				\$10								\$7	
25												18	
65		\$59				\$50							
103		59		10		50							25

TABLE 15.—*Economic history and present financial condition of certain*

Data reported.	Family 1.	Family 2.	Family 3.	Family 4.
Years in locality:				
Head.....	25.....	1.....	23.....	25.....
Family.....	21.....	1.....	20.....	18.....
Present household size.....	4.....	8.....	3.....	6.....
Number of members 10 years or more.....	2.....	3.....	2.....	5.....
Male.....	1.....	2.....	1.....	3.....
Female.....	1.....	1.....	1.....	2.....
Previous location.....	Stevens Point, Wis.	Custer, Wis.	Stevens Point, Wis.	Stevens Point, Wis.
Previous occupation.....	None.....	Saloon keeper and grocer.	None.....	None.....
Value of property brought to locality.....	None.....	\$1,600.....	None.....	None.....
First occupation in locality.....	On father's farm.	None.....	Farm laborer	Laborer.....
Wages per week.....	None.....	None.....	\$6.25.....	\$7.50.....
First land leased.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
Date.....	1907.....			
Number of acres.....	160.....			
Terms.....	$\frac{1}{2}$ crop and $\frac{1}{2}$ dairy products.			
Condition.....	140 acres tillable.			
First land bought:				
Date.....		1909.....	1908.....	1905.....
Number of acres.....		80.....	115.....	200.....
Price.....		\$2,000.....	\$2,875.....	\$5,200.....
Terms.....		\$1,600 cash, mortgage, 6 per cent.	Not reported	\$1,000 cash and balance as able.
Condition.....		64 acres tillable.	Less than half tillable.	85 acres tillable, 115 swamp and brush.
Occupation until living could be made from land.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
Number of years.....				
Earnings per day.....				
Acres of land now owned.....	None.....	80.....	115.....	200.....
Acres tillable.....		64.....	45.....	85.....
Number of apple trees.....	No fruit.....	No orchard.....	No fruit.....	No fruit.....
Rented land.....		None.....	None.....	None.....
Acres.....	160.....			
Terms.....	$\frac{1}{2}$ crop and $\frac{1}{2}$ dairy products.			
Live stock now owned:				
Cattle.....	6.....	4.....	2.....	13.....
Horses.....	3.....	2.....	2.....	4.....
Hogs.....	5.....	5.....	4.....	7.....
Financial condition:				
Value of land and improvements.....	None.....	\$2,000.....	2,875.....	\$6,000.....
Live stock.....	\$350.....	\$300.....	\$170.....	\$540.....
Tools and implements.....	\$130.....	\$60.....	\$40.....	\$150.....
Crops on hand.....	\$600.....	\$250.....	\$275.....	\$700.....
Other property.....	\$100.....	\$100.....	\$50.....	\$125.....
Total gross value of property.....	\$1,180.....	\$2,710.....	\$3,410.....	\$7,515.....
Indebtedness.....	None.....		Not reported	Not reported
On land.....	None.....	\$1,800.....	Not reported	\$4,200.....
Other.....			Not reported	
Net value of all property.....	\$1,180.....	\$910.....	Not reported	\$3,315.....

typical Polish-American families, Portage County, Wis.

Family 5.	Family 6.	Family 7.	Family 8.	Family 9.	Family 10.
22.....	43.....	17.....	9.....	10.....	2.
22.....	41.....	24.....	9.....	45.....	1.
11.....	10.....	5.....	7.....	11.....	6.
6.....	6.....	2.....	2.....	7.....	3.
3.....	3.....	1.....	1.....	5.....	1.
3.....	3.....	1.....	1.....	2.....	2.
Polonia, Wis....	Stevens Point, Wis.	Chicago, Ill....	Hurley, Wis....	Custer, Wis....	Chicago, Ill.
Father's farm...	None.....	At school.....	Section hand, railroad.	Farmer.....	Laborer in liv- ery stable.
None.....	None.....	None.....	\$400.....	\$2,000.....	\$2,200.
None.....	On father's farm	Farm laborer, lumberjack.	None.....	None.....	None.
None.....	None.....	\$6.25.....	None.....	None.....	
None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	1909.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	40.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1/3 of crop.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	All in cultiva- tion.
1887.....	1891.....	1903.....	1900.....	1899.....	1907.....
80.....	80.....	113.....	70.....	80.....	100.....
\$1,500.....	\$1,000.....	\$1,850.....	\$800.....	\$1,600.....	\$2,650.
20-year mort- gage, interest, 10 per cent.	\$100 cash, bal- ance by mort- gage, 10 per cent interest.	\$1,000 cash, bal- ance mortgage, 6 per cent in- terest.	\$400 cash, bal- ance by mort- gage, 5 per cent interest.	Cash.....	\$2,000 cash, bal- ance in 3 years 6 per cent interest.
60 acres tillable.	60 acres tillable.	65 acres culti- vated, 48 acres brush.	All cleared land.	20 acres wood, 60 acres till- able.	70 acres in cul- tivation, 10 marsh, 10 pas- ture, 10 wood Worked in liv- ery stable.
None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	1.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Not reported.
140.....	220.....	113.....	90.....	160.....	100.
65.....	160.....	65.....	60.....	110.....	70.
3 apple trees...	No orchard.....	2 apple trees...	No fruit.....	24 apple trees..	Not reported.
None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	40.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1/3 crop.
11.....	9.....	3.....	4.....	12.....	6.
3.....	2.....	2.....	4.....	4.....	2.
12.....	10.....	.....	2.....	10.....	2.
\$5,000.....	\$10,000.....	\$3,500.....	\$3,000.....	\$5,000.....	\$2,750.
\$585.....	\$420.....	\$455.....	\$240.....	\$640.....	\$320.
\$400.....	\$125.....	\$150.....	\$100.....	\$200.....	\$100.
\$500.....	\$400.....	\$350.....	\$175.....	\$400.....	\$500.
\$500.....	\$100.....	\$100.....	\$50.....	\$100.....	\$60.
\$6,985.....	\$11,045.....	\$4,555.....	\$3,565.....	\$6,340.....	\$3,730.
None.....	\$1,000.....	\$700.....	\$300.....	None.....	\$650.
None.....	\$100.....	.....	.....	.....	\$12.
\$6,985.....	\$9,945.....	\$3,855.....	\$3,265.....	\$6,340.....	\$3,068.

TABLE 15.—*Economic history and present financial condition of certain*

## ANNUAL FARM INCOME FROM PRODUCTS

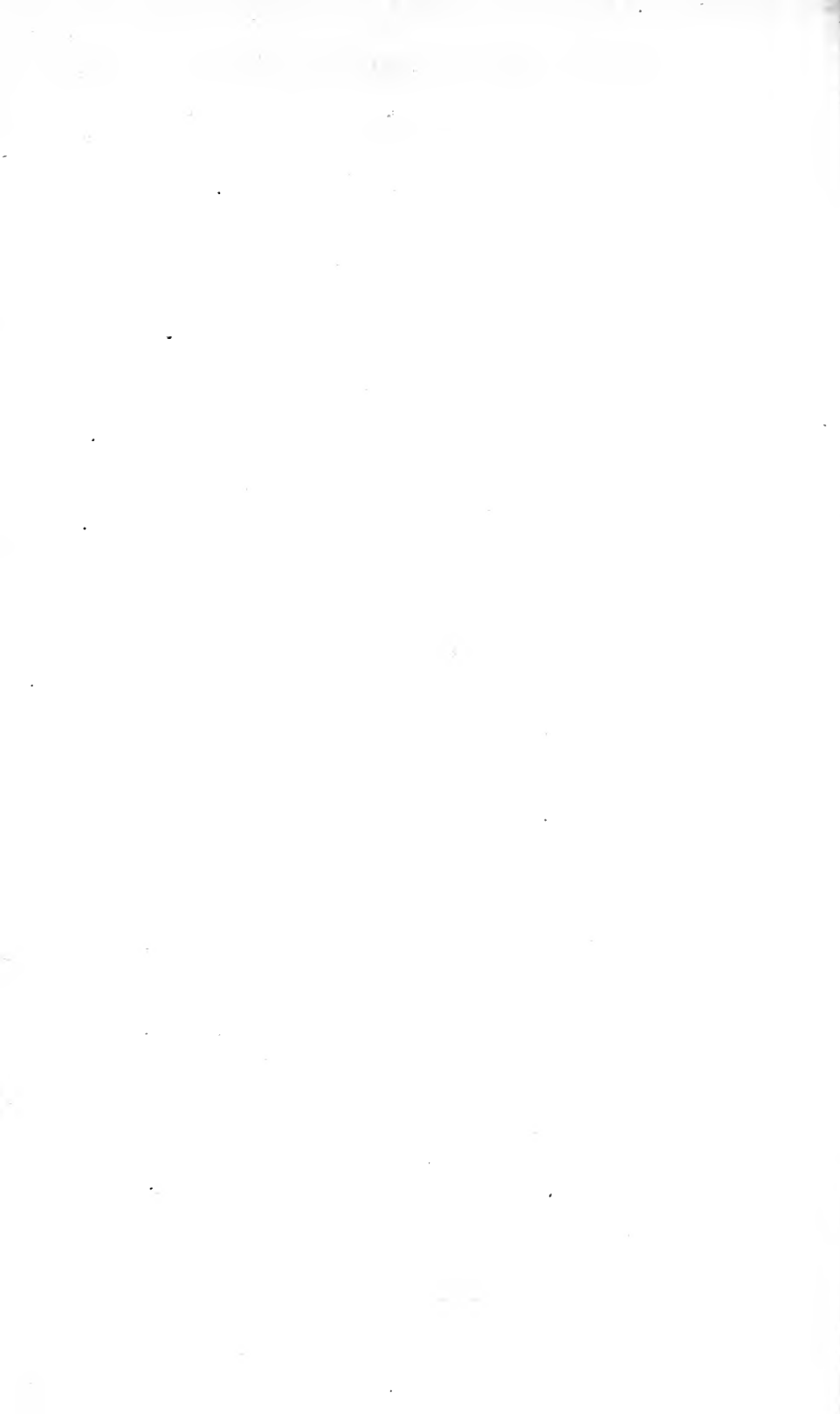
Products.	Pro- duced.	Sold.	Pro- duced.	Sold.	Pro- duced.	Sold.	Pro- duced.	Sold.
Corn.....	\$113		\$120		\$50		\$165	
Rye.....	128		85	\$35	175	\$50	185	
Oats.....	244		40		30		125	
Hay.....	165		8		48		144	
Potatoes.....	588	\$425	250	\$225	140	75	575	\$400
Raspberries.....			20					
Dairy products.....		188		35				113
Live-stock products.....								22
Poultry products.....		5						
Total.....	1,238	618	595	295	443	125	1,194	535
Farm expenditures:								
Feed, seed, and forage.....							\$55	
Fertilizer.....							22	
Farm labor.....								
Total.....							77	

\* Family 6 received a supplementary income of \$300 a year rent for house and 80 acres of land.

*typical Polish-American families, Portage County, Wis.—Continued.*

SOLD (AVERAGE FOR TWO YEARS).

Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.
\$200	.....	\$100	.....	\$133	.....	.....	.....	\$225	.....	\$160	.....
120	.....	42	.....	170	\$38	\$133	\$13	195	\$100	185	\$50
279	.....	275	.....	33	13	57	.....	170	.....	120	.....
39	.....	100	.....	80	.....	30	.....	67	.....	51	.....
675	\$650	600	\$425	330	188	275	213	395	313	110	40
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	138	.....	263	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	110	.....	40	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1,313	898	1,117	728	746	249	495	226	1,052	413	626	90
\$15		\$30		\$7		\$10		\$6		\$50	
25		25		.....		.....		.....		18	
.....		.....		.....		15		.....		25	
40		55		7		25		6		93	



## CHAPTER III.

### INDEPENDENCE, WISCONSIN; GENERAL FARMERS.

#### INTRODUCTION.

The Independence settlement of Poles, third in point of age in Wisconsin and one of the earliest in the United States, is located in the western part of the State, not far from the Mississippi River in Trempealeau County. The Poles first settled in the township of Dodge in the southwestern part of the county, 8 or 10 miles from Winona, Minn., in 1864. In 1875 small groups were settled in three townships, lying on both sides of Trempealeau River. They now occupy the greater part of the farm land in Dodge, Arcadia, and Burnside townships and have overflowed into the adjoining townships and Buffalo County. They include three parishes, numbering about 650 families. The largest parish, which includes, according to the resident priest, 400 families of Polish origin, is centered near Independence in Burnside Township. Because of the concentration of Poles in the vicinity of Independence the entire colony is discussed under that name.

The territory occupied by Poles extends about 25 miles north and south and 6 or 8 miles from east to west. The settlement is penetrated and, on the southwest, partly bounded by the Trempealeau River, on which two small towns, Arcadia and Independence, each with a large percentage of Poles, are located. A single line of railroad, which follows the river, runs through the settlement and affords connections with the Winona, Minn., Lacrosse, Wis., and Chicago markets.

In general the entire Polish section is devoted to grain and livestock production and dairying; the farms average about a quarter section in size and in many places more than two-thirds of the land is improved and in meadow, tame pasture, or cultivated crops. There is little specialized farming, but an air of prosperity and plenty pervades the region. Good houses, frequently of brick, large, well-painted barns and outbuildings, wire-fenced fields, well-bred horses and herds of cattle are found on almost every farm. Many of the first settlers have died and others have retired, but their children, and, in a few instances, their grandchildren, are continuing on the farms bequeathed or leased to them by their parents. It is possible to observe there three generations of Polish farmers.

The total population of the three townships in 1905 was 6,082, of whom almost 2,000 were in the villages of Independence and Arcadia, the latter with about 1,350 inhabitants being the largest village in the county. Probably more than 60 per cent of the population is of Polish lineage. The other foreign elements both in these townships and in the remainder of the county are chiefly Norwegian, German, and Irish.

## HISTORICAL.

The first settlement of Poles in Wisconsin was at Polonia, in Portage County, whose agricultural development is traced in Chapter II of this report. The second Polish parish was formed in Milwaukee, Wis., in 1862, the third was in the locality under discussion. After 1861 there was a comparatively large emigration of Poles from upper Silesia to the United States. A body of peasants who had become dissatisfied with economic and political conditions at home, and who, undoubtedly, were familiar with the accounts of rich and cheap lands in America, reported by their Silesian countrymen previously settled in Texas, took passage for the United States about 1862 or 1863. They were almost all from two Silesian parishes, Popillon and Swolkowice, and a number were related families. They seem to have come directly to Chicago, thence west to the Mississippi River and northward to Winona, Minn., although there is some difference of opinion as to the route taken by the earliest arrivals. Perhaps 40 families arrived between 1863 and 1864. At any rate a church was built and a parish established at Pine Creek (now Dodge), Trempealeau County, Wis., in the middle of a timbered wilderness in 1864. The parish records establish the date with a fair degree of accuracy.

The newcomers found the land forested with hard wood, rather rough and broken, but near water and in general possessing a moderate degree of fertility. They secured work in the logging camps in the winter, "on the river" during the spring, and on the neighboring farms during the haying and harvest seasons. Land was purchased either from owners of large holdings or from the State, but a number filed on homesteads after taking out their first papers. The first group of colonists was not large, and though a few additions were made from 1860 to 1870, the period of greater immigration did not begin until 1870, and continued from 1870 to 1874. The second company settled in part near the original colony and in part somewhat closer to Independence, where a new parish was formed and a church built in 1875. In the same year the parish of North Creek, not far from Arcadia, was laid out, and a mission church constructed, making three Polish parishes in the county. The growth of the settlement may be judged by the fact that in 1875, when the Pine Creek parish erected an \$18,000 church, then the finest Polish church in America, it contained 130 families of Poles and 10 Bohemian households. The two new parishes were smaller. The original settlers of the townships were Americans, Irish, Norwegians, and Germans, who in 1877 owned perhaps two-thirds of the land.

Immigration to the community from Europe continued until 1890 or a little later, but very few Poles either from abroad or from elsewhere in the United States have come into the neighborhood since 1895. There is, however, a material growth from within the colony. Comparatively few of the young people leave the settlement and the territory occupied by persons of Polish parentage is being steadily extended. Not only are the Poles buying farms in the neighboring townships, but there are a number of valleys in Burnside and Arcadia townships whose former inhabitants, Germans, Irish, or Americans, have kept selling to Poles, until now the population is almost purely Polish in origin. A single Polish parish extends in one direction 12 miles from the church. The significant fact of the present develop-



ment of the community is this social shift in the rural population of some of the narrow valleys or coulées, so common in that region. There is still an intermixture of Irish and Americans (although very few of the younger generation of either race are farmers), some Germans, and occasionally a little knot of Scandinavian farms far up at the head of some narrow valley; but the Poles are steadily forcing out the original farmers and are losing no ground themselves.

Another significant movement is the occupation of small farms, composed of rather poor soil, near Independence by Polish workmen who labor in the village. These sandy farms of small acreage have been bought but recently with the object of keeping the wives and children busy while the adult males are at work in the village. Of the present total Polish population of 650 families, perhaps 75 per cent are engaged in farming. The others live in the villages, engaged either as day laborers or in commercial enterprises, and some are simply retired farmers. Taken as a whole they represent a colonization of thirty-five years' standing, a colonization coextensive with the economic development of much of the land they occupy. They are the most recent foreign immigration to Trempealeau County.

#### SOIL, CLIMATE, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Trempealeau County presents a great diversity of topography and soil. In the southern part and running west into the town of Dodge is an extensive area of level land, with a fairly fertile soil, rather light and sandy in texture. In the southwestern part and to some extent in Dodge between the Trempealeau and the Mississippi Rivers there are rather large areas of swamp. Following the Trempealeau River, running east and west through the county and comprehending a large portion of the Polish occupation is a ridge of wooded hills cut up by deep ravines and narrow coulées. North of the river, and including the Independence settlement, the country is very varied in contour—level, rolling, and rough at intervals over all the area settled by the Poles. Originally, most of the territory was forested with oak, poplar, and occasionally pine on the uplands. Many of the ridges are stony with steep sides, difficult to break and frequently almost impossible to cultivate with heavy machinery. Nevertheless, in the neighborhood of Independence very little of the oak lands that are at all fit for agriculture still remain in timber or woodland. The unimproved land is that which is either too steep, too stony, or too wet and swampy for clearing and cultivating. Nearly every acre of land now in cultivated fields represents the result of a heavy expenditure of money, or at least labor, to subdue and make it tillable. In parts of the Polish section 90 per cent of the farm lands are improved, and in nearly all cases the Pole who originally purchased the farm, with axe and grub hoe and crowbar and ox team, cleared, broke, and put in cultivation every acre at a labor cost equivalent to \$15 to \$30 per acre.

The best soil is in the valleys where the alluvium from the hillsides is deposited; the thinnest is on the ridges, which, unless carefully cultivated with a grass and clover rotation, soon become denuded of fertile elements. The sandy soils alternate with clay loams and many varieties appear within a limited area.

The climate is much the same as that described in the account of the Genoa (Wis.) area, and is characterized by long cold winters, short springs, and hot summers. Frost sometimes cuts off the corn crop before maturity in the fall, and in the spring there is danger from killing frosts until the end of May. In general, the climate is well adapted to the cereal grains, tame grasses, and clover and, if adequate shelter is provided for the stock, to dairying and live-stock production. Usually there is plenty of running water to supply the needs of the cattle, and the rainfall is generally ample to mature all crops, although there are frequent droughts in the late summer. Heavy snowfalls frequently occur in the winter, and field operations must be practically suspended from November to some time in April.

#### AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS.

Nearly all the land was secured in 40-acre units or multiples thereof. The settlers who preempted or purchased school land or swamp land from the State, or who homesteaded, usually took up 160-acre claims. There were some exceptions, but few newcomers purchased less than 80 acres. The price of wild land varied from \$1.25 to \$5 an acre, for Wisconsin's policy was to sell her land very cheaply to actual settlers and so encourage immigration. The later arrivals—those who purchased after 1880, or at least after 1885—usually secured land at least partly improved and some of the purchases were of less than 40 acres. Very few Poles have failed to make second purchases, hence there are now many holdings of more than 160 acres, and some farmers own as much as 360 acres.

The acreage of the entire number of Polish farms (206) in Trempealeau County in 1877 is shown by specified sizes in the table which follows. It is seen that the smallest farms were in Dodge where was the greatest concentration of Poles, the median farm being about 110 acres. In Burnside—the Independence district—more recently settled, the median farm was about 154, probably 160, acres. The median farm for the entire Polish community was in the neighborhood of 130 acres. At this time the median German farm was 140 acres and the median farm owned by Irishmen 144 acres or thereabouts.

TABLE 16.—*Acreage of Polish farms, near Independence, Wis., 1877.*

[Compiled from Official Atlas, 1877.]

Acreages classified.	Number of farms.			
	Burnside Township.	Arcadia Township.	Dodge Township.	Total.
Under 40 acres.....	1	1	8	10
40 and under 80 acres.....	2	16	18	36
80 and under 160 acres.....	14	40	39	93
160 and under 240 acres.....	10	29	13	52
240 acres and over.....	4	9	2	15
Total.....	31	95	80	206
Median farm, acres.....	154	142	110	130

Similar data for the same townships and some outlying districts, in 1901, are shown in the following table:

TABLE 17.—*Acreage of Polish farms, near Independence, Wis., 1891.*

[Compiled from Official Atlas, 1901.]

Acreages classified.	Number of farms.				
	Burnside Township.	Arcadia Township.	Dodge Township.	Outlying.	Total.
Under 40 acres.....	15	13	11	10	49
40 and under 80 acres.....	26	35	9	21	91
80 and under 160 acres.....	40	96	18	49	203
160 and under 240 acres.....	38	66	20	33	157
240 acres and over.....	6	21	15	10	52
Total.....	125	231	73	123	552
Median farm, acres.....	124	137	156	130	134

It will be interesting to compare with the 1877 table of acreages the situation in 1901. The latter table shows a measurable growth in number of Polish farms during the period. At the latter date the entire number of separate Polish holdings in that part of Trempealeau County was 552, an increase of 346, or practically 168 per cent in a quarter of a century. The greatest relative increase was in Burnside, but in actual numbers Arcadia Township made larger gains. On the other hand, Dodge had seven fewer Polish farms in 1901 than in 1877, but the classified acreage shows that the holdings were larger, and computation discloses that the aggregate land area in that township belonging to Poles was greater in 1901. After 1877 Burnside was partitioned, and what was the northern (and non-Polish) portion in 1877 is now called Chimney Rock. The Poles have been moving into this and other adjoining townships until in 1901 they owned 123 farms outside of the original three towns where the initial settlements were made.

A comparison of size of holdings shows that the median farm remained about the same—130 acres in 1877 and 134 acres in 1901. In Burnside the median farm fell from 154 acres in 1877 to 124 acres in 1901, the number of farms under 80 acres having increased from 3 in 1877 to 41 in 1901; the number of these small holdings is considerably greater now than in 1901. In Arcadia there has been little change in the average farm; the median in 1877 was 142 acres; in 1901, 137 acres. Dodge shows a marked enlargement in average farm acreage, from 110 to 156 acres, during the period. There are no villages of any size in the Polish section of Dodge, and Poles who moved away have usually sold out to fellow countrymen.

A table compiled from the assessment roll showing the acreage of 69 typical Polish farms in Burnside Township in 1909 is herewith presented. Four farms of rather recent purchase contained less than 40 acres each, and five were between 40 and 80 acres in size, but almost one-half of the farms are between 80 and 200 acres or over. The farms were selected at random, but it is probable that they are somewhat larger than the general average of Polish holdings in Burnside Township in 1909.

TABLE 18.—*Acreage of 69 typical Polish farms, Burnside, Wis.*

[Compiled from tax assessment roll, Burnside, 1909.]

Acreages classified.	Number of farms.	Acreages classified.	Number of farms.
Under 40 acres.....	4	280 acres and over.....	5
40 and under 80 acres.....	5		
80 and under 120 acres.....	11	Total number of farms.....	69
120 and under 200 acres.....	32	Average per farm, acres.....	152
200 and under 280 acres.....	12	Median farm, acres.....	164

The assessor's statistics of crops growing in the spring of 1909 show that the average acreage in hay, grain, and potatoes on a 160-acre farm is 90 to 100 acres. The remainder of the improved fields are tame pastures or farm yards. Nearly all farmers own a wood lot, sometimes detached from the farm proper.

## TENURE OF LAND.

There is little bona fide tenancy in Burnside, even including the cases in which the father leases his farm, on shares usually, to a grown-up son or perhaps to a neighbor's son. The tenant intends eventually to obtain a title to the place either by purchase or bequest. All the original Polish farmers owned the land they operated. At the present probably 10 to 15 per cent of the operators are tenants. A number of young men are taking care of their parents, handling their fathers' farms and receiving all the returns. Some fathers are buying tracts of land in the Dakotas for their sons who are now working at home without wages.

There is no doubt that tenancy will increase with the advance in land values, and that many young Poles will perforce remain tenants because of insufficient capital and the impossibility of accumulating enough money to buy high-priced land, but up to the present there is somewhat less tenancy than in the portions of the county occupied by American farmers. The Federal census of 1900 reported for the county about the same size of farms, but a larger percentage of farm owners than was disclosed by the investigation of Polish farms. Undoubtedly there are now more tenants in all parts of the county than in 1900, except among the Scandinavians, who in Trempealeau County constitute a large percentage of farmers and who are largely owners.

## CROPS RAISED.

The first money crop raised in this part of Wisconsin was wheat. In the three townships of Arcadia, Burnside, and Dodge, in 1877, the total acreage devoted to three principal crops was as follows: Wheat, 14,853 acres; oats, 3,507 acres; corn, 1,980 acres. Until 1880 wheat was the chief crop of the river counties, the Mississippi River counties continuing the production of this cereal after the counties in the southeastern part of the State had given it up for dairying and tobacco growing. From 1880 to 1890 Trempealeau County fell off somewhat in wheat production and began to substitute dairying and stock grains. From 1890 to 1900 the production of wheat per square mile remained practically unchanged, at 786 and 774 bushels, respec-

tively, while the per capita production fell off but 0.1, from 13.3 bushels to 13.2 bushels during the decade; in 1904 the per capita figure was 5.9 bushels. In 1869 the production of wheat was 4,869 bushels, and in 1879, 2,932 bushels per square mile and 48.1 bushels and 47.4 bushels, respectively, per capita.

The following table shows the production of wheat and other crops in the county in various years:

TABLE 19.—*Production of wheat, oats, corn, and hay, Trempealeau County, Wis., in years specified.*

[Compiled from United States census reports.]

	1869.		1879.		1889.		1899.	
	Bushels per square mile of improved land.	Per capita.	Bushels per square mile of improved land.	Per capita.	Bushels per square mile of improved land.	Per capita.	Bushels per square mile of improved land.	Per capita.
Wheat.....	4,869	48.1	2,932	47.4	786	13.3	774	13.2
Oats.....	.....	22.5	.....	39.0	.....	84.3	.....	105.6
Corn.....	.....	13.1	.....	25.7	.....	39.6	.....	36.9
Hay (tons).....	.....	1.8	.....	2.1	.....	3.4	.....	3.4

The table gives some idea of the falling off in wheat and the increasing per capita production of other farm crops in the entire county. The same movement is disclosed in the Polish communities, with this difference, however, that the abandonment of wheat has come about more gradually and that there are few Polish farms which do not raise enough wheat to supply the household with bread, whereas in parts of the county no wheat whatever is grown. Very little wheat is sold, and even high prices have not caused any material increase in the acreage sown.

The chief crop now is oats, of which the average Polish farmer sows 40 to 50 acres yearly and sells the surplus not fed to live stock. Barley, too, is being more generally raised. Of 28 Polish farmers in Burnside Township from whom data relative to crop production were secured, 25 reported barley grown in 1908 and 27 barley growing in 1909. The average acreage per farm was 8.5 in 1909 and the average yield 195 bushels per farm in 1908. Barley is chiefly used for feed and takes the place of oats in the crop rotation and as a stock food. The production of barley per acre is very nearly that of oats (23 to 25 bushels in 1908) and the feeding value is greater. No barley or oats are cut green for hay.

Timothy, clover, and some wild or "marsh" hay is cured. Little hay is sold in any form, since every farmer purposes to keep enough live stock to consume all the hay he produces. The area in tame hay is about 20 acres, or a little less, per farm on an average. The second growth of clover is cut and thrashed for seed. Clover has a regular place in the rotation, and usually follows oats, barley, or perhaps rye, with which it is sowed. Ordinarily a mixture of timothy and clover seed is sowed, and since the clover grows more quickly and more rank than the timothy the first hay crop cut is chiefly clover. However, the clover soon gives place to the slower growing

but more tenacious timothy, and the second and third crops are largely timothy. In this regard, as in others, the Poles conform to the agricultural methods of the community.

Corn is grown for feeding hogs and for fodder. Silos have been built by some Polish dairymen within recent years, and these are filled with ordinary yellow dent corn. But the larger part of the corn is cut for stover and is either shredded or cut fine with a corn cutter for feeding purposes. The acreage of corn, while it has increased somewhat since 1880, is not large, owing partly to the fact that the fields are rather rough and hilly in places; in part because, owing to early frosts, corn does not always have an opportunity to mature. The average acreage growing on 28 farms in 1909 was 6.5 acres; the average yield on the same farms in 1908 was 210 bushels. The actual yield was probably a little more than the figure given, since some corn was "snapped" from the stalks and fed to hogs, of which it is unlikely any account was taken.

The other and less important crops are rye and potatoes. Potatoes average less than 50 bushels per farm one year with another and are raised for home consumption. Rye still finds a place in the rotation, principally on the sandy or poorer clay soils. About half of the farmers produced an average of 219 bushels per farm in 1908. Rye flour partially takes the place of wheat flour in foreign homes, but some of the grain is fed on the farm and some is sold. No use is made of the straw except for ordinary bedding, of which the money value is very small. Every farmer has a vegetable garden in which he raises the staple vegetables for family use only. The garden, dairy, poultry yard, and piggery furnish the greater part of the family food supply. Where wheat or rye raised on the farm is exchanged for flour there is very little cash outlay for foodstuffs and the cash receipts from produce sold is practically net income. Few colonies visited were more nearly self-sufficing than that of the Poles near Independence.

The following table gives the assessor's figures for 28 representative Polish farms in the vicinity of Independence, Wis., showing the acreage in crops in 1909 and the quantities produced in 1908. It will be seen that there is no specialized farming, no single money crop, and no perishable commercial crop produced.

TABLE 20.—Average quantity of crops raised in 1908 and growing in 1909, typical Polish farms, Independence, Wis.

[Compiled from assessor's list, 1909.]

Crops.	Crops raised in 1908.			Crops growing in 1909.		
	Number of farms producing.	Quantity.		Number of farms.	Acreage.	
		Total.	Per farm.		Total.	Per farm.
Oats (bushels).....	28	32,400	1,157.0	28	1,288	46.0
Corn (bushels).....	27	5,660	210.0	28	183	6.5
Hay (tons).....	27	673	25.0	27	503	19.0
Barley (bushels).....	25	4,865	195.0	25	216	8.5
Wheat (bushels).....	24	1,836	76.5	23	114	5.0
Potatoes (bushels).....	23	729	32.0	24	12	.5
Rye (bushels).....	16	3,505	219.0	18	213	12.0
Clover seed (bushels).....	13	111	8.5			
Average acreage in crops.....						90.5

## DAIRYING AND STOCK RAISING.

Since a date almost as far back as the origin of the colony, certainly since 1875, the Poles of Trempealeau County have had a reputation for keeping good horses. They still drive good teams, almost every farmer having 3 draft horses and some owning 8 or 10. But it has been since 1880 only that the dairy industry has engaged the attention of the Poles. In the late seventies some of the progressive farmers began to acquire more cows and to sell butter the year round, since it seemed certain that the time was soon coming when wheat could be raised only at a loss. Between 1880 and 1890, after the farmers' creamery had been introduced, the number of dairy cows began to increase, slowly but steadily. The Poles who lived in the coulées were slow to take up the new industry. Cows had to be raised, and on the sheltered hillsides wheat could be grown advantageously long after wheat raising had become impracticable in the more open districts. Possibly, too, few had the necessary equipment of barns and few were raising sufficient hay and grain to feed a dairy herd.

The industry has not yet grown to large proportions. In 1896 there were four creameries within reach of some of the Poles in this part of the county. In 1908 the number was the same, but the production of butter had somewhat increased and there was one cheese factory in operation. Each farmer has at least two or three cows, but few have large herds, the average being from 6 to 10 cows per farm. A glance at the table at the end of this chapter shows that the gross annual returns from sales of dairy products (cream) on 10 typical farms are comparatively small. The greatest value reported is \$225 on a farm supporting 32 head of cattle. The average yearly sales per farm on the 10 farms is a little more than \$100. The small sales are due to several causes. In the first place, a large quantity of butter is consumed in the farmhouse. In the second, few farmers have herds of well-bred dairy cattle; the cows are fat and generally thrifty in appearance, but few are of milk breeds. Neither do all farmers seek to produce milk exclusively; some raise cattle for the butcher and have comparatively large herds of cattle, but not many milch cows. As a matter of fact, a part of the Poles at least are not progressive dairymen.

Nearly all farmers raise some hogs, the average during the year being 6 to 10 per farm. Pork is used extensively in the Polish homes, so that few hogs are raised for sale. Perhaps one-third or less of the Poles have small flocks of sheep. This is said to be a good territory for feeding sheep and some Americans have gone rather extensively into sheep raising, but the Poles are not inclined to invest largely in this form of live stock.

Within recent years eggs have brought a cash return, but the money is usually expended immediately for current necessities. It was difficult to arrive at any accurate statement of sales of eggs and the amounts given in the table at the end of the chapter must be regarded as approximate only, and are probably underestimated, since none of the farmers kept any accurate account even of their cash sales of eggs or poultry.

## THE FARM INCOME.

The total yearly sales, as shown by representative farm accounts in the general table referred, are smaller than those of the neighboring American farmers in about one-half of the instances. The large difference between the values produced and the values sold on many farms is striking. It would be yet more striking were the values of meat, poultry, and dairy products consumed on the farm added to the "produced" column. Probably several of the estimates of products sold are too low. None of the farmers kept accounts, and while very few farmers fail to remember the exact number of bushels of each grain thrashed, and every one can make a very close approximation, not one could give the exact prices received for grain, cream, or live stock sold for the two years considered. This is not remarkable among farmers, but the margin of error is greater where the crops are very diversified and a little of each of several products is marketed at irregular intervals.

Few Poles have any expense account for labor on the farms and there is no outlay for fertilizer. The Poles usually do their own work except in thrashing grain, when it is customary to "change help." Stable manure is the only fertilizer applied. Unless some unforeseen calamity occurs, the farmers buy no feed for stock; they rely on the produce raised on the farm, and for this reason their sales of produce somewhat closely approximate net or surplus income. Their surplus income in most cases, seems to be invested in more land or in improvements and equipment.

## MARKETS.

The small towns on the Green Bay and Western Railroad—Independence, Arcadia, and others—are the marketing points for nearly all produce. Grain dealers buy all the grain at a flat rate per bushel delivered at the local warehouses. Cream is sold at the neighboring creamery, the cream often being separated on the farm and collected by a cream gatherer. Poultry, eggs, and wool are disposed of in Arcadia and Independence, where there are very good markets. Stock is bought by local live-stock buyers, who drive through the country weekly and purchase any stock the farmer has to sell, to be delivered on a specified day at the railway depot. The stock is shipped live to Chicago. Usually there is some competition between stock buyers, but prices paid for cattle "on the hoof" are relatively low. No product is now raised that can not be readily sold in the local market. Whether the Pole receives a reasonable price for his produce or not, he does as well as his neighbors and because he raises staple products has no immediate complaint about high freight rates and dishonest commission service.

## METHODS OF CULTIVATION.

The Poles, as a whole, compare favorably with the average farmers of any race in that part of the county under consideration. When they first began to farm, they, like their neighbors, depended on hand labor for most of their farm operations. Recently horses and improved machinery have been substituted for hand labor whenever possible. The usual field team is three horses wherever three



horses can be used. Walking and sulky plows, disk harrows, seed drills, horse cultivators, improved haying machinery (including hay tedders and, less frequently, hay loaders and side-delivery hay rakes) grain and corn harvesters, manure spreaders, and sometimes corn-stalk cutters and feed grinders run by steam, gasoline, or wind power, are found on the farms. There is no question about the Poles' ability to handle horses or complicated machinery, and the equipment of the better farms, particularly those conducted by young men, would make a creditable showing anywhere in the county.

They are said to be good husbandmen, especially along the line of thorough cultivation. It can not be said that most of them follow carefully planned systems of crop rotation, nor have many studied scientific feeding, fertilizing, or seed selection, but the younger men are awakening to the necessity of making farming a subject of study. Nevertheless, the general opinion, confirmed by all available statistics, is that the Poles raise as large crops of grain of as good quality with a smaller cash outlay than their neighbors. Their farms look well, and their fields are kept free from weeds. Few farming communities in that part of Wisconsin present a better appearance than the valleys around Independence, where the Poles own nearly every acre of the land.

#### BUILDINGS AND IMPROVEMENTS.

The greater part of the Polish section visited has been settled by farmers of some race for at least forty years, but the greatest change in the permanent improvements has taken place within a dozen years. On most of the farms the stone-basement barn of commodious dimensions took the place of the log sheds and stables some years ago. These well-built, well-painted, and well-repaired barns and out stables now thickly dot the entire Polish territory and give to the farmsteads a pleasing appearance of permanence, prosperity, and thrift. More recently the farmhouses have been overhauled, rebuilt, or superseded by new and more comfortable dwellings. The ambition of the Pole is to own a brick house, and with prosperity brick houses in the Polish rural community have increased rapidly. The houses are usually on the old sites and are surrounded by trees and a sodded yard, frequently ornamented with flowers and shrubbery. Those who have not been able to afford brick have usually built fairly large two-story frame houses. Taken as a whole, their buildings are more valuable than those owned by the greater part of the Portage County Poles. The cultivated land is ordinarily fenced in irregular fields of various sizes, running up to 30 or 40 acres, though many are smaller. Those who follow a rotation with corn and pasture find it necessary to fence every field; the fencing material employed is barbed wire. Little ditching or tile drainage has been thought necessary by the farmers, except in the lowlands, where occasional swamps appear. As a matter of fact, very little tile draining has been done in this part of Trempealeau County.

Windmills are commonly employed to supply water, and some are arranged to run feed mills and perhaps other farm machinery. However, in no instance noted was the water piped into the house. Some of the spring houses, very common in the earlier days, still remain. The water supply is excellent in quality and abundant; many of the

pasture fields are well supplied with running water, but where running water is absent windmills and tanks have been installed to provide for the stock. Taken as a whole, buildings, permanent improvements, and equipment are ample for the system of agriculture practiced by the Poles; and perhaps it may be well to emphasize that a larger outlay of capital for buildings, stock, and capital equipment is necessary on a diversified grain and dairy farm in proportion to total investment than on almost any farm devoted to any system of specialized agriculture.

#### PROPERTY OWNED.

Assessments in Wisconsin are supposed to equal market values; land and improvements are not assessed separately, but personal property is taxed by itself for administrative purposes. Needless to say, property is not often assessed for more than four-fifths of its actual value, and any account of assessments must take this fact into consideration. There has been an attempt to put property assessments on an exchange value basis and in some towns assessments are approximately equal to 90 per cent of real valuations, but in many cases the ideal has not been reached, hence 80 per cent may be regarded as a close approximation. The table below was compiled from the assessment roll of Burnside Township for 1909. Sixty-nine names of taxpayers were taken in alphabetical order from the roll and their property assessments noted. Of these, 64 owned land and operated it, and 5 owned land, but leased their farms to sons or other farmers, and hence have no taxable personal property. By far the greater part of the property owned consists of land and improvements, the median holding being \$2,700. Just about one-half of the land values lie between \$1,500 and \$3,500 per farm, 20 per cent own land worth \$5,000 and more, and about 9 per cent are assessed \$7,500 and over. Of personal property—exclusive of \$200 worth of household goods exempted—most of the valuations lie between \$500 and \$1,500. In general these are proportionally lower compared with actual values than real estate assessments. Total assessments range from less than \$1,000 to more than \$10,000 a farm. More than 28 per cent lie between \$2,500 and \$7,500 and 13 per cent are valued at \$7,500 and up to more than \$10,000. The value of 10 typical Polish farms, as given by their owners, is shown in the general tables at the end of this chapter.

TABLE 21.—*Range of assessments, Independence, Trempealeau County, Wis.*

[Compiled from tax roll, 1909.]

Amount of assessment.	Number of assessments—		
	Of land and improvements.	Of personal property.	Of land and personal estate.
Under \$300.....		8	
\$300 and under \$500.....		9	
\$500 and under \$1,000.....	6	35	4
\$1,000 and under \$1,500.....	5	10	6
\$1,500 and under \$2,500.....	21	2	10
\$2,500 and under \$3,500.....	15		19
\$3,500 and under \$5,000.....	8		13
\$5,000 and under \$7,500.....	8		8
\$7,500 and under \$10,000.....	5		6
\$10,000 and over.....	1		3
Total.....	69	64	69

Land values are not so high as in some other places with no greater natural advantages of soil or situation. Few farms sell for more than \$75 an acre, and uncleared land covered with scrub oak, poplar, and white oak, unfit for agricultural purposes, can be purchased for as little as \$8 an acre. The ordinary farm, two-thirds tillable land, without buildings or improvements is worth \$25 to \$40 an acre. A number of men well qualified to estimate land values asserted that \$50 per acre for improved farms with improvements was on the average a fair valuation in Burnside Township.

It will be seen from the general table at the end of the chapter that some indebtedness is still recorded. This in most cases is explained by purchases of additional land, frequently less desirable than the first purchase, to be used as wood lots or wild hay meadow; or in instances debts were incurred for barns, houses, or other improvements. Since 1885 the chattel mortgages recorded with the town clerk have diminished at least two-thirds in number and more than two-thirds in value. Many of the mortgages now on record have been released, making the actual mortgage incumbrance even less than appears. One great reason for the falling off has been, not the great decrease in debts, but the increasing number of promissory notes unsecured by chattel mortgages. The bank or money lender is ready to advance money to Polish farmers on their personal notes, for the greater number of Poles are financially responsible. A relatively large percentage of the Poles have money deposited in the local banks or loaned to neighboring farmers. Some have made investments in western land, and others are buying either urban or rural real estate with their savings, for some seem to be anticipating removal to the village after retiring from active work on the farm.

No considerable amounts of money have been sent abroad in recent years. Early in the history of the settlement several of the first arrivals saved money to buy tickets for the transportation of relatives from Silesia to Independence, but since the families have grown and the household and farm improvements have demanded more attention and capital, less and less money has been sent abroad. In this county the tendency to save and accumulate property is not as marked among the Poles as among the Scandinavians considered as a race, but is more characteristic of the Poles than of the Irish. Both the first and the second generations are with some exceptions apparently thrifty and enterprising. In former years the settlement had a reputation for drunkenness and wastefulness. The farmers were said to spend both time and money in the saloons, and the dissipations of the Poles as far back as the late eighties and early nineties were of common report throughout the county. Of recent years less disorder has been noted, and while the saloons have a large Polish patronage, drunkenness is less usual. As is true of every race there are among the Polish farmers some who will never advance, but thrift and industry are characteristic virtues.

#### OPPORTUNITIES FOR EMPLOYMENT.

The rural Poles near Arcadia and Independence are dependent for employment on the opportunities afforded by neighboring farmers in the summer and by lumbermen in the winter. The industrial opportunities in the villages are few. The brickyards, brewery, planing

mills, and two or three cigar factories in Arcadia offer scarcely any opportunities for labor to the Poles. In Independence no industries employ more than two or three men. The Poles are the day laborers and are employed on all irregular jobs where manual labor is required. Formerly an exodus of Poles to the lumber camps occurred each winter, but of late years comparatively few go to the "woods." The camps are at a great distance; camp life appeals less to the young men than formerly; there is less economic need of the money earned, and with the development of dairying there is coming to be more winter work on the farm. Some seasoned lumbermen still go to northern Wisconsin each fall or find employment on the "drive" in the spring. Those who live near Winona, Minn., sometimes seek work in that city and some are employed on the railroads, but in general the sons seem to become farm laborers and later farmers. The young women make excellent domestics, and a number find work in hotels or private homes in Winona, Minn., and Lacrosse, Wis.

Farm laborers are employed both by the month and by the day, wages usually including board. Wages by the month range from \$20 to \$26 for the summer season, extending from April until the ground freezes in the fall—about November 1 to 10. Hours are long on the Polish farms, at least from sunrise to sunset. The hours on American farms are a little shorter, the day in the field approximating nine and one-half or ten hours. "Chores" are required before and after the day's work in the field. The Pole is almost the sole dependence for farm labor in this section. Formerly many Americans, Irish, Germans, and later, Norwegians could be secured, but very few are now available. The Poles have not driven them out; there are none who wish to work as laborers on any but their parents' farms, and even Polish farm hands are growing scarcer. The farm hand in this county has received relatively good treatment; he has worked no longer hours than the farmer, has eaten at the same table with the farmer's family, has slept in quarters rather poor at times, but similar to those occupied by the farmer's sons, has been allowed to keep a horse free of charge in the farmer's pasture, and has had his washing and frequently mending done by the farmer's wife. Careful farm hands have saved a large part of their earnings.

The reason for the scarcity of farm hands is largely economic. With cheap land available the farm hand soon becomes an owner. The opportunities offered by neighboring farmers to rent farms on shares has only in part compensated the prospective Polish farmer for the disappearance of free land. Moreover, there is less labor required per unit of product in recent years, since in every operation possible the Polish farmer has substituted power machinery for manual labor. The Polish farm hand has improved noticeably in intelligence and agricultural skill within recent years. He can drive horses, handle rather complicated farm machinery, and take care of live stock much more satisfactorily than the Polish farm hand in most other settlements investigated. His efficiency is, of course, a matter of imitation and practice rather than the result of any study or special training.

Polish girls, especially the American-born, work in the fields less than their mothers, but the poultry raising and many of the chores about the barnyard fall to the women. They do much of the milk-

ing, pick potatoes, frequently husk corn, care for the garden, and often work in the field in harvest or whenever there is necessity. The amount of work done by women, especially young women, out of doors is said to be decreasing yearly.

#### STANDARD OF LIVING.

Superficially, the ordinary observer, driving through the country, would say that the Poles lived as well and as much like Americans as their Scandinavian neighbors. Their good houses and barns, neat and orderly surroundings, prosperous farmsteads, and large herds of live stock indicate prosperity and wealth; and the interiors of some homes look very much like the interiors of the better class of American farm houses. However, visits to a number of homes and full interviews with the owners very often tend to dim more or less the first impression.

The food is apparently better than that of the Poles at Pulaski, Wis., and there is an abundance of it. Many of the homes are clean and well kept, the farmer is not unintelligent, and his children have attended both the parochial and the public school. On the other hand, there is a foreign atmosphere which is as evident as it is difficult to define. Clothing differs little from that seen in the average farm household.

The houses follow the barns in order of improvement. Like the German, the Pole builds a large basement barn to shelter his crops and his stock before he thinks of tearing down his little log or rough frame dwelling and building commodiously and comfortably enough to shelter his growing family and have a room to spare. Until the new house is erected there is likely to be discomfort and overcrowding, but when he does build—perhaps after living twenty years in a two or three room shanty—he builds very well. There is usually very little unnecessary furniture in a Polish house, and in this settlement few wide porches or verandas, but there is plenty of room. The better-class houses are 2-story, brick or frame, structures of six or eight rooms, usually with a summer kitchen attached; frequently the old house serves as a kitchen or woodshed. The interiors are well finished, plastered, and frequently papered. As a rule but one family lives in a house and boarders or lodgers are infrequent. The yards of the older farmsteads contain a number of overshadowing trees, frequently an orchard of apples near at hand. The lawns are sodded and sometimes ornamented with flowers or shrubs, and the surroundings are usually well kept, free from pigs, but overrun with poultry. The newer farmsteads are less attractive, being still in the transition period. Little attention is given to sanitary surroundings, but most of the houses are built on elevated sites or hill sides, hence drainage is adequate.

The cost of living can not be estimated with any degree of accuracy. No boarders are kept for pay except some rural school teachers, who pay about \$12 monthly for board and room. The Poles live to themselves to a great extent. Cabbage and potatoes are perhaps the chief vegetables; pork, salted in the summer, is the principal meat. On some farms several hogs are killed yearly to supply the household. Rye bread is a staple food. Milk and cream are freely used and the

assessor estimates from 100 to 300 pounds of butter consumed (average about 175 pounds) per farm family in 1908. Every farm has large flocks of poultry and considerable quantities of eggs are consumed. In quantity of food it is not likely that many farmers exceed their Polish neighbors.

The merchants in the villages do a flourishing business with the Poles, who buy the better qualities of goods, but most only a small variety of groceries. The quality and variety of dry goods, clothing, hats, millinery, and the like is improving steadily. The farmers are careful buyers and choose for serviceability rather than appearance. Homemade clothing and even home-knitted socks are becoming very rare. A variety of articles is purchased from "mail-order houses," and clothing, furniture, machinery, utensils of all sorts ordered from Chicago are found in almost every farm home.

The farmers nearly all have good top buggies and spring wagons. Many drive fine teams, well groomed and harnessed. The Pole takes pride in his horses, usually of his own rearing, and keeps his harness and buggy in good condition.

#### SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS.

Organized social enterprises, exclusively or chiefly Polish, are rare near Independence. Such as there are are usually connected more or less closely with the church. The exceptions are the public dances given by Poles either in the village hall or in the country. Athletic, musical, literary, or social clubs seem to be wanting. None of the farmers interviewed were members of any fraternal or mutual benefit organization, American or foreign; not even a farmers' association was mentioned among them. There is a fire-insurance society on a cooperative or mutual risk basis, of which a large number of Poles are members. Near Independence is a farmers' telephone line built in part by Polish stockholders, which is said to have done much in developing social intercourse and enlivening the community interest of the Poles.

As in most Polish rural communities, social gatherings are confined to weddings, christenings, occasional picnics, family reunions, birthday celebrations, and neighborhood dances. There is more than the usual amount of visiting between neighbors, and frequent trips to town and church break up the monotony of rural life. Until 1909, when the district attorney succeeded in closing the saloons on Sunday in Independence, it was the custom of the Poles, who drove in several miles to church, to congregate with their wives and children in the saloons after church services and there eat their luncheon and visit. These Sunday gatherings in the village saloons were a recognized means of getting the country Poles together socially. Even persons of other nationalities mingled with them on these occasions.

There is not much social intermingling of Poles and other races, although in the second generation the Poles, Bohemians, and Germans associate in greater degree than in the first generation. There have been some intermarriages between Germans and Poles and a few Polish-Irish unions were reported, but not verified. By far the greater number (85 to 90 per cent) of the marriages are purely Polish. The

geographical segregation of the rather large settlement accounts in part for this. In the third generation the feeling of social equality is much more nearly mutual than in the second, but for the most part the third generation are yet children.

Assimilation is hampered in a measure by the fact that in most Polish farmhouses Polish is the language almost exclusively spoken. At church Polish alone is heard and in the parochial schools much of the conversation is in that tongue. Even on the public rural school grounds English is not in universal use, but is becoming more common, especially where there is a large intermixture of other nationalities. Nearly every male over 10 years of age, so far as interviewed, can speak English fluently enough to be understood, many speak with scarcely any foreign accent, and in business English is common. But many of the women are unable to understand or speak anything but Polish, hence the language of the household is ordinarily foreign.

The educational opportunities afforded seem to be more appreciated than those in the Polish townships of Portage County, Wis. Few persons over 10 years of age are illiterate, and most of the children have been fairly regular in attendance either at parochial or at public schools. Not many rural Poles get beyond the grades, though some enter the high schools in Arcadia or Independence. The parochial school at Independence, attended by the younger children, has an enrollment of 200. The pupils are taught Polish in the afternoon, English in the forenoon of each day. The Polish subjects are Bible, catechism, history of Poland, reading, and Polish grammar; all other subjects are taught in English. The Poles are reported to be less ambitious to obtain an education than the Germans or Scandinavians, and fewer of their children attain distinction in scholarship. A few girls have become successful teachers and others are engaged in clerical pursuits. In several districts the members of the school boards are one or all Poles, and in many instances they are competent officials. The tone of the settlement is much less intellectual than that of Norwegian settlements of similar size and age in other parts of the county. In these townships the Norwegians, Germans, and Americans are in the positions where greater intelligence and education are required.

#### MORAL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS.

No detailed study of criminality was made, but it is the opinion of justices of the peace, police officers, and other observers that the Poles furnish more than their numerical quota of petty crimes, misdemeanors, and breaches of the peace. In this regard constant improvement is reported, however. The universal testimony is that three-fourths or more of the disturbances arise from over-indulgence in liquor, and that with an increase in intelligence and abstemiousness there is a decrease in assaults and cases of disorderly conduct. Progress in prosperity and ownership of property, as well as a growing respect for law, order, and public opinion, has been conducive to peace and quiet. It is but fair to say that the Poles as a whole are held in much higher respect by the community and county at large than they were a few years ago. At least 95 per cent of the Poles are Roman

Catholics, and, as is characteristic of rural Poles, they attend services regularly and contribute freely to the support of the church. Their church edifices are finer than any others in the county. They marry within the church, the girls comparatively young.

Families are large, but on the whole not notably larger than those of the first-generation Germans or Norwegians, their neighbors. The children usually remain at home or contribute to the home fund while minors, and as noted above tend to remain on the farms. In business integrity and promptness in meeting financial obligations the Poles have a good reputation among business men. Storekeepers report few bad debts and bankers give them as a race a high financial rating. Complaints of petty larceny are infrequent and Polish farmers are very generally trusted. In political morality the Poles in this vicinity stand higher than in some other communities visited.

#### POLITICAL CONDITIONS.

The earlier comers in most instances took out their first papers soon after arrival, since it put them into a position to homestead land as well as to vote after the required one year of residence. A number having secured all the political prerogatives possible with their first papers, have seen no occasion to become fully naturalized, but perhaps the majority of all adults are full citizens; all told, probably 85 to 90 per cent have filed first papers or secured full naturalization, and it is estimated that approximately one-half of these were obtained within ten years after arrival in the United States. The Poles have been very much less actively engaged in politics than the Norwegians; for example, a number have held and are holding various township offices, but few have attained or perhaps desired any higher office. In local matters they vote more or less clannishly, and in a close contest hold the balance of power in two townships. They take little interest in national issues ordinarily. It is apparent that the Independence Poles as a body have less political unity, or party integrity, than those in Portage County.

#### INFLUENCE ON THE COMMUNITY.

The Poles have now been settled in Trempealeau County long enough and in sufficient numbers to give a reasonable idea of their possibilities as citizens and as farmers. Moreover, they are settled in proximity to other foreign-born farmers, Norwegians and Germans, who occupy much the same sort of land and who have been in the county but a few years longer. It is evident that the Pole has shown less aptitude for assimilation and Americanization than the other farmers mentioned, partly due to his initial low standard of living and partly to his illiteracy. The Germans and Norwegians both lived very poorly at first, below their normal standard of comfort, but they were industrious, saved money consistently, and got a quicker start economically and socially than the Poles. Perhaps, too, in civic matters they have had better leaders. The Poles began on poor land, taking second choice in many instances. They came at a time of depressed agricultural conditions and apparently gained ground rather slowly. They were satisfied to live rather poorly, and whatever they



have attained in better living conditions has been an advance over their normal standards. They are just now coming into full economic independence and are being recognized by the farming fraternity as fellow-farmers. They have cleared, improved, and made productive thousands of acres of land and have learned by observation, experience, and imitation to produce as large and as good crops as most of their neighbors. That they have not come into touch with American thought, ideals, civic institutions, and social spirit and life as quickly as their neighbors is a result of the affiliations which have held them together, their language, and the aloofness of the neighboring people. When all is said, it must be admitted that the Pole was, in this instance, for years looked upon as an inferior person, an outsider, who must prove his worth. Even Waclaw Kruszkza, author of the history of Poles in America, asserts that the Poles who came to Wisconsin were from the lower, less intelligent classes in Poland. At any rate, the earlier immigrants looked askance at the incoming Poles, and spoke disparagingly of their mean living, their indulgence in alcoholic drink, and their rough, noisy celebrations. Whereas the north Europeans mingled rather freely with Americans, quickly learned American ways, and supported English schools, the Poles did not have the opportunity of intercourse either with the Americans or other immigrants. This aloofness passed away but slowly, and even now not nearly all of the Poles are looked upon as equals by the neighboring farmers. The Poles have made but little impression on the political or educational life of the community, for they have been active, as a body, in neither direction. Socially they have introduced a new element, which has just begun to fuse with the older social elements. In land ownership they have wrought some changes. First occupying the unappropriated land, they later, having purchased all the available unimproved areas, began to encroach upon and buy out the American, German, and Irish farmers. They offered good prices or caught up every land bargain that came on the market. Some of the original holders desired to move or were obliged to do so, and some removed because of the ingress of Poles, until whole valleys have been depopulated of their original inhabitants and Poles have taken their places. This population shift in the rural communities under discussion is still going on. One section of the county is becoming more exclusively peopled with farmers of Polish origin every year. Since the Poles are proving their worth as farmers and since the young people bid fair to become intelligent, progressive Americans, respected and influential, there is nothing alarming in the shift. It can only be a matter of years before the significant vestiges of a Polish occupation will have practically disappeared, and the farming population will be American-born Poles who are American in speech and spirit.

The general table next submitted, compiled from schedules secured by agents of the Commission, shows the economic history and present financial condition of 8 typical Polish families whose heads were foreign born, and 2 typical families of the second generation.

TABLE 22.—*Economic history and present financial conditions of*

Data reported.	Polish.			
	Family 1.	Family 2.	Family 3.	Family 4.
Years in locality:				
Head.....	15.....	39.....	27.....	42.....
Family.....	15.....	36.....	27.....	38.....
Present household size.....	2.....	6.....	8.....	8.....
Number of members 10 years or over.....	2.....	4.....	3.....	5.....
Male.....	1.....	3.....	2.....	2.....
Female.....	1.....	1.....	1.....	3.....
Previous location.....	Arcadia, Wis.	Germany.....	Germany.....	Germany.....
Previous occupation.....	Farmer.....	At home.....	At home.....	At home.....
Value of property brought to locality.....	\$300.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
Occupation in locality previous to purchase.....	None.....	On father's farm; well drilling.	On father's farm.	On father's farm.
Wages per week.....		No wages on farm; \$7.50 as driller.	Part of profits.	No wages....
Years employed.....		Well driller, 7; father's farm, 28.	17.....	20.....
First land leased.....	None.....		None.....	None.....
Date.....		1905.....		
Number of acres.....		147.....		
Terms.....		½ of crops.....		
Condition.....		90 acres in cultivation; good house; large barn.		
First land bought.....		None.....		
Date.....	1894.....		1899.....	1887.....
Number of acres.....	20.....		80.....	100.....
Price.....	\$500.....		\$800.....	\$1,400.....
Terms.....	\$200 cash, \$300 mortgage.		\$550 cash; supports father.	\$500 cash; \$900 mortgage a g e, 3 years; 8 per cent.
Condition.....	All in cultivation.		Old house and barn; 60 acres cultivated.	80 acres cultivated; old house and barn.
Occupation until living could be made from land.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
Number of years.....				
Earnings per day.....				
Acres of land now owned.....	20.....	None.....	80.....	185.....
Acres tillable.....	19.....		60.....	150.....
Rented land.....	None.....	147.....	None.....	None.....
Acres.....		147.....		
Terms.....		½ of crops.....		
Live stock now owned:				
Cattle.....	4.....	11.....	10.....	26.....
Horses.....		3.....	2.....	5.....
Sheep.....				13.....
Swine.....	1.....	5.....	5.....	12.....
Financial condition:				
Value of land and improvements.....	\$1,000.....		\$4,000.....	\$9,000.....
Live stock.....	\$84.....	\$386.....	\$570.....	\$612.....
Tools and implements.....	\$25.....	\$150.....	\$120.....	\$375.....
Crops on hand.....	\$75.....	\$500.....	\$400.....	\$1,000.....
Other property.....	\$30.....	\$60.....	\$50.....	\$9,100.....
Gross value of all property.....	\$1,214.....	\$1,096.....	\$5,140.....	\$20,087.....
Indebtedness.....			None.....	
On land.....	\$200.....			\$8,000.....
Other.....		\$313.....		
Net value of all property.....	\$1,014.....	\$783.....	\$5,140.....	\$12,087.....

certain typical Polish and Polish-American families, Independence, Wis.

Polish.				Polish-American.	
Family 5.	Family 6.	Family 7.	Family 8.	Family 1.	Family 2.
40.....	37.....	11.....	14.....	33.....	23.....
30.....	18.....	11.....	14.....	29.....	19.....
4.....	6.....	10.....	3.....	7.....	2.....
4.....	5.....	8.....	3.....	2.....	2.....
1.....	3.....	4.....	2.....	1.....	1.....
3.....	2.....	4.....	1.....	1.....	1.....
Germany.....	Germany.....	Arcadia, Wis.....	Whitehall, Wis.....	Born here.....	Born here.....
Tailor.....	At school.....	Farmer.....	Farm laborer.....	.....	.....
None.....	None.....	\$250.....	None.....	.....	.....
None.....	Section hand and farm laborer.....	None.....	Farm laborer.....	On father's farm.....	On father's farm.....
.....	\$7.50.....	.....	\$6.....	No wages.....	No wages.....
.....	27.....	.....	7.....	.....	.....
None.....	.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
.....	1899.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	120.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	\$150 year.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	60 acres tillable; old house and barn.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1869.....	1902.....	1898.....	1902.....	1899.....	1909.....
160.....	120.....	90.....	40.....	160.....	160.....
\$14.00 home- stead.....	\$3,000.....	\$5,000.....	\$500.....	\$500.....	\$6,500.....
Home steaded cash land.....	\$1,500 cash, \$1,500 mort- gage, 6 per cent.....	Exchanged land in Arcadia; balance mort- gage.....	\$200 cash; \$300 mortgage, 5 per cent.....	Bought from father; sup- ports him; no security.....	Bought from father; paid him \$4,900; assumed in- debtedness \$1,600.....
All wild land; no buildings.....	60 acres tillable; old house and barn.....	80 acres culti- vated; old house and barn.....	4 acres in culti- vation; bal- ance brush and stumpy.....	80 acres culti- vated; old house and barn.....	All tillable land.....
Farm laborer.....	None.....	None.....	Farm laborer.....	None.....	None.....
4.....	.....	.....	1.....	.....	.....
Not reported.....	.....	.....	Not reported.....	.....	.....
340.....	160.....	380.....	80.....	160.....	160.....
200.....	85.....	258.....	30.....	80.....	159.....
None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
13.....	32.....	20.....	7.....	23.....	18.....
2.....	6.....	11.....	3.....	6.....	4.....
.....	15.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
2.....	20.....	10.....	3.....	9.....	12.....
\$17,000.....	\$6,000.....	\$12,000.....	\$3,000.....	\$5,000.....	\$8,000.....
\$365.....	\$830.....	\$1,460.....	\$250.....	\$1,065.....	\$785.....
\$50.....	\$150.....	\$175.....	\$70.....	\$200.....	\$150.....
\$400.....	\$650.....	\$1,750.....	\$100.....	\$625.....	\$900.....
\$50.....	\$50.....	\$100.....	\$40.....	\$50.....	\$100.....
\$17,865.....	\$7,680.....	\$15,485.....	\$3,460.....	\$6,940.....	\$9,935.....
.....	.....	None.....	.....	.....	.....
\$3,000.....	\$3,050.....	.....	\$2,000.....	\$500.....	\$6,500.....
.....	.....	.....	\$21.....	.....	.....
\$14,865.....	\$4,630.....	\$15,485.....	\$1,439.....	\$6,440.....	\$3,435.....

TABLE 22.—*Economic history and present financial conditions of certain*

## ANNUAL FARM INCOME FROM PRODUCTS RAISED AND

Products.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.
Barley.....			\$79				\$165	\$50
Corn.....	\$28		105		\$33		50	
Hay.....	40		230	\$15	300		425	
Oats.....	24	\$5	320	35	260	\$200	760	300
Potatoes.....	5		20		23		20	
Rye.....	14				102		32	
Wheat.....	6		96		50		97	
Dairy products.....	58	58	50	50	73	73	94	94
Live stock.....	26	26	59	59	9	9		
Poultry products.....	15	15	18	18	40	40	59	59
Total.....	216	104	977	177	890	322	1,702	503
Supplementary income.....								
Farm expenditures, farm labor.....			\$25				\$48	





## CHAPTER IV.

### SOUTHERN ILLINOIS, POLISH GENERAL FARMERS.

#### INTRODUCTION.

The Polish agricultural colonies of southern Illinois are in Washington, Jefferson, and Perry counties. These counties are situated in the south-central part of the State. A large percentage of the farmers in the southwestern part of Jefferson, northeastern part of Perry, and southeastern part of Washington counties are Polish. The only lines of demarkation of the different colonies are the parishes. Strictly speaking, there is only one colony—that is, all the outgrowth of one settlement which was started in Radom in 1872. At present Radom has probably 300 or 400 inhabitants, who are all Poles. Other important Polish communities are centered about Dubois, a small town 4 miles south of Radom on the Illinois Central Railroad; at Tamaroa, a village of probably 1,200 inhabitants, located in the northern part of Perry County, also on the Illinois Central Railroad; and at Sheller, in Jefferson County.

The area most thickly settled with Polish farmers varies from 10 to 25 miles east and west, and about 12 miles north and south.

The following estimates of the Polish population, by counties, were ascertained by interviews with township assessors, priests of different parishes, and church secretaries. While not exact, they are as accurate as any that could be obtained under the circumstances.

TABLE 23.—*Number and distribution of Polish and Polish-American families, Washington, Jefferson, and Perry counties, Ill.*

County.	Number of families.	Males over 16 years of age.	Females over 16 years of age.	Children.	Total.
Washington.....	400	675	625	925	2,225
Jefferson.....	230	400	375	650	1,425
Perry.....	190	300	300	525	1,125
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>820</b>	<b>1,375</b>	<b>1,300</b>	<b>2,100</b>	<b>4,775</b>

Practically all the above-mentioned families are engaged in agriculture. Of the total, probably not more than 20 heads of families are engaged in other pursuits. There are a few Poles who are grocers, saloon keepers, and laborers in the small towns within the territory.

#### HISTORY OF SETTLEMENT.

The Poles began to come into this region and to settle on the farms about 1872 and 1873. At that time the prevalence of wars in Europe had caused a large movement of Poles from Prussia to the United States for the purpose of avoiding military service.

In the section where the Polish colonies are now located the Illinois Central Railroad had been granted the even sections not previously preempted or homesteaded, for a distance of 14 miles on either side of this line of road. Before the colony was started most of this railroad land, both north and south of the present limits of the colony, had been bought by individuals for farming purposes, but there was but very little prairie land on the area, and besides being covered with a profuse growth of various kinds of timber and brush the land was, for the most part, not considered of much value for agricultural purposes.

In 1872, Gen. John B. Turgin, a German, was retained by the railroad company to establish a settlement on its holdings in this section. Plans were laid by Mr. Turgin for a town, a railroad station was located, and the town was called Radom. Streets and lots were laid out in the woods and the promoter began to obtain settlers. It appears that no particular efforts were made to interest immigrants in Europe, but rather extensive advertising and personal solicitation were resorted to by the promoter, especially in Chicago and other cities and industrial communities of the Middle West. Very little trouble was experienced in securing immigrants to the farms, especially as the land was offered at a reasonable price and favorable terms of purchase were given.

No especial preparations were made for immigrants when they came, and in most instances they were taken direct from the railroad station to the tract of land the individual had selected. In most instances there were no improvements, and the attention of the new settler was first occupied with the erection of a temporary shelter. Many lived in tents until log cabins could be built, while others built pole pens, often covered with brush, until more permanent structures could be erected. In some cases the land had been occupied by Americans who had "squatted" on it, had built log cabins, and had cleared from 1 to 3 or 4 acres; but in a vast majority of cases there were no improvements whatever, and all the land was heavily covered with timber, in most cases of a quality inferior for manufacturing lumber.

The establishment of this colony was in some respects different from the plans followed by many such movements. In the first place, practically all the settlers were secured in this country and were people who had spent from two to ten years as laborers in various industries, and who had a desire to own homes and to become farmers. It was the intention of the founders to sell, with every farm, a lot in the new town. The uniform price for these lots was \$50. A great many Poles who did not buy farms bought lots, with the intention of ultimately coming to Radom to live. However, there has never been any demand since the first for the urban property, and Radom has never attained any importance as a business center.

Until 1876 the agent who had promoted and directed the settlement of the land lived in Chicago and at intervals visited the colony to locate prospective purchasers. In the latter year, however, he moved to Radom and all work was directed from that point. More colonists came in 1876 than in any previous year. On the other hand a great many who had contracted for land in previous years moved away. Many bought their land and invested such savings as they



had in a first payment, continuing to work at their old occupations until money could be made to buy tools or make improvements. In most cases, however, the purchasers moved immediately to the land, which they began to clear and make other improvements upon. The early settlers frequently received assistance from their children, who sometimes remained at work in the cities, contributing their earnings to help pay off the indebtedness on the land.

#### TERMS OF PURCHASE.

The terms of purchase were especially favorable. The land was sold without improvements. There was no set price, but the minimum was \$5 and the maximum \$12 per acre. Toward the close of the operation the railroad sold some land as low as \$4 per acre. This land was of poorer quality and not so accessible as the other, and the reduction was made for the purpose of disposing of the few tracts which remained unsold. The price depended very largely upon location, proximity to railroad or market, and on the quality of the land. The land was sold on four-year payments, the theory being that the purchaser would pay one-fourth upon his agreement to take the land and the balance in three equal annual installments. Upon the payment of one-fourth of purchase price the company delivered to the purchaser a contract in which it agreed to deliver a fee simple title upon receipt of the full purchase price. Interest at the rate of 6 per cent was charged upon all payments promptly met. However, if any payment was deferred, the rate of interest was increased to 7 per cent, the legal rate at that time.

No contracts were given to bind either the company or the purchaser until at least one-fourth of the purchase price was paid. However, payments of less than one-fourth of the purchase price were accepted and receipt therefor given. The company was very lenient with purchasers, and while their agreement called for a forfeiture if the land was not paid for in four years, this right was not often insisted on, and in most cases time was extended. In 1888 the railroad company sent a representative to the colony, who interviewed all purchasers of whose land forfeiture could be claimed, and they were informed that the company intended to enforce the clause on a certain date. Abundance of time was given before the action was taken, to allow all who were able to negotiate loans to do so. Many who had purchased land during the early years of the colony were still in arrears, but a majority of these were able to secure money either from friends or from banks or other money lenders. Where contracts were forfeited, the original purchaser was given preference if he desired to repurchase the land. Only four forfeited their equity in the land and left the community entirely. A few others were obliged to forfeit their holdings temporarily, but they rebought, so as not to lose their improvements. In a few cases the original purchaser was allowed to repurchase for less than the price originally agreed upon. Another large tract of undeveloped land in the region was owned by a Philadelphia syndicate, which gave the agent for the railroad company the agency for their land also. They sold at about the same prices as the railroad company and granted the same terms.

## CHARACTER OF THE COLONISTS.

The Polish immigrants who came to the colony did not come from any one locality in the United States. The majority of them, however, came from Chicago, as, at the time of the establishment of the colony, a great many Poles were flocking into that city. Others were attracted from the eastern parts of New York and Pennsylvania by the cheap land, the favorable terms of purchase, and the presence of fellow-countrymen.

While both Russian and Austrian Poles are found in this locality, a large majority of the settlers are from Prussian Poland. They came to a region which was then a wilderness, and brought only a few personal belongings in the shape of coarse, cheap bed clothing, and wearing apparel. Belonging to the peasant classes in Europe, they had been trained in the school of hard work and scant living. All started their new life with willing hands and much enthusiasm, and they soon demonstrated their ability to withstand the hardships of the pioneer.

A majority of the immigrants had been employed on farms in Europe, either as farm laborers or tenants. Some, however, were tradesmen or laborers, both skilled and unskilled. Practically all of the settlers, however, had been engaged in some other occupation in this country previous to coming to Radom, the majority having been employed as common, unskilled laborers, such as railroad construction men or laborers in lumber yards, while others came from the copper mines of Michigan and the coal mines and furnaces in Pennsylvania. Settling as they did, it was inevitable that the first Polish colonists should experience some hardships. The majority of them exhausted all or a greater part of their savings in making the first payment on their land. Many made an initial payment of only \$10 on a 40-acre purchase and began the work of clearing and improving the land without any money to provide for their families while this work was being carried on. Opportunities for outside employment were scarce and wages were low.

## PIONEER PROBLEMS.

The ignorance of the colonists of American methods of farming and of other customs was a great handicap. There was no one to instruct, and this section being very sparsely settled when they came into it, there was little opportunity to learn by observing American farmers. Even those who had been on farms in their native land had farmed on a much smaller scale and on land much better adapted to hand cultivation. Grown men, in many cases, could not harness a horse.

Besides being poorly housed and clothed and underfed, in many cases they were the victims of their shrewd American neighbors in making trades. They were not good judges of horseflesh, and often bought the cheapest animal to be found. In many cases the horses died before a crop was well started, and those that lived frequently were not able to do good work.

Despite the difficulties the early settlers had to meet, the colony grew steadily. Recruits were constantly added, and all who came progressed, at first slowly, but as they became better established

and acquainted with methods of agriculture, more rapidly. From the time of the establishment in 1872 until 1876 there was a steady but small increase; from 1876 to 1880, however, the growth was such as to establish clearly the success of the settlement. At the present time there are Polish farmers on practically all the land held by the railroad at the time of the establishment of the colony and on large tracts in addition. In Bolo and Dubois townships in Washington County there are more Poles than Americans, and several other townships in the three counties have a large Polish population.

#### MATERIAL PROGRESS.

Very few settlers bought less than 40 or more than 80 acres upon first settling in the community. Few, however, were content to rest with their first purchase, and as soon as they could see their way clear to pay for the first holding they bought more land. In this way many settlers who started thirty years ago with 40 acres, untillable and not paid for, have acquired from 160 to 400 or 500 acres, paid for and well improved. All are not equally progressive. Some have been content with their first purchase, especially where it amounted to as much as 80 or 120 acres, but in the majority of cases more than one purchase has been made, and the average farm owned by representative Polish farmers in the locality, as shown by family schedules collected by agents of the commission, is 147 acres, with 500 acres the largest and 40 acres the smallest holding noted.

For many years the payments on the land and such improvements as clearing and increasing soil fertility occupied the entire attention of the farmers, and but very few comfortable and attractive farm-houses, barns, and other improvements in buildings were made. However, with the prosperity which has come during recent years a pride has developed which has resulted in the erection of many comfortable and substantial dwellings to take the place of old log cabins of two and three rooms. Good barns have been built, and as a rule the fences are also good. Very few log houses are now seen in the community, and those that are left are fast being displaced by larger and more attractive frame structures.

The colonists who have come in later years have had a much easier time than the early settlers. In the first place, most of them had been in the United States longer before turning to agriculture and had accumulated more money; they also had the advantage of advice from fellow-countrymen who had learned by experience. Within the past ten or fifteen years, the railroad and other cheap lands having been taken up by earlier settlers, the majority of more recent home-seekers have bought out Americans and obtained improved land where crops could be raised from the beginning.

Forty-three typical families in these settlements were selected for investigation by the commission, among them being families who have settled in the locality at various times since the establishment of the colony in 1872.

The heads of all of these families were foreign-born, 41 being natives of Germany and 2 natives of Russia. Thirty-seven came from the Province of Posen.

Only two of the heads of families came to the settlements directly from Europe, all the remainder having lived for a greater or less period of time elsewhere in the United States following their immigration. Eighteen of the 43 came to the settlements from Chicago and 6 from other parts of Illinois. No immigrants at present come directly from abroad to the farms in this neighborhood.

The table which follows shows the condition of the land at time of purchase; the average number of acres in each of the 43 farms under consideration; the average price per farm and per acre; and the average cash payments made.

TABLE 24.—*First purchase of land, condition, size of farms, and price paid, 43 typical Polish farms, southern Illinois.*

Condition of land.	Number of farms.	Average number of acres per farm.	Average price per—		Average cash payment.
			Farm.	Acre.	
None tillable.....	27	52.11	\$438	\$6	\$282
Under one-fourth tillable.....	5	90.00	992	11	558
One-fourth and under one-half tillable.....	2	60.00	1,100	18	1,100
One-half and under three-fourths tillable.....	4	70.00	<sup>a</sup> 1,750	<sup>a</sup> 22	<sup>a</sup> 1,625
Three-fourths or more tillable.....	5	88.00	<sup>b</sup> 2,200	<sup>b</sup> 18	<sup>b</sup> 1,600
Total.....	43				

<sup>a</sup> Not including 2 not reporting complete data.

<sup>b</sup> Not including 3 not reporting complete data.

Those settling on farms with more than one-half their area tillable are in every instance the more recent settlers. When the first settlers came to the locality, practically everyone of them bought land that was all in forest. The number of acres represents only the first purchase, and a great majority have increased their acreage. None bought under 20 acres and only 3 bought less than 40 acres; 26 bought between 40 and 80 acres, and 8 per cent bought 80 and under 120 acres, while 6 bought 120 and under 240 acres.

Of the 43 heads of families, 31 had been engaged in agriculture abroad, either as farmers on their own account or as farm laborers, while of the remainder equal proportions were "at home" and in miscellaneous small trades or labor. Only 4 heads of families who lived elsewhere in the United States before coming to this locality had been in agricultural pursuits in this country, the majority having been common laborers in mines, factories, brickyards, lumber yards, and on railroads, while a few were skilled laborers, and one a soldier in the United State Army.

Fifteen of the farmers investigated were able to make a living from their farms from the beginning, while 25 were obliged to supplement their income by borrowing and by outside labor for one year, and 3 for two years after coming to the farm. Various supplementary occupations were entered upon during this period, among them those of farm laborer, railroad laborer, and lumberman. The incomes secured both from farms and other occupations were scant, and rigid economies had to be practiced. The chief obstacle was the necessity of clearing the land of the brush and heavy timber, and the lack of capital to provide good stock and farming implements.

## SOIL AND CLIMATE.

The following table, taken from the records of the United States Weather Bureau station at Plumhill, shows the normal temperature and precipitation in Washington County:

*Normal monthly and annual temperature and precipitation.*

[United States Department of Agriculture. Field operations of the Bureau of Soils, 1902.]

Month.	Temperature.	Precipitation.	Month.	Temperature.	Precipitation.
	° F.	Inches.		° F.	Inches.
January.....	31.2	2.62	August.....	76.3	2.66
February.....	31.7	3.05	September.....	69.9	3.42
March.....	42.8	4.46	October.....	56.8	2.09
April.....	55.2	3.42	November.....	43.5	3.22
May.....	65.5	3.90	December.....	34.7	3.04
June.....	73.3	4.47	Year.....	54.9	40.27
July.....	78.3	3.87			

The average date for the last killing frost in spring is April 14, while the first destructive frost in the fall occurs October 13. It is seen that the greatest precipitation is in the months of March, April, May, June, and July, which constitute the growing season for crops, although there is a fairly well distributed rainfall.

The colony is scattered over a very large area, and there is, consequently, a large variety of soil types. One of the prominent soils in the region is a silt loam, which occupies the level prairie lands. This soil is marked by a gray or yellowish-white surface soil consisting almost entirely of very fine sand or silt. It has an average depth of about 12 inches, and is usually underlaid by a white or ash-colored stratum or hardpan. This soil is devoted very largely to the production of winter wheat, the yield being usually from 10 to 15 bushels per acre. A large area of it is, however, devoted to hay, principally timothy and redtop, the yield being from three-fourths to 1½ tons per acre. Corn does not yield as much on this as on the other soils found and a comparatively small area is planted to this crop. The existence of the hardpan so near the surface and the level contour greatly retards the drainage. The precipitation is carried off by artificial ditches or by seepage through the soil. No deep-rooted crop like clover or corn does very well on this soil on account of the nearness of the hardpan to the surface. Fruit trees, especially apples, thrive, and pears also; in fact, these two crops do much better than any others. Practically every farm has an apple orchard of from one-half to 5 acres, or even larger. These orchards are usually very poorly cared for, which in large measure accounts for the frequency of crop failures.

The most extensive soil type of the locality is a silt loam, consisting of a very fine yellowish sandy and silty loam, similar to the prairie soil, but underlaid by a yellow clay subsoil several feet in thickness. The surface is friable when dry, but when wet it packs to a smooth, hard surface. The area occupied by this soil type is for the most part gradually rolling or hilly. It was originally heavily covered with timber, principally oak, and small areas of timber land are found on almost every farmstead at the present time. Owing to its elevation, this

soil possesses the best natural drainage of any soil type found in the region. The drainage is accomplished in part by seepage through the soil and subsoil and in part by surface flowage. Because of the rolling surface this soil type is somewhat subject to erosion, along the steeper flanks of hills especially, and some care is required to prevent the formation of gullies.

This is the most productive general type of soil in this region, and a great diversity of crops can be successfully grown on it. It produces from 12 to 30 bushels of wheat per acre, from 25 to 35 bushels of corn, about the same quantity of oats, and from three-fourths to 2 tons of hay. Clover and other deep-rooted crops can be produced successfully because of the absence of the hardpan commonly found on the prairie soils. Apples, pears, and some peaches are found on the farms of this type; the trees are thrifty, and when properly cared for and the seasons are favorable good yields of fruit are realized.

#### AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS.

The size of farms and general conditions of agriculture vary considerably. The farms, both of Americans and immigrants, are devoted solely to general farming, and only sufficient garden or truck crops are raised to supply the tables of the farmers. Enough horses and mules are kept on all the farms to supply the needs of the owner for work stock on his farm, and some farmers raise from one to six colts a year. Sufficient milch cows are kept to supply milk and butter for the family, and from two to twenty-five more hogs than are required for home use. No milk is sold, but at some period of the year almost every farmer sells some butter. Nearly every Polish family sells considerable poultry and poultry products, and the revenue from this source amounts to \$300 to \$400 per year for some families. The principal crops are corn, wheat, hay, and oats. The average farm, as shown by family schedules, is 147.2 acres, and 120 acres is the median farm. None are smaller than 40 acres and the largest owned by a Polish farmer is 500 acres. This land varies in value from \$15 to \$60 per acre, according to size of tract, improvements, fertility, location, and convenience to market.

Corn is raised by every farmer, and a greater acreage is devoted to this than to any other one crop. The principal part of this crop is fed to live stock kept on the farms. Corn seems better adapted to soils and climate and gives a better proportionate yield per acre than any other crop grown. While some farmers cut the corn and feed the fodder and stalks to cattle, most of it is left on the stalk until ripe and husked, leaving the stalk standing; stock is then turned into the fields to feed on the cornstalks through the fall and winter.

Winter wheat is the principal money crop of the region, the yield varying from 10 to 30 bushels per acre, with about 15 to 20 bushels as the average. The yield is dependent very largely on the weather conditions in fall and winter. This crop does not give as large a proportionate return in this section as corn. In most instances all of the crop except enough for seeding purposes is sold. A few farmers carry wheat to local mills and exchange it for flour, but generally wheat is sold and the flour bought from a dealer. Hay is grown by every farmer in sufficient quantities for

the live stock kept on the farm, and a great many farmers have a surplus for sale.

Timothy and redtop are the principal grasses. Very little clover is grown, due chiefly to the fact that ordinarily it is hard to secure a stand. Cowpeas are sowed, but not extensively. They are used both for hay and for green manuring, some farmers sowing them broadcast in the cornfields at the last plowing.

Oats are not raised extensively and a good crop is not secured in more than six out of ten years, and at times the oat crop is a complete failure. Very little of the oats grown in this locality are sold, but are fed to live stock on the farm where grown. Irish potatoes are planted by every family, and a larger area is given to this crop by Polish farmers than by Americans. The Polish people consume more potatoes than Americans, and a great many plant enough to have a surplus for market. Garden and truck crops are raised only in sufficient quantities for home consumption. There are no available markets, and if there were it would be impossible to devote any time to market gardening and follow the system of farming now carried on near Radom.

Table 25 shows the number of farms producing the various crops generally grown in the community, the average amount of each crop grown per farm, and the value of the crop. It is seen from this table that every farm reporting produced corn, hay, potatoes, and wheat, while more than three-fourths of the total number investigated produced oats.

TABLE 25.—Average quantity and value per farm of crops raised and sold, 43 typical Polish farms, southern Illinois.

Crops.	Number of farms producing.	Average—	
		Quantity.	Value.
Corn.....	43	<i>Bushels.</i> 534	\$391
Hay.....	43	<sup>a</sup> 13	130
Oats.....	34	112	67
Potatoes.....	43	59	35
Rye.....	1	8	8
Wheat.....	43	289	310
Small fruit.....	1	( <i>b</i> )	13

<sup>a</sup> Tons.

<sup>b</sup> Quantity not reported.

TABLE 26.—Classification of live stock, 43 typical Polish farms, southern Illinois.

Kind of live stock.	Number of farms reporting.	Number of farms reporting—							Number of animals reported.	Average value per head.
		1.	2 or 3.	4 to 6.	7 to 9.	10 to 15.	16 to 25.	25 and over.		
Cows.....	43	.....	16	26	1	.....	.....	.....	181	\$28
Horses and mules.....	43	.....	6	27	8	1	1	.....	243	103
Other neat cattle.....	41	4	13	16	4	3	.....	1	212	14
Sheep.....	8	.....	1	1	1	4	1	.....	83	4
Swine.....	43	.....	1	3	10	15	6	8	700	6

## IMPROVEMENTS, BUILDINGS, AND SURROUNDINGS.

Every year brings material improvement in the surroundings of the homes of the Polish farmers and in sanitary conditions also. When they first settled in this locality, many built their stables adjoining the houses and manifested no pride whatever in the appearance of the home. Ideals have changed, however, and some of the best country residences are the homes of Polish farmers. Shade trees have been set out, and attractive lawns with both grass and flowers surround the houses. In many homes there are telephones, another mark of the modern farmer. Each farm has barns and cribs sufficient to store all crops raised on the farm and to provide shelter for all the live stock. The outhouses are frequently painted and are usually in good repair.

## MARKETS AND MARKETING FACILITIES.

Ample markets for the crops raised exist within comparatively easy reach of the farmers. The railroad facilities are good. The main line of the Illinois Central runs in a northeast and southwest direction through the colony, connecting it with the markets north and south. The western branch of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad crosses the northern part of the settlement in an east and west direction, providing excellent connections with St. Louis and southern points. The Wabash, Chester, and Western Railroad runs in a northeast and southwest direction across the eastern part of the colony. Farm products are marketed at the small towns located on the various railroad lines and all provisions, farm machinery, etc., are purchased at these towns. Each town has at least one grain elevator, where all kinds of grain are bought. All other farm products are sold to the local merchants and produce dealers.

During the fall and winter months stock buyers are constantly driving through the country buying horses, mules, cattle, hogs, and sheep, and as there is always keen competition, good prices are realized for the live stock. Animals are generally bought on the farm with the understanding that the farmer deliver them at a convenient railroad point. The most distant point of the colony is not more than 9 miles from a railroad shipping station.

In the summer and early fall if there is but little rain the roads are good, but when the winter frosts and rains set in they become almost impassable, except to horseback riders. This fact causes most farmers, especially those living some distance from market, to market their products as early in the fall as possible. There is no cooperative marketing, though some effort has been made on the part of the Polish farmers to establish a farmers' elevator. One elevator in the colony, located at Radom, is operated by a Pole, and a great number of Polish farmers who are closer to other markets come to this elevator because they prefer to trade with a member of their own race. By far the greater part of the business carried on by these farmers is with Americans. A great part of the poultry, eggs, and butter sold by the farmers are exchanged for dry goods and groceries at near-by stores, especially when only small amounts are to be marketed. There are produce houses in all the towns, which pay a good price for dairy and poultry products.



## PROPERTY OWNED.

This colony is essentially agricultural, and practically all the money invested by Polish residents is in farms and the personal property essential to farming. There are a few Poles in business in the different towns, but they are not numerous, and comparatively little money is invested in commercial enterprises. It has been estimated that fully 90 per cent of the Polish farmers located in this colony are landowners, and either hold a fee-simple title to their land or possess a valuable equity. None of the older settlers have indebtedness on their land—that is, on first purchases—though some who have bought additional real estate in later years have not fully paid for it.

Of the 43 typical farms investigated there were none with less than one-half of the land in a tillable condition and only 5 with less than three-fourths tillable, while the remaining 38 show three-fourths or more capable of being tilled. Only 2 of the farms have an area of less than 80 acres and none have under 40, while 14 are between 80 and 120 acres, 11 are between 120 and 160 acres, 10 are 160 or over and less than 240 in extent, while 6 have 240 acres or more.

Of the farms investigated, the 5 with more than one-half and less than three-fourths of their area tillable, have an average area of 124 acres, and an average value of \$34 per acre, or \$4,170 per farm; the remaining 38, or those with three-fourths or more of their area under cultivation, average 150 acres to the farm, and are valued at \$42 per acre, or \$6,264 per farm. The values given for farms are those placed on them by their owners, and are probably a little higher than their market value, due largely to the fact that the values of improvements are overestimated. The price of land has been constantly advancing for the past ten years.

All debts which exist in the colony are for lands or improvements thereon. The Polish farmers have in many ways surpassed their American neighbors, considering their opportunities and the adverse conditions confronting the early settlers. In many instances they have assumed debts for land and other obligations which the average American would consider hazardous, but nearly always they have been able to discharge these obligations. Many of those who came to the colony twenty or thirty years ago with only a few household effects of practically no value, and bought on credit land which had to be cleared before a crop could be raised, now have large farms, with herds of live stock, and money in the bank. Several farmers have as much as \$5,000 loaned to fellow-countrymen at a good rate of interest, besides owning fertile, well-improved farms. One farmer, who came to this locality thirty years ago with no money, owns \$20,000 worth of mortgages in addition to 260 acres of improved land.

It is true that, while struggling to financial independence, the inhabitants did not maintain a very high standard of living, and that in each case the whole family, which was usually large, worked hard and incessantly. While a great majority of the farmers are out of debt and make more than a good living, the spirit of economy and thrift which, more than any other cause, has enabled them to prosper, is still manifest.

The next shows the net value of personal property and real estate owned by the families investigated. From this it appears that 22 of the 43 farmers reporting own real estate valued at \$2,500 to \$5,000, and 18 farmers value their farms at \$5,000 and under \$10,000, while 3 own farms valued at \$10,000 or more. Live stock and implements on 9 farms are valued at more than \$500 and less than \$1,000; on 19 farms, at more than \$1,000 and less than \$1,500; on 14 farms, at more than \$1,500 and less than \$2,500; and on 1 farm, at more than \$2,500 and less than \$5,000. Sixteen of the 43 farmers reporting had crops on hand valued at from \$100 to \$250; 20 farmers had crops valued at more than \$250 and less than \$500; 5 farmers, more than \$500 and less than \$1,000; and 2 farmers, more than \$1,000 and less than \$1,500. Ten of the 43 families investigated reported their total property as being worth more than \$2,500 and less than \$5,000, 24 own property valued at \$5,000 and less than \$10,000, and 9 value their property at \$10,000 or over.

TABLE 27.—*Net value of all personal and real property now owned, 43 typical Polish families, southern Illinois.*

Net value.	Land and improvements.	Live stock and implements.	Crops on hand.	Total property.
\$100 and under \$250.....			16	.....
\$250 and under \$500.....			20	.....
\$500 and under \$1,000.....		9	5	.....
\$1,000 and under \$1,500.....		19	2	.....
\$1,500 and under \$2,500.....		14		.....
\$2,500 and under \$5,000.....	22	1		10
\$5,000 and under \$7,500.....	9			16
\$7,500 and under \$10,000.....	9			8
\$10,000 and under \$15,000.....	2			7
\$15,000 or over.....	1			2
Total.....	43	43	43	43

In the statement which follows is presented a general financial summary for the 43 farms under consideration. This shows a total real-estate valuation of \$258,890 for the 43 farms. The number of farms showing indebtedness is unusually small; 4 farms report a total indebtedness of \$2,350. There is little doubt but that this is below the true figures, however, although as noted above the majority of the farms in the locality are free from debt. Another interesting fact brought out by this statement is the increase in real-estate holdings. The aggregate amount purchased by the 43 farmers on first coming to the locality was 3,017 acres. These holdings have been increased to 6,322 acres. The increase in value, although normal, has been even more marked; the land was bought for an average of \$11 per acre and is now valued at \$41 per acre. The present valuation is probably a little higher than the price the land would bring in open market.

Farms leased and owned:

Total farms of race.....	43
Average size of farm, acres.....	147.02
Median farm, acres.....	120.00
Kind of farms:	
General.....	43

First purchase.....	43
Total number of acres.....	a 2, 697
Average acres per farm.....	a 62. 72
Total value.....	a \$26, 895
Average value per farm.....	a \$708
Average value per acre.....	a \$11
Farms now owned.....	43
Total number of acres.....	6, 322
Number of acres tillable.....	4, 119
Number of acres not tillable.....	2, 203
Present value of farms now owned:	
Land and improvements.....	\$258, 890
Average value of land and improvements per farm.....	\$6, 021
Average value of land and improvements per acre.....	\$41
Number of farms showing indebtedness.....	4
Total indebtedness.....	\$2, 350
Average indebtedness per farm.....	\$588
Gross value of all property.....	\$361, 492
Net value of all property.....	\$359, 142
Average net value of all property per farm.....	\$8, 352

## STANDARD OF LIVING.

The standard of living among these Polish farmers constantly improves with length of residence in this country. It is very easy to distinguish the older settlers from those who have come more recently. Their houses are cleaner and better furnished, and usually in a better state of repair; more furniture is evident and it is of better quality. Every family has some form of conveyance, the poorer ones using the farm wagon. In most instances the farmers own either a buggy or surrey, frequently both.

There is nothing to distinguish many of the earlier established and more prosperous farmers' houses from the well-kept and fairly well-furnished homes of American farmers, with at least a parlor, and frequently both parlor and family living room, in addition to the bedrooms, dining room, and kitchen. In families where there are children who have been reared in this country the homes are always more orderly and show clearly that more care is given to cleanliness and comfort than in the homes of the more recent immigrants or of those who have no children. A great many of the young women of the colony have been and are now employed as domestic servants in American homes, principally in St. Louis and neighboring towns. The knowledge they have acquired while engaged in such work has been imparted to their parents, with the result that many household improvements have been made. Ordinarily the Polish woman of this class is not a good housekeeper. She finds the outdoor work in the fields and gardens more congenial, and the house is often neglected while she toils among the crops. Among the poorer families very little care is given to the home; the house is often in a state of disorder, the kitchen is unclean, and usually that food is served which can be most quickly prepared. The fare is very coarse and often prepared under very unsatisfactory sanitary conditions. However, in a majority of cases the living conditions are better than with people of the same class employed in the manufacturing and mining industries. The principal food is meat (chiefly pork), white potatoes, and coffee,

<sup>a</sup> Not including 5 farms, 320 acres, not reporting complete data.

while vegetables in season, milk, butter, eggs, and fruit are items of considerable importance in the daily dietary of the household.

All children are taught to work as soon as they are old enough, and both boys and girls are kept at work most of the time, except when at school. The adult girls who stay at home in many of the more prosperous families work very little in the field, and some do no outdoor work, but a majority of the girls, if unmarried at the age of 17 or 18, secure outside employment. The wives of many of the more wealthy farmers devote practically all their attention to household duties, and some have made very commendable progress in beautifying their homes and making them attractive and comfortable.

#### OPPORTUNITIES FOR EMPLOYMENT.

Opportunities for employment in the community are limited. No industries are located within convenient reach of the colony. A large number of the young women secure work in the neighboring towns of Ashley, Centralia, Mount Vernon, and Nashville; but most of the young people who desire employment move to St. Louis or Chicago, where wages are higher, occupations are more varied, and the social environment is more attractive. The men enter factories of various kinds as skilled or often unskilled laborers, and the women usually find employment as domestic servants, shop girls, and factory hands. Coal mines, both north and south of the colony, employ a large number of laborers, but the Poles have manifested no tendency to enter this industry. A few who live near the railroads find employment as section hands. There is but little demand for farm laborers, except among the American farmers, who occasionally employ help during the planting season and at harvest time. The wages paid farm hands are comparatively low even for immigrant agricultural laborers, varying from \$15 to \$20 per month, including board and washing. Employment can sometimes be obtained the entire year at this work; but as a usual practice laborers employed by the month are hired for a period extending from April to October or November. Transient farm hands earn from \$1 to \$1.50 per day, including board, during the harvesting season, when the highest wages are paid.

#### SOCIAL LIFE.

The social side of life is quite prominent in this Polish community. Social gatherings, dances, and picnics are the principal forms of amusement and recreation. The churches in the various communities are factors of much importance in fostering sociability. A picnic is given annually at Radom, under the auspices of the church at that place, at which refreshments are sold for the benefit of the church. This and other similar enterprises afford excellent opportunities for the people to enjoy themselves and at the same time contribute some material aid for religious purposes. A brass band at Radom composed of the Polish young men of the community surrounding the town, often gives concerts and goes to other communities in the colony to furnish music at public gatherings.

Various organizations are connected with the church, both for young men and for older members. These are in a sense benefit soci-

eties with certain social features. In fact, practically the whole social life of the community revolves around the church. In winter, owing to the almost impassable state of the roads and the severity of the weather, the social life of the community as a whole is very much limited and is confined chiefly to visiting from house to house. It is in the summer and early fall that the social season reaches its height. Almost every Sunday there is a gathering, sometimes for a dance, sometimes for other forms of general entertainment and amusement. There is little class or caste among the Poles in this locality. Rich and poor meet together on equal terms. Weddings and christenings here as elsewhere among Poles are always events of much social importance.

There is little social intercourse between the Poles and the Americans, as few belong to a common church. The inability of many of the older Poles to speak English is also a barrier to companionship with the Americans. The younger generation, who are more proficient in the use of English, feel this restriction less keenly and associate more freely with the natives than do their parents.

There is little race prejudice compared with that manifested in former years, when the colony was in its infancy. In those days, chiefly because of the clannishness of the Poles and their low standard of living, considerable prejudice existed. This has gradually disappeared as a result of the capacity the colonists have shown for improving their condition under more favorable circumstances, and their uniform fair dealing and willingness to meet their obligations.

#### CHURCH AND RELIGIOUS LIFE.

The Poles display great activity in the various branches of religious work carried on by the church. An evidence of their interest in this regard is witnessed in the excellent appearance of their church buildings and parish houses. At Dubois, at the time of the agent's visit, a church was nearing completion, which, together with the parish house and parochial school building at that place, will have a value of approximately \$60,000. The church has a membership of about 180 families, composed almost entirely of farmers living in the vicinity. Radom is the religious headquarters of the whole colony. At that place the church, while better than the average in country communities, is a frame structure, not nearly as pretentious as the one at Dubois. The Poles have at Radom two large parochial school buildings, built of brick and of good design. These schools have dormitory facilities and about 75 to 100 boarding students are accommodated during each session. The church has a membership of 325 families at this place, of which about 300 are Poles. Besides the two churches above mentioned there is one, established in 1901, at a small place called Posen, located in Washington County, about 9 or 10 miles west of Radom, and one, founded in 1899, with a congregation of 40 families, at Sheller, a small railroad station on the Wabash, Chester and Western Railroad, in Jefferson County, about 16 miles southeast of Radom. Both of these parishes have excellent church buildings and parish houses. Sheller has a parochial school building, and a similar building at Posen was recently destroyed by fire. The church at Posen has a membership of about 140 to 150 families,

while at Sheller there are about 120 families in the congregation. There is a Polish church at Tamaroa, in Perry County, but no parochial school. This church has a membership of about 115 families and was the last to be established.

#### EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS.

There are public schools with a course of instruction extending through the eight grades at several points in the colony. These schools are in session six, seven, or eight months (usually about seven months) in the year. They are so located as to be convenient to all, being within perhaps 2 miles of the most distant school patron.

The interest in schools, especially public schools, is increasing steadily among the Poles. A great many of the older settlers did not send their children to public schools, but depended entirely upon the parochial schools, which were at that time not so efficient as at present. The parochial schools at Sheller, Dubois, and Posen churches offer only primary instruction in ordinary school branches, but at Radom the curriculum covers a high-school course, including instruction in music and art. It is now customary for many of the Poles, especially those of the second generation, to first send their children to the public schools for two or three years, following this with a course of instruction in one of the parochial schools.

Within recent years several young people have been sent through college. All who were reported as being in schools away from home are in church schools.

#### POLITICAL CONDITIONS.

A majority of these Polish farmers are citizens of the United States. Many who are not fully naturalized have their first papers. A number became citizens before the law was enacted requiring the declaration and the final papers to be separate, when the procedure was more simple and the qualifications were not so exacting as at present. Some of the more intelligent of the older men have a fairly good idea of political conditions and are informed on local, State, and national affairs. American newspapers are taken in the majority of the families. Some of these are dailies, but in most instances the papers taken are weekly publications, such as the local county or town newspapers, agricultural publications, etc. A majority of the settlers take some newspaper printed in the Polish language. The younger generation show more interest in political conditions and are better informed, as a rule, having had better opportunities.

None of the Polish politicians have ever aspired to political preferment other than local township offices, such as tax assessor, road supervisor, and the like, but where they have been appointed or elected to such positions, it is said, they make efficient officers, taking more interest in the affairs of the office than the ordinary American in a similar position.

#### MORAL CONDITIONS.

Crimes against person are of rare occurrence among the Poles of this colony. They compare favorably with the natives in this respect, and if any difference exists between the two races the Poles

probably appear in the better light. The drinking of intoxicants is a widely prevalent habit, and homemade wine and beer are staple beverages in many families.

There are said to be more civil suits of a petty nature among the Poles than among their American neighbors, but these are less frequent than in the early years of the colony for the colonists have gradually learned to avoid differences rather than to settle them in court. Petty or grand larceny or gross profanity is of infrequent occurrence, less frequent it is said than among Americans. The marriage relation is held sacred and divorces and separations are unknown. The children are taught to be obedient and respectful to their parents, and they usually remain at home until twenty-one years of age or until marriage. Even when they leave the parental roof they are accustomed to send home their earnings until they come of age.

#### EFFECT OF COLONY ON NEIGHBORHOOD.

It is difficult to estimate the economic wealth which has been added to this locality by the settlement of the Poles. They came without means and settled on land that Americans had held of little worth because of the work necessary to bring it into a state of cultivation and because of the poor quality of the soil. Americans would have been unwilling to undergo the hardships and to make the sacrifices the immigrant settlers did. This land would have doubtless been settled by Americans sooner or later if the Poles had not come, but a great deal more time would have been consumed in clearing it. When the Poles came land could be bought from \$5 to \$12 per acre on very lenient terms. Now the same land sells at from \$20 to \$50 cash. Besides the increase in land values, due in part to the coming of the Poles, the land has been made to produce abundantly all these years, and is more productive now than ever before.

Of late years there has been a gradual extension of the colony to the west and south and a consequent moving out of Americans. Several Americans have recently sold their lands to Polish farmers and moved to other localities. In a few years the area in which Poles have settled will be occupied exclusively by people of this race of descent if the present shift in population continues at the same rate. Indeed, Radom and vicinity is even now almost exclusively Polish and Polish is the common tongue.

#### THE SECOND GENERATION.

Except in the matter of speech there is very little difference between the Poles of the second generation and the children of native American families. A larger percentage of them than of Americans remain on the farms. They seem to be more economical than the Americans, as is natural, but they are not so thrifty as their parents, and do not practice as rigid economy. They are very thoroughly Americanized, all can speak English, and a majority are able to read and write this language. They are very industrious, as a rule, and do not hesitate to do any work which comes to hand. Usually there are large families of children in every household, more than are required to carry on the work of the farm. Those not needed at

home usually go to the towns and cities to secure employment. Many of them are very thrifty and all savings are sent home and, if needed, applied to the family fund. Many buy land in the colony with their surplus earnings, and when enough is secured to make a comfortable living, return and begin farming for themselves.

The table following, showing detailed data of twelve typical families, is presented as a summary of the facts set forth in the preceding report. It is noted that of the twelve heads of households reporting none have been in the locality less than eighteen years and none more than thirty-six years. In most instances the head brought his family with him to the locality. All were engaged in some occupation in the United States before purchasing farms. One was a farm laborer, eleven were unskilled laborers in industries. All became farmers immediately upon coming to the locality. It will be noted that a considerable part of the land first purchased was in a wild condition, only two buying land one-half improved. Every farmer reporting has materially increased his holdings, and a large part of the land held is tillable. Several owners rent land in addition, paying one-third of the crop as rent. The net value of all property owned ranges from \$5,780 to \$35,790 per farm. Every farmer reports sales of crops produced the past year; the lowest amount sold by any one farmer being \$125 and the highest being \$1,100. Every farmer sold some live stock and poultry products, and most farmers report small sales of dairy products.





TABLE 28.—*Economic history and present financial condition*

Data reported.	Family 1.	Family 2.	Family 3.	Family 4.	Family 5.
Years in locality:					
Head.....	20.....	36.....	30.....	18.....	29.....
Family.....	20.....	36.....	30.....	18.....	25.....
Present household size.....	9.....	8.....	4.....	7.....	7.....
Number of members 10 years or over.....	7.....	6.....	4.....	5.....	6.....
Male.....	3.....	5.....	2.....	3.....	2.....
Female.....	4.....	1.....	2.....	2.....	4.....
Previous location.....	Nanticoke, Pennsylvania.	Chicago, Illinois.	Calumet, Michigan.	Pittsburg, Pennsylvania.	Chicago, Illinois.
Previous occupation.....	Laborer...	Laborer...	Laborer...	Laborer in rolling mill.	Laborer...
Value of property brought to locality...	\$2,000.....	\$450.....	\$700.....	\$3,300.....	\$250.....
Occupation in locality previous to purchase.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
Wages per week.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Years employed.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
First land leased.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
Date.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Number of acres.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Terms.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Condition.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
First land bought:					
Date.....	1889.....	1873.....	1879.....	1891.....	1880.....
Number of acres.....	80.....	40.....	40.....	160.....	40.....
Price.....	\$1,700.....	\$280.....	\$280.....	\$3,200.....	\$280.....
Terms.....	Cash.....	Cash.....	Cash.....	\$2,000 cash, balance 7 years.	On time, 4 years.
Condition.....	30 acres clear, small log house.	Woodland.	Woodland.	120 cleared, 40 timber.	Condition not re- ported.
Occupation until living could be made from land.....	Savings and from land.	Working and bor- rowed money.	Savings...	Borrowed money.	None.....
Number of years.....	1.....	1.....	1.....	4.....	.....
Earnings per day.....	.....	Not re- ported.	.....	.....	.....
Acres of land now owned.....	120.....	183.....	260.....	270.....	121.....
Acres tillable.....	100.....	183.....	240.....	200.....	110.....
Rented land.....	None.....	.....	None.....	None.....	.....
Acres.....	.....	20.....	.....	.....	20.....
Terms.....	.....	$\frac{1}{2}$ crop given.	.....	.....	$\frac{1}{2}$ wheat crop.
Live stock now owned:					
Cattle.....	7.....	15.....	24.....	19.....	5.....
Horses.....	7.....	6.....	6.....	9.....	9.....
Hogs.....	25.....	16.....	50.....	20.....	8.....
Financial condition:					
Value of land and improvements.....	\$4,500.....	\$6,500.....	\$9,000.....	\$10,800.....	\$4,840.....
Live stock.....	\$885.....	\$1,000.....	\$1,325.....	\$1,475.....	\$985.....
Tools and implements.....	\$450.....	\$700.....	\$650.....	\$600.....	\$500.....
Crops on hand.....	\$150.....	\$450.....	\$250.....	\$889.....	\$400.....
Other property.....	\$175.....	\$225.....	\$250.....	\$150.....	\$150.....
Total gross value of property.....	\$6,160.....	\$8,875.....	\$11,475.....	\$13,914.....	\$6,875.....
Indebtedness.....	None.....	None.....	.....	.....	.....
On land.....	.....	.....	\$500.....	\$850.....	\$400.....
Net value of property.....	\$6,160.....	\$8,875.....	\$10,975.....	\$13,064.....	\$6,475.....

of certain typical Polish families, Radom, Ill.

Family 6.	Family 7.	Family 8.	Family 9.	Family 10.	Family 11.	Family 12.
30.....	35.....	27.....	36.....	34.....	27.....	25.....
28.....	33.....	23.....	33.....	34.....	27.....	25.....
10.....	5.....	9.....	4.....	4.....	4.....	9.....
8.....	5.....	5.....	4.....	4.....	4.....	7.....
4.....	4.....	3.....	2.....	2.....	2.....	3.....
4.....	1.....	2.....	2.....	2.....	2.....	4.....
Calumet, Michigan.	Michigan.....	Washington County, Illinois.	Chicago, Illinois.	Elkhart, In- diana.	Calumet, Michigan.	Chicago, Illinois.
Laborer, cop- per mine.	Laborer.....	Farm laborer	Laborer.....	Laborer.....	Laborer.....	Laborer.
\$1,300.....	\$300.....	None.....	None.....	\$325.....	\$625.....	\$175.....
None.....	None.....	Not reported.	On father's farm.	None.....	None.....	None.
.....	.....	Not reported.	Not reported.	.....	.....	.....
None.....	None.....	Not reported.	3.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	1886.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	1884.....
.....	.....	60.....	.....	.....	.....	50.....
.....	.....	½ crop.....	.....	.....	.....	½ crops.
.....	.....	Fresh land, very pro- ductive.	.....	.....	.....	Good, fresh land.
1879.....	1874.....	1893.....	1876.....	1875.....	1882.....	1887.....
160.....	40.....	60.....	20.....	40.....	40.....	50.....
\$2,560.....	\$400.....	From father's estate.	\$300.....	\$440.....	\$280.....	\$600.....
Cash \$1,200, balance in 4 years.	Cash \$218, balance payable in 4 years.	Not reported.	\$100 cash, balance in 4 years; 6 per cent.	\$110 cash, balance in 4 years; 6 per cent.	Cash.....	Cash.
Small tract of cleared land.	Woodland.....	Improved land.	Wild land.....	Untillable.....	In timber; no cleared land.	Few acres cleared land.
None.....	Laborer, and bor- rowed money.	None.....	On father's farm.	Savings and money borrowed.	Savings and some work.	None.
.....	1.....	.....	1.....	1.....	1.....	.....
.....	Not reported.	.....	Not reported.	.....	Not reported.	.....
500.....	120.....	85.....	120.....	120.....	160.....	166.....
500.....	100.....	60.....	120.....	90.....	160.....	166.....
None.....	15.....	25.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	80.....
.....	½ crop as rent.	½ crops.....	.....	.....	.....	½ crops.
37.....	9.....	7.....	7.....	8.....	8.....	15.....
21.....	6.....	6.....	5.....	4.....	8.....	6.....
30.....	46.....	10.....	7.....	21.....	29.....	14.....
\$30,000.....	\$5,000.....	\$4,000.....	\$5,000.....	\$5,000.....	\$6,400.....	\$7,500.....
\$3,040.....	\$930.....	\$780.....	\$615.....	\$675.....	\$1,110.....	\$1,325.....
\$1,000.....	\$650.....	\$500.....	\$550.....	\$450.....	\$600.....	\$700.....
\$1,500.....	\$250.....	\$350.....	\$350.....	\$400.....	\$325.....	\$800.....
\$250.....	\$130.....	\$150.....	\$250.....	\$275.....	\$200.....	\$200.....
\$35,790.....	\$6,960.....	\$5,780.....	\$6,765.....	\$6,800.....	\$8,635.....	\$10,525.....
None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
\$35,790.....	\$6,960.....	\$5,780.....	\$6,765.....	\$6,800.....	\$8,635.....	\$10,525.....

TABLE 28.—*Economic history and present financial condition*

## ANNUAL FARM INCOME FROM PRODUCTS

Products.	Pro- duced	Sold.	Pro- duced	Sold.	Pro- duced	Sold.	Pro- duced	Sold.	Pro- duced	Sold.
Corn.....	(a)	.....	(a)	.....	(a)	.....	(a)	.....	(a)	.....
Oats.....	\$24	.....	\$75	.....	\$27	.....	\$102	.....	\$40	.....
Wheat.....	220	} \$283	520	} \$515	500	} \$493	447	} \$611	264	} \$125
Hay.....	200		225		80		208		110	
Potatoes.....	47	.....	42	.....	35	.....	30	.....	23	.....
Dairy products.....	.....	.....	.....	20	.....	40	.....	16	.....	7
Live-stock products.....	.....	128	.....	120	.....	278	.....	235	.....	51
Poultry products.....	.....	221	.....	102	.....	108	.....	135	.....	113
Total.....	.....	632	.....	757	.....	919	.....	997	.....	296

• Unknown.

of certain typical Polish families, Radom, Ill.—Continued.

SOLD (AVERAGE FOR TWO YEARS.)

Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.
(a)		(a)		(a)		(a)		(a)		(a)		\$660	
{		{		{		{		{		{		{	
\$216		\$71		\$95		\$30		\$90		\$90		216	
1,215		272		277		367		313		485		318	
925		110		95		135		80		65		80	
45		30		26		38		30		41		42	
	\$1,100		\$270		\$319		\$314		\$300		\$540		\$550
	18				10		25		23		21		65
	860		100		353		49		185		598		420
	175		50		80		85		68		93		375
	2,153		420		762		473		576		1,252		1,410

1917 - 1918 - 1919 - 1920 - 1921 - 1922 - 1923 - 1924

## CHAPTER V.

### NORTHERN INDIANA, POLISH GENERAL FARMERS.

#### INTRODUCTION.

St. Joseph and Laporte are adjoining counties in the north central part of Indiana. These counties are primarily agricultural, although South Bend, in St. Joseph County, and Laporte, in Laporte County, especially the former, are industrial centers of considerable importance. South Bend, the county seat of St. Joseph County, has an estimated population of 60,000, while Laporte is the county seat of Laporte County and has an estimated population of 12,000. According to the census of 1900, St. Joseph County had a population of 58,881, of which 41,559 lived in South Bend and Mishawaka, and the remainder lived on farms or in country villages of less than 1,000 inhabitants. Laporte County in 1900 had a population of 38,386, of which 7,113 lived in Laporte and the remainder lived on farms or in villages of 1,500 inhabitants or less. Aside from the towns of South Bend and Laporte, the population is dependent directly upon the farms and farmers of their respective localities.

There are three distinct Polish agricultural communities, or settlements, within the two counties. One is in St. Joseph and two are in Laporte County. The settlement in St. Joseph County lies in Olive township, about 10 or 12 miles west of South Bend and about 3 miles east of New Carlisle. This settlement extends from Terre Coupe, a small station on the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railroad to Crumstown, a station on the Grand Trunk Railroad about 8 miles south. The territory occupied by Polish farm families varies in width from 1 to 3 miles.

The two settlements in Laporte County are centered about Rolling Prairie and Otis. Rolling Prairie is a village of probably 600 people, located about 7 miles east of Laporte on the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railroad, and Otis is a small town of about the same size, situated 10 miles west of Laporte on the same line of railroad. The Polish population constituting these two settlements is considerably scattered.

There is a large Polish population in South Bend, and a considerable part of the labor force employed in the Laporte manufacturing industries is Polish. The table following gives estimates ascertained and compiled from interviews with tax assessors, church secretaries, and priests of the three country parishes. Very nearly all of the population here reported is engaged in agriculture.

TABLE 29.—*Estimated number and distribution of Polish and Polish-American families in specified localities, northern Indiana.*

Place.	Number of families.	Number of adults.	Number of children.	Total.
Settlement near New Carlisle in St. Joseph County.....	140	500	350	850
Rolling Prairie, Laporte County.....	65	220	160	380
Otis, Laporte County.....	120	420	280	700
Totals.....	325	1,140	790	1,930

## HISTORY OF THE SETTLEMENTS.

In some sense the history of one of these three colonies is the history of all, but for the purposes of definiteness and because of some differences in detail it will be well to consider them separately, in the order of their settlements.

## OTIS.

The nucleus for this colony, or settlement, was formed about 1861, when three families and one young unmarried man came into the vicinity. Two of the men who had families had lived in this country prior to that time and had been employed on railroad construction work near Otis. They went home for a year and returned in 1861 with their families and one additional family, and the young man referred to above, to engage in agriculture. They began as laborers, doing such work as clearing land, ditching, and general farm work. None of them bought any land for two or three years, but all were able to secure work.

Before many years there were several Polish families in the locality, and they were soon looked upon as the main dependence for such labor as clearing, wood splitting, and ditching. Within a few years the first arrivals began to buy small tracts of land, usually of the poorer quality and located in the more inconvenient places, because it could be purchased at a small cost. While getting their own land into condition for cultivation many worked for American farmers and made enough to live on. There was a ready sale for the wood and other timber cut from their farms, as the railroad running through the community used wood for fuel at the time.

The settlement did not begin to show much increase until about 1869 and 1870. Friends of the first settlers began to arrive in considerable numbers; they first operated farms as tenants, and when not occupied with their farm duties took contracts to clear land, split rails, ditch, and to do any kind of work they could secure. Many who had been employed on railroad construction work in the vicinity, after the work was completed, turned their attention to agriculture because there were others of their race who had engaged in farming in the neighborhood.

In 1872 a Polish Roman Catholic Church was established at Otis, and the church records show about 60 families in the vicinity at that time. All were not agricultural families; some were employed on the railroad and some were lumbermen who left town when their work was completed, but the majority of them remained. The



establishment of the church at Otis was a great factor in the permanency of this settlement. It meant the founding of a permanent center of community and race interest, and many who would not have stayed otherwise were assured that enough of their fellow-countrymen would remain to make social life more agreeable. Practically all the first settlers of the colony came directly to the locality upon arrival in this country.

#### *Italian method of procuring land.*

The region to which the Poles came was rather thickly settled, considering the time, and all the land was owned by private individuals. Therefore, they did not have an opportunity to buy adjoining land in large tracts as a rule. This circumstance accounts in a large measure for their being scattered. Many of the Americans were large landholders and there was considerable demand for tenants. The Poles, upon first coming to the locality, in many instances worked at almost anything available until enough capital could be accumulated to buy stock and an outfit for farming, and then rented land and worked out for their neighbors when not needed in tending their own crops. They often took timber leases—that is, cleared land for the timber and a certain number of crops from the new ground (usually from one to three crops would be given). By exercising most rigid economy and by working constantly they were able to accumulate something, and as soon as enough was saved to make a substantial payment land was purchased.

#### *Terms.*

They usually bought less fertile or run-down lands, frequently away from the public roads. In 1870 such land could be purchased for about \$20 per acre. Many of the landholders were willing to sell for one-fourth to one-half cash down taking a mortgage deed for the balance, usually payable in from two to five years. If prompt payments could not be made, owing to reverses or poor crops, the Poles were usually able to borrow money from the banks. Many of the business men, and at least one banker, stated that they considered the Poles more prompt in meeting obligations than any other customers, and, as a class, loans to Poles are esteemed safer investments than loans to Americans. The first settlers assisted the newcomer in finding a good farm and in obtaining credit. In many cases Poles with an established credit and some property would indorse the notes and mortgages of their fellow-countrymen who wanted to borrow money and could not furnish sufficient security. This material manifestation of true friendliness was of great value in bringing the community to its present prosperous condition.

#### *Character of the immigrants.*

The immigrants who started the settlement were all from the Province of Posen in Prussia. They were of the peasant class, none having been landholders in their native country. Many had been farm laborers; some were common laborers and some had entered

trades in their native land, but all were accustomed to hard work. The simple peasant life had prepared them for the hardships incident to pioneer farming in this country.

Of the later immigrants—that is, those who have settled within the past twenty years—a great many have come from neighboring towns after working for some years in manufacturing industries and accumulating enough to make a payment on land; others, with at least enough money to equip a farm with necessary farming implements and live stock, rented land upon first coming to the settlement.

### *Pioneer problems.*

The conditions that existed at the time the first settlers were established caused much hardship. They were all people without means—rarely did a newcomer possess more than a few dollars, and one or two hundred dollars was an exceptionally large amount. There were no adequate houses, except some of those owned by Americans, and when a Pole bought land he was not financially able to buy improved land nor to build a comfortable house. Many lived in the poorest sort of log houses; in fact, they were so anxious to get ahead and to accumulate property that they lived as cheaply as possible. The fact that they were new to the country and to the methods of farming employed by Americans made it doubly hard for them. Some, after working a few years, decided they did not want to farm, and moved to some industrial center, but the majority stayed. Every year some new comers were buying property and setting out for themselves.

As the pioneers began to get established it became easier for those who settled later. They had the advice of the first, as well as their aid in establishing credit. Recent settlers with some money and in many instances a fair knowledge of English, have been able to settle on land with some improvements and begin farming under much more favorable conditions. The new settler of the present day can easily make a good living from the farm the first year. There are good roads and adequate markets for all kinds of farm products. Neither of these advantages existed when the settlement was first started, nor for many years afterwards.

The Poles are excellent pioneers. Their low standard of comfort enables them to endure almost any living conditions in order to acquire property. They have the patience to work hard through long hours and to forego present pleasure and comfort in the hope of becoming landowners farther on.

The substantial farmhouses, well-kept outbuildings, and prosperous farms, the fine herds of live stock now owned by the Polish farmers, show that they have been repaid in a material way for the hardships and hard work they previously endured. Many of the older settlers who bought the poorer and less valuable land upon their advent have added to this purchase many acres, have brought the whole area to a fair state of cultivation, and have equipped it with good buildings. Others sold their first purchase, after improving it considerably, at a good profit and subsequently bought larger farms with better land and buildings. Some of the most prosperous farmers in the locality are Poles.

In recent years many Americans have sold their farms to Poles and have moved away. The Poles have at all times had a keen eye to bargains in land such as the closing of estates or mortgage sales and have acquired a lot of good land cheap. While the foreigners have been successful in accumulating property, they have made great progress in other ways. Their dwellings especially have been greatly improved. Beginning with houses which would barely keep them dry they have now excellent residences of five to eight rooms, well furnished and convenient in every way.

There have been many deserters from the settlement, but few have left after acquiring any equity in real property. Those who went away were people who never rose economically higher than laborers or renters and had never really established a home within the settlement. Another interesting fact which shows the progress, as well as the thrift and ability of the colonists to meet their obligations, is that there has not been a case of mortgage foreclosure in the history of the colony. This is the more remarkable when it is remembered that all who now own land were compelled to give a mortgage for a considerable portion of the purchase price.

### *Soil.*

The territory occupied by this settlement includes several soil types. For the most part the topography is gently rolling or undulating though some of the prairie land is generally level. In the western part of the county, where a considerable part of the Poles are established, the land is very level, and in some places too low and flat for requisite drainage. Marked elevations traverse the area in a north-east and southwest direction. Some of these slopes are too steep for cultivation and on others great care must be taken to prevent erosion, so sharp are the inclines. The section immediately surrounding Otis, and to the east and south, is very much broken. This entire area is covered to a considerable depth by a deposit of glacial drift.

The soils of this area range in texture from sand to clay loam with a considerable area of marsh land in the western section. East and southeast of Otis there are large areas of prairie land. This is generally a black or dark-brown loam from 12 to 20 inches deep. This land is the most valuable in the area and but very few Polish farmers own any of it. The soil types prevailing throughout the locality where most of the Polish farmers are settled are the Miami loam and Miami sandy loam. The subsoil is usually of a clay or gravelly loam, and is in many cases rather coarse. Spots will be found throughout the region where Miami sand prevails. Much of the area is rolling, and the soil is in some places thin because of constant cropping and erosion. Many fields have been "turned out" to pasture or permitted to grow up to brush because they have been so badly eroded. The natural drainage of these soils is good; besides the rolling surface, the subsoil of rather coarse texture permits good underground drainage. Where proper care of the soil is taken, very satisfactory returns have been realized.

There is a good deal of marsh land in the western part of the country, where several Polish families live. This land has been settled within the past twelve or fifteen years. It is very flat and the natural

drainage is so inadequate that water stands on it a greater part of the year. The soil has a bluish-black color and contains a high percentage of vegetable matter, which is generally not thoroughly decomposed when first cleared. With some open-ditch drainage, it raises excellent crops of hay, especially timothy, but much labor and expense are necessary to drain it sufficiently for corn and other grain crops. The land adjoining this low marsh land is usually a sandy loam or a clay loam, gently rolling and productive.

There exist within the area soils adapted to almost every crop suitable to the climate. The principal crops grown are corn, wheat, oats, hay, and potatoes. Some of the soils in the southeastern part of the settlement are especially adapted to white potatoes, and this crop is grown extensively.

#### NEW CARLISLE COLONY.

##### *Historical.*

This colony, confined almost wholly to Olive Township, extends from near Terre Coupe to Crumstown, a distance of about 8 miles. It is divided by an impassable marsh or swamp into two sections. The northern section of the colony, which was settled first, extends from the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railroad to the marsh or swamp about 4 miles south. This northern division of the colony was settled almost as thickly before the land south of the marsh was opened up as it is at the present time. The Poles did not begin to settle south of this marsh until about 1882, and since then about 40 families have come in and bought farms.

The colony is made up of German Poles, who began to settle there about 1869, but the greatest volume of immigration to the section arrived about 1870 and 1871 to escape military service in the Franco-Prussian war.

The large tract of land where the settlement is now located was covered with timber and owned at this time by three lumbermen who were operating sawmills. In 1869 or early in 1870 two or three Poles came to South Bend from Chicago in search of employment. South Bend was then only a small town and, the industries there being small, they were unable to get work immediately. Learning of a sawmill operated by a German about 10 miles from South Bend; they secured work there and in a short time were joined by some of their friends, who found employment in this and other mills in the neighborhood. The Polish immigrants, who were employed as laborers about the mills and as lumbermen, formed the nucleus of what has now developed into a large and prosperous Polish agricultural settlement.

After most of the timber had been removed, one firm which owned a great part of the timber tract north of the marsh became insolvent, and the land, together with other property was taken over by a local banker who held mortgages on all the property. The land surface was low and wet, but large ditches had already been cut through portions of the tract, which had drained most of the neighboring land of surface water. This banker at once began to sell the land at \$10 per acre, allowing unlimited time for payment. Since practically all the timber of any value for lumber had been removed, the land

was thought to be almost valueless. The Poles who had been employed in the lumber camps began to buy this land because it was cheap and they could get favorable terms.

The first Pole to purchase was one of the sawmill hands, who bought in 1872 or 1873, and, as some of the mills were being closed and work was growing slack, several others did likewise, and within a very short time their friends from neighboring towns were beginning to come out and invest in land. Little trouble was experienced in securing purchasers. No advertising was necessary, the first purchasers were joined by their friends who wanted farms, and in turn these friends introduced others of their race.

### *Pioneer experiences.*

The first ten years of the colony's existence were the most trying. About forty families bought land during that period. Between 1880 and 1890 the community experienced its greatest growth, when, it is estimated, fully fifty families came to the locality, the majority from industrial communities. It was in 1882 that that part of the colony south of the dividing marsh was begun. Most of these settlers were from South Bend, but some came from eastern States and from other industrial centers in the Middle West. All of these people had been employed in industries in this country for several years and had some money to begin with. The prevailing price for the low land was \$10 per acre, but as the distance from the marsh increased the price rose steadily up to \$50 per acre 3 or 4 miles out. The greater number of Poles bought low land at \$10 per acre and began immediately to improve it.

Many of the colonists paid cash for their land, while others made only a small payment, generally from one-half to two-thirds of the purchase price and gave a mortgage on the land for the balance. Those who had too little money to buy a team and wagon frequently worked out until they could do this, usually buying the cheapest to be found. With the aid of the team they would clear their land and haul away the wood to market. The railroad and the manufacturing plants at South Bend used wood as fuel and there was a brisk demand. Had there not been a ready sale for the wood, the life of the early colonists would have been much harder; as it was their experience was very severe. Most of them paid what ready money they had toward their land and for teams and other equipment. Many had too little money to pay for capital equipment at the time of purchase. The first consideration was to build a house and barn. These were usually built as cheaply as possible and hence were far from comfortable.

For the first few years the greater part of the winters and early springs were spent in clearing the land and draining it to prepare it for breaking. The cleared ground was planted to crops in the summer and often cared for by the women and smaller children while the heads of the families worked for others. Under these conditions, with all the land to be cleared, and money raised to meet payments and with the new land subject to crop failures, the living was not very abundant. Many were enabled only by sales of cord wood and opportunities for employment offered by the American farmers in neighboring communities to make ends meet. The women and children worked

with the men, and it was not unusual to see a woman chopping wood or helping her husband saw trees into logs. When the head of the family got outside work the women and children raised the crops. Notwithstanding the unfavorable conditions, the early settlers did not show any disposition to abandon the enterprise, and there were recruits every year. There have never been any desertions worthy of mention. A few families, not more than six or eight, left the colony after buying land. Some of these sold their farms and went back to industrial centers to find employment or to engage in business; others sold out at a profit and went farther west where land was cheap.

*Present progress.*

All the old settlers are well established and have paid for their farms. The majority have added to their purchases, and many of the first settlers have made money by buying cheap land, improving it, selling to newcomers at a profit, and then buying more unimproved land. By this process many have acquired large holdings of very valuable land. There are now (in 1909) about 140 families, 850 individuals, belonging to the Polish Catholic Church located in this community. All are agricultural families. Only about twelve are tenants, the others are landholders, and most of them have an absolutely clear title to their land. Of the families above mentioned, about twelve are Poles of the second generation who were reared in the neighborhood and who, in most instances, have succeeded their parents in the occupancy of the farm.

It is only within the past eight or ten years that the Poles have been settling in the community as tenant farmers, a condition brought about by the fact that the available supply of cheap land has been exhausted and by the consequent high price of improved lands. From one to three families have come to the farms in the community each year for the past ten years and many have bought land, but more money is required now than formerly; it is impossible under present conditions to operate a farm successfully without some capital. Land costs more, and the favorable terms of purchase under which the first settlers bought can not be obtained. More machinery and stock are necessary. It is doubtful if any newcomer could succeed without enough money to pay at least one-half of the purchase price of the land and from \$600 to \$2,000 additional to buy stock and farming implements. These conditions have caused many to rent land instead of buying it. All the settlers who have come within the past fifteen years have been people who had spent years in industrial pursuits and had saved enough money to make a substantial payment if not enough to pay all in cash.

*Soil.*

The soils of this particular area may be grouped in two general classes, muck and loam. The muck or "marsh" lands, as they are locally called, constitute a very large part of this area. This land is very low, and before crops could be grown on it drainage was necessary. Large main drainage ditches have been cut through the area and smaller ditches tributary to these drain the farms. The pure muck soil is found in spots varying from a few acres to

several square miles in area along all the streams in the vicinity. Until thoroughly drained, it is fit only for pasture and hay. From 1 to 3 tons per acre of low-grade marsh grass or timothy can be produced.

The texture of this soil improves with drainage and cultivation. It usually represents deposits of partly decomposed organic matter mixed with particles of soil. Where the land has been cleared and drained and oxidation has taken place, the soil has usually a deep black color and is very productive. Underlying this muck soil is a subsoil of very compact clay, varying in thickness from 12 inches to 2 feet. Natural drainage is very poor on the muck, due to the nearness of this hardpan to the surface and the level contour, which permits little surface drainage.

#### ROLLING PRAIRIE.

The settlement in the vicinity of Rolling Prairie is like the one near Otis in that it is scattered over a considerable area. It lies in parts of four townships in the northeast corner of Laporte County. The Catholic church, which is located about 4 or 4½ miles northeast of the village of Rolling Prairie, is probably near the geographical center of the settlement.

#### *Historical.*

This settlement began about 1871 or 1872 and under circumstances very similar to those prevailing in the community just east of it in St. Joseph County. It was at a time when the Poles of Prussia were emigrating from that country in great numbers. Opportunities for industrial employment were not very favorable, and a few came to Rolling Prairie from Chicago. They were given employment by large landholders. During the winter months they cleared land, and in the summer they were employed as farm laborers. In two years ten or twelve families were settled in the neighborhood, and more were coming. They began farming by leasing woodland, clearing it, and putting it into cultivation.

At the time there were many farmers who owned large holdings of unimproved land which they wished to bring into cultivation. Few Americans were willing to do the hard work connected with clearing and fencing the resulting farms, and the Poles readily secured employment. They found it more profitable to clear land under the lease system or by contract, and very little clearing was done for a specified wage per day or month. In some instances older settlers took contracts to clear large tracts and then secured numbers of their race from other communities or from abroad to help them. The newcomer was soon ready to take a contract for himself. Generally from one to three years were spent in working at clearing and doing farm work in the summer; then the immigrant would take a crop lease on several acres of woodland.

There were three forms of contracts, agreements, or leases under one of which practically all of the earlier immigrants worked before they began to farm for themselves.

(1) The landlord gave the party contracting to clear the land a fixed price per hundred for all rails and posts split, which were for use on the farm, a definite price per cord for all firewood cut, and from \$3

to \$8 per acre for clearing the ground of all underbrush and piling and burning the brush. This was the form of contract under which most of the newcomers began, chiefly because the payment was in cash and the Pole needed money.

(2) As soon as the newcomer had made a small beginning he usually signed a lease by which according to agreement he cleared and fenced the land and was given for this labor all the wood cut from the tract and a certain number of the subsequent crops, usually three, raised on it. However, in some cases only two crops were given and in others as many as five, depending on the quantity of timber on the land and the difficulty of clearing it.

(3) The landlord usually agreed to give the immigrant all the wood, rails, and posts cut and three crops from the newly cleared land, and it was further agreed that all the wood, rails, and posts were to be sold to the landlord at a price agreed upon. This was only a combination of some features of the first and second agreements mentioned above.

After getting work so that a cash income was assured the next step of the immigrant was to save enough to buy a team to haul the wood to market and break the land cleared under the terms of the lease. When the immigrant had provided himself with a team and had accumulated a few hundred dollars from the sale of wood and crops, he soon invested it in a farm. Usually from three to ten years were spent in clearing land and farming under the crop-lease system before the Polish farmers bought farms or rented improved land for themselves.

It will be readily seen that the life of the early Polish settler in this community was a hard one in the beginning. The housing accommodations were poor, in most instances being log cabins or very cheaply constructed frame houses. The work was hard and required physical strength and endurance. To save anything from the proceeds of labor, the most rigid economy had to be practiced and it was necessary to work constantly. The settlers' holdings were usually unimproved and less convenient to public roads and markets than those of their American neighbors, and a great deal of hard work was necessary to clear and improve them. This was done on small capital, all of it by the head and members of his family. At this time the markets were very poor and the roads were bad. There was a ready sale for cord wood, but it had to be hauled from 4 to 6 miles over a wretched road. There was no sale for surplus garden products, milk, or butter; in fact, no market for any produce but grain and live stock, and the prices paid for these were generally small.

#### *Progress of the settlement.*

For about fifteen years this settlement grew very rapidly. Not all of those who came stayed. A few after, working long enough to save some money, went farther west to cheaper land. All who bought land have remained. At present there are 65 Polish families belonging to the church here, 18 of whom are of the second generation. Of the 65 families, there are about 12 tenants, while the remainder own valuable farms without incumbrances or have a valuable equity in real estate. Many Polish immigrants who started twenty-five to thirty-five years ago as laborers on farms in the neighborhood now own farms 80 to 320 acres in extent, well improved and stocked, and have money in banks.



All this property has been accumulated by their own efforts on their own farms. Practically all who own farms have enlarged their original holdings. Some have bought adjoining farms from Americans, with good houses and other improvements, and others have built within recent years. They have excellent houses and barns, in most instances painted and in good repair. The condition of their farms and buildings is as good as those of Americans of the same means.

There have been very few additions to this settlement in recent years, and the majority of those who have come since 1890 are tenant farmers. There is no cheap land in the community. The greater part of the land is under cultivation and the farms are all improved and are held at rather high prices. The average farm in the community sells for \$50 to \$60 per acre and some of the more fertile and better improved land sells for \$75 to \$100 per acre.

### *Soil.*

The soils of this area have been derived from a mass of glacial till, which has been extensively modified by the action of the atmosphere and the growth and decay of vegetation. Small lakes and swamps are scattered throughout the area. There are three distinct types of soils—the Miami, Marshall, and Clyde.<sup>a</sup> The Miami is the most extensive, and at least two varieties were noted. The Marshall is the type of next importance, while the Clyde type appears only occasionally throughout the area, where there have been small lakes or swamps.

The most extensive area of the Miami type is to be found in the north and northwest sections of the settlement. The most prevalent varieties are the Miami loam and Miami sandy loam. The loams are of medium texture, generally of light-brown color, and extend to a depth of from 8 to 10 inches, often mixed with a small quantity of gravel.

The Miami sandy loam is usually a brown sandy loam to a depth of about 10 to 12 inches. The soil is ordinarily very loose and mellow. The subsoil is usually a sticky sand to a depth of about 3 feet. It is an easy soil to cultivate, as a rule, and good crop yields are obtained from it. The surface of the Miami loam and of the sandy loam varies from gently rolling to hilly. The Miami clay loam is yellowish white to a depth of about 8 or 10 inches. There is a considerable area of this soil in the north and north central part of the settlement. This type under favorable conditions produces fairly good crops of corn, hay, and wheat.

The Marshall loam and Marshall sand are found principally in the southern part of the colony, in the prairie districts, occurring in areas from 1 to 5 square miles. It varies in color from gray to almost black and is usually underlaid by sand. It is an easy soil to cultivate and good crops of corn, wheat, and hay are raised on it. The surface is generally level or gently undulating, and because of the underlying sand and gravel it has a very good natural drainage.

<sup>a</sup>United States Department of Agriculture, Field Operations of the Bureau of Soils, Survey of Marshall Co., Ind.

## CLIMATE.

The following table taken from the records of the United States Weather Bureau station at South Bend, shows the mean monthly and annual temperature and rainfall. South Bend is about 12 miles east of the New Carlisle colony and 15 and 30 miles, respectively, east of the Rolling Prairie and Otis settlements.

*Normal monthly and annual temperature and precipitation.*

[United States Department of Agriculture, Field Operations of the Bureau of Soils, 1904, p. 691.]

Month.	Temperature.	Precipitation.	Month.	Temperature.	Precipitation.
	° F.	Inches.		° F.	Inches.
January.....	29.2	2.99	August.....	72.8	3.12
February.....	22.8	2.14	September.....	65.7	2.90
March.....	35.6	2.99	October.....	54.2	2.44
April.....	50.4	1.77	November.....	39.7	3.12
May.....	60.8	3.09	December.....	27.8	3.07
June.....	70.5	2.45	Year.....	50.3	33.66
July.....	74.1	3.57			

The figures above show that the greatest rainfall occurs during the growing season. The temperature between October and April is subject to sudden changes and alternate freezes and thaws which sometimes seriously damage wheat.

The average date of the last killing frost in spring is April 20, and of the first in fall, October 10. Killing frosts often occur as early as September 1 to 10 on the low muck lands of the New Carlisle communities. These frosts are confined to the very low and poorly drained soils, and often do great damage, especially to corn.

## THE SETTLEMENTS AS SHOWN BY FAMILY SCHEDULES.

In the three settlements 30 representative families were selected for investigation by the Commission. They were farm families that had settled in the localities at various times since 1862, when the first settlement was established.

The heads of all the families under consideration were born in the Province of Posen, in Germany, and 7 of them came to the settlement direct from abroad, while the remaining 23 had lived in other localities in the United States before settling on the farms they now occupy.

Twenty of the 30 settlers were either farm laborers or worked on their fathers' farms in their native land, and the majority of the others were unskilled laborers recorded simply as living. Only 1 was reported as being a skilled laborer abroad. Only 4 of the 23 farmers who lived elsewhere in the United States before settling in this locality were engaged in agricultural pursuits; and of these 1 was a lumberman and 1 a woodcutter. The others were engaged in various kinds of skilled and unskilled labor.

After settling in the colony 8 of the heads of families worked as farm laborers to provide means of support until a living could be made from the land, while the remainder engaged in no supplementary occupations. However, 12 of those who did not work outside for

wages sold wood cut from their land to provide a living until they had sufficient ground in cultivation to win support from the fruits of their fields.

Of the 30 farms first purchased 3 were between 20 and 40 acres, 19 between 40 and 80 acres, and 8 between 80 and 120 acres.

The average number of acres per farm and the average price paid per acre and per farm are shown in the table which follows:

TABLE 30.—*First purchase of land, condition, size of farms, and price paid, 30 typical Polish farms, northern Indiana.*

Condition of land.	Number of farms.	Average number of acres per farm.	Average price per—		Average cash payment.
			Farm.	Acre.	
None tillable.....	15	46.00	\$876.00	\$19.00	\$720.00
Under one-fourth tillable.....	6	61.00	1,542.00	25.00	1,208.00
One-fourth and under one-half tillable.....	1	40.00	1,000.00	25.00	1,000.00
One-half and under three-fourths tillable.....	7	84.29	a 4,040.00	a 39.00	a 2,520.00
Three-fourths or more tillable.....	1	45.00	1,600.00	36.00	1,000.00
Total.....	30				

a Not including 2 farms inherited, purchase price, and cash payments not reported.

#### AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS.

General farming is the only form of agriculture followed in the communities under consideration. Because of this fact and because improved and labor-saving farming implements are used, a comparatively small labor force can operate a rather large acreage. There are no farms of less than 40 acres, and the largest single Polish landholding covers about 400 acres. There is very little difference in the size of farms, methods of agriculture, and crops raised in the three settlements. There is more non-tillable land in the colony near New Carlisle than in the others, due to the existence of areas of marsh land which are too low and too poorly drained for cultivation. On the other hand, in favorable years the soils in the community yield more per acre because they are fresher and naturally more fertile. The higher lands of the Rolling Prairie and Otis settlements are not so likely to be "drowned out" in wet years and yield a very good crop every year, while the crops on the lowlands are often almost complete failures.

In the New Carlisle colony the average Polish farm is about 120 acres; in the Rolling Prairie and Otis settlements, about 100 acres in size.

Winter wheat is the principal money crop and a greater acreage is planted to that crop than to any other except corn. All the corn except enough for seed is sold. The yield varies widely on different farms and somewhat in the different localities. In ordinary crop years, in the New Carlisle settlement, a yield of 18 to 45 bushels per acre is realized, with an average of about 25 bushels. In the other settlements, from 10 to 30 bushels per acre are harvested. Probably 18 to 20 bushels is the approximate yearly average yield per acre in these communities.

Corn is grown more extensively than any other crop. The yield varies from about 20 bushels per acre, on the poor hill soils of the

Otis community, to 75 and sometimes 100 per acre on the rich loams of New Carlisle. For the three communities, about 30 to 40 bushels per acre is perhaps a fair average. The greater part of this crop is fed to live stock kept on the farm. Within recent years Polish farmers have decreased the number of live stock kept, especially cattle and hogs, due to the high prices paid for grain, and consequently a larger proportion of the corn crop has been sold. Most of the crop is cut and shocked until winter, when the corn is husked and cribbed and the stalks used for fodder for cattle.

Oats, third in importance of the grain crops, are grown by almost every farmer. Practically all of these are fed to live stock kept on the farm. The yield varies from 30 to 60 bushels per acre, with probably 40 bushels as an average yield. Oats are sowed in the spring and timothy or clover, sometimes both, are sowed with them. After the oats have been cut and threshed the young clover grows up quickly and is often utilized for pasturage for the rest of the season. The next year a crop of hay—mostly clover—is cut from the field. The oat straw, or a part of it at least, is often baled and sold, the remainder being used mostly for bedding for stock. Some of it is stacked in the fields and the stock turned to it in the winter.

Hay is grown by every farmer. The greater part of the crop is fed to live stock, but some is sold. Timothy occupies a greater acreage than any other grass, though some clover and grasses like red top are cut for hay. A great deal of marsh grass is cut from the low, poorly drained lands in the New Carlisle settlement. This, however, makes a very poor quality of hay. Clover and timothy seed are always sowed with wheat or oats. They are sowed at the same time as the oats; when with wheat, they are sowed in March, the wheat having been sowed the previous fall. From 1 to 3 tons of hay per acre are usual.

Irish potatoes are universally raised, but the greater part of the crop is consumed at home, and probably no other crop grown forms as important a part of the family food supply. At Otis a great number of the Polish farmers grow potatoes for market. In the other settlements the surplus only is marketed, and rarely does any farmer sell more than 100 bushels. Some of the soils in Northern Indiana are especially adapted to this crop, and potatoes are grown extensively both north and south of Otis. Yields of 75 to 200 bushels per acre are usual. About 100 bushels per acre is the average.

Dairy products are sold by almost every family. There are creameries at Rolling Prairie and at New Carlisle and most of the farmers in the vicinity of these towns deliver milk to the creameries every day. Those not living convenient to a creamery make butter for sale. The New Carlisle creamery runs a wagon through one section of the colony near that place which collects milk each day. There is no creamery in the immediate vicinity of the settlement near Otis, but a great number of the farmers make butter and market it once or twice a week, along with other farm products, in Michigan City.

Poultry and poultry products marketed by the Polish farmers in the three localities are important items. Nearly every family sells a certain amount of poultry, and some farmers market as high as \$300 worth or more each year. Chickens and geese are the principal fowls raised, though some turkeys are marketed.

## FERTILIZERS AND IMPROVEMENTS.

Fertilizers used consist of barnyard manure and clover. No commercial fertilizers are applied by any of the Polish farmers. The settlers exercise commendable care in handling all forms of waste hay and manure about the barn, and all that is produced is applied to the run-down places on the farm. Clover is grown throughout the region as a soil-enriching crop. When a stand of clover is secured it is cut for one or two years as hay and pastured a year or two. The sod is then turned under in the fall and the next year the field is planted to some cultivated crop. Some system of crop rotation is followed by most of the Poles. Some are very systematic, and usually these are the better farmers. Others only change crops when the decrease in yield is noticeable. The buildings on farms owned by the Poles as a whole are very substantial structures. The barns are of sufficient size to shelter all live stock kept on the farms and to store the farm products. They are usually in good condition and in many instances painted; the grounds and surrounding yards are kept fairly clean. Wagons, buggies, and farming implements are usually sheltered.

The farms, especially those portions under cultivation, are well fenced with the best quality of woven-wire fencing. In most instances the farms are subdivided into fields 10 to 40 acres in size by cross fences, an arrangement which makes it convenient to carry out systems of crop rotation—to pasture stubbles or clover fields or the cornstalks after the corn has been harvested—without injury to growing crops.

## PROPERTY OWNED.

At the present time there are no farms with less than one-fourth of the land tillable and only 2 with less than one-half, while 10 report more than one-half and less than three-fourths tillable, and 18 report three-fourths or over tillable. Only five of the farmers under consideration now own farms of less than 80, but none less than 40, acres; 9 of the farms are 80 and under 120 acres; 7 are 120 and under 160 acres; 6 are 160 and under 240 acres; and 3 are over 240 acres in extent.

The next table shows the gross value placed upon land and improvements by the owners, irrespective of indebtedness. It will be noted that 28 of the 30 farmers value their land at more than \$5,000 per farm, and that more than one-half of the land is tillable and that 18 report three-fourths or more of their land as tillable and value their farms at more than \$9,000 per farm.

TABLE 31.—*Land and improvements now owned; condition of land, size of farms, and average value, 30 typical Polish farms, northern Indiana.*

Condition of land.	Number of farms.	Average number of acres per farm.	Average value per—	
			Farm.	Acre.
One-fourth and under one-half tillable.....	2	75	\$3,750	\$50
One-half and under three-fourths tillable.....	10	110.53	5,880	53
Three-fourths or more tillable.....	18	142.03	9,306	66
Total.....	30	.....	.....	.....

The table following deals with the net value of land and improvements, and shows the number of heads of families owning personal property of specified value, together with the total value of property owned. It is seen that all own land of an average net value of \$1,500 or more. Seven own land valued at \$2,500 and less than \$5,000, while 16 own farms with a net value of from \$5,000 to \$10,000. It is noted that 6 farmers value their land and improvements at more than \$10,000 and 3 at \$15,000 or over.

Only 8 farmers own live stock and implements valued at less than \$1,000 and none less than \$500, while 13 have live stock and implements valued at from \$1,000 to \$1,500, and 9 value their live stock and implements at \$1,500 and under \$5,000.

It is also noted that none of those reporting have less than \$250 worth of crops on hand, 22 have less than \$1,000, while the remaining 8 have between \$1,000 and \$5,000 worth.

TABLE 32.—*Net value of all personal and real property now owned, 30 typical Polish farmers, northern Indiana.*

Net value.	Land and improvements.	Live stock and implements.	Crops on hand.	Total property.
\$250 and under \$500.....			7	.....
\$500 and under \$1,000.....		8	15	.....
\$1,000 and under \$1,500.....		13	5	.....
\$1,500 and under \$2,500.....	1	8	1	.....
\$2,500 and under \$5,000.....	7	1	2	.....
\$5,000 and under \$7,500.....	9			.....
\$7,500 and under \$10,000.....	7			.....
\$10,000 and under \$15,000.....	3			.....
\$15,000 or over.....	3			.....
Total.....	30	30	30	30

The next table shows the average quantity and value of crops raised per farm and the number of farms producing them.

It will be noted that wheat has the highest average value of any crop, and all farms report this crop. Only a slight difference exists between the average value per farm of the corn and hay crops, while potatoes show the lowest average value of any general crop produced.

TABLE 33.—*Average quantity and value, per farm, of crops raised, 30 typical Polish farms, northern Indiana.*

Crops.	Number of farms producing.	Average—	
		Quantity.	Value.
		<i>Bushels.</i>	
Corn.....	28	507	\$379
Hay.....	30	a 24	358
Oats.....	24	341	205
Potatoes.....	29	167	86
Wheat.....	30	452	458

a Tons.

The table following shows a classification of live stock on the 30 farms under consideration:

TABLE 34.—*Classification of live stock, 30 typical Polish farmers, northern Indiana.*

Kind of live stock.	Number of farms reporting.	Number of farms reporting—					Number of animals reported.	Average value per head.
		Only 1.	2 or 3.	4 to 6.	7 to 10.	10 or more.		
Horses.....	30	.....	14	14	2	.....	114	\$139
Cows.....	20	1	5	11	2	1	93	29
Other neat cattle.....	12	.....	2	3	2	5	113	22
Sheep.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	102	3
Swine.....	30	.....	3	7	6	14	382	9

#### MARKETS AND MARKETING FACILITIES.

Transportation facilities are excellent. The Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway passes through each settlement and gives it direct connection with Chicago and the eastern markets. The Grand Trunk Railway passes through the southern portion of the New Carlisle settlement, and the Chicago, Indianapolis and Louisville Railway through Otis, giving connection with Michigan City and Indianapolis. Besides the railroads, interurban trolley lines cross the Rolling Prairie and New Carlisle settlements, with cars running every thirty minutes, connecting them with South Bend, Laporte, Michigan City, and Chicago. Practically all the local passenger transportation is on the electric lines, which also carry small express packages. There are good dirt roads on almost every section line and all the main roads have been graveled. Twenty miles of limestone road connect Michigan City and Westville, running through the portion of the Otis settlement most thickly settled by Poles. Practically all the farmers in this section do their marketing in Michigan City, and the produce is hauled over this road.

Excellent markets are to be found within reasonable distance of every farmer, and anything raised or produced upon the farm can be sold at good prices. South Bend is but 12 or 14 miles from the New Carlisle colony; and good gravel roads lead into the town. Milk, as has been stated before, is sold to the local creamery. Chickens and eggs in small quantities are usually exchanged at the country stores for goods, larger quantities are carried to South Bend, where there is a greater demand and consequently better prices. General farm products like grain and live stock are generally sold on the farm with the understanding that the farmer deliver them at the nearest elevator or railroad station, within 6 or 7 miles from the most distant farmer. The limestone pike built into Michigan City a few years ago has greatly aided farmers living in the Otis settlement and has stimulated the marketing of butter, eggs, and vegetables, and many of these products which were allowed to go to waste are now carried to that town and disposed of at prices which have stimulated further production.

## SUMMARY OF PROPERTY OWNED.

A majority of the Polish farmers have paid for their farms, and many have very good bank accounts and own farm mortgages which represent loans to fellow-countrymen. Those still in debt have valuable equities, which in many cases, due to the natural increase in land values and to improvements, are worth more than the original purchase price of the land. Very few have any money invested in outside enterprises or own any property other than farm lands and mortgages secured by the holdings of fellow-countrymen. Practically all the debts are for lands and improvements.

The Polish agriculturists in northern Indiana are excellent examples of what can be accomplished by thrift and rigid economy in all lines. They bought land that was considered by Americans unfit for agricultural purposes or not worth the time and work required to develop it. That they were not financially able to buy better accounts primarily for their buying this cheap land. There were, at the time they bought, many Americans who had the same or better opportunities, for they were acquainted with conditions. Many of these Americans who were tenants when the Poles came are still tenants, while the Poles own valuable properties. The 30 farms under consideration aggregate 3,811.75 acres, with a total real-estate valuation of \$233,800. Only 4 farms show indebtedness and the total reported is \$4,775. There is little doubt, however, that this reported indebtedness is below the true figures. Following is a condensed summary showing the financial condition of the 30 farmers:

Farms leased and owned:	
Total farms investigated.....	30
Average size of farm, acres.....	128.69
Median farm, acres.....	120
Kind of farms:	
General.....	30
First purchase of land, and improvements.....	
Total number of acres.....	1,731
Average acres per farm.....	57.70
Total value.....	<sup>a</sup> \$45,185
Average value per farm.....	<sup>a</sup> \$1,614
Average value per acre.....	<sup>a</sup> \$27
Farms now owned.....	
Total number of acres.....	<sup>b</sup> 3,811.75
Number of acres tillable.....	2,652.00
Number of acres not tillable.....	1,159.75
Present value of farms now owned:	
Land and improvements.....	\$233,800
Average value of land and improvements per farm.....	\$7,793
Average value of land and improvements per acre.....	\$61
Number of farms showing indebtedness.....	
Total indebtedness.....	\$4,775
Average indebtedness per farm.....	\$1,194
Gross value of all property.....	\$313,482
Net value of all property.....	\$308,707
Average net value of all property per farm.....	\$10,290

<sup>a</sup> Not including 2 not giving complete data.

<sup>b</sup> Not including 49 acres rented land.



## STANDARD OF LIVING.

The clothing worn by Polish farmers and their families, with but few exceptions, varies but little from that worn by the average Americans in the same circumstances. The older men in some instances wear a coarser and cheaper quality of clothing than Americans. The women who were adult when they came to this country have shown very little progress in dress. They usually wear ill-fitting dresses of gaudy colors and cheap material. At home they usually tie a bandana handkerchief about the head, and when away from home wear a shawl, which serves both as a hat and wrap. The younger people, or second generation, have been reared in this country and dress as well as Americans of the same economic class.

The housing conditions in the different Polish settlements are similar to those of American rural communities. The older settlers have been on the farms long enough to build good, comfortable homes. The log cabins and small farmhouses erected on first coming have been replaced by more modern and more comfortable structures. Those who have settled within recent years had more money when they came and bought improved farms or had enough means to build good houses.

Generally there are well-kept yards of good size, with flowers, shade trees, and grass, all of which show a pride in the home surroundings. Very little money is spent upon houses or in beautifying grounds until the farm is paid for. The houses are from 5 to 8, and sometimes 10-room structures, and while not elaborately equipped they are comfortably furnished in a majority of cases. There are sufficient rooms in every house so that at least one can be set apart for a family living room, and in many instances there is a parlor in addition.

The food consumed by the immigrant families does not differ very widely in quality or quantity from that of the ordinary American rural family. The menu consists principally of potatoes, bread, meats—both pork and beef—milk, and butter, with various kinds of vegetables and fruits in season. In many of the homes of the poorer people the food is badly prepared, due very largely to the fact that the women spend much of their time in the fields.

Most Polish women give less attention to cooking than the average American housewife. Irish potatoes form a considerable part of the menu at almost every meal the year round, and the Poles consume more of them than Americans. Meats, especially pork, are eaten in large quantities.

Women and children do a great deal of work in the fields, much more than American women and children, but not so much as in former years when the immigrant farmers were not so prosperous as at present. In a great many families the housewife and grown daughters who are at home do no work out of doors. However, in most of the poorer families the women go to the fields almost as regularly as men and do any kind of work that comes to hand. The children are taught to work as soon as they become old enough, and when not in school there is usually work for them at home.

## OPPORTUNITIES FOR EMPLOYMENT.

There are no opportunities for industrial employment within the immediate vicinity of any of the Polish rural communities. Ordinarily there is a demand for labor, both skilled and unskilled, in the towns of South Bend, Laporte, and Michigan City, and most of the younger people who leave the farm go to these industrial centers.

A limited number of the people of these settlements find employment as section hands on the interurban trolley lines and on the railroads, but these are permanent places and the employers only want people who can devote all their time to the work. There is always a demand for farm laborers and a large number of the young men, especially, do some work for neighboring farmers when they are not needed on the home farm. The wages paid for farm hands are good, from \$1.25 to \$2 per day, without board, being the price paid day laborers. During the harvest season and corn husking, from \$1.50 to \$2 and dinner is the customary wage, and during ordinary times about \$1.25 per day and dinner.

There are no industries in the vicinity of any of the settlements which employ women. There is a demand among wealthier American farmers for girls as domestic servants, but all the Polish girls who engage in this work usually go to the towns, where there are better social advantages and the wages are higher. Many girls go to the neighboring towns and to Chicago from these localities and find employment in factories, stores, and as domestic servants in private homes and hotels.

## SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

The social life of the Polish settlements in northern Indiana is not very different from that of the ordinary American farm community. There are no public places of amusement, like theaters, concert halls, parks, etc., as in urban communities, and these settlements are so far removed from the towns that the people can not often seek amusement there. The social life of the communities centers chiefly about the church. In the summer months picnics and suppers are often given under the auspices of the church and are well attended. The church offers other opportunities for social intercourse in the various societies organized under its auspices and in the regular religious services. Practically every family attends church regularly, and before and after services there is social intercourse.

Weddings and christenings are largely attended and are marked by a great deal of jollity. The weddings are usually public, and the whole community attends. After the ceremony a reception is generally given, at which there is feasting, drinking, and dancing. These festivities last at least a day and night and often longer. Occasionally young people meet for a dance or gathering at the home of some family in the community. There is also visiting from house to house on Sundays and on summer evenings.

Some association with natives occurs at public gatherings, but very little at purely social functions. Speaking generally, the association between the native Americans and the immigrants in a strictly social sense is so infrequent as to be negligible. The Poles have a church of their own in each community, and all of them being Catholics, while practically all of the Americans are Protestants, they never meet at

the church, which is often one of the most important factors in the social life of a rural community. The difference in language is a great barrier, especially to the older immigrant settlers. Very few speak English freely. This, however, can not be said of the second generation, all of whom speak English as freely as any other native-born Americans.

Practically all the business dealings of the Poles in these localities are with Americans, and there seems to be no prejudice in this respect. In every locality there are men who have been close personal friends and advisors of the Polish settlers since they first came as poor and ignorant immigrants, and who have a high regard for their honesty and industry. This relationship, however, has always been and still is more business than social in character.

#### CHURCHES.

Each of the three Polish agricultural settlements has an excellent church structure, and each church numbers all the Polish families in its respective locality as its members. New brick churches have been built within recent years in the New Carlisle and Rolling Prairie settlements, the one in the former at a cost of \$32,000, and the one in the latter at \$12,000. At Otis the church is a frame building, but in good repair and large enough to accommodate the congregation. At Otis the Poles have also a school building of 8 rooms and a parish house of 15 rooms. This is the only place where a parochial school is maintained. In former years there was one in the New Carlisle colony, but the building was destroyed by fire in 1908, and since that time the Polish children have patronized the public schools solely.

#### EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS.

Well-regulated public schools with courses of instruction through the eighth grade are available to all. The schools are graded and are open at least six months in every year, with an average term of seven or eight months. Each township has a high school which can be reached by all patrons and which is free to the residents of the township.

The parochial school in Otis has an attendance of 75 to 100 students, Polish children of the first and second generation belonging to this settlement. The school is in charge of the priest, and there are four teachers. The course of instruction extends through the eighth grade and corresponds to that of the public schools of the State. All subjects are taught in English except Polish history and the Polish language. There has never been a parochial school in the Rolling Prairie settlement. The settlement has no resident priest, the church there being served by the priest of the New Carlisle colony.

The children are sent to school regularly, and their progress is usually as satisfactory as that of the children of American-born parents. At Otis not all the Polish children are sent to the parochial school. Some parents send them from one to two years to the parochial school and after that to the public schools. Public-school attendance by the Poles has been increasing within recent years, and interest in the public schools has grown greatly.

## POLITICAL CONDITIONS.

Nearly all the Poles in the localities under discussion are voters, which means that they have at least first papers. The laws of Indiana permit any man of alien birth who has his first papers and has lived in the United States one year to vote, provided he has complied with all other requirements. A great many of the older citizens became naturalized before the laws were as rigid as they are now and before second papers were required. Some Poles in every locality have served in minor offices as tax assessor, road supervisor, school commissioner, etc., but only one has ever been a candidate for a county office, and he was defeated by only a few votes, really running ahead of his ticket.

A great majority of the Polish farmers take some newspaper printed in English; usually it is a local newspaper, but these, together with the many newspapers printed in this country in their native language, keep them fairly well informed on political conditions, both local and national.

## MORAL CONDITIONS.

Generally speaking, the moral conditions are good in the rural communities under discussion, far better than among the same class of people in the industrial localities. This is due principally to the better living conditions, and to the fact that they come more often in contact with American people. There have never been any crimes against the person worthy of mention. Petty larceny, thieving, or gross immorality are not common.

There is a good deal of drinking of both spirituous liquors and beer, but no drunken brawls, and it is said there is very little drunkenness considering the amount of intoxicants consumed. At weddings, christenings, and the like, there is a great deal of feasting and drinking, principally of beer, but not very much drunkenness or disorder. Farmers often meet at the small towns when they go to market and spend a few hours at the saloon drinking together.

The Poles have an enviable reputation for business honesty, and the banks and individuals who extend them credit say that as a class they are more prompt than any other people to meet their obligations. Fully 90 per cent of the Poles who now own land in these localities have at some period given mortgages or borrowed money either to carry on their farms or to help pay for land, or both, and there is not a case on record where a mortgage given by a Pole has been foreclosed.

## EFFECT OF SETTLEMENT ON NEIGHBORHOOD.

The Polish agricultural settlements in northern Indiana have greatly increased the wealth of the section. In the case of the colony near New Carlisle, if the Poles or some other foreigners had not bought up this land it would have remained unimproved for many years. It was held in large tracts by Americans because of the timber, and was considered almost valueless for farming because it was submerged for the greater part of the year. American farmers were not willing to go to the trouble and expense of clearing and draining as long as other farm lands could be bought or leased. The Poles began to

buy it because it was cheap, and although a great deal of work was required it was put in a good condition for cultivation.

In other localities the Poles settled very largely on the poorer land and in the less convenient localities, or bought run-down farms because they were cheap. They farmed this land intelligently, improved it, and erected good buildings. By their coming the general farming conditions have been improved, many of the larger farms have been divided or tracts sold to Poles, and more land has been brought under cultivation and is producing crops. All of which has stimulated better farming and care of the soil and has had a decided effect in increasing the price of land.

Within recent years there has been some growth in all the settlements, but more in the New Carlisle and Otis localities than in the one near Rolling Prairie. In most instances the newcomers have taken the place of American farmers who have gone to other localities. The Americans have usually sold at a good profit and bought larger farms, or have gone farther west, where land was not so high. In a number of cases the Poles have bought farms where the original American owners were old people and no longer able to look after the farm, or where it was left to heirs not engaged in farming, and have thus kept the land from being turned over to tenants.

#### STATISTICAL DATA FOR SELECTED FAMILIES.

The table next submitted, giving detailed information of 12 typical families, is presented as a summary of the facts set forth in the preceding report.

TABLE 35.—Economic history and present financial condition of certain

	Family 1.	Family 2.	Family 3.	Family 4.	Family 5.
<b>Years in locality:</b>					
Head.....	38.....	30.....	27.....	25.....	29.....
Family.....	37.....	30.....	27.....	25.....	29.....
Present household size.....	4.....	5.....	3.....	2.....	3.....
Number of members 10 years or over.....	4.....	5.....	3.....	2.....	3.....
Male.....	2.....	2.....	2.....	1.....	2.....
Female.....	2.....	3.....	1.....	1.....	1.....
Previous location.....	Germany.....	S o u t h B e n d, I n d.	S o u t h B e n d, I n d.	New Car- lisle, Ind.	New Car- lisle, Ind.
Previous occupation.....	Farm hand.	Laborer.....	W a g o n m a k e r.	Farm hand.	L u m b e r- m a n.
Value of property brought to locality.....	\$25.....	\$1,500.....	\$1,800.....	\$1,000.....	\$1,200.....
Occupation in locality previous to purchase.....	Farm hand a n d l a- b o r e r.	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
Wages per week.....	N o t r e- p o r t e d.				
Years employed.....	3.....				
First land leased.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
Date.....					
Number of acres.....					
Terms.....					
<b>Condition.....</b>					
First land bought:					
Date.....	1874.....	1879.....	1882.....	1884.....	1880.....
Number of acres.....	40.....	40.....	80.....	60.....	100.....
Price.....	\$800.....	\$400.....	\$1,400.....	\$700.....	\$1,000.....
Terms.....	Cash.....	Cash.....	Cash.....	Cash.....	Cash \$800, balance as able.
Condition.....	U n i m- p r o v e d; c o v e r e d w i t h b r u s h.	C o v e r e d w i t h t i m- b e r.	1 a c r e c l e a r, r e s t c o v e r- e d w i t h t i m b e r.	W i l d l a n d, s e c o n d- g r o w t h t i m b e r.	W i l d l a n d; n o i m- p r o v e m e n t s.
Occupation until living could be made from land.....	W o r k i n g o u t a n d s e l l i n g w o o d.	C u t a n d h a u l e d w o o d, a n d s a v i n g s.	C u t a n d h a u l e d w o o d.	C u t t i n g a n d s e l l i n g t i m b e r.	S e l l i n g w o o d f r o m l a n d.
Number of years.....	1.....	3.....	3.....	3.....	2.....
Earnings per day.....	N o t r e- p o r t e d.	N o t r e- p o r t e d.	N o t r e- p o r t e d.	N o t r e- p o r t e d.	N o t r e- p o r t e d.
Acres of land now owned.....	60.....	120.....	90.....	80.....	160.....
Acres tillable.....	50.....	102.....	60.....	55.....	100.....
Rented land.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
Live stock now owned:					
Cattle.....	5.....	11.....	4.....	3.....	4.....
Horses.....	2.....	5.....	2.....	2.....	3.....
Sheep.....					
Swine.....	3.....	6.....	7.....	5.....	6.....
<b>Financial condition:</b>					
Value of land and improvements.....	\$4,000.....	\$8,000.....	\$6,000.....	\$5,000.....	\$7,500.....
Live stock.....	\$465.....	\$1,175.....	\$575.....	\$400.....	\$585.....
Tools and implements.....	\$400.....	\$500.....	\$500.....	\$400.....	\$525.....
Crops on hand.....	\$312.....	\$973.....	\$570.....	\$460.....	\$531.....
Other property.....	\$200.....	\$275.....	\$300.....	\$150.....	\$200.....
Gross value of all property.....	\$5,377.....	\$10,923.....	\$7,945.....	\$6,410.....	\$9,341.....
Indebtedness.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
On land.....					
Other.....					
Net value of all property.....	\$5,377.....	\$10,923.....	\$7,945.....	\$6,410.....	\$9,341.....

typical Polish families, New Carlisle, Otis, and Rolling Prairie, Ind.

Family 6.	Family 7.	Family 8.	Family 9.	Family 10.	Family 11.	Family 12.
35.....	21.....	28.....	Under 1.....	38.....	20.....	22.....
35.....	19.....	27.....	Under 1.....	38.....	20.....	22.....
3.....	9.....	6.....	3.....	5.....	4.....	5.....
3.....	7.....	6.....	3.....	5.....	4.....	5.....
2.....	4.....	3.....	2.....	3.....	3.....	3.....
1.....	3.....	3.....	1.....	2.....	2.....	2.....
Terre Coupe, Ind.	South Bend, Ind.	Germany.....	Benton Har- bor, Mich.	Germany.....	Bayonne, N. J.	South Bend, Ind.
Wood cutter	Lathe run- ner, plow works.	Farm hand...	Cooper.....	Farm hand..	Furnace fire- man.	Iron molder.
\$1,000.....	\$100.....	\$200.....	\$1,900.....	\$350.....	\$1,500.....	\$10.....
None.....	Father's farm.	Wood cutter..	None.....	Lumberman.	None.....	None.....
.....	None.....	\$10.50.....	.....	\$7.50.....	.....	.....
None.....	6.....	1.....	.....	3.....	.....	.....
None.....	None.....	1882.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
.....	.....	20.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	Wood and crops for 5 years for clearing land.	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	Woodland.	.....	.....	.....	.....
1874.....	1894.....	1884.....	1909.....	1874.....	1889.....	1887.....
40.....	40.....	45.....	120.....	20.....	58.....	80.....
\$1,000.....	\$1,000.....	\$1,600.....	\$3,800.....	\$250.....	\$1,450.....	\$2,250.....
Cash.....	Cash.....	\$1,000 down, balance 7 per cent.	\$1,500 down, mortgage 6 per cent.	Cash.....	Cash.....	\$2,000 cash, balance in 2 years.
Covered with brush, ex- cept 15 or 20 acres.	Unim- proved; covered with stumps.	Most of land under cul- tivation.	80 acres till- able land; rolling, not fertile.	Wild land, covered with stumps.	10 acres till- able, bal- ance in woods.	Wild land, covered with tim- ber.
None.....	None.....	None.....	This is first year on farm; sav- ings.	Hauling and selling wood.	Selling wood from farm.	Cutting and selling wood.
.....	.....	.....	.....	3.....	2.....	3.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	Not reported.	Not reported.	Not reported.
196.....	160.....	313.....	120.....	318.....	78.....	160.....
165.....	150.....	250.....	80.....	290.....	65.....	100.....
None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
10.....	5.....	35.....	1.....	9.....	8.....	12.....
4.....	5.....	8.....	3.....	6.....	3.....	3.....
20.....	.....	60.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
20.....	12.....	100.....	2.....	30.....	12.....	20.....
\$12,000.....	\$9,000.....	\$18,000.....	\$3,800.....	\$20,000.....	\$6,500.....	\$10,000.....
\$885.....	\$945.....	\$3,230.....	\$295.....	\$1,475.....	\$850.....	\$825.....
\$400.....	\$650.....	\$700.....	\$300.....	\$900.....	\$500.....	\$500.....
\$990.....	\$964.....	\$2,290.....	\$320.....	\$3,160.....	\$750.....	\$772.....
\$275.....	\$200.....	\$450.....	\$150.....	\$650.....	\$250.....	\$250.....
\$14,550.....	\$11,759.....	\$24,670.....	\$4,865.....	\$26,185.....	\$8,850.....	\$12,347.....
None.....	None.....	None.....	\$2,200.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
.....	.....	.....	\$125.....	.....	.....	.....
\$14,550.....	\$11,759.....	\$24,670.....	\$2,540.....	\$26,185.....	\$8,850.....	\$12,347.....

TABLE 35.—*Economic history and present financial condition of certain typical*

## ANNUAL FARM INCOME FROM PRODUCTS

Products.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.
Corn.....	\$56	} \$125	{ \$488	\$400	{ \$150	\$163	{ \$75	\$99	{ \$150	\$150
Oats.....	84		{ 152		{ 15		{ 54		{ 39	
Wheat.....	102		{ 325		{ 133		{ 180		{ 220	
Potatoes.....	240		{ 105		{ 84		{ 44		{ 60	
Hay.....	135		{ 563		{ 338		{ 203		{ 210	
Orchard products.....	10	10								
Dairy products.....		63		225		63		45		
Live-stock products.....		41		95		33		18		29
Poultry.....		25		40		138		25		14
Total.....	627	264	1,633	760	720	397	556	187	679	193



*Polish families, New Carlisle, Otis, and Rolling Prairie, Ind.—Continued.*

SOLD (AVERAGE FOR TWO YEARS).

Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.
{ \$450		{ \$825		{ \$900		{ \$120		{ \$1,050		{ \$340		{ \$600	
.....		261		525		.....		915		190		255	
430	\$250	745	\$687	938	\$625	300	\$250	1,900	\$1,775	450	\$550	309	\$338
47		75		60		.....		135		60		57	
563		225		1,275		150		1,013		413		210	
8				7									
.....	8	.....	18	.....	7	.....	225	.....	188	.....	163	.....	118
.....	130	.....	86	.....	1,575	.....		.....	393	.....	113	.....	110
.....	90	.....	55	.....		.....		.....	140	.....	63	.....	63
.....	35	.....		.....		.....		.....		.....		.....	
1,498	513	2,131	846	3,705	2,432	570	250	5,013	2,496	1,453	889	1,431	629



## CHAPTER VI.

### BEREA, OHIO, POLISH SMALL FARMERS.

#### INTRODUCTION.

Berea is a small town with probably 3,000 to 3,500 inhabitants. It is located in the southwestern part of Cuyahoga County, Ohio, 14 miles from Cleveland, and in addition to the Southwestern Trolley System, with passenger and express service, the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern, Big Four, and Baltimore and Ohio railroads pass through the town.

The principal industry is centered about the quarries, where large quantities of sandstone, both for purposes of construction and for grindstones and millstones, are quarried.

There is a large Polish population, both in the town of Berea and on small farms in the immediate vicinity, as a greater part of the employees in the stone quarries there and at Westview, a small town 2 or 3 miles west, are of this race. A large number of the Poles either own small farms of from 1 to 10 acres, with a house, and work in the quarries, or rent small tracts of improved land. Counting these as farmers, there are approximately 120 Polish families living in the vicinity of Berea and Westview who operate farms. Less than half of them depend upon farming as a sole means of support.

The larger proportion of those engaged in agriculture raise truck crops principally. Fully 80 per cent of those who live on the farms own them outright or have an equity in them. Many possess small tracts and rent a few acres adjoining if the area owned is not as much as they want to cultivate. This land is usually rented for cash, the amount of rental ordinarily varying with the fertility of the soil.

#### HISTORY OF THE SETTLEMENT.

The rock quarries have been in operation at Berea for fifty years or more, and Poles have been employed for very nearly, if not quite as long. Nearly all of those who are now on farms have been at some time or are now employed in the rock quarries. The primary reason for the settlement of the Poles in this locality was the opportunity for industrial employment. There has never been any organized effort to get them to the farms, but they have gone of their own volition. This settlement is not important from the standpoint of a purely agricultural community, as but few, compared with the large number engaged in farming, depend solely upon the farms. A majority of the farms were purchased after the vendees had been in the community for several years, and had saved enough from their earnings to make at least a substantial payment if not to pay cash for their purchases. The settlement on the farms has been gradual,

continued over a period of thirty years. There are at present about 120 families, each owning from 5 to 100 acres, and living within a radius of 4 or 5 miles of Berea.

The terms of purchase, as well as the price paid for the land, have been varied. Usually, the greater number paid cash, in some instances raising part of the money by means of mortgages executed to third persons, and in other instances the vendors have taken the mortgage. Different prices have been paid; those buying twenty-five years ago paid less than the more recent purchasers, since land values are constantly advancing. The proximity to market and to town, as well as the improvements in the way of buildings and fertility of the soil, has influenced the price of land. Some of the soil is better adapted to truck crops, and consequently brings better prices. The size of the tract also affects the price, a small tract of 5 to 10 acres selling for much more per acre than a larger area of the same quality of land with the same improvements.

Because of the opportunities for outside employment and because most of the purchasers have bought only small tracts, for which they could soon pay, the immigrants at Berea have suffered few of the pioneer hardships frequently experienced by immigrants in purely agricultural localities. At present, the principal part of the work on most of the farms is done by the women and children, while the head of the family works in the stone quarries. The primary object in buying small tracts is to reduce the living expenses of the family by making it possible to keep a cow and some poultry, as well as to raise vegetables for the family table. In most instances sufficient land was bought in the beginning to raise some surplus produce for the market.

#### SOIL AND CLIMATE.

Three general types of soil are found in the vicinity of Berea. These are sandy and clay loams, and muck. Generally speaking, the soil is of good quality and very productive when intelligently farmed. To the south, the southwest, and the southeast of the town the country is rolling and the soil is less fertile than in other directions. The clay loam grows good crops of corn, oats, and wheat, while most of the soils found in the vicinity, except the muck, produce fine vegetables and potatoes. The muck land, which is very valuable for onion culture when properly drained, commands a higher price than other lands, and of course rents at a higher rate. It is not as well suited, however, for many of the cereals as other land found in this locality.

As for climate, the hottest months at Berea are July and August, when the temperature rarely reaches 98° F. for more than one day in the year, and the normal for these two months is about 70° F. The coldest weather is generally in February, when the temperature rarely goes below zero, and the normal is about 25° F. to 30° F. The normal annual temperature is about 50° F. The greatest precipitation is generally in May, June, and July, when most needed by growing crops; the normal rainfall for the year is about 35 to 40 inches.

## AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS.

Owing to the proximity to market and the adaptability of this soil to truck crops, it has a high valuation, and consequently the farms are small. The largest farm owned by a member of the Polish race in this locality is about 100 acres, the greater number of settlers possessing considerably under 25 acres; in fact, the average farm is probably not more than 12 acres in size.

The following crops are raised by nearly everyone engaged in farming: Corn, oats, wheat, potatoes, hay, onions, beets, squash, cucumbers, beans, peas, lettuce, radishes, pepper, and carrots.

A large number of the small farmers keep one horse, each farmer keeps a cow, a few acres are usually planted to corn and oats, and some hay is made to feed the live stock. There are a few general farmers who have 25 acres or more of ground, who raise all the general produce they need at home and a limited surplus for sale. Usually these farmers raise only a small quantity of truck crops, to supplement the farm income and supply a little ready money. The greater part of the work of raising truck is done by hand. Many of those who own but a few acres hire the land prepared for cultivation and perform practically all the rest of the work by hand. Some commercial fertilizer is used on many of the truck crops, but for the general grain crops no fertilizers are applied, except that in some instances stable manure made on the farm is spread over the barren and run-down places.

Very nearly all the land owned by the Poles is tillable. Especially is this so with regard to those who own small tracts containing a few acres only, all the ground adapted to cultivation is made to produce. The greater part of the people have built their own homes after buying the land, and while their dwellings are not pretentious they are comfortable cottages of 5 to 8 rooms, and are as good if not better than they could afford if they were paying rent. A small barn sufficient to shelter all live stock kept and to store all products raised is found on each farm. The buildings are in a good state of repair as a rule and the grounds and surroundings well kept. A few of the Poles who own considerable tracts or who rent large farms raise some cattle and hogs for market, but usually only enough cows are kept to supply the family with milk and butter, and from one to three pigs for pork. All keep poultry, and many families derive considerable revenue from the sale of chickens and eggs.

## MARKETS AND MARKETING FACILITIES.

Truck farming has developed because of the great demand for vegetables and presence of adequate markets for all products raised at remunerative prices. Practically all farm products, especially truck crops, are sold in Cleveland, 14 miles from Berea. The farmers make from one to three trips per week to market in their spring market wagons, carrying vegetables of all kinds and frequently milk, butter, chickens, and eggs. The roads are good, brick pavements alternating with dirt road or graded macadam. Transportation facilities are excellent. Three railroads pass through Berea, and besides these the Southwestern trolley line operates between Berea.

and Cleveland, carrying passengers, small freight packages, and express of all kinds every few hours. The Polish farmers as a rule do not use these, however, because they can haul their products to market cheaper, since most of them keep at least one horse. A large part of the marketing is done by the housewife, while the head is employed at some outside occupation.

#### PROPERTY OWNED.

A majority of those who own land have paid for the greater part of their land and improvements, nevertheless practically all the debts they owe are for land or for improvements in the form of buildings. When a laborer working in the stone quarries accumulates sufficient money he usually invests in a small suburban tract of land or a home in Berea. The fact that the lot purchased is always large enough to have a garden illustrates the thrift of the settlers. The greater part of those who buy usually secure at least 2 acres so that in addition to the vegetables consumed at home there are some for sale. The most of those who have more than 5 acres at present began by buying small tracts of from 2 to 5 acres, and from savings, together with the sale of surplus crops cared for principally by the wife and children, they have gradually increased the acreage of their farms.

#### EMPLOYMENT.

The opportunities for outside employment are numerous. Plenty of work, especially of an unskilled and semi-skilled nature, can be had in the rock quarries, on the railroads, and the street car lines. This work is steady, however, and has to be followed regularly if the employee wishes to retain his position. There is also some work to be had for farmers and in building and similar trades, where the laborer can put in spare days. But in the quarries and on the railroad, men are wanted who can give their entire time to the work. Ten hours constitute a day's work in all the industries. The average wage in the quarry is from \$1.50 to \$2.25 a day. At the grindstone works, where a great deal of the labor is paid by piece, some employees make more than this. Laborers on the railroad are paid from \$1.50 to \$1.75 per day. No industries in Berea offer employment either occasionally or regularly for women, and there are no opportunities for the regular employment of children in the neighborhood. In busy seasons they sometimes find employment on farms, but usually there is abundance of work for them about the home at such times. No women in the settlement are employed for wages, except those who work occasionally at hoeing, picking up potatoes, or other light farm work. Nothing accurate can be said as to the number of agriculturists who are engaged in outside employment. The boys of a great many of the families have found work in other communities. Some are employed in Berea and some in Cleveland and elsewhere. Fully 75 farms are cultivated by the women and children, the head having other employment.

## SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

Opportunities for recreation and amusements of almost every kind are available. Trolley lines connect the town of Berea and outlying districts with Cleveland. There is a large Polish population in Berea and the immediate vicinity, however, and the social life is centered largely in visits from house to house, church meetings, picnics, and similar gatherings. Many of the social enterprises of the community are connected with the church and church organizations. There is practically no association with native people, due largely to difference in language and race, and to some extent, religious prejudice. Practically all the Poles are Roman Catholics, and they have a separate church, where the Polish language is used and which has no connection with the American church of the same faith located at Berea.

A majority of the farmers in the community have been in the United States from twenty to forty years, and have brought up their families in this country. They have adopted American standards of living and American customs to a marked extent. This is especially noticeable in the appearance of the premises, the houses and the housekeeping. While in many cases the houses are not as well kept as they are by the average American family, they exhibit a vast improvement over Polish housing conditions in the industrial centers, and as a rule the furniture is better and more abundant. Better standards of comfort are due very largely to the fact that the children have been brought up in this country, and are in most respects thoroughly Americanized. Most of the heads of the families are naturalized citizens.

## EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS.

The parochial school connected with the local Polish Catholic Church has a course of instruction extending through the eighth grade. The attendance includes the larger proportion of the children, both of the first and second generation Polish, who are of school age. In some instances the Polish farmers living 2 miles or more from the town send their children to public schools in their immediate vicinity, but in a majority of cases they live close enough to town to send them to the parochial school, and do so. Besides the parochial school there are excellent schools in the town, including two colleges, one public high school, and two public grammar schools, all having a nine-months' term each year. In the country there are public schools not more than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the most distant patron and with a course of instruction extending through eight grades.

## MORAL CONDITIONS.

The Poles in this vicinity enjoy an excellent reputation for business honesty, as well as for good moral character. Their credit is good, and they are very prompt in meeting obligations. Petty or grand larceny or felonies of any kind are practically unknown, and all forms of misdemeanors are infrequent, especially among the farming class.

While the use of liquor and beer is common among the Poles in the locality, drunkenness is much less common among the farmers than among those employed in industries.

#### THE SECOND GENERATION.

Little disposition has been shown by the second generation to engage in farming. Most of those who were brought up on the farms have gone out to industrial employment. Some who are grown still live with their parents, but find work outside, either on the railroad or in the quarries. Practically all of those raised in Berea engage in some form of industrial employment, and the tendency among the foreign-born Poles to settle on farms is not witnessed in the second generation.



## CHAPTER VII.

### SUNDERLAND, MASS.; TOBACCO AND ONION GROWERS, A RECENT SETTLEMENT.

#### INTRODUCTION.

Sunderland, Mass., is one of the extreme southern towns in Franklin County and is located on the eastern bank of the Connecticut River, which forms the entire western boundary of the town. The foreign population of Sunderland numbers nearly 500 people and is composed almost entirely of Poles, Lithuanians, and Slovaks, the Poles being the most and the Slovaks the least numerous. In this report, where the term "alien," "foreigner," or "immigrant" is used it applies to the whole foreign population; where there is a characteristic racial distinction the race is noted.

Fifty-one foreigners own farms in Sunderland and about 20 more rent land during the summer. According to the assessor's books, the aggregate area owned is 943 acres, with a valuation of \$75,279; but more than one-half of the foreigners have incumbrances on their farms. Practically 11 per cent of the land and 14 per cent of the total property of the town is owned by the immigrants. Many of their farms are located on one of the richest soils in the State, much of it being the bottom land of the Connecticut Valley. At some distance from the river, where other farms are situated, this bottom land gives place to a soil containing a higher percentage of gravel. Onions and tobacco are the chief crops raised. Cucumbers are produced to some extent and are sold to the local pickle factory. Corn and hay, though not raised extensively, are produced in quantities sufficient to feed over 200 head of dairy cows during the winter months, the cream being sold to a near-by creamery. The immigrant has entered into all of these farming enterprises with a zeal that has won him an enviable reputation in the community. He raises large crops of onions, his tobacco compares favorably with that raised by his native neighbors, and he almost invariably keeps more live stock than did his American predecessor.

Sunderland was selected as a representative town in order to show what the Poles are doing in the Connecticut Valley. Similar conditions exist in the neighboring towns of South Deerfield, Deerfield, Hatfield, Hadley, and North Amherst, and the foreigners are beginning to extend their possessions into the towns of Montague and Leverett. In fact, it is said that the whole valley on both sides of the river, from Hadley on the south to Greenfield on the north, will be known as "Poland" in the course of time. Whether this be true or not, it is evident that foreigners are coming in steadily, are making a good living, and are competing successfully with their American neighbors. Furthermore, the younger generation seem to be content to remain on the farms, a fact not generally true of the children of American farmers.

## SCOPE OF THE INVESTIGATION.

During the investigation conducted in October to December, 1908, all the Polish, Slovak, and Lithuanian farms in Sunderland, Leverett, South Deerfield, and North Amherst were visited by agents of the commission. The tables that follow in this report are tabulations of data concerning 58 typical families from whom schedules were obtained; they represent the following races:

	Families.
Lithuanian.....	22
Polish.....	30
Slovak.....	6
Total.....	58

The following table presents the whole number of persons from whom detailed information was secured in the course of investigation. Of the 306 persons from whom detailed information was secured, only 1 was native-born of native father. Of those who were native-born of foreign father, 48 were of Lithuanian, 86 were of Polish, and 13 were of Slovak descent. Poles show the largest number of foreign-born, followed by Lithuanians and Slovaks in the order mentioned. The total number of males is slightly larger than the total number of females, Lithuanians and Slovaks showing the larger percentage of males over females:

TABLE 36.—Number of persons for whom detailed information was secured, by sex and general nativity and race of individual, Sunderland, Mass.

General nativity and race of individual.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Native-born of native father, White.....		1	1
Native-born of foreign father, by race of father:			
Lithuanian.....	27	21	48
Polish.....	43	43	86
Slovak.....	5	8	13
Total.....	75	72	147
Total native-born.....	75	73	148
Foreign-born:			
Lithuanian.....	36	29	65
Polish.....	47	32	79
Slovak.....	6	8	14
Total foreign-born.....	89	69	158
Grand total.....	164	142	306

## PRESENT CONDITION OF SETTLERS.

Following is a general financial summary of the condition of the families investigated according to their own figures. Several own house lots and rent from 2 to 5 acres of additional land, which they plant in onions. These small land owners represent a group of people who have as yet been unable to buy farm land, but who have saved enough money to purchase house lots and build small houses.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>This condition of affairs accounts for the notes referring to house lots, found in the summary, it being thought best to carry them separately rather than to include them in the total number of farms.

Twenty-two of the Lithuanians own or lease farms whose average area is 13.73 acres. Two of the Lithuanians are tenants, 16 own farms averaging 17.33 acres. The remaining 4 own house lots only and rent the land they cultivate. Thirty Poles own or lease farms, which average 28.88 acres, more than twice the size of those operated by the Lithuanians. Twenty-two are owners, whose holdings average 38.13 acres. Three own house lots only, and 5 are tenants who own no real estate. The land first purchased by the Poles averaged \$113 per acre, and the farms averaged 24.58 acres in area. The land now owned by the Poles averages \$116 per acre, and the acreage per farm has increased to an average of 33.61. All of the Slovaks own farms, averaging (including 6 acres of rented land) 12.83 acres in size, valued at \$185 per acre or \$2,183 per farm.

TABLE 37.—General financial summary, Lithuanian, Polish, and Slovak farmers, Sunderland, Mass.

Data reported.	Race investigated.		
	Lithuanian.	Polish.	Slovak.
Farms leased and owned:			
Total farms of race.....	22	30	6
Average size of farm, acres.....	13.73	28.88	12.83
Median farm, acres.....	9	14	12
Kind of farm:			
Onion and tobacco.....	7	14	1
Onion.....	15	12	5
Vegetable or truck.....		2	
General.....		1	
Farms now leased.....	2	5	
Total number of acres.....	10	16	
Number of acres cultivated.....	10	16	
Total value of personal property.....	\$497	\$2,071	
Average value of personal property per farm.....	\$249	\$414	
First purchases of land and improvements.....	20	25	6
Total number of acres.....	151.8	540.75	56
Average acres per farm.....	a 10.84	b 24.58	9.33
Total value.....	c \$17,078	d \$61,400	\$4,740
Average value per farm.....	\$854	\$2,456	\$790
Average value per acre.....	\$110	\$113	\$0.85
Farms now owned.....	20	25	6
Total number of acres.....	e 279.50	f 840.25	g 71
Number of acres cultivated.....	126	353	61
Number of acres not cultivated.....	153.50	487.25	10
Present value of farms now owned:			
Land and improvements.....	\$42,900	\$97,400	\$13,100
Average value of land and improvements per farm.....	\$2,145	\$3,896	\$2,183
Average value of land and improvements per acre.....	\$153	\$116	\$185
Number of farms showing indebtedness.....	11	25	5
Total indebtedness.....	\$6,890	\$45,053	\$5,194
Average indebtedness per farm.....	\$626	\$1,802	\$1,039
Gross value of all property.....	\$63,889	\$153,167	\$15,065
Net value of all property.....	\$56,999	\$108,114	\$9,871
Average net value of all property per farm.....	\$2,850	\$4,325	\$1,645

a Not including 6 lots and gardens (3½ acres).

b Not including 3 lots and gardens (1½ acres).

c Including 6 lots and gardens (value \$2,245).

d Including 3 lots and gardens (value \$2,500).

e Not including 22½ acres rented by 8 farmers.

f Not including 26 acres rented by 7 farmers.

g Not including 6 acres rented by 2 farmers.

#### HISTORY OF THE SETTLEMENT.

The first settlers of Sunderland were the English Puritans, who pushed out northward into the present Sunderland "Meadows" from the earlier settlement of Hadley in 1670. In 1673 Sunderland was a plantation bearing the name Swampfield, from the numerous swamps. King Philip's war caused the sudden abandonment of the early settlement, but in 1714 settlers came from Hatfield and Hadley and formed

another. The first mention of the town in the records of the State occurs under date of November 12, 1718. The census of 1790 gives it a population of 462; from that time until 1865, when the population was 861, the town gained steadily. After 1865 the census records show an unmistakable decline until 1890, when the federal census recorded 663 inhabitants. That was the low-water mark. After 1890 the foreign influx brought the population up to 910 in 1905. Much has been said and written about abandoned farms and the tendency of the sons and daughters of New England farmers to forsake the farm for the city. This has been true to some extent in Sunderland, but in recent years the exodus of Americans has been more than balanced by the influx of foreigners. The following table shows the forward movement of the population of Sunderland in comparison with the population of Dana, Shutesbury, and Leverett. These last three towns are located near Sunderland, but the land is not as good, and immigration has not as yet reached these localities. Dana is about 17 miles from Sunderland in Worcester County; Shutesbury is 8 miles, and Leverett 4 miles from Sunderland; both are in Franklin County.

TABLE 38.—*Movement of population, Sunderland, Dana, Shutesbury, and Leverett, Mass., 1860 to 1905.*

Date and census.	Sunderland.			Dana.			Shutesbury.			Leverett.		
	Total.	Increase or decrease.	Foreign-born.	Total.	Increase or decrease.	Foreign-born.	Total.	Increase or decrease.	Foreign-born.	Total.	Increase or decrease.	Foreign-born.
1860 United States census.....	839	=	.....	876	+52	.....	798	-141	.....	964	-18	.....
1865 Massachusetts census.....	861	+ 22	55	789	-87	13	788	- 10	9	914	-50	0
1870 United States census.....	832	- 29	.....	758	-31	.....	614	-174	.....	877	-37	.....
1875 Massachusetts census.....	860	+ 28	82	760	+ 2	11	558	- 56	17	831	-46	7
1880 United States census.....	755	-105	.....	736	-24	.....	529	- 29	.....	742	-89	.....
1885 Massachusetts census.....	700	- 55	55	695	-41	36	485	- 44	17	779	+37	19
1890 United States census.....	663	- 37	.....	700	+ 5	.....	453	- 32	.....	702	-77	.....
1895 Massachusetts census.....	696	+ 33	118	717	+17	89	444	- 9	31	744	+42	21
1900 United States census.....	771	+ 75	.....	790	+73	.....	382	- 62	.....	744	=	.....
1905 Massachusetts census.....	910	+139	459	763	-27	84	374	- 8	38	703	-41	89

The table shows that the population of Sunderland has increased 31 per cent, or from 696 to 910 since 1895, this being the first census after foreign immigration had fairly set in. The increase has been due altogether to the foreign-born element. In Dana there was an increase during the same years of only 6 per cent in the total population, with the foreign element almost stationary. Shutesbury shows a decline of 53 per cent in total population from 1860 to 1905, and a decline of 16 per cent since 1895, while the foreign-born increased from 31 in 1895 to 38 in 1905.

Leverett, although showing a decrease in the total population of about 6 per cent in the 1905 census, shows an increase over 1895 of

more than 300 per cent in the number of foreign-born. This town is adjacent to Sunderland and is just beginning to feel the pulse of foreign immigration.

The first family of these recent immigrants came to Sunderland during the year 1888. Before this time a few single men had been employed by the Americans as farm laborers. Francis Clapp and Hiram Davis were the first two men who were influential in securing foreign laborers. In the early eighties, when native help became scarce, they conceived the plan of making regular trips to New York to secure incoming foreigners as they were leaving the ships and conduct them to the Sunderland tobacco fields. By this method they supplied the farmers with the necessary number of cheap laborers, receiving the first month's wages of the alien for their services in finding employment for him. From this small beginning the number of foreigners has grown steadily until they are now slowly crowding out the old-time American families. The early method of securing farm hands lasted only a few years, and many stories are told about the difficulties these two men met in obtaining the immigrants. Some of the newcomers suffered by falling into the hands of unreliable agents. In recent years there have been enough satisfied immigrants in the locality to supply the demand for farm laborers by simply writing their friends and relatives abroad to join them. Many of the aliens that settled here send money to Europe to pay the transportation of relatives to this country, where they are proving that it is easily possible to earn their living and buy a home in a comparatively short time.

The birthplace of the heads of families visited during the investigation were as follows: All of the Lithuanians were born in Russia. Eight of the Poles were born in Austria and 22 in Russia. Four of the Slovaks were born in Austria and two in Hungary.

Of the 30 Polish heads of families 22 came direct to the settlement from some foreign country; 4 came from Pennsylvania; 2 from New Jersey; and 1 each from Massachusetts and Illinois. Fifteen of the Lithuanians came from Europe direct to the locality, 4 came from Pennsylvania, 2 from Massachusetts, and 1 from Illinois. Two of the Slovaks came direct from abroad and 2 from elsewhere in the United States.

The fact that the majority came directly from Europe is undoubtedly due to the success of the first foreign settlers and the general prosperity that newcomers found upon their arrival.

#### PREVIOUS OCCUPATIONS OF SETTLERS.

The occupation abroad of those persons in the households investigated who were 16 years of age or over at the time of leaving their native land were as follows: In the case of the 31 Lithuanian males, 12 were working for wages as farm laborers, 10 were on their fathers' farms, 3 were farmers, 2 were without occupation, and 1 each were engaged in the following occupations: Tailor, blacksmith, stone mason, and post-office employee. Of the 41 Polish men, 28 were working on their fathers' farms, 4 were farm laborers, 3 were farmers, 2 were without occupation, and 1 each were engaged in the following occupations: Liquor dealer, soldier, spinner, and carpenter. One of

the Slovak men worked on his father's farm, 1 was a farmer, 1 a farm laborer, 1 a coachman, and 1 was without occupation. Nineteen of 25 females (Lithuanian) reported no occupation abroad, 3 were on their fathers' farms, and a similar number were on their husbands' farms. Twenty Polish women out of 29 reported no occupation, 3 were servants, 1 was a spinner, 2 were on their fathers' farms, and 3 were on their husbands' farms. Three of the Slovaks were without occupation, 1 worked on her father's farm and 1 on her husband's farm.

Those who came to the settlement from other parts of the United States had for the most part entered the ranks of unskilled labor on arrival in this country, but, as previously explained, the majority of the Sunderland farmers came there directly after landing.

#### PROGRESS OF THE SETTLERS.

Sunderland, as well as the near-by towns that lie in the Connecticut Valley, seems to afford ample agricultural opportunities to farmers of all three races. The only obstacle in the way of immediate independence is the high price of farm land, which is a serious handicap to one with little funds; but there is a steady call for farm hands at good wages, and after a few years of service most of the foreigners select a piece of land, make a small cash payment and become independent landowners. If they buy unimproved land, they soon put it in cultivation, thereby increasing the number of acres of tilled land in the community.

Formerly the Americans thought that tobacco would grow only on the low bottom land along the Connecticut. But the incoming foreigners, finding this land all taken up and too high for them to purchase, succeeded in raising crops of tobacco and onions on the lighter land found at some distance from the river. The crops they raise on these new areas compare favorably both in yield and quality with those grown on the heavier bottom land. They first cleared away the heavy growth of scrub pine and oak, immediately planted the land to tobacco, and soon demonstrated that good crops can be produced on land formerly considered worthless by the natives.

From 10 to 30 foreigners come to this locality every summer and secure work on the tobacco and onion farms for a few months. In the late fall, after the tobacco and onions have been harvested and housed, the single men leave the town to find work in the near-by factories of Holyoke and Springfield. Sometimes three or four of the men who have worked steadily as farm laborers for two or three years go back to Europe for the winter. When they return in the spring they almost invariably bring some relatives with them.

As shown in Table 38, the population of Sunderland according to the state census of 1905 was 910, of whom 459, or slightly more than one-half, were foreign-born. Ten years earlier, in 1895, the town had a total population of 696, of whom 118 were foreign born.

The state census of 1895 records 7 persons from Austria, 57 from Poland, and 8 from Russia, or a total of 72 Slavic foreign-born.

The census of 1905 records 164 inhabitants as Polish, 124 as Austrian, and 102 as born in Russia, or 390 Slavs in all. In addition there are in Sunderland 302 children born of Polish, Slovak, or Lithu-

anian parents, making a grand total of 692 persons of Slavic origin. It will be seen from these figures and from the table just referred to that this town, which in 1855 had a foreign-born population of only 55 out of a total of 700, is now essentially a Slavic community.

#### TOPOGRAPHY, SOIL, AND CLIMATE.

The topography of the country in the immediate vicinity of Sunderland is varied. Most of the land that is cultivated is level or slightly rolling and lies along the Connecticut within a distance of 1 to 3 miles from the river. East of this rolling land the country is bounded by low hills covered with woods of pine, oak, and chestnut.

Four principal soil types are found within the territory under discussion. The Connecticut Meadow soil is the most important. The surface 12 inches of this soil consists of a dark silt loam, underlaid by a heavier dark-grayish or brown silt loam. These two soils frequently contain a large percentage of very fine sand, and the areas are sometimes traversed by small ridges of fine sandy loam. In the process of reworking and depositing a large amount of organic matter has been incorporated with the sand and silt, making this a soil of high commercial value. Excellent crops of corn, onions, cucumbers, and other varieties of truck vegetables are produced. It is the best soil for onions, the yield averaging 500 bushels, and this can be increased considerably by careful cultivation and liberal application of fertilizers. The tobacco grown on this soil is of low grade, though the yield averages between 1,800 and 2,000 pounds per acre. Over 50 per cent of the farms owned by the foreigners in this section are situated partly on soil of this type.

The Podunk fine sandy loam consists of 12 inches of friable, dark-brown, fine sandy loam. This type is only found in small areas, although most of the Slovak farms are situated on this land. The surface is level or gently rolling, with low ridges or sand dunes occurring in a few places. All this type is cultivable and produces good crops of corn, onions, cucumbers, and tobacco. It is especially good for medium or late truck crops.

The Hartford sandy loam, to a depth of 12 inches, consists of a dark brown loam. One phase of the loam is very light, loose, and porous; the other is a medium sandy loam advantageously situated with reference to water supply. The heavier phase appears to be the best tobacco soil of the area, especially for the shaded crop. In the open fields tobacco yields from 1,600 to 1,800 pounds of very desirable leaf. A few of the Polish farms are situated partly on soil of this type.

The Norfolk coarse sandy loam is a dark sandy loam 8 inches deep resting on a stratum of heavy red or yellow sandy loam 10 to 22 inches thick. This type is generally productive, and the yield of tobacco ranges from 1,700 to 2,000 pounds per acre.<sup>a</sup>

Climatic conditions have a great influence on the onion and tobacco crops. Infrequently in early spring a strong wind from the north sweeps up the light onion seeds that have been planted in the finely pulverized soil, necessitating the replanting of the entire acreage; an early hailstorm sometimes works havoc with the uncut tobacco crop.

<sup>a</sup>United States Department of Agriculture. Field Operations of the Bureau of Soils, 1899 and 1903.

The hail punctures the tender tobacco leaves and beats them to the ground, rendering the crop practically valueless, or at least reducing its value to a very low figure per pound.

The following table, compiled from records of the meteorological observatory at the Massachusetts Experiment Station in Amherst, 6 miles from Sunderland, represents a summary of climatic data for the past ten years. The rainfall is fairly uniform throughout the year, the smallest amount occurring in April, and the rainfall during July, August, and September being slightly more than during the other nine months. The temperature is uniform, the coldest month being February and the hottest month July. According to this report, the last frost in this locality in the spring seldom comes later than May 10, though in 1908 the last frost was June 3; in the autumn the first frost occurs about the 15th of September, the growing season being about five months.

*Normal monthly and annual temperature and precipitation, Amherst, Mass.*

[Compiled from Bulletin No. 130, Massachusetts Experiment Station.]

Month.	Temperature.	Precipitation.	Month.	Temperature.	Precipitation.
	° F.	Inches.		° F.	Inches.
January.....	23.4	3.44	August.....	67.9	4.25
February.....	23.3	3.19	September.....	61.2	4.27
March.....	33.5	3.96	October.....	49.2	3.70
April.....	45.6	2.92	November.....	37.7	3.27
May.....	57.0	3.77	December.....	26.9	3.66
June.....	65.7	3.62	Annual.....	46.8	44.84
July.....	70.0	4.80			

AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS.

The farms vary in extent from a 2-acre tract to one of 119 acres; on the smaller farms practically all the land is under cultivation, but on the larger places some of the land is in mowing, pasture, or woods. This is being cleared or plowed and more land is being opened to tilled crops each year.

The following table, compiled from the reports of the Massachusetts state census, shows the value and quantity of the onion and tobacco crops raised in the town of Sunderland in state census years since 1875; also the number of farms reported as raising these two crops:

TABLE 39.—Amount and value of the onion and tobacco crops, Sunderland, Mass., in state census years 1875 to 1905.

[Compiled from reports by the Massachusetts state census.]

Year.	Onions.			Tobacco.		
	Number farms reporting crop.	Bushels.	Value.	Number farms reporting crop.	Pounds.	Value.
1875.....	a 30	11,995	\$10,417	a 107	193,988	\$33,089
1885.....	(b)	32,952	19,871	(b)	182,430	22,565
1895.....	80	153,792	39,294	41	223,889	28,136
1905.....	85	200,779	100,615	54	598,178	78,918

a Acres.

b Not reported.



It is evident that the two crops raised by the immigrants are of considerable value to the town and that in the case of both there has been a marked increase in the quantities produced since 1885. From 1895 to 1905 there is a slight increase in the number of farms reporting each of these crops, an increase due entirely to the immigrants. Taking as a basis the crops of 1907 and 1908, the aggregate annual production of all the foreign farms visited during the investigation was 77,221 bushels of onions, valued at \$32,740, and 182,315 pounds of tobacco, which sold for \$14,900. Comparing these figures with the total production of the census year 1905, it is seen that the foreigners raise about one-third of the onions and tobacco produced in Sunderland, a ratio that will undoubtedly increase, for the immigrants are still buying farms and increasing their acreages of these two crops.

The table following shows the average quantity and value of the various crops raised by the Lithuanian, Polish, and Slovak farmers from whom the commission secured detailed schedules. It will be noted that the Polish farmer raises an average of 600 bushels more onions than the Lithuanian or the Slovak and about twice as much tobacco. This table also shows the number of farms producing the various crops, with the average quantity and value of the same. The onion is the crop of greatest value, followed by tobacco. Corn is an important crop with the Lithuanians and Poles. The Poles raise the largest variety of produce.

TABLE 40.—Average quantity and value per farm of crops raised and sold, Lithuanian, Polish, and Slovak farmers, Sunderland, Mass.

Crops.	Number of farms producing.	Average—	
		Quantity.	Value.
Lithuanian:			
Carrots.....	1	37 bushels.....	\$40.00
Corn.....	7	112 bushels <sup>a</sup> .....	81.00
Cucumbers.....	3	.....	163.75
Hay.....	5	4 tons.....	40.00
Onions.....	22	1,076 bushels.....	468.00
Tobacco.....	6	5,625 pounds.....	351.00
Polish: <sup>b</sup>			
Apples.....	3	4 barrels.....	8.00
Corn.....	13	274 bushels <sup>a</sup> .....	193.00
Cucumbers.....	3	.....	48.00
Ensilage.....	3	14 tons <sup>a</sup> .....	158.00
Hay.....	11	11 tons <sup>a</sup> .....	152.00
Onions.....	28	1,692 bushels.....	704.00
Pears.....	1	5 bushels.....	2.00
Potatoes.....	2	37 bushels.....	26.00
Tobacco.....	14	10,276 pounds.....	894.00
Slovak:			
Corn.....	1	12 bushels.....	7.00
Corn fodder.....	1	1 ton.....	10.00
Cucumbers.....	1	.....	12.00
Potatoes.....	1	10 bushels.....	7.00
Onions.....	6	1,027 bushels.....	457.00
Tobacco.....	1	4,700 pounds.....	275.00

<sup>a</sup> Not including 1 not reporting quantity.

<sup>b</sup> One farm not reported.

The next table classifies the farms by value of specified products produced and sold. Of the total amount raised, it is seen that 59 per cent of the Lithuanians, 38 per cent of the Poles, and 83 per cent of the Slovaks produced crops valued at less than \$500. Twenty-seven

per cent of the Lithuanians and 24 per cent of the Poles produced crops valued between \$500 and \$1,000. Only one Lithuanian produced crops valued at \$3,000 or over, while four Poles produced crops valued at this figure, and but one Slovak farmer produced crops more than \$1,000 in value. All of the Lithuanians raise vegetables for sale, the chief of these being the onion. Seven raise tobacco. One Lithuanian sells dairy products and seven sell animal products. Twenty-eight of the Polish families raise vegetables, fourteen, tobacco, ten sell dairy products, and twenty sell animal products. All of the Slovaks raise vegetables, and one sells tobacco.

TABLE 41.—Classification of farms, by value of specified farm products produced and sold, Lithuanian, Polish, and Slovak farmers, Sunderland, Mass.

Values.	Number of farms reporting farm products—												
	Produced.						Sold.						
	Grain and forage.	Vegetables.	Fruit.	Dairy products.	Animal products.	Tobacco.	Total.	Tobacco.	Vegetables.	Fruit.	Dairy products.	Animal products.	Total.
<b>Lithuanian:</b>													
Under \$50.....	1		1		5					1		5	.....
\$50 and under \$100.....	2	1			1				1			1	.....
\$100 and under \$250.....	4	6		1		2	4	2	6		1		5
\$250 and under \$500.....		9			1	4	9	4	9			1	8
\$500 and under \$1,000.....		3				1	6	1	3				6
\$1,000 and under \$1,500.....		2					1		3				2
\$1,500 and under \$2,000.....							1						
\$2,000 and under \$3,000.....		1							1				
\$3,000 or over.....							1						1
Total.....	7	22	1	1	7	7	22	7	22	1	1	7	22
<b>Polish:</b>													
Under \$50.....	3		3	3	10					3	3	10	.....
\$50 and under \$100.....	1				3				5			3	.....
\$100 and under \$250.....	3	5		4	1	3	2	3	5			4	3
\$250 and under \$500.....	6	11		3	1	2	9	2	11		3	1	8
\$500 and under \$1,000.....	3	6			2	4	7	4	6			2	8
\$1,000 and under \$1,500.....		3				3	2	3	3				1
\$1,500 and under \$2,000.....		2					1		3				3
\$2,000 and under \$3,000.....		1				2	4	2	1				3
\$3,000 or over.....							4						3
Total.....	16	28	3	10	20	14	29	14	28	3	10	20	29
<b>Slovak:</b>													
Under \$50.....	1												.....
\$250 and under \$500.....		5				1	5	1	5				5
\$500 and under \$1,000.....		1							1				.....
\$1,000 and under \$1,500.....							1						1
Total.....	1	6				1	6	1	6				6

a Not including 1 farm producing no crops.

TENURE OF LAND.

All the foreigners raise onions and many raise tobacco. Very little of the tobacco land is rented, either for a cash or a share rent, hence to raise tobacco the newcomer must first purchase a farm. On the other hand, many American farmers who have more onion land than they can cultivate are very glad to rent some of it. The best

onion land rents for \$30 to \$40 per acre per year, but much of the land is rented on shares—that is, for one-half the onion crop. In this case the renter goes to the owner in the fall or early spring and asks him for a certain amount of land. Everything is understood; no written contract or paper is signed by either party. The land and fertilizer are furnished by the owner, who also furnishes one-half the burlap bags in which the onions are stored at the time of harvest. The tenant furnishes his half of the bags, the seed, and all the cultivation required, including weeding, hoeing, pulling, topping, harvesting, and sorting the crop. In the fall, after the crop is harvested and sacked, the owner takes his half from the field, leaving the remainder for the tenant.

The average yield for 1909 was placed at 500 bushels per acre, and at the time of harvest onions sold for 40 cents a bushel, making the average return \$200 per acre, or \$100 to each party. On this basis it was more profitable for the landowner to rent his land on shares than for a fixed cash rental. In some years the crop is more or less a failure, and then the owners renting land on shares are less fortunate. While most of the farms are operated by immigrant families, single men frequently work 2 or 3 acres of onion land on shares. When the crop outlook is poor, it sometimes happens that these tenants, seeing no prospect of profitable returns, depart suddenly, leaving the growing crop on the farmer's hands. This does not occur frequently, however.

#### ONION CULTURE.

The onions raised in Sunderland are of the late or main-season variety, very few of the early spring onions being cultivated. The main-season onion crop is grown from the seed sown directly in the field where the crop is to grow. A few Americans only plant what are known as onion sets, which are ready for market a month earlier than those grown from seed. The Yellow Globe Danvers variety of onion is almost exclusively raised, representing perhaps 97 per cent of all onions produced in the valley. This staple variety has some local excellencies, however, for in the markets of Boston one frequently sees onions marked "Deerfield onions," "Connecticut Valley onions," etc., showing that this locality is noted for the quality of its onions. The other 3 per cent raised are of the Red Wethersfield variety, for which the demand is confined almost exclusively to the French-Canadians in Massachusetts cities.

Onions are surface feeders, and much attention has to be given the soil to prevent its baking and drying on top. Fall plowing is practiced by all the farmers, followed by a second deeper plowing in the spring. Much care is exercised to clear the land of stones and clods. The onion seeds are sown as early in the spring as possible, by means of a single-hand drill, in rows 12 inches to 14 inches apart. About three to five weeks after they are sowed the plants are ready to weed; weeding is done by hand or by means of hand wheel hoes. Generally from three to five weedings or cultivations are necessary before the crop has matured.

Onions require heavy applications of fertilizer of very high grade. Some immigrants mix the ingredients, but many of the onion growers buy their onion fertilizer already mixed.

At some time in September, depending largely on the weather, the onions are pulled from the ground and three or four rows thrown into one, making a small windrow. After they have remained in the sun to cure for two or three days the tops are cut off with strong shears and the onions packed into bags holding 2 bushels, and in these they are hauled to the warehouse for sorting and storage.

The storehouses provide a place where the onions can be kept without freezing. However, many foreigners use their cellars as storerooms; these serve very well, except that a strong odor of onions pervades the entire house for a year afterwards. The storage houses are double boarded, with an air space or sawdust between the two walls. A stove is used if there is any likelihood of the temperature falling below freezing.

Many of the onions are sold on the field at so much per bushel, the price depending on the supply and the bargaining ability of the grower. In 1909 the first onions sold for \$0.40 per bushel; then, under competition, the price went up to \$0.50, dropping again to \$0.40. Those that are not sold on the field are generally stored until the middle of winter or until the price has advanced. As a rule the foreigner is among the first to sell, since he depends on his onion sales to pay his accrued bills. If he has a quantity of onions left after settling his debts he is likely to turn speculator and put them in storage. In a few cases a number of these farmers have been known to make \$1,000 in a season by buying up onions and holding them for the advance in prices during the winter.

Onions are kept in storage from one to four months, depending on the price. When the grower is ready to sell the onions are again sorted, the imperfect ones removed, and the others sewed up in bags containing 100 pounds (not quite 2 full bushels), in which they are shipped. During the winter the price varies, and sometimes a farmer is able to make a very good profit by storing his onions. The first of February, 1910, onions that would have gone for 60 cents in October, 1909, were selling for \$1.50 per hundred pounds. Twelve cents a bushel is charged for storage. This includes unloading from the wagons in the fall when they are placed in storage, and the sorting, bagging, and delivering them on board the cars when they are sold during the winter. The bags in which the onions are shipped cost, new, five and one-half cents each, but sometimes old ones may be obtained for three and one-half or four cents each. This makes the total storage expense fifteen and one-half to seventeen and one-half cents per bushel, exclusive of loss by deterioration and drying, which averages perhaps 5 per cent.

#### OTHER PRODUCTS.

Cucumbers are raised to some extent by a few of the farmers and are sold to the pickle factory in South Deerfield for \$1.25 a thousand. Corn and hay are both produced, enough being raised to supply the feed for the stock kept during the year. There is very little good pasturage, and a farmer is somewhat limited in the number of stock he can keep. Every fall large numbers of cows are shipped in and sold at public auction to the foreigners. The majority of these cows are fresh, or just coming in. During the winter the farmer sells the cream to a neighboring creamery, whose teams come to his door

twice a week to collect it. In the spring he sells the poorest of his cows, retaining only those he can pasture. Aliens seem to keep more cattle than the Americans, a practice that gives them very good returns for the money invested.

#### TOBACCO CULTURE.

Tobacco requires more careful work than onions. The process begins with the selection of the seed from plants growing the year previous. Many of the farmers mark a few of the best plants in their fields, giving them extra care and attention; from these the seeds are saved for planting the following year. The tobacco seed is sown in a carefully prepared seed bed protected with a cheese-cloth cover during the last of March or the first of April and is ready to transplant to the field in six to eight weeks, depending on the weather conditions.

The tobacco field has been prepared by one or more careful plowing; during the fall and winter the barnyard manure has been applied at the rate of 6 to 15 tons per acre; the tobacco stems of last year's crop have been spread in the fall; and harrowed in the next spring; later on commercial fertilizer will be applied. Nearly every farmer mixes his own tobacco fertilizer. The foreigners mix their fertilizers in the same manner as the Americans, and they are very careful to take samples of the compounded fertilizers that they buy to the Massachusetts Experiment Station to be analyzed.

Commercial fertilizer costs from \$35 to \$40 per ton, and a ton is generally used on an acre. The tobacco plants are transplanted by means of a horsepower tobacco planter in rows 4 feet apart and 20 to 24 inches apart in the row. Some of the foreigners plant by hand, but this is a slow, tiresome process, and many of them borrow planters, either from their fellow countrymen or an American neighbor.

In September the tobacco is ready to harvest. The plants are cut by hand and strung on laths, after which they are hauled to the tobacco sheds on wagons especially prepared for that purpose. At the tobacco sheds the tobacco-laden laths are transferred to poles that run the whole length of the house, and here the tobacco is left to dry. The tobacco barns are long, boarded affairs, varying in length from 100 to 400 feet and are about 18 feet high. They are constructed to allow ample ventilation for properly drying and curing the leaves. Great care must be exercised after the tobacco is in the barn, as any lack of attention at this time would ruin the whole crop. If the leaf cures too rapidly, the ventilators are opened on moist days and nights and closed on dry ones. If the curing process is too slow and the tobacco is liable to injury on account of pole-burn or fungus diseases, the ventilators are opened on dry days and closed on moist ones. Thus the farmer has to watch his tobacco and the weather during the six or eight weeks of curing.

When the leaves are thoroughly cured, the farmers wait for a damp night to remove the tobacco from the poles. Dampness moistens the leaves just enough to allow them to be taken down without damage. When the tobacco is on the ground, the whole family, men, women, and children, assist in stripping the leaves from the stalks. The leaves are packed in bundles containing about 50 pounds, covered with heavy wrapping paper, and piled up in the tobacco barn until taken to market.

A farmer seldom sorts his own tobacco. In Sunderland there is a sorting shop that runs during a few months in the winter, and there most of the tobacco that is grown in the neighborhood is sorted at the expense of the buyer. Sorting consists of separating the tobacco into several grades, based entirely on the length and color of the leaf. After sorting it is packed in wooden boxes containing about 500 pounds and shipped to the large tobacco warehouses in New York or Philadelphia.

It is said that the foreigner is a better grower of onions than of tobacco, but in both branches he does well. He quickly adopts new methods of culture and soon learns to follow his American neighbor. One reason for the success of the foreigner and his ability to turn an unproductive farm into one of productiveness is that his whole family assists him in the farm work. This reason applies especially to his success with onions, a crop that as we have seen requires a large outlay of simple hand labor, for which other farmers have to pay \$20 to \$40 a month. In the summer time more women than men are seen working in the onion fields.

#### MARKETS AND MARKETING FACILITIES.

The nearest railroad station is across the Connecticut in South Deerfield, 2 miles from Sunderland Center. South Deerfield is on the main line of the Boston and Maine and the New York, New Haven and Hartford railroads between Northampton and Greenfield. The wagon road leading from Sunderland to this station is made of crushed stone; there is but one sharp grade and heavy loads can be hauled with little difficulty. Sunderland is connected with Amherst by an electric car line which has a franchise and equipment for handling freight cars. At Amherst the road connects with a spur track of the Boston and Maine Railroad, running between Northampton and Boston, so that freight cars may be attached to the freight trains at this point. The electric road charges \$6 for taking a car from Amherst to Sunderland and return. The freight rate between Amherst and New England market points is slightly cheaper than that from South Deerfield, but to this rate must be added the \$6 that is charged by the electric road for transporting the car over its line.

#### PROPERTY OWNED.

In 1890 it was impossible to find a Sunderland farm owned by a Pole, Lithuanian, or Slovak. A few Irish had purchased farms, but over 90 per cent of the land of the town was owned by native New Englanders. But conditions have changed, and now three races of foreigners are slowly settling in the valley and buying the best farms. They are not accomplishing this end without hard work, for the majority of them had very little money on their arrival in Sunderland.

Thirteen of the 22 Lithuanians interviewed by agents of the Commission worked as farm laborers before purchasing or leasing land, and of this number 7 worked three and under six years, and 6 six and under ten years. Twenty-three out of the 30 Poles worked as farm laborers; 2 between one and three years, 11 three and under six years, 9 six and under ten years, and 1 worked ten years or over.

Of the Slovaks 3 worked as farm laborers, 1 working between one and three years, the second between three and six, and the third between six and ten years. Altogether 39 of the 58 heads of families included in the Commission's inquiry worked as farm laborers before buying or leasing land. Of this number 19 worked three and under six years before purchasing or leasing farms.

The following table shows the number of heads of families bringing to this locality property of specified value:

TABLE 42.—*Number of heads of families bringing to locality property of specified value, Lithuanian, Polish, and Slovak farmers, Sunderland, Mass.*

Value of property brought.	Number of heads of family.		
	Lithuanian.	Polish.	Slovak.
No property.....	1	5	3
Under \$50.....	9	14	.....
\$50 and under \$100.....	1	2	.....
\$100 and under \$250.....	6	4	3
\$250 and under \$500.....	.....	1	.....
\$500 and under \$1,000.....	2	2	.....
\$1,000 and under \$1,500.....	2	1	.....
\$1,500 and under \$2,500.....	.....	1	.....
\$5,000 and over.....	1	.....	.....
Total.....	22	30	6

An idea of the value of property now owned by some of the aliens in Sunderland may be gained from the table which follows. These figures are not accurate, for careful estimates lead to the conclusion that property is assessed for approximately one-half of its true value. For example: Horses are generally assessed for \$100 apiece, whereas they usually sell for at least \$200. A piece of property that sold recently for \$4,600 is assessed for \$1,500. A farm that sold for \$9,800 is assessed for \$6,000, and so on. Many other instances might be given showing how far below the market value are the valuations fixed by the assessors. For purposes of comparison of the races represented, however, the figures in the table show the situation very clearly.

TABLE 43.—*Assessed value of property owned by certain Lithuanian, Polish, and Slovak farmers, Sunderland, Mass.*

[Compiled from assessors' records.]

Race.	Number of owners.	Number of acres owned.	Value of land and improvements.	Value of personal estate.	Total value.	Cows.	Horses.	Swine.
Polish.....	24	624	\$46,688	\$5,005	\$51,693	46	34	13
Lithuanian.....	16	189	14,193	1,103	15,296	12	7	2
Slovak.....	6	70	5,060	380	5,440	3	3	1
Race not reported.....	5	60	2,850	.....	2,850	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	51	943	58,791	6,488	75,279	61	44	16

According to the assessors' books there were assessed in the entire town 8,263 acres of land, having a valuation of \$494,521, including

all improvements, or an average valuation of \$59.98 per acre. The record shows that 51 immigrants own real estate out of a total of 244 resident property-tax payers, or that more than 20 per cent of the property-tax payers are immigrants. They own 943 acres, having a total assessed valuation for land and improvements of \$58,791. The average farm of the immigrant contains 18.5 acres, whereas the average American farm has 37.93 acres.

From the same source it is ascertained that the average Polish farm consists of 26 acres, valued, with improvements, at \$2,154. The Lithuanian farm averages 11.8 acres and the average valuation is \$956. The farms owned by the Slovaks average 11.7 acres and have an average value of \$907.

Another view of the net value of property now owned is shown in the next table, which gives a classified compilation of actual net values as ascertained from the individual schedules collected by agents of the Commission. More than one-half of the farmers of each race own property of a total net value of \$1,500 or over, and approximately the same per cent own land and improvements of a net value of \$1,000 or over. The Lithuanians and Slovaks show higher valuations of land and improvements than is shown by the Polish, who have the highest valuation of live stock.

TABLE 44.—*Net value of all personal and real property now owned, 58 Lithuanian, Polish, and Slovak farmers, Sunderland, Mass.*

Net value.	Land and improvements.	Live stock and imple-ments.	Crops on hand.	Total property.
<b>Lithuanian:</b>				
No property.....	2		12	
Under \$50.....		7		
\$50 and under \$100.....		3	4	1
\$100 and under \$250.....		3	4	2
\$250 and under \$500.....	2	5	1	2
\$500 and under \$1,000.....	2	2		1
\$1,000 and under \$1,500.....	6	2	1	5
\$1,500 and under \$2,500.....	6			7
\$2,500 and under \$5,000.....	2			3
\$5,000 or over.....	2			3
Total.....	22	22	22	22
<b>Polish:</b>				
No property.....	5		7	
Under \$50.....	1	7	5	1
\$50 and under \$100.....		5	1	1
\$100 and under \$250.....	1	1	5	1
\$250 and under \$500.....		3	6	
\$500 and under \$1,000.....	7	3	4	5
\$1,000 and under \$1,500.....	5	6	1	5
\$1,500 and under \$2,500.....	3	5		5
\$2,500 and under \$5,000.....	4		1	2
\$5,000 or over.....	4			10
Total.....	30	30	30	30
<b>Slovak:</b>				
No property.....			5	
Under \$50.....		3	1	
\$50 and under \$100.....		2		
\$250 and under \$500.....		1		
\$500 and under \$1,000.....	2			1
\$1,000 and under \$1,500.....	2			2
\$1,500 and under \$2,500.....	1			2
\$2,500 and under \$5,000.....	1			1
Total.....	6	6	6	6
Grand total.....	58	58	58	58



In the next table the value of property brought, the net value of property now owned, and the number of years since first lease or purchase is brought out. A great increase is shown by 9 Lithuanians who came to this locality with less than \$50 and have now increased the values of their property 500 per cent and upward, the greater number owning property in excess of \$1,500 in value. Of these 9, 5 have been here from one to five years since leasing or purchasing, 3 between five and ten years, and 1 has been here between ten and fifteen years. The Poles report a large increase in the value of property now owned compared with the amount brought to the locality. More than 50 per cent brought less than \$50 on their arrival, and a correspondingly large percentage now own property of the value of \$1,500 and over, 33.3 per cent having a valuation of \$5,000 per farm or over. Three of the six Slovaks brought no property to the locality, and 3 had less than \$250 on arrival. Five per cent now own property of the value of \$1,000 and over.

TABLE 45.—Value of property brought to locality, net value of property now owned, and number of years since first lease or purchase, 58 Lithuanian, Polish, and Slovak farmers, Sunderland, Mass.

Value of property brought to locality.	Number of heads of families.	Number of heads of families having property whose net value is—							Years since first lease or purchase.				
		Under \$50.	\$50 and under \$100.	\$100 and under \$250.	\$250 and under \$500.	\$500 and under \$1,000.	\$1,000 and under \$1,500.	\$1,500 and under \$2,500.	\$2,500 and under \$5,000.	\$5,000 and over.	1 and under 5.	5 and under 10.	10 and under 15.
<b>Lithuanian:</b>													
No property.....	1					1				1			
Under \$50.....	9				1		5	1	1	5	3	1	
\$50 and under \$100.....	1					1					1		
\$100 and under \$250.....	6		1		1			1		2	2	1	1
\$250 and under \$500.....	2						1	1		1	1		
\$500 and under \$1,000.....	2							1		2			
\$1,000 and under \$1,500.....	2				1			1		1			
\$1,500 and under \$2,500.....	1								1				
\$2,500 and over.....	1								1	1			
Total.....	22		1	2	1	5	7	3	3	12	7	2	1
<b>Polish:</b>													
No property.....	5					1	2	1	1	1	4		
Under \$50.....	14			1		2	3	4	4	8	5	1	
\$50 and under \$100.....	2		1					1		2			
\$100 and under \$250.....	4	1				1			2		4		
\$250 and under \$500.....	1								1		1		
\$500 and under \$1,000.....	2					1	1			1	1		
\$1,000 and under \$1,500.....	1								1		1		
\$1,500 and under \$2,500.....	1								1	1			
Total.....	30	1	1	1		5	5	5	2	10	13	16	1
<b>Slovak:</b>													
No property.....	3					1	1	1	1		2	1	
\$100 and under \$250.....	3					1	1	1			1	2	
Total.....	6					1	2	2	1		3	3	

The following tables are valuable for the purpose of comparison, Table 46 showing the condition of land first purchased, size of farms, and price paid, while Table 47 shows the condition of land now owned, size of farms, and average value:

TABLE 46.—*First purchase of land, condition, size of farms, and price paid, 51 Lithuanian, Polish, and Slovak farmers, Sunderland, Mass.*

Condition of land.	Number of farms.	Average number of acres per farm.	Average price per—		Average cash payment.
			Farm.	Acre.	
<b>Lithuanian:</b>					
None tillable.....	4	5.00	\$218.00	\$44.00	\$200.00
Tillable but not cultivated.....	2	7.00	450.00	64.00	350.00
One-half and under three-fourths cultivated.....	1	18.00	1,060.00	59.00	560.00
Three-fourths or more cultivated.....	7	14.32	1,714.00	120.00	1,364.00
House lots and gardens.....	6	.54	<sup>a</sup> 48.00	<sup>a</sup> 96.00	<sup>a</sup> 48.00
<b>Polish:</b>					
Tillable but not cultivated.....	2	15.00	1,325.00	88.00	350.00
One-fourth and under one-half cultivated.....	6	28.79	1,879.00	65.00	642.00
One-half and under three-fourths cultivated.....	2	50.50	4,950.00	98.00	1,350.00
Three-fourths or more cultivated.....	12	19.83	2,923.00	147.00	1,181.00
House lots and gardens.....	3	.50	<sup>b</sup> 50.00	<sup>b</sup> 100.00	<sup>b</sup> 50.00
<b>Slovak:</b>					
None tillable.....	4	6.25	85.00	14.00	72.50
Under one-fourth cultivated.....	1	26.00	3,500.00	135.00	1,000.00
Three-fourths or more cultivated.....	1	5.00	900.00	180.00	250.00

<sup>a</sup> Not including 3 lots and dwellings amounting to \$2,100.

<sup>b</sup> Not including 2 lots and dwelling amounting to \$2,450.

TABLE 47.—*Land and improvements now owned; condition of land, size of farms, and average value, 51 Lithuanian, Polish, and Slovak farmers, Sunderland, Mass.*

Condition of land.	Number of farms.	Average number of acres per farm.	Average value per—	
			Farm.	Acre.
<b>Lithuanian:</b>				
Under one-fourth cultivated.....	1	60.00	\$4,000	\$67
One-fourth and under one-half cultivated.....	2	10.50	1,400	133
One-half and under three-fourths cultivated.....	3	9.17	1,633	178
Three-fourths or more cultivated.....	10	16.83	2,760	164
House lots and gardens.....	4	.56	900	.....
<b>Polish:</b>				
Tillable but not cultivated.....	1	2.00	800	400
One-fourth and under one-half cultivated.....	8	57.25	4,294	75
One-half and under three-fourths cultivated.....	3	40.33	5,833	145
Three-fourths or more cultivated.....	10	25.78	4,090	159
House lots and gardens.....	3	.50	1,283	.....
<b>Slovak:</b>				
None tillable.....	1	10.00	1,200	120
Under one-fourth cultivated.....	1	1.00	600	600
One-fourth and under one-half cultivated.....	2	19.50	3,150	162
Three-fourths or more cultivated.....	2	10.50	2,500	238

The following table shows the number and average value of live stock owned by the farmers under consideration. No stock was reported in the cases of 6 Lithuanians, 2 Polish, and 2 Slovak farmers.

TABLE 48.—*Classification of live stock, Lithuanian, Polish, and Slovak farms, Sunderland, Mass.*

Kind of live stock.	Number of farms reporting.	Number of farms reporting—					Number of animals reported.	Average value per head.
		1.	2 or 3.	4 to 6.	7 to 10.	10 and over.		
Lithuanian:								
Cows.....	14	9	3	2	.....	.....	25	\$31
Horses.....	10	7	3	.....	.....	.....	13	204
Swine.....	12	6	6	.....	.....	.....	21	14
Polish:								
Cows.....	21	6	6	3	.....	6	132	31
Horses.....	17	3	9	5	.....	.....	43	200
Other neat cattle.	3	1	.....	2	.....	.....	10	19
Swine.....	27	6	11	6	2	2	107	10
Slovak:								
Cows.....	4	3	1	.....	.....	.....	6	34
Horses.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	225
Swine.....	4	2	2	.....	.....	.....	6	14

Northampton and Greenfield bankers willingly make loans to the immigrant on landed security. Locally Polish mortgages are regarded as excellent securities, and bankers invariably declare that the foreigners are, as a class, excellent people to do business with. They pay their interest with promptness, sometimes two or even three months before it is due. Many use the savings bank as a place of deposit for their earnings, and both in Amherst and Greenfield the number of foreign depositors is surprisingly large. In Greenfield the cashier reported that many deposit accounts had reached the maximum prescribed by law. The immigrants are accustomed to invest quite largely in live stock and farm machinery.

At first fire-insurance companies were rather reluctant about insuring the houses of immigrants at the regular rates; it was thought the settlers were inclined to be careless in the use of their stoves, on the one hand, and, on the other, it was thought that the temptation to burn their houses for the insurance, might be too great. But in the past ten years only two fires have occurred, and these through no fault of the occupants of the houses; hence insurance agents no longer hesitate to take risks on property of the immigrant farmers.

Numerous small money orders are sent abroad every year, some go through the post-office and some through brokers in New York. Much of this money is used to bring friends or relatives to the United States.

#### STANDARD OF LIVING.

Most of these people have adopted American modes and fashions with regard to dress and manner of living, but unlike the native New Englanders the immigrants usually go barefooted while at work on the farm. The houses occupied by these immigrant farmers are all frame structures; many bought with old farms are the large, roomy farmhouses with great halls and big square rooms so common

in New England. Many of these typical New England farmhouses soon lose much of their attractiveness, for the newcomers care little about the appearance of their homes; they look upon a house as a shelter for themselves and a place to keep lodgers.

The new houses are small, 4 or 6 room frame buildings, painted on the outside and plastered within. In these houses two, or perhaps three, families of average size are frequently sheltered.

The sanitary arrangements are seldom considered. The sink drains empty close to the houses, often near the side doors; the pigs and chickens are the scavengers. Nearly every foreigner in the locality keeps boarders or lodgers. Single men are crowded into small attic rooms, where as many as 6 men were found sleeping in a room with 1 window and 3 small beds. Six families, with a total of 30 persons, were living in one 12-room house at the time the Commission's agent visited the community. The price of board, including room and washing, is \$14 per month, whether 1 or 5 persons occupy the same bedroom. For lodging only, \$3 a month is paid. A man with a large house may receive a very substantial income from the boarders that he takes.

Meat, sauerkraut, and vegetables constitute a large part of the food. The settlers are fond of pork and bologna sausage, cheap pieces of beef for stew, and small hams are always demanded from the butcher. Every family has a flock of chickens and frequently 2 or 3 or more hogs are raised to supply pork. They raise cabbage, and every fall each family makes a barrel or two of sauerkraut. They always buy the best grades of flour, coffee, and tea. Every family has a garden in which are raised beets, onions, potatoes, cabbage, beans, and almost every other kind of vegetable suited to the climate. The women do the housework, except when the crops need their attention; then housework is purely incidental.

#### BIRTHS AND DEATHS.

The following table, compiled from the records of the town clerk, gives the births and deaths among the native Americans and immigrants in Sunderland during the period 1892 to 1909. In those years there were 192 births and 211 deaths among the native American families, and 210 births and 49 deaths among the families of foreign origin. Of the 49 deaths 36 were of children under 5 years of age. Five of the remaining 13 died of tuberculosis.

It appears from this table that the birth rate among the races of foreign origin has exceeded the death rate each year except in 1893-94 and 1897, the latter year only showing a greater death rate than birth rate. On the other hand, the death rate among the Americans exceeded the birth rate during ten of the nineteen years covered by the table. A natural decrease of 19 in the American population is shown compared with an increase of 161 by excess of births over deaths in the population of foreign origin during the same period.

TABLE 49.—*Births and deaths in the native American population, and the population of foreign origin, Sunderland, Mass., 1892 to 1909, inclusive.*

Year.	American.			Foreign origin.		
	Births.	Deaths.	Natural increase or decrease.	Births.	Deaths.	Natural increase or decrease.
1892.....	11	12	- 1	1	0	+ 1
1893.....	16	8	+ 8	0	0	0
1894.....	13	7	+ 6	1	1	0
1895.....	16	16	0	3	1	+ 2
1896.....	15	27	-12	5	1	+ 4
1897.....	11	7	+ 4	2	4	- 2
1898.....	12	7	+ 5	6	1	+ 5
1899.....	12	10	+ 2	5	0	+ 5
1900.....	10	12	- 2	14	4	+ 10
1901.....	16	18	- 2	7	1	+ 6
1902.....	10	20	-10	10	4	+ 6
1903.....	11	7	+ 4	16	4	+ 12
1904.....	9	7	+ 2	22	4	+ 18
1905.....	7	15	- 8	21	1	+ 20
1906.....	5	8	- 3	20	8	+ 12
1907.....	5	13	- 8	21	2	+ 19
1908.....	5	11	- 6	26	6	+ 20
1909.....	8	6	+ 2	30	7	+ 23
Total.....	192	211	-19	210	49	+161

## OPPORTUNITIES FOR EMPLOYMENT.

Farming is the chief occupation, and it is on farms that most of the single men find employment during the summer months. Every year a few men come over from Europe to supply the growing demand for the farm labor necessary to handle the tobacco and onion crops successfully. The average wages by the day vary from \$1 to \$1.50 for nine or ten hours; by the month, the pay ranges from \$15 to \$30 a month, including room, board, and washing. During the winter months a tobacco "shop" is opened in Sunderland, employing sometimes as many as 40 hands. In this shop the tobacco raised in the locality is sorted into different grades and packed for market. This establishment, together with one in Hadley, furnishes work for a few months for perhaps 60 foreigners. They either sort or size the tobacco, receiving from \$1 to \$1.75 per day of nine and one-half hours, their wages depending on the nature of the work done. The newcomers have shown little inclination to enter any business other than that of farming. Two of them, however, own onion storehouses in which they store onions for Americans as well as people of their own race. Lately one of the Poles has opened up a small grocery and butcher shop which is patronized almost entirely by the foreign element. The immigrant who owns a farm and employs laborers hires either Americans or aliens without regard to race, but few employ any hired men during the winter. The immigrant farmer pays the same wages as the American and the hours are the same, but he seems to be able to get more work out of his fellow-countrymen than the Americans can. In the spring or fall a number of the foreign farmers are employed by the day to do plowing for their neighbors, charging \$4 per day for man and team. A few men and teams work for the town, repairing the roads for a short time in the spring; this brings them in the same wages.

## SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

The immigrants have two fraternal insurance societies—St. Stanislaus and St. George. St. Stanislaus Society has a membership of 43. The death benefit for male members is \$50, and if married a member receives \$25 on the death of his wife. The society holds a meeting every month in the Polish church. This society pays a sick benefit of \$5 a week for sixteen weeks, \$3 a week for the next sixteen weeks, then, if the member is still sick, he receives \$25 and has to resign from the society. Few of the Lithuanians belong to this society. St. George Society has a membership of 39 male members, composed exclusively of Poles; the dues and benefits are similar to those of the St. Stanislaus Society. The American fraternal organizations and trade unions have not entered this locality. A few of the more prosperous of the immigrants have life insurance in large insurance companies. There is no pronounced tendency to congregate in certain well-defined localities except in one instance. In one part of the town, about 2 miles from the center, there are now 14 immigrant houses, where are found Poles, Lithuanians, and Slovaks as neighbors. The reason for segregation in this instance has been the cheapness of the land and the desire of each foreigner to own his own house. These houses are new and are in good repair. It frequently happens that old New England farms have been sold at auction and the immigrant has been the purchaser. Where this has occurred, the houses of the foreign-born are scattered, the native farms and the foreign holdings being intermingled.

The Americans associate with the immigrants only in a business way; the foreigners do not force themselves on the Americans. They remain by themselves and apparently do not care to mingle with the outside world. Doubtless their ignorance of the English tongue has much to do with this. In dress and manners these people are quickly Americanized, but Americanization so far as the older generation is concerned goes little further.

Sunderland has a very attractive library, the gift of one of its citizens. It contains nearly 5,000 volumes and is free to everyone, the immigrant being granted the same privileges as the native. Some years ago 25 books written in Polish were placed on the shelves, and were constantly used until all but 8 of them were worn out. The children of the foreign families use the library fully as much as those of American parentage. The immigrant usually is anxious to learn English and takes great pride in the accomplishments of his children. Not infrequently he tries to read a book brought home by his child, patiently plodding through its pages, the child acting as teacher and telling him the different words. Many foreigners have one or more newspapers published in their language and a number take an American newspaper published in Greenfield, Mass.

## RELIGIOUS LIFE.

There is a Congregationalist Church in Sunderland, but with the exception of a group of 7 Lithuanian Protestant families that came from Courland, Russia, very few of the immigrants attend. Occasionally the adults of this group attend the church services, and

nearly all send the children regularly to Sunday school. As a rule, they hold services in one of their houses, one of their number officiating as minister. They meet in this way because the old people understand very little English, and attendance at an English service means but little to them. Once a year a Lutheran minister comes from Boston and conducts services for a week or more. The children and adults who attend services in the town church are received as cordially as an American would be. In passing it may be said that the Courland group seem a little above the average of the immigrants in intelligence and are more prosperous, but they remain by themselves and intermingle neither with the rest of the foreigners nor with the Americans. The rest of the Lithuanians attend the Roman Catholic Church at South Deerfield or at Amherst. Two years ago the Poles of this vicinity established a church in South Deerfield, and secured the services of a Polish priest, who has had charge of the congregation since then. In his congregation he has over 500 persons, but they come from other neighboring towns, as well as from Sunderland.

## EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS.

The public school system of Sunderland is consolidated. There are no scattering schools in the outskirts of the town, but all children come or are transported daily to the village, where there is a well-organized graded school with six teachers. Three barges or, in winter, sleighs bring the children to school in the morning and take them back in the afternoon. Some use the trolley line at the town's expense. A few young boys and girls attend the high school at Amherst, their transportation being paid by town authorities. The following table shows the number of children, American and immigrant, enrolled in this school.

TABLE 50.—*American and immigrant children in Sunderland, Mass., schools, by grades, 1908-1909.*

Grades.	1908.			1909.		
	Immigrant.	American.	Total.	Immigrant.	American.	Total.
1.....	18	15	33	16	11	27
2.....	13	7	20	12	16	28
3.....	5	8	13	12	6	18
4.....	7	3	10	7	9	16
5.....	2	12	14	8	5	13
6.....	6	14	20	2	11	13
7.....	2	9	11	4	14	18
8.....	1	7	8	2	7	9
9.....	1	4	5	1	6	7
Total.....	55	79	134	64	85	149
Grades 1-4.....	43	33	76	47	42	89
Grades 5-9.....	12	46	58	17	43	60

It may be noted that in the lower grades the children of immigrants are in the majority, but in the upper grades the Americans outnumber them. This is explained largely by the fact that the foreigners in Sunderland are relatively young people, comparatively recent accessions to the population, and their children would naturally be younger than

Americans. Whether this is the only explanation can be seen by the comparing the ages of the school children of American and foreign origin in the following statement:

TABLE 51.—Ages of American and immigrant children in school, Sunderland, Mass., 1908-1909.

Years.	1908.			1909.		
	Foreign.	American.	Total.	Foreign.	American.	Total.
5.....	3	5	8	2	3	5
6.....	11	9	20	9	9	18
7.....	4	7	11	14	11	25
8.....	9	6	15	3	8	11
9.....	7	8	15	9	7	16
10.....	4	7	11	8	9	17
11.....	5	10	15	3	6	9
12.....	7	12	19	8	8	16
13.....	3	9	12	8	14	22
14.....	1	6	7	0	8	8
15.....	1	0	1	0	2	2
Total.....	55	79	134	64	85	149
Ages 5-9.....	34	35	69	37	38	75
Ages 10-15.....	21	44	65	27	47	74

It appears that in 1909 the foreign children from 5 to 9 years are more numerous than those from 10 to 15, but the preponderance is not so marked as in the consideration of grades. It may well be said that the foreigners are in the lower grades, either because they did not begin school as soon or because they have failed to advance with the same rapidity as the native children.

As the ages are very accurately recorded in the Sunderland school reports, and as our data give ages in years and months, it is very easy to make an accurate calculation of the average ages of pupils in the various grades.

Grade.	Average age, American.	Average age, foreign.
1.....	6 years 6 months....	6 years 9 months.
2.....	7 years 4 months....	8 years 2 months.
3.....	8 years 4 months....	9 years 3 months.
4.....	9 years 10 months....	10 years 4 months.
5.....	10 years 9 months....	11 years 5 months.
6.....	11 years 11 months....	12 years 0 months.
7.....	12 years 8 months....	13 years 4 months.
8.....	13 years 7 months....	13 years 6 months.
9.....	14 years 4 months....	13 years 10 months.

Except in the eighth and ninth grades, where there were only three children of foreign parents, it is seen that the foreign children are from 3 to 18 months older than the native children in the same grades.

A further study of the ages and grades of pupils in the Sunderland schools shows that notwithstanding the large foreign element the number of backward children is not excessive, although it is larger than it would be without the presence of the foreigners. The differences in this respect between the foreign children and those of American origin are, after all, slight, and may perhaps be accounted



for by the yearly influx of a few children from Europe. These, of course, must begin in the lowest grades no matter what their ages are. The casual observer in the schools sees no differences in the aptitude or general behavior of the children, and the teachers are not conscious of any notable differences. The foreign children are quick at arithmetic; some of the Polish have a particular ability for drawing and painting, and the girls stand well in reading and language.

During the winter of 1909 a night school for foreign-born was started, under the direction of the State Young Men's Christian Association. About 25 men came twice a week to receive instruction in reading and writing. The teachers were students at the Massachusetts Agricultural College, in Amherst. The experiment proved very successful, and demonstrated the possibility and feasibility of rural night schools, at any rate in foreign communities. In view of the fact that the foreigners are coming in to the locality and taking a prominent place as owners of property, the desirability of providing educational facilities for the adults, at public expense, seems evident from both the individual and the social viewpoint.

#### POLITICAL CONDITIONS.

According to the assessor's books for 1908, 313 persons were assessed a poll tax in Sunderland, 151 of whom were foreigners. At first the tax collectors had a little difficulty in collecting the poll tax from the single men and from those not owning property, as they could not understand why they should pay taxes when they owned no property. Recently less difficulty has been experienced in this matter. Energetic and as intelligent as they are, only 10 men out of the total of 151 foreign-born men of voting age have taken out either their first or second papers. None have held public office.

#### GENERAL MORALITY.

The personal morals of the immigrant settlers in Sunderland are said to be high. The Sunday entertainments and dancing so common among immigrants of the types found in this community were not acceptable innovations to the native families, but all their entertainments are among themselves and they never interfere with their American neighbors.

The record of births filed in the office of the town clerk records but 3 illegitimate children in a total of 210 births in the immigrant population since 1892. During the same period the records show the same number of American children born out of wedlock in a total of 192.

The Poles, Lithuanians, and Slovaks in this locality are said to be somewhat addicted to the use of beer and whisky, and it seems clear that a very great deal of the existing prejudice against them is due to this. Intemperance at christenings and weddings leads to the majority of offenses committed in the locality, and assault and battery are the chief causes of arrest. Often the celebrations result in one or more arrests on a warrant sworn out by a neighbor. The records show that almost every crime or misdemeanor committed by the foreign-born in Sunderland originates in intoxication, and

it is said that otherwise the immigrants are a very peaceable people. It is characteristic of them, however, to carry their controversies into court. Of the many civil suits on the court docket nearly all are disputes among themselves.

The following table shows the records of crimes committed by residents of Sunderland taken from the books of the district clerk in Greenfield where all cases of this nature are tried. The records are for the years 1905 to 1909, inclusive. During the period six Americans were arrested and of this number two were punished with fines for violations of the town ordinances, and the other four cases were discharged. During the same period there were 50 arrests of foreigners. Seventy per cent of this number were on the charge of assault and battery, 20 per cent for disturbing the peace, and the remaining 10 per cent were charged with minor offenses. The outcome of the cases is interesting: Twenty-four were fined, the fines ranging from \$5 to \$75, and only 2 were committed to jail in default of payment of their fines. Three of the cases were bound over to the superior court and the remaining 23 cases were discharged, showing that many of the warrants may have been sworn out without any real cause.

TABLE 52.—*Number of native-born Americans and immigrants tried for various crimes and offenses, Sunderland, Mass., 1905 to 1909, inclusive.*

[Compiled from court records, Greefield, Mass.]

Native-born.				Immigrant.			
Character of offense.	Number of cases.	Verdict.	Settle-ment.	Character of offense.	Number of cases.	Verdict.	Settle-ment.
1905.							
Assault and battery.	1	Discharged.		Assault and battery.	3	Discharged.	
.....do.....				.....do.....	3	Fined \$20..	Fine paid.
.....do.....				.....do.....	1	Fined \$15..	Do.
.....do.....				.....do.....	1	Fined \$40..	Do.
.....do.....				Destroying personal property.	1	Discharged.	
.....do.....				Disturbing the peace.	4	.....do.....	
.....do.....				.....do.....	4	Fined \$10..	Do.
.....do.....				.....do.....	2	Case filed..	
Total.....	1			Total.....	19		
1906.							
Cruelty to animals.	1	Discharged.		Assault and battery.	3	Discharged.	
.....do.....				.....do.....	1	Fined \$20..	Do.
.....do.....				.....do.....	1	Fined \$25..	Do.
.....do.....				.....do.....	1	Fined \$75..	Do.
.....do.....				.....do.....	3	Bound over	
Total.....	1			Total.....	9		
1907							
Cutting shade trees.	2	Fined \$20..	Fine paid.	Assault and battery.	1	Discharged.	
Do.....	1	Discharged.		.....do.....	1	Fined \$5..	Do.
.....do.....				Carrying dangerous weapon.	1	Discharged.	
Total.....	3			Total.....	3		

TABLE 52.—Number of native-born Americans and immigrants tried for various crimes and offenses, Sunderland, Mass., 1905 to 1909, inclusive—Continued.

Native-born.				Immigrant.			
Character of offense.	Number of cases.	Verdict.	Settle-ment.	Character of offense.	Number of cases.	Verdict.	Settle-ment.
1908.				Assault and battery.	3	Discharged.	
				.....do.....	4	Fined \$10..	Fine paid.
				.....do.....	1	Fined \$5...	Do.
Total.....					8		
1909.							
Short weights...	1	Discharged.		Assault and battery.	5	Discharged.	
				.....do.....	2	Fined \$25..	Do.
				.....do.....	1	.....do.....	Com mit- ted.
				Drunkenness..	1	Fined \$5...	Fine paid.
				.....do.....	1	.....do.....	Com mit- ted.
				Larceny.....	1	Fined \$10..	Do.
Total.....	1				11		
Grand total....	6				50		

The foreigners are for the most part honest, and in selling their produce they have a reputation for fair dealing. Storekeepers never complain that resident foreigners are backward paying their debts; in fact, they pay their obligations in the fall as soon as their crops are harvested. Merchants have lost very little money through bad debts, although migratory foreigners sometimes neglect to meet their obligations. About 75 per cent of the foreigners are carried on the storekeepers' books from the harvest of one crop to the harvest of the crop next year. Occasionally a foreigner renting land on shares and boarding with one of his countrymen toward the end of the season finds himself quite heavily in debt and moves out of town during the night, leaving his bills unpaid. This, however, happens very seldom. Frequently a migratory foreigner pleads poverty, but on being threatened with arrest he secures from somewhere money enough to pay his debts many times over.

## MARRIAGES.

The town records show that 243 marriage licenses were issued in Sunderland during the years 1891 to 1909. In 122 of the cases the contracting parties were of the immigrant population. In many cases the brides leave the household of some American family where they were earning \$2 to \$4.50 per week to marry a farm laborer who will hire a few acres of land the next year and the two will farm together. In most cases the girls go from a life of comparative comfort to one of hard manual labor.

In the majority of cases the age at marriage is under 25 years, and often the bride marries at 18 and the groom at 21 years.

TABLE 53.—*Number of marriages among native Americans and immigrants, Sunderland, Mass., by years, 1891 to 1909.*

Year.	American.	Immigrant.	Total.
1891.....	12	.....	12
1892.....	6	1	7
1893.....	14	1	15
1894.....	8	3	11
1895.....	10	3	13
1896.....	7	2	9
1897.....	4	.....	4
1898.....	9	7	16
1899.....	4	3	7
1900.....	3	5	8
1901.....	7	7	14
1902.....	5	9	14
1903.....	1	11	12
1904.....	4	16	20
1905.....	7	8	15
1906.....	8	9	17
1907.....	7	11	14
1908.....	5	13	18
1909.....	4	13	17
Total.....	121	122	243

The striking fact shown by this table is the steady increase in the number of foreign marriages and the gradual falling off of American. In 1905 the number of persons of foreign parentage represented about one-half of the total population of Sunderland and in the period 1906–1909 nearly 70 per cent of the marriages are credited to them.

The husband is the unchallenged head of the family, though many times the wife does as much work as the husband. Divorce has never been known in the settlement, but twice it has happened that a man has disappeared with another's wife.

#### THE EFFECT OF SETTLEMENT ON THE COMMUNITY.

The immigrants have simply come in, settled on farms formerly owned by Americans and continued the cultivation of onions and tobacco. In Sunderland they had little occasion to clear new land. Most of the land that they purchased was partly cultivable. Without doubt they have conserved or increased the fertility of the soil slightly, by liberal applications of commercial fertilizers, of which they realize the importance, and by keeping cattle during the winter months and using the manure on the land. The principal increase in farm values due to the foreigner comes not from improvements in buildings and fixed capital, for the house is likely to diminish in value, but from careful tillage and the improvement of the land. Few of the foreigners that buy farms sell them and move elsewhere. Those that rent land from year to year frequently move away to a locality where they can buy land of their own more cheaply. The single men seem to flock to the neighborhood of Sunderland during the spring and summer months when the work in the fields is plentiful, but return to the city in the fall and winter to work in industrial establishments; occasionally one goes to Pennsylvania to work in the coal mines. This causes a general annual shift of the single men. During the year 1908 four new families moved in and settled on farms and in 1909 three new families did likewise. The foreigners are rather rapidly gaining a foothold in these Connecticut Valley towns.

The economic effect of immigration upon this community is very noticeable. In many cases where the immigrant has bought a farm he has increased the number of acres cultivated. According to the

neighboring natives the "Polander" who bought a farm with none of the land in tillage has cleared wood lots and cultivated pastures that had never been broken up, making the community more prosperous and the farms more valuable. The immigrant has given the native farmer a dependable supply of labor at a reasonable rate, and has thus lowered the cost of production in numerous instances.

Investigation confirms the popular opinion that the foreigners in the valley, whether engaged in tobacco raising, onion growing, or trucking, are prosperous and progressive. The old New England farmers no longer laugh at the farm practices of the newcomers; many of them unwillingly admit that there is little in farm methods that they can teach the "Polanders." But while they are respected as farmers, the Poles are not yet accepted as social or civic equals. Rural New England is conservative, and the low standard of living, the noisy, often intemperate, social enterprises have constituted a barrier between the races and prevented fusion or rapid assimilation, although Americanization has advanced surprisingly.

#### THE SECOND GENERATION.

It is early to judge what the outcome of the second generation will be. At present, foreigners of the second generation mix freely with American children. The opinion seems to prevail that the foreigner will send his children to school no longer than the law requires and at that he will not compel their attendance. At home the children are a great help with the farm work and are very valuable during the harvest time.

The number of persons 21 years of age and over working at home and the number away from home is about the same. Some prefer to farm while others prefer to seek occupations in the cities. In general the boys go to the cities and the girls work in the locality as domestics. Few of the children over 16 years of age are native-born.

The younger generation has not progressed far enough to make its influence felt. From the school records it appears that the children leave school as soon as they reach the age of 14; often they remain on the farm and work. They marry and assume family cares at an early age.

#### TYPICAL FAMILIES.

##### LITHUANIAN.

The table following presents facts of significance in the economic condition of 12 Lithuanian families selected from the colony at Sunderland. Eight families came directly to Sunderland from Russia, 2 from Pennsylvania, and 2 from other parts of Massachusetts. The head of family No. 1, who has been in the locality twenty-two years, had only \$5 on arrival and the family now owns property of the net value of \$6,755. Family No. 2 has accumulated about the same amount of property during the fifteen years it has been in the locality. The head of family No. 12 came with property valued at \$8,000 three years ago, which has been increased to \$13,460. Families 1, 2, 3, and 10 have largely increased their holdings of land since the first purchase. Indebtedness exists on six farms, the average for each being \$515. Family No. 9 has bought no land and the value of property owned by this family amounts to only \$205. Family No. 12 shows the highest average farm income, amounting to \$3,294, followed by families Nos. 2 and 3, in the order mentioned.

TABLE 54.—*Economic history and present financial condition*

Data reported.	Family 1.	Family 2.	Family 3.	Family 4.
Years in locality:				
Head.....	22.....	15.....	13.....	13.....
Family.....	18.....	15.....	12.....	8.....
Present household size.....	7.....	4.....	9.....	5.....
Number of members 10 years or over.....	6.....	4.....	4.....	3.....
Male.....	4.....	3.....	2.....	2.....
Female.....	2.....	1.....	2.....	1.....
Previous location.....	Russia.....	Russia.....	Pennsylvania.....	Russia.....
Previous occupation.....	Farm laborer.....	Worked in post-office.....	Mine laborer.....	Farmer.....
Value of property brought to locality.....	\$5.....	\$200.....	\$100.....	None.....
Occupation in locality previous to purchase.....	Farm laborer.....		Farm laborer.....	Farm laborer.....
Wages per week.....	\$5.63 <sup>a</sup> .....		\$4.67 <sup>a</sup> .....	\$9.....
Years employed.....	3.....		8.....	4.....
First land leased:				
Date.....				1899.....
Number of acres.....				3.....
Terms.....				Half of crops.....
Condition.....				Good onion land.....
First land bought:				
Date.....	1889.....	1893.....	1903.....	1907.....
Number of acres.....	4.....	0.50.....	7.....	0.75.....
Price.....	\$800.....	\$50.....	\$150.....	\$1,200.....
Terms.....	Cash.....	Cash.....	Cash.....	\$600 cash, balance on demand.....
Condition.....	Good onion land, no improvements.....	Only suitable for buildings.....	Light sandy land.....	Cultivated.....
Occupation until living could be made from land.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
Number of years.....				
Earnings per day.....				
Acres of land now owned.....	60.....	33.5.....	14.....	0.75.....
Acres cultivated.....	14.....	33.5.....	13.....	0.75.....
Rented land.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
Acres.....				2.....
Terms.....				Half crops.....
Live stock now owned:				
Cattle.....	2.....	4.....	1.....	
Horses.....	1.....	2.....	1.....	
Swine.....	1.....	1.....	2.....	
Financial condition:				
Value of land and improvements.....	\$4,000.....	\$4,000.....	\$1,800.....	\$1,200.....
Live stock.....	\$335.....	\$570.....	\$115.....	
Tools and implements.....	\$600.....	\$500.....	\$100.....	\$100.....
Crops on hand.....	\$95.....	\$1,000.....	\$400.....	
Other property.....	\$1,725.....	\$725.....	\$110.....	\$600.....
Gross value of all property.....	\$6,755.....	\$6,795.....	\$2,525.....	\$1,900.....
Indebtedness—				
On land.....			\$700.....	\$600.....
Other.....			\$400.....	
Net value of property.....	\$6,755.....	\$6,795.....	\$1,425.....	\$1,300.....

<sup>a</sup> Also boarding, lodging, and washing.

of certain typical Lithuanian families, Sunderland, Mass.

Family 5.	Family 6.	Family 7.	Family 8.	Family 9.	Family 10.	Family 11.	Family 12.
10.....	9.....	8.....	8.....	4.....	9.....	4.....	3.....
1.....	7.....	7.....	2.....	4.....	4.....	4.....	3.....
2.....	5.....	4.....	2.....	4.....	5.....	6.....	6.....
2.....	2.....	3.....	2.....	2.....	4.....	5.....	4.....
1.....	1.....	1.....	1.....	1.....	3.....	3.....	3.....
1.....	1.....	2.....	1.....	1.....	1.....	2.....	1.....
Russia.....	Russia.....	Russia.....	Russia.....	Pennsylvania.....	Russia.....	Boston, Mass. Carpenter.....	Peabody, Mass. Farmer.....
Farm laborer.....	Tailor.....	On father's farm.....	On father's farm.....	Coal miner.....	Farm laborer.....		
\$100.....	\$20.....	\$200.....	\$5.....	\$100.....	\$700.....	\$1,000.....	\$8,000.....
Farm laborer.....	Farm laborer.....		Farm laborer.....		Farm laborer.....		
a \$4.67.....	a \$4.20.....		\$9.....		\$9.....		
4.....	5.....		5.....		3.....		
1902.....			1905.....	1904.....	1902.....		
3.....			3.....	7.....	3.....		
Half of crops.....			Half crops.....	\$245.....	Half crops.....		
Light sandy land.....			Good onion land.....	Good onion land.....	Fair onion land.....		
1907.....	1904.....	1900.....	1908.....	None.....	1905.....	1904.....	1905.....
2.....	18.....	0.50.....	7.....		11.....	11.....	51.....
\$43.....	\$1,060.....	\$75.....	\$750.....		\$430.....	\$1,150.....	\$6,000.....
Cash.....	\$500 cash, balance on mortgage.....	Cash.....	\$550 cash, balance secured by mortgage.....		Cash.....	\$500 cash, balance on mortgage.....	Cash.....
Poor sandy land covered with brush.....	8 acres woodland, 10 acres tillable.....	Only suitable for building.....	Uncultivated.....		Poor sandy land, some covered with brush.....	All cultivated. House.....	46 acres cultivated, 5 acres tillable.....
None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
2.....	18.....	0.50.....	7.....		21.....	11.....	51.....
2.....	12.....	None.....	3.....		21.....	21.....	40.....
None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
3.....	3.....	3.....	7.....		7.....		
Half crops.....		Half crops.....		\$245.....			
1.....					1.....	1.....	6.....
1.....					1.....	1.....	2.....
2.....		1.....			2.....	2.....	3.....
\$1,200.....	\$1,500.....	\$1,500.....	\$1,000.....		\$1,500.....	\$3,000.....	\$7,000.....
	\$300.....	\$15.....			\$25.....	\$225.....	\$810.....
\$25.....	\$100.....	\$10.....	\$100.....	\$5.....	\$25.....	\$100.....	\$300.....
	\$50.....				\$50.....	\$150.....	\$150.....
\$200.....	\$135.....	\$110.....	\$300.....	\$200.....	\$415.....	\$116.....	\$5,200.....
\$1,425.....	\$2,085.....	\$1,635.....	\$1,400.....	\$205.....	\$2,015.....	\$3,591.....	\$13,460.....
	\$500.....		\$200.....			\$650.....	
\$25.....			\$15.....				
\$1,400.....	\$1,585.....	\$1,635.....	\$1,185.....	\$205.....	\$2,015.....	\$2,941.....	\$13,460.....

TABLE 54.—*Economic history and present financial condition of*

ANNUAL FARM INCOME (AVER-

Products.	Pro- duced.	Sold.	Pro- duced.	Sold.	Pro- duced.	Sold.	Pro- duced.	Sold.
Carrots.....								
Corn.....	\$30		\$138	\$10	\$113	\$25		
Cucumbers.....								
Ensilage.....	35							
Hay.....			75					
Onions.....	1,050	\$1,050	1,050	1,050	220	220	\$200	\$200
Tobacco.....	273	273	360	360	300	300		
Dairy products.....								
Live stock.....	78	78						
Poultry products.....								
Total.....	1,466	1,401	1,623	1,420	633	570	a 200	a 200

a \$196 rent of rooms and boarders, supplementary income for family 4.



certain typical Lithuanian families, Sunderland, Mass.—Continued.

AGE FOR TWO YEARS).

Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.
		\$60	\$25											\$20	
															\$40
															178
															269
															\$269
														23	
\$310	\$310	225	225	\$360	\$360	\$370	\$370	\$600	\$600	\$720	\$720	250	\$230	1,800	1,800
												112	112	750	750
														225	225
														250	250
		15	15									14	14		
310	310	300	265	360	360	370	370	600	600	b 734	b 734	405	342	3,512	3,294

• \$132 from boarders, supplementary income for family 10.

## POLES.

The table following shows the economic condition of 12 typical Polish families in the Sunderland colony. The greater number of these families have made considerable progress since coming to this locality. The head of family No. 3 arrived here from the Pennsylvania coal mines fifteen years ago with \$200. He rented 3 acres and commenced raising onions, and in 1897 he bought 37 acres of land for \$2,200, \$1,100 cash, the balance payable on demand. The family now owns property with a total value of \$10,690 and is free from debt. The head of family No. 7 came direct from Russia to Sunderland, bringing no property. He worked as a farm laborer at \$7 per week for six years and in 1901 bought 70 acres of land for \$8,500, paying \$2,900 cash and executing a mortgage to secure the balance. He now owns 70 acres with 57 in cultivation, and the net value of all property amounts to \$11,650. Families 9, 10, 11, and 12, who have each been in the locality less than ten years, seem to have made the least progress. No. 10 farms on halves, and the net value of property owned by this family is only \$800. Only two families are free from debt, and the indebtedness of families 1, 5, and 11 amounts to more than 50 per cent of the gross value of property owned. The Polish raise a larger variety of crops than the Lithuanians and Slovaks, and seven of the Polish families have an average farm income in excess of \$2,000. Only one Lithuanian and no Slovaks have an average farm income in excess of this amount.



TABLE 55.—Economic history and present financial condition

Data reported.	Family 1.	Family 2.	Family 3.	Family 4.	Family 5.
Years in locality:					
Head.....	14.....	19.....	15.....	18.....	17.....
Family.....	14.....	9.....	11.....	17.....	14.....
Present household size.....	7.....	7.....	5.....	6.....	8.....
Number members 10 years or over.....	3.....	3.....	2.....	5.....	5.....
Male.....	1.....	2.....	1.....	3.....	3.....
Female.....	2.....	1.....	1.....	2.....	2.....
Previous location.....	Pennsylvania.	Pennsylvania.	Pennsylvania.	New Jersey.	Chicago, Ill.
Previous occupation.....	Miner and mule driver.	Coal miner.	Miner.	Farmer.	Laborer in freight house.
Value of property brought to locality.....	\$800.....	\$2.....	\$200.....	\$2,000.....	\$400.....
Occupation in locality previous to purchase.....		Farm laborer.			Farm laborer.
Wages per week.....		\$9.....			\$5.83 a week.
Years employed.....		6.....			2.....
First land leased:					
Date.....			1893.....	1890.....	1893.....
Number of acres.....			3.....	6.....	3.....
Terms.....			Onions on shares.	\$240.....	Half crops.
Condition.....			Good onion land.	Good onion land.	Onion land.
First land bought:					
Date.....	1894.....	1895.....	1897.....	1897.....	1900.....
Number of acres.....	23.....	4.....	37.....	45.....	9.....
Price.....	\$2,900.....	\$850.....	\$2,200.....	\$6,500.....	\$1,475.....
Terms.....	\$600 cash, balance on mortgage.	\$600 cash, balance on mortgage.	\$1,100 cash, balance on demand. All paid now.	\$1,500 cash, balance on mortgage.	\$775 cash, balance on mortgage.
Condition.....	7 acres cultivated, 8 woods, 4 swamp.	Good onion land; house and barn.	All cultivated; house, barn, and shed.	Mostly cultivated; house, barn, and sheds.	All cultivated; 2 buildings he rents.
Occupation until living could be made from land.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
Number of years.....					
Earnings per day.....					
Acres of land now owned.....	25.....	113.....	129.....	45.....	82.....
Acres cultivated.....	10.....	53.....	42.....	45.....	40.....
Number of apple trees.....	10.....	10.....	10.....	10.....	10.....
Number of pear trees.....	10.....			10.....	10.....
Rented land.....	None.....		None.....	None.....	None.....
Acres.....		6.....			
Terms.....		\$150.....			
Live stock now owned.....					
Cattle.....	3.....	16.....	20.....	15.....	6.....
Horses.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	6.....	4.....
Swine.....	1.....	7.....	4.....	4.....	22.....
Financial condition:					
Value of land and improvements.....	\$4,100.....	\$9,000.....	\$7,000.....	\$7,500.....	\$12,000.....
Live stock.....	\$260.....	\$1,000.....	\$1,665.....	\$1,060.....	\$1,250.....
Tools and implements.....	\$400.....	\$300.....	\$300.....	\$400.....	\$250.....
Crops on hand.....	\$200.....	\$300.....	\$440.....	\$400.....	\$600.....
Other property.....	\$225.....	\$1,425.....	\$1,285.....	\$330.....	\$220.....
Gross value of all property.....	\$5,185.....	\$12,025.....	\$10,690.....	\$9,690.....	\$14,320.....
Indebtedness—					
On land.....	\$2,000.....	\$5,685.....		\$4,000.....	\$7,900.....
Other.....	\$700.....				\$900.....
Net value of all property.....	\$2,485.....	\$6,340.....	\$10,690.....	\$5,690.....	\$5,520.....

\* And board.

of certain typical Polish families, Sunderland, Mass.

Family 6.	Family 7.	Family 8.	Family 9.	Family 10.	Family 11.	Family 12.
13.....	13.....	11.....	9.....	7.....	7.....	5.....
10.....	10.....	11.....	11.....	6.....	3.....	1.....
6.....	6.....	5.....	4.....	3.....	3.....	2.....
2.....	2.....	4.....	2.....	3.....	2.....	2.....
1.....	1.....	3.....	1.....	2.....	1.....	1.....
1.....	1.....	1.....	1.....	1.....	1.....	1.....
Russia.....	Russia.....	Brazil.....	Russia.....	Pennsylvania.....	Austria.....	Russia.....
On father's farm.....	On father's farm.....	Farmer.....	On father's farm.....	Miner.....	At home.....	At home.....
\$25.....	None.....	None.....	\$25.....	\$200.....	\$15.....	None.....
Farm laborer.....	Farm laborer.....	Farm laborer.....	Farm laborer.....	.....	Farm laborer.....	Farm laborer.....
\$6.69.....	\$7.....	\$9.....	\$5.13 <sup>b</sup> .....	.....	\$4.20 <sup>b</sup> .....	\$8.89.....
3.....	6.....	3.....	3.....	.....	4.....	5.....
.....	.....	1900.....	1902.....	1901.....	1905.....	1908.....
.....	.....	3.....	5.....	3.....	3.....	6.....
.....	.....	Half crops.....	\$150.....	Half crops.....	Half crops.....	Half crops.....
.....	.....	Onion land.....	Good onion land.....	Good onion land.....	Good onion land.....	Good onion land.....
1898.....	1901.....	1903.....	1902.....	.....	1906.....	1907.....
6.....	70.....	12.....	0.75.....	.....	11.....	0.50.....
\$1,450.....	\$8,500.....	\$3,000.....	\$1,350.....	.....	\$2,500.....	\$1,100.....
\$900 cash, balance on mortgage.....	\$2,900 cash, balance on mortgage.....	\$1,000 cash, balance on mortgage.....	\$650 cash, balance on mortgage.....	.....	\$700 cash, balance on demand.....	\$600 cash, balance on mortgage.....
All cultivated; house, shed.....	All cultivated, house, barn, and sheds.....	11 acres cultivated; house, barn, and sheds.....	Garden and house.....	.....	6 acres cultivated, balance poor condition; house and barn.....	House and garden.....
None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	.....	None.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.....
43.....	70.....	12.....	3.....	None.....	11.....	Farm laborer.....
13.....	57.....	14 <sup>c</sup> .....	3 <sup>c</sup> .....	.....	6.....	0.50.....
16.....	10.....	8.....	10.....	.....	4.....	6 <sup>c</sup> .....
2.....	10.....	.....	10.....	.....	.....	.....
1.....	None.....	3.....	3.....	3.....	None.....	6.....
\$35.....	.....	\$105.....	Half crops, on shares.....	Half crops.....	.....	Half crops.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
4.....	25.....	2.....	1.....	.....	1.....	None.....
2.....	4.....	2.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1.....	5.....	7.....	10.....	3.....	2.....	.....
\$5,500.....	\$8,500.....	\$3,000.....	\$1,900.....	.....	\$2,500.....	\$1,100.....
\$640.....	\$1,650.....	\$580.....	\$60.....	\$25.....	\$50.....	.....
\$1,000.....	\$500.....	\$150.....	\$20.....	\$25.....	.....	\$10.....
\$1,300.....	\$700.....	\$300.....	\$100.....	\$500.....	\$25.....	.....
\$660.....	\$300.....	\$510.....	\$430.....	\$375.....	\$515.....	\$205.....
\$9,100.....	\$11,650.....	\$4,540.....	\$2,510.....	\$925.....	\$3,090.....	\$1,315.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
\$400.....	.....	\$2,000.....	\$700.....	.....	\$1,800.....	\$500.....
.....	.....	.....	\$125.....	\$125.....	.....	.....
\$8,700.....	\$11,650.....	\$2,540.....	\$1,685.....	\$800.....	\$1,290.....	\$815.....

<sup>b</sup> Board, lodging, and washing.<sup>c</sup> Including 3 acres rented.

TABLE 55.—*Economic history and present financial condition of*

## FARM INCOME FROM PRODUCTS

Products.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.
Apples.....									\$14	\$14
Corn.....	\$38		\$170				\$200		275	
Cucumbers.....	12									
Ensilage.....			225		\$125					
Hay.....					415	\$135	75		275	
Onions.....	300	\$300	1,500	\$1,500			2,450	\$2,450	975	975
Potatoes.....	23									
Tobacco.....	560	560	1,050	1,050	2,345	2,345	1,148	1,148	1,090	1,090
Dairy products.....			275	275	335	335		330	160	160
Live stock.....			500	500	48	48		400		
Poultry products.....			38	38	14	14		38	63	63
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>933</b>	<b>860</b>	<b>3,738</b>	<b>3,363</b>	<b>3,282</b>	<b>2,877</b>	<b>3,873</b>	<b>4,366</b>	<b>2,854</b>	<b>2,302</b>
Supplementary income.....									a \$246.	

a Rent of rooms and other property.

certain typical Polish families, Sunderland, Mass.—Continued.

SOLD (AVERAGE FOR TWO YEARS).

Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.
\$250	\$250												
188		\$140		\$240									
		125											
200	163	220											
1,310	1,310	1,450	\$1,450	1,900	\$1,900	\$795	\$795	\$375	\$375	\$373	\$373	\$735	\$735
278	278	2,725	2,725	188	188					137	137		
30	30	180	180							10	10		
26	26	500	500										
70	70	13	13			23	23	30	30	10	10		
2,352	2,127	5,353	4,868	2,328	2,088	818	818	405	405	530	530	735	735
		b \$108.				c \$36.		c \$235.		c \$274.		c \$338	

b Rent of rooms.

c Boarders.

## SLOVAKS.

The table following shows the history and economic condition of 6 typical Slovak families in the Sunderland colony. The head of family No. 6 was a laborer in the Pennsylvania coal mines before he came to this locality sixteen years ago, bringing property valued at \$100. The property now owned by this family has a net value of \$2,250.

The head of family No. 1 came direct from Hungary seven years ago and had no property on his arrival. He worked as a farm laborer for two years, then rented land and in 1905 bought 15 acres. He now owns property with a net value of \$2,635. The head of family No. 3 had no property on his arrival from Hungary ten years ago, and the property now owned by the family has a gross value of \$2,365, with indebtedness of \$250. Family No. 5 owns 26 acres, and the gross value of all their property is \$3,835, with indebtedness of \$2,759. The onion is the principal crop, and three farms produce nothing else. Tobacco is produced on farm No. 6, and the value of all crops on this farm amounted to \$1,225 the last year, followed by farm No. 5 with products valued at \$475.





TABLE 56.—*Economic history and present financial condition*

Data reported.	Family 1.	Family 2.
Years in locality:		
Head.....	7.....	5.....
Family.....	5.....	5.....
Present household size.....	4.....	4.....
Number members 10 years or over.....	2.....	4.....
Male.....	1.....	2.....
Female.....	1.....	2.....
Previous location.....	Hungary.....	New Jersey.....
Previous occupation.....	On father's farm.....	Railroad section hand.....
Value of property brought to locality.....	None.....	\$200.....
Occupation in locality previous to purchase.....	Farm laborer.....	
Wages per week.....	\$4.20 <sup>a</sup> .....	
Years employed.....	2.....	
First land leased:		
Date.....	1903.....	
Number of acres.....	3.....	
Terms.....	Half crops.....	
Condition.....	Good onion land.....	
First land bought:		
Date.....	1905.....	1903.....
Number of acres.....	13.....	1.....
Price.....	\$130.....	\$100.....
Terms.....	Cash.....	\$50 cash, balance on mortgage.....
Condition.....	Sandy brush land.....	Sandy brush land.....
Occupation until living could be made from land.....	None.....	None.....
Number of years.....		
Earnings per day.....		
Acres of land now owned.....	13.....	1.....
Acres cultivated.....	6.....	3 <sup>b</sup> .....
Rented land.....	None.....	
Acres.....		3.....
Terms.....		Half crops.....
Live stock now owned.....		None.....
Cattle.....	1.....	
Horses.....		
Swine.....	1.....	
Financial condition:		
Value land and improvements.....	\$2,800.....	\$600.....
Live stock.....	\$40.....	
Tools and implements.....		\$10.....
Crops on hand.....		
Other property.....	\$30.....	\$90.....
Gross value of all property.....	\$2,870.....	\$700.....
Indebtedness—		
On land.....	\$235.....	
Other.....		
Net value of all property.....	\$2,635.....	\$700.....

## ANNUAL FARM INCOME FROM PRODUCTS

Products.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.
Corn.....	\$8.....			
Corn fodder.....	10.....			
Cucumbers.....				
Onions.....	320.....	\$320.....	\$283.....	\$283.....
Potatoes.....	8.....			
Tobacco.....				
Total.....	346.....	320.....	283.....	283.....
Supplementary income.....	c \$92.10.....			

<sup>a</sup> Also board, lodging, and washing.<sup>b</sup> Rented land.<sup>c</sup> Rent of house.

of certain typical Slovak families, Sunderland, Mass.

Family 3.	Family 4.	Family 5.	Family 6.
10.....	11.....	12.....	16.....
10.....	7.....	8.....	13.....
5.....	4.....	5.....	5.....
2.....	4.....	2.....	3.....
1.....	1.....	1.....	1.....
1.....	3.....	1.....	2.....
Hungary.....	Austria.....	Pennsylvania.....	Pennsylvania.....
Coachman.....	Farming for self.....	Picking slate, driving mules drawing coal cars.....	Picking slate and loading coal cars.....
None.....	None.....	\$100.....	\$100.....
Farm laborer.....	Farm laborer.....	None.....	
\$15 <sup>a</sup> .....	\$9.....		
6.....	3.....		
	1900.....	1896.....	1892.....
	3.....	3.....	Not reported.....
	Half crops.....	Half crops.....	Half crops.....
	Good onion land.....	Good onion land.....	Tillable.....
1904.....	1907.....	1908.....	1892.....
5.....	10.....	26.....	Not reported.....
\$900.....	\$100.....	\$3,500.....	\$10.....
\$250 cash, balance on mortgage.....	Cash.....	\$1,000 cash, balance on mortgage.....	Cash.....
Fair tobacco land.....	Sandy land covered with young brush.....	7 acres tobacco land, 19 acres woodlot, house and sheds.....	Sandy land overgrown with brush.....
None.....	None.....	None.....	
			8.....
5.....	10.....	26.....	Raised onions on shares.....
5.....	3.....	7.....	16.....
		None.....	9.....
	3.....		None.....
	Half crops.....		
		None.....	
1.....	1.....		3.....
			1.....
2.....	1.....		2.....
\$2,000.....	\$1,200.....	\$3,500.....	\$3,000.....
\$50.....	\$45.....		\$370.....
\$10.....	\$20.....	\$10.....	\$100.....
			\$40.....
\$305.....	\$100.....	\$325.....	\$440.....
\$2,365.....	\$1,365.....	\$3,835.....	\$3,950.....
\$250.....	\$250.....	\$2,500.....	\$1,700.....
		\$259.....	
\$2,115.....	\$1,115.....	\$1,076.....	\$2,250.....

SOLD (AVERAGE FOR TWO YEARS).

Produced.	Sold.	Produced.	Sold.	Produced.	Sold.	Produced.	Sold.
\$13	\$13						
450	450	\$263	\$263	\$475	\$475	\$950	\$950
						275	275
463	463	263	263	475	475	1,225	1,225
		<sup>d</sup> \$67				<sup>e</sup> \$246	

<sup>d</sup> Rent of rooms.<sup>e</sup> Boarders.



## CHAPTER VIII.

### WESTMORELAND COUNTY, PA.: GENERAL FARMERS.

#### INTRODUCTION.

The Westmoreland settlement is located on Chestnut Ridge in the southeastern part of the county. It is distinctively rural, the nearest farmer being at least 4 miles from a railroad while some are as far distant as 7 or 8 miles. The main part of the settlement lies along the old "Clay Pike" and on tributary roads to the east and north. Owing to the very rough and broken topography of the country there is considerable waste land, which accounts for the sparseness of the population in some localities.

About 27 families of immigrant farmers live in this settlement. Of these about 16 are Slovak and 8 Polish. The total number of persons in the district belonging to these races is about 150.

The farmers in this settlement are just starting. Their farms are small and all are improving their soil. In practically all cases the farmers have paid for their land, usually in cash. Owing to the poor physical condition of the soil in its virgin state, little more than enough to supply the needs of the families is raised. Some of the older settlers, who have improved their land, have a small surplus of general crops, and almost every family sells some vegetables during the summer months.

The farms vary in size from 35 to 135 acres, while the average farm is about 60 acres. The houses, as a rule, are small but well built, and in many instances painted. The barns are in good repair and large enough to shelter all stock and machinery. As a rule the immigrant farmers do not keep more live stock than they need to carry on farm work, owing to the fact that the land is not very productive and the farms are small.

#### HISTORY OF THE SETTLEMENT.

There has never been organized effort on the part of the land-owners, real-estate dealers, or others to establish the settlement. Settlers have come in voluntarily and in consequence of a desire on their part to own a home and a farm.

In all cases they have come from neighboring coke plants and have settled in this community because land could be bought at low rates. The first immigrant farmer to come to the community was a Slovak, but the Poles and Bohemians and more Slovaks soon followed. The settlers had been in the country from ten to twenty-five years in almost every case before settling upon the farm. The first settlers came to the locality about eighteen years ago, and since then their ingress has been gradual, and, as before stated, voluntary, which in a large measure accounts for the permanency of the settlement and for the smallness of the number of deserters. Almost

every year from one to three families have moved in. The most recent settler came to the community ten months ago—January, 1909.

The principal reason for the action of the immigrants in settling in the community has been the cheapness of land. They were, without exception, people who had been employed for several years in industries and who through the practice of rigid economy had saved small sums with which to buy farms. The better farming land in this section of the State sells at \$40 to \$200 per acre, depending upon the location, quality of land, and coal seam. Very little of this more valuable land is for sale, and in any event none of the people under consideration had enough money to buy it.

The settlers paid from \$5 to \$10 per acre for the land, the price being governed by the nature of the improvements and by the general considerations of locations and fertility. All bought land as soon as they arrived and most of them paid cash. As a rule, their financial condition determined the number of acres first purchased. In a few instances part payments were made when the land was bought, and the balance in one, two, or three years. No fixed rules governed the amount paid down, as the land was owned by separate individuals, and different agreements were made. The immigrants are very thrifty, industrious, and law-abiding farmers. They have been far more successful on this land than the American farmers they succeeded.

The land bought by most of the settlers was in bad condition. In most cases only a few acres were cleared and often the land that was clear of woods was covered with stones, which had to be removed. Great care must be taken to prevent erosion as the soil is light and the fields often so steep that unless a cover crop of some kind is kept on through the winter and early spring months great damage is sustained from the heavy rains of those seasons. They had one advantage in that there was a ready market at the coal mines for all timber cut from the land. This timber, which had to be hauled from 4 to 8 miles, was practically the only source of ready money available to the settlers while the land was being cleared for cultivation.

#### AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS.

The crops raised in the settlement are: Corn, oats, wheat, buckwheat, potatoes, rye, cabbage, and all kinds of garden products.

The immigrant farmers do not cultivate as many acres as the American, but more intensive farming is practiced. One farmer interviewed, who settled there fifteen years ago, was able to raise only 8 bushels of wheat per acre the third year he worked his land, while last year he raised an average of 18 bushels per acre. To get this increase in yield much labor and some expenditures in fertilization was necessary.

The topography of the country imposes a further handicap upon the farmer by making it very difficult to improve the soil. Lime is probably used more extensively than any other fertilizer, and evidently with great benefit to the soil. The lime used by the farmers is burned on the farm, but at considerable trouble and expense, for the stone and coal have to be purchased and hauled from 4 to 6 miles, upgrade all the way. Farmers reduce the expense by taking a load

of timber or some other product to the mines and bringing a load of limestone back. The farmers also use a good deal of stable manure, which is applied with much intelligence and care to the less fertile places. They usually put it out several times a year, and thus little is wasted.

Every farmer has a good barn, with sufficient room to shelter all stock and tools, and all take good care of farming implements. The houses are not large as a rule, but are well built. Some of the immigrant farmers have not built new dwellings, but still occupy the old log houses which were on the farms when they bought. The majority, however, have good frame houses and they are kept in good repair. All have orchards of sufficient size to furnish fruit for family sue.

#### MARKETS AND MARKETING FACILITIES.

The markets are good, but transportation to and from the farms is both difficult and expensive on account of the character of the roads. Each farmer sells a considerable portion of his products directly to the consumers at neighboring mines. The immigrants have a certain advantage over Americans in selling their products to mine employees, in that they can speak the latter's language.

#### PROPERTY OWNED.

All the immigrant farmers in the locality are landowners and in general the land is not encumbered by debt, although a few of the more recent settlers still owe small amounts. Some few of them have saved small amounts from their farms, but they have been in the community several years. The immigrant farmers are very economical, but usually spare no expense in improving their farms. Practically all of them have expended the surplus income from their farms on improvements in land, buildings, or farm machinery.

The immigrants are very thrifty. They are making a success of farming on the poor mountain land, where the native farmers they succeeded were making only a bare living and were depending upon the proceeds from timber cut from the land for most of their income. Some of the immigrants who bought land fifteen to seventeen years ago and paid only one-half down have managed to pay the remainder from crops and stock raised and to save something besides. This is an acknowledged tribute to their ability to manage and save.

#### STANDARD OF LIVING.

The clothing worn by immigrants is, in many instances, coarser in quality than that worn by natives, and as they are more careful in its use they make it last longer. Otherwise they dress very much like the ordinary American farmers on the small hill farms of western Pennsylvania.

The houses are equal in every respect to those of American farmers on similar farms. In most instances the houses are not as well kept as those of the Americans, but, as a rule, everything is clean and neat. In most cases the houses and fences show that the farmers are careful in keeping up repairs.

The food consumed is about the same in the immigrant home as in the American. In some cases it is not as well prepared, nor are the conditions under which it is prepared as sanitary as they might be, but some allowance must be made because of previous training and environment. There is always some improvement in the general standards of living of those living on the farms when compared with their industrial fellow countrymen or their own previous condition when mine laborers.

The women and children do considerable farm work, especially in caring for the truck crops and other forms of light work about the farm. This accounts in most instances for the fact that houses are ill kept.

#### EMPLOYMENT.

There are few opportunities for employment in the community. Some American farmers employ hands at from \$15 to \$20, including board, per month. The only industry within reasonable distance is mining and coke burning, and the nearest mines are from 4 to 10 miles from the settlers, which makes it impossible for them to live at home and secure employment at such work. Several of the young men are engaged in work in and about the coal mines, but they do not live at home.

#### SOCIAL LIFE.

Opportunities for amusement are very limited. The country is sparsely settled. Visiting from house to house, with an occasional gathering, participated in by large numbers of the men of the settlement, constitutes practically all the social life. There is very little social intercourse between the immigrants and natives. No race prejudice exists on either side, but the immigrants have never shown a desire to associate with Americans, nor have the latter sought the immigrants' society.

#### CHURCHES AND SCHOOLS.

The immigrants have a Roman Catholic church in the community, and they have regular church services once a month. There are also Protestant churches of the Methodist and Presbyterian denominations which are accessible. No family lives farther than 5 miles from the church.

The immigrants send their children to the three public schools in the community, a large majority of the pupils in such schools being children of foreign-born parents. Some years ago trouble was experienced in enforcing the school laws, certain of the farmers preferring to keep the children at home rather than to send them to school; but this difficulty was soon overcome by the truant officer, and since then there has been no trouble. In fact, interest in the school has been constantly increased, both on the part of the children and the parents.

The public schools are ungraded, but the pupils are carried through a course of study equal to six grades. Then they can attend the township high school, if they are so disposed. The length of the term in the common schools in the community is seven months; the



high school has a nine months' term. Very few have taken advantage of the high school, and they only within the past few years. The high school is not convenient to any of the settlers, being distant from 3 to 5 miles.

#### POLITICAL CONDITIONS.

All the immigrant farmers in the settlement have at least first naturalization papers. The Bohemians and a majority of the other races have secured second papers. Of those who have not first papers some have made efforts to get them, but have failed on account of some disqualification. They take more interest in public affairs than do the immigrants employed in industries in the same section of the State, there seems to be little political dishonesty, and there is no outside influence to control their votes.

#### MORAL CONDITIONS.

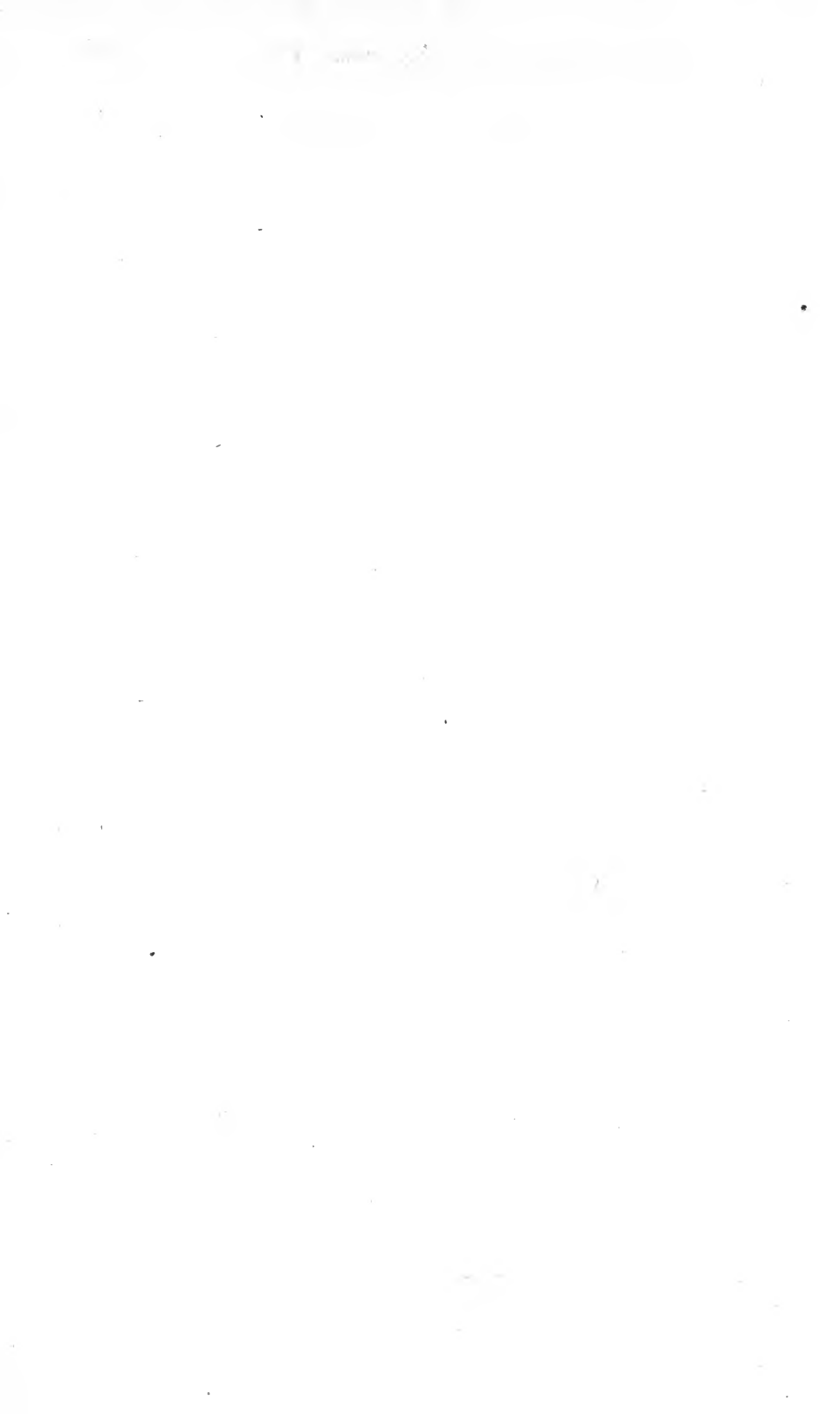
The home life, sobriety, and general moral character of the immigrants in the locality are well spoken of. No habitual drunkenness is practiced and the settlers have never been involved in either criminal suits or petty misdemeanors. They drink more than the American farmers, but for the most part it is beer or light wines, and the drunken brawls which are quite common in the industrial communities in this section among people of the same race are not observed in the rural districts. The settlers are thoroughly honest in business obligations and their credit is good at the stores of the community.

#### EFFECT OF SETTLEMENT ON NEIGHBORHOOD.

This settlement has resulted in bringing under cultivation and improving a great deal of additional land in the community. For the most part it is land for which the American did not care.

#### THE SECOND GENERATION.

The second generation, as a rule, enter occupations very similar to those engaged in by their parents before they came to the farms. The young men on becoming of age rarely remain on the farm, but go to the mines or to some other industry to find employment. They usually get the better positions about the mines, acting as drivers, firemen, etc. The young women generally leave the settlement and find places in homes in neighboring towns as domestic servants. To this fact the improvements in housekeeping, as compared with families in industrial centers, may be attributable. The second generation can read and write English and are usually rather thoroughly Americanized.



## CHAPTER IX.

### SOBIESKI AND PULASKI, WIS., RECENT PIONEER SETTLEMENTS.

#### INTRODUCTION.

Pulaski, Brown County, Wis., situated near the junction of three counties, Brown, Oconto, and Shawano, is the center of a large Polish population, the greater proportion of whom live in four townships, Angelica, Chase, Pittsfield, and Maple Grove, which also center near Pulaski. Little Suamico and Suamico townships, which join Chase and Pittsfield on the east, are also more densely settled by the Poles than the remaining portions of the three counties. The counties of Brown, Oconto, and Shawano had a combined population of foreign-born Poles of 2,750 in 1905.<sup>a</sup> Of this number, 1,402, or a little more than 50 per cent, lived in the territory included in the six townships that have been designated.<sup>a</sup> Statistics are not available showing the number of Polish families in each of the six townships. A close approximation based on information secured from the Polish priests and township officials and tax rolls indicates about 163 families of Polish descent engaged in all occupations in Chase township, of which number approximately 102 families are engaged in agriculture. Maple Grove has approximately 145 Polish agricultural families. Angelica had a total of 135 personal-property owners in 1909, and of this number approximately 100 families are engaged in agriculture, making a total of 347 families in the three townships. Suamico, Little Suamico, and Pittsfield townships have approximately 244 agricultural families, making a total of 591 families for the six townships, or a total of 3,576 persons, estimating 6.05 persons to a family, the percentage shown by 17 families interviewed.

In addition to the Polish immigrants, German, Scandinavian, and Bohemian farmers are encountered in this territory. Poles are settled very densely about the little towns of Pulaski and Sobieski, the Pulaski Poles showing evidences of the greater prosperity. Many of the farmers in the locality are housed in substantial frame dwellings and have built large basement barns, the painted buildings and well-tilled fields suggesting comfort and plenty. A marked contrast to these conditions is presented by the Poles of Sobieski. Here a large proportion of the immigrants are still living in mud-plastered log cabins thrown up for temporary occupancy when the first clearing was made. The soil is less productive there and the struggle for existence has apparently been difficult, outside employment having been a necessity in many families to supplement the income from the farm. The land on which the Poles settled was one of the numerous areas of "slashes" or cut-over land that recently covered a large part of northern Wisconsin. A second growth of

<sup>a</sup> Wisconsin State census, 1905.

poplar, oak, ash, and maple combined with the stumps and underbrush to render the work of preparing the ground for cultivation very tedious and difficult, several years of labor often being required to prepare a tract of 40 acres for tillage. In contour the country is rather low and nearly level, with occasional deposits of glacial boulders. The prevailing variety of soil is a somewhat heavy red or whitish clay, interspersed with small tracts of sandy soil. In some localities occasional areas of marsh are encountered. Several varieties of small grain, such as oats, barley, wheat, and rye, are produced, as well as corn and grasses. Potatoes are grown less extensively, but the Poles at Sobieski rely in a great measure on this crop for subsistence.

Few of the landowners cultivate less than 40 acres and some of the more prosperous farmers own in excess of 100 acres. The following table shows the condition of land and improvements now owned, average size of farms, and average value of the 17 farms investigated; of these, 13 have one-half or more of their area tillable. In average size the farms vary from 57.14 to 79.25 acres and in average values from \$2,550 to \$2,886.

TABLE 57.—*Land and improvements now owned, condition of land, size and average value of farms, typical Polish farmers, Sobieski and Pulaski, Wis.*

Condition of land	Number of farms	Average number of acres per farm	Average value.	
			Farm.	Acre.
One-fourth and under one-half tillable.....	4	79.25	\$2,875	\$36
One-half and under three-fourths tillable.....	6	65.66	2,550	39
Three-fourths or more tillable.....	7	57.14	2,886	51
Total.....	17			

#### HISTORY OF SETTLEMENT.<sup>a</sup>

The first Polish immigration to this locality occurred in 1880. A wealthy Swedish lumber operator owning large tracts of timber in northern Wisconsin built sawmills and recruited colonists to clear away the forest. Not being able to secure Swedes and Norwegians, he turned to the Poles. He found some Poles in Milwaukee; Wal Peplinski, Wal Zejgmanski, and Lefakowie traded their homes to him for some of his land and settled in 1880 in the depth of a thick forest near the present village of Hofa Park. There were no roads, and they had to go on foot, on horseback, or in winter across the marshes over the ice to reach the sawmills.<sup>b</sup>

The settlement grew slowly at first, but in 1883 Poles had arrived in sufficient numbers to build a small chapel and form a parish. In 1888 the Poles built a church and turned the chapel into a school. The parish at this time consists of 140 families. As the colony at

<sup>a</sup> Much of the data relative to the origin and history of the Polish settlement in this section of Wisconsin are taken from the *Historya Polska W. Ameryce*, by Waclaw Kruszkza.

<sup>b</sup> Translation from *Historya Polska W. Ameryce*, vol. 7, p. 109.

Hofa Park grew so steadily, the Swedish mill owner ventured further into the forest and founded another colony. At a distance of about two hours' drive from Hofa Park he started the colony of Pulaski in 1883. The first settlers were Bysjka, Nedziuski, Podalski, and Setowski, and after them followed others, building and clearing and burning away the forest to secure land for cultivation. Twelve miles northeast from Pulaski in Oconto County is St. Johns Parish in Sobieski, on the railroad, and 6 miles north from Pulaski in Shawano County is the colony of Krakow. Hofa Park, Pulaski, Sobieski, and Krakow are entirely Polish communities and would form a Polish diocese with headquarters in Pulaski. In 1903 there were 70 families in Krakow, while thirteen years before that time it contained but a handful of Poles. Farther north from Sobieski, also in Oconto County, is the Polish colony of Spruce. Poles settled there about 1885. During the early years of its existence new Polish colonists did not come there in great numbers, because the old settlers lived so quietly and did nothing to make the colony known. In 1903 there were 50 Polish families there.<sup>a</sup> Data are not available to show the year in which the first Polish immigration to Suamico and Little Suamico occurred, but these townships are the most recently settled of the Polish colonies. Little Suamico, which contains the parish of Sobieski, was probably settled subsequently to the parish of Krakow, and there is a well-defined movement of immigrants at present to that locality. The first settlers at Hofa Park, Pulaski, and Krakow were followed by a steady volume of Polish immigrants, who apparently continued with little diminution in number until about the year 1905, when there began to be a marked decrease in the number of arrivals to these localities.

The number of years the heads of the 17 families included in the Commission's inquiry had been in the locality is shown as follows:

#### PIONEER DIFFICULTIES.

To facilitate the growth of the Polish colony the Swedish promoter advertised extensively in Polish newspapers of large circulation in the Eastern and Middle Western States. By skillful representations and descriptions of the land a large movement of Poles eager to invest their savings in an enterprise which seemed certain of success, was soon under way to the locality. A great many of this number knew nothing of farming, but were led to believe from the advertisements that no difficulty would be experienced in making a living the first year, and were wholly unprepared for the hardships and privations awaiting them. There were no improvements of any kind on the land, and several years of hard labor were required to clear a 40-acre tract and bring it to a state of productiveness. In the meantime buildings were necessary for protection from the weather, and 2 or 3 room log houses, and barns of the same material, were erected as temporary shelters for the family and live stock.

<sup>a</sup> Translation from *Historya Polska W. Ameryce*, vol. 7, p. 112.

The following table is a compilation for 17 families of the conditions attending the first purchase of land, showing the average price paid per acre and per farm, the average number of acres per farm, the average cash payment, and the condition of the land:

TABLE 58.—*First purchase of land, condition, size of farms, and price paid, typical Polish farmers, Sobieski and Pulaski, Wis.*

Condition of land	Number of farms.	Average number of acres per farm	Average price per—		Average cash payment.
			Farm	Acre	
None tillable.....	12	44.50	\$502	\$11	<sup>a</sup> \$144
Under one-fourth tillable.....	1	80	1,200	15	700
One-fourth and under one-half tillable.....	1	55	976	18	600
One-half and under three-fourths tillable.....	2	60	2,125	35	1,625
Three-fourths or more tillable.....	1	40	340	9	(b)
Total.....	17				

<sup>a</sup> Not including 1 not reporting complete data.

<sup>b</sup> Not reported

It appears that 12 farms when first purchased had no land tillable. These farms, averaging 44.50 acres each, were bought for \$11 an acre, the average cash payment being \$144. The table shows that 5 farms had at least a small part of their land in cultivation, and with one exception the price per acre and the average cash payments are considerably higher than for the 12 farms with no land tillable. It is important to consider, however, that the table includes families who have settled in recent years as well as some of the earlier settlers, and that the price of land and general conditions of agriculture have changed to some extent since the early days of the colony. While the table is a fairly accurate description of the average conditions attending the settlement of the colony during each period of immigration, the conditions under which the first immigrants took up land are more accurately described in the statistical data for the 12 farms first noted.

The first settlers paid from \$10 to \$11 per acre for their land, making a small cash payment and executing mortgages with 8 per cent interest to secure deferred payments. On account of the expense incident to clearing and improving the land, and the interval of one to three years, which necessarily elapsed before the soil began to yield material returns, employment for wages was necessary for the greater number during the first few years, and some of the immigrants are still unable to subsist solely on the income from the farm. The greater percentage of the immigrants brought less than \$500 to the locality, and their resources were usually sufficient only for the first payment on the land and a few of the most necessary improvements, leaving no means of subsistence while the land was being prepared for tillage.

A small number found work with the German, Scandinavian, and Irish Americans who had settled earlier on farms in this section of the State, but with the beginning of cold weather there was a large movement to the logging and lumber camps. Here they worked as "lumber jacks" through the winter, earning \$1.25 to \$1.50 per day and returning home with their savings early in the spring to resume work on the farm.

## ORIGIN OF IMMIGRATION.

So far as has been ascertained, there has been no immigration of Poles directly to these localities from Europe, the settlement being composed almost exclusively of persons who had been employed as industrial laborers in various parts of the United States before entering agriculture. Few had been in the United States less than five years before coming to the settlement. Of the 17 farmers included in the Commission's detailed inquiry 7 came to the settlement from Illinois, 3 each from New York and other parts of Wisconsin, and 2 each from Michigan and Pennsylvania. Six came from the city of Chicago.

While the number of families from whom data were obtained is a very small percentage of those in the settlement, the data are fairly accurate as indicating the distribution of the immigrants previous to their movement to the county. In addition to the use of advertisements in Polish newspapers, agents were employed in Chicago and other large cities to move about among the immigrants and by argument and persuasion induce them to purchase land. Many of the immigrants had lived on farms before their emigration to America. Of the 17 heads of families under consideration 10 had lived on farms before coming to the United States, but only 3 had experience in farming here immediately before settling in the present locality. The greater number had been unskilled laborers in various occupations, and in consequence possessed little, if any, knowledge of the methods essential to successful farming in Wisconsin. In some localities, notably around Pulaski, many of the Poles, with indefatigable energy and perseverance, have surmounted the adverse conditions attending the early years of the colony and are enjoying a fair degree of prosperity, having increased their holdings of land in some instances from the original 40-acre tract to farms of 80 to 160 acres.

For many others, however, the enterprise has been a continuous struggle with adversity. There are a number who have been in the country twenty years and have not yet paid for their land, though some have borrowed money from the banks to discharge their first indebtedness. Desertions have occurred at intervals, and the deserting families have usually returned to their former location and occupations. There is still a small but well-defined movement of immigrants to certain localities, Suamico and Little Suamico townships receiving the greater percentage of the newcomers at the present time.

## AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS.

The farms vary in size from 40 to 160 acres, and a very small percentage of the Poles have holdings in excess of 160 acres.

The principal crops are corn, hay, oats, and rye, which are grown on practically all farms. Other crops are grown in particular localities and are not common to the whole settlement. The Poles around Sobieski raise peas, relying in a large measure for their subsistence on this crop and the potato crop, while in the Pulaski community wheat is raised, and a few farmers have attempted the culture of sugar beets, although with little success. Barley is another crop that is grown to a considerable extent. With the exception of sugar beets, very little farm produce of any variety is marketed, sales of

dairy products constituting the principal source of income. Small quantities of wheat or rye are sometimes sold when the crop is larger than necessary for home consumption. The soil seems better adapted to small grain than to the cultivation of corn; the Sobieski Poles have had very little success with this crop, and it is frequently cut green for forage. It is grown with greater success in the Angelica and Maple Grove townships, which report yields as high as 60 bushels an acre. The average production for the colony was about 30 bushels an acre for the last season and its value about 60 cents a bushel. The acreage is usually small, and the entire crop is consumed on the farm.

Of the several varieties of grain, the largest acreage is planted to oats and the average yield is approximately 25 bushels an acre. Of the 17 farms investigated, 15 had an average of 9.80 acres planted in oats in 1908, with an average production per farm of 262 bushels, or \$92 in value. This crop is utilized almost exclusively as feed for the live stock, though occasionally a few bushels are sold when the yield is unusually large.

Next to oats rye is the crop of greatest importance. Fifteen farms had an average of 5 acres planted in rye in 1909, with an average production per farm of 67 bushels, valued at \$46. Much of the grain is ground into flour for home consumption, rye bread being an important article of food in the Polish families. Part of the crop is fed to the live stock and very little reaches the market. Barley is another crop of importance in the colony, though it is not grown as extensively as rye. The yield is about 20 bushels an acre, and 50 per cent or more of the farmers plant 3 or 4 acres to this crop. It had a market value of 50 cents a bushel in 1909. Many of the more prosperous farmers have commenced the cultivation of wheat. In Maple Grove and Angelica townships wheat is grown on probably one-third of the farms, but is not raised to an important extent in other parts of the colony, nor is the acreage very large, averaging 3 or 4 acres to the farm. The average yield is about 15 bushels per acre. Nearly every farmer plants 1 or 2 acres of white potatoes, the average yield being about 60 bushels per acre. The potatoes are stored in cellars or in pits in the field and form one of the principal articles of food during the winter months. There is no effort to make potatoes a commercial crop, and the average yield is considerably smaller than among the Poles of Portage County, who raise them for the market. Green peas is another crop that receives some attention from the Poles in the neighborhood of Sobieski, but is not grown to any great extent in the other townships. The yield in the season of 1908 was 8 or 9 bushels an acre, valued at \$1.50 a bushel. Like potatoes, peas are raised only for home consumption. Hay is grown on practically every farm. Seventeen farms investigated had an average of 8 acres each in hay in 1908, with an average yield of 9 tons per farm, valued at \$85. Clover and timothy are the usual varieties. A few farmers cut the ordinary marsh grass and cure it for stock feed.

In the Angelica and Maple Grove townships, a few Polish farmers have tried sugar beets as a commercial crop, but the results have not been encouraging. The average yield on four farms in 1908 was less than 5 tons an acre, and the market value was \$4.50 a ton, making a gross income from the crop of about \$20 or \$25 an acre. That the



returns are entirely incommensurate with the labor expended is evident when it is considered that beet growers usually pay \$20 per acre for the hand labor necessary in raising the crop, exclusive of the work done with horse and plow. It is improbable that the sugar beet will be adopted as a regular crop among the immigrants, as the farmers who have attempted to grow the beet seemed inclined to discontinue its cultivation. With intelligent methods of agriculture, however, there is no reason why the crop should not be successfully grown, as the soil in most parts of the settlement is well adapted to the cultivation of the sugar beet.

A garden and a small apple orchard of 25 to 50 trees is a feature of nearly every Polish farm. No effort is made to raise vegetables or fruit for the market, but there is a plentiful supply of cabbage, tomatoes, turnips, onions, etc., for home use and some fruit is stored away for the winter. The sale of milk to local creameries is the principal source of money income for the Polish farmers, although some live stock is also sold, and poultry products are marketed in small quantities. Of the 17 farms investigated, 15 reported sales of dairy products during 1909 aggregating \$1,864, or an average of about \$124 per farm. Near Sobieski the average is considerably lower than for the whole colony, while for some of the Angelica farmers the sales run as high as \$350. The sales of poultry products average about \$10 to \$15 per farm and consist merely of the occasional exchange of a few dozen eggs for merchandise. In Angelica and Maple Grove townships the sales of live stock will average \$40 per farm, but the average is considerably smaller for the whole colony. The live stock consists of horses, cattle, and swine, although a few farmers have small flocks of sheep. The average for the colony is about 3 horses, 8 to 10 cattle, including heifers as well as milch cows, and 6 or 7 hogs per farm. The average value of the horses is about \$90 and of the milch cows \$25 per head. No particular breed of cattle is kept, and no special efforts are being made to improve the stock. Hogs are principally raised for home consumption.

The following table shows the classification of live stock on 17 farms investigated in the colony. Cows and horses are reported on every farm—no farm having less than 2 cows while the greater number have 4 or more, and but few of the farms report less than 4 hogs.

TABLE 59.—Classification of live stock, 17 typical Polish farms, Sobieski and Pulaski, Wis.

Kind of live stock.	Number of farms reporting.	Number of farms reporting—					Number of animals reported.	Average value per head.
		1.	2 or 3.	4 to 6.	7 to 9.	10 and over.		
Cows.....	17	.....	6	6	4	1	86	\$25
Horses.....	17	1	16	.....	.....	.....	37	89
Other neat cattle.....	14	2	7	3	2	.....	47	9
Sheep.....	2	.....	1	.....	1	.....	10	4
Swine.....	15	.....	5	4	2	4	97	5

## FARM PRACTICE AND EQUIPMENT.

Little expense is attached to the form of agriculture followed by the Poles. Barnyard manure is practically the only kind of fertilizer known in the settlement. A large proportion of the land is planted to crops such as hay and small grain, which involve a minimum amount of labor, and as the women and children take an active part in raising the crop, it is seldom necessary to employ any outside help. Practically all the grain and forage consumed is produced on the farm. On the 17 farms investigated the total expenditures for labor and stock feed amounted to \$237 on seven farms, while for 10 farms no expenditures were reported, indicating an average expenditure of about \$14 per farm for the colony.

The smallness of the sales of farm products is counterbalanced in a measure by the high percentage of surplus, as there is little difference between the gross and the net income from cash sales. In the crops raised and methods of agriculture, the Poles have introduced no changes of importance, but have been satisfied to imitate the German, Scandinavian, and Irish-American farmers who preceded them to the locality. To the extent that untiring energy, industry, and thrift are factors in successful farming the Poles compare favorably with any of the other nationalities. Their fields are well tilled and such conditions of inferiority as may exist are not the result in any measure of a disinclination to hard work. It is in their initiative and foresight and ability to apply scientific methods in agriculture that the races of older immigration surpass the Poles, and in other localities, as well as here, are almost invariably enabled to attain a greater degree of prosperity than are the Poles.

The houses and outbuildings of the Poles vary greatly in appearance even in the same communities. In the Chase, Pittsfield, Angelica, and Maple Grove townships a number of Polish farmers live in substantial frame houses, and following the example of the Germans and Scandinavians, have built large basement barns and applied paint and varnish, giving an appearance of comfort and prosperity. A few of the houses are large brick buildings of imposing appearance, and some of the more prosperous farmers have erected windmills to pump water or to operate farm machinery. It is hardly accurate, however, to say that these conditions are typical of the whole colony. Even in the most prosperous communities many of the Poles are living in small 2 or 3 room houses, built of logs or cheap lumber, with dilapidated barns and outhouses, unpainted and weather-beaten.

Very few well-built or attractive houses are seen in Suamico and Little Suamico townships, where many of the immigrants live in mud-plastered log houses or 2 or 3 room shanties. The soil is less fertile, and the general condition of the immigrants less prosperous here than in the other townships. A great number are leading practically a hand-to-mouth existence and are greatly discouraged at the outlook. A pronounced feature of the Polish homestead, even among the more prosperous farmers, is the absence of well-kept and attractive premises.

## MARKETS AND MARKETING FACILITIES.

The produce marketed by the Polish farmers consists principally of dairy and poultry products, sugar beets, and some small grain, such as wheat, barley, oats, and rye.

Dairying is an important industry in this as well as in other parts of the State. In 1905 the counties of Brown, Oconto, and Shawano had a total of 110 cheese factories and 26 creameries, and there has doubtless been an increase in the number since that date. In some localities the Poles are in reach of a creamery or cheese factory by private conveyance, while others haul the milk to the nearest railway station for shipment. When selling to the creameries the farmer carries back in his wagon the skimmed milk directly from the separator to feed to calves or pigs, while the cheese factories return the whey. Both by-products have a particular value for fattening hogs. Poultry products are marketed in comparatively small quantities and are usually exchanged for merchandise in the small towns of the settlement. The sugar beets produced by the Poles are shipped by railway to a beet sugar factory at Menominee, Mich., which is more easily reached than any of the Wisconsin factories. The price paid for the beets is for the net weight of the trimmed and washed beets as delivered at the railway station for shipment to the factory, and was \$4.50 a ton last season.

Practically every town of any size on the two railroads in this territory has a grain elevator, where the output from surrounding farms is purchased for shipment to Chicago. These elevators are seldom controlled by local capital, and are usually so operated as to eliminate competition as far as possible. Pulaski, where the elevator company depressed the price of grain several points under the market, presents the only instance of cooperative marketing in the colony. Dissatisfied with the prices received for their produce, the Polish farmers induced one of their number, who possessed sufficient resources, to build a warehouse, agreeing in turn to sell him their grain for a certain period of years. In the effort to force its competitor out of business the older elevator company has raised the price of grain above the Chicago market, and in consequence, is drawing grain from larger towns, and communities 20 miles distant. The Poles, however, have remained loyal to their agreement, although at present (1909) they receive lower prices for their grain than are paid by the old company in its effort to destroy competition.

## PROPERTY OWNED.

The property owned by the Poles consists of land and its improvements, live stock, farming implements, and household effects. The proportion who have made investments of a different nature is very small. Savings are usually applied first to such indebtedness as may exist, and are then used in making improvements and in the purchase of more land. A large proportion of the immigrants are in debt, although in Maple Grove, Angelica, Chase, and Pittsfield townships the greater number have paid for the first purchase and have assumed other indebtedness in making improvements and enlarging their holdings of land. Many of the farmers in Suamico and Little Suamico

townships are still struggling to lift the mortgages executed on their first purchases of real estate. Of 17 farms investigated in the colony, 4 were free from debt, and 13 reported a total indebtedness of \$11,260, an average of \$866 per farm, indicating an average indebtedness for the colony of \$662 per farm.

The following table, presenting data for the 17 families included in the Commission's detailed inquiry, shows the value of property brought to the locality, the net value of property now owned, and the number of years since first lease or purchase. It will be noted that more than one-third of the families now own property with a net value between \$1,500 and \$2,500, and 7 families own property with a net value of \$2,500 or over. Of the latter group only one brought as much as \$1,000 to the locality.

TABLE 60.—*Value of property brought to locality, net value of property now owned, and number of years since first lease or purchase, 17 typical Polish farmers, Sobieski and Pulaski, Wis.*

Value of property brought.	Number of heads of families.	Number of heads of families having property whose net value is—				Years since first lease or purchase.				
		\$1,000 and under \$1,500.	\$1,500 and under \$2,500.	\$2,500 and under \$5,000.	\$5,000 or over.	1 and under 5.	5 and under 10.	10 and under 15.	15 and under 20.	20 or over.
\$100 and under \$250.....	6	2	2	1	1	.....	1	2	2	1
\$250 and under \$500.....	4	1	2	1	.....	.....	1	2	.....	1
\$500 and under \$1,000.....	3	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	2
\$1,000 and under \$1,500.....	3	.....	2	.....	1	.....	2	.....	.....	1
Not reported.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	17	3	7	5	2	.....	5	5	2	5

The following table shows the number of heads of families owning personal and real property of specified net value. In this table it is seen that each family owns land and improvements of a net value in excess of \$500 and only 7 families have a net valuation of real estate of less than \$1,500. Ten families own live stock and implements of a net valuation of \$250 and under \$500, and 5 have a net valuation of \$500 and under \$1,000 for this class of property.

TABLE 61.—*Net value of real and personal property now owned, 17 typical Polish farmers, Sobieski and Pulaski, Wis.*

Value.	Land and improvements.	Live stock and implements.	Crops on hand.	Total property.
Under \$50.....	.....	.....	1	.....
\$50 and under \$100.....	.....	.....	3	.....
\$100 and under \$250.....	.....	1	6	.....
\$250 and under \$500.....	.....	10	5	.....
\$500 and under \$1,000.....	2	5	2	.....
\$1,000 and under \$1,500.....	5	1	.....	3
\$1,500 and under \$2,500.....	6	.....	.....	7
\$2,500 and under \$5,000.....	3	.....	.....	5
\$5,000 and over.....	1	.....	.....	2
Total.....	17	17	17	17

The following table shows the range of assessments of land and improvements in 1909 on the tax roll of Angelica Township, for 56 Polish families. It is notable that more than 50 per cent have a gross valuation of land and of land and improvements of \$1,500 and under \$2,500, the next largest percentage having a gross valuation of \$1,000 and under \$1,500. This table is a fairly accurate showing of property valuations in Angelica and Maple Grove townships, allowing for the usual difference of 25 per cent or more between the assessed value and the market value, and is probably representative of conditions in Chase and Pittsfield. In Suamico and Little Suamico townships the valuations are probably much lower.

TABLE 62.—*Range of assessments, 56 Polish farms, Angelica Township, Wis.*

[Tax roll 1909, Angelica Township.]

Assessment.	Land.	Land and improvements.	Assessment.	Land	Land and improvements.
\$500 and under \$1,000.....	4	1	\$5,000 and over.....	.....	1
\$1,000 and under \$1,500.....	18	14	Total.....	56	56
\$1,500 and under \$2,500.....	31	35			
\$2,500 and under \$5,000.....	3	5			

## STANDARD OF LIVING.

The colony presents no distinctive characteristics in respect to standards of living when compared with other Polish agricultural colonies. One of the most striking contrasts between the Poles and the races of older immigration in this community is witnessed in a comparison of the appointments of the different households. The well-finished dwellings, substantial barns and outhouses, and neatly kept premises typical of the German and Scandinavian farmers usually reflect some degree of comfort and refinement in the private life of the family, as exemplified in modern furniture, papered walls, carpeted floors, and modest libraries usually found in the homes of these races.

While to the casual observer some of the Polish homes present an aspect fully as favorable, seen from the outside, this does not extend to the interior of the houses. Even in the households of the most prosperous Polish farmers the absence of anything but the most necessary articles of furniture is striking. The walls and floors are devoid of paper or carpets and present a bare and cheerless aspect. The family crowd into the kitchen when not at work, frequently using it both as dining room and living room, and the general appearance of the household is disorderly and unkempt. Some few exceptions to these conditions are occasionally found among families who have been in the United States for a long period, but the average Polish immigrant in the colony apparently has little conception of the American idea of comfort and enjoyment in family life.

The clothing worn by the Poles is patterned after American styles, but is of cheaper quality and plainer material. The men do not differ a great deal in their dress from the native or German or Scandinavian farmer on the same economic level.

Very nearly all the food used by the Poles is produced on their own farms. Meat is the principal dish, especially in fall and winter, but is supplemented with a large vegetable diet—cabbage, onions, tomatoes, etc.—during the summer, and each farmer endeavors to produce enough Irish potatoes to last through the winter months. Pease are also raised for consumption during the winter in some parts of the colony. It is not unusual for a well-to-do Polish farmer to kill 4 or 5 hogs in the late fall, which furnish sufficient meat and lard to last the family through the year. Flour is made from the rye or wheat produced on the farm, and coffee and sugar are obtained in exchange for poultry products. Not all of the Poles raise enough meat to supply their tables, and some families subsist largely through the winter on a diet of rye bread, pease, and potatoes. The Polish women have not attained much proficiency in cooking, and much of the food is badly prepared.

#### OPPORTUNITIES FOR EMPLOYMENT.

Industrial opportunities for wage-earners in this colony are afforded by the extensive lumbering interests in Oconto County, and some demand exists for railroad section hands and farm laborers. Many of the Poles in Suamico and Little Suamico townships, after their crop is harvested, obtain employment as "lumber jacks" at the logging camps through the winter, earning \$1 to \$1.50 per day and board. Without this addition to their income the problem of existence would be extremely difficult for some of the struggling farmers in these townships. A small number earn \$25 to \$30 a month as section hands on the railroad. Farm laborers are paid \$18 to \$25 a month with board or occasionally \$30 or more a month without board. Some of the young men have "hired out" to the German and Scandinavian farmers, and there is a small drift of the young women into domestic service in the cities.

#### SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

Organized social enterprises are comparatively few among the Poles in the colony. Apart from the association of their children with other races involved in attending the public schools, the Polish immigrants show a marked disinclination to identify themselves in any way with the social life of the natives, and their modes of living have undoubtedly fostered a prejudice against the race, which further tends to retard assimilation. The Polish farmers are inevitably brought into contact with the natives in their commercial dealings and in this manner gradually acquire a sufficient knowledge of English for ordinary business transactions. Poles of the second generation on entering the public schools display aptitude for learning English and soon become rather proficient in the use of this language. However, after leaving school they usually revert to their native tongue, speaking English only in case of necessity. The number of foreign-born Polish women in the colony who can speak English is very small.

## CHURCH—RELIGIOUS LIFE.

Catholic churches were founded at Pulaski, Sobieski, and Krakow in 1887, and the subsequent growth of the church has been coextensive with the growth of the colony. Every community now has both a Catholic Church and a parochial school, while a school for the education of young men for the priesthood has been erected at Pulaski. Nearly all of the Poles are Catholics. They exhibit a great devotion to the church, attend well, and give it liberal financial support.

## EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS.

Polish children are taught to read and write their native language in the parochial schools, which they attend from the age of 6 to 10 or 11 years. The public schools are then attended by the children until the age of 14 or 15 years—a period which usually marks the end of literary instruction among the Poles, a common-school education seeming to be all that is desired. The number of foreign-born Poles who can read or write English is very small. The greater proportion can read and write their native language.

## POLITICAL CONDITIONS.

In discussing the political condition of the Poles in Wisconsin it is important to note that prior to the year 1908 first naturalization papers were sufficient to confer the right of suffrage, and hence one of the usual inducements for taking out second papers has been lacking until very recently. Probably less than 20 per cent of the male immigrants in this colony who were 21 years of age or over at the time of coming to the United States are aliens, while the percentage who have second papers is also small. The recent enactment, however, restricting the suffrage to fully naturalized citizens, will doubtless be followed by a considerable increase in the number who have taken out second papers. While active to some extent in local politics, none of the Poles in this colony, so far as can be ascertained, have been elevated to any office of greater importance than that of a township official. In several townships where the Poles are most numerous the offices of clerk, assessor, and members of the town board are filled almost exclusively by members of this race.

## MORAL CONDITIONS.

The most serious offenses attributed to the Polish immigrants are those of petty larceny and public drunkenness. Saloons are found in numbers in all the small towns of the colony and also at every crossroad where there is a grocery store or meeting place. These Poles, as a class, have the reputation of drinking to excess, particularly on certain social occasions, and it is said that on such occasions quarrels and personal altercations are of frequent occurrence.

In promptness and reliability in meeting their obligations the Poles compare favorably with the natives and other nationalities in the locality.

## SUMMARY.

Considered on a purely material basis, there can be no question of the advantage resulting from the introduction of the Polish immigrants and the growth of the colony to its present proportions on the large area of wilderness and brush that formerly covered several townships. Without the influx of an alien race this territory must of necessity have remained untilled for a long period before the natural increase in population sufficed to overflow and absorb the vacant and less desirable land. The conversion of areas of stump and brush to well-tilled and fertile fields has added materially to the taxable values of townships and counties and has contributed to the prosperity of the outlying communities and industries.

In other aspects the colony appears in a less favorable light. The tendency of the older races of immigration to cooperate with the natives in elevating their material, intellectual, and moral welfare has no counterpart among the Polish immigrants, who display little civic enterprise. Men of the second generation have made little advancement beyond the economic level of their parents, seeming to be contented with their environment and without ambition to fit themselves for positions of greater usefulness or influence.

## STATISTICAL DATA FOR SELECTED FAMILIES.

The following table shows the economic history and present financial condition of 10 Polish families selected from the settlements at Pulaski and Sobieski. Families 1 and 2 have been in the locality six years, while the remaining families have been here ten years and over. Family No. 10 came from Detroit, Mich., twenty years ago, bringing property of the value of \$1,000. They now own property of the net value of \$7,695. Family No. 2 came from Chicago six years ago with \$1,000 and now own property with a net value of \$2,480. It appears that other employment was necessary for each family until a living could be made from the land, the period of employment varying from two to ten years. Families 7, 8, 9, and 10 have largely increased their holdings of land since the first purchase. Seven families report indebtedness on land, and family No. 1 reports a small amount of other indebtedness. The average value of farm products is in excess of \$1,000 for families 7 and 10 and is \$500 or over for families 6, 8, and 9. With one exception less than 50 per cent of the total value of products raised on each farm are sold.





TABLE 63.—Economic history and present financial condition of

Data reported.	Family 1.	Family 2.	Family 3.	Family 4.
Years in locality:				
Head.....	6.....	6.....	10.....	21.....
Family.....	6.....	6.....	10.....	21.....
Present household size.....	10.....	3.....	10.....	2.....
Number of members 10 years of age or over.....	4.....	2.....	7.....	2.....
Male.....	2.....	1.....	4.....	1.....
Female.....	2.....	1.....	3.....	1.....
Previous location.....	Chicago, Ill.....	Chicago, Ill.....	Milwaukee, Wis.....	Chicago, Ill.....
Previous occupation.....	Industrial laborer.....	Industrial laborer.....	Industrial laborer.....	Industrial laborer.....
Value of property brought to locality.....	\$1,300.....	\$1,000.....	\$900.....	\$900.....
Occupation in locality previous to purchase.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
First land leased.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
First land bought:				
Date.....	1903.....	1903.....	1899.....	1888.....
Number of acres.....	40.....	80.....	80.....	58.....
Price.....	\$1,250.....	\$3,000.....	\$1,200.....	\$522.....
Terms.....	Cash.....	\$2,000 cash; \$ 1,000 mortgage, 6 per cent.	\$700 cash; \$500 mort- gage, 7 per cent.	\$174 cash; balance mortgage.
Condition.....	20 acres cul- tivated; small log house and barn.	40 acres cul- tivated; small house.	3 acres cleared; log house and barn.	All brush land; no buildings.
Occupation until living could be made from land.....	Works win- ters as lum- ber jack.	Section hand on railroad.	Farm la- borer.	Lived from savings.
Number of years.....	6.....	2.....	4.....	3.....
Earnings per day.....	Not reported.	Not reported.	Not reported.	Not reported.
Acres of land now owned.....	40.....	60 <sup>a</sup> .....	80.....	58.....
Acres tillable.....	27.....	50.....	40.....	30.....
Number of apple trees.....	20.....	.....	50.....	.....
Rented land.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
Live stock now owned:				
Cattle.....	5.....	4.....	10.....	12.....
Horses.....	2.....	2.....	2.....	3.....
Sheep.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Swine.....	3.....	7.....	2.....	2.....
Financial condition:				
Value of land and improvements.....	\$1,800.....	\$3,000.....	\$2,500.....	\$2,000.....
Live stock.....	\$301.....	\$260.....	\$340.....	\$580.....
Tools and implements.....	\$30.....	\$70.....	\$100.....	\$100.....
Crops in hand.....	\$150.....	\$100.....	\$275.....	\$225.....
Other property.....	\$30.....	\$50.....	\$75.....	\$50.....
Gross value of all property.....	\$2,311.....	\$3,480.....	\$3,290.....	\$2,955.....
Indebtedness—				
On land.....	.....	\$1,000.....	\$500.....	\$275.....
Other.....	\$30.....	.....	.....	.....
Net value of all property.....	\$2,281.....	\$2,480.....	\$2,790.....	\$2,680.....

## ANNUAL FARM INCOME FROM PRODUCTS

Products.	Produced.		Sold.		Produced.		Sold.	
	Produced.	Sold.	Produced.	Sold.	Produced.	Sold.	Produced.	Sold.
Barley.....			\$4					
Beets.....								
Corn.....	\$8		3		\$54			
Hay.....	36		36		80		\$135	
Oats.....	45		40		98		65	
Peas.....	29		12					
Potatoes.....					20		13	
Rye.....	70		21		49		46	
Wheat.....								
Dairy products.....			70	\$70	150	\$150	105	\$105
Live stock.....	45	\$45	45	45			15	15
Poultry products.....	8	8	15	15	9	9	13	13
Total.....	241	53	246	130	460	159	392	133
Supplementary income.....	(b)		(c)					
Farm expenditures—feed, seed, and forage.....			\$15					

<sup>a</sup>Sold 20 acres.<sup>b</sup>Earnings of head as lumber jack.

certain typical Polish families, Sobieski and Pulaski, Wis.

Family 5.	Family 6.	Family 7.	Family 8.	Family 9.	Family 10.
22.....	13.....	25.....	25.....	15.....	20.....
22.....	12.....	25.....	18.....	15.....	20.....
3.....	10.....	7.....	7.....	6.....	11.....
3.....	7.....	6.....	6.....	5.....	6.....
2.....	5.....	2.....	4.....	3.....	3.....
1.....	2.....	4.....	2.....	2.....	3.....
Highland, Wis..	Illinois.....	Chicago, Ill.....	Chicago, Ill.....	Detroit, Mich..	Detroit, Mich.
Farmer.....	Quarryman.....	Industrial laborer.	Unskilled laborer.	Coachman.....	Unskilled laborer.
\$400.....	\$285.....	\$150.....	\$800.....	\$200.....	\$1,000.....
None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
1887.....	1886.....	1884.....	1884.....	1894.....	1889.....
40.....	60.....	40.....	40.....	80.....	55.....
\$400.....	\$660.....	\$320.....	\$300.....	\$900.....	\$976.....
\$100 cash, \$300 mortgage.	\$185 cash, balance mortgage.	\$100 cash, \$220 mortgage.	Cash.....	\$200 cash, \$700 mortgage.	\$600 cash, \$376 mortgage.
Brush land; no buildings.	Brush land.....	All brush land..	All woods; no buildings.	Brush land....	11 acres cleared; no buildings.
Lumber jack...	Section hand, railroad.	Lumber jack...	Farm laborer...	Lumber jack..	Farm laborer.
10.....	3.....	5.....	8.....	6.....	2.....
Not reported..	Not reported..	Not reported..	Not reported..	Not reported..	Not reported.
40.....	60.....	100.....	77.....	140.....	116.....
38.....	45.....	80.....	40.....	60.....	76.....
None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
9.....	6.....	15.....	10.....	11.....	19.....
2.....	2.....	3.....	2.....	2.....	3.....
6.....	4.....	7.....	14.....	3.....	14.....
\$2,000.....	\$3,500.....	\$6,000.....	\$3,500.....	\$5,000.....	\$6,000.....
\$383.....	\$351.....	\$800.....	\$450.....	\$415.....	\$745.....
\$100.....	\$300.....	\$200.....	\$100.....	\$80.....	\$200.....
\$275.....	\$300.....	\$525.....	\$450.....	\$275.....	\$650.....
\$75.....	\$50.....	\$100.....	\$65.....	\$75.....	\$100.....
\$2,833.....	\$4,501.....	\$7,685.....	\$4,565.....	\$5,845.....	\$7,695.....
\$600.....	None.....	\$2,000.....	\$1,600.....	\$900.....	None.....
\$2,233.....	\$4,501.....	\$5,685.....	\$2,965.....	\$4,945.....	\$7,695.....

SOLD (AVERAGE FOR TWO YEARS).

Produced.	Sold.	Produced.	Sold.	Produced.	Sold.	Produced.	Sold.	Produced.	Sold.	Produced.	Sold.
		\$18		\$110		\$34		\$47		\$45	
		65		45		17		67		67	
\$24		100		60		24		54		90	
100		68	\$6	171		185		20		225	
	\$26	28		240	\$70	84	\$17	160		263	\$175
46		63		35		46				45	
50		43		70		52		39		97	
36								50		61	
80	80	186	186	300	300	168	168	100	\$100	350	350
14	14	132	132	10	10	61	61	25	25	50	50
15	15	6	6	20	20	10	10	5	5	25	25
365	135	709	330	1,061	400	681	256	500	130	1,318	600
			\$40				\$20		\$72		

c Earnings of head as wood chopper.



## CHAPTER X.

### OTHER POLISH RURAL SETTLEMENTS.

#### TEXAS.

During the summer of 1909 several groups of Polish farmers settled in various parts of Texas were visited by agents of the Immigration Commission. The best-known Polish colonies in Texas are found in the counties of Falls, Fayette, Grimes, Karnes, Robertson, Washington, and Wilson.

The first Polish settlement in the United States was made at Panna Maria in 1855. In those early years landowners induced the immigrants to come to the United States by paying their passage. On their arrival the Poles either purchased small farms or rented land on the share of the crop or "cropper" system. To-day about one-half of the Poles own their farms and the others are share tenants, giving one-fourth of the cotton and one-third of the corn crops as rent.

The share tenants believe there is more money in renting, because since they do not practice rotation of crops the fertility of the soil is very seriously exhausted in a few years; when this has taken place they are at liberty to move to another locality.

Cotton is the chief crop, and the Pole usually produces a larger yield per acre and per farm than the American. There are two reasons for this: First. The Pole works hard in the field, while the American cotton growers as a rule employ negroes to do their work. Second. The Polish women and children work as hard as the men, and thus the cooperation of the family aids materially in their success.

While most of the Poles in the colonies visited are legal voters in Texas, it is said that many take little interest in politics, and if they are not strongly urged by the contesting candidates they remain at home on election day to work in the fields. Their houses are neat and comfortably furnished and their standard of living, so far as food and clothing are concerned, is not unlike that of native-born Americans.

Socially they are inclined to be clannish, mingling with the other races but little and very seldom intermarrying. They are a moral people. The storekeepers testify to their strict honesty and economy. Troubles of a serious nature seldom arise and there are few or no confirmed drinkers among them. They adhere to the Roman Catholic faith, and in practically every town where the race is at all numerous a church has been established with a resident priest and parochial school. Comparatively few of their children are found in the public schools.

Wherever the Poles have settled they have benefited the community, for by their thrift and integrity they have raised land values by increasing the productivity of the soil. The children seem inclined

to remain on the farm, and with them rests in part the future of Polish agriculture in Texas. Brief summaries of the Polish communities visited are herewith presented, arranged in alphabetical order.

#### ANDERSON, GRIMES COUNTY.

Anderson is located near the center of Grimes County, on the International and Great Northern Railroad, 11 miles from Navasota. The land for the most part is a sandy loam capable of producing fair crops of cotton, hay, and corn. In the immediate vicinity of the town there are 150 Polish families, numbering about 800 persons.

The first Polish settlers in this section came in 1870. These were induced to leave their Austrian homes by a German Jew of Navasota, who paid their passage. Thirty families came the first year. The next year another group of 15 families arrived, and from that time on new families came in slowly until eight years ago, when the last family arrived. The country merchants encouraged Polish immigration in the hope that the foreigners would stimulate business as well as agriculture. In fact the merchants found employment for the Poles on the farms of the large landowners. The majority of the immigrants were farmers in Austria, though cotton raising was new to them. But after a year's instruction they were able to outdistance their teachers in production per acre. Upon their arrival a few of the Poles were able to purchase unimproved land, then selling for \$5 per acre. Others worked land on shares, and some paid a cash rent. The prosperity of this settlement is reflected in the increasing amount of property reported. Fifty per cent of the Poles now own their farms, 25 per cent rent a small number of acres, paying an average of \$3 per acre per year, and the remaining 25 per cent rent land on a share basis.

The women and children are great workers in the cotton field, and help the men at all seasons. This assists materially in increasing the size of the crops. The cotton is all sold to local buyers in Anderson, who in turn ship it to commission men in the large cities.

The Poles, it is said, are not so clannish as the native-born Germans in the locality. The Germans are all Americanized, but only on matters of business mingle freely with the Americans. Up to the present time none of the Poles and Americans have intermarried, but in few instances the Germans and Poles have done so. The Poles are said to buy more land and better live stock and carriages than the Germans, but as a rule the Germans are more influential in the community. Practically all of the Poles are entitled to vote under the Texas law, and the poll list of Anderson Township enumerates about 175 of that race.

#### MARLIN, FALLS COUNTY.

Falls County is in the Black Prairie Belt of east central Texas. The Houston and Texas Central Railroad and the San Antonio and Aransas Pass Railroad pass through the county, north and south, dividing it into three nearly equal parts. Settlers came into this section in the early fifties, and between 1880 and 1890 agriculture in the county began to develop rapidly. The land along the rivers and creeks was first cultivated, and then the prairies were cut up into

farms. As the cultivated areas increased the grazing lands became limited, and the stockmen had to turn their attention to the raising of crops. Wheat, corn, and cotton were the first crops, but rye, oats, and all varieties of vegetables are grown to some extent. However, cotton is still the chief crop.

Marlin is situated near the center of Falls County on the lines of the International and Great Northern and Houston and Texas Central railroads. The advantage of being on two lines of railroad has greatly helped in building up the town. Marlin's hot springs attract hundreds of visitors each year.

This town is one of the few in Texas whose citizens have made a persistent effort to secure foreign settlers for farms. In 1870 ten families of Poles were induced to leave their homes in Poland and come to Texas to engage in cotton farming. This immigration largely resulted from the efforts of two planters, who wanted to substitute white laborers for negroes on their cotton farms. The Poles, however, were accustomed neither to the climate nor the crop, hence they soon scattered to other localities. In 1877 a Pole named Mike Stiger settled of his own accord in the locality. In 1890 the two planters previously referred to imported another group of Poles, but they were no better satisfied than the first. In 1896 another planter secured ten Polish families from Galveston, but these had no desire to continue raising cotton after the first month in the field. While these efforts to stimulate immigration resulted in failures, there was an increase in the Polish population due to Polish families who moved into the locality after 1880 to purchase farms on what is known as the black prairie land. The resident priest estimates that the Polish families number 65, with a total of 325 persons (August, 1909). The number of Polish families has increased but little for the past few years, although they are coming and going continually.

Seventy per cent of the Poles concerning whom information was secured own their homes and the remainder were tenants for a share of the crop. The Poles aid each other, and if a man desires a farm and is unable to pay cash for it his friends club together to lend him the sum necessary.

Cotton is their chief crop and some of them have become very proficient cotton planters. In addition to cotton every Polish farmer raises enough corn and hay for his own stock and, occasionally has some to sell to his American neighbors. The demand in Marlin for fresh vegetables, eggs, and poultry products is supplied by the Poles, who raise enough not only to supply their own needs but those of the town as well.

The houses owned by the Polish farmers are frame dwellings and compare favorably with those of the native farmers. Their barns and sheds are all in good repair and the crops in the fields are carefully cultivated.

When the Polish settlers first came some prejudice was manifested and perhaps this is one reason why the early importations were not more successful. However, this feeling has passed away and the Poles are now on an equal footing with the Americans, and are liked by all who come in contact with them. They have not only adopted American methods of farming but have grasped American ideas of

life and copied their American neighbors in matters of dress. They are honest, thoroughly reliable, and meet their obligations promptly.

Fifteen years ago land in this vicinity could be purchased for \$15 per acre, but now the price has risen to between \$50 and \$100. This increase has been due not only to the increase in population, but also to the increase in the productivity of the land under Polish care and culture. The Poles are considered the most successful farmers in the community.

There is no separate church for the Poles, but they worship with the other Roman Catholics of the town. The priest is a Swiss by birth and though his congregation is largely Polish, he preaches in their language but once a month. The majority of the Polish children attend the parochial school, which in the fall of 1909 had 80 Polish pupils on its rolls. About 60 of the men are naturalized and as a rule they seem to have a great interest in political matters. On all sides the Polish settlers are praised by the Americans, who report that they have made themselves a desirable asset of the community.

#### PANNA MARIA, KARNES COUNTY.

Panna Maria is located 9 miles northeast of Karnes City, in Karnes County, in the midst of the dry prairie region of the State. This town is interesting as being the site of the oldest Polish settlement in Texas. In 1855 Rev. Leopold Moczygeba, with 20 or 30 Polish families, arrived from Upper Silesia and settled on land near this town. For several years Father Moczygeba had been connected with a line of missions established along the Rio Grande River by the Franciscan monks. In the course of his travels he had met an Irishman who owned a vast acreage of land around Panna Maria, and who suggested the advisability of forming a Polish colony at that point. The priest thought well of it and brought the first colony of Poles to Texas.

The first year the settlers lived in huts built of boughs of trees and such other material as was available. Most of them had been farmers, but a few were stone masons, and by degrees the original huts were replaced with two or four room stone houses. In the same year another group came, but it is impossible to state the exact number of persons composing it. Most of the settlers arrived during the first two years and now the colony numbers but 80 families of about 350 persons. The establishment of the Polish colony at Panna Maria led to the formation of others in the neighborhood. At St. Joe, in the same county, there are now 80 Polish families, in Falls City 75 families, at Cestohowa 60 families, and at Kosciusko, in Wilson County, 75 families of Poles.

The parish of Panna Maria was established in 1855 and the first church was built in 1856. For some years a parochial school has been maintained in which, in the spring of 1909, 135 Polish children were enrolled.

The Poles have abandoned most of their European customs and are becoming fully Americanized except that they have not yet abandoned the use of their native language. Two have married Americans and several have intermarried with the Germans. The Americans report that the Poles are excellent farmers and good busi-



ness men. From the early days of the settlement they have been accustomed to lend each other money, especially for the purchase of land. They are beginning to make use of the banks to some extent and to invest some money in unimproved land.

BREMOND, ROBERTSON COUNTY.

Bremond is located in the northwestern part of Robertson County, on the Houston and Texas Central Railroad. There are 360 Polish families in this locality, numbering about 2,000 persons. The majority of them are engaged in agriculture, though there are a few Polish merchants in Bremond. Numerically this is the largest Polish parish in Texas.

The first Pole to settle in this town came in 1873. On his way to his brother's farm he passed through Bremond and was favorably impressed with the surroundings. He purchased a farm there, and the following year induced 7 families to come from Poland to Texas and settle at Bremond. In 1877, 35 families were in the locality, and they built their first church. This little group were so prosperous and harvested such excellent crops that they attracted the attention of a large landowner of the section, who employed the pioneer settler to return to his own country to persuade more of his fellow-countrymen to immigrate to Texas. He made the first trip in 1881, followed a few years later by a second, with the result that 40 or 50 settlers were induced to come. Once started, it was an easy matter to keep up the immigration. The greater part of the immigrants in this locality came from Galicia and Prussia, while a few came from Russian Poland. Twenty-five families have settled in the town, direct from Europe, in the past five years, and this seems to be one of the few agricultural communities in Texas that is at present receiving immigrants direct from their native land.

Part of the foreign population is somewhat migratory. After remaining in the locality for a few years they move to another town and become tenants again. Five years ago 20 tenant families moved to Oklahoma. That is the largest group that has moved away at any time. A few Poles have moved in from other localities, and a few have come from the stone quarries of Connecticut and purchased homes in Texas, but the majority came immediately from Europe.

The farms they own vary in area from 40 to 300 acres, though the average size is about 100 acres. A large part of the land is tillable and is capable of producing good yields of cotton. Corn is grown to some extent, as are all varieties of vegetables necessary for home consumption. A number of the larger property owners rent their land to other Poles on shares.

The dwellings are for the most part wooden structures of two, four, or six rooms. They are rather plain in appearance, some being painted and others whitewashed. The farm buildings are small, though large enough to accommodate all the live stock that is found on the farms. The cotton raised is either taken to the crossroad gin or into Bremond for sale. The Poles usually come into town every Saturday, if the crops permit, bringing vegetables, eggs, poultry, and butter, which they sell to the townspeople for cash or exchange with the storekeepers for merchandise.

Of the Polish farmers interviewed about 40 per cent own their farms; the others are share tenants. Here, as in a few of the other foreign communities, the desire to help each other financially is strongly manifested. The banks are only used by the most prosperous, who seldom have large amounts deposited. Fifteen years ago land near towns sold for \$10 per acre, but now it has more than doubled and in some instances trebled in value. In this locality a few of the immigrants have entered the mercantile business, and in Bremond four general stores and three saloons are owned by men of this race. As a rule the Poles patronize members of their own race, going to an American merchant only when they can not get what they desire at a Polish store.

In the matter of clothing the Poles have rapidly become Americanized. Only the recent arrivals cling to the dress of their native land. The houses are furnished in sufficient comfort to satisfy their own needs.

The women think it no disgrace to work barefooted in the cotton field, chopping or hoeing the cotton crop. Children of all ages are seen in the field at cotton-picking time.

The Poles in this locality have developed little social life. Sundays are practically the only days when they seem to give a thought to amusement or recreation, although the observance of fast days, a wedding, or a christening calls for a relaxation from work. The Poles apparently care very little about associating with the Americans. They mingle with them when necessary, but mostly in the way of business, for although they have adopted many American ways and customs they have not progressed enough to entirely break down the prejudice that exists among some of their American neighbors.

In the spring of 1909 a new Catholic Church, costing the Polish congregation \$35,000, was dedicated. A parochial school had but 76 Polish children enrolled in the fall of 1909. It is open but seven months in the year as the attendance is very small. The Poles in this settlement seem to prefer to educate their children on the farm and they hold that any other education is unnecessary.

Many of the Poles have their full naturalization papers, and they are estimated to poll a vote of 500. Considerable complaint is made that the Polish vote is easily controlled. The Poles have improved greatly in general morality since their first appearance in Bremond. At one time, it is said, the women were accustomed to drink at a public bar the same as the men, and even appeared on the streets in an intoxicated condition. In this regard a marked change has taken place, and Poles are seldom seen under the influence of liquor. They are honest and faithful in paying their debts, and only borrow money under dire necessity. They are hard workers, and the only criticisms the Americans have to offer is based on their clannishness.

#### CHAPEL HILL, WASHINGTON COUNTY.

In the southeastern part of Washington County, 12 miles east of Brenham, is the Polish town of Chapel Hill. Some years ago, after the first settlers had come in, the Houston and Texas Central Railroad was built and the railroad station was located about half a mile from the town, which now contains 10 stores, a large cotton gin and

warehouse. The Poles control the town and own practically all the land in the locality. The farms are located around the town in every direction.

In 1875 three Poles settled in the town. Soon after 1880 three American business men owning property in the locality sent tickets to the relatives of these early settlers, that they, too, might come to Texas. In the course of time 20 families came. They were taught the cultivation of cotton, and were soon able to pay the money advanced for their tickets. The colony now numbers 120 families, or over 600 persons. A great majority of the families have come from other parts of Texas and from the Northern States. Only a few aside from the first families were imported directly from the old country. The colony is growing slowly. Twenty-five new families have moved in from other localities within the past five years, and the prospect for growth is good as land is available and markets are near at hand. Forty per cent of the Poles here own their farms. The rest are tenants paying a share rent. Cotton is the money crop, hay and corn being grown in sufficient quantities to furnish feed for all live stock that is kept. The cotton is sold in Chapel Hill or in Brenham, ten miles distant.

In the town of Chapel Hill there are 4 American families and 2 German families, the others being Poles. The Poles have little opportunity to associate with the Americans, but they often serve on the juries with them. The Americans, owing probably to their limited number, exert little influence on the Poles, but the Poles have been quick to grasp and seize the American ideas.

The Catholic Church in town has been built 11 years and the Poles are regular attendants. The priest has charge of the parochial school, in which 100 pupils were enrolled in 1909.

The Polish people in this locality have created a favorable impression, have a reputation for being very industrious, and have been very successful in the cultivation of the crops grown here.

#### BREHAM, WASHINGTON COUNTY.

Brenham, in the southern part of Washington County, is the county seat. Beginning 2 miles from town, and extending for 8 miles, are found 200 Polish farms, supporting 1,000 people. The first Poles came to this locality in 1875, moving eastward from the Polish colony at Chapel Hill. Only a few have moved in directly from abroad, the majority having migrated from other localities in Texas.

About 40 per cent of the Poles in this locality own their farms. The others believe that they can make more money by renting land than by purchasing at \$30 to \$50 per acre. Here, as in other localities, the Poles by their thrift and energy have greatly increased the value of land since their coming.

#### MARCHE, ARKANSAS.

Near the small flag station of Marche, Arkansas, 16 miles northwest of Little Rock, are located 60 Polish agricultural families, with a total of nearly 300 persons.

The first Polish settlers came into the locality about 1877, and during the three years following other families arrived. They set-

tled on railroad land which at that time was selling at from \$3 to \$6 per acre. Many of the first settlers were able to pay cash, and others purchased on easy terms, a small amount being required at the time of purchase, while the remainder was payable in one, two, or three years, with 6 or 8 per cent interest.

The settlers came from various parts of the United States and many occupations were represented among them. One of the first came from a cotton mill in Massachusetts, and a few migrated from Pennsylvania, while Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Illinois contributed a considerable number.

The land was not fertile, stones and trees covered the surface, and these had to be removed before crops could be grown, and in several cases the settlers became discouraged and deserted the colony within a short time. About the year 1890 a considerable group migrated to Oklahoma. At one time, when the colony was at its largest, it numbered 100 families, but now it has dwindled to 60 families, and the last family moved into the locality in 1903, coming directly from abroad.

The soil in the locality is composed of sand mixed with a large proportion of stones and gravel. The land on the hills washes badly and as a whole is not of great fertility.

The farms average about 80 acres although some are larger—160 acres—and a few are only 40 acres. The Polish farms are all somewhat remote from the railroad station, the nearest being about three miles distant. There are no groups of farms or farm-houses in the colony, the Polish settlers being scattered along several highways. In fact in most cases the houses are so isolated and the country is so wooded and hilly that it is impossible to even see one house from another. The land was originally covered with heavy timber and the settlers experienced great difficulty in clearing and preparing it for cultivation. Cotton is now raised to some extent and is the chief money crop. The average yield in the vicinity is from one-fourth to one-half bale per acre. Corn and hay are raised in large enough quantities to feed the live stock. Every farmer has a garden near the house in which vegetables of many varieties are raised, mostly for home use, although small quantities are sold.

Every farmer has one or more cows, and some dairy products are sold, while some families have an income of from \$50 to \$100 a year from their poultry.

The houses, for the most part constructed of hewn oak logs, are small one-story buildings, built in two parts, with a roofed-over passageway between. They were erected by the settlers. As a rule the houses are whitewashed both inside and out and are kept in a neat condition, especially when it is considered that the majority of the women and children spend more time in the fields cultivating the crops than they do in the houses. Near the house are ordinarily one or two outbuildings, used as storehouses, and in some instances as dairy rooms. The barns are small, but sufficient to shelter such live stock as is found on the farm. Attached to one or both sides of the barn is a small shed, for sheltering farm wagons and such machinery and implements as the farmer may possess. On most farms the land is fenced.

The roads are of the poorest type, many of them being simply a clearing in the woods; sharp ledges and large bowlders are frequently found in the middle of roads. These poor roads undoubtedly retard the growth of the colony as they hamper the marketing of crops.

All the Poles own their farms, some having small indebtedness, but by far the larger number own their property entirely free from debt. By clearing the land and building houses they have increased the valuations of their property so that the farms which were originally purchased for \$5 or \$6 an acre are now valued at from \$20 to \$30 per acre. As a rule the surplus income of these farmers has been invested in improvements, although some are known to have accounts in the savings banks of the city. Almost every farmer owns a horse or mule, and sometimes as many as six are found on one farm. Very little money is invested in farm implements or house furniture.

During the early days of the colony some of the men found work in the fields as farm laborers, others worked in the woods, lumbering, but at present the opportunity for outside employment in the immediate vicinity of the town is small. Farm laborers are in demand only for part of the year. The nearest place where other than farm work is available is Little Rock.

Situated as the settlers are, away from everyone else, they have little opportunity to excite race prejudice among the natives. They necessarily depend on themselves for all amusements and social undertakings. A Roman Catholic Church with a rectory near by was built some years ago. The colony supports a resident priest. There is also a parochial school which in 1909 had an enrollment of 50 pupils. There are in the settlement 75 men, 21 years of age or over, and about two-thirds of them are voters.

It may fairly be said that the future of the colony is problematical. Few new families are added to it and it is said that the majority of the children are dissatisfied with the locality and that many have married and moved elsewhere.

#### STATISTICAL DATA FOR SELECTED FAMILIES.

The following table shows the economic history and present financial condition of six typical families. All the families have been in the locality at least twenty years:

TABLE 64.—*Economic history and present financial condition of certain typical Polish families, Marche, Ark.*

Data reported.	Family 1.	Family 2.	Family 3.	Family 4.	Family 5.	Family 6.
Years in locality:						
Head.....	32.....	29.....	29.....	28.....	28.....	20.....
Family.....	32.....	27.....	29.....	28.....	28.....	20.....
Present household size.....	2.....	8.....	5.....	10.....	2.....	6.....
Number of members 10 years or over:						
Male.....	2.....	5.....	5.....	7.....	2.....	5.....
Female.....	1.....	2.....	2.....	6.....	1.....	2.....
Total.....	1.....	3.....	3.....	1.....	1.....	3.....
Previous location.....	Massachusetts.	Michigan..	Arkansas..	Michigan..	Austria..	Illinois.
Previous occupation.....	Weaver in cotton mill.	Laborer in foundry.	Cutting cord wood.	Laborer in plate mill.	Farmer...	Laborer in lumber yard.
Value of property brought to the locality.	\$40.....	\$100.....	\$50.....	\$500.....	\$40.....	\$30.....

TABLE 64.—*Economic history and present financial condition of certain typical Polish families, Marche, Ark.—Continued.*

Data reported.	Family 1.	Family 2.	Family 3.	Family 4.	Family 5.	Family 6.
Occupation in locality previous to purchase:	None.....	Farm laborer.	Cutting cord wood.	None.....	Cutting cord wood.	Railroad hand.
Wages per week:	.....	\$2.50 and keep.	\$6.....	.....	\$6.....	\$9.
Years employed	.....	2.....	1.....	.....	1.....	3.
First land bought:						
Date.....	1877.....	1882.....	1881.....	1881.....	1882.....	1892.....
Number of acres.....	80.....	40.....	40.....	80.....	80.....	House lot.
Price.....	11 o m e - s t e a d .	\$300.....	\$200.....	\$240.....	\$75.....	\$300.
Terms.....	.....	\$130 cash, balance in 1 year, 8 p e r c e n t .	\$25 cash, balance on time.	Cash.....	Cash.....	Cash.
Condition.....	Land all untilla- ble.	Land all untilla- ble.	Land all untilla- ble.	Old house, b a r n s t o c k ; 10 a c r e s c l e a r e d .	Land all untilla- ble.	N o i m - p r o v e - m e n t s .
Occupation until living could be made from land:	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	Railroad hand.
Number of years.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3.
Earnings per day.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	N o t r e - p o r t e d .
Acres of land now owned	40.....	120.....	120.....	80.....	120.....	60 plus house lot.
Acres tillable.....	39.....	50.....	50.....	40.....	40.....	50.
Rented land.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.
Live stock now owned:						
Cattle.....	2.....	6.....	6.....	4.....	2.....	3.
Horses.....	.....	3.....	1.....	1.....	.....	2.
Mules.....	.....	.....	1.....	2.....	1.....	.....
Financial condition:						
Value of land and im- provements.....	\$1,000.....	\$2,500.....	\$2,500.....	\$1,500.....	\$1,000.....	\$2,500.
Live stock.....	\$50.....	\$520.....	\$350.....	\$275.....	\$200.....	\$275.
Tools and implements.....	\$25.....	\$75.....	\$50.....	\$50.....	\$50.....	\$75.
Other property.....	\$25.....	\$100.....	\$100.....	\$50.....	\$100.....	\$50.
Gross value of all property.....	\$1,100.....	\$3,195.....	\$3,000.....	\$1,875.....	\$1,350.....	\$2,900.
Indebtedness.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.
Net value of all property.....	\$1,100.....	\$3,195.....	\$3,000.....	\$1,875.....	\$1,350.....	\$2,900.

## ANNUAL FARM INCOME FROM PRODUCTS SOLD (AVERAGE FOR 2 YEARS).

Cotton.....	\$50	\$375	\$525	\$425	\$180	\$225
Corn and hay.....	a 40	a 450	a 100	a 200	100	113
Potatoes.....	.....	25	.....	.....	.....	24
Dairy products.....	.....	13	.....	.....	.....	.....
Poultry products.....	.....	50	50	25	.....	.....
Total.....	90	913	675	650	280	362

\* Produced but not sold.

## CLOVER BOTTOM, MISSOURI.

Clover Bottom is located in the north central part of Washington County, Mo., 9 miles northwest of Union and the same distance southwest from Washington. Germans and Poles are the two races which predominate in the locality, and although the Poles came into the locality first the Germans outnumber them at the present time.

In the early fifties a few colonies of Polish settlers were to be found in Illinois and Texas, but it is said that because the lack of any established place of worship several of the families became dissatisfied and decided to migrate to some place where there was a church. The Germans had founded colonies all along the Missouri River as

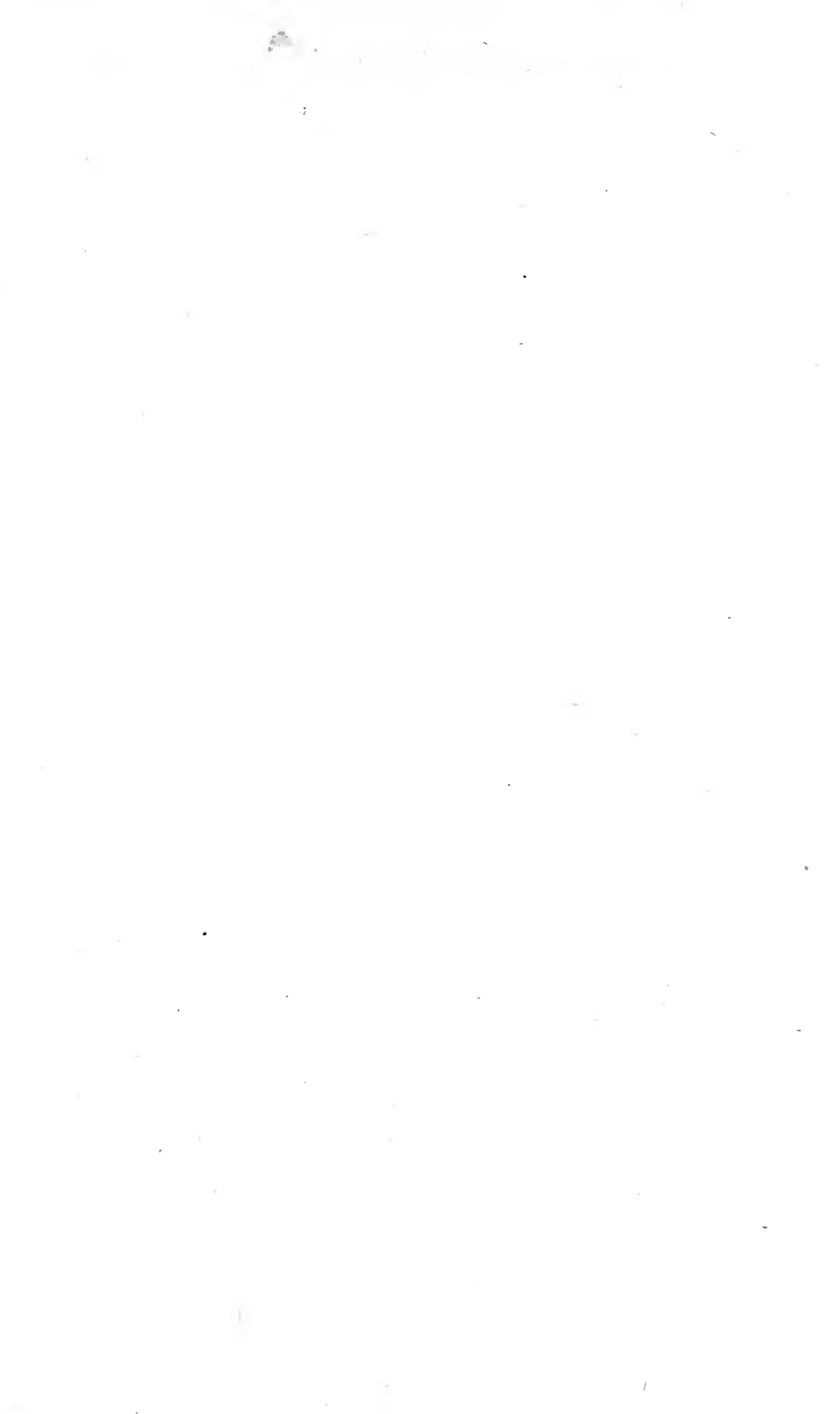
early as 1833, but they did not come to the vicinity of Clover Bottom till the early sixties. In 1859 four Polish families moved to the locality from Pike County, Ill., and in the same year three families arrived from Texas. At that time practically all of the land was covered with woods and brush. The land was all held by a single individual. Six dollars an acre was charged, and as the immigrants came with little ready cash, the owner sold any number of acres that they wished, receiving a small amount down and the rest on time at a low rate of interest. The next year eight families came from Texas and nine from Russian Poland, having received encouraging reports from their relatives who had settled there the year before. There are now thirty-six Polish families in the settlements, numbering 200 people. The last family came from Poland twenty years ago, and only two of the original settlers are now alive, the present population consisting largely of children of the settlers. At present there is little to attract people to the locality, as better land is to be had in other parts of the State.

After these settlers had cut down the trees and burnt out the stumps, they found that they had settled on a very inferior type of soil, which time has not improved. The land on the hilltops is infertile and the top soil is worn very thin. Wheat grows fairly well on this soil, and in the bottoms corn can be grown successfully, but on the whole the farms in this area are not very productive. The Poles, however, own good houses and are as prosperous as any other farmers in the vicinity.

The thirty-six families all own their farms, the average farm being 80 acres in area. Wheat and corn are the chief crops, and these Polish farmers raise crops that compare favorably with those raised by any of the neighboring farmers.

A Roman Catholic church was built several years ago, and weekly services are conducted by a priest from Washington. A parochial school is maintained, and in the fall of 1909 twenty-seven Polish and thirty-three German pupils were enrolled.

Krakow, which is a little southeast of Clover Bottom, at one time had a flourishing settlement of Poles, but they have moved away, selling their land to the Germans, so that now only three Polish families remain. The failure of this colony is attributed to the poor quality of the land. Owensville, in Gasconade County, the county adjoining Franklin on the west, has a flourishing Polish settlement of 22 families, and a few from Franklin County have moved there, as the land is cheaper and equally as good. These three small towns, containing a total of 61 families, illustrate the agricultural achievements of people on poor land and without a large expenditure of money. Their farming has been successful, their crops fair, and, in all, they represent a type of farmer who by hard work have attained moderate success under difficulties.





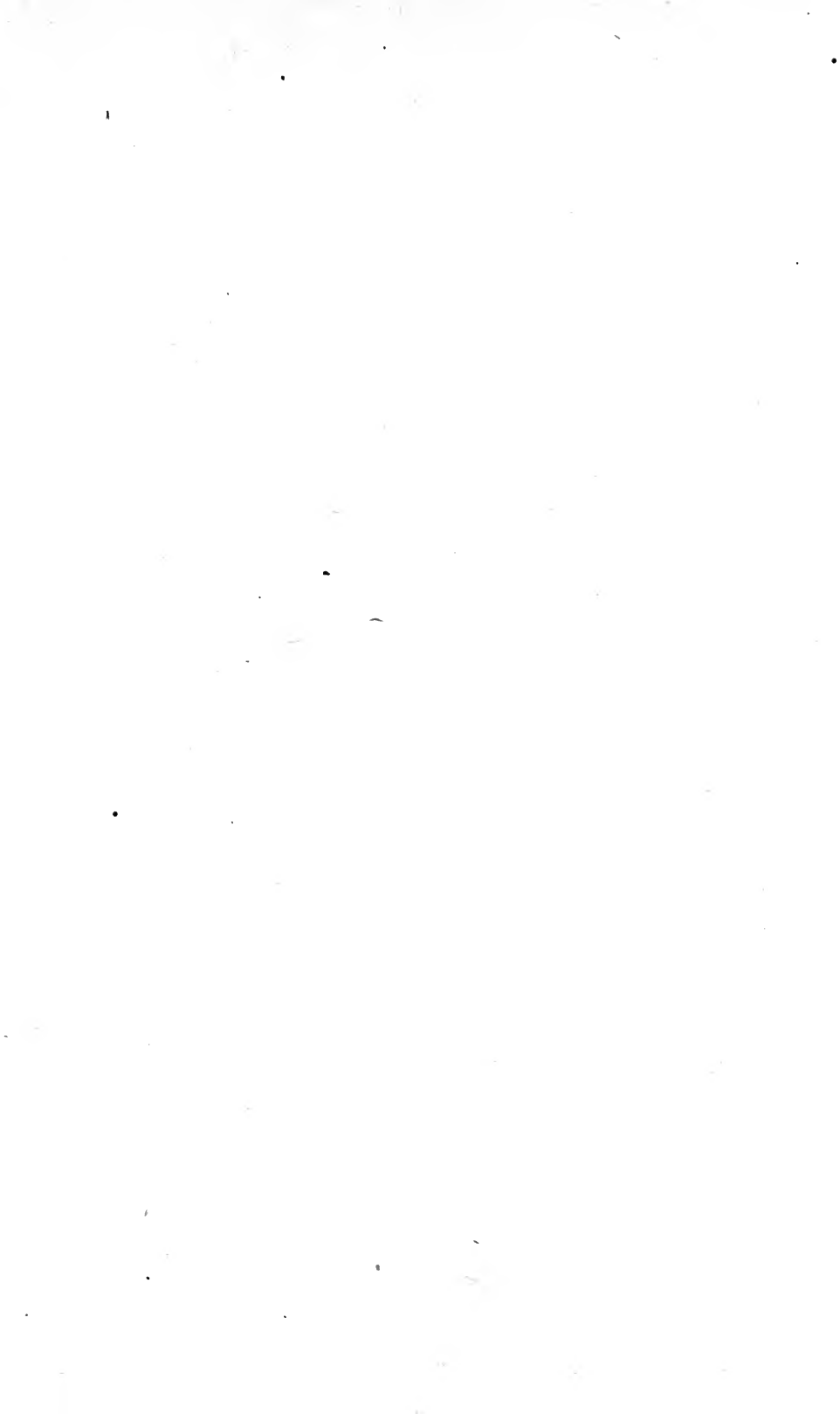
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PART V.—BOHEMIANS AND OTHER RACES.

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## CHAPTER I.

### BOHEMIANS AND OTHER RACES IN AGRICULTURE: GENERAL SURVEY.

#### BOHEMIANS.

The Commission's investigation of Bohemians in agriculture was confined to a detailed study of a small group of more or less scattered families on the Connecticut highland and a rather general survey of the large and flourishing Bohemian communities in Texas. Bohemian families are also found in large numbers in the States of the upper Mississippi valley and in Nebraska, but the Commission's original plan to study some of the latter communities could not be carried out.

In general, however, it may be said that the Bohemian farmers in the West are carrying on a diversified agriculture, frequently on a large scale, that they are thoroughly imbued with the progressive spirit of the West, stand on the same social and economic plane as the better farmers in the community of whatever race, and in the second generation are no longer "foreign." They are regarded by their neighbors in the same light as the German and Scandinavian farmers and educationally and socially are invariably placed above any of the other Slavic races.

The Twelfth Census figures on occupations showed 71,389 Bohemian male breadwinners of the first generation and 32,707 of the second engaged in gainful occupations. It should be explained that the census classification refers to persons "born in Bohemia," and undoubtedly the figures given include some, who, although born in that Province, are not Bohemians by race. On the other hand there undoubtedly are in the United States some Bohemians who were not born in Bohemia. Of the number mentioned above 32 per cent of the first and nearly 43 per cent of the second generation were engaged in agriculture. These percentages are large and bear witness to the distinctively agricultural character of the Bohemian population; taken together, more than 35 per cent of all breadwinners of Bohemian origin were agriculturists in 1900. The high percentage of farmers, 25.8 per cent of the first generation, is noteworthy; only the Norwegians, with 27 per cent, and the Danes, with 30.6 per cent, showing a higher proportion. In the second generation the percentage of farmers falls off to 15.5 per cent, which is about on a par with the percentage of Anglo-Saxon and German farmers of the second generation. The percentage of farm laborers among the foreign-born Bohemians was low—but 6.2 per cent.

Of the second generation more than twice as many farm laborers were enumerated, the percentage rising from 6.2 per cent to 27.3 cent. This is partly explained by the fact that the foreign-born Bohemians who go to the country very soon buy or lease land and,

further, that the farm laborers enumerated were frequently children on their fathers' farms. It is true, however, that, like the Poles, many native-born Bohemian boys work on neighboring farms during the summer instead of going to the cities to seek employment.

In the table below an attempt is made to show the distribution of Bohemians in the States where the greatest number of farmers and farm laborers of that race have settled. The concentration of Bohemian farmers in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, and Texas is very evident, not far from four-fifths of the 18,094 farmers of the first generation in the United States being found in those States. Nebraska leads with one-fifth of all Bohemian farmers of the first generation, Texas follows with one-sixth. In the second generation there has been a falling off in the percentage distribution of farmers in a number of States, but Iowa shows a decided increase, from 12.1 per cent in the first to 20.5 per cent in the second generation. This is probably a legitimate increase, representing a movement of Bohemian young men to that State. The increased number of farm laborers among the native-born has been noted; the enumeration showed nearly four-fifths almost equally distributed among the five States above mentioned in 1900. Canadian statistics of immigration for the last five years report a well-defined migration of farmers from the Prairie States to Canada, and local Canadian agents mention Bohemians and other foreigners in the movement. It does not appear, however, that the movement of Bohemians to Canada has assumed significant proportions.

TABLE 1.—*Geographical distribution of farmers and agricultural laborers of Bohemian parentage by States specified, 1900.*

[Compiled from Occupations the First and Second Generations of Immigrants in the United States. Reports of the Immigration Commission, Vol. 28.]

State.	First generation.				Second generation.			
	Farmers.		Agricultural laborers.		Farmers, planters, overseers, etc.		Agricultural laborers.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
United States.....	18,094	100.0	4,428	100.0	4,961	100.0	8,928	100.0
States specified.....	16,985	93.9	3,978	89.8	4,689	94.5	8,370	93.8
Nebraska.....	3,684	20.4	933	21.1	793	16.0	1,583	17.7
Texas.....	2,999	16.6	818	18.5	538	10.8	1,328	14.9
Wisconsin.....	2,751	15.2	479	10.8	865	17.4	1,331	14.9
Minnesota.....	2,462	13.6	648	14.6	640	12.9	1,411	15.8
Iowa.....	2,197	12.1	457	10.3	1,017	20.5	1,378	15.4
Kansas.....	1,019	5.6	205	4.6	384	7.7	523	5.9
South Dakota.....	774	4.3	145	3.3	225	4.5	429	4.8
North Dakota.....	476	2.6	183	4.1	92	1.9	176	2.0
Oklahoma.....	425	2.3	70	1.6	73	1.5	110	1.2
Michigan.....	198	1.1	40	.9	62	1.2	101	1.1
All other States.....	1,109	6.1	450	10.2	2,727	5.5	558	6.3

It is seen that in 1900 Texas reported 2,999 Bohemian farmers of the first generation and 538 of the second generation, including more than 15 per cent of all Bohemian (male) farmers in the United States. In 1909 agents of the Commission visited 30 Bohemian settlements in 12 counties of Texas and estimated in the settlements visited 3,269

Bohemian farm families, including a few families who live in small rural villages. There are several other Bohemian rural settlements in the State, but those visited contain the bulk of the Bohemian farmers in the Southwest. The earliest settlements in Texas were made in Fayette County early in the fifties, where there are now 9 townships that report groups of Bohemians on farms. The establishment of colonies or settlements continued through the seventies and up to 1885. In the counties visited only three settlements of recent establishment were found, 1898, 1906, and 1909, respectively; all three are small communities, the largest having a population of 30 families, and all are in the most southerly counties, in the Brownsville trucking district.

None of the Texas colonies are large, the most populous being one of 400 families in McLennan county. In all the colonies there are farmers who came to Texas with their parents when small children; there are also young farmers of the second generation. The settlements are now growing from within, and so thoroughly American are most of them that no one speaks of these farmers as "foreigners" or immigrants. Since 1890 the influx of immigrants from abroad to the older settlements has been small. There has, however, been an increased Bohemian immigration to Texas since 1905. The breaking up of large cattle ranches has put many acres of fertile land on the market in small tracts, and foreigners of several races have taken advantage of the opportunity to purchase farms. Just how many Bohemians have purchased land or become tenant farmers within the last decade there is no ready means of ascertaining, but immigrant agents, Bohemian periodicals, and farm papers speak of numbers of Bohemians and some Poles coming into Texas recently. The Bohemians now settling, not only in Texas but in other States, are men with more money than the arrivals of three decades or more ago. They need more capital to start with but they are more immediately successful than those who came when the whole Southwest was wild and untilled.

The Texas Bohemians have engaged in several lines of agriculture, but nearly all have had something to do with cotton raising. In contrast to the native Texans, the Bohemians, like the Germans and Poles, raise sufficient produce on their cotton farms to sustain their families and their work stock, and by this means lessen their store accounts. As is usual in cotton districts tenancy is common in almost all settlements. Among the Bohemians three classes of farmers are tenants on cotton farms: (1) The recent arrivals in the locality who have not sufficient money to buy land; (2) the young men of the second generation who either live at home with their parents and rent small acreages of cotton land, or young farmers who are launching out for themselves. Both these classes are tenants temporarily only, and intend to purchase farms as soon as sufficient money has been accumulated. If the crops are poor, cotton low, or land high in price, it may be several years before the farmer emerges from the tenant class; (3) there are a number of permanent tenants, or perhaps "croppers"—the marginal farmers, who because of lack of thrift or skill or ambition, do not rise to the owning class. The tenants are sometimes migratory, moving from one farm to another in the neighborhood or from one neighborhood to another in the hope of finding

better land or securing more favorable terms of tenure. This class comprises a small percentage of the total farm operators. There may be some few permanent tenants of the better sort who believe it more profitable to remain tenants than to buy land, but the larger number may be classified as above.

In the Bohemian communities in rural Texas there is noticeable an almost inevitable shift that takes place in the rural population when old improved land, valued at high rates, is situated within migrating distance of equally fertile wild land on sale at a low price. The movement of Bohemians to lands in the northern, western, or southern parts of Texas is a significant illustration of this population shift. The old settlers are selling out at good prices and buying more land elsewhere. Frequently the children move with them. Sometimes they move in groups, sometimes singly, but they are likely to settle in groups in the "Panhandle" or in western Texas and start a new Bohemian town. These movers are well-to-do practical farmers and will make progress much more rapidly than they did when they came direct from Bohemia and settled on their first purchases. The Bohemian is thoroughly respected as a farmer. Perhaps he rises socially less rapidly than his German neighbor—for the Germans who early settled on Texas farms were superior men—but he stands very well commercially and as a citizen and farmer. That the second generation is assimilating rapidly is indicated by the intermarriages, which are now becoming rather frequent occurrences, not only between the Germans and Bohemians, but also between the Bohemians and native Americans. The Bohemians are faithful supporters of schools and churches; very few are illiterate; almost none of the second generation over 10 years of age are unable to read and write English. The young women are teachers in the schools and the young men not on farms engage largely in clerical pursuits, for except on farms there are few Bohemian manual laborers.

The aspect of a Bohemian agricultural community is usually prepossessing. Nearly all the land—and the Bohemians own some of the finest black, waxy soil in Texas—is in cultivation; grain, hay, and pasture fields are interspersed with cotton areas; many of the farms are fenced, and the farmhouses and outbuildings that line the roads look neat, well built, and comfortable. In some places, where the boll weevil has ravaged the cotton fields for years, there is discouragement, but the Bohemians are among the first to substitute a still more diversified agriculture for the one-crop cotton system, which they had already modified to some extent. More than this, they are beginning to combat the weevil successfully with careful, early cultivation and quick-maturing plants.

It is of interest that most of the Bohemians in Texas have continued to be farmers. Some small towns have grown up in the midst of the settlements, but the number of industries or commercial enterprises in which Bohemians engage is few. The grocery store, saloon, cotton gin, blacksmith shop, and grist mill are likely to be the principal Bohemian enterprises in the foreign colonies later described. The old settlers remain farmers and the young are moving away much less commonly than the native-born of most foreign rural communities. The aggregate of incumbrances on Bohemian farms is not large. Probably a large majority of the farmers have been out of

debt for many years. They are likely to invest their savings in additional land or improvements on the old farm. The state banks, numerous throughout the black-soil belt of Texas, have many Bohemian depositors. Many, too, are lending money to their neighbors, a practice common in prosperous western farm neighborhoods. Financially the Bohemians have a good rating among business men and bankers.

As previously stated, none of the Bohemian farm settlements in Nebraska were included in the Commission's investigations. Reports from various sources, however, assert that there are no better, more intelligent, or more prosperous farmers in Nebraska than the Bohemians. There is still a small influx of immigrants to that State, but the greater growth is apparently from within the colonies established some decades ago. In certain large groups Americanization has been so complete that scarcely a distinctively foreign characteristic is to be found.

#### BOHEMIANS IN THE EAST.

The account of the Bohemians and Slovaks on the Connecticut hills deals with the financial problems and the conditions of agriculture among immigrant settlers on the worn-out ridges east of the Connecticut River. Most of the Bohemians here typify the movement of foreigners from industrial establishments, where they have been able to save a little capital, to the rural districts. If they have remained in the cities long enough to get in touch with the currents of American life and thought, to learn something of the English language, of business and of industry, but not long enough to become so attached to the life of the city that there will always be a harking back and a longing for the urban comforts left behind, then the period of industrial labor which fills in the hiatus between the arrival of the immigrant in America and the comparative isolation on a farm is valuable; otherwise, the term in industry is likely to disqualify the foreigner for rural life. In any event, the comparatively few Bohemians in Connecticut are doing as well as can be expected on the infertile (worn out) soil on which they are settled. The immigrants who have settled in this locality were led to do so by advertisements in Bohemian papers and the solicitation of real-estate agents. They have come singly or by twos and threes within a few years. Naturally the settlement of a first farmer serves as a nucleus around which others gather. The settlement of a few foreigners gives the real-estate dealer a talking point, and he finds it easy to sell farms lying near the land owned by the purchasers' countrymen.

The salient facts presented below are not reassuring; the farmers who furnished them were not optimistic. They can scarcely be called pioneers, for they are buying old homesteads on traveled roads not far from small villages, within easy communication of large cities, and but a few miles from a railroad. The city resident buying a country estate would select just such a location. But in respect of quality of land and ability to develop a self-sufficing agriculture, the pioneer on virgin soil is more favorably situated. The obstacles to successful agriculture on these old New England farms are several—the necessity of feeding the soil before it will produce, the small acreage adapted to cultivated crops, the necessity of raising a specialized

commercial crop in order to supply money for current expenses, and the practical impossibility of raising and marketing such a crop with profit owing both to inadequacy of marketing facilities and to lack of the requisite knowledge and skill necessary to produce such crops. There is much discouragement in the outlook; there have been some desertions, and there are few but real-estate speculators who are prospering. Some of the conditions are inevitable, but there are other obstacles, such as the exploitation of the newcomer by real-estate agents, buying of unimproved but untimbered tracts, settlement in locations remote from villages and railroads, and ignorance of intensive methods of culture that might have been avoided and probably will be by later arrivals. Agricultural knowledge can be and will be acquired, but it will take a long time to overcome the very grave handicap of a poor natural location.

These Bohemians seemed to be unusually capable, but most of them were credulous and knew little of land values except real-estate prices in New York City. Many of them bought land from their own countrymen and were unsuspecting of fraud. Most paid a large percentage of the purchase price in cash and moved at once, the "stock and tools" procured with the farm being the incentive to an immediate removal to the farms. Few found it possible to make a living at once, and many still supplement their incomes by industrial earnings. The Bohemians sustain an excellent reputation both as neighbors and as farmers. They are intelligent and, in general, ambitious. If they once succeed in getting a foothold on the soil and begin to enjoy prosperity there is little doubt that they will prove a valuable accretion to the rural population of Connecticut. But the chances are not in favor of success in agriculture in the localities where they have settled. There are too many obstacles to contend with and too great permanently adverse physical conditions. All in all, few rural colonies were visited whose members appeared more intelligent or more prosperous than some of the Bohemian communities in Texas. In the Northwest—Wisconsin, for instance—Bohemians are reputed to be on a par with the average farmers of any race of the same generation farming under similar conditions. The old settlements in Wisconsin have attained a high state of prosperity.

#### THE SLOVAKS.

There are a few Slovak farmers in New England, a very small number in Pennsylvania and Virginia, a colony of 50 families in Arkansas, and perhaps a few small scattered groups in other States, but the aggregate is not large. Popular reports of the presence of large numbers of Slovak farmers are apparently greatly exaggerated. The Slovaks seem to be industrial laborers rather than farmers. In a general way they differ little from the Polish rural settlers. The account of the 50 farm families at Slovaktown, near Stuttgart, Ark., presented elsewhere,<sup>a</sup> deals rather summarily with the conditions of agriculture there, and is probably typical of Slovak farmers elsewhere.

There seems to be little movement of Slovaks either directly from abroad or from industrial pursuits to agriculture. The Slovaks in

<sup>a</sup> See p. 425.



Connecticut do not compare favorably with the Bohemians, but their settlement in that State was begun very recently and can not fairly be contrasted with either Bohemian or native New England agriculture. All of those interviewed in Connecticut had been engaged in some form of day labor immediately previous to settlement in the rural community. The account of Slovaktown, Ark., tells that a whole group was recruited by a colonization company from the coal mines of Illinois and Pennsylvania. The colony is but fifteen years old, and while the settlement is to all appearances successful, very few additions have been made in recent years. The comparative isolation of the colony may have had an adverse influence on its development. This is the only colony of Slovaks of any importance in the States visited by agents of the Commission.

#### MAGYARS.

Only two groups of Magyar farmers were found—one settlement of five or six families in New York, where they have just begun to establish themselves, and a few families in Louisiana. Here and there a Magyar farmer is found in a Polish settlement, and not infrequently a Lithuanian, Slovak, Russian, or Hungarian moves into a farming section with a group of Polish farmers. The few members of these races soon become lost in the general mass of Poles, by which name they are likely to be known. The Magyars are not engaging in agriculture to any extent east of the Mississippi River.

#### JAPANESE.

The discussion of the Japanese in Texas comprehends practically the entire number of that race engaged in agriculture in that State. The Commission's report on Japanese and other immigrant races in the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain States<sup>a</sup> deals in detail with the character of their agriculture west of the Rocky Mountains, where by far the greater number of Japanese in agriculture are reported. East of the Rocky Mountains Japanese agriculture is chiefly confined to Texas and Florida, where there are perhaps 20 adult males who have taken up pineapple and truck raising with rather doubtful results, and some laborers in sugar-beet fields in Wisconsin, and perhaps a few in Michigan. The significant facts of Japanese agriculture east of the Rockies are discussed in the chapter dealing with Texas.

The Japanese in Florida are raising pineapples and vegetables, while those in Texas are engaged in capitalistic or specialized agriculture—rice, fruit growing, trucking, nurseries. Most have invested comparatively large amounts of capital in their enterprises, from which they have not yet realized corresponding large net returns. Their gross incomes may lead to a false impression of economic progress unless the comparatively heavy capital investment and the expenses for labor be taken into account. On the other side, the recency of their settlement in Texas must be considered, the fact that the land, the cultivation of the crop, and the methods of marketing are in most instances new to them, that they are largely single men, or married men whose wives are still in Japan. So far as observed,

<sup>a</sup> Reports of the Immigration Commission, Vols. 23-25.

the Japanese farm proprietors are unusually intelligent; some are agricultural students and experts in particular lines of agriculture or related subjects. A number have been business men in Japan. They very soon learn the English language and American methods.

#### PORTUGUESE.

The Portuguese farmers are discussed in the report on immigrants in the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain States previously referred to, while this volume deals only with a settlement of this race at Portsmouth, R. I., in connection with which a brief sketch of the history and distribution of Portuguese in the United States is given. The greatest number of these in the East is found in Massachusetts and Rhode Island in a very limited area, the Portuguese headquarters being New Bedford, Mass. The white Portuguese immigration, which comes largely from the Azores, is not large, but compared with the population of the islands is relatively important. The total Portuguese admitted during the year ending June, 1910, was 7,657, this number including both the white Portuguese from the mainland and the Azores and the dark-skinned immigrants from the Cape Verde Islands. The islands whence they come are agricultural, but densely populated, so that the immigration to the United States is really an overflow caused by economic conditions.

The dark-skinned Portuguese are either seasonal agricultural laborers or dock hands. The white Portuguese become farm laborers, general laborers, mill hands, and farmers. As farmers and farm laborers the white Portuguese fill an important place in the agriculture of southwestern New England. They make steady, reliable, efficient farm hands and farmers. Just how many are engaged in farming for themselves it was impossible to ascertain accurately, but all along the "Cape," from Providence, R. I., to Provincetown, Mass., they are operating small farms which they have purchased or rented.

The potato growers in Rhode Island are in part tenants, in part owners of the land they operate. While they are industrious and energetic, they are able to outcompete their native New England neighbors, chiefly because they have a lower standard of life. At any rate, they supply practically all the agricultural labor on the island of Rhode Island, and by buying or leasing the farms from native owners they have been supplanting the original American farmers.

## CHAPTER II.

### BOHEMIAN RURAL SETTLEMENTS IN TEXAS.

#### INTRODUCTION.

According to the United States census for 1900, Texas stood fourteenth in the list of States in total number of foreign-born inhabitants. At the time of the census 179,357 foreign-born persons were found in Texas, or 5.9 per cent of the total population or an average of 6,251 foreign-born to every 100,000 native-born. The following table presents figures for the foreign-born population distributed according to principal countries of birth and includes only the countries from which the greatest number of aliens come:

TABLE 2.—*Foreign-born population of Texas.*

[Compiled from United States Census Reports.]

Country.	Number of foreign-born.	Per cent of foreign-born.	Country.	Number of foreign-born.	Per cent of foreign-born.
Austria.....	6,870	3.8	Italy.....	3,942	2.2
Bohemia.....	9,240	5.2	Mexico.....	71,062	39.6
England.....	8,213	4.6	Russia.....	2,259	1.3
Germany.....	48,295	26.9	Sweden.....	4,388	2.4
Ireland.....	6,173	3.4			

From this statement it is seen that by far the largest percentage of foreigners come from Mexico. Germany ranks second. Many thriving, long-established German settlements are to be found in Texas. The Bohemians rank third in order, contributing 5 per cent of the total foreign-born population. The following table shows the counties where the Bohemians were most numerous according to the census of 1900. Only counties which showed 100 or more Bohemians are here enumerated, although 86 counties had anywhere from 1 to 90 and over 125 counties had none reported.

TABLE 3.—*Foreign-born Bohemian population in Texas, by counties reporting more than 100 persons of such race, 1900.*

[Compiled from United States Census Reports.]

County.	Number of Bohemians.	Total foreign-born.	County.	Number of Bohemians.	Total foreign-born.
Austin.....	877	3,254	Hill.....	126	559
Bastrop.....	172	1,518	Lavaca.....	1,835	5,076
Bell.....	210	1,245	McLennan.....	399	2,741
Brazos.....	223	1,403	Milan.....	249	1,678
Burleson.....	594	1,466	Waller.....	105	575
Colorado.....	298	2,176	Wharton.....	202	1,499
Dewitt.....	123	2,888	Williamson.....	405	3,533
Ellis.....	281	725			
Fayette.....	2,203	6,933	Total.....	8,418	39,769
Gonzales.....	116	2,500			

Scattered as they are over 80 counties it is hard to give the exact, or even approximate, number of Bohemians in Texas to-day. It is safe to say, however, that there are now, at least, between 20,000 and 48,000 persons of Bohemian birth or descent in that State. According to reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, 100,189 Bohemians and Moravians were admitted to the United States during the fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive. Of this number 7,563 gave Texas as their destination.

For the most part the Bohemians have settled east of the 97th meridian, in the counties of Fayette, Lavaca, Austin, Burleson, and Williamson. However, the land in that region is slowly being purchased and a few Bohemians have moved westward into the panhandle region of the State, settling in the county of Scurry. The Texas Pacific Railroad passes within 10 miles of the southern boundary of the county, but these Bohemians have left the railroad and shifted northward to the middle of the county, settling in the towns of Hermleigh and Pyron. In this way they are settling in new country, preparing the land and following the customs established by their forefathers fifty years ago. A few Bohemians are found in the extreme southern part of Texas, but no colony or settlement has yet been established. In Texas the largest percentage of the Bohemian population is found on farms.

The farms owned by the Bohemians vary in size from 40 to 1,000 acres, the average, however, being about 100 acres. For the most part they are cotton farmers, situated on some of the best cotton land in the State. As a rule, too, they have their own vegetable gardens which supply their personal wants, and when there is an abundance of vegetables they bring them into the towns for sale.

#### HISTORY OF THE SETTLEMENTS.

In Burleson County deeds of property are said to have been given to Bohemians as early as 1835. However, the first real Bohemian settlement that is now in existence in the county was not established until 1871. The first colonies now in existence were settled in Fayette in 1853; Praha, 1855; Dubina, 1856; and Felsburg, 1856. In each of these places a few families started the colony without any direct effort at colonization. In some instances the Bohemians have come to the locality so poor that they have been obliged to work a few years on rented land before having money to buy land of their own. In other cases they were unable to pay cash and so paid only a small amount down, giving notes for the remainder with a low rate of interest.

The climate of Bohemia is healthy, mild in the valleys and cold in the mountains. The soil is generally fertile, especially by the upper Elbe, and the chief products are cereals, potatoes, sugar beets, hops, flax, and fruit. The grain of Bohemia is excellent and on account of the large areas devoted to agriculture it is probable that a majority of the Bohemians that have come to America have had some connection with agriculture at home, and this fact accounts in part for the success attained by this race on farms in the West and Southwest. In Texas the number of farmers has increased year by year

and the farms have increased in valuation through the improvements made by the Bohemians. The settlers farm intelligently, using improved implements and methods of cultivation, their crops are well cultivated, they keep a large amount of live stock, and give much care to their farming.

A large part of the Bohemians in Texas own their property, and of that number the great majority have their property free from debt. Of course many of them came without sufficient funds with which to purchase property immediately on their arrival, but good localities, favorable crops, and ability for hard work for which the Bohemian families are noted insured the early success of the settlers.

The first houses of the earlier settlers were usually two-room buildings made of hewn logs with the cracks cemented, and the whole building whitewashed both inside and out. Prosperity and the increase in the size of families led to the erection of frame dwellings, some two stories high containing six or eight rooms. These were painted and comfortably furnished. With the development of the house came a corresponding improvement of land, an enlargement of the area tillable, and increase in the live stock kept on the farm. As the towns have grown banks have been established, and the Bohemians have aided them by depositing their earnings and by buying shares. Some Bohemians have entered mercantile pursuits, erecting small stores and handling a wide variety of commodities.

The Commission was unable to make a detailed investigation of the numerous Bohemian settlements in Texas, but a brief description is given in the following pages of the conditions attending the settlement of some of the principal colonies. The location, date of settlement, and estimated population of the Bohemian communities discussed in this report are shown in the following table. The table accounts for a total of 16,505 Bohemians, approximately 36 per cent of the estimated Bohemian population for the entire State.

TABLE 4.—*Partial list of Bohemian settlements in Texas, with date of settlement and estimated population.*

County.	Name of town.	Date of settlement.	Number of families.	Estimated population.
Austin.....	Frydek.....	1871	70	350
Austin.....	Industry.....	(a)	35	175
Brazos.....	Bryan.....	1870	125	600
Burleson.....	Caldwell.....	1870	40	250
Burleson.....	Frenstat.....	1885	90	450
Colorado.....	Frelsburg.....	1856	20	100
Colorado.....	Weimar.....	(b)	120	525
Fayette.....	Cistern.....	1884	50	250
Fayette.....	Plum.....	(c)	25	100
Fayette.....	Bartons Creek.....	(c)	70	300
Fayette.....	Dubina.....	1856	120	600
Fayette.....	Fayetteville.....	1853	200	1,000
Fayette.....	La Grange.....	1856	100	500
Fayette.....	Praha.....	(d)	200	1,000
Fayette.....	Schulenburg.....	(e)	35	200
Fayette.....	Warrenton.....	1880	30	175
Lavaca.....	Hallettsville.....	(e)	100	500
Lavaca.....	Moulton.....	1876	150	700
Lavaca.....	Shiner.....	1880	300	1,800
Lavaca.....	Sweethome.....	1872	60	400

a Between 1860 and 1869.

b Between 1880 and 1889.

c Not reported.

d Between 1850 and 1859.

e Between 1870 and 1879.

TABLE 4.—*Partial list of Bohemian settlements in Texas, with date of settlement and estimated population—Continued.*

County.	Name of town.	Date of settlement.	Number of families.	Estimated population.
Lavaca.....	Wied.....	1870	150	700
Lavaca.....	Worthing.....	1860	125	600
McLennan.....	West.....	1874	400	1,900
Nueces.....	Corpus Christi.....	1906	30	200
Refugio.....	St. Mary.....	1909	6	30
Victoria.....	Schillerville.....	1893	30	150
Washington.....	Latium.....	(a)	13	50
Williamson.....	Corn Hill.....	1879	100	500
Williamson.....	Granger.....	1881	225	1,200
Williamson.....	Taylor.....	1878	250	1,200

<sup>a</sup> Not reported.

It appears from this table that the movement of Bohemians to Texas has been in progress since the early fifties. However, many of the settlements formed since 1890 are the result of a shift in population from the older colonies. One of the oldest and largest Bohemian communities in the State is found in Fayette County.

#### FAYETTE COUNTY.

Fayette County is located in the southern portion of central Texas, about 80 miles northwest from the Gulf of Mexico. The bulk of the population is German, or native-born Americans of German parentage. Next comes the Negro, followed by the Bohemian, then the older American stock. Occasionally a Mexican is seen. However, this county is noted for its German and Bohemian population, the older Americans being in such small numbers that in some towns their population is negligible.

The census of 1900 shows the total population of the county to be 36,542, with a foreign-born population of 6,933, or 19 per cent of the total. Of the foreign population, the majority are from the following countries: Austria, 1,242, or 18 per cent; Bohemia, 2,203, or 32 per cent; Germany, 3,055, or 44 per cent.

The first white settlers are said to have arrived in Fayette County about 1822 and settled on the banks of the Colorado River. They came mostly from the Southern States, many from Tennessee and Alabama. Almost simultaneously with the first settlers from the United States a considerable number of Germans settled in the county. Soon after 1850 Bohemian settlers came in and settled in the towns of Dubina, Fayetteville, and La Grange.

Praha, located in the extreme southern part of Fayette County, is one of the oldest settlements in the State. The first Bohemians came soon after 1850, and in 1868 they were numerous enough to erect a Roman Catholic church. This colony grew slowly at the start and up to 1901, when the number of families were over 350, the growth had been steady. But about that time many of the Bohemians became dissatisfied, the crops were not paying, and a constant influx of immigrants from other countries kept land values up, so that the dissatisfied owners could sell without loss. From 1901 to date many have sold their farms and moved to Williamson, Jones, and Scurry coun-

ties, where fairly productive land could be purchased at a low price. This movement has caused a falling off in the Bohemian population, until there are now (1909) only 200 families, numbering about 900 to 1,050 inhabitants. With the exception of one man who owns a general country store, all are farmers and 90 per cent own the farms they operate.

Schulenburg is a flourishing town in the southwestern part of the county on the Southern Pacific Railroad. At one time this was a prominent Bohemian town, but of late years many have moved away, so that now only 35 families are left. Two are in business and the remaining are farmers, 25 of whom own their farms. Warrenton is situated in the north-central part of Fayette County at some distance from the railroad. According to the Catholic priest the first Bohemians came into the town in 1880. In 1886 the first Catholic church was dedicated with 85 families in the congregation. The invasion of the boll weevil caused many of these families to sell their farms and move northward, thus reducing the number to 30 families, and these are settled from 3 to 6 miles from town. Twenty own their farms and the remaining 10 rent land.

Cistern is in the middle of the prairie region of Fayette County, 12 miles northwest of Flatonia, its nearest railroad station and post-office. The census of 1900 credits the town with a population of 78, but in the past ten years the town has probably gained 300 per cent in population. The first Bohemians came into the town about 1884, moving in from Bartons Creek. There are now 50 Bohemian families, 80 per cent of whom own their farms; the remaining 20 per cent are renters. Cotton is the chief crop and it finds a ready market in Flatonia. Not over 10 new families have moved into the community from Europe within the past fifteen years, the majority having lived in other localities in the United States immediately following their immigration.

The town of Dubina lies 14 miles south of Lagrange, in the midst of the fertile black prairie land of the county. Its nearest post-office and railroad is at Weimar, about 6 miles distant. This town is truly Bohemian, even to the name, which in English, means "oak grove." The place was named by the early Bohemians who came to the locality in 1856. The first group of immigrants was composed of 13 families from various parts of Austria, who met at Bremen, and after thirteen weeks landed in Galveston, making their way from there up a navigable creek to Houston, from which point they traveled in ox wagons to Dubina.

In the early sixties another group of 15 families, the majority of whom had friends among the first group, were added to the colony. In 1870 a third party came with 20 families. They completed the immigration of large parties of Bohemians, and during the remaining years the numbers have been small, single families coming in at a time. Of late years there has been no direct immigration from Austria, the increase being due largely to Bohemians moving in from other localities. There are now 120 Bohemian families, 75 per cent of them owning their farms, the remaining 25 per cent renting.

Fayetteville is located in the northeastern part of the county, about 12 miles east from Lagrange, on the Missouri, Kansas and

Texas Railroad. The Americans settled in the locality in 1847; a few years later the Germans moved in, and in 1853 the Bohemians came. During the ten years following the first influx of Bohemians the town grew rapidly. At present there are about 200 families in the locality. With the growth of the Bohemian population and the similar increase in the number of Germans there has been a decided decrease in the American population, who, with the advent of the immigrants, found good opportunities to sell their land at a substantial increase over cost. The original Bohemian settlers brought very little money to the locality and at first operated the land on shares; in fact, in the earlier years the land was all divided into large plantations and the owners were not disposed to sell, as they were able to cultivate their property successfully with the aid of slaves. Later, however, some of the large plantations were subdivided into small farms, and many of the Bohemian settlers became landowners.

During the past ten years a few of the Bohemians have disposed of their holdings at good prices and migrated to other sections of the State, many of them to the "panhandle," where new land was available.

Lagrange, the county seat of Fayette County, is one of the most important towns in the locality. It was settled soon after 1820 by settlers from Tennessee, who named the town after their home in the North. The land in the locality is rich, much of it being the bottom land of the Colorado River. The town is on the line of two railroads—the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad and the Southern Pacific, these roads affording ample opportunity for shipment of crops. There are almost a hundred Bohemian families in the locality, but most of the population is German.

The land in Fayette County is fertile and well drained, with sufficient rainfall and agreeable climate. Cotton is the staple product. Corn is raised to some extent, in order to feed the herds of live stock that are found on the farms. Peaches, pears, and grapes thrive well in the locality, and almost every variety of vegetable that is adapted to the region is produced by the Bohemians. The farms vary in size from 40 to 300 acres. The majority of the farmhouses are frame structures of medium size and usually are painted. The barns and sheds are well built and apparently in good repair.

Throughout the locality are numerous small gins to which the Bohemians draw their cotton. After it is ginned it is usually sold to local buyers. There is believed to be little need of cooperative associations, although it is argued by some that if the farmers were organized they would be able to secure their fertilizer at a cheaper rate, and perhaps, by lumping their cotton, attract buyers from the large cities, instead of selling to small local dealers, and perhaps gain a slight advantage in price. The railroad facilities of the county are excellent, and few of the towns are located more than 10 miles from a railroad. Thus, shipping points for the farm products are within easy reach, and this has been an inducement to settlement. The Missouri, Kansas and Texas, the Southern Pacific, and the Houston and Texas Central Railroads, with several branch lines, traverse the county.



## LAVACA COUNTY.

Next in importance to Fayette County in the number of Bohemian settlers is Lavaca County, located in the southern part of east Texas and joining Fayette on the north. Lavaca County was originally a part of Gonzales County, but in 1846 territory was cut off from Gonzales and a new county was formed. During the following decade German and Bohemian settlers came from Fayette County to the north of Lavaca, while others came direct from Europe, and settled there. The census of 1900 gives the county a population of 28,121, and a foreign population of 5,076, or 18 per cent of the entire population. This foreign population is divided as follows: Austria, 22 per cent; Bohemia, 36 per cent; Germany, 32 per cent; while the remaining 10 per cent is divided among 25 other countries. It is said that during the last decade the percentage of Bohemians in the total foreign-born population has increased.

The Bohemian towns of greatest importance in Lavaca County are Hallettsville, Moulton, Shiner, Sweethome, Wied, and Worthington. Hallettsville is situated in the central part of the county and is the county seat. One hundred farms owned by Bohemians are found in the neighborhood. The first settlers came shortly before 1880, and since that time other families have moved in from neighboring localities. This town is a center of importance to the Bohemians in the county, and they come there frequently to transact business. In the town is one newspaper published by a Bohemian in his native language. Three general merchandise stores and two saloons are owned by these people. Bohemians, it is said, prefer to trade with their fellow-countrymen.

Moulton is located in the northwestern part of the county, 10 miles above Shiner, on the San Antonio and Aransas Pass Railroad. The soil in the locality is the Houston black clay, and the Bohemians have some of the best farms in the town. The first Bohemians moved in during 1876, and now over 150 Bohemian families are reported. Very few came from the old country direct to the present locality, the majority moving in from other sections of Texas.

Shiner is located in the western part of Lavaca County, and is a comparatively new town, having its origin in 1888, when the San Antonio and Aransas Pass Railroad was built through the county. With the building of the railroad came a rapid development of the country, and among the first settlers to come was a Bohemian family from the town of Schulenburg. From that date until the present time Bohemians have moved in from Fayette and adjoining counties, and elsewhere, until there are now 300 families, numbering about 1,800 inhabitants. Fifteen years ago only two farms were owned by Bohemians, but now over 200 are land owners, while the remainder rent land on the cash payment system.

Wied is situated midway between Shiner and Hallettsville, and is about 10 miles north of Yoakum. The land in this locality is mostly of the Houston black clay type. In 1870 three Bohemian families were to be found in the town, but at the present time there are about 150 families of this race in the vicinity. Some have moved from adjoining counties, others, especially in earlier years, came direct from Europe. The Bohemians are said to be the best farmers in the region.

Worthington, 7 miles west of Hallettsville, was settled in 1860 by 6 Bohemian families, who came from Moravia and were tenant farmers for several years. In 1868 these families purchased farms, and at this time a small movement of Bohemian families from surrounding counties settled in this locality. At present the town has approximately 125 Bohemian families, but nearly three-fourths of this number are composed entirely of American-born Bohemians and the community is largely a settlement of the second generation.

Sweethome is in the southern part of Lavaca County, on the railroad. Near the town the majority of the land is of the Houston black clay type. The first Bohemians settlers came in 1872. There are now 60 Bohemian families, all owning cotton farms, in this locality. In Lavaca County, as in Fayette County, cotton is the principal crop, although sorghum is produced to some extent, and corn and hay are grown in quantities sufficient to feed the live stock. Excellent grazing lands are found in many parts of the county, and a number of the Bohemians have taken advantage of the opportunities thus afforded for natural pasturage and raise herds of beef cattle for the market. Large varieties of vegetables are grown in sufficient quantities for home consumption.

#### AUSTIN COUNTY.

Austin County is located in the eastern part of the State, bounded on the north by Washington County, on the south by Wharton and Colorado Counties, on the east by Waller and Fortbent Counties, and on the west by Fayette County. It is in what might be called the Bohemian area of Texas. According to the census of 1900 the population of this county was 20,676; the total foreign-born was 3,254, or 15.6 per cent of the entire population. The Germans lead in the percentage of foreign-born, contributing 60 per cent of the foreign population, the Bohemians rank next, with 26 per cent, and the remaining 14 per cent includes 23 other nationalities. The towns having the largest number of Bohemians are Frydek and Industry. The county, for the most part, is composed of rich land, containing a high percentage of loam. Farming is the chief industry, and cotton, corn, and poultry products are produced in large quantities. The Gulf, Colorado and Santa Fe Railroad passes through the county from north to south, and the Missouri, Kansas and Pacific Railroad from east to west. These two roads furnish ample means of transportation for all the produce raised in the county.

The settlement of Frydek is located in the southeastern part of the county, in the midst of a rich farming country. This is a purely Bohemian settlement, with the farmsteads at some distance from each other. The first Bohemians moved to the region from Fayette County during the year 1871, and there was a gradual increase until in 1909 the number had reached 70 families, of about 350 persons. The majority of them came from other parts of Texas, simply in search of new land that was productive and cheap. Some of the present settlers came directly from Europe, at the solicitation of friends or relatives, but no other direct effort has been made to secure immigration into the locality. When the first settlers came land could be purchased for \$3 to \$5 per acre, but now it is worth \$30 to \$50. About 60 per cent of the Bohemians operate their own farms, and the remainder

rent 10 to 40 acres per year. Cotton is the chief crop, although many of the farmers raise corn and hay for their stock and potatoes to be shipped northward. A number of the Bohemians raise poultry for profit and a few raise beef cattle.

Another Bohemian community in Austin County is centered about Industry, located midway between New Ulm on the south and the northern boundary of the county. It is 12 miles from New Ulm, the nearest railroad station. The Germans came to the locality first, and have always had the majority in numbers. Shortly after 1860 the first Bohemians moved in from Cat Springs. At one time this was a thriving Bohemian settlement, but of late years many families have moved away in search of cheaper land, so that now only 35 families remain. In 1908 alone fifteen families left the colony. At present 28 of the Bohemians own their farms and 7 rent. The land in the locality is poor and very sandy, although there are occasional patches of black loam. Cotton is the chief crop, and only enough hay and corn are raised to feed the live stock that is kept on the farms.

#### BRAZOS COUNTY.

Brazos County lies north of Burleson County, and is triangular in shape. According to the census of 1900 the total population was 18,859, and the foreign-born population was 1,403, or 7 per cent of the total. The foreign-born are divided as follows: Austrians, 9 per cent; Bohemians, 16 per cent; Germans, 17 per cent; Italians, 39 per cent; all other races, 19 per cent. The Bohemians have one important settlement in the county, at Bryan.

Besides the large Italian population at Bryan, 70 Bohemian families reside near town, and about 125 families are found in the entire county. As was noted in the report on the Italians in Bryan, the Italians occupy all the rich bottom land of the Brazos River, while the Bohemians are settled on the uplands or prairie land. This land produces fair crops of corn, hay, and cotton, but during dry seasons it is not as productive as the bottom land.

The first Bohemians moved into the locality in 1870, coming from Burleson County. The fact that there was no Catholic church in Burleson County at the time, while at Bryan religious services were held once a month, is said to have influenced this movement. About 60 per cent of the Bohemians in the locality own their farms; some rent from 10 to 25 acres "on shares" for one-half or two-fifths of the cotton crop. The majority of the non-owners, however, are tenants who pay \$3 per acre per year for their cotton land. The size of the farms owned by the Bohemians varies from 20 to 600 acres. Most of the land is tillable, and large areas are in cotton, as that is the chief money crop. The farm buildings and houses are built of wood and neatly painted, and on the whole they seem to be better maintained than those owned by the Italians. The Bohemians are situated near town, to which they haul their cotton and other produce and sell to local buyers. A number of them deposit their money in the banks of Bryan, but many have invested their savings in new lands, some having increased their original holdings four or five fold. Whenever a Bohemian purchases a place he increases its value by improving the buildings or cultivating the land. Practically none of them send money abroad at present, although much was sent when they first

came to the locality. A few Bohemians have gone into business in town, and as a rule the Bohemians patronize the merchants of their own race.

The Bohemians and Poles attend the same Roman Catholic church, whereas the Italians have one of their own. In the Bohemian church both English and Bohemian are used. The former is the prevailing language, however, for it is understood by most of the older settlers, while the younger generation prefers it to the native tongue of their parents. It is said that the Poles in this community differ widely from the Bohemians in this respect. At school the Bohemians are much more faithful in attendance than the Italians, and are spoken of as being excellent pupils.

The following table shows the economic history and present financial condition of 5 typical Bohemian families. It is seen that in all cases the present owners of land started by renting 25 or 30 acres, at an average rental of \$3 per acre; later they purchased land, and in many cases increased the acreage of their farms after a few years. In most cases the produce raised and sold is not large; however, the money derived from the sale of produce is largely profit, as they can subsist very largely on the vegetables, poultry, and milk produced for house consumption.

TABLE 5.—*Economic history and present financial condition of five typical Bohemian families, Bryan, Tex.*

Number in family.	Years of head in locality.	First property leased.			First property bought.			Total present value land and buildings.		Average value produce 1908-9.	
		Date.	Acres.	Rent.	Date.	Acres.	Value.	Acres.	Price.	Raised.	Sold.
3....	33	1876	25	\$75	1883	55	\$600	133	\$2,000	\$675	\$425
7....	33	1876	32	104	1877	170	1,000	511	5,000	1,230	875
7....	32	1879	30	90	1881	120	1,000	360	4,000	375	300
7....	26	1891	30	90	1897	105	1,050	105	1,500	330	220
7....	12	1899	30	75	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	440	315

#### BURLESON COUNTY.

Burleson County is located just north of Fayette County, and it adjoins Brazos County on the west. According to the census of 1900, 594, or about 33 per cent of the foreign-born population, were Bohemians. The largest percentage of the Bohemians is found in the towns of Caldwell, the county seat, and Frenstat. The tax collector estimated that in 1909 there were 500 Bohemian families or families of Bohemian descent in the county, numbering between 2,500 and 3,000 persons. Seventy-five per cent of the Bohemians own their farms and the rest are renters. The school census for 1909 divides the children of the county into the following races: American, 1,168; Bohemian descent, 614; German descent, 421; Italian descent, 105; total, 2,308.

Caldwell is located in the middle of Burleson County on the Gulf, Colorado and Santa Fe Railroad. Situated as it is and being the county seat, the majority of the business of the county is done through this town, the population of which in 1900 was 1,535. The

Bohemians and Germans are in the majority in town, and they are gradually acquiring additional property not only in Caldwell, but throughout the county. Around the town there are about 40 families of Bohemians, numbering about 260 persons, the majority of whom own the farms on which they live. According to some of the county officials deeds bearing typical Bohemian names are recorded as far back as 1835. If this could be proved, it would establish the existence of the Bohemians in Texas twenty years earlier than the settlement in Fayette County. However, it is possible, if not probable, that these early deeds were executed to Germans, as it is known that a few Germans were in Texas even earlier than this.

In 1870 three Bohemians from Milan County, which is just north of Burleson County, came through Caldwell in search of cheap land, and as a result seven families moved to the locality during the next year. From this small beginning the colony has gradually grown until it has reached its present size. These first Bohemians purchased farm varying in size from 50 to 125 acres, paying about \$2 per acre for the land. As a rule they were only able to pay \$25 to \$50 down and gave notes for the remainder of the purchase price at a low rate of interest. The land was mostly cleared and ready for cultivation, but there were no fences or buildings.

Frenstat is located about 8 miles south of Caldwell and the same distance west of Lyons. From there a rural free delivery route runs through a large part of the settlement. Four Bohemian families came to the locality in 1885 from other parts of Texas. In the immediate vicinity of the town there are 90 Bohemian families, 80 per cent of the number owning their farms, the rest renting small areas for cotton.

The principal crop in Burleson County is cotton, of which the farmers average at least one-half bale to the acre. This gives them a fair profit which, added to the corn and hay that they produce, makes farming in the locality profitable. All the Bohemians raise poultry and live stock and some of the best farmers sell in excess of \$100 worth of these two products annually.

#### COLORADO COUNTY.

Colorado County is situated in the southern part of east Texas, in the third tier of counties from the Gulf of Mexico. Austin County adjoins it on the north, Lavaca on the south, Fayette on the west, and Wharton on the east. In 1900 the county had a total population of 23,203, and a total foreign population of 2,176 or 9 per cent of the total population. Of this number 24 per cent were born in Austria, 15 per cent in Bohemia, 45 per cent in Germany, and 16 per cent were natives of 23 other countries, so that a wide variety of nationalities are represented among a comparatively small number of people. Frelsburg and Weimar are the Bohemian centers of the county. The land throughout the county is rather poor, consisting largely of sand or a sandy loam. Cotton is the chief crop of the county and the Bohemians are among the most successful planters.

Frelsburg is in the extreme northwestern part of the county, 10 miles southwest of New Ulm, its nearest railroad station. The Germans first settled there, coming as early as 1835, and many of them fought in the Mexican war. The Bohemians came about 1856

from other parts of Texas. A few of the earlier Bohemians moved there simply to be near a church, as Roman Catholic priests used to pass through the town at regular intervals as early as 1842. During the past fifteen years no Bohemians have moved in and many have moved away to better lands, so that now the parish priest reports only 20 Bohemian families in his congregation.

Weimar is located in the western part of the county close to the boundary line and is on the Southern Pacific Railroad. The Bohemians moved into this town from Fayette County during the late eighties, and they now number 120 families and about 525 people. About 35 families came direct from the old country; the remainder have moved from other counties.

Practically all the Bohemians in Colorado County are farmers, and over 66 per cent of them own their farms, while the others rent land paying money rent. Cotton is the main crop. Four Bohemians are in business in Weimar and they secure most of the Bohemian trade.

#### M'LENNAN COUNTY.

McLennan County is located in the black prairie belt of east-central Texas. The climate is, as a rule, mild and agreeable during the entire year. The rainfall is distributed rather evenly throughout the year, but is most abundant during the spring months or growing season, when it is most needed. The winters are usually mild and open. The average date of the last killing frost in spring is March 9 and the first in the fall is November 15, giving a growing season of a little over eight months. The Houston black clay, locally known as "black waxy prairie land" is one of the most productive soils in the neighborhood, and many of the Bohemians have grown rich from the farms in the vicinity. According to the census of 1900 McLennan County had a total population of 59,772. The city of Waco, with the population of 31,924, increases the population of the county to a great extent. In spite of the large population of the county the total foreign population is relatively small, being 2,741 or 8 per cent of the entire population. The foreign population was divided as follows: Germans, 37 per cent; Bohemians, 14 per cent; and 49 per cent was divided among 26 different nationalities.

The chief town in the county as far as the Bohemian population is concerned is West, located in the extreme northern part, in the black waxy land belt, and just outside the dry area. The Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad passes through the town and affords the farmers excellent shipping facilities. In 1874 three families of Bohemians moved into the locality, coming from the counties farther south. At that time nine sections of rich prairie land were placed upon the market for \$2 to \$3 per acre, and Bohemian home-seekers in considerable numbers made purchases there. After the first groups had settled many other Bohemians began to drift in, and in recent years the boll weevil has been so destructive in the southern counties of Washington and Fayette that many of the Bohemian cotton raisers have sought land in the vicinity of West, 20 families coming within the last four years. There are now 400 Bohemian families in the town, with a total of about 1,900 individuals. Seventy-five per cent of the Bohemians own their farms and the remainder are tenants.

Some of these tenants pay \$5 to \$6 per acre per year for cotton land, while others work "on shares." This tenant class, as a rule, desires to buy land, but the present land values in the vicinity are so high that when in a position to purchase the tenant farmers usually move to other localities. In 1907 ten families of tenants moved westward, where rich land was reported as selling at a very low figure. Only occasionally, however, does a landowning Bohemian sell his farm and move elsewhere.

The farms vary in size from 20 to 300 acres, though the general average is about 75 acres. Cotton is the money crop, but corn, oats, and hay are produced to some extent and find a ready market at Waco. Some fruit is also raised, and occasionally a Bohemian raises vegetables for the Waco market. The black prairie land is able to produce almost any variety of crop; hence the farmers can devote their land to any product which may be in demand. A few of the Bohemians raise cattle for the market, and this has proved a profitable industry of late years.

The Bohemians are desirous to own land, and of late years there has been a notable tendency on their part to help one another to purchase farms. They are spoken of as being very thrifty, many having bank accounts, and when they borrow money at the bank they are very prompt in paying the interest. Although there is ample opportunity for outside employment in West and Waco, few Bohemian men or women are found either in the factories or employed as servants. By working on the farms the younger generation afford help to their parents, who are reluctant to let them go into the cities. A few Bohemians are in business in town and all are prosperous.

#### NUECES COUNTY.

Nueces County is located in the southeastern part of Texas and its eastern boundary borders on the Gulf of Mexico. In 1900 the county had a total population of 10,439 and a foreign population of 2,339, or 22 per cent. Mexicans, however, constituted 84 per cent of the foreign-born population, and at that time no Bohemians had settled as far south as this point. Recently, however, a small Bohemian colony has been established near Corpus Christi, probably the most southerly point in Texas reached by people of this race. The first Bohemians came into this locality in 1906, and up to the present time 30 other families have purchased small farms in the vicinity and gone into cotton and vegetable growing. All had been located in other parts of Texas, but were attracted to Nueces County by the cheaper land and the market facilities. They have been here so short a time that little can be said about them, except that they are as successful as the average American farmer. The Americans seem to feel that the tendency of the Bohemian to come into the locality is a decided benefit, as it will help them to open up for sale large tracts of land that are now lying idle.

#### REFUGIO COUNTY.

Refugio County is located in the southeastern part of Texas, within 20 miles of the Gulf of Mexico. In 1900 but few settlers were found in the county, as the census of that date shows a total popu-

lation of only 1,641 and a foreign population of 215, three-fourths of whom were Mexicans. There were a few Germans and some of other nationalities, but no Bohemians. Since 1900 some new settlements have been formed. Among these new settlements is one at St. Mary, which in 1909 consisted of 6 Bohemian families. St. Mary is located on the Gulf and is 12 miles from Hillsboro, the nearest railroad point. The Bohemians came into this locality from Schulenberg and bought land. They are general farmers.

#### VICTORIA COUNTY.

Victoria County is directly south of Lavaca County, and is within 40 miles of the Gulf. The desire for new land influenced some of the Bohemians of Lavaca County to move southward, and rather recently 30 families have founded a town named Schillerville. This town is somewhat isolated; the nearest post-office and railroad being at De Costa, although a rural free-delivery route supplies the settlement from Victoria. The Bohemians came to the locality about 1898, moving in from neighboring counties.

#### WASHINGTON COUNTY.

Washington County, situated just north of Austin County, is strongly German in population. The census of 1900 gives the county a total population of 32,931 and a foreign population of 4,260, of which 77 per cent were born in Germany, while 2 per cent came from Bohemia. Thirteen Bohemian cotton farmers reside at Latium, a small town located in the southwestern part of the county.

#### WILLIAMSON COUNTY.

Williamson County is located just north of Travis County and is within 20 miles of Austin, the capital of the State. The census of 1900 gives the total population of the county as 38,072, and a foreign population of 3,533, or 9 per cent of the total. The Germans predominated and the Bohemians comprised only 11 per cent of the foreign-born population at that time, but within the past ten years many new Bohemian families have moved into the county and at present there are three large settlements of this race located at Corn Hill, Granger, and Taylor. The two last named are on the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad, but the first town is away from all means of transportation.

The climate of the locality is very mild. Warm weather begins in March and lasts until November. The oppressiveness of the summer heat is somewhat counteracted by the south winds that prevail during the greater part of the year. This seems to equalize the temperature, making the winters warmer and the summers cooler. During January and February sudden changes of temperature are frequently experienced, called "northers." These cold waves come from the north, causing the temperature to drop many degrees in a few hours. There is usually sufficient rainfall for the production of the crops grown, although they often suffer from drought in summer. The Bohemians are located principally in the eastern part of the county near the towns of Corn Hill, Granger, and Taylor, where the land is richer and the transportation facilities are the best.



Corn Hill is in the north central part of Williamson County, 10 miles west of Bartlett, its nearest railroad station. There are 100 Bohemian families near the town, the first families having come as early as 1879. At present about 50 per cent of the Bohemians are landowners and a similar per cent are renters. Prior to coming to the United States the majority were farmers in Moravia and on arrival in Texas they settled in the southern counties; then, as the northern counties became more thickly populated, they moved northward and a few came to this town. The Bohemian children for the most part attend the parochial school, which had 90 pupils enrolled in the spring of 1909.

Granger is located in the northern part of Williamson County on the line of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad. When this road was built through the locality in 1881 there were 7 Bohemian families that had drifted in from neighboring counties within the three or four years prior to that time. In 1882 the town was incorporated and received its present name. There are now in the immediate vicinity 225 families, numbering 1,200 inhabitants. Eighty per cent of this number own cotton farms, and they make a great success of cotton raising. In addition 40 Bohemian families live in town and 23 business houses are owned by them. There are two Bohemian societies and two churches. The Catholic Church has a resident priest and about 130 families in the congregation. The parochial school had 115 pupils enrolled in the fall of 1909. About ten years ago a local church of the Evangelical Union of Bohemian and Moravian Brothers was established at Granger. This organization now owns a church building and about 95 families belong to the congregation. In the church school 47 children were enrolled last fall. When the Bohemians first came to this vicinity land could be purchased for \$6 per acre, but through the building of the railroad and the successful farming that has developed there the best land has now risen in value at least \$50 per acre.

Taylor is situated in the southern part of Williamson County and is a commercial center for that part of the county, as two railroads, the Missouri, Kansas and Texas and the International and Great Northern, pass through the town. The present population of the town is about 5,000, composed of Americans, Germans, Swedes, Bohemians, Mexicans, and a few Swiss. The Bohemians number approximately 1,200. The first Bohemians moved into the locality about 1878, coming from Fayette County. These first settlers each bought 40 or 80 acres of land at \$2 to \$5 per acre, many of them paying cash, and some a small amount down and the remainder as soon as they were able. In Europe the majority had been farmers, and prior to settling in this town many of them had been cotton farmers in other parts of Texas. Of the present number in the locality, probably 15 per cent have come direct from the old country. The Bohemian population of this town is said to be growing steadily, and although a few move away each year others immediately come to fill their places. In 1908 15 new families arrived from Europe.

All the farms in Williamson County produce cotton, and the Bohemians' yield per acre equals the yield of any of the old-time farmers. When the foreigners first came they knew nothing about raising cotton, but now they are able to equal, and in many cases exceed, the

yield per acre on American farms. The cotton is all sold in the town of Taylor, which is centrally situated, and the cotton raised in the locality is sufficient in quantity to attract a number of large buyers. The farms owned by the settlers are well kept, the buildings neatly painted, and the crops carefully cultivated. The Bohemian works as many acres of land as he can till with profit. Forty per cent of the Bohemians own their farms; the rest are tenants, some paying \$5 per acre per year and others giving one-fourth of the cotton and one-third of the corn as rent. In Taylor five Bohemians are in business, three own general merchandise stores and two own saloons, and they are said to compare favorably in business ability with American business men.

#### SUMMARY.

The general impression formed from observation of the various Bohemian communities is one of prosperity and thrift. Socially the Bohemian perhaps does not assimilate with the native population as readily as does the German, but as a farmer he exemplifies the qualities of industry, intelligence, and perseverance that have been uniformly and properly associated with the German landowners. He is quick to utilize modern improvements in machinery and methods of agriculture, and his progress to the economic and social level of the native farmer is much more rapid than is the advancement of the Pole or other Slav races. The success attained by the Bohemian has been the result almost exclusively of intelligent and persistent cultivation of the soil. There has been little outside employment or development of supplementary industries. Situated in the midst of rich farming lands, as most of the Bohemians are, the opportunities for industrial employment are infrequent. In the cotton gins only a few extra hands are employed and those generally at a time when the Bohemians are the busiest. The railroads in this vicinity usually employ negroes at track repairing and construction work. Occasionally a Bohemian girl or boy finds employment in town as clerk in one of the stores, merchants finding that Bohemian-speaking clerks are desirable if they are to secure any of the Bohemian trade. Very seldom is a Bohemian girl found doing housework, though they are said to make reliable and efficient servants.

The children usually remain at home until they marry, and both women and children take an active part in the work of the farm. The success the Bohemians have attained is due in a great measure to the assistance of the entire household in cultivating and harvesting the crops. Usually the women regard it as part of their duties to assist their husbands in the farm work.

The Bohemians have a marked inclination for social intercourse, and the monotony of farm work is frequently broken with picnics, dances, and other social diversions. They are fond of music and dancing. Near crossroads connecting Bohemian towns is often found a dancing pavilion. In towns these platforms are much larger and more costly. For the most part these places have been built by public subscription or by some club, and during the summer months dances are frequently held, a dance or more a week not being uncommon during that time. Throughout the region are many orchestras, bands, and choruses composed almost entirely of Bohemians and

Germans. The rural free-delivery system in the majority of the Bohemian towns brings the Bohemians of the whole region nearer together than formerly. The local newspapers printed and published by people of their own race allows them to keep abreast of the times. Some secret societies are represented in the various localities, and there are the usual organizations affiliated with the church. The meetings of these societies frequently bring men together from several surrounding towns.

National, state, and church holidays are all celebrated by these American Bohemians. The church also forms a social gathering place on Sundays, and after the service many families take the opportunity to visit friends on their way home. The Bohemians and Germans join in the observance of church festival days as well as the American holidays, and such gatherings are made the occasion sometimes of great festivity. During the summer months there are numerous social diversions in the form of open-air dances and picnics participated in by the two races, who mingle together freely.

Throughout the Bohemian settlements good feeling seems to exist between Americans and the Bohemians. The prejudice that has prevailed in some parts of the South against immigration is not prevalent to so large an extent in the Texas counties under discussion. Many of the Bohemians came into the State at about the same time as the American settlers from the North, thus all were on equal footing economically and by occupation. All worked with the common purpose of achieving success in farming. A large majority of the Bohemians are Roman Catholics and in all towns where there are a sufficient number they have their own church and resident priest. In other sections they have a church, but no resident priest, and in such cases services are held only once a month. Some of the Catholic churches, situated usually on the top of a hill, are built of brick, others of stone, but the majority are of wood. One of the most expensive of these churches crowns a hilltop in the midst of a wilderness; the land as far as the eye can reach is sparsely settled, only twenty farms being visible, yet the congregation, scattered over a large radius, was able to furnish \$15,000 to build this brick church. On Sundays all the Bohemians come to mass, some from a distance of 20 miles.

The Bohemians send their children to the district schools, and in many towns a parochial school is also maintained, thus affording the children an ample opportunity for education. However, they do not all avail themselves of the privilege given. In some localities the school attendance of the children is said to be small and irregular, and that parents are not inclined to better the situation. Many of the children have only a few years' schooling, giving up all education as soon as they are old enough to work on the farms. A very small percentage pursue their education beyond the grammar grades, and some are filling the positions of teachers in the public schools.

Many of the Bohemians have become naturalized and exercise their privilege of voting. A large proportion of the children are American born, while others left Europe too early to remember it; thus a large majority of them have no definite connection with Europe. A few of the old people desire to return to Europe to see their old friends, but this number is extremely small. Numbers of the Bohemians have held public office in the counties where their race is numerous

and others have been sent to the state legislature. Little can be said against the settlers on the land on the ground of their honesty and general morality. It is the opinion of all that in these respects the Bohemians are equal to the natives or to the Germans. In a large and definite way the Bohemians have been a benefit in building up the agriculture of the areas wherein they have settled. Although they have not introduced any new varieties of crops, they have imitated the agricultural practices of the natives and by working hard they have been able to compete on favorable terms with the original settlers, raising, in many cases, a larger crop from a given area than the native farmers. Their farms are well cultivated, the buildings and live stock well kept, and the farms are found generally in a prosperous condition. The localities in which the largest groups of Bohemians are found have been developed largely because of the satisfaction of the first settlers, who spread abroad the reports of their success. This has caused many to locate in Texas who might have moved elsewhere but for the material progress reported by the first Bohemians.

Doubtless many of the Bohemian immigrants of the present time enter mills and factories and settle in mining localities because they are not supplied with enough money to locate in agricultural regions. A large percentage of the men thus forced into shopwork were farmers in Europe, and if they were made aware of the agricultural opportunities in many parts of the United States undoubtedly many would go to the farms and succeed as their fellow-countrymen have succeeded.

### CHAPTER III.

## TOLLAND COUNTY, CONN.: BOHEMIANS, SLOVAKS, AND OTHER RACES ON "ABANDONED" FARMS.

### INTRODUCTION.

Tolland County, Conn., is one of the hill counties of that State and is especially rough along the Massachusetts line. In four of its townships—Stafford, Tolland, Willington, and Union—and in Ashford Township in Windham County, a number of Bohemian, Slovak, Hungarian, and Polish immigrants have settled on the land. The following statement gives some idea of their numbers:

TABLE 6.—*Immigrant farm families in Tolland and Windham counties, Conn.*

Township.	County.	Polish.	Bohe- mian.	Italian.	Hunga- rian.	Undesig- nated Slavs.
Stafford.....	Tolland.....	2	3	.....	3	.....
Tolland.....	..do.....	2	11	.....	4	5
Willington.....	..do.....	1	34	2	1	16
Vernon.....	..do.....	.....	2	1	.....	2
Union.....	..do.....	.....	4	.....	.....	6
Ellington.....	..do.....	3	.....	3	.....	.....
Ashford.....	Windham.....	.....	3	.....	.....	5
Tota.....	.....	8	57	6	8	34

In all a total of 113 foreign families from south and southeast Europe are reported on the land.<sup>a</sup> In Ellington and Vernon townships, lying along the western boundary of this county and incorporated within the limits of the Connecticut Valley, is a small settlement of Jewish and Swiss farmers. The other foreign families in these townships are noted above. The conditions described below have reference especially to the towns of Willington, Tolland, Stafford, and Ashford.

The Bohemians, Slovaks, and Hebrews in Connecticut represent an economic movement different from any previously described. Conservation propagandists have urged the reforestation of the New England pastures with white pine and hardwood; agricultural enthusiasts have recommended sheep or Angora goats; and with the same thought in mind, that of utilizing the scant fertility of the worn-out hills, of restoring or renovating the soil, others have recommended immigrants, who, accustomed to hard work and scanty returns from fields in Europe rented at too high a figure, might be able to wring a meager subsistence from the hills of New England. Those immigrants who are settling may be looked upon as soil redeemers and agricultural missionaries. The pioneers of the West went to their

<sup>a</sup>The Hebrews are enumerated elsewhere.

virgin soil as to a bank. Clearing the land meant unlocking the undepleted treasures of the ground. A sure harvest followed the sowing of the seed. But the immigrant on the Connecticut ridges and rocky slopes comes to a soil depleted and exhausted. The fields have grown up to briars and brush; the old mossy pastures produce nothing; stones are everywhere. After the newcomer has cleared his few acres, literally covered with stones, he can raise no crop until he has generously manured the land.

The movement of the foreigners to the farms in Tolland County dates back but few years. The first farmers seem to have come about 1902 or 1903, the greater number since 1905. The movement was not due to any stimulus other than the advertising of real estate agents in Bohemian or Polish papers. The influx still continues, and while a number are moving away every year, more are coming than going.

#### PHYSIOGRAPHY.

The contour of this region is exceedingly rough. The hills rise rapidly from the small stream beds to altitudes that almost merit the term mountain ridges; the ridges are narrow, having very little plateau, and are covered with second, third, or fourth growth trees. A large area on the numerous ridges has been cut over recently, every stick of timber large enough for firewood being removed, leaving only the stumps. The valleys are narrow, some mere ravines, and at best not half a mile in width, even for short distances. The chief drainage system is the Willimantic River and its tributaries, now a small turbulent stream, upon which, in the town of Stafford, 14 woolen and shoddy mills are located, in addition to other industrial enterprises.

Not more than 12 per cent of the land in these hill townships is now in cultivation. On the lowlands along the small streams there are wild meadows on which hay, used largely for bedding cattle and horses, is cut in fair quantities when there is plenty of rain during the spring. A little higher up are the mowings; these small fields are often cleared of stones at great expenditure of labor and raise good crops of tame hay. At infrequent intervals of time they are broken up and planted to staple crops. Higher on the hillsides are the pastures, usually very stony and often overgrown with brush and low shrubs. Sometimes, when the great rocks and thickly sprinkled bowlders permit it, these pastures are plowed and, after a few years in corn and potatoes, are reseeded to tame grass. On the ridges, and frequently extending all the way down to the ravine bottoms, are the woodlands. There are a few tracts of well developed chestnut and oak timber here and there, and more often a 40-acre lot of thrifty chestnut sprouts of 10 to 20 years' growth, but, as a whole, the greater part of the wooded area is forested with trees worth very little except for firewood or railroad ties.

It is worth noting that many of the deeds given to foreigners reserve the "timber rights" to the sellers, thus depriving the settlers of the only immediate source of income, often the only source of value, for much of the land is worthless after the timber and wood have been removed. Very little of the land now timbered can be made available for agriculture. The region was settled very early, of course,

and nearly every possible agricultural area was cleared years ago. The soil, once possessing a fair degree of fertility after the timber was cut off and the rocks removed from the surface, is now thoroughly worn-out, has been worn-out for generations, and produces feebly only after considerable fertilizer has been expended upon it. The whole region settled by foreigners belongs to the "abandoned farm" area. Some, or all, of these old farms with substantial houses on them, built more than a hundred years ago, were at one time worked by thrifty Connecticut farmers who reared large families, and with the help of their children lived in comparative comfort. The children and grandchildren have gone to the cities, and the home ceases to be self-supporting. Gradually the old buildings go to decay, the land grows up to weeds and brush, only a very few acres are kept in tillage, and finally the place is given into the hands of a real estate dealer to be sold for a fraction of its original value.

A number of these farms with more or less dilapidated buildings sold a few years ago for \$400 to \$1,000 for tracts up to 200 acres. But sales to immigrant settlers at once increased the value of the remaining land and each succeeding buyer paid a higher price. Land that sold for \$600 four years ago is now held at \$2,500 to \$3,000. Values have increased without any definite increase in productiveness or in the cheapening of production, a condition that works great hardship on the new and untried farmers. The large expense for labor and fertilizer, which must be renewed every year, is a very serious handicap to the immigrant who has gone into debt for his land and who has scarcely any capital left for reserves and possible reverses.

The soil is of several varieties, from the silty bottom soil and the coarse sand of the original river bottoms to the thin stony clay soils of the uplands. The differences in altitude as well as in protection from storms and cold winds make a marked difference in the time of crop maturity on soils very close together. At best the seasons are short and there is danger from killing frosts both in the spring and the fall. For two years, 1908 and 1909, the dry weather has been a severe trial, the normal production of both field crops and dairy products had been cut-down and hay and grain for feed have, in consequence, risen in price to such an extent that on many farms dairying is carried on at a loss.

#### HISTORICAL.

When it is considered that so large a number of immigrants is employed in the mills that thickly dot the banks of the Willimantic, it may be concluded that the mill hands furnish the agricultural recruits who are moving out of the factories and onto the farms. Nothing is further from the truth in this part of the country. Of the thousands of millworkers scarcely one has left his indoor labor for agriculture. The Bohemians nearly all came from New York City, where they had been engaged chiefly in cigar making; but bakers, dyers, butchers, pearl-button makers, cement workers, tailors, blacksmiths, day laborers, truck farmers, coal miners, saloon keepers, and western farmers are represented. The Slovaks represent almost as many occupations as there are families.

The Commission's detailed inquiry in this locality included 19 Bohemian and 7 Slovak families. All of these had lived in other parts of the United States before settling on Connecticut farms. Seventeen of the Bohemian families came from New York City, while the Slovaks had previously resided in New York, New Jersey, Ohio, or Pennsylvania. Two of the Bohemian heads of families had worked on their fathers' farms abroad and one of these was a farmer in the United States before coming to Connecticut. Of the 7 Slovak heads of families, 4 had followed some agricultural occupation in Europe and one was engaged in farming in the United States previous to settling in Connecticut. It will be seen, therefore, that few of the immigrants had any practical experience as agriculturists.

The first Bohemian immigrant—a man of superior intelligence and now of considerable fortune—Adolphe Korper, came to South Willington twenty-nine years ago. He did not engage in farming, but after working in the woolen mills established there for some time, went into the mercantile business and now owns and manages a large enterprise; he is first selectman of the town and a friend, lawgiver, banker, and counselor to the Bohemian settlers who have recently moved in. The first Bohemian, who purchased land was Michael Fara. Following his immigration to the United States Fara worked for a time in Connecticut factories, and about 1902 purchased a small piece of land in the locality under discussion. He now owns a farm of 55 acres with good buildings, raises fair crops, and has a dairy herd of 9 cows.

The settlers since Fara represent the successful efforts of enterprising real estate men. Their advertisements of fine old New England farms, with plenty of good air, fine views, building stone, timber, and orchards for sale at bargain prices—with "stock and tools"—brought floods of inquiries and most of the present settlers. The advertising mediums used were the Bohemian and Slovak papers. The first comers who dealt with the original owners fared very well and bought land at its real value—about \$4 to \$6 an acre. But later the land was monopolized by real estate dealers who gathered all the bargains, sold the timber to lumbermen and, stocking the farm with a few old cows and some well-worn tools, disposed of the denuded acres to the unsophisticated immigrant for much more than the original sale price.

The assessors' valuations of farms, of this type are low, of course, but the discrepancies between assessments and purchase prices of some of the farms now owned by the Bohemians and Slovaks are in instances remarkable. One piece of land, 90 acres, bought in 1903 for \$2,250 cash, was assessed at \$550 in 1908; 97 acres, bought in 1904 for \$1,050 cash, assessed at \$75; 30 acres, purchased for \$350 in 1908, assessor's value \$50; 90 acres purchased for \$1,200 in 1905, assessor's value \$425; 156 acres purchased for \$3,000 cash, assessor's value \$1,182, which includes \$600 or more in new buildings erected since 1902. The buyer of this last parcel of land has given up the farm and stock, leaving them in charge of his son-in-law, who pays no rent, simply meeting taxes and insurance. Neither has been able to make a living on the place. Another man who paid \$1,000 cash for a farm,



found that the land "agent" who sold to him had bought the option from the original owner for \$400 a few weeks before the bargain was closed. Another who bought 75 acres in 1908 for \$1,850 found on survey that the farm had shrunk to 50 acres and that the assessed value was \$400. Other cases might be cited. Practically every foreigner told a tale of exploitation or fraud, and unprejudiced observers were unanimous in the observation that the newcomers were being unfairly dealt with. The reservation-of-timber clause is so common in deeds to foreigners as to be almost universal. Sometimes the buyer is left without firewood in a region of forest. Some who have spent their little all for a rocky waste with scarcely an acre fit for tillage are actually reduced to want during the long hard winters.

Much of the land purchased is of the poorest description. The buildings are large and numerous but few are in good repair. The houses are, in general, substantially built, and with new roofs and a little paint are very respectable buildings, and the immigrants find them adequate for convenience and comfort. Although there are a good many defections from the settlement, the number of immigrants who come in increases yearly. There are now upward of 100 families in these townships.

With the exception of one Bohemian who worked for a short time as a farm laborer, and another who was employed for a few years in a button factory, all of the 26 heads of families under consideration purchased land on arrival in the community. One Bohemian came with nothing, but none of the other foreigners interviewed had less than \$250 in money or property when they first moved to Tolland County. The Bohemians were in better circumstances than the Slovaks. Five brought with them property worth between \$250 and \$1,500, 3 between \$1,500 and \$2,500, 4 between \$2,500 and \$5,000, and 4 \$5,000 or more. Only one of the Slovaks reported property valued at \$1,500 or more at the time of arrival.

Bohemian purchases averaged about 83 acres and practically all were of land less than 25 per cent in shape for cultivation or mowing. These farms at one time contained many more cultivable acres, but for years had been abandoned or semiabandoned by their owners. The Slovak farms were a little larger, but nearly all were more than half unimproved, and of most more than three-fourths of the acreage was in forest and wild pasture, overgrown with shrubs and brush.

The average price paid for land by Bohemians was about \$21 an acre, or \$1,808 a farm, in some cases including "stock and tools;" in all instances including buildings and other minor improvements. The cash payments are comparatively large. A number paid for their farms at once; the average amount paid down was \$1,553 a farm, equal to more than 85 per cent of the purchase price of the land. Several farmers interviewed declared that they had invested every cent of their savings in land. The Slovaks interviewed purchased cheaper farms, but the number of cases cited are not in themselves sufficient for generalization. The Slovaks are buying the cheaper, rougher farms, more difficult to till, more inaccessible, and less responsive to cultivation and application of fertilizer. They pay less money down and carry relatively heavier encumbrances.

Like the Hebrew semifarmers in New London County,<sup>a</sup> comparatively few of the Bohemians and Slovaks under consideration are able to make a living solely from the land, and a number of different methods are employed to supplement the farm income. Some of the Bohemians have resorted to keeping summer boarders, but none of the Poles or Slovaks in the locality have engaged in this enterprise. Several find employment either as farm laborers or as employees in the pearl-button factories, or, for part of the year, in the textile mills or even on highway construction work. A few are skilled laborers and work at their trades, while one conducts a small drug business in addition to his farm work. Few or none of the Slovaks can live in comfort from the products of their cultivated acres unless they have children to aid them on their farms.

#### AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS.

Transcriptions from the assessment rolls of the property of 91 immigrant farmers in the towns under consideration show that, while the average area owned varies in the several townships, 68 per cent of all farms noted lie between 40 and 160 acres. About one-third contain 40 and less than 80 acres, about one-fourth between 80 and 120 acres, 16 per cent between 120 and 160 acres, and less than 8 per cent contain 160 acres and more. A comparison of size of farms by race does not reveal anything of significance. In some townships the Bohemians hold the larger farms, in others the Slovaks and Poles. The significant fact is that the Bohemians ordinarily bought better land than the Slovaks, and sometimes the Slovaks bought large farms, with only a small part of their area suitable for tillage.

The size of farms, however, does not give much clew to the percentage of the farm in cultivation. A 40-acre farm may have more acres in crops than a neighboring farm whose total area is 120 acres. The surplus land may be absolutely worthless for purposes of agriculture, so far as present production is concerned; and the chances are that two-thirds of it can never be tilled advantageously. The table following presents in summarized form the 91 immigrant farms referred to, classified by total acreage.

TABLE 7.—*Classification of farms, by acreage and race of owner, Tolland County, Conn.*

[Compiled from tax lists for 1908.]

Number of acres.	Number of farms assessed.				Race of owners.		
	Tolland Township.	Willing-ton Township.	Vernon, Stafford, and Ellington.	Total.	Bohemian.	Polish and Slovak.	Other foreigners.
Under 10.....	0	0	1	1	0	0	1
10 and under 20.....	2	3	3	8	6	2	0
20 and under 40.....	4	6	3	13	7	4	2
40 and under 80.....	6	21	0	27	13	8	6
80 and under 120.....	4	13	3	20	9	7	4
120 and under 160.....	6	9	0	15	6	6	3
160 and under 240.....	1	3	1	5	2	0	3
240 or over.....	1	1	0	2	2	0	0
Total.....	24	56	11	91	45	27	19

<sup>a</sup> See Part III, Chap. II, pp. 11 et seq.

## CROPS AND TILLAGE.

The farming done by many of these immigrants can scarcely be called agriculture. There is little method in it and with a number it is simply a struggle for existence. A typical case may be cited: A Bohemian family of superior industry and intelligence bought a hill farm of 65 acres in 1905. There are a father and two sons, 59, 22, and 19 years of age, respectively, all strong, healthy men, the wife mother who lives with them, and two daughters working in New York City. Up to date, despite unflagging industry and toil, they have not made enough to live upon, and were it not for aid contributed by the working daughters and one son who finds employment during dull seasons in a neighboring pearl-button factory they could not survive. There is no indebtedness on the land; it was bought for cash. Since coming to the locality they have acquired about \$300 worth of cows, oxen, and pigs and \$50 worth of tools. A closely itemized estimate of produce raised last year (1908) aggregates \$272. Rye, oats, corn, potatoes, hay, and mangel-wurzels make up the items. The total value of produce of all sorts sold from the place in 1908 was \$5. One can better understand the state of affairs when he realizes that of the 65 acres only 8 are in tillage and tame hay (there was but 1 acre in cultivation in 1905) and that the remainder, in brush and pasture, barely suffices to sustain 10 head of cattle, young and old, during the summer. The farm is trim and thrifty looking and the small acreage is exceedingly well tilled. The house and outbuildings are in good repair; the entire family works early and late (the girls, just returned from New York, were thrashing grain with flails when interviewed), and nothing is wasted. No wonder the outlook is discouraging, when the most careful methods and the most arduous toil returns less than a bare living.

Some economic reasons other than infertile, worn-out land contribute to this situation, but primarily the fault lies in the infertility of the soil. Rough, stony, and hilly, few farms have more than 20 acres in tame hay or cultivated crops; the average is between 5 and 15 acres as nearly as can be estimated. Some farmers have wild meadow land in addition, but few raise enough hay to feed their live stock. At least one-third and in some cases more than four-fifths of the land in farms is in woodland or pasture. The area occupied by rocks is a large fraction of the total.

In Tolland County agriculture is confined to the production of staple crops, raised for the sustenance of the family and the stock. Rye is produced in very small quantities. Potatoes are raised for home use, the surplus for sale. None of the immigrants plant more than 2 acres of potatoes; few have 1 acre. Corn is grown for feeding on the farm, both grain and fodder being saved; some use corn as a soiling crop. Buckwheat and oats, the latter usually cut green for hay, are found on most farms. Millet, mangel-wurzels, and turnips complete the list of farm crops. The grains are either fed unthreshed with the straw or the thrashing is done with flails. On the lowlands hay is cut with a scythe, but on the tame mowings of the uplands one or two horse mowers and horse hayrakes are employed. The hay as well as all grain crops is stored away in barns as soon as cured.

The tobacco crop in one little section of East Haddam, not far from the Connecticut River, is the one crop of importance, and some

of the Bohemians have been cultivating tobacco with profit. The few schedules taken from Bohemian growers show that the Bohemian farmer does well where he has a fair opportunity.

#### TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS.

In the use of tools and implements, as in culture, the immigrants are following the customs of the New Englander. As before stated, frequently the foreigner comes into possession of semiworthless tools, implements, and wagons conveyed with the farm. Disk and cutaway harrows, wooden beam plows, hand-power feed cutters, mowers, and horserakes, are all used. There are a few drill seeders, but no reapers, self-binders, nor thrashing machines. In many ways farm operations are quite as primitive as those practiced by the New England farmer of sixty years ago.

The expense of tillage is great. A number of the foreign families and a large percentage of the natives use oxen to supply motive power. For plowing, a man and yoke of steers can be hired at a cost of \$4 a day; if the ground is not too stony, a plowman may turn over half an acre, more or less, daily. The expensiveness lies partially in the employment of oxen, but more in the stubborn stony soil. Other operations are scarcely less expensive. Fertilizer or manure must be used if any crop is obtained. A number of the foreign farmers collect their manure in pits (beneath the barn floor), few compost any, but all exercise some care to save any refuse that can be utilized for fertilizing purposes. Low-grade fertilizers, often purchased on credit, are applied in small quantities to corn and potatoes, infrequently to grass for hay. The average total yearly expenditure for commercial fertilizer is not excessive, however, because the area of application is small.

The native farmers are, on the whole, doing a little better than these newcomers, very few of whom are at all optimistic. There is little encouragement or hope, since there are no fresh lands to clear and those now cultivated barely suffice for a living. But the native farmers who are making any crops and not living on accumulated capital are tilling better soils, broader fields, in more accessible locations. Their operations are on a little larger scale, but even they raise very little produce to sell and are content to keep the farmstead in good order and repair and to get a livelihood without working too hard or too many hours. Most of their farmsteads are better cared for and more homelike than those owned by Slovak farmers, but as a rule the Bohemians equal the natives in this respect. Their properties were dilapidated when bought but they are being brought to a good state of repair as rapidly as is possible under the circumstances.

The immigrants seem to possess a fondness for flowers, for nearly every family has a few of some sort; some have very attractive gardens. Their vegetable gardens are well cared for and contain a large variety of vegetables, but few farmers, native or immigrant, have engaged commercially in fruit raising. Neither small fruits nor pears, peaches, and grapes are produced in commercial quantities, and few apples reach the market. The San Jose scale has proved so destructive and so few farmers have attempted spraying that the fruit situation is not promising. Many make a barrel or more of apple cider, but the apple orchards are very poor. Fences are nearly all of stone or rails and are very indifferently kept up, although nearly every small farm lot has a stone fence around it.

## LIVE STOCK.

The Bohemians keep more live stock per farm than the Slovaks; those interviewed reported 90 cows and 39 other neat cattle on 19 farms, the average number of cows being about 5 per farmer. On 6 Slovak farms 25 cows are reported, only 2 farmers reporting 4 or more. Hogs are enumerated on 13 Bohemian and 3 Slovak farms; the Bohemians kept an average of 4 and the Slovaks an average of 2 hogs per farm. Very few hogs are marketed; they are butchered in the late fall or winter and salted down for family use. The number of the immigrants, Slovaks in particular, who keep more than 1 horse is small, and none report more than 2. A few have oxen, but they employ them less than the native New Englander.

## MARKETS AND MARKETING FACILITIES.

One of the greatest handicaps to successful commercial agriculture aside from the untoward natural conditions of soil and climate is the distance to markets or rather the actual dearth of markets for any produce that returns a profit. The district under consideration may be regarded as approximately 15 miles square, with the Willimantic River running north and south through its center. The Vermont Central Railroad follows the course of the river and gives fairly good passenger and freight service.

The largest town in the district is Stafford Springs, with a population in 1900 of 2,460; but there are several hamlets along the river, and Willimantic, Conn., is but 20 miles south. The immigrants are nearly all located from 6 to 12 miles from Stafford Springs, but some of them are within 3 miles of railway stations at West Willington and South Willington. Numerous small woolen and shoddy mills are situated on the river and its branches, whose hundreds of operatives, largely Italian and Polish, furnish a market for some of the farm products. The local demand for vegetables, fruits, and milk is not met in any systematic way, however, and the roads are so hilly and difficult that farmers who live more than 2 or 3 miles from town find it impracticable to bring in produce to retail from house to house.

Those farmers who are located 6 or 7 miles from Stafford Springs find no dependable market for any sort of produce unless raised in quantities sufficient to make profitable shipments by rail to the larger cities. Almost none have succeeded in shipping new vegetables with profit; the market for apples is very erratic and the buyers frequently refuse local stock, although apples from other sources are being shipped in and sold at good prices. Among the farmers there is not an expert fruit grower in the district, and Boston and Providence produce dealers favor western shippers because they say the supply of Connecticut fruit can not be depended on; it comes in barrels, ungraded, and it can not be placed on the larger markets in competition with western-grown fruit. There is a good local demand for corn and hay, but hay can not be raised profitably and hauled 6 or 7 miles over Connecticut hills. Poultry and eggs are easily disposed of at good prices. It is rather exceptional, however, to find a farm devoted chiefly or exclusively to poultry products.

The one product always salable for cash is milk, which is shipped every morning to Boston or Providence. At the time the Commis-

sion's inquiry was made the net price for milk f. o. b. the milk car at the local depot was never more than 4 cents a quart, and often but little more than 3 cents. At less than 4 cents the cost of producing milk on the Connecticut hills probably exceeds the net return for it. Only under the most favorable conditions can dairying be made to pay, and the conditions confronting the immigrants who have engaged in dairying are not favorable.

As a matter of fact, agriculture in Tolland and Willington townships is a hand to mouth matter. Were it not for the supplementary income derived from work in the mills and pearl-button factories existence would be impossible to many of the newcomers.

#### PROPERTY OWNED.

A summary of the financial status of the 26 families interviewed is presented in the statement which follows. The Bohemian farms, 19 in number, aggregate 1,848 acres and have a gross valuation of \$44,800, or \$2,358 a farm. Incumbrances to the amount of \$7,535 are carried on 8 farms, but the remaining 11 were reported to be free from debt. The gross value of all property is \$60,213 and the aggregate net value \$52,678, or \$2,773 per farm. Among the number reported are two or three of the most prosperous foreigners in the entire settlement. The seven Slovaks who are later arrivals show up more poorly. They cultivate 62 acres out of a total of 645 owned. Their farms average 92 acres, for the median Slovak farm runs a little higher than the median Bohemian farm. Their farms are less valuable, however, \$1,257, or \$14 per acre, being the reported average. All of the Slovaks report indebtedness, averaging \$421 per farm, or more than one-third of the estimated value. The gross value of all Slovak property is \$12,618 and the net aggregate \$9,668, or \$1,381 per farm. The average net value per farm of property owned is just about one-half of that reported by the Bohemians.

TABLE 8.—General financial summary, Bohemian and Slovak farmers, Tolland County, Conn.

Data reported.	Race of owner.		Data reported.	Race of owner.	
	Bohe- mian.	Slovak.		Bohe- mian.	Slovak.
Farms leased and owned:			Present value of farms now owned:		
Total farms of race.....	19	7	Land and improvements.....	\$44,800	\$8,800
Average size of farm, acres.....	97	92	Average value of land and improvements per farm.....	\$2,358	\$1,257
Median farm, acres.....	65	74	Average value of land and improvements per acre.....	\$24	\$14
Kind of farms:			Number of farms showing indebtedness.....	8	7
General farms.....	15	7	Total indebtedness.....	\$7,535	\$2,950
Tobacco.....	4		Average indebtedness per farm.....	\$942	\$421
First purchase of land and improvements:			Gross value of all property.....	\$60,213	\$12,618
Total number of acres.....	1,575	720	Net value of all property.....	\$52,678	\$9,668
Average acres per farm.....	82.89	103	Average net value of all property per farm.....	\$2,773	\$1,381
Total value.....	\$32,550	\$7,500			
Average value per farm.....	\$1,808	\$1,071			
Average value per acre.....	\$21	\$10			
Farms now owned:					
Total number of acres.....	1,848	645			
Number of acres cultivated.....	257	62			
Number of acres not cultivated.....	1,591	583			

<sup>a</sup> Not including 1 not reporting value of farm, but including \$3,000 worth of live stock and farm implements.

## ASSESSORS' VALUATIONS.

During the investigation of this settlement a transcription of the property assessments of 98 immigrants, living in five adjoining towns, was made from the 1908 tax lists of the towns. The table following, which presents the facts with regard to assessments, by townships and by nationalities, has been tabulated from these transcriptions. That 8 farmers in the third group of towns have total property assessments, but no assessments on land, is explained by the fact that they are tenants or partners and own no land. Considering land, it appears that more than 93 per cent of the assessments on real estate are less than \$1,000, and nearly two-thirds of them are less than \$500. Of the assessments of all property, 71 per cent are less than \$1,000, 24 per cent are less than \$500, and about 12 per cent \$1,500 and over. It is evident either that the assessors consider the properties of little value or that the ratio of assessments to true values is very low.

The summary of total valuations distributed by races brings out little of significance; 65 per cent of Bohemian assessments, 78 per cent of the Polish and Slovak, and 72 per cent of the assessments of other foreigners are less than \$1,000; taking a lower limit, 20 per cent of the Bohemians, 21 per cent of the Poles and Slovaks, and 36 per cent of the other foreigners have assessments less than \$500; on the upper limit, 10 per cent of the Bohemians, 7 per cent of the Slovaks, and 23 per cent of the other foreigners enumerated were assessed on property to the value of \$1,500 or more. The median Bohemian assessment is less than \$800, the median Polish and Slovak assessment a little more than \$700, and the median of the other foreigners about \$600. So far as tax lists measure financial condition, the Bohemians stand first; they pay more taxes, but their properties are not materially larger than those of other foreign farmers who are their neighbors.

TABLE 9.—Range of assessed valuations of land and all property, by township and nationality of owner, Tolland County, Conn.

[Compiled from tax list for 1908.]

Assessed values.	Tolland Township.		Willington Township.		Vernon, Stafford, and Ellington.		Total assessments.		Total valuations, by race of taxpayer.		
	Land.	Total assessment.	Land.	Total assessment.	Land.	Total assessment.	Land.	All property.	Bohemian.	Polish and Slovak.	Other foreign. <sup>a</sup>
Less than \$100.....	3	0	3	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0
\$100 and under \$300.....	5	4	20	4	2	2	27	10	4	3	3
\$300 and under \$500.....	7	3	17	9	2	2	26	14	6	3	5
\$500 and under \$700.....	3	3	10	17	2	3	15	23	10	7	6
\$700 and under \$1,000.....	5	6	4	15	2	2	11	23	12	9	2
\$1,000 and under \$1,500.....	1	5	2	7	1	4	4	16	11	4	1
\$1,500 and under \$2,000.....	0	3	0	2	0	4	0	9	3	2	4
\$2,000 and over.....	0	0	0	2	1	1	1	3	2	0	1
Total.....	24	24	56	56	10	18	90	98	48	28	22

<sup>a</sup> Hungarian, Magyar, Italian.

## OWNERS' VALUATIONS.

The tabulated returns of estimates made by the foreigners interviewed of net values of property owned are undoubtedly nearer true values, and they put the present condition of the foreigners in a different light. The next table classifies the property of 26 farmers, interviewed by agents of the Commission, by items. That the Bohemians own more valuable land and improvements is again made plain, more than 63 per cent of them owning \$1,500 and more, while only one Slovak in seven had land worth more than \$1,500. One-third of the Bohemians valued land and improvements at \$2,500 and more per farm. The Bohemians make a better showing of personal property also. Twelve of the Bohemians report total property valued at \$2,500 and more per farm; the remainder own less than \$1,500 each. Four of the seven Slovaks report total property to the value of less than \$1,000 each, and only two have more than \$2,500 worth of property.

TABLE 10.—*Net value of real and personal property now owned, 26 typical Bohemian and Slovak farmers, Tolland County, Conn.*

Value.	Land and improvements.	Live stock and imple-ments.	Crops on hand.	Total property.
<b>BOHEMIAN.</b>				
Under \$50.....		1		
\$50 and under \$100.....		1		
\$100 and under \$250.....		6	3	
\$250 and under \$500.....	3	2	1	1
\$500 and under \$1,000.....	2	7		3
\$1,000 and under \$1,500.....	2	1		3
\$1,500 and under \$2,500.....	6	1		
\$2,500 and under \$5,000.....	4			10
\$5,000 and over.....	2			2
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>SLOVAK.</b>				
Under \$50.....		1		
\$50 and under \$100.....		1		
\$100 and under \$250.....		3		
\$250 and under \$500.....	1	1		1
\$500 and under \$1,000.....	4	1		3
\$1,000 and under \$1,500.....	1			
\$1,500 and under \$2,500.....	1			1
\$2,500 and under \$5,000.....				2
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>		<b>7</b>

The next table summarizes by classified values the property brought to the locality by the 26 Bohemian and Slovak farmers under consideration and the property now owned, showing the number of years the property owners have been settled on farms. The length of residence in the locality helps to explain the backwardness of the Slovak. In general he came with less money and has been in the community a shorter period of time; none of the Slovaks reporting have been on their farms five years, and half of them purchased land since January, 1908.



TABLE 11.—Value of property brought to locality, net value of property now owned, and number of years since first lease or purchase, 26 typical Bohemian and Slovak farmers, Tolland County, Conn.

Value of property brought.	Number of heads of families.	Number of heads of families having property whose net value is—						Years since first lease or purchase.			
		\$250 and under \$500.	\$500 and under \$1,000.	\$1,000 and under \$1,500.	\$1,500 and under \$2,500.	\$2,500 and under \$5,000.	\$5,000 or over.	1 and under 5.	5 and under 10.	10 and under 15.	20 or over.
<b>BOHEMIAN.</b>											
No property .....	1					1					
\$250 and under \$500 .....	3	1		2				3			
\$500 and under \$1,000 .....	1					1		1			
\$1,000 and under \$1,500 .....	1		1					1			
\$1,500 and under \$2,500 .....	3		2	1				2	1		
\$2,500 and under \$5,000 .....	4					4		1	2		1
\$5,000 or over .....	4					2	2	1	3		
Not reported .....	2					2		1		1	
Total .....	19	1	3	3		10	2	10	7	1	1
<b>SLOVAK.</b>											
\$250 and under \$500 .....	1		1					1			
\$500 and under \$1,000 .....	1	1						1			
\$1,000 and under \$1,500 .....	4		2	1		1		4			
\$1,500 and under \$2,500 .....	1					1		1			
Total .....	7	1	3	1		2		7			

## INCOMES.

Referring to the next table it is seen that, as has been noted, the returns from the sales of farm products are small in the aggregate. The principal exceptions are four Bohemian farms producing tobacco. These farms are situated not far from the Connecticut River on soil peculiarly adapted to tobacco, and the returns have been encouraging. They represent the maximum of income received by foreign farmers in the region. The table otherwise is typical of the whole group in Tolland County. Of 26 farmers reporting farm products only 20 report any sales. The table shows a racial contrast in this case, more apparent than real. Though 16 of the 19 Bohemians and only 4 of the 7 Slovaks derive a cash income from sales of farm products, the reason therefor lies in the shorter period of residence of the Slovaks. Of the 16 Bohemian farms reporting sales of farm products, 5 sell less than \$50 worth yearly, 8 sell between \$50 and \$500, and the sales of the remaining three farms average between \$500 and \$1,000. None of the Slovaks report sales of more than \$250 yearly.

Not only are the incomes small, but the living for the family which the farm ordinarily furnishes is very meagerly provided on many of the farms, and the percentage of owners whose farms do not yet provide a living is unusually large.

TABLE 12.—*Classification of farms by value of specified farm products produced and sold, 26 Bohemian and Slovak farmers, Tolland county, Conn.*

Values.	Number of farms reporting farm products.											
	Produced.					Sold.						
	Grain and forage.	Vegetables.	Dairy products.	Animal products.	Tobacco.	Total.	Grain and forage.	Vegetables.	Dairy products.	Animal products.	Tobacco.	Total.
<b>BOHEMIAN.</b>												
Under \$50.....	4	7	3	3	.....	4	.....	2	3	3	.....	5
\$50 and under \$100.....	4	5	1	3	.....	3	.....	1	1	3	.....	1
\$100 and under \$250.....	2	1	4	1	.....	3	.....	.....	4	1	.....	3
\$250 and under \$500.....	7	.....	1	.....	2	2	.....	.....	1	.....	2	4
\$500 and under \$1,000.....	2	.....	.....	.....	2	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	3
\$1,000 and under \$1,500.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	19	13	9	7	4	19	.....	3	9	7	4	16
<b>SLOVAK.</b>												
Under \$50.....	3	3	1	3	.....	3	.....	.....	1	3	.....	1
\$50 and under \$100.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1
\$100 and under \$250.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	1	.....	1	1	.....	.....	2
\$250 and under \$500.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	7	4	3	3	.....	7	.....	1	3	3	.....	4

There are two methods to which the Bohemians resort to supplement their incomes from the products of the farm. In one section of the county there are a number who take summer boarders, and at least a few farmers who make this their chief vocation. The boarders are Bohemians, usually skilled operatives from New York, among them being a considerable number of cigar makers. Board and lodging are furnished at \$5 to \$7 a week for adults, the rates running slightly less than in the Jewish neighborhoods discussed elsewhere in this report. One Bohemian reported an income of \$2,000 yearly from this source. Some have built cheap buildings for the purpose of accommodating boarders, and receive nearly as much. Where summer boarders are taken, the agriculture is adapted to the end of furnishing food for them, and milk, poultry products, and vegetables are chiefly produced. Not all have found this industry lucrative, for some found it impossible to raise enough to supply the boarders and bought provisions at losing prices. Others did not secure enough boarders to make the venture profitable and are about to abandon it for legitimate agriculture. In this section the Bohemians have gone into the summer-boarder business with less unanimity than the Jews, and the Slovaks, Poles, and Hungarians have not engaged in the industry at all. As a source of income to a considerable number of the immigrant farmers, however, it is of great importance.

A summarized account of the operations of 5 Bohemian families, among those interviewed by agents of the Commission, who kept boarders is as follows:

Aggregate number of boarders kept, 1908.....	142
Ruling rates for board, per week.....	\$4-\$7
Average number of weeks in the season.....	7 to 8
Net income per boarder (for season).....	\$20-\$40
Aggregate net income reported (130 boarders).....	\$3,400

The other source of supplementary income is the pearl-button industry. There are a number of these little factories operating in Tolland County and vicinity, each employing from 2 to 40 operatives. Some of the smaller establishments are operated by their owners and a few additional hands and are really house industries. This type is the more numerous. A few are run on a larger scale, one typical plant consisting of a power house, a storage warehouse, a factory, and a lodging house for operatives. This factory is equipped with power machines for cutting, shaping, polishing, boring, and sorting pearl buttons, manufactured both from fresh-water shells and seashells. Forty to 50 male operatives, boys and men, are employed. Some of the hands are paid by the day, some by the piece, but all work 58 hours per week. Boys are started at \$3 a week, which may be increased to \$6 or \$7 per week in a short time. The most skilled machine operators earn \$12 to \$15.50 a week. The work is not considered difficult, but the fine dust that arises from the polishing process is considered harmful to the lungs and the eyes. In this factory all but 2 of the 20 men working on button machines came from farms in the vicinity, and a large percentage of the other laborers in and about the plant were either farmers or farmers' sons. Bohemians, Poles, and Slovaks were among the number, with Bohemians in the majority. This factory is run by a New York firm of Bohemians who keep closely in touch with the work. The output fluctuates with the demand, and the factory does not run regularly, sometimes closing for weeks at a time, or employing only a part of the force. The elasticity of the force employed is one advantage offered to operatives from farms. The farmers can attend to their crops when they need attention and return to the button factories when the rush of farm work is over. Some of the small factories were established by Bohemian farmers, who found that their farms were not paying. The machinery necessary in button making is very simple and the investment need not be large. The raw material is easily obtained either from dealers in shell or from large button manufacturers in New York, and there is a ready market for the finished product.

The Slovaks take no summer boarders, and except as employees none visited were engaged in button making. In fact they seem less enterprising and resourceful than the Bohemians. Other outside employment is furnished on the farms in the neighborhood and in the textile and saw mills, of which there are several in the vicinity. The Bohemian girls are teachers, stenographers, or clerical workers, usually in the large towns. The Slovak and Polish girls are engaged in domestic service for the most part.

Seventeen of the 26 households interviewed reported supplementary income other than that from summer boarders. In seven instances the children contributed their earnings, and 9 heads of households worked for wages; a druggist and a landlord with income-bearing property were reported. The average income per family for 17 families from these sources was \$277.30. The greatest amount received in 1908 by any family was \$754; the least received by any family with outside income, \$30.

## THRIFT.

No farming community visited gave the appearance of greater industry, but the rewards of toil were less conspicuous than in many localities. The Bohemians are the best farmers, and the marks of thrift and care about their farmsteads are very noticeable. Most of them are much discouraged, but while they remain farmers the traits of frugality and careful economy will characterize their farms. The Slovaks are hard workers, cheap livers, and good savers, but they lack the efficiency that seems to characterize the Bohemian husbandmen. The few Bohemians who have good farms are probably the best farmers in their neighborhoods and will soon be the most prosperous. Where they are on barren ground it is doubtful whether they will ever be able to procure more than a mere subsistence from the soil. In contrast to the Hebrews, not far distant, the Bohemians have trimmer farmsteads, buildings in better repair, yards more carefully kept, and surroundings more homelike. The community is neither happy nor contented, taken as a whole, but the Bohemians make a better showing than most farmers in this region.

## STANDARD OF LIVING.

The problem of living well on an isolated, worn-out, unproductive, unpaid-for hill farm is more than a question of race. The foreigner of whatever race, Bohemian, Pole, Slovak, or Russian, who has invested all of his capital in land and a broken-down equipment of farming implements and tools, has to face the problem of cutting his expenses to meet his possible income. Almost every foreign farmer uses all he produces to feed and clothe his family. There can be little saving and nothing is left over for luxuries. Those who are living well are those who have some reserve capital or some income in addition to their farms. In evidences of thrift, neatness, and care of their persons or places the Bohemians very easily stand first, after them the Slovaks, and finally the Poles and Hungarians. Nearly all the Bohemian males speak English, the young people rather fluently. It is significant that very frequently the women can converse in English. Most of the men have been laborers or skilled workers in New York City, some of them earning good wages. They learned there how to live and to spend and they have retained as far as possible their city standards. They dress as well and as carefully as they can, eat good food, well prepared, live in as good houses as they can afford, and appear unusually alert and intelligent.

The Slovaks and Poles live very poorly in many individual instances. Their houses are dirty, poorly cared for, and very slovenly in appearance. The children are ragged, dirty, and apparently neglected. The food is abundant most of the year but is not well served. Salt meat, potatoes, cabbage, rye bread, and garden vegetables appear to be the staple articles of diet. Fewer of them speak English, and practically none of the women understand any language but Polish. All the foreigners are said to send their children to school with some regularity. As a race the Bohemian children are said to exhibit more aptitude in school than the others. In the winter, because the foreign farms are often in isolated districts far from a schoolhouse, the attendance is not very regular. It is reported that some families were unable to provide

clothing and shoes of sufficient warmth to permit their children to attend school in the depth of winter. No high schools are convenient to most of the farmers, but a number of Bohemians are sending their children to Willimantic after they have completed the course in the common schools. The State provides for the transportation of pupils to the nearest high school, but the cost of tuition is paid by the patron. The desire to educate their children is a marked characteristic of the Bohemians in this part of Connecticut, and several boys were met who are planning to enter college.

There are some evidences of culture in the books and a few newspapers seen in the more prosperous homes. Occasionally there is a musical instrument. The flowers and ornamental shrubs in the gardens of many, the occasional hammock, and the vine-inclosed porches bear testimony to a rising standard of comfort.

#### SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

In those communities where the foreigners are widely separated the roughness of the country and the rather unsatisfactory condition of the roads through a large part of the year makes community life almost impossible. In such communities the foreigners do not have many social organizations and there is very little getting together in any large way. The isolation is very acutely felt by those who have been accustomed to the life of the city.

The Bohemian group in Willington Township is a little more concentrated than any of the others and some community attempts have been made in a social way. There is a live working branch of the Cesko-Slovansky Podporujice Spolek (one of the large Bohemian benefit organizations) with a membership of 39. The society owns a one and one-half story building, from which float both the Bohemian colors and the American flag. Meetings are held semimonthly, both men and women attending, the women having affiliated organization. The purposes of the order are insurance, sickness and death benefits, and social intercourse.

There is a second benefit association organized by about 25 farmers, chiefly for insurance against loss of crops by hail or wind, or loss of cattle by sickness or lightning. The dues are 10 cents a month per member and the membership is confined to Bohemian farmers. The association gives an occasional ball, supper, or entertainment during the winter, but the social purpose is subordinate. The headquarters of this association is at Hadlyme, Conn., some distance from the Willington community. Near Hadlyme also there is a Bohemian band, partly made up of summer boarders, with a nucleus of players from among the Hadlyme Bohemians.

In both the Hadlyme and Willington groups there is much visiting among the Bohemians, who mix rather freely with the native New Englanders in their social enterprises. The young people who have lived a few years in the community are the social equals of the American children and few if any social distinctions are made in the rural districts. The Poles and Slovaks do not mix socially with either the Bohemians or the Americans. Religion and nationality both tend to separate them from the Bohemians, who look on them with unconcealed contempt for the most part. They have been in

the community a very short time and the barrier of language keeps the Americans and the Poles apart. The more favorable opinion entertained by the natives for the Bohemians is outspoken and unmistakable.

#### POLITICAL CONDITIONS.

The political activity of the Bohemians in some towns is marked. In Willington the chairman of the town board of selectmen is one of the most intelligent Bohemians in the county. Here, too, some minor town offices have been held by men of Bohemian lineage. The groups are more or less scattered and it is difficult to say how many have taken out their naturalization papers. Of those interviewed about one-half of those who had been in the United States five years or more were citizens. A few had filed first papers and approximately one-third were aliens. In the same groups fully 95 per cent are able to read and write English. The Slovaks and Poles interviewed were all aliens at the time of inquiry. They seem to manifest less interest in civic affairs, probably because they have less knowledge of English. To all appearance they will not become citizens as quickly as the Bohemians. The Bohemians are said to vote rather solidly on national or state tissues, but they are less clannish than many foreigners, and on local matters are likely to vote independently, disregarding nationality or party affiliations. In all cases they are said to be respected citizens and efficient officers.

#### GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

The effect of the Bohemian on agriculture has been noted. Up to the present no results have accrued worthy of mention from the occupation of Tolland County farms by Poles or Slovaks. Their intellectual, social, and moral progress has been hindered by the hard economic conditions which they have found impossible to alleviate. Were they in more prosperous circumstances they would undoubtedly become Americanized more rapidly and soon assimilate with their native neighbors. The Bohemians have aided agricultural development when the soil permitted. They have supported schools, encouraged the movement for good roads, and developed social institutions of their own. Conversely the community of Americans has reacted favorably on them. They are acquiring American ideals, mingling with New England farmers, taking an interest in town meetings and democratic government. Although somewhat scattered, they are well known and have good reputations. There seems to be no prejudice against them and no unfavorable comment from any quarter. Morally they stand well. They are reported as law-abiding as any north European immigrants. They seldom appear in civil suits except in regard to land purchases, and very little criminality is reported. Several have had law suits over the title to land that they purchased before they were well informed as to land values and deeds. Land speculators cheated them in various ways, and to get reparation they resorted to litigation. Otherwise they live at peace with their neighbors. They are fairly temperate, most of them strictly honest in business transactions, and are reported politically clean. The Slovaks and Poles are Roman Catholics, but the great

part of the Bohemians in this part of Connecticut are not closely affiliated with any church. A few, however, attend Protestant churches and the children in many places go to Protestant Sunday schools.

STATISTICAL DATA FOR SELECTED FAMILIES.

The table following presents facts of significance in the history and economic condition of six Bohemian and four Slovak agricultural families. The Bohemians have been in the locality considerably longer than the Slovaks, and in comparing previous occupations it is notable that the Bohemians were engaged in skilled occupations or in business for themselves, while the greater number of Slovaks were employed as unskilled laborers before coming to the present locality. Considerable difference is also shown between the value of property brought to the locality by the different races, the average for each family being about \$3,617 for the Bohemians and \$1,113 for the Slovaks. The number of acres first purchased varies greatly, Slovaks showing the maximum of 215 and the minimum of 22 acres. Purchases made by the Bohemians ranged from 50 to 150 acres. With one exception the Bohemians paid cash for the land first purchased, while the Slovaks paid only part in cash, executing mortgages with 6 per cent interest to secure deferred payments. The greater number of farms had only 5 to 10 acres of tillable land, and it was necessary to use previous savings or find other employment to supplement the farm income. Some have never been able to make a living from the land. The Bohemians show a much higher property valuation than the Slovaks, but it is notable that six families now own property of a net value less than the total amount of property brought to the locality. Each Slovak shows indebtedness on land, while four Bohemian families are free from debt. The average value of all products from five farms during the past two years was less than \$250. The largest income is shown by two Bohemian farms producing tobacco, but these farms are in a separate locality from the principal settlement of immigrants and are not typical of the colony as a whole.

TABLE 13.—Economic history and present financial condition of certain

Data reported.	Bohemian.			
	Family 1.	Family 2.	Family 3.	Family 4.
Years in locality:				
Head.....	6.....	4.....	7.....	6.....
Family.....	6.....	4.....	7.....	6.....
Present household size.....	5.....	12.....	5.....	4.....
Number of members 10 years or over.....	3.....	8.....	5.....	4.....
Males.....	3.....	5.....	3.....	2.....
Females.....	2.....	7.....	2.....	2.....
Previous location.....	New York, N. Y.	New York, N. Y.	New York, N. Y.	New York, N. Y.
Previous occupation.....	Manufactur- ing butter.	Baker.....	Proprietor of restaurant.	Meat shop and saloon keeper.
Value of property brought to locality.....	\$5,000.....	\$400.....	\$8,000.....	\$3,500.....
First land bought:				
Date.....	1903.....	1905.....	1902.....	1903.....
Number of acres.....	97.....	90.....	50.....	128.....
Price.....	\$2,250.....	\$1,200.....	\$3,400.....	\$1,000.....
Terms.....	Cash.....	\$850 cash, balance mortgage, 6 per cent.	Cash.....	Cash.....
Condition.....	10 acres cleared, balance woodland.	4 acres culti- vated.	8 acres ta- lable, 4 meadow, 38 wood- land.	2 acres culti- vated, 126 brush and woodland.
Occupation until living could be made from land.....	Used income.	Farm laborer	Previous savings and board- ers.	Previous savings and bor- rowed \$400.
Number of years.....		From 1905 to 1909. <sup>a</sup>	6.....	3.....
Acres of land now owned.....	97.....	115.....	50.....	303.....
Acres tillable.....	10.....	10.....	19.....	45.....
Live stock now owned:				
Horses.....	1.....	1.....	2.....	2.....
Cows.....	3.....	10.....	5.....	8.....
Swine.....	2.....		4.....	26.....
Sheep.....				
Other neat cattle.....	1.....		1.....	6.....
Financial condition:				
Value of land and improvements.....	\$2,650.....	\$1,500.....	\$6,000.....	\$2,500.....
Live stock.....	\$205.....	\$170.....	\$453.....	\$505.....
Tools and implements.....	\$10.....	\$50.....	\$200.....	\$400.....
Crops on hand.....			\$100.....	
Other property.....	\$200.....	\$125.....	\$1,500.....	\$150.....
Total gross value of property.....	\$2,665.....	\$1,845.....	\$8,253.....	\$3,555.....
Indebtedness—				
On land.....		\$425.....		\$550.....
Other.....		\$150.....		
Net value of property.....	\$2,665.....	\$1,270.....	\$8,253.....	\$3,005.....
Farm expenditures:				
Fertilizer.....	\$20.....	\$6.....	\$40.....	
Farm labor.....	\$30.....		\$156.....	\$75.....
Stock feed, seeds, and forage.....		\$125.....	\$300.....	

<sup>a</sup> This man is not yet making a living.



typical Bohemian and Slovak families, Tolland County, Conn.

Bohemian—Continued.		Slovak.			
Family 5.	Family 6.	Family 7.	Family 8.	Family 9.	Family 10.
20.....	5.....	1.....	1.....	1.....	2.....
20.....	5.....	1.....	1.....	1.....	2.....
3.....	6.....	6.....	4.....	8.....	4.....
3.....	3.....	4.....	2.....	8.....	4.....
2.....	4.....	2.....	1.....	4.....	2.....
1.....	2.....	4.....	3.....	4.....	2.....
New York, N. Y.	New York and Wisconsin.	Cleveland, Ohio	Pittsburg, Pa.	New York, N. Y.	Pennsylvania.
Cigar maker....	Farming for self.	Laborer ce- ment works.	Coal miner....	Truck farmer.	Layerman glass factory.
\$3,300.....	\$1,500.....	\$1,500.....	\$750.....	\$1,200.....	\$1,000.....
1889.....	1904.....	1908.....	1908.....	1908.....	1907.....
50.....	150.....	215.....	22.....	42.....	142.....
\$2,200.....	\$400.....	\$1,750.....	\$400.....	\$1,200.....	\$900.....
Cash.....	Cash.....	\$250 cash, \$500 secured mort- gage, 6 per cent interest.	\$350 cash, \$50 secured by mortgages.	\$700 cash, \$500 secured by mortgages at 6 per cent.	\$500 cash, bal- ance secured mortgages, 6 per cent.
Poorland, a few acres culti- vated.	5 acres culti- vated, remain- der stony and poor.	10 acres mowing land, 205 acres woodland.	11 acres mowing land, balance poor.	20 acres culti- vated, 22 woodland and stony.	10 acres mow- ing land, bal- ance wood- land.
Selling wood and cross-ties cut from land.	Previous sav- ings.	Savings and worked in button mill.	Not making liv- ing, living on savings.	Sons work in button mill. Boarders.	Laborer, and son works in woolen mill.
7.....	.....	2.....	(a)	(a)	(a)
50.....	150.....	215.....	22.....	42.....	142.....
26.....	5 to 10 acres cultivated.	18.....	Few patches.....	20.....	10.....
1.....	1.....	2.....	.....	1.....	1.....
4.....	4.....	10.....	1.....	3.....	2.....
2.....	.....	4.....	.....	2.....	1.....
.....	.....	5.....	.....	.....	.....
\$2,500.....	\$400.....	\$2,500.....	\$450.....	\$1,200.....	\$900.....
\$106.....	\$200.....	\$450.....	\$25.....	\$152.....	\$69.....
\$100.....	\$60.....	\$50.....	\$2.....	\$30.....	\$30.....
\$100.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
\$100.....	\$75.....	\$50.....	\$25.....	\$40.....	\$30.....
\$2,906.....	\$735.....	\$3,050.....	\$502.....	\$1,422.....	\$1,029.....
.....	.....	\$500.....	\$50.....	\$500.....	\$400.....
\$2,906.....	\$735.....	\$2,550.....	\$452.....	\$922.....	\$669.....
\$200.....	.....	.....	.....	\$18.....	.....
\$50.....	.....	.....	Employed la- bor for plow- ing occasi- onally.	.....	.....
.....	.....	\$175.....	.....	.....	.....

TABLE 13.—*Economic history and present financial condition of certain*

## ANNUAL FARM INCOME FROM PRODUCTS

Products.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.
Corn.....	\$40				\$158		\$94	
Hay.....	45		\$74		150		270	
Potatoes.....	27							
Tobacco.....					250	\$250		
Buckwheat.....							15	
Rye.....							26	
Oats.....							180	
Vetch.....							12	
Barley.....							5	
Not itemized:								
Orchard products.....	(a)		(b)		(c)			
Dairy products.....				\$150		90		\$200
Live-stock products.....		\$15						
Poultry products.....						90		74
Total.....	112	15	74	150	558	430	602	274
Supplementary income.....		†\$600		‡\$468		‡\$2,000		

a 15 apple and a few plum trees.

b Few apple trees.

c 40 fruit trees.

d 50 apple trees.

e 1,200 peach trees, nonproductive; 1,500 or 1,600 apple and plum trees.

f Few apple trees around house, no good.

g 20 apple trees.

typical Bohemian and Slovak families, Tolland County, Conn.—Continued.

SOLD (AVERAGE FOR 2 YEARS).

Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.
\$140	.....	\$4	.....	\$4	.....	\$4	.....	\$48	.....	\$16	.....
450	.....		.....	315	.....	33	.....	150	.....	36	.....
70	.....		.....		.....	4	.....	200	\$200	13	.....
780	\$780										
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
(d)	.....	.....	.....	(e)	.....	(f)	.....	(g)	.....	(h)	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	\$50	.....	.....	.....	20	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1,440	780	4	.....	319	60	41	.....	398	220	71	.....
i \$600		.....		m \$319		.....		n \$728		o \$39	

h About 20 apple trees.

i Head works in manufacture of buttons.

j Contributions from family for board, and farm labor by head.

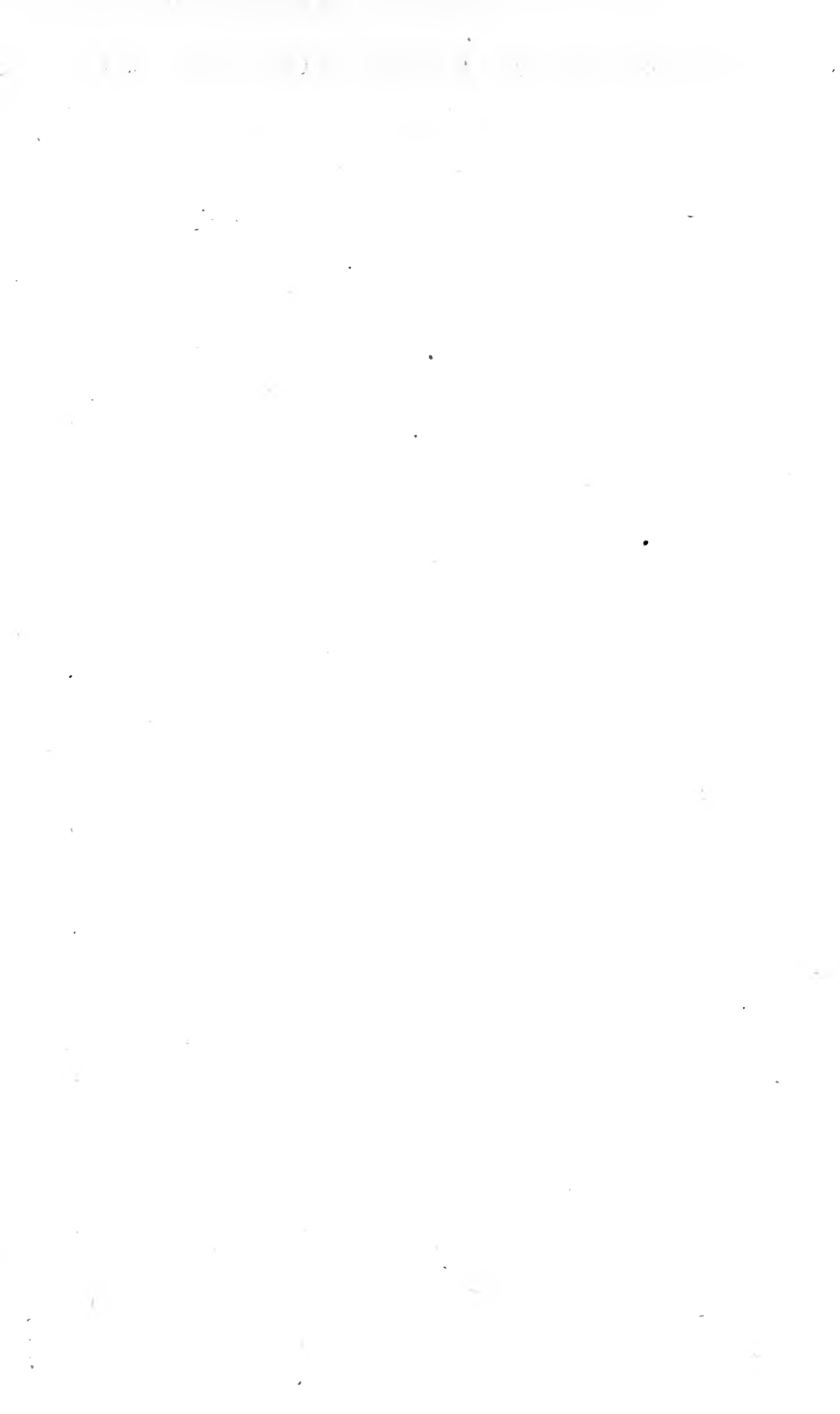
k From summer boarders.

l Income from boarding house.

m Earnings from son.

n Contributions from sons.

o Contribution from son.



## CHAPTER IV.

### BOHEMIANS AND SLOVAKS IN THE SOUTHWEST.

#### SLOVAKTOWN, ARK.

Slovaktown, located 14 miles south of Deval Bluff and 12 miles north of Stuttgart, Ark., contains about 50 Slovak families and 250 persons. The heads of these families were born in Europe but the majority of them worked in the mines of Illinois or Pennsylvania before coming to this locality.

Their farms vary from 30 to 300 acres and are somewhat scattered. Most of the land in its natural state is clear of brush, and the whole region forms a natural pasture for cattle. The majority of the farmers are in the dairy business, selling their cream to a neighboring creamery. Others sell corn and oats, while occasionally some sell a little garden truck in the neighboring towns.

#### HISTORICAL.

The Slovak Colonization Company, with head offices in Pittsburg, Pa., bought 10 sections of land in this locality about 1894. They mapped out a town site of 160 acres in the center of the tract, which they divided into house lots 70 feet by 150 feet. Broad streets and avenues were laid out, a lot was set aside for a church, another for a schoolhouse, etc. The company intended to make a model town in the midst of the prairie. The company advertised extensively in the Slovak newspapers, and finally ran excursions from Pennsylvania and Illinois, carrying homeseekers to view their property. In 1894 the first excursion came with 50 people and a few bought land. The second excursion was run in 1898 and 7 stayed. The company sold tracts of 40, 80, or 120 acres of land for \$5 to \$12 an acre, requiring a certain percentage in cash and the rest on time at a fixed rate of interest, the prevailing rates being from 6 to 8 per cent. Several Slovaks who came on these excursions bargained for land but returned to their homes to continue work in the mines until they had saved enough money to warrant their embarking in the new enterprise.

All the settlers came originally from Austria-Hungary, where some of them had been farmers for themselves, while others had worked on their parents' farms, so that agriculture was not entirely new to them.

During the early years on the prairie the Slovak settlers had a hard struggle. They were so far away from civilization that they were obliged to depend wholly on what they raised for their subsistence. Some of the men left their families for four or five months of the year and went to the East to continue their work in the mines in order to secure money with which to improve their farms.

The colony has not grown rapidly, nor can it be said that the venture has been an unqualified success, but these conditions in the main are probably due to the remote location of the settlement rather than to the settlers or their methods of agriculture. To all appearances these people are doing as well here as any other race would under similar circumstances. During the first eight years several families deserted the settlement, but within the past few years none of the property owners have left and a few new settlers have come in.

#### SOIL, CLIMATE, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The locality has on the whole a very uniform topography, consisting of broad, slightly undulating prairies. A few streams break the long stretch of prairie, and it is by means of these that the country is furnished the only natural means of drainage, which, on the whole, is inadequate and unsatisfactory. Prairie County, in which the colony is situated, lies entirely within the region known geologically as the "Mississippi embayment."

Most of the land in the vicinity of Slovaktown is known as the "Crowley silt loam" type. The soil of this type consists of about 10 inches of a mottled light brown to ashy, gray silt loam. When wet this soil is dark brown in color, but when dry it becomes quite gray. The soil is friable and of excellent tilth. Although much of it is poorly drained in its natural state, the Crowley silt loam is so situated that it can be easily drained artificially. This is done to some extent by ditching. This soil is covered with a natural growth of prairie grasses. In the low and more poorly drained areas the grass is somewhat coarse, but on the whole it makes excellent hay and pasturage. Japanese clover and white clover are indigenous. Large areas of the natural prairie grass are pastured and large quantities are cut and baled on the farm for feed and shipment. This soil yields from 1 to 2 tons per acre of native prairie hay. Oats yield in ordinary seasons from 30 to 50 bushels per acre; corn from 15 to 40 bushels per acre. Cowpeas do exceedingly well on this soil and make excellent feed for stock. Irish potatoes yield from 100 to 150 bushels per acre and sweet potatoes from 200 to 300 bushels. All kinds of vegetables, such as cabbage, turnips, peas, beans, radishes, lettuce, onions, melons, and cantaloupes do well, but they are mostly grown for the home use.

Near the streams some soil of the Acadia silt loam is found. This type is adapted to a large variety of farm crops. It is the most extensively cultivated soil type in the timbered uplands. On account of its loose texture the soil is easily cultivated. Much cotton is grown on this type, the average in a good season being half a bale to the acre. Corn will average from 20 to 40 bushels, and oats from 25 to 40 bushels per acre. The agricultural conditions on the Acadia silt loam are not so good as on the Crowley silt loam.<sup>a</sup>

The climate is temperate and equable, and is free from the great extremes of heat and cold which are characteristic of the States farther north. The annual precipitation is about 52 inches and is

<sup>a</sup>United States Department of Agriculture. Field Operations of the Bureau of Soils, 1902.

usually well distributed throughout the year. The following table shows the mean temperature and average precipitation for a considerable period of years, at Stuttgart, 12 miles from Slovaktown:

*Average monthly and annual temperature and precipitation.*

[Compiled from United States Department of Agriculture Summary of Climatological Data, Section No. 48.]

Month.	Stuttgart station, 1888 to 1908, inclusive.		Month.	Stuttgart station, 1888 to 1908, inclusive.	
	Temper- ature.	Precipi- tation.		Temper- ature.	Precipi- tation.
	° F.	Inches.		° F.	Inches.
January.....	41.8	5.44	August.....	79.4	3.38
February.....	42.9	3.84	September.....	73.1	3.29
March.....	53.4	5.96	October.....	61.5	2.82
April.....	62.6	4.29	November.....	50.8	4.55
May.....	70.2	4.87	December.....	44.2	4.56
June.....	77.3	4.31	Annual.....	61.5	52.05
July.....	80.7	4.74			

AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS.

The size of the Slovak farms varies from 30 to 300 acres. However, the majority of the farms are under 100 acres, and several are only 40 acres. The crops raised are varied. Hay, corn, and oats are produced by all the farmers. Some raise sweet potatoes and Irish potatoes, others raise cabbage, turnips, peas, beans, radishes, lettuce, and onions, but none of these are raised in large quantities.

Since the soil is well adapted to the growing of prairie grasses, many of the farmers cut over large areas of their farms and stack the hay or bale it soon after curing. This hay may be cut at any time from June to September. The early hay is of better quality, but does not yield so heavily as the late hay. Most of the hay is baled on the farm and stored in large sheds or barns; some of it is fed on the farm, but the largest quantity is sold in the distant towns to buyers who ship it in carload lots to Chicago and eastern cities. This crop ordinarily gives a fair return at least for the labor expended. Little work is required to cut and cure the hay, no expense is incurred in seeding or raising the grass, and after the crop has been cut the cows may be turned out on the meadow, which yields good pasture for two or three months.

Cowpeas thrive well. These are broadcasted in May, June, or July. The early peas make more hay and the later ones more seed. The peas are harvested in September, some gathering the seed and all making hay of the vines. This soil will yield from 10 to 30 bushels per acre of peas and the hay will average 2 to 3 tons per acre.

The most important industry of the neighborhood and one that has been in existence only a few years is dairying. The Slovaks have gone into the industry quite heavily in the past two years, some keeping as many as 40 cows, while the general average is about 15. The cream is sold to a neighboring creamery and the skimmed milk is used on the farm for feeding the young live stock. The farmers find that dairying is not unprofitable, as their hay and corn can all

be consumed on the farms. Along with the dairy business has come the development of the live-stock industry, and a number of the Slovaks sell from \$50 to \$400 worth of calves, beef cattle, and hogs yearly.

The houses occupied by these settlers are well-built frame structures, containing four, six, or eight rooms. Many of the houses are neatly painted and the majority are well kept and orderly. The barns are well built and are sufficiently large to accommodate the comparatively large number of cows, horses, and mules.

#### MARKETS AND MARKETING FACILITIES.

Most of the produce sold is hauled either to Deval Bluff or Stuttgart. Deval Bluff is on the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad and Stuttgart is on the St. Louis Southwestern Railroad; but in either case the farmers must haul their produce about 14 miles, but fortunately the roads are fairly good.

#### PROPERTY OWNED.

Of the 50 Slovaks owning property, 80 per cent are free from debt. Their farms vary in value from \$1,000 to \$10,000, but the average farm is worth about \$2,000. As has been said, several of these farmers bought their property while they were working in the mines of Pennsylvania or Illinois and continued working until they had sufficient capital to begin farming without incumbrances. For this reason they escaped the hardships and reverses that others endured because of insufficient capital. The coming of the immigrants to this wilderness has more than doubled the price of land. At first worth from \$5 to \$12 per acre, it now sells for \$10 to \$30 per acre. This increase can be attributed wholly to the presence of the Slovaks.

The Slovaks patronize the banks very little; but they seem to be constantly improving their land and increasing the quantity of live stock. Some farms carry \$1,000 to \$2,000 worth of live stock. Many of the farmers own 20 cows, 5 to 10 horses and mules, and large droves of hogs. Evidently the proceeds of the farm are invested in additional land or in increasing the number of live stock rather than deposited in savings banks.

#### STANDARD OF LIVING.

These people are neat and courteous, and in dress and manners are essentially like American farmers in the vicinity. The houses are furnished with simple furniture and few ornaments. In spite of the fact that they are an isolated colony they seem to be as fully Americanized as many of the Slovaks that are found in or near the cities. They live well because they raise their own produce. The women and children work about the house more than in the fields, although at haying time all who are old enough assist. There is very little sickness in the locality.

#### EMPLOYMENT AND SOCIAL LIFE.

Outside of farming there is no opportunity for employment in the vicinity and those who are not content with that occupation must go to a considerable distance from the settlement for other employment.



A few of the young men have left their homes and gone to distant cities to enter various trades, but the number has been small. None of the Slovaks have gone into business.

The Slovaks of the community are practically an independent group. Their recreation and amusements are their own. Their neighborly visiting seems to be almost the only form of enjoyment indulged in, although the younger people occasionally have dances among themselves.

They associate with the Americans when occasion demands, and they are said to be very obliging if an American asks a favor. The land company that organized the settlement bought up so many sections of land that in some places the Slovaks have no near American neighbors, and this, together with the fact that the immigrants are by nature peaceable, has led to a practical absence of race prejudice or feeling.

#### CHURCHES AND SCHOOLS.

The majority of the Slovak families are Roman Catholics; the remainder are Lutherans. The Catholics have a small church which they built several years ago. Services are conducted every fourth Sunday of the month, the priest coming from Stuttgart.

The children of the Slovak farmers attend two public schools in the neighborhood, where they constitute less than one-half of the attendance. They mingle freely with the Americans and are said to be apt pupils. They learn to read and write both English and Slovak, the former at school and the latter at home from their parents. Slovak children, as a rule, do not attend school after they are 14 or 15 years old.

#### POLITICAL CONDITIONS.

In the locality there are 75 men of voting age and nearly 90 per cent of this number have their full naturalization papers. These people take a minor part at elections and only a few have held public office. Some have served as school directors and two have held the office of road overseer. But aside from these petty offices the part that the Slovaks have played in politics has been very insignificant.

#### MORAL CONDITIONS.

The Slovak farmers in this settlement are reputed to be on excellent terms with the few American neighbors that there are in the locality. They are spoken of as industrious, honest, of steady habits, and intelligent. They apparently prefer to live by themselves, associating with the Americans only when it is necessary, but they are quiet and law-abiding in all respects.

#### EFFECT OF SETTLEMENT ON NEIGHBORHOOD.

The coming of the foreign-born agriculturists to this prairie section of Arkansas caused an immediate uplift in conditions of agriculture. They introduced no new crops, but they brought with them the capacity for hard work and have cultivated and improved the land and made dairying an industry of importance in the vicinity. Without doubt the locality was settled much more quickly than it would

have been had it not been colonized by the land-investment company. In fact, the Slovaks have built up a community as prosperous as any in this part of the State, and all the improvement and progress is entirely due to them. With improved transportation the colony would spring into even more prominence than it has already attained.

There are a number of children of the second generation, but they have not reached an age when their influence is felt in the community.

A few of the young men are employed away from home. Some are working as farm laborers on neighboring farms, while others are in the towns, working as clerks. The remainder are at home aiding their parents with the farm work. These young men and women are Americanized both in dress and manner and probably in the course of time will continue the farm work where their parents leave off.

#### STATISTICAL DATA FOR SELECTED FAMILIES.

The following table represents the economic condition of eight typical families of Slovaks at Slovaktown. Six of the families have been in the locality ten years or over. Seven bought land either before or on their arrival, one family only having rented land previous to purchase. Nearly all have increased their holdings by the purchase of more land, and in all cases the value of the property has advanced. A few apple, pear, and plum trees are found on some of the farms, and all the farms have at least 10 peach trees, but the fruit industry is not of enough importance to be profitable. The number of cattle kept on each farm is large in comparison with the numbers found in some foreign localities. Mules are found to average four to the farm.

Half the farms carry an indebtedness, but in every case the amount of live stock owned is nearly large enough to pay it off. Corn is raised by all, but it is used to feed the stock; hay is raised, some of which is sold. Oats are sold, one farmer selling \$650 worth as an average for the past two years. The selling of cream has proved a profitable industry to these people, and a glance at the dairy products sold will prove this statement. A decided increase was shown on the schedules in the amount of cream sold during the year 1909 over the previous year.



TABLE 14.—Economic history and present financial condition

Data reported.	Slovak.		
	Family 1.	Family 2.	Family 3.
Years in locality:			
Head.....	10.....	9.....	12.....
Family.....	10.....	9.....	12.....
Present household size.....	9.....	9.....	3.....
Number of members 10 years or over.....	5.....	4.....	3.....
Male.....	2.....	2.....	1.....
Female.....	3.....	2.....	2.....
Previous location.....	Pennsylvania.....	Pennsylvania.....	Pennsylvania.....
Previous occupation.....	Working in coal breakers.....	Coal miner.....	Railroad section hand.....
Value of property brought to locality.....	\$450.....	\$285.....	\$900.....
First land leased:			
Date.....	.....	.....	.....
Number of acres.....	.....	.....	.....
Amount of rental.....	.....	.....	.....
Terms.....	.....	.....	.....
Condition.....	.....	.....	.....
First land bought:			
Date.....	1896 <sup>b</sup> .....	1895 <sup>c</sup> .....	1897.....
Number of acres.....	40.....	40.....	80.....
Price.....	\$300.....	\$340.....	\$960.....
Terms.....	\$100 cash, balance two payments.....	\$100 cash, balance 5 years.....	\$480 cash, balance time.....
Condition.....	Rough land.....	Rough prairie land.....	Prairie land.....
Occupation before living could be made from land.....	In mines.....	Farm laborer and miner.....	None.....
Number of years.....	1.....	3.....	.....
Earnings per day.....	Not reported.....	Not reported.....	.....
Acres of land now owned.....	160.....	280.....	80.25.....
Acres cultivated.....	50.....	100.....	50.....
Apple trees.....	10.....	10.....	10.....
Peach trees.....	10.....	10.....	10.....
Pear trees.....	.....	10.....	.....
Plum trees.....	.....	10.....	.....
Grapes.....	Few.....	.....	.....
Live stock now owned:			
Cattle.....	30.....	21.....	20.....
Horses.....	.....	2.....	2.....
Mules.....	4.....	6.....	3.....
Swine.....	10.....	14.....	.....
Financial condition:			
Value of land and improvements.....	\$4,000.....	\$6,000.....	\$1,500.....
Live stock.....	\$1,050.....	\$1,500.....	\$800.....
Tools and implements.....	\$50.....	\$250.....	\$50.....
Crops on hand.....	\$25.....	.....	.....
Other property.....	\$75.....	\$50.....	\$50.....
Total gross value of the property.....	\$5,200.....	\$7,800.....	\$2,400.....
Indebtedness—			
On land.....	\$1,000.....	\$1,600.....	.....
Other.....	.....	.....	.....
Net value of property.....	\$4,200.....	\$6,200.....	\$2,400.....

## ANNUAL FARM INCOME FROM PRODUCTS

Products.	Produced.		Sold.		Produced.		Sold.	
	Produced.	Sold.	Produced.	Sold.	Produced.	Sold.	Produced.	Sold.
Corn.....	\$190.....	.....	\$195.....	.....	\$150.....	.....	.....	.....
Hay.....	225.....	.....	763.....	\$350.....	395.....	\$125.....	.....	.....
Honey.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Oats.....	375.....	\$275.....	800.....	650.....	55.....	25.....	.....	.....
Potatoes.....	28.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wheat.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dairy products.....	.....	100.....	.....	213.....	.....	200.....	.....	.....
Live stock.....	.....	75.....	.....	13.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Poultry products.....	.....	18.....	.....	18.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	818.....	468.....	1,758.....	1,244.....	600.....	350.....	.....	.....
Supplementary income.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

<sup>a</sup> Was to live on land and make necessary improvements.

<sup>b</sup> This man bought 3 years before coming to locality.

of certain typical Slovak and Bohemian families, Slovaktown, Ark.

Slovak.				Bohemian.
Family 4.	Family 5.	Family 6.	Family 7.	Family 1.
14.....	8.....	14.....	11.....	10.....
14.....	8.....	14.....	11.....	10.....
4.....	9.....	8.....	5.....	5.....
4.....	5.....	5.....	5.....	4.....
3.....	2.....	3.....	3.....	3.....
1.....	3.....	2.....	2.....	1.....
Pennsylvania.....	Montana.....	Ohio.....	Mississippi.....	Iowa.....
Stone mason.....	Fireman in engine room.....	Making sewer pipes.....	Railroad section foreman.....	Railroad section hand.....
\$30.....	\$1,000.....	\$1,400.....	\$300.....	\$600.....
1895.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
80.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
(a).....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Good prairie land.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1905.....	1901.....	1895.....	1898.....	1899.....
40.....	30.....	40.....	40.....	40.....
\$425.....	\$750.....	\$128.....	\$280.....	\$700. c.....
\$300 cash, balance on time.....	Cash.....	Cash.....	Cash.....	\$400 cash, balance 5 years.....
Prairie land.....	Prairie land, house, and barn.....	Prairie land.....	Rough land.....	Good prairie land, house, and barn.....
.....	None.....	.....	None.....	None.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
42.....	30.....	80.....	158.....	80.....
30.....	29.....	40.....	80.....	57.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
10.....	10.....	10.....	10.....	10.....
10.....	10.....	10.....	10.....	10.....
10.....	.....	10.....	.....	10.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
13.....	4.....	20.....	25.....	7.....
2.....	.....	.....	2.....	.....
6.....	3.....	3.....	5.....	4.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
\$1,500.....	\$1,000.....	\$1,000.....	\$3,200.....	\$2,000.....
\$900.....	\$350.....	\$700.....	\$1,300.....	\$140.....
\$50.....	\$25.....	\$50.....	\$500.....	\$100.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
\$50.....	\$25.....	\$50.....	\$100.....	\$50.....
\$2,500.....	\$1,400.....	\$1,800.....	\$5,125.....	\$2,590.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	\$450.....	\$200.....
.....	.....	.....	\$4,675.....	\$2,390.....

SOLD (AVERAGE FOR TWO YEARS).

Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.	Pro-duced.	Sold.
\$130	.....	\$18	.....	\$125	.....	\$150	.....	\$100	.....
175	\$30	180	\$50	300	\$125	350	\$200	500	\$200
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	25	25
275	150	88	35	200	100	450	200	600	400
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	53	53
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	20	.....
.....	100	.....	50	.....	50	.....	180	.....	25
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	25	.....	25
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	5	.....	5
580	280	456	135	625	285	950	610	1,298	733
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	\$3	.....

c Includes everything (land, house, barn, shed, and some cattle).

## BOHEMIAN FARMERS, KARLIN, MO.

The Bohemian settlement at Karlin, Mo., located in the central part of Polk County, represents a comparatively recent method of populating an old community with foreigners, for in its settlement the real estate agent and the advertisement played a conspicuous part. Under this plan the development of a new locality through direct immigration from abroad is not attempted, but foreigners all over the United States are urged to purchase farms given up by Americans. In this instance the plan has worked well and there are in the locality 75 Bohemian families, all of whom own farms averaging 100 acres or more in area. They are raising large crops of corn, hay, and wheat, besides poultry and live stock. The history of this settlement presents one solution of the abandoned farm problem, for it records the changing a nonproductive community into one of wealth and prosperity.

The census of 1900 gave the total population of the county as 23,255 and the total foreign-born as 159, of whom 5 were born in Bohemia. If this census had been made three years later the results would have been very different. In 1901 the first Bohemian came to the locality, attracted there by advertisements in the Bohemian newspapers and the printed matter and advertising circulars, written in Bohemian and scattered broadcast by an active real estate agent of Bolivar, Mo.

Ninety per cent of the present settlers were farming in other States when they were influenced to sell their farms and migrate to the cheap lands of Polk County. The severe climate in Nebraska, Iowa, Wisconsin, and the Dakotas, in which States a considerable part of these Bohemian farmers resided, was also a factor in bringing some of them to Missouri, where the winters are somewhat milder. A few have come in more recently from Europe. The majority of those in the locality came with money. Some brought as much as \$8,000 and were able to pay cash for their farms. Others could only pay \$1,000 or \$2,000 cash and gave notes for the balance at 6 per cent. The greater number bought well-improved farms. The movement to the locality continues and in 1909 seven new families were added to the colony. Occasionally one becomes dissatisfied, sells his holdings, and moves to another locality.

The soil in this region is fertile and has a fair percentage of loam, the water supply is abundant and the climate is mild, with long summers and short winters, allowing ample time for crops to mature. Corn, hay, and wheat are the principal grains raised. Every Bohemian has his own garden, which supplies his table with vegetables the greater part of the year. With excellent opportunity to produce feed, this locality is well adapted to raising live stock. Many of the Bohemians raise horses and mules and cattle for the trade and large quantities of poultry and dairy products are also sold. Taken as a whole, the Bohemians are making a very substantial living, some of the farmers selling \$2,000 worth of products during the year.

The Bohemians apparently work harder and spend more time cultivating their crops and caring for the land than do the native farmers. The houses are frame structures, many of which are neatly painted and comfortably furnished. Where one or two children are working in the cities, the houses are likely to be better furnished than when the entire family stay at home. In the cities the children have oppor-

tunity to see the style, the furniture, and manner of living prevailing among the natives, and when at home on a visit are apt to inspire their parents with a desire for improvement. In this way the standard of living is raised to some extent.

The women and children in some instances work in the field, and it is difficult to persuade the girls to enter domestic service, as they usually prefer to remain on the farm. The Bohemians have little social intercourse with the natives. They live very economically and spend less for food and clothing than the native farmers, being willing to forego pleasure and comfort in order to own land.

All the Bohemians own their farms. Seventy-five per cent of the farmers have discharged their indebtedness and the remainder have small amounts to pay, but it seems probable that their farms will be free from debt in a short period. In all cases the Bohemians have cleared more land than did their American predecessors. The barns and buildings have been repaired and the real estate in this community has increased in value generally since the arrival of the Bohemians. In 1901 land was selling for \$15 to \$20 per acre, but now very little can be purchased for \$25 per acre, and the average price is from \$35 to \$45 per acre. The greater number of the Bohemians are Catholics, and they have a church and parochial school. The younger generation for the most part are remaining in the locality. When a marriage occurs the parents of the groom usually present a small farm as a wedding gift to the newly married couple. One Bohemian has purchased three farms and presented them to his sons as marriage gifts. This policy exerts a strong influence in keeping the second generation away from the cities.

#### STATISTICAL DATA FOR SELECTED FAMILIES.

The table following shows the economic history and present financial condition of 10 typical families at Karlin. The first of these came to the locality eight and the last one four years prior to the Commission's inquiry, which was made in 1908. With two exceptions they came from other parts of the United States, eight having been farmers, one a tailor, and one a hardwood polisher immediately before coming to this locality. All bought land on coming, and 5 paid cash for their holdings. Two families have bought more land since the first purchase. Three farmers own more than 20 head of cattle, in addition to several horses and mules, while considerable numbers of swine are owned by all but one farmer. Four families show indebtedness on land, but two of these families have been in the locality only four years. The earlier settlers are free from debt.

TABLE 15.—Economic history and present financial con

Data reported.	Family 1.	Family 2.	Family 3.	Family 4.
Years in locality:				
Head.....	8.....	7.....	7.....	7.....
Family.....	8.....	7.....	7.....	7.....
Present size of household.....	6.....	6.....	6.....	7.....
Number of members 10 years or over.....	4.....	5.....	2.....	4.....
Male.....	2.....	3.....	1.....	3.....
Female.....	2.....	2.....	1.....	1.....
Previous location.....	Nebraska.....	Wisconsin.....	Iowa.....	Missouri.....
Previous occupation.....	Farmer.....	Farmer.....	Farmer.....	Farmer.....
Value of property brought to locality.....	\$8,000.....	\$2,000.....	\$7,000.....	\$3,000.....
Occupation in locality previous to purchase.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
First land bought:				
Date.....	1901.....	1902.....	1902.....	1902.....
Number of acres.....	286.....	124.....	229.....	110.....
Price.....	\$7,100.....	\$4,700.....	\$6,800.....	\$2,500.....
Terms.....	Cash.....	Cash \$1,000, balance at 6 per cent.....	Cash.....	Cash.....
Condition.....	House, barn, shed; 175 acres culti- vated.....	2 sheds, house, and barn; land all cul- tivated.....	House, barn, shed; land all culti- vated.....	Land all culti- vated.....
Occupation until living could be made from the land.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
Acres of land now owned.....	286.....	124.....	229.....	110.....
Acres tillable.....	200.....	123.....	228.....	109.....
Rented land.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
Live stock now owned:				
Cattle.....	12.....	4.....	20.....	18.....
Horses.....	6.....	4.....	12.....	10.....
Mules.....	.....	.....	2.....	4.....
Swine.....	20.....	15.....	65.....	.....
Financial condition:				
Value of land and improvements.....	\$13,000.....	\$6,000.....	\$11,000.....	\$5,500.....
Live stock.....	\$1,300.....	\$700.....	\$2,200.....	\$2,200.....
Tools and implements.....	\$1,000.....	\$250.....	\$700.....	\$1,200.....
Other property.....	\$200.....	\$150.....	\$200.....	\$200.....
Gross value of all property.....	\$15,500.....	\$7,100.....	\$14,100.....	\$9,100.....
Indebtedness.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
Net value of all property.....	\$15,500.....	\$7,100.....	\$14,100.....	\$9,100.....

## ANNUAL FARM INCOME FROM PRODUCTS

Products.	Produced.		Sold.		Produced.		Sold.	
	Pro- duced.	Sold.	Pro- duced.	Sold.	Pro- duced.	Sold.	Pro- duced.	Sold.
Corn.....	\$415	\$150	\$225	\$150	\$750	\$250	\$450	\$150
Hay.....	190	50	150	50	475	200	300	100
Wheat.....	620	300	293	100	370	100	1,100	700
Garden vegetables.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dairy products.....	50	50	25	25	25	25	.....	.....
Live-stock products.....	500	500	205	205	500	500	700	700
Poultry products.....	200	200	37	37	212	212	175	175
Total.....	1,975	1,250	1,035	572	2,332	1,287	2,725	1,825

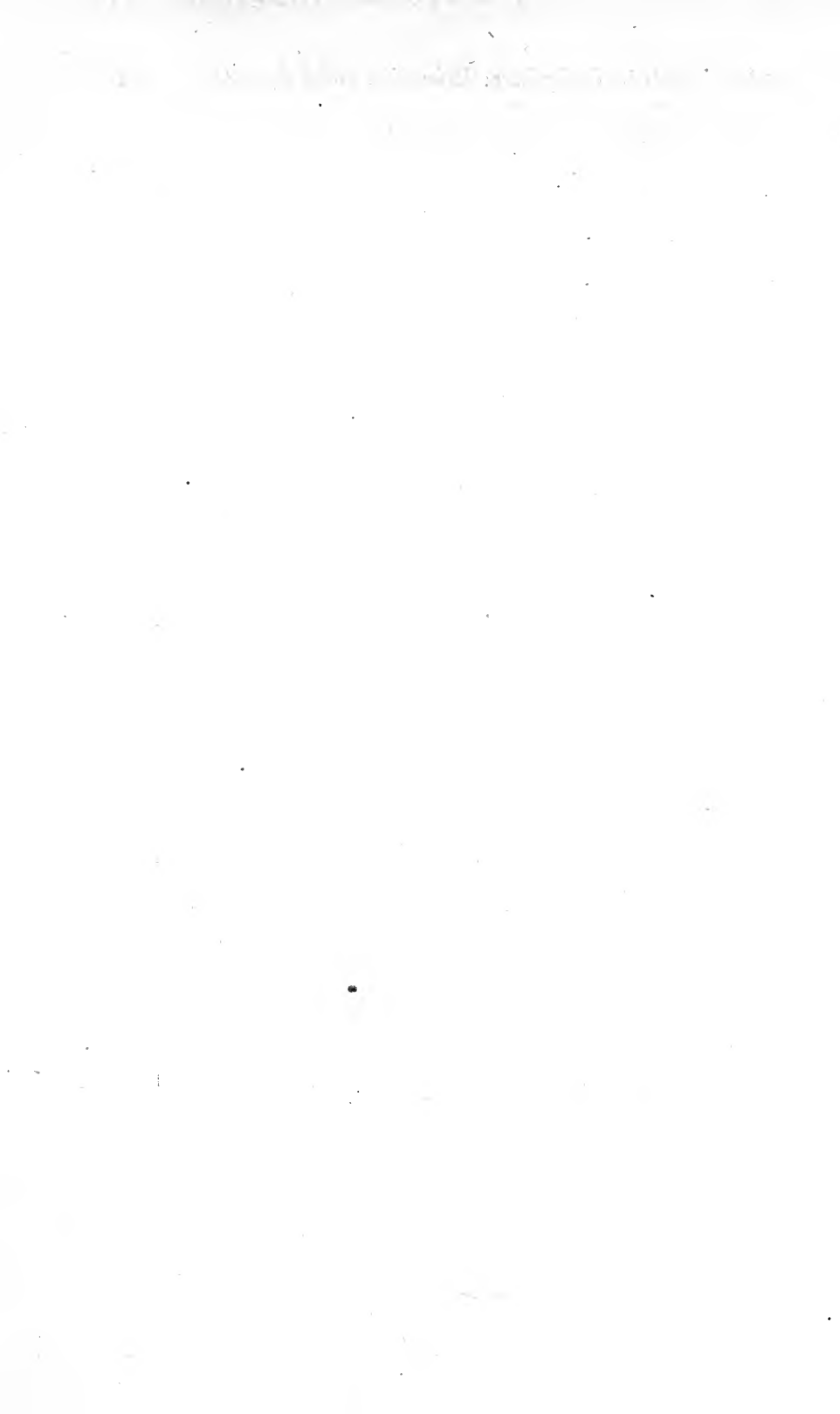


dition of certain typical Bohemian families, Karlin, Mo.

Family 5.	Family 6.	Family 7.	Family 8.	Family 9.	Family 10.
6.....	6.....	6.....	6.....	4.....	4.
6.....	6.....	6.....	6.....	4.....	4.
6.....	7.....	8.....	9.....	3.....	4.
7.....	6.....	6.....	5.....	2.....	4.
4.....	4.....	2.....	3.....	1.....	2.
2.....	2.....	4.....	2.....	1.....	2.
Hungary Farmer.....	Missouri Farmer.....	South Dakota Farmer.....	Hungary Tailor.....	Kansas Farmer.....	Wisconsin. Hard-wood finisher.
\$3,500.....	\$7,000.....	\$4,500.....	None.....	\$1,200.....	\$3,000.
None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.
1903.....	1903.....	1903.....	1903.....	1905.....	1905.
300.....	266.....	160.....	52.50.....	127.....	74.
\$10,500.....	\$6,100.....	\$4,000.....	\$1,500.....	\$3,800.....	\$2,500.
Cash \$3,500, balance at 6 per cent.	Cash.....	Cash.....	All on time at 6 per cent.	Cash \$1,000, balance at 6 per cent.	Cash \$1,500, balance on time at 6 per cent.
House, barn; 2.50 acres cleared.	House, barn; 150 acres cul- tivated.	House, barn, shed; 90 acres cultivated.	House, barn, 2 sheds; land all cultivated.	House, barn; 100 acres cul- tivated.	House, barn; land cul- tivated.
None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.
300.....	396.....	160.....	52.50.....	127.....	114.
250.....	280.....	120.....	52.....	105.....	112.
None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.
24.....	25.....	10.....	4.....	10.....	12.
5.....	18.....	4.....	2.....	4.....	7.
19.....	8.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
90.....	25.....	16.....	15.....	10.....	20.
\$15,000.....	\$17,000.....	\$6,400.....	\$1,500.....	\$6,000.....	\$5,500.
\$4,450.....	\$2,700.....	\$1,000.....	\$600.....	\$650.....	\$1,100.
\$4,000.....	\$300.....	\$1,000.....	\$100.....	\$200.....	\$300.
\$50.....	\$200.....	\$150.....	\$75.....	\$150.....	\$100.
\$23,500.....	\$20,200.....	\$8,550.....	\$2,275.....	\$7,000.....	\$7,000.
\$5,000.....	None.....	None.....	\$600.....	\$1,500.....	\$600.
\$18,500.....	\$20,200.....	\$8,550.....	\$1,675.....	\$5,500.....	\$6,400.

SOLD (AVERAGE FOR TWO YEARS).

Pro- duced.	Sold.	Pro- duced.	Sold.	Pro- duced.	Sold.	Pro- duced.	Sold.	Pro- duced.	Sold.	Pro- duced.	Sold.
\$2,000	\$600	\$850	\$200	\$405	\$250	\$225	\$75	\$250	\$50	\$540	\$200
350	250	400	200	173	50	45	.....	50	.....	190	100
1,500	900	900	600	295	50	150	75	100	50	290	100
50	50	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
25	25	12	12	50	50	5	5	25	25	25	25
1,900	1,900	650	650	175	175	100	100	50	50	175	175
175	175	200	200	75	75	60	60	150	150	150	150
6,000	3,890	3,012	1,862	1,173	650	585	315	625	325	1,345	750



## CHAPTER V.

### DURHAMVILLE, N. Y.: A RECENT MAGYAR SETTLEMENT.

#### INTRODUCTION.

Durhamville is in the southwestern part of Oneida County in the central part of the State of New York. According to the census of 1900 it had a population of 730.

The country surrounding the town is rolling, and the soil, which is a gravelly loam, is particularly suited to raising corn, oats, grass, beets, cucumbers, and other produce, which are the principal crops. Fruit also does well, and small orchards are found on most of the farms of the region. The winters are long, but not excessively cold, and there is an abundant rainfall in the spring and summer months. All crops do well, and the farms in the neighborhood are considered very productive.

Near Durhamville is a small Magyar settlement which has been recently established, and which, if successful, will probably draw many people of that race to the locality. It is being watched with much interest by Magyars in New York City, and if the present settlers attain any measure of success in agricultural pursuits many of their fellow-countrymen may purchase farms in the vicinity in the near future.

#### HISTORY OF SETTLEMENT.

The settlement was established in September, 1908, when the first farm was purchased by a Magyar, who up to that time had been a resident of New York City, where for eighteen years he had been employed as foreman in a wire factory. The work was hard and confining and the health of his family was not good in the city. He therefore decided to quit the wire business and engage in farming. Applying to the department of agriculture of the State of New York for information concerning available agricultural land in the State, the farm he now owns was recommended, and within a short time he purchased it and at once moved his family from the city. The place was under cultivation, well stocked with horses, cows, and poultry, and abundant machinery for proper cultivation. It was purchased complete with all live stock, machinery, etc., and a contract to furnish a hotel in the vicinity with supplies was included.

Influenced by the action of this Magyar four fellow workmen of the same race purchased and moved to farms in the same vicinity. In 1909, when an agent of the Commission visited these farms, it was said that several other New York Magyars were contemplating joining the colony. All settlers say that it will be only a matter of a few years until there is a large Magyar settlement in the neighborhood, as numbers have the money to purchase farms and are very desirous to leave the city and engage in agricultural pursuits.

At the present time (1909) people of the settlement own 250 acres of land valued at \$13,500, in which they have an equity of \$5,000, \$8,500 being covered by mortgages on the farms. They own live stock and poultry worth \$1,650, and machinery, tools, etc., valued at about \$700.

There are 27 men, women, and children in the settlement, which consists of 6 males and 5 females over 16 years of age, and 16 children under 16. Two of the settlers have first papers, 1 is fully naturalized, and 2 are aliens, but declare their intention to become naturalized as soon as possible. Three have been in the United States over ten years, and two over five years, and all express the intention of remaining in this country permanently. All are from Austria-Hungary and resided in New York City prior to coming to the locality.

#### AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS.

All the settlers are general farmers and none devote all of their attention to any one crop. The crops now being raised and the acreage under cultivation are as follows:

	Acres.		Acres.
Sweet corn.....	11	Oats.....	9
Pumpkins.....	2	Buckwheat.....	4
Cucumbers.....	9		—
Hay.....	127	Total acres cultivated.....	179
Corn.....	17		

The rest of the land is in pasture, except a small part which is used for gardens, where sufficient vegetables are raised to supply the family needs. During the few months the settlers have been in the neighborhood they have sold \$325 worth of dairy products and \$125 has been realized from poultry. No crops have as yet been harvested, so it is impossible to say what the production will be. The crops now growing look as well as those of neighboring American farmers. It is doubtful, however, whether the Magyars will, for a time at least, produce as much per acre as do native farmers, as they have had little experience in agriculture. They are all hard workers, however, and are taking a keen interest in farming. One of the settlers reads much on the subject and imparts his knowledge to the others. In all cases the wife and children assist in the farm work.

All farms were under cultivation at the time of purchase; fences, dwellings, barns, and other outbuildings were in a good state of repair, and the settlers entered agricultural pursuits under very auspicious circumstances. The locality is in close touch with good markets, transportation facilities are excellent, good roads connect the farms with local markets, and the settlers have an excellent chance to succeed in their new venture.

#### STANDARD OF LIVING.

Settlers say that it costs them about one-third as much to live on the farm as it did in the city. They get all their milk, poultry, eggs, meat, and vegetables from their farms, and say that about all

they have to buy is flour and a few other necessities, and that they are in much better health and better satisfied than when they lived in the city. The clothing worn by them is of the same description and quality as that of American farmers of the locality. Each of the settlers upon arrival had money on hand, saved from his earnings in the wire factory, and they have paid cash for all supplies, etc. Their average earnings before engaging in farming were between \$3 and \$4 per day.

The housing in every instance is good and the interiors of the houses show care, all being neatly furnished and very clean. The premises present the same well-kept appearance, the barnyards are clean, the gardens show evidence of careful cultivation, and the fences and outbuildings are in good repair.

#### SUMMARY.

These immigrants as yet have not become well acquainted with neighboring American farmers and in consequence do not associate much with them, but they do not seem to be inclined to be clannish or unduly to segregate themselves. In view of the fact that the settlement is very small and newly established, little can be said in regard to the standing of immigrants in the community, the civic interest shown, or the progress made. Americans who live in the vicinity say the settlers are quiet, well behaved, law-abiding people, and the general impression seems to be that they will become good citizens; so that their presence is welcomed in the locality.

The schools of the neighborhood are good, and all the settlers have entered their children in school, where they are said to be making good progress.

There is an abundance of work to be found in the region, and if at any time any of the settlers desire to secure employment they can easily do so in Oneida, a manufacturing town only a few miles distant, where labor is always in demand.



## CHAPTER VI.

### PORTSMOUTH, R. I.: PORTUGUESE POTATO PLANTERS.

#### INTRODUCTION.

The largest groups of Portuguese in the United States are found in California and New England. In New England the Portuguese element is pretty well centered in Rhode Island and southeastern Massachusetts, where there are several well-defined colonies. The largest of these is at New Bedford, and others are at Fall River, Providence, R. I., Provincetown, and several others in Plymouth and Bristol Counties, Mass. The most important colony is at New Bedford, where both the dark Portuguese from the Cape Verde Islands and those from the Azores are found. The number of foreign-born Portuguese in New Bedford from the Western Islands was 7,208 of a total population of 74,362 in 1905. In addition, 144 natives of Portugal were enumerated—a total of 7,352 foreign-born Portuguese. That is to say, practically 10 per cent of the total population were foreign-born Portuguese. There are also many persons native-born of Portuguese parents that must be considered. The Massachusetts census of 1905 enumerates them and reports 11,962 persons of Portuguese origin (from the Western Islands and from Portugal), or 15.8 per cent of the entire population of New Bedford at that date.

In Fall River 5,059 Portuguese born in the Western Islands, 1,961 born in Portugal, and 9,200 persons of Portuguese origin were enumerated in 1905. The distribution of the Portuguese in Massachusetts is shown in the table below.

TABLE 16.—*Portuguese from Western Islands in Massachusetts.*

[Compiled from reports of the Massachusetts census of 1905, Volume I.]

Place.	Born in Western Islands.			Parents born in Western Islands.			Foreign-born, Portugal and Western Islands.	
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	1905.	1895.
Barnstable County...	916	748	1,663	1,890	1,748	3,638	.....	.....
Bristol County.....	7,655	7,229	14,884	11,126	11,278	23,004	17,938	7,263
Essex County.....	420	391	811	981	995	1,976	.....	.....
Nantucket County...	71	45	116	124	118	242	.....	.....
Norfolk County.....	81	65	146	200	172	372	.....	.....
Plymouth County...	1,236	335	1,571	1,461	592	2,053	.....	.....
The State.....	11,284	9,575	20,859	18,039	16,386	34,425	27,937	13,298

It will be seen from the above table that the foreign-born Portuguese population of Massachusetts as a whole increased 14,639 during the ten years, 1895 to 1905. The increase from 7,263 to 17,938 in Bristol County during the same period shows a concentration of Portuguese in that county, which is due in large part to the New

Bedford colony, where this element has increased from 3,861 to 7,352 in ten years.

In Rhode Island the Portuguese are found mainly around Providence and in Bristol and Newport counties. The census of 1905 enumerates them by place of birth, sex, and occupation, but makes no classification of native-born of Portuguese parents. Those born in the Cape Verde Islands are "Black Portuguese" and those "not specified" probably came originally from the Western Islands.

TABLE 17.—*Portuguese in Rhode Island.*

[Compiled from reports of the Rhode Island census of 1905.]

Place.	Total enumerated.	From Western Islands.	Not specified.
Providence County.....	2,808	639	1,574
Bristol County.....	744	399	345
Newport County.....	1,485	524	929
Little Compton.....	147	138	6
Middleton.....	237	222	14
Newport.....	256	83	147
Portsmouth.....	537	8	529
Tiverton.....	219	73	144
The State.....	5,293	1,575	3,090

Adding the 27,937 foreign-born Portuguese inhabitants of Massachusetts to the 3,090 in Rhode Island gives a total of 33,230 foreign-born of this nationality in two New England States. There are not less than 56,000 persons of Portuguese origin in Massachusetts and Rhode Island at the present time, including the foreign-born and Portuguese-Americans.

The Portuguese in New England are mainly from the Western Islands—Madeira and the Azores. The "Bravas," or dark-skinned Portuguese, are natives of the Cape Verde Islands, but these constitute, apparently, only a small proportion of the total Portuguese element. Comparatively few of the Portuguese in the two States under discussion came directly from Portugal, but for many years there has been a steady movement from the Azores and Madeiras. These islands are densely populated, the Azores group having a population of 277.9 and Maderia a population of 479.5 per square mile in 1900.

Although the Portuguese have settled in New Bedford and in several of the manufacturing cities, a great many of them have small farms, and numerous Portuguese farmers and farm laborers are found along the coast all the way from Newport to Provincetown. Another considerable element are dock hands and longshoremen, many are common day laborers, a number are teamsters and draymen, stationary engineers and firemen, while a great many of the women are dressmakers, needlewomen, and house servants.

#### PORTUGUESE IN AGRICULTURE.

Statistics showing the Portuguese farm population in Rhode Island in 1905 are available, and in some respects this may be considered typical of Massachusetts as well, although it is probable that there are fewer owners and renters and more farm laborers in Massachusetts, particularly along the Cape.



TABLE 18.—Total farmers and farm laborers and total Portuguese in the same occupations, in towns specified, in Rhode Island, 1905.

[Compiled from Rhode Island census of 1905.]

Place.	Total farmers.	Total farm laborers.	Portuguese.	
			Farmers.	Farm laborers and assistants.
State.....	4,694	4,560	167	609
Town of—				
Bristol.....	97	85	7	37
Warren.....	102	66	17	17
Warwick.....	252	252	4	27
East Providence.....	89	139	5	47
Jamestown.....	39	45	4	12
Newport County:				
Little Compton.....	153	85	19	42
Middletown.....	172	101	7	66
Portsmouth.....	200	296	71	225
Tiverton.....	152	133	17	36
Cranston.....	173	444	8	42

The table shows that nearly 75 per cent of the Portuguese farmers of Rhode Island and more than two-thirds of the farm laborers and assistants are in Newport County. Newport County includes the islands of Rhode Island and Block Island, and the towns of Tiverton and Little Compton, lying east of the Sakonnet River. Portsmouth Township, which was selected for more detailed study, includes the northern part of the island of Rhode Island and the island of Prudence on the west.

The best agricultural land in the State is in this and the neighboring townships, and the character of the agriculture carried on bears testimony to that fact. In 1905 there were 200 farmers in the town and more than one-third of these were Portuguese owners and renters, while more than 75 per cent of the farm laborers and many of the common day laborers were of the same race. At the present time (1909) there are 59 operating farmers of Portuguese descent on the tax roll of the township; 31 are tenants and 28 own the farms they operate. The number of farmers, however, is said to be decreasing, owing largely to the increasing value of land and the failure to make profitable returns in the potato industry.

These men are all small farmers on land that has been cultivated for more than two hundred years. It is not less fertile than it has been for a century, and for a long time the growing of Irish potatoes has been the principal industry; cows and poultry are kept, largely to supply the household, and some market gardening is done. Large portions of the island are from 150 to 200 feet above the sea, and much of the area is very stony ground. But the farms are well tilled and the general outlook is very pleasing.

## HISTORICAL.

The Portuguese seem to have come to the United States as early as 1830, having shipped as sailors on whaling vessels sent out from New Bedford. That port has continued to be a gathering point for the Portuguese, and, as has been noted, there is found the largest

Azorian colony—and the oldest—in the United States. The immigration was very much accelerated during the latter part of the nineteenth century, and the statistics given show that there is a very steady influx of these foreigners from the Azores and some from the Madeira Islands. The Portuguese quarter in New Bedford, popularly known as "Fayal," is now very prosperous, and represents the best Portuguese element in the East. There is, in addition, a settlement of Portuguese farmers not far from the city.

It is not possible to say just when the first Portuguese farmer came to Portsmouth. Since some time after 1880 there have been a good many farm hands and day laborers on the island who came out from the Fall River colony. But most of the farmers and renters have entered since 1891 or 1892. Of 20 typical families interviewed, only 5 have been in the township more than ten years, only 4 more than fifteen years. The major number have been less than ten years in the locality.

The greater part of them came directly from the island of St. Michael, but there are some from St. George and Fayal. After the arrival of the first settler, the opportunity to secure work on the Portsmouth farms, either as tenants or laborers, seems to have been noised abroad, and most came to Portsmouth at once without an intervening period of residence elsewhere in the United States. All of heads of the 20 families interviewed were born in the Azore Islands. Fourteen of them came directly from those islands to Portsmouth, while the remaining six had lived for a time either elsewhere in Rhode Island or in Massachusetts.

Of the 20 farmers interviewed, 14 had been farmers, farmers' sons, farm laborers, or had been engaged in some occupation connected with agriculture before emigrating. It is worthy of note in this connection that practically all of these farmers came from the farming class, and have never left it, and that of the many Portuguese who have engaged in various industrial pursuits in New Bedford and Fall River, very few have gone out on farms. Of the 20 farmers interviewed by agents of the Commission, 18 had been engaged in agricultural work in the United States before becoming independent farmers. This is typical of practically all the Portuguese farmers in Portsmouth. The majority of them were farm laborers at first, and later were renters before finally purchasing land, which shows that there is a way up through farm labor and farm tenancy to land ownership even on high-priced Rhode Island land.

Those who rented land either on arrival in the community or after service as farm laborers secured small lots of cultivated ground, paying house rent for the dwelling they occupied, and from \$8 to \$10 an acre for the land. With the savings accumulated from his earnings as a farm laborer, the new tenant bought a horse and wagon, a few pigs and perhaps a cow and some farm implements. His wife helped him with the farm, and if he was unable to produce a livelihood, he worked, when opportunity offered, for his neighbors. After a few years, if prices were good, he bought a few acres of land subject to mortgage, and began the uphill struggle to pay for it.

Although not all the Portuguese farmers in this vicinity have prospered, it may be said that most of these have succeeded in making a fair living. There have been some desertions within recent years.

The New Jersey white-potato growers have begun to compete very sharply with the Rhode Island potato farmers. New Jersey potatoes get on the market some weeks ahead of the Rhode Island crop, and on the whole they cost less to produce.

American farmers on the island express the opinion that the non-Portuguese potato grower is doomed. The Portuguese with cheaper living cost and willingness to work more hours per day and days per year, and to keep more members of his family in the fields, is able to make a living, while the native farmers, as a rule, declare that they are losing money. While the Portuguese are buying land slowly, nevertheless they are gradually securing by rental or purchase the available farms, and the opinion is expressed that in twenty years there will be many more Portuguese than American farmers in Portsmouth.

#### TOPOGRAPHY, SOIL, AND CLIMATE.

The topography of the town of Portsmouth is typical of what may be called the Narragansett basin area. This area consists of low hills and glacial plains, and extends but a few miles back from the coast line. The hills range from 100 to 200 feet in height, and are so smoothed and rounded on the island that the upland portion appears very much like a plateau, rising abruptly from the bay. The town is about 7 miles in length from north to south, perhaps 4 miles across at the widest part, and between 2 and 3 miles wide midway between Bristol Ferry and the southern boundary. A broad plateau, 200 feet above the sea, some 2 miles wide in the mean, extends north and south through the township.

The hillsides running down toward the shore are very rough and stony, frequently covered with bowlders; at other places there seems to be no soil whatever, and great ledges of rock lie on the surface. There are few acres of level ground, but there are few steep hills except the slopes down to the water's edge. The whole aspect is rough, irregular, and rolling in contour.

The soil is known as the Miami stony loam. It is a grayish or brownish loam of glacial origin, very mellow and friable, almost 10 inches or a foot deep, on a subsoil of yellow or reddish sand or silt. In places the soil is thinner and great rocks crop out. Many fields are thickly strewn with stones or bowlders. At the foot of some of the slopes there are fewer stones, and a greater depth of soil. Nearly all the fences are of stone and, after two centuries or more of gathering, most of the stones on the cultivated areas have been built into great walls; in fact, some of the cultivated fields seem now almost free from stone. The soil is one of the very best and strongest agricultural soils in the State, is firm and compact when rightly worked, and does not seem to wash or gully very much even on the steepest slopes. It retains moisture well and the natural contour insures the very best system of drainage.

Grain and grass do well, and most of the areas make excellent crops of potatoes and vegetable truck of various sorts. The timber and forests have now all been removed, but the original forest growth was chestnut, hickory, oak, and perhaps ash. Orchard fruits are raised in some places and do excellently, but few or none of the Portuguese have set out orchards. The stones and steep slopes are the

greatest drawbacks to the easy cultivation of this soil, but agriculturally Portsmouth and Middleton townships are two of the richest in the State.

The following table shows the normal monthly and annual temperature and precipitation for three points in the eastern and southeastern portions of the State:

*Normal monthly and annual temperature and precipitation.*

[United States Department of Agriculture. Field operations of the Bureau of Soils, Soil Survey of Rhode Island, 1905.]

Month.	Bristol.		Kingston.		Providence.	
	Temperature.	Precipitation.	Temperature.	Precipitation.	Temperature.	Precipitation.
	° F.	Inches.	° F.	Inches.	° F.	Inches.
January.....	29.0	4.41	27.7	5.10	28.1	4.11
February.....	29.7	3.94	27.9	5.30	29.1	3.84
March.....	35.3	4.43	34.3	5.51	35.1	4.11
April.....	45.1	3.29	44.8	4.23	47.0	3.64
May.....	55.6	3.82	55.0	4.57	58.2	3.75
June.....	64.8	2.40	64.5	2.63	68.2	3.20
July.....	69.8	3.13	69.2	3.76	73.0	3.23
August.....	69.3	3.68	68.6	4.10	70.8	4.16
September.....	63.7	3.55	62.4	3.86	63.8	3.24
October.....	52.3	4.16	50.8	5.51	52.2	3.74
November.....	43.8	3.97	41.1	5.08	42.6	4.19
December.....	33.6	3.31	31.7	3.73	33.2	3.83
Year.....	49.3	44.09	48.2	53.38	50.1	45.04

The nearest station is Bristol, a few miles north of Portsmouth. The table shows a normal mean that represents a very equable temperature, a good growing season, and 44 inches of rainfall very well distributed throughout the year.

#### AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS.

Most of the farms are small. The largest of 28 Portuguese farms enumerated on the tax roll is 95 acres; the smallest, 1 acre. The average farm is 24.5 acres in size, and the middle or median farm is less than 15 acres. That is to say, more than one-half of the farms owned by Portuguese contain less than 15 acres. Of 16 rented farms investigated by the Commission, 1 was 64 acres in area, 3 averaged 28 acres, and 12 averaged 15 acres in area. The rental price was from \$5 to \$12 per acre.

#### CROPS RAISED.

The principal money crop is, and has been for a number of years, the potato crop. Most of the foreigners raise from 5 to 15 acres every year and the yield per acre is usually 120 to 240 bushels. The yield varies widely, however, but it is safe to assume that the average yield for the years 1908 and 1909 has been less than 170 bushels per acre. The average production per farm on 20 farms investigated was 692 barrels and the average value \$1,400, in the two years referred to.

The cost of producing potatoes in this vicinity is high. The renter must pay about \$10 an acre for his ground; his fertilizer costs him from \$25 to \$60 an acre, his seed potatoes \$10 to \$20 an acre, in addition to labor and marketing costs. American farmers figure that year by year the cost of raising and marketing potatoes is fully 60 cents, perhaps 65 cents, a bushel; and unless they can be sold for at least \$2 a barrel of three bushels, there is practically no surplus to the grower. One-half or more of the cultivated ground operated by Portuguese is devoted to potatoes, and the cash income or the net earnings from the farmer's labor must be derived from this source. American growers tell of raising 300 bushels per acre. A good many assert that an average of 200 bushels is possible, but it is very questionable whether over any considerable area the average figures for either Portuguese or Americans actually reach this quantity.

The onion crop is another crop of commercial importance in this vicinity, but there are no extensive growers among the Portuguese. In addition to the onion crop, beans, cabbage, carrots, sweet corn, tomatoes, a few peppers, and other miscellaneous products of the garden are raised for sale in the local markets. Less truck farming is done than among the Italians, but nearly every farmer sells a little miscellaneous produce incidentally.

Nearly every farm has a few acres in corn; the average is from one to five per farm, ordinarily, and the yield from 30 to 50 bushels per acre. Some report heavier yields on the rather better fertilized soils. The corn is cut for fodder, and is husked in the barnyard. The stover helps out the rather short supply of hay on most of the farms. The corn is seldom sold, but as a rule is used as feed for pigs and horses. Only 1 farm of the 20 investigated reported oats, and only 2 produced any rye.

Of 20 farms, 5 reported hay. These were the dairy or stock farms, and some of the hay was oats or rye cut green and cured. Hay is raised more or less throughout Rhode Island, and grows well in Portsmouth; redtop, timothy, and clover produce especially large crops. The farmers on the island complain that the high price of land is responsible for the decline in the acreage of hay. Few farmers raise enough grain and forage for the few live stock they keep, and the feed costs are high.

Poultry products are sold by most farmers. There are a good many chicken farms operated by Portuguese in Tiverton and Little Compton, but there seem to be no chicken fanciers in Portsmouth among the foreigners. A few dairy herds are seen, but the scarcity of land and the necessity for raising a money crop on it has not permitted a very general development of dairying. The few dairymen among the Portuguese, however, seem to be prospering.

Apples can be raised very readily, and there are some successful American growers of orchard fruits—apples, pears, and peaches—on the island; but the Portuguese have very small orchards and sell very little fruit. There is no doubt that the fruit-growing industry might be widely extended to very good advantage. There are some small growers of small fruits—strawberries and raspberries—but this specific type of agriculture does not seem to appeal to the struggling Portuguese farmer.

TABLE 19.—Average value per farm of crops raised and sold, 20 typical Portuguese farms, Portsmouth, R. I.

Crops.	Number of farms producing.	Average value per farm.	Crops.	Number of farms producing.	Average value per farm.
Corn.....	17	\$137	Onions.....	13	a \$77
Hay.....	5	202	Other garden products.....	9	96
Oats.....	1	70	Peppers.....	5	b 36
Rye.....	2	20	Irish potatoes.....	20	b 1,406

a Not including 5 farms not reporting complete data.

b Not including 4 farms not reporting complete data.

Of live stock the usual number is one or two horses, a cow, and two or three hogs. The hogs are killed in late December and cured for the next summer's meat. Little live stock of any kind is sold. Neither the cows nor the horses are well bred or of great value.

The table following shows the number and value of live stock found on the 20 farms under consideration:

TABLE 20.—Classification of live stock, 20 typical Portuguese farms, Portsmouth, R. I.

Kind of live stock.	Number of farms reporting.	Number of farms reporting—					Total number of animals reported.	Average value per head.
		1.	2 or 3.	4 to 6.	7 to 10.	10 or more.		
Cows.....	14	9	2	1	2	.....	38	\$33
Horses.....	13	6	6	1	.....	.....	24	118
Other neat cattle.....	4	1	1	2	.....	.....	12	18
Swine.....	16	3	10	2	.....	1	80	9

## FARM PRACTICE.

The Portuguese have introduced no new methods of culture and no new type of agriculture. Working as farm laborers, they learned the ways of the native farmers and have been following in their footsteps. The opportunities for making money rapidly in agriculture are very few in this section; the existence is more or less "hand to mouth," and the greatest advantage the Portuguese has over his fellow farmers lies in his hand culture, manual work, and long hours of labor. Several are very much discouraged with the outlook. Debts hang heavy and bills for labor, seed, fertilizer, and feed for the stock exhaust the profits. The tenants are not getting on rapidly. In addition to the \$10 an acre land rental, a house rent must be paid for the dwelling occupied, amounting to perhaps \$100 a year for a cottage or two or three rooms in a larger house. Rents of all kinds are payable in cash; the tenure is from year to year, and few tenants have not moved several times if they have been tenants more than six years.

Their fields are well tilled and carefully cultivated. They have gardens with all the commoner kinds of vegetables, and raise most of the food needed to supply the family during the summer. In a certain respect they are self-sufficing farmers; meat, eggs, milk, vegetables, and in some instances fruit for the farm table are raised on the little farms.

## IMPROVEMENTS.

The houses and outbuildings vary greatly in appearance. A few Portuguese have fine farm homes, good frame houses, well built and very attractive. Fine trees in the front yard, a pretty grass plot in front of the house, flowers, and vines, make a tidy, homelike appearance. A few have good barns, wagon sheds, granaries and outbuildings, built up and compactly arranged. Some of these better homes are old homesteads, founded by New Englanders many years ago, but there are a few new houses that show good taste and substantial construction. More than one-half have rather indifferent homes. They are small or old frame houses that have been rented for years and are more or less out of repair. The barns are mere sheds, and the barnyards have the forlorn look of long tenancy. On the whole, the farms are well kept and the surroundings appear to quite as good advantage as the non-Portuguese holdings in the same economic class. The fields are generally small—not more than 6 or 8 acres, often less, surrounded by massive stone fences. Heavy machinery can not well be used, and most of the labor is performed by hand. There are not many American tenants, but those who rent and those who own small farms have little or no better surroundings than the foreigner. The foreigner gives his first thought to making his farm pay, and its appearance is a secondary matter.

Great quantities of commercial fertilizer, seaweed, all the barnyard manure on the farm, and some hauled from the city are used on these farms. On the farms investigated anywhere from \$100 to \$1,000 was paid for fertilizer in 1909, in addition to the supply made on the farm. Lime is frequently used to correct the acidity of the soil, and high-grade "potato fertilizers" are applied, not always judiciously, but, the potato growers declare, plentifully. These fertilizers are bought from local agents or from traveling agents of fertilizer companies, who sell the goods on credit, charging about \$1 per ton additional for fertilizer not paid for by July 15. Most of the Portuguese tenants can not pay until the crops of potatoes are sold. The necessity for applying fertilizer every year to all crops makes this fixed item of cash outlay a heavy one. As said previously, most of the Portuguese farmers have succeeded in making a living on the land, but among the 20 from whom detailed schedules were secured by the Commission a fairly careful accounting of the bills for manures, fertilizers, labor, and seed balanced against the receipts from the principal crops marketed shows an actual deficit in a number of instances, and a very small favorable balance in others; and this accounting does not include taxes, rent, interest, or depreciation. The rents are not too high, considering the market value of the land, but land values are not based on the agricultural productiveness of the soil. The element of speculation and the proximity to cities, the desirability of the location for country places, all go to make the land too expensive for this variety of agriculture and farmers of this degree of efficiency. Rent, fertilizers, and labor are likely to absorb all the returns if the crop year is at all below the average. Those who have been fortunate enough to have a "bumper crop" in a year of high prices to pay off their debts and get a fair start

are able to hold their own in poor years and increase their possessions in fat years. Several are free from debt, and, with the help of their families, are going into other agricultural subindustries and are making fair livings.

#### MARKETS AND MARKETING FACILITIES.

Fall River, 8 or 9 miles away over a macadam road, is the nearest large city, but a great many loads of produce go to Bristol Ferry and thence to Providence, 20 miles distant. These are good markets, and the numerous summer cottagers living all along the shore north and south furnish an all-summer demand for vegetables, milk, fruit, and poultry products within a very few miles. Newport is but 7 miles south, and demands large supplies of everything farmers can raise. Two trolley lines and a steam railway give excellent connections with Newport, Bristol, Providence, and Fall River. In the summer there are water connections both north and south. So far as marketing facilities are concerned, there seems little more to be asked.

Garden truck, eggs, poultry, and the like are peddled or sold to retail grocers or private customers. It is certain that much more produce could be disposed of to individual customers—like hotels, club houses, and wealthy summer dwellers if an effort were made in that direction. Few of the Portuguese seem to have developed a market of this sort. They are not as good peddlers of produce as the Italians. Potatoes are sold to local buyers and shippers as soon as the crop is harvested. Few, if any, ship to commission houses direct and very few to individual dealers in Boston or Providence. There are no cooperative selling associations of any importance.

#### OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY.

The property of the Portuguese of Portsmouth consists of land and improvements in the case of twenty-eight families, who also own some stock, tools, and other personal property; and of stock, implements, and a little household furniture in the case of the others. On the tax roll of the town, 635 acres of land, valued at \$79,400 is assessed to Portuguese owners, an average of about \$125 an acre. The sum of all property, real and personal, assessed to the Portuguese is a little less than \$100,000. Bearing in mind the fact that one-half of these families are tenants who own no real estate, and very infrequently a house, a fair idea of the property may be gained from the following table. The land assessments, as usual, are somewhat lower than the true market values.



TABLE 21.—Range of assessments, Portuguese farmers, Portsmouth, R. I., 1908-9.

(Compiled from tax roll.)

Range of values.	Number of assessments—	
	Of land and improvements.	Of land, personal estate, total assessment.
Under \$300.....	0	1
\$300 and under \$500.....	0	23
\$500 and under \$1,000.....	4	8
\$1,000 and under \$1,500.....	4	4
\$1,500 and under \$2,500.....	6	6
\$2,500 and under \$3,500.....	8	7
\$3,500 and under \$5,000.....	3	4
\$5,000 and under \$7,500.....	0	1
\$7,500 and under \$10,000.....	3	2
\$10,000 and over.....	.....	1
Total number assessed.....	28	57

As a rule the Portuguese farmers of Portsmouth have not increased the size of their land holdings since first entering or purchasing. The value of the land precludes this in most cases, and besides the farmers are tending toward more intensive culture rather than to an increase in the extent of the acreage in crops.

It will be remembered that most of the farmers under consideration are renters whose property consists almost entirely of stock and implements. The average value of personal estate of the 20 from whom schedules were secured is about \$300; few have more than \$500 worth of chattels, although some have been here several years. The net value of all property owned by these 20 farmers, as reported by themselves, is shown in the following table:

TABLE 22.—Net value of all personal and real property now owned, 20 Portuguese farmers, Portsmouth, R. I.

Net value.	Land and improvements.	Live stock and implements.	Crops on hand.	Total property.
Under \$50.....	.....	1	3	5
\$50 and under \$100.....	.....	2	7	1
\$100 and under \$250.....	.....	7	.....	3
\$250 and under \$500.....	.....	6	2	4
\$500 and under \$1,000.....	.....	2	1	2
\$1,000 and under \$1,500.....	.....	.....	.....	1
\$1,500 and under \$2,500.....	1	.....	.....	.....
\$2,500 and under \$5,000.....	.....	1	.....	.....
\$5,000 or over.....	2	.....	.....	2
Not reported.....	1	.....	.....	2
Total.....	4	19	13	20

## STANDARD OF LIVING.

In the matter of dress the Portuguese families do not differ greatly from their native-born neighbors of the same occupation and economic status. Some of the older people still cling to features of dress peculiar to the islands whence they came, but, like practically all immigrants, the younger people and the second generation do not dress differently from the nonimmigrant residues.

The Portuguese farmers expend more for food than do the Italian agriculturists in the vicinity or elsewhere. Perhaps the chief difference in this regard lies in the fact that the former buy more meat. The Portuguese women are said, as a rule, to be good housewives. The women work in the field but unlike the women of some other races they do not seem to neglect their housework because of this.

As a rule the houses of the Portuguese in Portsmouth have four or more rooms, and except in some instances where the houses are large and roomy and the families small each family rents or owns one house. In most of the houses there are few books, papers, or pictures, but some of the older and more advanced families are exceptions to this rule.

## SOCIAL, EDUCATIONAL, AND RELIGIOUS.

Like all south European peoples the Portuguese are social, but in this community there are few organized social enterprises. At the time of the Commission's inquiry no fraternal or beneficial organizations had been established. A few of the Portuguese farmers belong to the local grange, but as a rule they are not active in the organization.

A few of the earlier comers and wealthier families and the young people mingle very freely with the native residents, attend some of the more public parties and dances, and meet their neighbors socially on equal terms. There is really no race prejudice, and the Portuguese are not looked down on. In many cases, however, their indifferent knowledge of the English language is a natural bar to social intercourse with their American neighbors.

The Portuguese are Roman Catholics but they do not maintain a separate church. The younger children attend school regularly and are said to make good progress. The older people, however, are for the most part unable to read or write English or any other language. According to the Rhode Island census of 1905 there were 339 illiterates, 10 years of age or over, in the town of Portsmouth, and of these 320 were of the Portuguese race. When it is considered that the same census showed a total Portuguese population of only 537 of all ages in the town, it will be seen that the percentage of illiteracy is abnormal.

## OUTSIDE EMPLOYMENT.

The opportunities for employment in the cotton and woolen mills, on the docks, or as drivers and draymen, are numerous. Taking them as a whole, however, there are few members of the Portuguese farm families who work outside of the township. Some of the girls do housework in the neighborhood, and practically all of the men who work away from home are farm laborers. Some have tried the mines and the mills as an auxiliary occupation, but they soon returned to

work on the land. Some of the younger people show an inclination to leave the farms for city employment, but it is said that as a rule the boys look forward to becoming independent farmers when they grow up. The wages for farm labor in the vicinity are from \$20 to \$26 a month, with board and lodging and washing, and by the day \$1.50 or more. There is always abundant opportunity for employment on the farms near home, and the American employers prefer Portuguese to almost any other laborers.

#### POLITICAL CONDITIONS.

It is probable that not more than one-fourth of the Portuguese men of voting age in Portsmouth have become citizens, or legally declared their intention to do so. Of 21 men interviewed by an agent of the Commission, only 5 were naturalized citizens, and it was said that there were only about 14 Portuguese voters in the township. The great barrier is inability to read or write the English language. They do not seem to be anxious for the prerogatives of citizenship, and take little interest in either local or state politics.

#### MORAL CONDITIONS.

The white Portuguese in Portsmouth are well regarded by their American neighbors. They are said to be moral, and very quiet and peaceable as a rule. Moreover they are industrious, thrifty, and honest. They do not contract debts unless it is necessary, but their credit is good at the stores and banks. Very few offenses and no serious crimes are attributed to them, and as a rule they are temperate.

#### INFLUENCE ON THE COMMUNITY.

The influence of the Portuguese on agriculture and on the community in general, and the counter influence of the people of Portsmouth on the Portuguese, is very salutary. The Americans regard them as indispensable. They meet a very acute want and partially solve the question of farm labor. As a State, Rhode Island is contracting her cultivated area of agricultural land. Succeeding censuses show more land passing back into the unimproved class. There are a good many reasons for this drift. One is that intensive culture in that section requires hand labor. Another is that in many communities some form of specialized agriculture only will succeed. As potato growers, the Portuguese have not been uniformly successful, but they have supplied the labor, in part at least, needed by their American neighbors, first, by furnishing hired men, second, by renting or buying the land of the unsuccessful native farmers. The Americans are unanimous in the statement that the Portuguese is the more successful potato grower. They affirm that they can do much better by renting to a Portuguese than by operating their own acres. They testify that the land and the appearance of the fields improve under Portuguese tillage—even if the house and farmstead do not. Competent observers are not certain there will be profit in the potato industry for many years, and in default of some other crop the Portuguese farmer is already beginning to become

restive. Some have even now removed. They need leadership—men with resourcefulness and initiative, to start something of profit. With near-by markets, fruit, truck, poultry, and vegetables would seem to be capable of profitable development. The community has given confidence to the foreigner, and has taught him self-reliance and responsibility; it remains to make him an American citizen—to teach him to originate as well as to imitate. If the Portuguese sustains himself economically there is no doubt of the value of the next generation to the community both as growers and as citizens.

#### SELECTED DATA FOR TYPICAL FAMILIES.

The table following shows with a fair degree of accuracy the economic history and present financial condition of 12 typical Portuguese families who are owners or tenants in Portsmouth.



TABLE 23.—Economic history and present financial condition

Data reported.	Family 1.	Family 2.	Family 3.	Family 4.	Family 5.
Years in locality:					
Head.....	10.....	8.....	8.....	20.....	6.....
Family.....	8.....	7.....	8.....	15.....	1.....
Present household size.....	7.....	8.....	6.....	11.....	1.....
Number of members 10 years or over.....	2.....	5.....	3.....	5.....	1.....
Male.....	1.....	2.....	1.....	1.....	1.....
Female.....	1.....	3.....	2.....	4.....	.....
Previous location.....	Massachu- setts.	Portugal..	Massachu- setts.	Portugal..	Portugal..
Previous occupation.....	Farm la- borer.	Farming for self.	Farming for self.	Farm laborer.	On father's farm.
Value of property brought to locality.	\$200.....	\$50.....	\$90.....	\$1.....	\$5.....
Occupation in locality previous to purchase.	Farm la- borer.	Farm la- borer.	None.....	None.....	Unskilled laborer.
Wages per week.....	\$4, board and lodg- ing.	\$10.50.....	.....	.....	\$9.....
Years employed.....	2.....	7.....	.....	.....	3.....
First land leased:					
Date.....	1901.....	1908.....	1901.....	1889.....	1906.....
Number of acres.....	3.....	20.....	8.....	7½.....	10.....
Terms.....	\$30 per year.	\$200 per year.	\$140 per year.	\$75 per year..	\$100 per year.
Condition of land.....	Cultivated.	Cultivated.	Cultivated.	Cultivated..	Cultivated.
First land bought:					
Date.....	1906.....	.....	.....	1902.....	.....
Number of acres.....	15.....	.....	.....	96.....	.....
Price.....	\$3,200.....	.....	.....	\$12,000 a.....	.....
Terms.....	Cash \$500 and mort- gage.	.....	.....	Cash \$4,000 and mort- gage.	.....
Condition.....	All culti- vated.	.....	.....	90 acres cul- tivated.	.....
Occupation until living could be made from land.	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	Working for neigh- bors.
Number of years.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.....
Earnings per day.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Not report- ed.
Acres of land now owned or leased.....	15.....	Leased 20..	Leased 13..	Owned 96..	Leased 15..
Acres cultivated.....	15.....	15.....	12.....	96.....	14.....
Apple trees.....	18.....	.....	.....	50.....	.....
Peach trees.....	12.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pear trees.....	.....	.....	.....	30.....	.....
Plum trees.....	.....	.....	.....	20.....	.....
Grapes.....	.....	.....	.....	Few vines..	.....
Rented land, acres.....	None.....	20.....	13.....	15.5.....	15.....
Live stock now owned:					
Cattle.....	1.....	1.....	1.....	15.....	.....
Horses.....	2.....	1.....	None.....	5.....	1.....
Swine.....	2.....	2.....	2.....	45.....	.....
Financial condition:					
Value land and improvements.....	\$4,500.....	.....	.....	\$15,000 b.....	.....
Live stock.....	\$160.....	\$88.....	\$68.....	\$1,980.....	\$100.....
Tools and implements.....	\$300.....	\$50.....	\$100.....	\$2,800.....	\$145.....
Crops on hand.....	.....	.....	.....	\$600.....	\$50.....
Other property.....	\$100.....	\$50.....	\$150.....	\$1,700.....	.....
Gross value of all property.....	\$5,060.....	\$188.....	\$318.....	\$22,080.....	\$295.....
Indebtedness—					
On land.....	\$2,700.....	.....	.....	\$2,500.....	.....
Other.....	(c).....	.....	\$300.....	.....	.....
Net value of all property.....	\$2,360 c.....	\$188.....	\$18.....	\$19,580.....	\$295.....

a This includes value of grist mill.

b Rent of rooms.



TABLE 23.—*Economic history and present financial condition of*

## ANNUAL FARM INCOME FROM PRODUCTS

Products.	Pro-duced	Sold.	Pro-duced	Sold.	Pro-duced	Sold.	Pro-duced	Sold.	Pro-duced	Sold.
Corn.....	\$40		\$80		\$85	\$85	\$900	\$869	\$60	
Hay.....							540			
Oats.....							70	60		
Potatoes.....	438	\$438	968	\$968	998	998	7,331	7,331	1,450	\$1,450
Rye.....							35			
Strawberries.....							200	200		
Garden products (not specified).....	83	83	12	12	23	23	245	245		
Orchard products.....							75	75		
Dairy products.....							600	600		
Live-stock products.....					24	24	350	350		
Poultry products.....							100	100		
<b>Total.....</b>	561	521	1,060	980	1,130	1,130	10,446	9,820	1,510	1,450
Supplementary income.....							a \$100			
Farm expenditures:										
Fertilizer.....		\$350		\$355		\$391		\$3,000		\$456
Farm labor.....		250				75		700		
Stock feed.....		140		400		75		1,400		80
Seeds.....				160		178		500		400
<b>Total.....</b>		740		915		719		5,600		936

• From grist mill.

b Rent of rooms.







## CHAPTER VII.

### JAPANESE RICE PLANTERS AND TRUCKERS IN TEXAS.

#### INTRODUCTION.

The farms owned by the Japanese in Texas are few. At Terry, in Orange County, is found the largest rice farm owned by a Japanese. Near Beaumont, in the town of Fannett, in Jefferson County, is another rice farm. In the suburbs of Houston are four small truck farms operated by Japanese. Between Houston and Galveston, within 12 miles of Webster, in Harris County, occur the largest number of Japanese farms. Six farms are located at Webster. Six more are near League City, just over the boundary line in Galveston County. Two farms are located at Mykawa, in Harris County. In each of the following towns one farm is found owned or operated by a Japanese: Alvin in Brazoria County, Bay City and Markham in Matagorda County, Mackey in Wharton County, and Mission in Hidalgo County. These make 25 farms, with a total of 12,642 acres owned and 2,546 acres leased by Japanese in Texas. According to the figures given by the Japanese operating these 25 farms, they own property having a total valuation, including land, buildings, machinery, tools, and live stock, of \$594,765; there is a total indebtedness of \$217,909, leaving a net valuation of \$376,856. The 25 farms reported \$259,000 worth of crops produced for the year 1908, 95 per cent of this amount representing rice.

In raising garden truck, in the orange or nursery industry, and especially in rice growing, the Japanese have been markedly successful, according to the opinion of their neighbors. Only one failure has been noted in agriculture, that at Decosta, in Victoria County, of which further mention will later be made. With this exception, the Japanese in agriculture are succeeding, chiefly owing to the intelligence and skill characteristic of their race, but partly, at any rate, because most of them had sufficient capital equipment to organize economically large agricultural enterprises.

#### HISTORY OF SETTLEMENT.

The growth of the Japanese population in Texas has been very slow. According to United States census reports there were only 3 persons of this race in the State in 1890 and only 13 in 1900.<sup>a</sup>

According to the Japanese Mission Annual, published in San Francisco (the data being supplied by Mr. S. Arai, then of Houston, but now in charge of the nursery in Alvin), "The total Japanese population in Texas in December, 1908, was 103. This number consisted of 84 men, 9 women, and 10 children. They controlled 4,446 acres of land. One man leased 10 acres for cash rent, on which

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<sup>a</sup> Twelfth Census, vol. 1, p. 572.

he raised vegetables. Four men leased 660 acres for a share rent, on which land they grew rice. Seven parties owned 3,776 acres, which were devoted chiefly to the growing of rice, though a part was used in the raising of garden truck."

In the Commission's canvass, made in 1909, data concerning 112 Japanese were secured. Only 13 of these were females. The great majority were recent immigrants. One had been in the United States more than ten years; 17 from five to nine years, and the remainder four years or under.

A few of the Japanese are simply farm laborers; this class is rather migratory, moving from the sugar-beet farms of Colorado to the rice fields of Texas and back again. But those that operate farms are likely to stay as long as they are able to make a living and get a fair profit on the money they have invested. On the 25 farms operated by them there were 187 persons in August, 1909, according to the investigation made by the Commission. One hundred and forty-three of this number were men, 23 women, and 19 children. The age distribution of 111 persons from whom this information was secured is as follows: Sixteen to 19 years, 2; 20 to 29 years, 66; 30 to 44 years, 38; 45 years or over, 5. Of this number 14 were females, all of whom were married. Sixty-six of the men were single and 31 married, but the majority of these had left their wives in Japan, but were sending for them as they became well established in this country.

The first Japanese farmer to buy land and begin growing rice in Texas settled in Webster, Harris County, in 1903. This was the beginning of the present Japanese immigration into Texas. The other families now in that town and a few in the neighboring town of League City were induced to come by this first owner. During this investigation schedules were obtained from 21 Japanese farmers, and the following tables have reference to this number, approximately 80 per cent of all the farmers of this race in the State at the time the inquiry was made.

Twelve of the Japanese heads of families came directly from Japan to their present locations, the remainder coming after a period of residence in other parts of the United States.

Before coming to the United States these 21 heads of families had followed various professions and occupations, and it is significant that a considerable proportion of them had attended agricultural schools in their native country.

Many of the Japanese came to the United States with enough money to pay down very substantial sums on the farms they decided to purchase. They gave mortgages for the balances, drawing various rates of interest. Those who were unable to buy at once generally worked for some Japanese farmer, raising rice on shares and receiving two-fifths or three-fifths of the crop. Of the 21 heads of families under consideration 11 purchased farms on their arrival, 7 rented, 2 worked as farm laborers, and 1 did not report his occupation.

Many of these were graduates of high schools in their own country, others held responsible positions where a knowledge of the English language was a necessity. Hence the majority of the Japanese that came to Texas could speak English, and coming with a generous supply of money, they were not obliged to suffer the hardships and difficulties that thousands of other immigrants encounter who arrive penniless and settle on uncleared lands.

Even the poorest that came had over \$100. Six heads of families had between \$500 and \$2,500, 8 had between \$2,500 and \$5,000, and 4 had over \$10,000.

#### AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS.

The farms owned by the Japanese vary from one of 20 acres to one of 3,500. The larger farms are rice farms; some of the smaller farmers are producing truck crops, while others are raising oranges and nursery stock for commercial purposes. In fact, it seems best at this point to divide this foreign group into four subdivisions according to the crops raised, namely: (1) rice, (2) truck, (3) orange groves, (4) nursery products.

The following table classifies the farmers by values of specified farm products produced and sold. Four of the farms report selling vegetables and 12 of the farms sell rice.

TABLE 24.—*Classification of farms, by value of specified farm products produced and sold, Japanese farmers in Texas.*

Value.	Number of farms reporting farm products produced and sold.					
	Produced.			Sold.		
	Vegetables.	Rice.	Total.	Vegetables.	Rice.	Total.
\$50 and under \$250.....	1		1	1		1
\$250 and under \$500.....	1		1	1		1
\$500 and under \$1,000.....	1		1	1		1
\$1,000 and under \$2,000.....	1		1	1		1
\$2,000 and under \$5,000.....						
\$5,000 and under \$10,000.....		2	2		2	2
\$10,000 and under \$15,000.....		5	5		5	5
\$15,000 and under \$25,000.....		2	2		2	2
\$25,000 and over.....		3	3		3	3
Total.....	4	12	a 16	4	12	a 16

a Not including 5 farms reporting nothing produced or sold.

#### RICE.

In the rice group there may be included 13 farms owned or managed by Japanese. They are situated at Mykawa, Webster, Mackey, Fannett, Markham, and Terry. The largest of these has 3,500 acres and the smallest 224 acres.

During the investigation 12 rice farms were visited, on which the average annual yield per farm for 1908 and 1909 was found to be 4,663 sacks of rice of 162 pounds each, with an average value of \$15,774 per farm.

Rice is a comparatively new crop in the localities where the Japanese have settled, the first rice grown on any large scale being harvested about 1895. In 1889 the federal census reports 178 acres in rice in Texas, with a yield of 108,423 pounds; in 1899 there were 8,711 acres, yielding 7,186,863 pounds; for 1909 the Secretary of Agriculture estimates 291,000 acres, with a total yield of 9,894,000 bushels, equivalent to about 275,000,000 pounds of clean rice. The recent work done by the United States Government in rice investigations

and the havoc wrought by the boll weevil throughout the Southern States have caused an increased interest in this crop, which forms the principal food of nearly one-half the population of the earth. The Japanese have been growing rice for centuries, yet they are obliged to learn to substitute American methods for the crude hand-labor system in use on their half-acre plats of land on the hillsides of Japan.

There are four essentials for the production of good rice. The first of these concerns the character of the soil. It should be a medium grade of loam with a moderate degree of fertility, containing about 50 per cent of clay. The second essential is an impervious subsoil lying near the surface. This is necessary in order that the water that has to be flowed upon the field of growing rice may be held on the surface of the land without seeping through and leaving the rice dry. If this subsoil lies too close to the surface it prevents the feeding of the plants. If it lies too deep it allows too much absorption of water. The third essential is the water supply. On most of the plantations where rice is grown, in localities peopled by the Japanese, the water is secured from neighboring rivers or creeks. Sometimes the rice growers have been obliged to incur a heavy outlay to equip a station with pumps and engines to raise water from the bed of the river. The fourth essential concerns the slope of the land, upon which depends the size of the fields. The land should be nearly level. If it is not, the difficulty and consequent expense of flooding the entire surface with water during the growing season is multiplied. If it is so absolutely flat that the water will not drain off when the end of the growing season approaches, another problem is presented. In the harvesting of rice on a large scale, heavy binders and traction engines are required, and, unless the soil is dry, these implements are likely to sink through and greatly impede the work.

Fields range from 25 to 80 acres in extent and are so laid off that flooding can be economically handled. Generally a field has a canal on at least one side, sometimes on all four sides, with ditches leading off at various intervals. These ditches are much narrower than the canals and serve to spread the water over the entire field.

There is no other crop of which the planter has such complete control as his rice crop. Other crops are at the mercy of the elements to a large extent. For this crop the land is plowed in the very early spring. The rice is planted from the first to the middle of April, with a drill, though occasionally a Japanese will plant a small area by hand as he did in his native land. The flooding of the fields and the large amount of water required in the growing of rice is a distinct feature. Some use water to germinate the seed, while others keep the field dry until the rice is 6 or 8 inches high and then turn on the water. The yield and time of ripening depend largely on the water that is given the crop. During the growing season from 3 to 6 inches of water covers the land.

When the crop begins to ripen the water supply is shut off and all the drainage ditches are opened to allow the ground to become dry and solid enough to hold the harvesting machinery. The harvesting is done by means of heavy binders, made in much the same way as is the wheat self-binder and drawn by four or five large, strong mules.

Every detail of the rice harvest is closely patterned after the wheat or oat harvest in the Northern States. The thrashing is done with separators and traction engines like those used for other cereal crops. Self-feeding attachments are employed and the rice is thrashed from the shock. The rough rice is run into burlap bags, which are at once sewed up and the grade of rice marked on the outside. The grade depends chiefly on the proportion of red rice found among the kernels.

The rough rice, or paddy, is that which retains the hull. It is marketed in this form and usually sold by the bag, which contains from 160 to 210 pounds. When sold by the barrel the weight is 162 pounds.

The entire round of operations from planting to thrashing is now on a machine basis. Hand labor has been almost wholly eliminated and rice culture in Texas bears no resemblance to Japanese or Chinese methods.

The largest rice farm owned by a Japanese is located in Terry, Tex., 10 miles west of Beaumont. The owner of the farm came to this locality in 1907, after having served in the Japanese army and seen service in the Japanese-Russian war. The farm contains 3,500 acres and includes large warehouses, tenant houses, irrigation canals, ditches, and wells, and is well stocked with farm implements. This farm was purchased for \$72,000. On the farm there are 32 men, 5 women, and 4 children. Altogether 1,600 acres of rice were harvested in the year 1908, bearing 15,753 sacks of rice, which sold for \$47,000. The proprietor rents 1,400 acres of his land to Japanese tenants, they paying him one-half the rice crop for the use of the land, water, and seed. During the time of harvest many Americans are employed as drivers of wagons and wherever help is needed in thrashing.

The Japanese rice farm which ranks second in size is located at Mackey, Wharton County, 7 miles from Wharton, the county seat. The owner of this property came there from Webster, Tex., in January, 1907, and bought 2,224 acres of land at \$35 an acre, agreeing to pay for the land in ten equal installments with interest at 7 per cent on the unpaid principal. There are now living on this plantation, 17 men, 6 women, and 12 children, 7 of the children having been born in America. The proprietor of this farm rents a large number of acres to his tenants, receiving two-fifths of the crop as rent; the landlord furnishes the land, the water necessary for the cultivation of the crop, and the tenant houses. The owner reported that in the year 1908 there were harvested on this farm 2,000 sacks of rice, averaging from \$3 to \$3.50 per sack.

The Japanese rice farm third in size is 10 miles from Beaumont, in the town of Fannett. The proprietor of this farm was a banker and wealthy landowner in Japan. Having heard of the wonderful opportunities offered for rice culture in southern Texas, he decided to come to America and try life as a rice farmer. He settled in Fannett, in the year 1905, purchasing 1,734 acres of land at a cost of \$35,000. During the year 1908 he planted 705 acres in rice, from which were harvested 7,500 sacks, which sold for \$27,000. He has no tenants and manages the farm himself, working all of it by means of farm laborers. There are employed on his land 4 Japanese besides himself, the rest of the work being done by Americans and negroes.

The first Japanese farmer in Markham came in 1905, first leasing 560 acres of land, and paying one-half the rice crop as rent. In 1908 he purchased 334 acres of unbroken prairie land, paying \$13,360 for the tract without any improvements, making the amount payable in five equal annual installments. Since then he has built houses, roads, and ditches, and has greatly improved the place. He cultivates over 600 acres, all in rice, as he still retains the land that he leased on coming to the locality. His income from rice in 1908 amounted to \$15,000. There are 6 other Japanese on the farm besides himself, but the rest of the work is done with the aid of American hired hands secured in the neighborhood.

Mykawa is located 10 miles south of Houston. There are two rice farms owned by Japanese in that locality, one of them a partnership concern in which four partners are interested. In 1907 these partners bought 500 acres of land, the price being \$12,500, each of the four putting in \$500 in cash. The balance is to be paid in equal payments extending over a term of ten years. Last year the four together had 220 acres in rice, harvesting 4,200 sacks of paddy which sold for \$19,500. The other farm consists of 640 acres, bought for \$16,000 in 1907. Of this \$5,000 was cash and the remainder obtained on a mortgage divided into ten equal annual payments. This is also a partnership enterprise, there being 5 partners, each partner investing \$1,000. Last year they had 340 acres planted, from which was harvested 6,000 sacks of rice, which sold for \$21,000. On this farm there are 7 men, 2 having their wives with them. The wives oversee the cooking and have the care of the house.

Seven miles out of Bay City is the farm of another Japanese, whose brother-in-law was at one time the Japanese consul-general at New York. While consul-general the latter induced his relative to come to America to live; this in 1903. In 1908 he moved to this locality and leased 500 acres of land, paying two-fifths of the rice crop as rent, receiving as his share of the rice \$6,500. Two other Japanese are in partnership with him, sharing equally, and there are four Japanese laborers.

The largest group of Japanese rice growers is situated in Webster. Three rice farms with a total of 1,857 acres are owned there and two are rented, with a total of 850 acres. Sixty-six men, 8 women, and 2 children were found at the time of the investigation. This is the largest settlement of Japanese in the State, but the farms are widely scattered and little opportunity is offered to study community conditions.

Mr. Saibra, the first Japanese to locate permanently in the town of Webster, has succeeded in producing an average rice yield per acre large enough to make his farm a place of unusual interest to students of agriculture in the Southwest. He was once a member of the Japanese House of Representatives, at another time principal of the educational institution known as the Doshisha, founded by Neesima, with the aid of funds largely contributed in the United States, and prior to settling in Texas was a theological student at Hartford, Conn. He finally concluded to engage in rice farming in Texas and came to Webster in 1903, buying at first 300 acres of land. At present he owns 860 acres, and in 1908 harvested 12,000



sacks of rice that sold for \$36,000. He is a Christian, and attends the local church in Webster. It has been through the success of Mr. Saibra that a number of other Japanese have arrived and become his neighbors.

The only complete failure recorded in any agricultural project that the Japanese have undertaken in Texas was at Decosta. There a Japanese company was formed and took under its control, or secured options on, 5,200 acres of land on the 22d of March, 1907. Twenty-seven Japanese came from Seattle to work on the land. A manager was appointed from among their number to take charge of the undertaking. Eight hundred acres were planted to rice, but things went wrong from the start. The company seemed to be unwilling to take advice from the Americans with regard to the growing of the crop, their water supply proved inadequate, the management was unsatisfactory, and the crop turned out more or less a failure. On the tract there were also 5 white tenants, who, altogether, operated 1,200 acres. The white tenants were able to produce better crops than the Japanese, but they, too, suffered severely from lack of water.

The second year a new manager was employed, and it was decided to release the white tenants and to carry on the undertaking themselves. A large amount of land was put into condition and a second crop planted. About a month before the crop was ready for harvest the oil company that had furnished the fuel for running the engines used to pump the water came without warning to demand immediate payment of their bill. The Japanese had already overdrawn their accounts and were in hard financial straits. As they were unable to meet the demands of the oil company, the pumps were stopped, the crop was abandoned, and the last Japanese left the locality before October 1, the property reverting to the original owners.

It is said that the majority of the men who made up the colony were wealthy young men of Japan, coming from good families, but who were wholly unaccustomed to manual labor. Their business methods were lax, and some of the natives may have taken advantage of their ignorance and lack of business ability. Business men in Victoria estimate that the Japanese during their two years' sojourn in Decosta lost over \$100,000 by this venture, which greater financial acumen would have made a success.

#### TRUCK FARMS.

Four of the truck farms operated by Japanese are located in the suburbs of the city of Houston and 4 of them are in League City. The 4 farms owned by the truckers average 29 acres in area and the 4 that are rented 40 acres each. They cultivate less than 10 acres apiece and practice the most intensive methods of culture; no space is wasted, and every inch of ground that they have in cultivation is made to produce something. This is a characteristic for which the Americans praise the Japanese. The vegetables they sell are always cleaner, fresher, and more attractive in appearance than those placed on the market by the ordinary farmer. They raise all kinds of vegetables, furnishing lettuce, cabbage, radishes, potatoes, corn, and other staples to the inhabitants of Houston. None of

the farms are producing large crops, yet 4 of the truck farms sold an average of \$675 worth of truck in 1908. The Japanese, however, usually want to be rice farmers, and the trucking industry is but one of the stepping-stones to a rice farm.

#### ORANGE FARMS.

The two orange groves owned by the Japanese in Texas are located in League City and comprise 36 and 40 acres, respectively. About half the land in each case has been planted to oranges, but as these orchards have been planted only two years the results can not be predicted. Yet, judging from the success that the Americans have had with their orchards, it seems reasonable to believe that the Japanese will be successful.

#### NURSERY PRODUCTS.

Like the orange orchards, the commercial nurseries are recent innovations in the localities in which they are established. One of the nurseries is located in Mission, Hidalgo County. Mission is in the central part of the county, in the midst of newly opened land, made serviceable by building irrigation canals and pumping water into them from the Rio Grande, thus supplying water to large tracts of land that have hitherto been useless for agriculture. The proprietor came to the locality April 20, 1909, and took options on 1,200 acres of land at \$12 per acre; he also secured rights on 20 acres of land nearer town for \$100 per acre. None of this land will be available for agriculture until water has been secured, so he rented 400 acres of land at \$8 per acre per year, including the price of water. The proprietor of this tract purposes to organize a stock company with a capital of \$100,000, to be laid out in buying and improving more land and building irrigation ditches. If the plans work out successfully one of the most extensive nursery projects in the South will be established.

As has been said, the proprietor came to the locality in April, 1909, with a foreman. A few weeks later 4 more Japanese arrived from the vicinity of Houston. The Commission's inquiry was made in the summer of 1909, and at that time it was expected that 12 or more laborers would be added to the force in the following October. The proprietor spent his first two years in this country in St. Louis at the Missouri Botanical Garden; then he traveled in the United States for two years in order to study the characteristics of the soils and the climatic conditions necessary to the successful conduct of the nursery business. The next two years he spent as a merchant, and then he came to Mission. He intends to raise oranges, grapes, grape fruit, lemons, and truck, as well as nursery stock. A number of acres are set out to young orange trees which he has imported from Japan, but he is giving most of his attention to clearing the 1,200 acres of the undergrowth of cactus and mesquite bean. Mexicans are employed altogether in clearing the land.

This is a large undertaking, and many are skeptical of the outcome of the venture. The land is practically worthless unless there is plenty of water for irrigation, and the price of irrigated land is extremely high. All the water has to be pumped from the Rio Grande and

carried by means of large canals or aqueducts to the farms in the interior. Fortunately building materials are cheap. Mesquite wood is used largely for fuel. Very few colored people are found in this part of Texas, the chief help being the Mexicans, who are paid on an average about 62½ cents a day. These are two factors that offset the disadvantage of high-priced land.

In Alvin is located the main nursery area of the Alvin Japanese Nursery, a company composed of two Japanese. They own 462 acres in Alvin and 13 acres near the city limits of Houston. At Alvin they grow all their stock, making a specialty of orange and fig trees, which are sold both to the wholesale and the retail trade. The nursery was started only four years ago, yet they now have 75 acres in fruit trees. In Houston they have an office and display grounds. This saves their customers an extra trip to Alvin to inspect the stock and their orange groves. The orange grown most extensively is the Satsuma, introduced into this country from Japan some years ago. The fruit is well received in the market. That raised in Texas is said to be superior in size, of much better quality, and of earlier maturity than that raised in California.

It is hard to say what will be the outcome of the nursery industry that has been started by the Japanese, as the orchards are just in their infancy; but those who have knowledge of such crops, and have taken care to inspect the work done by the Japanese, say that they have made a successful start. The company annually prints a catalogue of its shrubs and has published several articles in the interest of orange growing. The nurserymen sell their products throughout the State, shipping the young fruit stock wherever it is ordered, and in the course of time a well-established business seems assured.

Houston is the center of the Japanese in Texas, and there is located a representative of the Japanese Industrial Company, who has his headquarters in San Francisco. This man helps the Japanese when they come to Houston either to sell or buy goods. No cooperative marketing has developed among these people, yet having a sort of a sales agent, as it were, permits the Japanese to secure better prices than they would if left to their own resources.

#### PROPERTY OWNED.

At present, according to the figures furnished by the Japanese themselves and previously quoted, they operate 25 farms, aggregating 12,642 acres of land owned and 2,546 acres leased, having a total valuation, including land owned, buildings, machinery, tools, animals, etc., of \$594,765, upon which is an indebtedness of \$217,909, leaving a total net equity of \$376,856. In comparing these figures with those of the assessors in the various counties, it is found that the assessors' figures are from 25 to 75 per cent lower than the valuations placed upon the property by the Japanese, even if the purchase price is taken as a basis. In one locality a farm which sold for \$72,000 was assessed for \$32,600 only. Horses and mules are invariably assessed for \$100 or less, while the majority of those owned by the Japanese are worth from \$150 to \$200. Another farm, costing \$7,350, is assessed for \$4,450; a third cost \$9,040 and is now assessed for \$7,500 in spite of the fact that improvements have been made on the place sufficient to

more than double its original cost. Taking these facts and others into consideration, it may safely be asserted that the values given by the Japanese and their neighbors, who should be in a position to know, are more nearly market values than those placed on the properties by assessors.

The following table sums up the condition of the 21 farms investigated. The average farm was found to be 515.10 acres and the median farm 272 acres in extent. Seven farms were leased, with an average of 219 acres each. Fourteen owned farms, and these averaged 511.43 acres in extent. The total gross value of all property was \$387,655, and the net value \$265,150. Nine farms showed an indebtedness of \$122,505, or an average indebtedness per farm of \$13,612, making the average net value of property per farm \$18,939.

TABLE 25.—General financial summary, Japanese families in Texas.

Farms leased and owned.	Investigated.	Farms leased and owned.	Investigated.
Total farms of race.....	21	Farms now owned.....	14
Average size of farm..... acres.	a 515.10	Total number of acres.....	8,722
Median farm..... do.....	272	Number of acres tillable.....	5,518
Kind of farms:		Number of acres not tillable.....	3,204
Rice.....	12	Present value of farms now owned:	
Vegetable.....	4	Land and improvements.....	\$292,370
Not reporting crops.....	5	Average value of land and improvements per farm.....	\$20,834
Farms now leased.....	7	Average value of land and improvements per acre.....	\$34
Total number of acres.....	1,535	Number of farms showing indebtedness.....	9
Number of acres tillable.....	1,395	Total indebtedness.....	\$122,505
Number of acres not tillable.....	140	Average indebtedness per farm.....	\$13,612
Total value of personal property.....	\$23,650	Gross value of all property.....	\$387,655
Amount of personal property per farm.....	\$3,379	Net value of all property.....	\$265,150
First purchase of land and improvements.....	14	Average net value of all property per farm.....	\$18,939
Total number of acres.....	8,000		
Average acres per farm.....	571.43		
Total value.....	\$183,705		
Average value per farm.....	\$13,122		
Average value per acre.....	\$23		

a Including 560 acres rented by one man, who also owns.

Of the 14 farms owned, 2 are partnerships with 4 and 7 partners, respectively. The other 12 farms are owned by separate individuals. Six of the farms rented are rented by a single man and the remaining farm is operated by three men in partnership.

Considering the land now owned or rented, it is seen that all the farms have at least one-half of their area tillable and 57 per cent have three-fourths or more tillable, while of the first land purchased or rented only 48 per cent had a similar area open to cultivation. No better testimony could be offered to show the ease with which this prairie land is prepared for irrigation and put into cultivation when there is sufficient energy and capital behind the enterprise.

The farms now owned with one-half to three-fourths tillable average 1,005.38 acres in extent, and the land is valued at \$32 per acre, with an average value per farm, including all improvements, of \$31,675. The farms three-fourths or more tillable are smaller in extent, averaging only 113.17 acres, with a valuation of \$56 per acre, or \$6,375 per farm.

The Japanese in Texas as a group have brought more wealth into this country than they have sent out. Very few of them have made

large sums of money and the major part that has been made has been returned to the farm in the way of improvements and live stock. In this way they are increasing their investments in this country. Comparing this group of people with other foreigners, the Japanese are found to be far superior to any other colonists in the Southwest as far as land owned and heavily capitalized farm enterprises are concerned.

The following table enumerates the live stock found on the 21 farms visited. On the rice farms practically all the work is done with horses and mules, of which large numbers are found on every farm.

TABLE 26.—*Classification of live stock, 21 Japanese farms, Texas.*

Kind of live stock.	Number of farms reporting.	Number of farms reporting—						Total number of animals reported.	Average value per head.	
		1.	2 or 3.	4 to 6.	7 to 10.	10 to 15.	15 to 20.			20 or more.
<b>JAPANESE.</b>										
Cows.....	7	3	2	1	.....	1	.....	23	\$23	
Swine.....	3	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	2	187	5	
Horses.....	14	2	9	3	.....	.....	.....	35	110	
Mules.....	20	.....	7	1	.....	4	2	6	284	188

#### STANDARD OF LIVING.

The clothing worn by the Japanese men and women is not unlike that of their American neighbors, except that sandals instead of shoes are worn in field work and are left outside the kitchen door while the wearer is within.

On the farms purchased by the Japanese the houses were already built, and the Japanese have done little to improve them. As a whole they are more inclined to repair and build new barns and warehouses than they are to improve their own houses. The majority of the houses are poorly kept and dirt and confusion is everywhere apparent. Many of the houses were inhabited by men only, and the absence of women may in a measure account for this lack of good housekeeping. But even in some of the houses where the housewife was found the same conditions existed, leading to the impression that the Japanese are not more orderly or efficient home makers than some of the south European immigrants.

The houses were provided with very little furniture, boxes being used in many instances in place of chairs. Cheap iron beds were sometimes seen, but a large number of Orientals sleep on wooden bunks covered with a thin mattress of rice straw. Little bed covering is needed. The bedsteads were completely covered with netting to keep out mosquitoes. Two of the houses were distinct exceptions to what has just been said, being very neat and attractive. They would compare favorably with the houses of the better-class American neighbors.

Rice cooked in various forms with fresh and dried fish forms the principal food. The settlers do not appear to be hearty eaters, and their dietaries vary very little from day to day. In many cases the men do the cooking, and the condition of the kitchens in which they work is very insanitary.

On the rice plantation the woman's work is in the home. There she has charge of the kitchen and provides meals for the 10, 15, or more men working on the farm, a task that evidently keeps her busy most of the time. On the truck farms where women are found they aid materially in the cultivation of the garden crops, helping their husbands to weed, cultivate, and harvest the vegetables. The group of Japanese in Texas is so small and of such recent origin that the children have not reached the age where they can be called upon to aid in work.

Malaria affects the Japanese who live in the low rice districts. They are very susceptible to this disease, which is practically the only ailment that affects them. Most of the accidents that befall the Japanese are caused either from carelessness in the use of machinery or by injuries inflicted by mules. Indeed, this animal has caused the majority of deaths that have occurred among the Japanese in Texas.

The Japanese seem to be very fond of travel; many have taken trips through the United States, and every year two or three heads of families journey back to Japan for two or three months, returning possibly with their wives and children. In practically all the houses are seen copies of American newspapers and magazines besides Japanese publications.

#### OPPORTUNITIES FOR EMPLOYMENT.

On all the farms operated by Japanese some Japanese labor is employed, and during harvest Americans are also hired, who work side by side with the Japanese. On some of the large farms Americans are employed as engineers, having under their supervision all of the farm machinery. At first the Japanese hired Americans exclusively to do the mechanical work. Each American thus employed was given a Japanese helper, who constantly watched every movement to learn all he could from observation and by questioning the American. In most cases, after the American had been employed a year or so, he was discharged and his Japanese helper took his place.

The supply of Japanese is so limited that there is no lack of employment. As farm laborers the Japanese are considered very hardy, diligent workers. Japanese farmers almost invariably employ men of their own nationality where this is possible. When other help is necessary Americans are generally hired. Sometimes during the busy season in the rice fields Japanese from Colorado and New Mexico come to Texas and assist in the harvesting of the rice. The rate of pay of Japanese farm hands varies. Many of them work for \$10 to \$20 a month and their board and room. Those who are working for this small wage are usually young men who have been in this country but a year or so and who want to secure a good working knowledge of the crops and the manner in which they are grown in this country. At the same time their wages are below the normal level. When the Americans are hired on the farm they receive the prevailing rate of wages in the locality in which they are employed, generally ranging from \$1.25 to \$1.50 per day without board.

## SOCIAL LIFE.

The Japanese farmers in Texas appear to have very little time for social diversions. They are constantly at work to improve their farms and are so few in number that they have no opportunity to form any social organizations of their own and very seldom participate in the amusements organized by the natives.

The Japanese are not found in large or isolated colonies. The largest group is near Webster, running down into the small town of League City. Undoubtedly the Japanese gather there because the first Japanese settler that came to the locality raised rice with such success that reports of his ability spread and his fellow countrymen began to move in. This is the only community where segregation may be said to have taken place. Of course, the farms in the rice district are so large that they permit very little close neighborly association, but on the whole the Japanese are willing to mingle with their neighbors, to learn American ways, and adopt American customs.

As an example of the tendency to pattern after progressive Americans, in two or three of the houses on the rice farms the Japanese have had rooms fitted up for offices with letter files, letter cabinets, and typewriters. Perhaps the installation of the graphophone in several homes may be cited as another instance. Throughout the localities in which the Japanese have settled very little race prejudice against them has been manifested. Practically none of the Americans foster any prejudice, and it is said that the Japanese remain so quietly by themselves that were it not for their industry in improving their farms the neighbors would not know of their existence. The Japanese never cause trouble or stir up strife with their neighbors. Frequently when a neighbor wishes help and applies to a Japanese he is received in the most courteous manner, the Japanese being only too glad to render his American neighbor such service as he can.

In Texas the Japanese have no separate church, owing to their isolation from each other and their small numbers. Frequently they attend the local churches near their farms. There they mingle with the Americans.

## SCHOOLS.

On account of the preponderance of single men and the great distance of the farms, generally, from town, educational conditions can not be characterized as favorable. In fact, in a number of places no educational facilities seem to be available. In two localities where the Japanese are prospering, the owners of the farms have secured private tutors to instruct their children in reading, writing, and English. On the other farms the children seem to pick up such learning as they can, but the number of children is so small that there is very little possibility of establishing public schools at present.

## GENERAL MORALITY.

Crime and misdemeanors of any kind seldom occur among the Japanese. They are a law-abiding people, remaining by themselves, settling their differences among themselves, and never troubling the

outside world. The general morals of the community seem to be as high as they are in any foreign locality. Some testify that the Japanese are always honest; others deny this statement with emphasis. They generally buy for cash and the country storekeepers and other merchants consider them very good customers.

On two of the farms the Japanese maintain their own stores, selling groceries and clothing to the Japanese help that they employ, thus bringing onto the rice farms the same commissary arrangement that is found on the large cotton plantations. Occasionally they sell groceries to American neighbors, who report that the prices at these stores are slightly lower than at the stores in town.

#### EFFECT OF THE SETTLEMENT.

Wherever the Japanese have settled on farms they have made many additions or improvements. They have cleared the ditches, built new canals, repaired fences, and their buildings do not, as a whole, present the same tumbled-down appearance frequently observed in other immigrant agricultural settlements. Most of the farms owned by Japanese have, however, been in their possession only three or four years. With the strict enforcement of the immigration laws there will be very little migration from Japan to the Texas farms. Increased numbers of Japanese may come from the farming localities of Colorado and California, but as a rule those who come into Texas will necessarily be the richer class if they desire to be independent farmers, for the land that is suitable for raising rice is comparatively high in price, and the capital outlay necessary for equipping a rice farm is frequently several thousand dollars.

#### STATISTICAL DATA FOR SELECTED FAMILIES.

The table following represents 12 farms of the Japanese. It shows the number of years the head and his family have been in the locality, his previous location and occupation, his first property purchased. In a few cases the Japanese have increased their holdings, but for the most part they invested so heavily at first that they have been unable to shoulder additional burdens. In the matter of farm income it is interesting to note the large amounts made on the rice farms in comparison with the amounts made on the small truck farms, proving that the Japanese are very successful rice growers.





TABLE 27.—Economic history and present financial condition

Data reported.	Family 1.	Family 2.	Family 3.	Family 4.	Family 5.
Years in locality:					
Head.....	6.....	6.....	3.....	6.....	4.....
Family.....	6.....	6 <sup>a</sup> .....	None.....	6.....	4 <sup>a</sup> .....
Present household size.....	6.....	1.....	1.....	2.....	1.....
Number of members 10 years or over.....	6.....	1.....	1.....	2.....	1.....
Male.....	3.....	1.....	1.....	1.....	1.....
Female.....	3.....	0.....	0.....	1.....	0.....
Previous location.....	Hartford, Conn.	San Francisco.	Webster, Tex.	Ehemi, Japan.	Okayama, Japan.
Previous occupation.....	Student.	Doctor's assistant.	Farm laborer	Farmer.	Banker.
Value of property brought.....	\$1,500.....	\$2,500.....	\$500.....	\$10,000.....	\$3,000.....
Occupation in locality previous to purchase.....	None.....	Farm laborer	None.....	None.....	None.....
Wages per week.....	.....	\$3.75.....	.....	.....	.....
Years employed.....	.....	2.....	.....	.....	.....
First land leased.....	None.....	.....	.....	None.....	.....
Date.....	.....	1905.....	1906.....	.....	1905.....
Number of acres.....	.....	600.....	10.....	.....	560.....
Terms.....	.....	$\frac{1}{2}$ rice crop, payable at harvest.	\$75 per year for tract, cash.	.....	$\frac{1}{2}$ the crop rent, payable at harvest time.
Condition.....	.....	Land, all improvements.	Land all tillable, one barn.	.....	All improvements, 360 acres tillable.
First land bought:					
Date.....	1903.....	None.....	None.....	1903.....	1908.....
Number of acres.....	300.....	.....	.....	325.....	334.....
Price.....	\$5,750.....	.....	.....	\$7,475.....	\$13,364.....
Terms.....	$\frac{1}{2}$ cash, balance in 6 years, 8 per cent.	.....	.....	$\frac{1}{2}$ cash, rest in 5 payments, 6 per cent.	Cash \$2,500, rest in 5 payments, 7 per cent.
Condition.....	All cleared, no improvements.	.....	.....	House and barn and 200 acres tillable.	250 acres tillable, no improvements.
Occupation until living could be made from land.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
Acres of land now owned.....	860.....	None.....	None.....	325.....	334.....
Acres tillable.....	700.....	.....	.....	300.....	250.....
Acres cultivated.....	700.....	.....	.....	280.....	250.....
Present land leased:					
Number of acres.....	.....	500.....	10.....	.....	560.....
Amount of rental.....	.....	27 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of rice crop.	\$72 per year.	.....	$\frac{1}{2}$ the rice crop.
Terms.....	.....	Payable at harvest.	Cash.....	.....	Payable at harvest.
Condition.....	.....	450 acres tillable.	House, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres tillable.	.....	360 acres tillable.
Live stock now owned:					
Cattle.....	3.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Horses.....	3.....	.....	.....	2.....	2.....
Mules.....	28.....	24.....	2.....	15.....	32.....
Hogs.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	12.....
Financial condition:					
Value of land and improvements.....	\$56,000.....	.....	.....	\$17,250.....	\$15,000.....
Livestock.....	\$6,550.....	\$5,000.....	\$200.....	\$3,000.....	\$6,700.....
Tools and implements.....	\$6,500.....	\$2,500.....	\$45.....	\$8,000.....	\$7,500.....
Crops on hand.....	\$50.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other property.....	\$400.....	\$100.....	\$5.....	\$250.....	\$100.....
Gross value of all property.....	\$69,500.....	\$7,600.....	\$250.....	\$28,500.....	\$29,300.....
Indebtedness—					
On land.....	\$16,000.....	.....	.....	\$1,245.....	.....
Other.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Net value of all property.....	\$53,500.....	\$7,600.....	\$250.....	\$27,255.....	\$29,300.....

<sup>a</sup> Family has returned to Japan.

of certain typical Japanese agricultural families, Texas.

Family 6.	Family 7.	Family 8.	Family 9.	Family 10.	Family 11.	Family 12.
1.....	4.....	2.....	1.....	4.....	1.....	2.....
1.....	4a.....	1.....	1.....	4.....	1.....	0.....
5.....	2.....	2.....	2.....	3.....	2.....	1.....
2.....	2.....	2.....	2.....	2.....	2.....	1.....
1.....	2.....	1.....	1.....	1.....	2.....	1.....
1.....	0.....	1.....	1.....	1.....	0.....	0.....
Galveston, Tex. Restaurant business.	Mieken, Japan Landowner.	Echigo, Japan Oil dealer.	Japan Banker.	Tu kushima, Japan. Student.	Tokyo, Ja- pan. Farmer.	Japan. Student.
\$1,000.....	\$100,000.....	\$1,000.....	\$4,000.....	\$500.....	\$11,000.....	\$2,500.....
None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	None.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1908.....	.....	1907.....	1908.....	1905.....	1908.....	1907.....
40.....	.....	3,500.....	130.....	100.....	270.....	100.....
\$150 per year cash.	.....	No rental, al- lowed to use place one year.	\$150 per year cash.	½ rice crop, payable at harvest.	¾ rice crop, payable at harvest.	\$150 per year cash.
House, barn, and shed, 30 acres tillable.	.....	House, ware- house, barn and land with im- prove- ments.	House, barn, and shed, 12 acres cul- tivated.	Land all til- lable, with houses and pumps.	265 acres til- lable, ditches, houses, wells, and barns.	House and barn, 50 acres til- lable.
None.....	1905.....	1908.....	None.....	1908.....	None.....	None.....
.....	1,734.....	3,500.....	.....	23.....	.....	.....
.....	\$35,000.....	\$72,000.....	.....	\$600.....	.....	.....
.....	Cash \$15,000, rest in 5 years at 5 per cent.	Cash \$15,000, \$38,000 in 4 years at 5 per cent, \$19,000 in 9 years at 8 per cent.	.....	\$300 cash, bal- ance in 3 years.	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	10 acres til- lable, house, barn, shed.	.....	.....
.....	Wells, pumps, and old houses, 1,000 acres tillable.	House, ware- house, barns, and sheds.	.....	.....	.....	.....
None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....	None.....
None.....	1,734.....	3,500.....	None.....	23.....	None.....	None.....
.....	1,000.....	2,000.....	.....	12.....	.....	.....
.....	734.....	1,600.....	.....	10.....	.....	.....
40.....	.....	.....	35.....	.....	350.....	100.....
\$150 per year.	.....	.....	\$350 per year.	.....	¾ crop as rent	\$150 per year.
Cash.....	.....	.....	Cash.....	.....	Payable at time of harvest.	Cash.....
House, barn, shed, 30 acres til- lable.	.....	.....	House, barn, land fenced, 20 acres tillable.	.....	Houses, wells, ditches, 325 acres tillable.	House and barn and 50 acres tillable.
3.....	10.....	3.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	4.....	4.....	2.....	1.....	4.....	.....
.....	33.....	32.....	6.....	2.....	14.....	3.....
.....	100.....	75.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	\$40,000.....	\$75,000.....	.....	\$1,000.....	.....	.....
\$300.....	\$7,000.....	\$7,250.....	\$1,200.....	\$400.....	\$2,400.....	\$600.....
\$50.....	\$5,000.....	\$10,000.....	\$100.....	\$50.....	\$2,000.....	\$50.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
\$50.....	\$300.....	\$250.....	\$50.....	\$10.....	\$50.....	\$50.....
\$400.....	\$52,300.....	\$92,500.....	\$1,350.....	\$1,460.....	\$4,450.....	\$700.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	\$20,000.....	\$57,000.....	.....	\$360.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	\$1,200.....	.....
\$400.....	\$32,300.....	\$35,500.....	\$1,350.....	\$1,100.....	\$3,250.....	\$700.....

TABLE 27.—*Economic history and present financial condition of*  
ANNUAL FARM INCOME FROM PRODUCTS

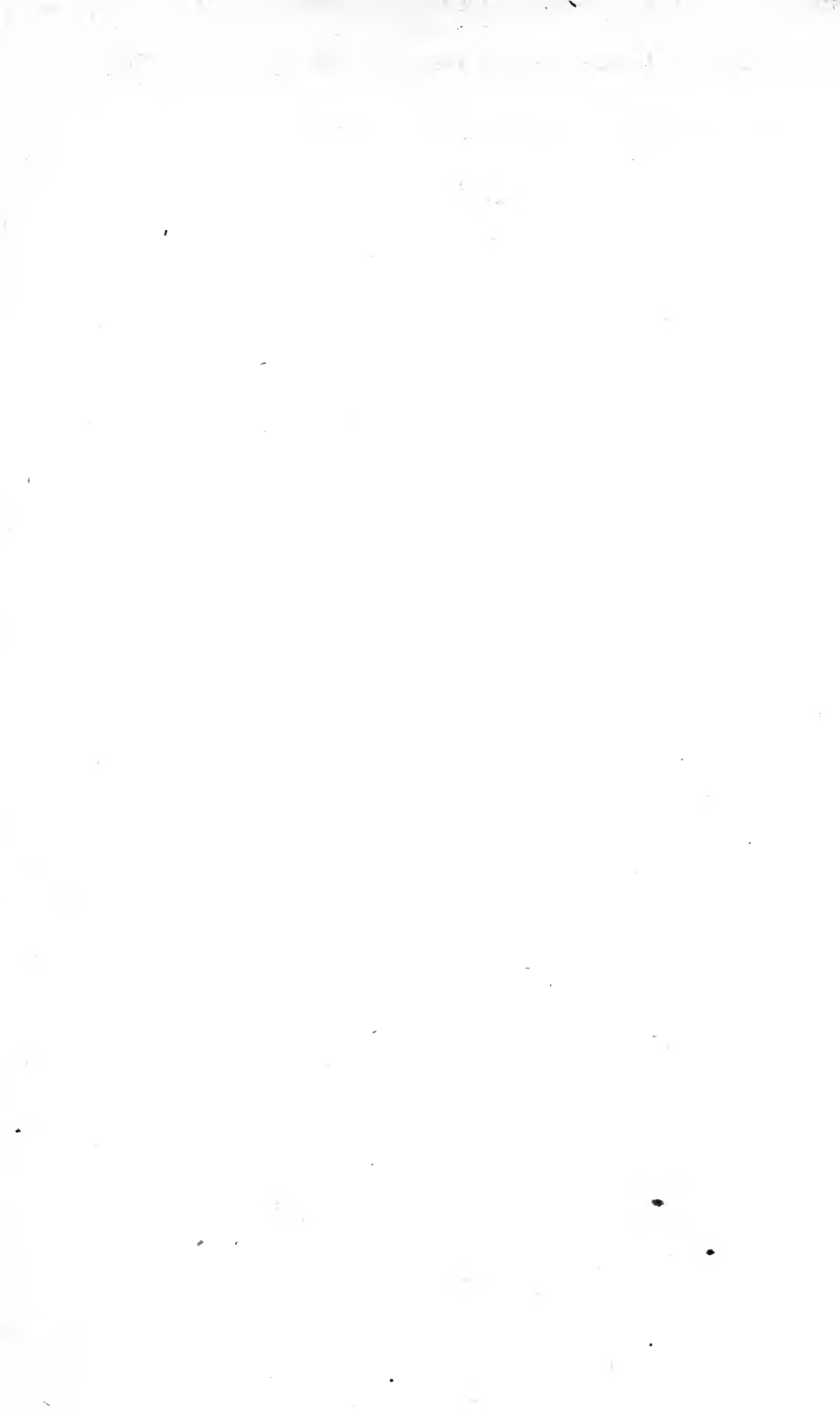
Data reported.	Family 1.	Family 2.	Family 3.	Family 4.	Family 5.
Cabbage.....			\$125		
Cucumbers.....			120		
Garden products not itemized.....			122.50		
Lettuce.....			40		
Potatoes.....			25		
Rice.....	\$26,750	\$17,500		\$13,725	\$13,500
Total.....	26,750	17,500	432.50	13,723	13,500

*certain typical Japanese agricultural families, Texas—Continued.*

SOLD (AVERAGE FOR TWO YEARS).

Family 6.	Family 7.	Family 8.	Family 9.	Family 10.	Family 11.	Family 12.
\$400			\$1,300	(a)		\$800
	\$33,500	\$47,000		(a)	\$11,000	
400	33,500	47,000	1,300	(a)	11,000	800

• Not reported.



## CHAPTER VIII.

### JAPANESE AT YANIATO, FLA., A RECENT SETTLEMENT.

#### INTRODUCTION.

Yamata is a small station on the Florida East Coast Railway in the east-central part of Dade County, Florida. The east coast of Florida for some miles on either side of the Florida East Coast Railway is devoted entirely to the production of vegetables and tropical fruits. Dade County is the southernmost of this tier of counties and produces every form of truck crop for the eastern markets besides large quantities of citrons, fruits, and pineapples. The principal crops in the section where this colony is located are pineapples and tomatoes; other vegetable crops and some grape fruit, limes, and oranges are grown, but the two crops first mentioned constitute the greater acreage and the principal income for farmers in the locality.

When visited by an agent of the Commission in 1908 there were 34 Japanese in the colony—32 men and 2 women.

#### HISTORY OF IMMIGRATION.

This colony was established in 1904 by a Japanese immigrant who had spent several years in the United States. The Florida East Coast Railway acquired, through public grants largely, large tracts of land along the east coast; and since the railroad has been built the company has been very active in settling the territory. The founder of this colony, after making contracts for the purchase of real estate, secured employment as a selling agent of the railway company and then went to Japan to induce other Japanese to emigrate to Florida. The colony was started with 23 members, all males.

The promotor of the colony secured an option on 6 sections in the locality and has paid in full for some of this land and has made partial payments on other tracts. Subsequently, the promotor made a second trip to Japan to procure settlers, but while there were additions to the colony there were also desertions, and the settlement has grown very slowly. Approximately, 60 Japanese have deserted the settlement. Few of these immigrants had been engaged in farming before coming to the United States. Some were employed in industrial pursuits, as novelty makers, silk workers, etc., while the others were engaged in some form of business or were students. This fact may partially account for the large number of desertions.

The work to 1908 had been difficult; when the colony was started the land was wild, and a great deal of hard work, time, and expense was necessary to put it in condition for cultivation. The land was planted to pineapples, and an interval of eighteen months elapsed

before the first crop could be gathered, imposing further hardship. At present there are 68 acres set to pineapples, the greater part of which belongs to the colony jointly, and the remainder to individual members. The colony has perfected an organization which provides employment for those who desire to buy land until sufficient money has been saved to make the first payment. Some of the members had enough money to pay cash for their land on arrival, while others only made a small cash payment. The average price of this land is about \$20 per acre, and the railroad company makes very easy terms of purchase. Usually as much as one-fourth is required as the initial payment with the balance in three equal installments, with interest at 6 per cent, and when the purchaser is unable to meet his obligations promptly payments can be deferred.

The greatest obstacle the members of this colony have had to contend with has been the difficulty of preparing the land for cultivation. Where all the labor must be hired the expense of clearing the land, planting the pineapples, and tending the crop until maturity is approximately \$325 per acre, according to reliable estimates. A large part of the clearing and planting in this colony has been done by the immigrants, but they have employed negro labor in some instances, the work of clearing the land being so heavy that the Japanese are not always equal to the task. Pineapples grow only on the sandy ridges, which are usually covered with a growth of scrub oak and palmetto. A grub axe is used to remove this growth, cutting it out by the roots, until the land is thoroughly freed from all vegetation. The soil is then plowed and harrowed until it is well pulverized, and the pineapple plants are set out in rows 2 or 3 feet apart and at intervals of about 2 feet in the row. The lower lands and the muck bottoms are used principally for vegetables. This land is usually covered with palmetto and other trees which grow very thickly and make clearing both difficult and tedious.

About six of the colonists have bought land and a few others are tenant farmers. The Japanese real estate agent furnishes the tenants with seeds, implements, fertilizer, and other supplies, or by acting as their surety enables them to obtain supplies on credit. When the crops are gathered the produce is sold through this agent, who reimburses himself from the proceeds.

#### SOIL AND CLIMATE.

There are two general types of soil, the sandy and the muck. The sandy soil is almost pure sand to a depth of several feet, and is the only kind that is adapted to pineapples. In its wild state it is covered with a profuse growth of palmetto, scrub oak, and huckleberry, which rarely exceeds a height of 8 feet. The pineapples can not be grown on the lower muck or semi-muck soils. The muck soils, generally called hammock, in their wild state are covered with a profuse growth of palmetto, water oak, and other trees and shrubs, and when cleared, drained, and put under cultivation raise excellent crops of tomatoes and other vegetables. These vegetables are grown so that they are put on the market in March and April. All this soil requires a great deal of fertilizer, and in many instances as much as 1 ton a year of chemical fertilizer is used to the acre on pineapples.



The summers are long and hot, and the winters short and mild. While the temperature seldom rises higher than 100° F., there are several months when it rarely falls below 90 degrees during the hours of daylight. Light frosts occur at rare intervals. The rainfall is sufficient for all crops grown, and is heaviest in the early spring months.

#### MARKETS AND MARKETING.

Most of the products raised are shipped to northern and eastern markets. Excellent through freight and express facilities are furnished and the products are promptly taken up and transported when delivered to the railroad. During the marketing season commission merchants in the cities keep a number of buyers in the locality and competition is keen and prices good. There is a canning factory at Delray, Fla., a few miles from Yamato, where surplus vegetables can be sold at a fair price.

#### AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS.

Of the few who have bought farms the largest tract owned is 60 acres, but the others have bought only from 5 to 20 acres. The initial cost of the land is one of the smallest items of outlay connected with farming in this locality, for 5 acres cleared and well located is ample to insure a very comfortable net income. The greatest financial obstacles lie in clearing the land, in the waiting until pineapples bear, and in procuring enough money to meet the large fertilizer bills. The Japanese, as well as all other farmers, have been planting a few acres each year to tomatoes, cucumbers, eggplants, and other truck crops in order to provide a source of income while waiting for pineapples to reach maturity. Diversified farming also entails less risk from crop failures. The crops do not conflict with one another, for when the time for harvesting and working the pineapples comes, the other crops have been disposed of. No general crops of any kind are grown, neither soil or climate being suitable to their culture. All feed for live stock, which includes only enough horses and mules to run the farms, is shipped in from the North and West. The Japanese live in small cottages constructed of undressed pine boards, and while their dwellings are not attractive in appearance they are sufficient for shelter and protection in the climate.

#### EMPLOYMENT.

The Japanese are not considered desirable farm laborers in this locality, where a great part of the work is of a heavy nature which requires considerable strength. They are skillful at gathering the crops and make very efficient laborers in the packing houses. They can not endure the intense heat in the field as satisfactorily as the negro. While there is always a demand for farm labor, they can not avail themselves of the opportunity, because of their inferior physical strength. Some are employed in the packing houses and in the canning factory at Delray, but these positions only last about from three to five months in the year.



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PART VI.—SEASONAL AGRICULTURAL LABORERS.

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## CHAPTER I.

### SEASONAL AGRICULTURAL LABORERS: SURVEY.

#### INTRODUCTION.

In a certain sense the large majority of farm hands are seasonal laborers, since the longest yearly period of farm labor is usually not more than eight months, extending from March or April to November. The employment of farm laborers by the year is becoming more customary where dairy farms or live-stock farms are common, but in grain farming, vegetable growing, or fruit raising the seasonal laborers far outnumber those employed by the year. In addition to the men employed for the entire crop season, however, there is another large body of laborers who are employed for specific tasks, sometimes by the piece, sometimes by the day, their season of employment ranging from four to six or eight weeks in the main.

This class of laborers is usually composed of foreign-born persons, who work in gangs and who are recruited outside of the neighborhood in which they find employment. For these reasons their employment raises a number of questions, interesting from the point of view of both agriculture and immigration. There are thousands of such laborers employed yearly in all parts of the United States where specialized crops, for whose culture a relatively large amount of hand labor is essential, are produced. The present report deals only with seasonal laborers in a few selected agricultural industries east of the Mississippi River.

The report includes accounts of the South Italian berry pickers in New Jersey, the South Italians and Poles on the farms of canning companies in the western part of New York State, the black Portuguese cranberry pickers of Massachusetts, the Poles and Indians on the Wisconsin cranberry bogs, and the sugar-beet laborers in Wisconsin and northern Ohio. These groups were selected as typical of much greater numbers all along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts in the trucking and berry districts, of great numbers in the canneries in Maryland, New Jersey, and elsewhere, of armies of sugar-beet employees wherever beets are grown extensively, and of fruit pickers of all sorts. Many day laborers are at work in the market gardens near New York, Boston, and other large cities—gangs composed of foreigners imported from the neighboring cities.

The methods employed by the Commission to gather information differed a little from those adopted in settled rural communities of foreigners. No family schedules were taken; individual slips (cards compiled by the Commission for use in industrial inquiry, asking questions with regard to race, conjugal condition, age, industry, residence in the United States, years employed, wages, hours, earnings, literacy, ability to speak English, citizenship, etc.) were distributed

in one or two groups, but were not wholly satisfactory. The most satisfactory results were obtained by visiting the different farms on which gangs or groups of foreigners were employed, interviewing the employer, the foreman of the gang (where a foreman was employed), and some of the laborers; inspecting the housing conditions, the conditions of labor, food, and sanitation; and collecting such outside information or opinions of observers or neighboring farmers as could be gathered. Account was taken of the location and city home surroundings of the laborers, of the conditions of living, of their annual itinerary, of their seasons of labor, and their earnings. The personal results—economic, social, educational, moral, and physical—of their seasonal rural occupation were considered and some attempt made to weigh them fairly. The more obvious effects on agriculture, on the community, and on society as a whole, of these shifting bodies of laborers, were looked into. A few of the more salient findings are here summarized.

#### RACE COMPOSITION.

The races more usually engaging in seasonal farm labor are the South Italians, the Poles, the black Portuguese on Cape Cod, an increasing number of Greeks and Syrians, and in sugar-beet culture a number of races, among whom the Belgians are prominent, although Bohemians, Finns, Poles, Hungarians, Japanese, and Indians are also employed. In almost all cases the employees belong to a class of cheap laborers, who engage in unskilled day labor when not working on farms. In berries, and to some extent in beet cultivation, the present supply of laborers has been but recently installed, having supplanted other foreigners who have chosen more permanent labor with more certain returns. For this reason the Poles, Finns, and Italians have given way to the "Bravas" on the Massachusetts cranberry bogs, native Americans and Germans have abandoned the berry fields of New Jersey to the South Italians, and the Japanese and Belgians are about to monopolize the sugar-beet labor in some large districts, if enough Belgians be secured to supply the demand.

Near Geneva, N. Y., South Italians are beginning to feel the competition of Greeks, who have been entering the field of farm labor since 1905. In the vicinity of Oneida, N. Y., Syrians and South Italians are engaged in seasonal farm labor. While the Syrians at present number less than one-fourth of the whole, they are making a place for themselves, and with their comparatively low standards of living are proving no mean competitors, even for the South Italians. The picking of berries and the hoeing and weeding of beets and vegetables are simple operations, requiring little special skill, strength, or intelligence; consequently the laborers are heterogeneous, belonging to the occupational group of day laborers or to the otherwise unoccupied class. It is not surprising that they have very low standards of living and receive comparatively small and uncertain earnings for very irregular employment.

A fact of importance is that much of the labor required is within the comprehension and strength of women and of children under 14 years of age. This is particularly true of berry picking. In vegetable cultivation, however, children can weed and gather the product with as much facility as men or adult women. Since chil-

dren and women can work efficiently, the laborers, particularly the South Italians, make the family the working unit. This means that the whole family engages in farm labor or berry picking and the earnings of all go into the family fund. Frequently only those members engage in agriculture who have no other gainful occupation—husbands and children over 16 years old who can secure permanent employment in other industries being found absent when the count of the berry field is made.

Another fact of economic significance is that work on farms is prosecuted most vigorously at a season of year when the children enjoy a vacation from school duties and some, at least, of the factories are closed. Not that school duties would prevent the children's going into agricultural labor, but were there no berry picking, vacation would be a time of idleness in many households; consequently men, women, and children engage in nearly all seasonal occupations. One exception is sugar-beet culture, where fewer women and children and more single men are found than in the other occupations studied. This is partly because of the nature of the work, which, being paid for on a piece-wage system, is heavy, monotonous labor considered as a seasonal employment. Certain tasks are easy, but much of the hoeing, pulling, and topping is not easily performed by weak or immature persons, and the long hours can not be endured by the weaker women and younger children. Moreover, sugar beets are grown in sections where the supply of floating or semiunemployed laborers with families can not be recruited from points near at hand.

#### SOURCES WHENCE RECRUITED.

The seven groups, studied a little more in detail, reveal some points of likeness and numerous contrasts. The Hammonton, N. J., berry pickers are typical of thousands of South Italians, Poles, "hoboes," and negroes from Baltimore, Philadelphia, New Orleans, and some other cities, who move with their families to the country early in the season for the purpose of picking berries. They begin by picking strawberries in Delaware or southern New Jersey some time in May and follow the berry crops northward to Hammonton and vicinity, where they gather blackberries and raspberries. The number studied were practically all South Italians from Philadelphia, largely family units, who are in the habit of spending their summers in the berry fields and cranberry bogs and their winters in Philadelphia. The main season of employment extends from May 15 or 20 to the end of July, with sometimes a month's work in the cranberry bogs in September and October. The interval between the blackberry harvest and cranberry picking they occupy in part by gathering huckleberries on the wild, unoccupied lands of New Jersey. Practically all have returned to Philadelphia by October 15.

The cranberry pickers of Massachusetts, on the larger bogs, at least, are chiefly "Bravas," or black Portuguese. They are recruited from the ranks of dock laborers near New Bedford and neighboring seacoast cities, and unless they are regular bog laborers, and as such employed for the year or the entire growing season, spend about six weeks of the year on the bogs. Five-sixths of them are men or boys, many of them single or without families in the United States.

They have succeeded in forcing out the Poles, Italians, and, to a large degree, the Finns, who have gone into other pursuits. They are largely illiterate aliens, some of whom find permanent employment as day laborers either on the bogs or in the cities when not engaged in picking cranberries.

The cranberry pickers of central Wisconsin are Indians or Poles. The Indians are often employed at occasional occupations in the rural districts and are well adapted to berry picking. They are transported by the growers from neighboring reservations and bring their families with them to the bogs. Usually several families, accompanied by an Indian manager, boss, or foreman, come together and work for the same cranberry grower. The second race employed in this work is the Poles, small farmers who welcome the opportunity to add something to the meager incomes from their farms. They, too, come with wives and children from places as far distant as 100 miles, and after cranberry harvest they return to their farms for the remainder of the year.

The sugar-beet laborers are chiefly Belgians, but in Wisconsin several races are represented. Nearly all are recruited from neighboring cities, where they make their headquarters. In Wisconsin the Bohemians and Germans frequently bring their families with them; the Belgians and Japanese are single men or men without families. The beet fields furnish employment from May 1 to July 15, and from about September 25 to November 1. The six weeks' interval takes many back to the cities, but some find employment on farms in the locality. In the winter they enter various occupations—the Belgians become lumbermen in Michigan or employees in the plow works or machine shops in Wisconsin, Indiana, or Illinois; the Japanese cut ice, work for farmers, or find employment as section hands on the railroads. The Bohemians and Germans are beginning to purchase tracts of wild land in some neighborhoods, while others return to the St. Louis breweries, whence many of them are recruited. Some of the beet hands are good laborers and earn fair wages in industry. Others are typical unskilled day laborers and earn very little in any occupation.

The farm laborers in western New York of which this report takes account are of two types—first, South Italians and Syrians, recruited from New York City, Buffalo, and other cities and brought to the locality in family groups by producers. Many of them remain the entire season, from June to October, at work either in the canning factories or on the farms of the canning companies. The other type is represented by South Italians and Poles, who may be called settled agricultural laborers. Both live near their places of employment in small cities or towns; both own some property in the villages; both work almost the entire spring and summer on farms in the neighborhood. Their vocation is essentially farm labor and they have practically no other employment. The Poles are especially worthy of study in this regard. They might well find a place in the division of this report devoted to settled rural groups, except that they are engaged not in independent agriculture, but in seasonal farm labor.



## CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT.

Wherever Italian laborers are recruited from cities at some distance from the place of employment, the *padrone* system is in operation. The *padrone* acts as a go-between for both laborer and employer. He receives an order from the employer for a gang of men, solicits them in their city quarters, brings them out to the farms, and acts as spokesman, general manager, and boss of the gang while at work. He is held responsible for the good behavior of his group, and the members of the group look to him to uphold their interests in any contingency that may arise. The *padrone* usually receives a certain sum per capita for securing the laborers, which varies somewhat, according to conditions, and occasionally he collects a fee from both laborer and employer. For his work as foreman he receives a stipulated daily wage. In general the abuses found strictly attributable to the *padrone* or the *padrone* system were few—decidedly fewer, according to reports, than some years ago. There is more competition among *padrones*, more intelligence on the part of the laborers, and a very widespread knowledge of labor conditions. Most of the laborers know where employment can be obtained, and many are able to do without the services of a *padrone*. Some farmers act as their own *padrones*, and much less money passes through the hands of professional *padrones* now than formerly.

On the other side the *padrone*, as a general rule, seems to be of very little assistance to the members of his gang. The wages, hours, and conditions of labor are well established and a gang leader can do little to change them. The most complete account of the present *padrone* system is found in the description of the Hammonton berry pickers. Labor agents or gang foremen are also employed in securing Indian and Polish cranberry pickers in Wisconsin. There no complaint of injustice or harsh treatment was made by the pickers. Agents of the beet-sugar companies recruit their laborers for the beet fields, and the cranberry growers of Massachusetts seem to be able to get enough pickers without solicitation. When additional cranberry pickers are wanted, the bog owners apply to labor agencies in Boston, Providence, or New Bedford.

The laborers in the sugar-beet fields are frequently handled in small gangs of 4 to 10 men, 1 of whom is by courtesy called "foreman." He has no authority, but acts as spokesman and takes the orders for his gang from the farmer or the sugar company. In cranberries, the gangs are larger, running up to about 40 pickers under 1 foreman, although this number is too large for 1 man to manage efficiently. The foremen are experienced men, employed by the growers, and are infrequently of the same race as the laborers. Foremen or "bosses" are essential in the cranberry industry when foreign, unskilled pickers are employed.

The report shows that wages and hours vary greatly, and that earnings vary both with the wages and with the length and character of the season. Piece wages are the rule in berry picking and in the cultivation of sugar beets; sugar-beet men are paid by the acre, either for the season or for one or more operations. The sugar company guarantees the wages, which are fixed by contract between

grower and laborer. In Wisconsin the wage is \$20 an acre, and 10 acres are about as many as one laborer can take care of, even by working long hours. The hours are as long as the laborers wish to make them, and some ambitious beet hands work literally night and day. The earnings are about the same as in general agriculture, for though the daily wages may be greater the season of actual labor is short.

In western New York on both general farms and those owned by canning companies, wages for adult males range from \$1.25 to \$1.75 per day of ten hours; for women and children, who are employed both on the farms and in the canning factory, the wages on the farms are less, but their earnings at piece wages in the factory practically equal those of the men. As a whole, wages are better in western New York in the industries cited below than in other industrial day labor. When the cost of living is considered, the foreign laborers who have their homes in the locality earn more than their countrymen occupied in cities. The South Italian families of four or five members who work from April to November on farms average from \$350 to \$450 for the season. The Poles earn about \$18 to \$20 per month and board the year round when they work as general farm laborers. Piece wages for men and women amount to \$1.25 to \$1.75 a day during the summer. When weeding, gathering peas, beans, or other vegetables, picking cherries, plums, or apples, the women often earn as much as the men.

Berries of all kinds are picked by the women and wages depend upon quickness and skill quite as much as upon strength. In no case that came under the observation of the Commission were the required hours abnormally long. The length of day in blackberry gathering depends on the schedules of freight trains, since all berries are shipped the same day they are picked; picking ceases for the day just before the last afternoon freight or express train is due. Blackberries may be gathered early in the morning, and some padrones get their laborers into the field by daylight. The grass and bushes are frequently damp enough to wet the clothing of the pickers, but no bad results were reported either by laborers or growers. Cranberries can not be gathered when there is dew or dampness on the vines; hence the cranberry pickers' day extends from late in the morning, 8 or 9 o'clock usually, until the dew begins to gather. The laborers for the New York canning companies work nine or ten hours when employed by the day, and the regular cranberry bog hands and general farm laborers have a nine and a ten hour day, respectively.

#### HOUSING CONDITIONS.

Three systems of housing, varying widely in detail, convenience, and comfort, prevail:

(1) The permanent dwelling houses owned or rented the year round by the laborers themselves. This condition exists where, as in Geneva and Orleans County, N. Y., many of the Poles and Italians live in small towns or cities near their place of employment and return to their homes every evening. There the conditions do not differ much from those surrounding the settled farmers of the race. The houses are better, there is less congestion, and the conditions of

light, air, and sanitation, are much more satisfactory than in the Italian or Polish quarters in large cities. A few of the black Portuguese live in miserable huts not far from the cranberry bogs on Cape Cod.

(2) The permanent quarters built by farmers or canning companies to shelter gangs of laborers during the season, or, in some instances, individual cottages or huts for the same purpose. The best of these company houses or "barracks" inspected were those built by canning companies in western New York. They were well built, fairly well ventilated, sanitary in arrangement, and very carefully inspected and cleansed at frequent intervals. The number of persons assigned to a house varied, and frequently large numbers were "bunked" in one building. The sexes were separated, however, and in but few instances was there any marked congestion. The parts of this report which deal with New York settlements and seasonal laborers describe the housing in detail. The water supply was satisfactory and the toilets (dry closets), at some distance from the buildings, were kept clean by the employers.

In Wisconsin the owners of the large bogs provided quarters for Polish pickers, and on some of the more extensive Massachusetts bogs the company houses were similar. The provision made for housing the berry pickers of New Jersey is less satisfactory. The houses which the Italian growers and many natives furnish for housing laborers were not originally designed for the purpose, and are very inadequate. Barns, granaries, old outbuildings, stable lofts, and one old schoolhouse were some of the makeshifts utilized for the purpose. The houses especially constructed for pickers were but little better. Ventilation was not adequate. There was much congestion at times; whole families were crowded into bunks about 6 feet square or 6 by 8 feet, and there was in a number of instances no separation of sexes except by a shawl or curtain thrown over a cord. Most growers made little or no effort to maintain sanitary quarters, and many of the houses and surroundings were deplorably filthy. The chief defense made by the grower of the houses he provides is that the pickers will not preserve sanitary quarters even if provided; that the season is short, and better buildings are expensive when occupied but six weeks in a year; that good quarters are neither desired nor appreciated by the pickers, who are South Italians. In general, whatever ameliorations or conveniences the New Jersey pickers have obtained in recent years have been wrested from the growers at the point of economic necessity; the pickers in a body have made infrequent demands, to which the farmer has acceded only through fear of losing his laborers. The pickers as a body are entirely unorganized.

The houses occupied by the Bravas, where single families or where two families live in one two-story dwelling, are somewhat more satisfactory, so far as ventilation and congestion are concerned, especially when some effort is made by the owners to insist on cleanliness and sanitary measures. In numerous instances where the Bravas are left to live as they please there is much filth, impurity, and foul odor about the miserable houses. In general the Brava is a trifle cleaner than the Sicilian when both work in gangs. The conviction forced itself, after investigation of several localities, that sanitary and moral

conditions depended less on the race than on the interest, care, and effort of the owner or manager to maintain wholesome conditions.

(3) The portable houses provided by the beet-sugar companies for the use of their laborers. These are "shacks" on wheels, designed to serve as cooking, sleeping, and living quarters for a gang of 4 to 10 men. Since the shanties do not remain long in one place, little refuse or débris can gather around them; there is plenty of ventilation and, except for the crowded condition of the sleeping quarters, they are rather good houses to live in. When sufficiently well built to keep out rain and give protection from the early frosts in the fall little complaint is made by the inmates. In fair weather the laborers spend little time in them.

#### STANDARD OF LIVING.

Universal testimony confirms the findings of the Commission that the standard of living of seasonal migratory laborers is low, lower than of permanent, settled agricultural laborers of the same race, and generally lower than the standard maintained by the same people when living in their place of legal residence. There are some exception, but in the main the breaking up of the home, moving here or there at short intervals, being necessarily deprived of the accessories of a fixed abode, and living in an unconventional atmosphere seems to make the laborers, especially those with families, content to live very primitively. The South Italian berry pickers live much more cheaply than their Sicilian employers, some of them more cheaply than the Bravas, who may properly be placed second from the foot of the list. The Belgians stand next and the Poles head the four most important races studied. The Greeks, Syrians, and Indians live rather meanly, but the Germans and Bohemians engaged in sugar-beet cultivation maintain a better standard than the Poles.

The food of the Bravas, Italians, Greeks, Syrians, and Japanese is largely vegetable, obtained very cheaply in the country in summer; the Belgians and Slavs eat more meat. The Sicilian and Calabrian, with their Italian bread, macaroni, and peppers, sometimes get along on as little as 25 cents per week in New Jersey; on the New York cannery farms they expend from 50 cents to \$1 a week. The Bravas live almost as cheaply, perhaps quite as cheaply, the first year of their residence in the United States; later their food improves both in quantity, quality, and variety; employers assert that they live better than the Italians.

The Belgians while on the beet farms live on canned products, vegetables, meat, and eggs. Generally one of the men in the gang acts as cook one week, another the next. The evening meal is the only one of much importance, but the quantity of food is always sufficient.

Poles live much as they do in settled rural districts. Their food is simple, coarse, and abundant, with more meat, cabbage, and potatoes than most other races use. Cost of living in one New York settlement had been closely estimated at \$12 per month for a family of four or five when the family raised its own meat and vegetables, and about \$20 per month when all food had to be purchased.

Earnings are low per individual, owing to the lost time, although daily wages frequently run as high as \$3. The earnings per family are fairly good, since in most cases there is little or no rent to pay, fuel costs nothing, vegetables are cheap, and there is little opportunity to spend their earnings. The Poles, Bravas, Belgians, and most sugar-beet laborers save some money. Many of the Italians do not seem to make much progress in material welfare, although a small percentage are thrifty and lay up money. The more thrifty are likely to give up berry picking after a few years. The permanent pickers are the least frugal and ambitious.

The Bravas are the best savers reported. From the beginning they hoard their earnings, usually in savings banks, to take back with them to their island homes. The propensity to save is one of the most striking characteristics of the Brava.

#### AMERICANIZATION.

Except the Bravas, all of the groups of seasonal laborers interviewed expressed their intention to remain in the United States permanently. Many are migratory, but their homes are in America. The Brava has been in the habit of returning to his home in the Cape Verde Islands after a few years of residence here, taking his earnings with him. He does not become a citizen, cares nothing for American institutions, and takes little thought for anything except to save money to carry away. The Bravas constitute the only adequate available source of supply of cranberry bog laborers, but they rise to nothing higher, as a rule. They are efficient, frugal, faithful under close supervision, but very illiterate, and neither resourceful nor intelligent.

There are fewer citizens among the other race groups of itinerant seasonal laborers than among settled farmers of the same race. The Italians, no doubt, are more illiterate than the Belgians or Poles, but in this respect few differ greatly from the same races in other industries. In the case of the Bohemians, Germans, and to some extent the few Japanese engaged in sugar-beet labor east of the Rocky Mountains, the seasonal work is a stepping-stone to the acquisition of property, and they content themselves with this occupation for a few years only. With many of the South Italians seasonal labor is apparently a permanent occupation, and the effect on the second generation is worth consideration.

The moral effect of the miscellaneous housing and unconventional life can not, to put it mildly, be very satisfactory. School authorities assert that the itinerant breaks in on the school routine with detrimental results educationally. Certain medical and hygienic authorities declare with conviction that the exposure to rain, cold, and malarial atmospheres are provocative of fevers and tuberculosis and that neither the water supply nor the unhygienic surroundings are conducive to physical well-being. These matters have been made the objects of investigation by state and city organizations in New Jersey. On the whole, the situation seems in almost every respect to be more satisfactory than that surrounding contract gangs of the same laborers on railroad and other construction work, but the limited duration of the employment, except in a few occupations,

has prevented a great influx of foreigners into the agricultural industries. The rise of highly specialized forms of agriculture, of large investments in land and equipment managed by highly expert and efficient entrepreneurs, has been the reason for the employment of the present number of cheap laborers in sugar-beet culture, cranberries, and on canning and trucking farms. That adequate provision has not been made for large gangs of laborers is due to the presence of smaller competing growers whose enterprises have grown gradually and whose provision for caring for laborers has also been gradually increased. On the other side there is no organization among the laborers and no unanimous demand for better conditions. Occasionally a gang strikes for certain improvements, and nearly every betterment has come as a result of such local strikes. When there is a scarcity of laborers the demands are ordinarily granted and serve as precedents for the community thereafter.

## CHAPTER II.

### GENEVA, N. Y., SETTLEMENT OF SOUTH ITALIANS AND GREEKS EMPLOYED IN THE CANNING INDUSTRY.

#### INTRODUCTION.

Geneva is located at the head of Lake Seneca, in the eastern part of Ontario County, N. Y. According to the Federal census of 1900 the city had a population of 10,433. It enjoys a lake trade, and excellent transportation is furnished by the Lehigh Valley and the New York Central and Hudson River railways. Geneva is well supplied with factories and is surrounded by a fine agricultural country.

The soil in this section is well adapted to the raising of all crops common to New York State, and general farming is extensively engaged in. Besides farmers raising staple crops alone, there are many exclusively engaged in producing fruit and garden truck, and in the vicinity of the city are several large nursery farms, where fruit trees, shade trees, and various ornamental plants and shrubs are grown. The State of New York has a large agricultural experiment station near the city.

There are two foreign settlements in Geneva, one composed of South Italians, numbering about 1,500 persons, and one of Greeks, numbering about 250. Immigrants in each instance are segregated, Italians and Greeks each living in a part of the city by themselves. Italians have their own stores, saloons, and places of business, trading little with Americans, and there is scarcely any association between the races. There are also several stores owned by Greeks, but the settlement being much smaller than that of the Italians fewer are in business and they are less firmly established.

Many Italians are employed on the farms near Geneva during the agricultural season, and a few Greeks are also engaged in farm work, but not in nearly so large numbers as Italians. There have been Italians in Geneva for many years, but the first to become farm laborers entered this work about fifteen years ago (in 1894); the Greeks began working on the farms in 1905.

#### THE INDUSTRY.

Immigrants move from one farm to another as the requirements of the different crops demand. The itinerary of work is as follows: During April, May, and June there is planting, preparing the land for crops, cultivating, weeding, hoeing, thinning beets, etc. Immigrants receive \$1.25 (for men) or \$1 (for women) per day, for this work, and \$6.25 per acre for thinning and weeding beets. In July the cherry season opens, the wage being 5 cents per basket for picking

cherries, at which immigrants can earn from \$1.50 to \$2 a day. During the month of August the plum crop must be harvested, the wages paid for this work being \$1.25 per day for men and \$1 for women. Bean pickers receive 1 cent per pound, daily earnings ranging from \$1.25 to \$1.75 per day; at this work women often earn more than men. In September the bean picking continues, and farm laborers can find employment gathering vegetables. During October immigrants can make from \$1.25 to \$1.75 per day pulling and heading beets and gathering apples.

The above includes only occupations on the fruit and truck farms, but many additional immigrants are employed by general farmers and nurserymen and receive from \$1.25 to \$1.50 per day, the usual monthly wage being from \$30 to \$35. Thus the immigrant by following several occupations has no difficulty in securing steady work on the farm for from seven to nine months, while many are employed for the whole year.

As no particular farm in the vicinity of Geneva employs a large force of immigrants, conditions of employment on several farms typical of the locality will be given. These farms will be designated as A, B, C, D, and E and discussed separately.

#### FARM "A."

Farm "A," which is about 2 miles from Geneva, is owned by a canning company, and here only vegetables used in the cannery are grown. This company employs through a padrone about 200 South Italians, the force being composed of men, women, and children. The general manager of the company says he pays the padrone 50 cents per head for the labor furnished. More than half of the total force comes from Geneva and the rest from Syracuse, N. Y. Those from Geneva are regular farm laborers and prior to July have been employed on neighboring farms; those from Syracuse are general laborers, some working in the factories of that city, while others are pick and shovel men, working on the streets or railroads.

The company has a building on the farm where immigrants are housed, and they come early in July and remain until about October 1. The padrone has a store near their quarters for the sale of supplies, etc., officials of the company seeing that all groceries are of good quality and that the prices charged are reasonable. Italians only are employed, all of them originally from southern Italy. The manager says he prefers to hire the family rather than the individual, as the men are more contented and do better work when accompanied by their families.

The work consists entirely of gathering vegetables, bean picking, and cultivating. In bean picking all the family work, even the small children doing their share. The company pays 1 cent per pound and a family of 5 can earn from \$5 to \$8 per day. The manager says that at the end of the three months' picking season numerous families have accumulated between \$300 and \$500 in cash per family.

*Housing on the farm.*—The lodging house furnished its employees by the company is a large frame structure, with sliding doors at either end. It is traversed by a central hallway 15 feet wide, on each side of which are sleeping rooms. The hall has a concrete



floor and is well ventilated by large doors at each end and from above by skylights. At intervals along the hall are cooking stoves where immigrants prepare their meals, and there are also several stoves in a shed about 20 feet from the dormitory.

The sleeping rooms are 9 feet wide by 12 feet long and are about 8 feet high. In each there are two bunks, and in some three, to accommodate families where there are several small children. The bunks are built of pine lumber and are made in the form of shallow boxes, one bunk above the other; immigrants have to furnish their own bedding, and the company will not allow them to use loose straw in the bunks. Each family must bring its own bedticks, the company furnishing the straw to fill them. The bunks are wide enough to accommodate 2 grown persons comfortably and 4 persons are assigned to a room. Each room is partitioned off from the next and there is a door which can be locked, insuring entire privacy. There is a large window in each room, and a space about 4 inches high has been left open under the eaves, giving ample ventilation.

The house is nicely painted on the outside, well roofed, and presents a very neat and comfortable appearance. The company appoints a committee of 4 or 5 of the men, whose duty is to see that everything is kept clean and in a sanitary condition. They are very proud of their authority and insist that their fellow-immigrants shall keep themselves and their surroundings clean. The manager makes a thorough inspection from time to time, and if any member of the committee has been remiss in his duties he is at once replaced by another man.

The closets are 60 feet from the house and are dry. They are thoroughly cleaned and lined each week; the manager says he is very careful to see that they are kept in good sanitary condition. Separate closets are provided for men and women.

The water, which is of excellent quality, comes from a deep well 10 feet from the end of the house. The top of the well has been closed with concrete to avoid the possibility that any dust, dirt, or rubbish may get in, and the water is forced up by a pump.

The manager further states that he finds that by supplying good quarters and doing everything possible to make the immigrants comfortable on the farm he gets more work out of them, and that he has no trouble in securing all the labor necessary each year, as Italians are very desirous to move to his farm for the summer months.

*Food and clothing.*—Food consumed by immigrants on the farm consists of bologna sausage, macaroni, bread, vegetables, and occasionally a little fresh meat. The company allows its employees to have all the beans, potatoes, tomatoes, peas, etc., they need for their own use without cost, and as lodging costs them nothing, living expenses for the summer are very low. It is stated that numerous families subsist almost entirely upon vegetables. The clothing worn is of a cheap quality. In the fields the men wear old overalls and the women loose, ill-fitting dresses; many of both sexes go barefooted when at work.

On coming to the farm in July the immigrants bring their bedclothes, cooking utensils, and clothing with them and settle for the summer. They are assigned rooms, families being placed together, and single men and women are quartered at opposite ends of the

house. The force is divided into gangs under the immediate supervision of a row or field boss and assigned to work, families generally being in the same gang. On going to the fields the women take the little children with them, and while the parents are at work the children either play at the end of the field or sleep in old boxes or baby carriages under the shade of a tree. Some of the women wash or cook for the single men and thus earn a little extra money. Italian women are inferior cooks, and food is prepared in a very careless manner. The menu each day consists of about the same dishes, poorly cooked and poorly served. General living conditions are far below those of the average American farm laborer.

*Thrift and industry.*—The farm manager says he finds South Italians very thrifty and industrious, and for field hands he prefers them to Americans. "The Italian can always be depended on. This is not true of Americans; they will lay off at the very time they are most needed, and will often work for a few days and quit. They are averse to working in the hot sun, and no American women will work in the fields." The manager further says that he finds the Italians honest, and, though he has employed them for several years, he has had no complaints on account of thieving or dishonesty; although men and women are closely associated, both at work and in the dormitory, moral conditions are excellent.

At different seasons the canning company employs between 25 and 40 South Italians in the factory. They receive 15 cents per hour for husking corn, heading beets, and preparing other vegetables and fruits to be canned. These immigrants live in the Italian quarter in Geneva, and many of them have been farm laborers during the summer months. The manager says he does not consider them as efficient in the factory as Americans. Few are familiar with machinery, and all employed do husking or some other manual labor. Of the total immigrant force employed, about 15 are women.

#### FARM "B."

The owners of Farm "B" have an extensive acreage near Geneva and are engaged in fruit raising and general farming. The farm manager says he employs during the fruit and bean picking seasons from 100 to 125 South Italians. During the rest of the year he employs 20 Italians, at \$35 per month. All of his labor he hires upon personal application, preferring this method of securing hands rather than procuring them through a padrone. The 20 Italians paid by the month are general farm laborers, working in all the crops, preparing and cultivating the land, working in the orchards, etc.

In July between 100 and 125 South Italians are hired as fruit pickers, this number including men, women, and children. Thirty Greeks are also employed, all of whom are men. For cherry picking 5 cents per basket is paid, the men and women earning from \$1.25 to \$1.50 per day, and children from 75 cents to \$1. When the cherry season is over, plums are ready to harvest. For gathering plums men receive \$1.25 a day and women \$1. After the plums are all gathered, beans are ready to be pulled, the pay for this work being 1 cent per pound, men and women earning from \$1.25 to \$2 per day, and children from 50 cents to \$1. This brings the work up to the

apple picking season; for gathering apples men are paid \$1.25 per day and women \$1.

The people who own this farm do not furnish any houses for immigrants and all of their employees live in Geneva.

Information was secured from 21 immigrants receiving a monthly wage on Farm "B." Of the 21 reporting, 13 had been in the United States under five years, 5 between five and nine years, and 3 had had a residence of ten years or over. Their ages ranged from 17 to 65, the greatest number being between 35 and 45 years old. Sixteen were married, 3 were single, and 1 was widowed. Of the 16 married men, 6 had their wives in the United States.

Of the 21 from whom information was secured, 20 were 14 years of age or over at the time of coming to this country, 10 can speak English, and 6 can read and write. The above statistics will give a fair idea of the condition of all immigrants employed on this farm. The manager says he has never had any trouble with his immigrant labor—prefers them to Americans, and considers them honest and industrious.

#### FARM "C."

The proprietors of Farm "C" are nursery farmers, raising fruit, lawn, and shade trees, shrubs, flowers, and ornamental plants. One of the members of the firm says they have been employing immigrant labor for fifteen years. The force numbers from 25 to 30 South Italians. They are considered industrious, steady workers, and at all times have given entire satisfaction. It is further stated that all who drink or are of bad character are eliminated, and all men who are now with the firm have been employed several years. The chief objection found to immigrant labor is the fact that many are unable to understand English, and for this reason have to be worked in gangs, no individual being put on a piece of work by himself.

Wages are \$35 per month, the men living in Geneva and boarding themselves. Laborers are retained nine months of the year, and no women or children are employed.

#### FARM "D."

Farm "D" is owned by a company operating a nursery near Geneva. This company employs a large force of men, mostly Americans. The manager says he has only 8 immigrants on his rolls, and prefers American labor, hiring immigrants only when he is unable to secure natives. Wages are \$1.50 per day, and the men are employed eight months. The objection to foreign laborers, on the part of the manager, is that they require too much supervision and do not become efficient in horticulture.

#### FARM "E."

One of the padrones of Geneva is the only Italian engaged in farming for himself to any extent. At present (1909) he has 70 acres of rented land planted in sugar beets. He sells the product to a sugar factory near Lyons, N. Y. About 30 Italians are employed for weeding, hoeing, pulling, and topping beets, but for plowing and cultivating, where horses are required, American labor is used. Wages are \$1.50 per day.

The Italian who operates this farm is considered one of the most successful beet raisers in the locality, and he says he has never had a crop failure since he began the raising of beets several years ago. The crop of the present season (1909) is in splendid condition, has been well cultivated, is free from weeds, and looks better than similar crops on the farms of neighboring Americans.

#### STATE AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION.

The State of New York has a large agricultural experiment station near Geneva. A large force of farm laborers is employed, but among them there are no immigrants. The director of the station says, "Italians are hard workers, and if told clearly how to do a certain piece of work, they will accomplish it, but when work is left to their own judgment they are useless and show no initiative whatever. They are entirely ignorant of farm machinery or the proper care of cattle or horses, hence they are considered incompetent as general farm laborers and unsuccessful when engaged in general farming for themselves."

Other farmers in the vicinity employ immigrant labor at different seasons, but not in as large numbers as any of the concerns mentioned above. Most small farmers usually hire one or two families for the bean picking, beet harvesting, cherry or apple picking, paying the same wages as those given above, the immigrants living in the city and boarding themselves.

#### YEARLY ITINERARY.

It has been shown that Italians in Geneva can find steady work on the farms for eight or nine months, while some are employed the year around. For the remaining three or four months of the year ready employment is available. There are several factories in Geneva, and there is nearly always construction work of some kind in the vicinity, besides a demand for section hands on the railroads. Some of the men we have followed through the different occupations on the farm engage in work of one form or another in the winter, but the majority remain idle, having earned enough during the summer to support them until farm work opens again in the spring. Those who work in the winter are usually employed as pick and shovel men on some form of construction work, or as section hands on one of the two railroads. Italians coming from Syracuse, N. Y., to work on the farm of the canning company are employed in the factories of that city during the winter.

There is a demand in Geneva for female house servants, chambermaids, kitchen maids, waitresses, etc., but no Italian women ever apply for these positions, seeming to prefer to work in the fields in the summer and to remain idle in winter.

#### STANDARD OF LIVING.

*Housing.*—The houses in the Italian settlement in Geneva are frame buildings, usually of two stories. Some are owned by immigrants, while others are tenements owned by citizens of the town. The water supply comes from the city waterworks. The closets in

some instances are flush, while some of the houses have dry closets in the back yards. Most of the dwellings are badly in need of repair, and there is a great deal of filth and rubbish around the back yards and doorsteps, dirty water being thrown out without any regard for cleanliness or sanitation. The interiors of the houses present the same unclean conditions. As far as can be learned there is no congestion, and none of the houses visited seemed to be overcrowded.

*Food and clothing.*—A prominent Italian of the settlement says he has made an estimate of the cost of living and finds that an average Italian family of four lives for about \$250 per year. The usual cost of board and lodging in the settlement is from \$3 to \$3.50 per week. The food consumed consists of bread, sausage, potatoes, onions or garlic, and occasionally a little fresh meat or fish. The older Italians spend little for clothing, while those of the second generation seem to be a little more liberal in their dress.

From all accounts the general health of the settlement is good, and no diseases have been introduced or spread by immigrants; their out-of-door life seems to be favorable to health.

*Thrift.*—All investments made by Italians have been either in homes in Geneva or stores, while three or four have purchased small farms near the city. As a general rule the price of land is so high that few Italians have money enough to buy even a very small farm.

During the past year \$1,562.99 was sent to Italy through the Geneva post-office and about as much more through other channels. This money was sent in small amounts, either to help support relatives in Europe or to bring them to the United States.

#### SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS.

*Morals.*—The general morality of the settlement is good; this impression seems to be unanimous among both Americans and Italians.

The chief of police of Geneva says: "There is much more lawlessness and crime among Italian immigrants than among Americans. These crimes consist of cutting, shooting, carrying concealed weapons, larceny, etc. It is almost impossible to secure evidence against an Italian as they will not testify against one another and are very loath to report anything to the police even when they have been badly used." The chief thinks, however, that much of the crime is among transient Italians, and that those who work on the farms are more quiet and orderly.

*Education.*—It is stated by teachers that Italian children attend school regularly and make good progress. Some of them miss a week or two in September, before they have returned from the farm, but as a general thing the parents seem desirous to have their children educated. The chief difficulty found in teaching Italian children is that many of them on entering school are unable to speak English and they are thus kept back in their classes. Another discouraging fact is that parents take the children away at an early age, just as they are beginning to show good progress.

*Naturalization and Americanization.*—In Geneva 92 Italians have their second papers, and about 150 have first papers. They show great civic interest and take an active part in all elections. Their vote is eagerly sought, but it seems to be the unanimous opinion that it is usually controlled by one or two prominent men of the race.

The progress toward Americanization is slow; on account of their segregated situation in the Italian settlement, and because they work in gangs in the fields, they hear little English spoken and are very slow in learning the language. Numerous individuals were observed who had been in the United States from five to ten years and were yet unable to speak English. They are also slow in adopting American customs as to living and dress, and most of the older immigrants live much as they did in Europe. The second generation is making some progress, though it is held back by segregation and lack of association with Americans.

There is a certain amount of prejudice against Italians on the part of Americans, and there is little association between the races.

The Italians have their own societies and forms of amusement, and few are seen outside their own particular part of the city, where they have their own stores, saloons, and other places of business. No marriages between Italians and Americans have occurred in the locality.

#### GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

All those who employ farm labor are unanimous in the opinion that if it were not for the Italians it would be impossible to secure the labor necessary to carry on farming on its present scale. From interviews with the leading employers of Italian farm labor in the locality the weight of opinion in regard to the efficiency of Italians on the farm is, that when employed in gangs under the immediate supervision of an American they are considered better than native farm labor for picking fruit, gathering beans, and for general work on truck farms, such as weeding, hand cultivating, and preparing for the small crops. Also they have proved successful on nursery farms where they are employed in gangs. On the other hand, on the large farms where the staple crops are raised, American labor is preferred, as Italians show poor results when working with farm machinery. They are also ignorant of the proper care or handling of horses and live stock, and require too much supervision. Another reason for not employing Italians on general farms is that many are unable to understand English, and where they are employed it is necessary to have an Italian foreman. It is without doubt true that South Italians of Geneva prefer farm work to any other. This has been proved not only by their own statements, but by the fact that many will give up any position they may hold to take a place on a farm.

Several persons who have had experience in handling Italian labor stated that Italians working on farms are more orderly, easier to handle, and that there is less intoxication and crime among them than among those working in gangs on the railroads or construction work.

## CHAPTER III.

### ALBION, N. Y., SOUTH ITALIANS IN THE CANNING INDUSTRY.

#### INTRODUCTION.

*Location.*—Albion town is located in the central part of Orleans County in the northwestern part of the State of New York. In 1900 it had a population of 5,749, of whom 1,500 were foreign. The New York Central and Hudson River Railroad and the Erie Canal furnish ready transportation facilities and the town is also connected with Rochester on the east and Buffalo on the northwest by an electric railway. In the eastern part of Albion there is a Polish settlement made up of 178 families, and between 350 and 400 South Italians also live in the town, the rest of the foreign population being of various races.

*Occupation and races.*—Both Poles and Italians were first attracted to Albion by the opportunity to secure work in the sand stone quarries in the vicinity, and the first immigrants came in about 1877. Both races formed settlements, but the Italians have not increased as rapidly as the Poles and fewer made a permanent home in the locality; the majority only coming to Albion to secure temporary work in the quarries. There is a marked contrast between the two settlements; the Poles have all acquired property, and the second generation is almost completely Americanized, while the Italians continue to rent homes, and the second generation has made little progress and live very much as the older immigrants of their race do.

A large canning company has a plant in Albion; this company employs about 600 immigrants during the season. Of this force 200 are Polish, 100 are South Italians from Albion, and 300 South Italians are brought in each summer from Buffalo, N. Y. In connection with the cannery, the company owns a farm, and immigrants work both in the fields and factory. They are employed as early as April to assist in preparing the soil for the various crops, and in planting and cultivation. From April until about the middle of June only immigrants living in Albion are employed; this force consists of about 50 Poles and 50 Italians. After the middle of June it is impossible to secure enough labor locally, and 300 South Italians are brought from Buffalo, N. Y., who remain with the company between three and four months.

#### THE LABOR SUPPLY.

The company employs an Italian, who goes to Buffalo and secures the necessary laborers when needed. It is said no difficulty is experienced in securing the required number, as the South Italians are very desirous to go to the country for the summer and will give up

any position they may hold for the chance to work on the farm. South Italians secured from Buffalo are engaged in various occupations during the part of the year they are not employed by the canning company. Most of them are general laborers or pick and shovel men, working on the streets, railroads, or construction work of some kind. Such of the women and children as work in the winter are employed in the factories of Buffalo. Officials of the company declare that their agent is instructed to secure families whenever possible. It is found that when the family is employed as a whole on the farm all are more contented and are more apt to remain for the season than when part remain in the city and part go to the country. In securing immigrants the agent goes to the Italian quarter in Buffalo and lets it be generally known that he desires laborers for the canning factory at Albion; he claims he always has more applicants than he needs, and after picking out the old employees of the company, who are given first choice, makes up the rest of the force from other applicants and tells them when to report for work. The company furnishes quarters near the factory, for which no charge is made, and hither the South Italians come about the middle of June, bringing with them the bedclothes, cooking utensils, and, in fact, most of their household effects, and settle down for the canning season.

Italians employed by the company are mostly from southern Italy and have been in this country for a number of years. Officials say they have never had trouble with them, find them steady and industrious, and without their aid it would be very difficult to secure the labor necessary for operating the plant. Americans and Poles are considered not nearly so reliable, as they seem to prefer general farm labor, and stop for days at a time during the very busiest season. The company is also averse to employing Poles on account of the numerous holidays observed by them. The Italians work steadily, and during the rush season are perfectly willing to work extra hours. It is also stated that it is very hard to secure American women to work in the factory, and each year more Polish women are entering domestic service in Albion and leaving the canning industry.

#### WAGES AND CONDITIONS OF LABOR.

Information was secured from 141 men and 95 women working in the fields and factory, and as the work is piecework wages earned vary according to the industry or skill of the individual.

Of the 141 males, 23 were native-born of native father, 6 were native-born of foreign father, and 112 were foreign-born. Those of foreign birth included 106 South Italians, 5 North Italians, and 1 Pole. None earned under \$1 per day, and 4 earned between \$1 and \$1.25 per day. Eight persons earned between \$1.25 and \$1.50 per day, and 96 between \$1.50 and \$1.75, indicating that the majority of men employed by the company come in this group. Six had a daily wage of between \$1.75 and \$2, 12 between \$2 and \$2.50, 8 between \$2.50 and \$3, 4 between \$3 and \$3.50, and 3 earned the high daily wage of \$4 or over. The average daily earnings of men employed by the canning company are probably higher than they would receive if working on railroad section gangs or construction, or on the street-



cleaning force of the city; and such work being the occupation of most of the South Italians for the part of the year they are not employed by the cannery.

Of 95 females 18 years of age or over from whom data were obtained, 3 were native-born of native father, 6 native-born of foreign father, and 89, of whom 84 were South Italians and 5 North Italians, were of foreign birth. Of this number none earned less than \$1 per day, and only 6 earned between \$1 and \$1.25. None of these were foreign-born. Of the 98 foreign-born women, 87 earned between \$1.25 and \$1.50 per day, and 2 between \$1.50 and \$1.75.

Work on the farm of the canning factory begins in April, while the land is being put in condition for crops. A few men from the Italian settlement are employed for this work and receive from \$1.25 to \$1.50 per day. In May women are hired to do weeding and light cultivating, and in June the full force is sent to work; from this time until October gangs are employed in the fields gathering vegetables and working the crops. In the factory women are employed in preparing the different vegetables for canning, in packing cans, operating labeling machines, etc. This is piecework and earnings depend upon the particular skill or industry of the individual. Work of children consists of weeding and other light tasks of similar nature. No young children are employed in the factory.

#### STANDARD OF LIVING.

*Housing.*—The houses provided by the company are frame structures, containing from four to six large rooms, well lighted and ventilated; in each there are from three to four bunks which will comfortably accommodate two grown persons. Each house is provided with cooking stoves, and straw for bedding, and fuel for cooking is furnished free of charge. The houses are in close proximity to the factory, and built facing on a wide street or plaza; each is elevated above the ground by posts or piles at the corners, thus preventing dampness. All are painted a dark red, are provided with porches and kept in good repair, and present a very neat and attractive appearance. The company has installed a complete sewerage and water system, sinks are placed in each house, and water is piped within a few feet of the door. There are two fire stations, with enough hose to reach from one end of the village to the other. Separate closets are provided for men and women. These are 18 by 21 feet, and have concrete floors in order that they may be readily cleaned and washed; lime is used freely each day, and the closets thoroughly cleaned each week. These closets, of which there are three sets, are 75 feet from the nearest dwelling.

A hospital for the use of its employees has been erected by the company. The building is at a considerable distance from the factory and settlement so that inmates may be assured perfect quiet. This building has four large rooms, ceiled and painted; one room serves as a kitchen, and the other three are furnished with tables, chairs, and nice iron hospital beds. There is a toilet in the building with running water and provided with good porcelain fixtures. In case of sickness in the village the patient is at once removed to the hospital and medical attention is furnished by the company without cost to

the employees. The superintendent says that despite the aids for cleanliness furnished the Italians they are little used. The houses visited were unclean, floors and tables were dirty, bedding and clothing suffered for need of washing, and though a sink was on the back porch of each house the inmates used it only occasionally. The average South Italian woman is not a good housewife, and after a hard day's work in the fields or factory is not disposed to give much care to the house. Sunday is the general cleaning day, and it is then that such washing and mending as is necessary is done; during the rest of the week the house is left to the care of the younger children.

*Food and clothing.*—In addition to being poor housewives the Italian women are very inferior cooks from an American standpoint. Little attention is given to breakfast and lunch, the evening meal being the most important one of the day. Breakfast consists of the food remaining from supper, lunch is of bread and cheese or sausage, while supper is the only meal for which any cooking is done. Vegetables, macaroni, and sometimes meat are put indiscriminately into a pot and boiled, forming a thick soup. Of this the family partakes, the members helping themselves from the pot in which the mixture was prepared. Sometimes bologna sausage is heated on the stove, and this, with bread, makes up the evening meal. Though the houses are unclean and the fare of a poor quality and badly cooked, the Italians seem to thrive on it, and there is very little sickness among them. Clothing worn by Italians is of poorer quality than that of Polish and American laborers in the same grade of employment. The older women of the settlement, especially, have failed to adopt American customs as to dress, and wear coarse ill-fitting garments, with gaudy colored handkerchiefs tied over their heads. Many wear no shoes when working in the fields.

*Thrift.*—The Italian immigrants are very thrifty and are enabled to save very considerable sums each summer. Lodging, fuel, and medical attention are furnished by the company, and the only necessary expenses are for food. Many live almost entirely upon vegetables, and as the company grants these articles of food gratis their expenses amount to very little. Many raise chickens or ducks and thus cut down the meat bill considerably. About the only extravagance noticeable was the universal practice of drinking beer, in which all the settlers indulge. A typical South Italian family, consisting of the husband, wife, and two children over 14 years of age, should earn during the canning season about \$400; living expenses should not exceed \$125, leaving a clear profit for the season of \$275. From October 1, 1907, to October 1, 1909, \$2,836.40 was sent through the local post-office to Italy. This is in marked contrast to the larger Polish settlement in Albion, which sent only \$99.68 to Europe during the same period.

#### SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS.

*Morals.*—Moral conditions in the village are excellent; officials of the company declare they have never heard of any petty thievery, and the personal moral tone of both men and women seems to be high. Though a great deal of liquor is used by immigrants, it is not known that any indulge in intoxicants to excess, and there is no complaint of drunkenness.

*Education.*—Italians state that they send their children to school in Buffalo when they return to that city after the close of the canning season. As they are employed in Albion until late in October or November, the children necessarily lose from one to two months' schooling each year.

*Citizenship.*—Data were obtained from 52 South Italians, who were 21 years of age or over at the time of coming to the United States. In this number were 15 who were fully naturalized, 10 with first papers, and 27 aliens.

#### GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

In making a study of the South Italian immigrants brought from Buffalo each summer, the only conclusion that can be reached is that the summer work is of benefit to the immigrants. They have the advantage of good outdoor work in the fields for part of the summer and while working in the factory are quartered in a well-ventilated modern building, housing and sanitary arrangements being excellent. The family as a whole can find ready employment and good wages, and without doubt more money can be saved in the few months of the canning season than during the balance of the year's work in the city. The only noticeable disadvantage is the loss of a month or two of the children's schooling in the fall.



## CHAPTER IV.

### ONEIDA, N. Y., SOUTH ITALIANS, GENERAL FARM LABORERS.

#### INTRODUCTION.

Oneida is situated in the northern part of Madison County, near the center of the State of New York. According to the census of 1900 it had a population of 6,364. The city is well supplied with factories, among them being the plant of a large canning company. This company owns several large farms in the vicinity and during the summer employs about 625 immigrant farm laborers. These laborers are South Italians and Syrians, there being 475 Italians, including men, women, and children, and 150 Syrians, mostly men. All of this labor is secured from Utica, Syracuse, and New York City.

The general manager of the company has the following to say in regard to foreign labor:

It is impossible to get Americans to work in the fields picking beans, weeding, and gathering vegetables, consequently immigrant labor is employed for this work. The immigrant is inefficient with machinery and horses, and Americans are employed for plowing, sowing, reaping, and all general farm work. In the factory the immigrant has never proved a success, and here Americans only are employed.

All foreign labor is secured through padrones, 100 Italians coming from New York City and the rest, including the Syrians, coming in about equal numbers from Utica and Syracuse. They begin to arrive June 15 and leave October 1, only a few being retained until about the middle of October.

#### THE PADRONES.

The 625 immigrants employed by the company are furnished by 6 padrones, each supplying about 100 persons, for which they receive 50 cents per head. The padrones are men of influence with their race and are either small store or saloon men in the cities where they reside. The manager says the same padrones have furnished his labor for the last four or five years, and practically the same families return each year. The padrones are told early in the spring the number of immigrants desired, and go from house to house in the city telling their countrymen of the opportunity to secure work in the country. In a short time the desired number is secured. They are told to report at the railroad station on a certain day, where the padrone meets them, buys their tickets, and sees that they are safely aboard the train bound for Oneida. There they are met by large farm wagons and are taken to their future quarters on the farm of the canning company. Upon arriving at the farm the padrone takes them to the particular building set aside for his party, assigns rooms, seeing that families and friends are quartered together, shows them

where to secure straw for their beds, turns in a list of his party to the pay clerk, arranges his store or saloon as the case may be, and the next morning leads his gang to the fields to begin work.

In recompense the company pays the padrone 50 cents per head for labor furnished, \$12.50 per week for acting as row boss, and also gives him the right to run a store or saloon. In return he is expected to settle all disputes among his people, see that they are orderly and well behaved, act as boss in the field and as interpreter at any time he may be needed, and, in fact, hold himself responsible to the company for his whole force.

The farm manager says the padrones are really useless as bosses, as they must be told what to do by the manager, in turn give the same orders to their gang, and never take the initiative; but it is necessary to give them the position of row boss in order to hold the gang. He also says that it was found necessary to have stores and saloons on the farm to hold the immigrants, and he gives his padrones the right to run these places, the company seeing that the immigrants are treated fairly, and that the bosses do not charge them exorbitant prices. The manager further states that the padrones are carefully watched and are not allowed to charge immigrants in excess of the true cost of railroad fare, nor are they allowed to collect fees from immigrants for securing them positions. The padrone is very proud of his position of authority, and is much looked up to by all members of his gang, for whom he is always willing to perform any service as long as they trade at his store or saloon.

#### THE LABOR SUPPLY.

The majority of the immigrants who work for the canning company have been coming to the farm each summer for several seasons, and practically the same families are represented each year. They are very desirous to visit the farm during the canning season, and it is stated that in many instances they have given up positions in the city which paid them better wages than those of farm laborers to accept work on the farm. They seem to regard the months spent in the country as a pleasant outing; as one Italian expressed it, his people are better satisfied when at work in the field than at any other time.

Usually whole families of Italians come together, but sometimes the mother and children go to the country to work during the summer, while the head of the house remains at work in the city. Many single men also report for work, but the company prefers families, as they are more likely to remain for the whole season.

The Syrians employed are chiefly single men and very few women of that race work on the farm.

#### THE YEARLY ITINERARY.

The work done by immigrants during the winter months is varied; many are pick-and-shovel men, some are street venders, some are employed in the street-cleaning department, while many take odd jobs, "doing first one thing and then another." A great many of those from Syracuse and Utica are employed in the factories of

these cities, while a few have no work during the winter, but live on what they have earned during the farming season until work is resumed in the spring.

In summer the first work done by immigrants is the hoeing and weeding of crops, the wage being \$1.50 for men and \$1.25 for women. Children doing hand weeding receive 75 cents. Later on, when the crops are being harvested, they are paid 1 cent a pound for picking beans. For gathering other vegetables and general farm work men receive \$1.50 per day and women \$1.25. The manager says that in picking beans, pulling beets, and all other piecework, that the women are better than the men, some of them earning from \$2 to \$3 per day, and that the average family of four or five members will have between \$350 and \$400 at the end of the season. One family of six, consisting of the father, mother, two boys of 18 and 19, a girl of 15, and a boy of 12, earned over \$900 during the past season.

#### STANDARD OF LIVING.

*Food and clothing.*—The canning company allows the immigrants to have all the vegetables they need, free of charge; and their diet consists entirely of beans, potatoes, onions, beets, peas, bread, sausage, macaroni, and occasionally a little fresh meat. Thus, their living expenses on the farm are very low. It is stated that some individuals spend as little as 50 cents per week for food.

Clothing worn by immigrants is of a cheap grade, and during the week all are dressed in old clothes for the fields; but nearly every one has a Sunday suit, and on that day they dress up, donning their best attire. The older women have been slow in adopting American customs as to dress. They wear handkerchiefs or shawls tied over their heads, loose, ill-fitting dresses, and most of them wear no shoes when working around the house or in the fields. On Sundays or holidays their costumes are very gaudy. The younger women dress very much as do American working girls of the same class, though the taste for flashy colors is still observed. The smaller children have little more than a cotton shift to cover their bodies.

Saturday and Sunday are used for cleaning. On Saturday afternoon most of the women do the week's washing; the single men do their laundry work on Sunday morning. The farm manager says that seven years ago, when he first began employing immigrants, he had much trouble with them on account of uncleanness, but he insisted upon their keeping their persons and sleeping rooms clean, with the result that a great improvement in sanitary condition has been effected. He further says that Italians are much more careful regarding cleanliness than are the Syrians.

*Housing.*—The houses provided by this company are excellent, and immigrants are undoubtedly better quartered than is generally the case in the cities. The houses are built in and near a grove on a slight declivity, which drains readily, thus avoiding the danger of standing water. The buildings are of wood, painted a dark red, and present a very attractive appearance. They are usually 2 stories, with narrow halls running the length of the building, the sleeping rooms opening on either side. There are 16 rooms in each house, each room

measuring 10 by 12 or 10 by 15 feet, with ceilings 9 feet high. Every room has a large window which gives ample ventilation, and a strong door which can be locked, insuring perfect privacy. Each room is provided with 2 bunks, each large enough to accommodate 2 adults with comfort. These bunks are built of pine lumber and are about the height of a bed. Boards are nailed about the top and give the bunk the appearance of a large shallow box on legs. This box is filled with straw, upon which the occupant places his bed clothing, thus making a very comfortable couch. After a room has been vacated it is thoroughly cleaned, all straw is taken from the bunks and burned, and the manager sees that it is in good sanitary condition before it is reoccupied.

The kitchens are from 50 to 70 feet from the dormitories, and are sheds boarded on three sides. In each compartment is a large cooking stove, and tables about 3 feet wide run the length of the shed. Upon these the immigrants may prepare their food. Fuel for cooking is furnished free of charge by the company. The manager says he formerly had kitchens in the houses, but found it much better to have them at some distance from the sleeping quarters, as in this way all smells from cooking and all refuse were eliminated. There are between 12 and 15 cooking stoves and ample room, so there is no overcrowding and all can prepare their food at the same time.

The water supply comes from a good spring some distance from the houses, and is piped to three of the dormitories, none of the immigrants having to carry water more than 30 or 40 feet. The closets are 100 feet from the houses and several are provided for each dormitory, there being separate accommodations for men and women. The company sees that they are kept clean and are sprinkled with lime every day or so.

The different gangs are segregated in sleeping quarters, the Syrians occupying dormitories on one side of the road and the Italians on the other, each padrone having his workers in a house by themselves. Rooms are also provided for the stores and saloons of the padrones.

The dormitories are never overcrowded, and there are never more than four occupants in one room, except where there are several small children whom the father and mother desire to have with them. The single men are placed in rooms by themselves in a portion of the building apart from that occupied by families. The unmarried women are likewise segregated. Moral conditions among the immigrants employed by the canning company are said to be excellent.

#### SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

*Morals.*—It is stated by the farm managers that they consider immigrants honest. Often articles which could be stolen are left within reach on the farm, but theft has never been known and no complaints have been heard in the neighborhood on this score.

The general manager says that five years ago he had some trouble with the Italians on account of Black Hand threats; several times the attempt was made to extort money from some of the best farm laborers, but the guilty parties were weeded out and since that time everything has been peaceable and orderly. The company insists that all immigrants shall be industrious and sober. Quarrelsome and dis-



contented individuals are discharged at once. Although there are saloons on the farm, there is no drunkenness. Most of the immigrants drink beer only.

The officials of the company attribute their success with immigrants to the fact that the company always treats them fairly, gives them good and comfortable quarters, and employs the family rather than the individual.

*Education.*—It is stated that all immigrant children attend school in the cities where they reside. They come to the farm after the schools have closed for the summer and lose only two or three weeks in the fall, as they return to the city by October 1.

*Health.*—The manager says the general health of immigrants is good and he has never known of their introducing any disease into the community. Immigrants, themselves, claim that the work on the farm is very beneficial to their health and the children are less sickly while they are in the country than when they reside in the city where they are crowded into tenement houses with no opportunity for play, and get little fresh air and exercise.

#### GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

It may be stated that the real work or calling of immigrants at Oneida is that of farm laborer, that they prefer this work to every other and will give up any employment they may have for the chance to work on the farm during the summer. Some do no other work, making enough during the canning season to keep them during the year. Nearly all when questioned on the subject stated they would like to work on the farm throughout the year if they could find employment.

Conditions surrounding immigrants who work for the canning company are excellent; wages are good, lodging places are clean and well kept, and the company does everything possible for their welfare. Since there are stores and saloons on the farm, laborers rarely visit the neighboring town, thus adding materially to their saving. It is stated that the immigrants are very thrifty, saving every cent possible, and all have a comfortable sum in cash when the season closes. The farm managers say that if it were not for the opportunity to employ immigrant labor it would be impossible to carry on the business on its present large scale. All immigrants interviewed expressed themselves as being contented and declared their intention of returning next season.



## CHAPTER V.

### HAMMONTON, N. J., AND VICINITY, SOUTH ITALIAN BERRY PICKERS.

Berry growing in Hammonton began in the sixties, when strawberries were first put upon the market. A history of the town of Hammonton by Wilbur and Hand states that in 1866 a local census, showing 2,031 acres in cultivation, was taken. Of this tract, 304 acres were in strawberries, 212 in blackberries, and 40 acres in cranberry bog. A great strawberry exhibition was held in 1866, which Solon Robinson, who attended with a delegation from the Farmers' Club of New York, described for the New York Tribune.

#### THE LABOR SUPPLY.

*Number employed.*—Prices of berries were high, and many more acres were soon grown. To obtain pickers, the growers levied on the Germans residing at Egg Harbor. This supply of labor was cut short by the rise of the berry industry at Egg Harbor among the Germans themselves, and as the industry increased at Hammonton it early became necessary to import Italian pickers from Philadelphia. The pickers have been coming ever since in varying numbers. In the early nineties something like 2,000 came yearly in special trains. Later the numbers fell off somewhat, and in recent years Hammonton has sent out a number of strawberry pickers to Port Norris; but a great many families still come annually for the raspberry and blackberry harvest.

At the present time (1909) there seems to be no farmer who uses more than 70 pickers. Some growers formerly employing 250 pickers this year employ not more than 60 or 70 hands. There is a general complaint that laborers are scarce, exacting, and not very efficient this season. The cause of the scarcity is given as the more numerous opportunities for finding employment in the city. The strawberry season is short, and not many pickers come here for this crop. The great strawberry centers are Port Norris and Newport, in Cumberland County; Hammonton and Vineland and vicinities are largely interested in blackberries, dewberries, and raspberries.

A canvass made of more than 50 farmers employing Italian berry pickers in 1909 showed that 1,500 Italians were employed during the berry season in Hammonton, Winslow, and Waterford townships. This canvass by no means included all the pickers hired. Numerous small growers, chiefly Italians, employed from 1 family to 6, 8, or 10 pickers to supplement the labor of their own families. Prob-

ably from one-third to one-half of all pickers used are employed by these small growers.

It is safe to estimate that approximately 2,500 to 3,000 pickers and their children—infants—came from the cities and found their way to Hammonton and Winslow townships during the berry season. This estimate is conservative; many large growers hazarded estimates varying from 6,000 to 10,000 yearly. These numbers are, however, wide of the mark.

*Source.*—These pickers nearly all come from Philadelphia and Camden. In Philadelphia, between South Fifth and South Fifteenth streets and along Christian, Fitzwater, and Bainbridge streets, there are solid blocks of Italians, and nearly every picker interviewed has come from that section. It is estimated that 12,000 Italians reside there.

The farmers obtain these Italians with the help of padrones. At first one man, Louis Volker, controlled the situation and procured the pickers in suitable numbers at a stipulated rate, usually 50 cents each. Later two or three other "big" padrones, or contractors, entered the business, and at present three or four men are said to furnish the larger number of pickers needed in the State. A few years ago these men were given free transportation by the railroads, and traveled from one berry center to another, making contracts with the growers. These perquisites have now been cut off and a host of "little" padrones have arisen. These men agree to furnish 20 to 40 pickers, including their own families, to boss them during the season, and to preserve peace and order while the gang are at work or in camp, for a stipulated sum.

Whether furnishing one gang or many, the "boss" early in the spring visits the farmers who need help and secures tentative contracts. Going back to Philadelphia, he proceeds from house to house in the Italian quarter, setting forth in glowing terms the rich opportunities, good wages, free fuel, rent, and bedding, the chance for the entire family to work, and the excellent returns from a season of fresh air and berries.

Many who have been out in previous seasons when picking was good confirm these stories, and soon the "boss" has a long list of new and former pickers pledged to go with him. Whether many accept the offered bait or not depends on the opportunities for work at good wages afforded in the city. Many mills and factories shut down for a short time, the children are out of school during July and August, and a large number of families seem to come back year after year.

The work in the country appeals to men with families of young children; almost any youngster can pick or carry boxes and trays to the berry house. One sees children of 5 or 6 years trudging back and forth with trays or gathering a few berries. In a good year large families have been known to earn from \$400 to \$600 for a full season.

The "boss" charges the prospective pickers 50 cents or \$1 each for finding places for them, buys the tickets from the railroad company (formerly at reduced rates), and sells them to the picker, frequently at some advance on the regular rate. The discount on tickets to the larger padrones was 10 per cent, and the excess charged was formerly

50 per cent. Exploitation is less common and less easily possible now than a few years ago. The pickers are growing more intelligent and shrewd and are less easily deceived.<sup>a</sup>

Just before the season opens the growers write to inform the contractors of the exact number of pickers needed, and are ready to meet them when they arrive at the local railroad station.

The payment to the contractor varies greatly, not only from season to season, but with different growers. Many of the Italian growers pay very little per head or pay a lump sum—"a present" to the contractor who comes as a row boss at \$1.50 per day. There are some large Italian growers who pay nothing whatever for securing help. Only three of the American growers paid less than 50 cents a head, most of them paid \$1, and some \$1.50 for each picker furnished. As a rule, the pickers demand more from the American grower in the way of quarters and perquisites, but many would rather obtain work with an American than with one of his own countrymen.

A large number of growers, notably Italian growers, have friends in the city who aid them in securing pickers. Perhaps a fourth of the whole number employed by Italians come in this way. Then, there are a few who return to the same place year after year. One old Italian grandmother has been picking on the same farm for more than twenty years. Frequently the same row boss furnishes nearly the same gang to the same grower year by year. In some instances gangs and bosses had returned for "seven to ten years" in succession. More often, perhaps, a contractor will furnish several different gangs in the same neighborhood for many years, acting as row boss for some one gang each year.

Another growing source of supply that does not concern this discussion is the local supply. A number of the large growers close to the village of Hammonton secure all the pickers they need in the village or near it. This class of help is increasing yearly, and it is an interesting fact that such laborers are eagerly sought for by growers. More than this, a comparatively large and increasing band of workers go out from Hammonton to Port Norris, N. J., and other points for the strawberry season. This denotes the decreasing proportion of strawberries grown here and points to an increase in the available supply of laborers.

#### YEARLY ITINERARY.

The first gathering of the gangs is at Port Norris, N. J., and a few other points in Cumberland County, where strawberry picking begins about the 15th or 20th of May. The early opening of the season necessitates withdrawing a large number of children both from the public and the parochial schools to go with their parents into the berry fields. The strawberry season lasts about four weeks, the first and the last pickings being rather unprofitable to the pickers.

<sup>a</sup> It is affirmed by railroad officials and confirmed by contractors and padrones that there is now no "rake off" on tickets. The pickers are furnished with season tickets at tariff rates and the padrone who travels with a gang pays his own fare. In some instances, however, if the tales of pickers are true, the rate of fare charged is exorbitant, especially in the case of new pickers whom the padrone furnishes with tickets.

Having finished the strawberries, the contractor moves his gang northward to Hammonton and Winslow townships and neighboring points for the first fruits of the red raspberry and early blackberry crops. Perhaps two-thirds of the blackberry pickers interviewed came directly from the strawberry patches to the blackberry fields; a few returned to Philadelphia after the strawberry season, and a number of additional gangs came out from the city just for the blackberries and raspberries. In certain sections, for example, in Winslow township and among the Jewish farmers in Salem and Cumberland counties, both strawberries and blackberries are grown and the pickers remain for two months or more, shifting to the canning factories after the berries are marketed. The contractor exacts additional dues for securing new jobs for the gangs, and for providing pickers for the blackberry growers. He furnishes tickets and looks after baggage for the usual fee both ways.

The blackberry season is practically over by July 25, or at latest by August 1. The majority of the pickers go back to the city at this time, but 20 per cent or more perhaps find employment picking late berries, gathering huckleberries for themselves—all huckleberries belong to him who picks them—or obtain work in the tomato, pepper, or cucumber fields or harvest sweet potatoes until the cranberry season opens. A number get employment in the canning factories of Cape May, Cumberland, and Salem counties, where they peel potatoes or skin tomatoes for canning.

For huckleberry picking, they scatter all over the country in Atlantic and Gloucester counties and travel about like gypsies. The berries are crated, delivered to some farmer, and shipped immediately, and usually bring a good price. Frequently huckleberry pickers make \$2.50 to \$3 a day when berries are plentiful. Many of these berries are sold to local merchants or retailed from house to house. When huckleberries are picked for others the price of picking varies from 5 to 9 cents a quart, depending on the abundance and the ripeness of the berries, which largely determine the market price. The farmer simply retains a commission for handling the fruit.

The last move of the pickers is to the cranberry bogs of south Jersey. There are not many large bogs near Hammonton, but perhaps 100 pickers are employed. One very large grower in Cape May County employs 1,000 pickers in a good season. The cranberry season ends early in October and the children get back into school about October 10. The same contractor follows or leads the gangs back from the city or from huckleberry picking into the cranberry bogs. He exacts his dues again, remains until the end of the season, and then returns to his shop, factory, pool room, fruit stand, janitor work, or other occupation in Philadelphia.

Thus there is an itinerary of men, women, children, and household goods covering a large part of south Jersey and spanning a period of nearly or quite five months. It is the real work of a great body of laborers, not an incident, but a vocation.

One notices that there are few single young men in the fields, but there are a great many young married men with small families, who work patiently and persistently. Then there are women and children in swarms; old, young, and middle-aged are found in every

field. In the city most of them live in narrow, rented rooms under very unsanitary conditions, often more than one family in a single room. Here the children attend school and the adults find such work as they can to keep soul and body alive from October until May.

Practically all these pickers who are heads of households or are past school age, have some occupation included under unskilled labor. A host of ragpickers are represented, many street sweepers, pick-and-shovel men, on streets, construction work, around the docks or on the steam railroad construction work; a fair percentage of the younger men and some women work in glass and cigar factories, some in machine shops or iron foundries. There are concrete mixers, hod carriers, garbage handlers, push-cart men, fruit dealers, a few workers in electrical or bicycle repair shops, a hotel porter or two, a keeper of a pool room, a barber, shoemakers, liverymen, and a large number who report that they "do anything we can find to do; some day streets, some day railroad, some day hod." Sometimes there is a family of considerable intelligence. The husband has been a factory or shop worker; the shop closed down or the man's health was poor, and he went into the country to bridge the gap. For the most part, however, they are typical Italian laborers of the pick and shovel variety. "Rags and railroad" is a frequent reply to "What occupation?"

Some of the young women have come from candy shops, artificial flower making, manufactories making shirts, overalls, or women's garments, or even sweat shops. Some seem to work in Italian stores, bakeries, and the like. Occasionally there are department store girls who step from the train in patent leather slippers and openwork stockings, and burn or wilt under the hot sun. A few can not endure the heat and exposure and return in a few days to Philadelphia. Many of the girls work in box factories, and all the women of one gang of 50 were employed on "tailor work," sweating work in their homes.<sup>a</sup>

A fair percentage come simply for the fresh air and the outing. To them the berry fields stand for seashore or mountains, and the whole excursion is for recreation. The younger people sometimes insist on giving that impression and seem to feel that some explanation or apology is necessary. The major part—the family groups—frankly admit that picking is part of their regular work, the most profitable part, and while they rent rooms or tenements in Philadelphia they are as much at home in the berry fields as anywhere. Gangs of young men are spoken of. Usually they come from some shop or factory that has shut down for a time, and they come for a few weeks only. Farmers are loath to employ such gangs. They do not work steadily or rapidly; they make more or less trouble for the employer, and it is very seldom indeed that they remain through the season at one place. Having few belongings they can move easily, and as soon as the berrying begins to fall off they leave for easier work. The young Italians alone are very unsatisfactory pickers.

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<sup>a</sup> Two-thirds of the women who reported outside labor said they did "tailor work" either in homes or in sweat shops.

## THE PADRONES.

The padrone, contractor or boss, is a person of importance. There are a few large contractors who furnish gangs, ship them, and provide each gang with a "row boss" if one is desired. Years ago, and for many years, one or two men controlled the whole traffic in pickers and made money—grew rich on the commissions and the overcharges for tickets. There are now four or five of these "big men." They are well known. They do not go to the fields to supervise the work, but furnish field overseers. They live in Philadelphia. There are some local contractors who provide farmers with gangs of pickers, but do not go into the fields themselves. At least two of these operate from Hammonton.

The little padrones, as they are called, are growing in numbers yearly. They came first as pickers; perhaps some of them were given charge of field gangs. They caught the idea that it would give added profit to furnish a single gang or two, boss it during the season, and, reserving the right to bring their own families to pick, draw the additional pay. The individual padrone is quite common. Some are responsible and furnish all the laborers they agree to bring; some are utterly irresponsible. A number of these induce their relatives and friends to come with them and thus secure a gang very easily and cheaply.

Finally there is the "row boss." He oversees the picking gang when at work, inspects the bushes to see whether clean picking has been done, preserves peace, as far as possible, among the members and tries to settle all disputes between the employer and the employed. In a good many instances, the row boss is a real advantage. He knows the members of the gang, can talk to them in their own tongue, exercises more authority than an American employer can, and becomes a real go-between to protect the interests of his proteges. In many cases, he is worth nothing, either to attend to the interests of the employer or to protect the gang. He has no authority and no prestige, his only desire is to earn his \$1.50 per diem and carry a big stick with some dignity. Few of the Italian growers employ these overseers. They can give directions in their own tongue, and, going along from row to row are able to keep in touch with the pickers continually.

The American is handicapped in this respect. He does not know the language and frequently can not get gangs unless he agrees to pay a row boss, whose family is among the pickers. No matter how small the gang, one boss is required. The general rule for large numbers seems to be one row boss to about 20 pickers—perhaps 5 families—although this is not rigidly adhered to.

This year (1909) there is much complaint in some quarters concerning the scarcity of pickers. A great many contractors have furnished fewer pickers than they contracted for. One man who needed 45 got 35; another who wanted 60 was furnished 45. Several men who contracted for 20 had to be satisfied with 14 to 16. When a padrone comes on the ground with a short force it is frequently very difficult to augment it by hiring additional pickers. In one instance after the farmer had brought on a second smaller gang, the first comers refused to go out until late in the day, declaring they



would not pick at all if he persisted in employing a larger force. He dismissed the second gang and because the berry acreage was too great for the remaining crew, they allowed the berries to ripen for several days in order that they might pick more readily and rapidly. In consequence the berries were soft and overripe when gathered, many were not picked at all, and the grower estimates a loss of one-third in gross receipts. Many instances of like sort might be cited. When work is plentiful in the city, the padrone has the growers at his mercy—and in many cases he is merciless. But there are padrones and padrones. It is evident that each one pursues his personal interest, exacts a fee both from picker and grower, as a rule, every time he moves to a new farm, gets a "rake off," large or small, on railway tickets sold the pickers, when he can, and draws \$1.50 per diem or fraction of a day for every day he steps into the berry patch. Sometimes a real help, often an indifferent necessity, many more times a necessary nuisance, the row boss is a conspicuous figure in the berry field.

He has of late years demanded a private room in the pickers' house for himself and family. This of itself sets him apart from and above the others, but usually he is a man of mark even in Philadelphia's Italian quarter. One of these "little" padrones or row bosses was a pool-room proprietor, another kept a rooming house, a third was a liveryman, one a storekeeper; a proprietor of a boot-black stand and some construction men are instances in point.

#### STANDARD OF LIVING.

*Housing.*—One who has seen a train load of incoming foreigners unloaded at some small water-tank station in the Northwest, with children, food, bags, bedding, and belongings dumped in a promiscuous heap at their feet, is somewhat reminded of the scene when he sees unloaded a car of 30 berry pickers from Philadelphia. Great bales of ticks and bedding; old trunks, boxes, and barrels of clothing; bags of stale bread, macaroni, and peas; clanging bundles of cooking utensils; occasionally a stove; very often a few baby carriages, a huddle of children and confused parents, await the great hay wagons that drive up and carry them off by the wagon load—luggage, baby carriages, and all—to their four-weeks' quarters on the berry farm.

Some years ago the houses, or quarters, to shelter the pickers were of the rudest and cheapest character; in fact, at first no houses were built for their especial habitation. They were crowded into barns or outsheds, where they hung their garments and bags of food, spread a layer of straw on the floor and when night came piled in together promiscuously and slept in a solid row along the wall.

Now the pickers are demanding better sleeping accommodations. The houses constructed for them are very cheaply built, without lathing, plastering, or ceiling of any sort, of two stories and four compartments usually. Sometimes the women sleep on one floor and the men on the other, but usually the families that are intimately acquainted get still more intimately acquainted by occupying the same compartment.

The grower furnishes straw for bedding, which they fill into ticks or bags and pile into wooden bunks, roughly constructed of slabs or

undressed boards. In some instances these are 6 feet long by 6 feet wide, and will hold a small family. Bedding, floors, bunks, and yard are, according to observers, invariably filthy and disorderly. Articles of clothing, strings of peppers, trunks, bags of food, bundles of herbs, and cooking utensils are hung overhead or piled in and under the bunks. A few old quilts or blankets are the only bed covers, but as the pickers seldom undress entirely at night, and large numbers are often crowded into close quarters, the need of covering is not felt.

Many of the houses are single-roomed, with no bunks of any kind provided. A room 14 by 20, perhaps, is allotted to a gang. Berry crates are carried in and deposited along each side of the room, leaving a very narrow aisle down the center. Upon these boxes rough boards are laid and these in turn covered with straw-filled bags, ticks, and bed clothing. A semi-privacy is sometimes secured by hanging up shawls or blankets, dividing the room into apartments, but often there is no attempt to segregate even whole families. Ventilation is partially secured by means of the chinks and crevices between the weatherboards or under the roofing. There are always a number of windows.

A broken pump near at hand furnishes the water supply; sometimes a brook or spring. One of the first inquiries of the pickers is the distance that water must be carried. The farmer furnishes wood, frequently fallen trees or brush, and sometimes an old stove. The stove is set up out of doors, all cooking being done in the open. Many pickers seem to prefer a hole dug in the ground or a few bricks or stones, covered with a piece of sheet iron on which to cook. Probably more than half of the gangs have no stoves.

Some pickers are now asking that kerosene oil and lanterns be furnished that they may see to retire. Year by year new demands are made, looking to better living conditions, but there is still promiscuous housing, still crowded quarters, still no semblance of privacy, still filth, and still conditions that tend to disease and immorality.

Very many of the farmers do not provide specially constructed houses. The pickers occupy the lofts of barns, barn floors, old woodsheds, single-story outhouses, or old dwelling houses, now practically abandoned. The farmers complain of the filth and justify their carelessness and failure to build better and more commodious quarters by pointing out that the city habitations of the pickers are more crowded and less convenient, that such people would not appreciate nor take care of better accommodations. This explains the attitude if it does not justify the unsatisfactory provisions made for health and comfort. Twenty pickers were in one case crowded into four bunks in a room less than 12 by 14 feet, one floor only. Often a very narrow aisle between the two-tiered rows of bunks is the only unoccupied space. Another pickers' building, about 14 by 32, two stories, was occupied by 35 pickers and "could accommodate 75." One woman told of a building 14 by 36 feet, two stories, which sheltered 130 people. One of the wealthiest growers had 40 pickers and 10 children housed in a two-story, 16 by 20, four-roomed house. "This year I built a 'lean-to,' or addition, 12 by 20 feet, but the old building holds 50 easy," was his comment. Another grower quartered 36

in an old schoolhouse, about 20 by 24 feet. The bunks were empty berry crates and the only partitions were ragged blankets. In this gang were a number of girls from 14 to 20 years of age and some grown-up boys.

That better housing conditions may be maintained is proved by the fact that Maurice Fels, of the Allivine farm, at Norma, N. J., keeps about 100 Italians throughout the canning season in perfectly sanitary, hygienic cottages on his farm. At first he has to enforce his rules in regard to scrubbing, washing, etc., but very soon cleanly practices are learned and the value of private sleeping apartments, and homelike conveniences appreciated. These also are Philadelphia itinerant Italians.

Most of the closets on Italian farms are very insanitary and develop a horrible stench. Frequently they are very close to the house.

*Food and clothing.*—The food of the pickers is very simple, but growers who have observed gangs for thirty years testify that among the Sicilians a rising standard for food is discernible. Formerly dry bread and cheese with a few berries or onions comprised the morning and the noon meals. Often the dry bread was cut into chunks in the morning and soaked in water until noon. Frequently it became very hard and very moldy. The evening meal was macaroni boiled with onions, peppers, tomatoes, or other herbs. Potatoes were frequently added. Now these pickers are buying milk and eggs in such quantities that the local provision merchants are frequently unable to supply the eggs and the farmers can scarcely furnish enough milk. Tea and coffee are used to some extent, better bread is supplied from local Italian bake ovens, and sometimes meat is found on the bill of fare. Soup and polenta are frequently noted.

The Calabrians are less fastidious, and subsist on bread, cheese, and macaroni, all of which can be eaten comfortably without the use of forks, knives, or spoons. An upturned box, a board nailed on its rights, or the diner's lap, serves as a table; boxes or stationary benches made of rough boards do to sit on, and a tin plate holds the food. When the bread is good the food is wholesome and, eked out with berries, onions, cucumbers, and other vegetables, is satisfying, nourishing, and very cheap. One grower who had taken figures declared that many individual adults lived on 18 cents a week, almost the entire outlay being for bread and macaroni. There is abundant testimony to the fact that many gangs live as cheaply as ten or fifteen years ago, but as noted, here and there, among Sicilians especially, there is a rising food standard.

Nearly all the women, all of the children (unless the briars are very bad), and many of the men go without shoes. The women wear some sort of cloth handkerchief or sunbonnet on their heads, the little children go naked or wear sometimes one disreputable garment. Saturday seems to be wash day, and the numerous and varicolored garments laid out on the grass or hung on bushes attest the attempts at cleanliness.

On holidays everyone is better dressed, for nearly all have extra garments, but in the berry fields no attempt is made to keep the person clean or the clothing neat and tidy. It is to be noted that the clothing of the young women and boys is often well cut and of fairly

good quality, having a distinctly citified appearance even in its untidiness.

Growers remark that the clothing and the head dressing is much more after the American fashion than that of the pickers who came several years ago. Nearly all of the young people and children over 10, native-born, can understand English and speak it fairly well. The older members and many of the bosses can speak very little English, the women being particularly deficient.

#### WAGES AND CONDITIONS OF LABOR.

Nearly all of the work done by these people is on a piece basis. Strawberries, dewberries, and blackberries are picked at the uniform rate of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cents a quart. Raspberries are picked for 1 cent or  $1\frac{1}{4}$  cents a pint box. Four to 9 cents is paid per quart for picking huckleberries. For cranberries the hand pickers received 40 to 50 cents a bushel; the more skilled men who use a scoop are paid \$1.50 a day. A scooper needs more intelligence than a hand picker.

The earnings vary greatly. "Some days \$3, some \$1.50, and some 50 cents; some days not 25 cents" is, I am confident, a very truthful statement more than seven times repeated by pickers. This variation is due entirely to the condition of the berries and the state of the weather. But, furthermore, the pickers rank differently in celerity, faithfulness, skill, and patient perseverance. The length of day varies; one Italian with a large gang gets his pickers out at 4.30 a. m. and keeps them working until after 5 p. m. The closing hour depends on the time the berries must be delivered at the station. Seventy to 80 quarts of blackberries daily per picker is a very good showing. Very few run as high an average.

For the three weeks of berry picking \$15 a head for a family is a fair accounting. Children of 10 and 12 years can frequently earn 70 cents a day. The family unit is the most profitable working organization. All who can pick do so; the little children, too small to pick, run back and forth bringing empty boxes to the pickers and carrying the filled trays to the berry shed. In this way the young children earn as much, often, when the berry house is distant, as many of the older ones.

For the whole season the family earnings run from \$150 to \$450. One young man earned \$40 in three weeks picking strawberries; others strive for \$30 a month. But young men can not profitably leave a living wage for berry earnings. It is the family that makes money. Utilizing the whole force, from grandmother to the 7 or 8 year old child, cheapening the cost of living very much, and, if the weather is fine, reducing the doctor's bill, very much of the family earnings is clear gain, which goes to fill in the chasm between earnings and cost of living during the remainder of the year. Of course there are a good many who do not remain through the season. Those who do, find employment between seasons or rest leisurely, living on the spontaneous bounty of the land. A number of women, either widows or with husbands working in Philadelphia, bring their families to pick. One widow earned \$112 last season, aided by one child. One girl picked 10 crates of strawberries in one day, early in

the season, a feat scarcely credible. Some individuals make \$25 to \$40 during the raspberry and blackberry season. On the whole, \$250 for a family of four or five may be set down as a conservative average for the season. Some of course make much more, and padrones tell of families who earn \$600 a year.

A few more actual individual accounts of earnings for this year (a very "short" year) and last may not be out of place.

A large boy, 17 years old, earned \$11 in twenty-three days this season by picking strawberries and raspberries. One family of 6 earned \$150 in six weeks. Another family of 4 earned \$95. One grower paid out \$200 this year to 16 pickers for blackberry picking four weeks, one family of 3 earning \$23.50. A second farmer, for a season of three and a half weeks, paid 14 pickers \$220. A Calabrian family of 4 earned \$70 picking strawberries. A family of 3 women earned \$70 in six weeks on strawberries. A father, mother, and 3 young children received \$125 for four weeks' work. A widow and a small daughter, 10 or 12 years old, earned \$44 in less than four weeks, strawberry picking. Three or four families of 4 on one farm have been earning \$85 to \$100 a year for several years in about four weeks. These last are exceptionally good pickers. Three women picked strawberries for seventeen days and earned \$64.

The pickers vary greatly in facility and efficiency. Many Americans say they can pick longer and faster than Italians; but few are doing any picking whatever. It is light work, excepting the cranberries, but very fatiguing in warm weather when the ground is dusty and the berries low on the bushes. The girls complain of pains in their backs and dislike strawberries because they grow near the ground. Raspberries are soft and small and the work of picking is tedious. Dewberries, trained to stakes, are the most easily gathered berries, and when the bushes are well filled the pickers work with great energy, frequently earning exceptionally good wages.

The climate is mild, the ground generally dry, the environs free from malaria. Cranberry bogs may be exceptions, but these need not be wet. There is no question concerning the healthfulness of the out-of-door life or its rejuvenating effects on the youth and the adult pickers. One must make an exception of the infants, however. Left to themselves, or to the care of a child sister, or trundled in baby carriages at the end of the berry row, little infants, some not 2 months old, may be seen fighting the swarming flies and sweltering in the hot sun. The flies, the exposure, and the neglect can not be good for the little ones, but there is very little illness of any kind and but one death was mentioned—that of an old man who had come down from Philadelphia very ill. Coughs and colds seem not to trouble anyone and all classes lie stretched on the ground with no ill results apparent. The children look fat and vigorous, with excellent appetites and good lungs.

#### GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

The problem of the children in this little army of pickers is one that interests all parties concerned. The boys and girls under 10 years old when not at work are rated a nuisance by nearly all growers. They break up berry boxes, trample down berry bushes and sweet-

potato vines, and overrun the garden and orchard like ordinary healthy, lively boys and girls of that age everywhere. In the cranberry bogs they are especially exasperating, breaking down bushes and trampling over the unpicked berries. Some growers refuse to hire families with children under 10 years, but pickers without children are hard to procure at the current rate of wages.

To society, this body of children, leaving school a month before the year closes and coming back after school opens, presents a problematical aspect. Certainly much intellectual ground is lost, and whether the country air, the free life, the good food, and the summer outing add more physically than they retard intellectually and perhaps morally, is a question. Just how far it breaks up the machine routine of the school and demoralizes the nicely worked out correlation of courses and grades was not investigated. To the parent this family migration is a real economic necessity. As has been pointed out, the berry picking itinerary is even more a part of his vocation than his odd jobs as a day laborer in the city. To make the migration profitable the family must go with him, sometimes without him; but the family party makes the excursion worth while.

That better quarters should and could be provided goes without saying. Better housing will come under the pressure of economic necessity, just as it is coming on the big cotton plantations in the South, where the share hands refuse to be sheltered in uninhabitable cabins. No self-respecting American workman would live in some of the quarters, especially if herded together with 20 men, women, and children indiscriminately.

The morality, health, and general well-being of these workers seem not to appeal at all to the grower. Although he may speak with disgust of their filth and low standards, it never occurs to him to ameliorate their condition or study their well-being. Every added comfort or decency is to him only an added expense. "Every year they ask for more improvements, they'll want beds next," said one wealthy grower who refused to furnish mosquito netting for their windows. Labor to many of these men is merely a commodity. The human element rarely enters. It is not likely that any great change will come except as the workers themselves demand it. A pickers' union would accomplish much, but the provincial jealousies must first be overcome. Some of the charity associations have looked into the matter with no direct results.

On the other side, there is no doubt that the presence of a gang of more or less unreasonable pickers is a source of irritation to the grower. "They own the place while they are here, nothing is safe or sacred that they can make use of; swings, hammocks, porches, lawns and lawn seats, croquet grounds—everything is theirs to use while here." Everyone heaves a sigh of relief when the pickers have gone, and begins once more to put the place in order.

The farmers, in general, speak well of the honesty of the pickers. Small articles that can be made of any use are likely to be picked up. White potatoes and other vegetables are dug up if near at hand. But there is little locking of doors or barring windows. The pickers do not break in to steal.

Otherwise they are usually quiet and orderly. A game of cards sometimes starts a quarrel, or a husband takes in hand the disciplining of his family. There is little drinking or carousing.<sup>a</sup> Sometimes there is singing, rude dancing, and music in the evening, but nothing disorderly.

The most of the pickers are South Italians; more than half of those investigated are Sicilians, but there are a good many from Calabria, Basilicata, and some from Naples. Both the Calabrians and the Neapolitans are looked down upon by the Sicilians, and sometimes quarrels are started between them. The Calabrians are, perhaps, the least Americanized, the least efficient, and the most ignorant and superstitious. In many of the gangs the natives of several provinces work together in nominal harmony.

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<sup>a</sup> Only one complaint of drinking, and that of a gang of rather well-to-do Sicilians, was made to the agent.

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## CHAPTER VI.

### ORLEANS COUNTY, N. Y., POLISH FARM LABORERS.

#### INTRODUCTION.

The Polish settlement of Orleans County consists of 295 families, numbering 1,681 persons. The settlement is divided into two groups, one at Albion and one at Medina, N. Y., 9 miles apart. In Albion and its vicinity there are 175 families, consisting of 965 souls, and in Medina there are 120 families, numbering 716 people. These two settlements are practically one, as the settlers came in at the same time from the same localities in Europe, engaged in the same occupations, have made the same progress, all belong to the same church, and attend schools entirely similar. A Polish priest has charge of the church in each town. As conditions in Albion and Medina are entirely alike, what will apply to the one will apply to the other, and the settlement as a whole will be considered. A closer study of conditions has been made, however, in Albion, as this settlement was first founded, and here reside the priest and the leading men of the district.

#### THE LABOR SUPPLY.

The first Polish immigrants came to Albion in the spring of 1877 to work in the sandstone quarries, the party referred to consisting of five men who had been engaged in stone work in other parts of New York. Finding work steady and wages good these men induced fellow-countrymen in other parts of the State to join them, and in 1878 between 15 and 20 Polish immigrants were at work in the different quarries in the vicinity of Albion. These men brought their wives and families with them, and during the next five years others sent to Europe for their wives. After 1879 most of the immigrants came direct from Poland and all engaged in work around the quarries. An early immigrant who came to Albion in 1878, and who is one of the most prominent men in the colony, states that the settlement grew steadily from its inception in 1877; that each year immigrants moved to other localities, but that some remained and became permanent settlers. Few had saved any money before coming to Albion and Medina, and all property now owned by immigrants has been purchased with money earned and saved while in the locality under discussion.

In the early eighties immigrants began purchasing property, and every man in the colony was saving money with the intention of buying a home (all homes purchased were in the same part of the town), and at the present time almost the whole population of the

eastern part of Albion is Polish. In nearly every instance the property is owned, and there are very few renters. Besides buying property and erecting dwellings and "store" buildings, the settlers have built a large brick church, a fine school building, and a home for the priest.

From 1880 until about 1895 the Polish settlements at Albion and Medina grew rapidly, as there was a demand for labor in the quarries and many had begun to seek employment on farms. Since 1895 fewer are coming each year, and at the present time immigration has almost ceased, only a few families having come in during the past three or four years. The reasons given by immigrants for leaving their native land are numerous, some who have been in this country for a long period of years claiming that they came because they were not treated fairly in Germany, while others have come to escape service in the army, some to join friends or relatives, but by far the greater majority say that they have come to the United States in order to earn more. All colonists are natives of western Germany.

#### THE INDUSTRY.

As has been stated above, all Polish immigrants were first drawn to Orleans County by the chance to work in the sandstone quarries, and they followed this occupation solely for several years. Until about 1890 only a few worked on farms; since that time more and more have begun to hire out as farm laborers, and at the present time the majority of the men in the colony are farm hands; the second generation especially has taken to farm work and very few of the younger men are now seeking regular employment in the quarries, though many of the older men in the colony still work steadily at quarrying stone. Others secure stone work only when it is difficult to find employment on the farms. During the summer many of the women work on the farm or in the factory of the canning company, where some of the older children are also employed. In Albion between 30 and 40 Polish girls between 16 and 20 years of age are employed as domestic servants, either in private families or in hotels. During the winter months a large number of women and girls find work in establishments where beans are being cleaned, sorted, and prepared for market, and in apple-drying houses. A few of the women work in the orchards during the fall, gathering apples from the ground.

A number of immigrants are employed by farmers the year round; they work by the month and receive from \$15 to \$20, with board and lodging. General farm work begins early in the spring when land is being prepared for crops and continues until about December 1, thus giving immigrants not employed for the entire year about eight or nine months of farm work. Quarrymen can also find employment for eight or nine months, the quarries remaining idle during the winter. Unless immigrants secure a position for the entire year with some farmer they usually engage in several occupations during the year. This most of them prefer to do, as they say they can earn more by working by the day than they can by hiring by the month or year; furthermore, as most of the Poles own homes, board and lodging furnished by farmers in addition to the monthly

salary is no particular inducement and attracts only young or unmarried men. Many immigrants are not employed in the winter, and remain idle until work opens in the spring.

An itinerary of work for a day laborer in Albion, covering a year, could be selected from a number of occupations. The laborer could begin work in the spring, helping to prepare for crops and in cultivating them; from the middle of June until October he could find abundant work on the farm of the canning company or on the farms of neighboring American farmers; from October until early in November he could be profitably employed in picking apples; and during the winter months could work in the factories of Albion and Medina, in fruit-drying houses, on railroad section gangs, etc. During the farming season there is a great variety of work, and employment may be found in lines not mentioned above; there is the work of the general farm laborer, the several varieties of employment on the truck farm and in the orchard, small-fruit picking, bean picking, and the gathering and preparation of vegetables for the canning factory. Much of the work is piecework, and earnings depend entirely upon the industry of the individual.

Work for women begins in April and May in cultivating vegetables and in weeding. This continues until late in June, after which abundant employment can be found at picking beans and other vegetables and preparing them in the canning factory. This work continues until well into October, when the apple crop is being harvested. Some immigrant women engage in gathering apples, and follow this work from farm to farm. In winter the establishments for cleaning and preparing dried beans for market and the apple-drying houses employ women for two to three months. There is also a demand for Polish women as domestics in private families or as waitresses and maids in hotels. Each year more Polish women are entering this work, as it insures a steady position for the year. Thus it may be seen that work can be secured by immigrants for almost the entire year, but it is usually necessary to engage in several occupations. Work for women consists mostly of piecework, and in consequence wages of individuals vary greatly.

A large canning company at Albion employs during the canning season about 200 Polish immigrants; this force is made up of about 125 women, 50 men, and 25 girls and boys; no young children are employed. The work consists in preparing the soil for crops, weeding, cultivating, picking beans, gathering vegetables, etc., on the farm and in skinning tomatoes and preparing vegetables for canning, and other work in the different departments of the factory. The manager of this company says he employs, in addition to the local supply of Polish laborers, a force of Italians from the Italian settlement in Albion and a considerable force of South Italians from Buffalo, N. Y. He is unable to depend upon American and Polish labor; furthermore, he declares the Poles are as good workers as the Italians, but do not work as steadily; that they are not responsible; and at his busiest season a large number of them may suddenly decide to stop work, for example; hence he prefers the steadier Italian laborer. The manager further states that he considers the Poles superior to Italians as general farm laborers; but for weeding, picking beans, hand cultivating, gathering vegetables, and such work, Italians will

accomplish more, since they are more reliable, work more steadily, and do not take holidays and cease work as Poles are accustomed to do.

#### WAGES AND CONDITIONS OF LABOR.

Below is presented a table of wages and conditions of labor in Orleans County, embracing the occupations entered by Polish immigrants during the year:

Unskilled labor in quarries.....per 9 hours..	\$1. 50
Skilled quarrymen.....do....	2. 00-3. 00
General farm labor in summer, with board and lodging...per month..	15. 00-20. 00
General farm labor (no board or lodging furnished).....per day..	1. 50

Women and men picking beans at 1 cent per pound earn an average daily wage of from \$1.50 to \$1.75, and children from 50 cents to \$1.

Women working on tomatoes in the canning factory earn from \$1 to \$1.75 per day.

Women working on green beans in canning factory earn from \$1 to \$1.25 per day.

Women sorting and cleaning beans and working in drying houses in the winter earn from 75 cents to \$1 per day.

Men picking apples are paid from 12 to 15 cents per barrel, and when labor is scarce 20 cents per barrel, board and lodging being furnished. A good picker can earn \$4 per day, but the average wage is about \$2.50.

Women picking apples from the ground can earn about \$1 per day.

Polish girls employed as domestics and waitresses in hotels earn from \$2 to \$3.50 per week, with board and lodging.

During the winter months men can earn \$1.50 per day cutting wood. Only a few Poles are employed on the railroad section gang, these men receiving \$1.50 per day.

There are several factories in Medina and Albion where a few Poles are employed during the winter, the usual wage being \$1.50 per day.

#### STANDARD OF LIVING.

*Housing.*—The dwellings owned by Polish immigrants are from four to eight room frame houses, nicely painted and furnished, and it is evident that particular care is taken in regard to the appearance of the home, for all are kept in good repair. Most of the dwellings cost from five hundred to one thousand dollars each. All the houses visited were clean, neatly kept, and comfortably furnished; there was no congestion or overcrowding, and very few immigrant families kept lodgers or boarders. The homes of the second generation are possibly a little more tidy than those of the older immigrants, the reason for this being the fact that nearly all of the Polish girls have worked as domestics in American families and have learned the proper care of the house. The water supply comes from wells and the city water-works, and is of very good quality. The closets are usually dry and well removed from the houses. Each house is provided with a large, well-kept garden, and immigrants who have owned property for a number of years have set out vines and fruit trees. Nearly all raise hogs and secure enough meat in this way to keep them supplied for

the winter. The gardens are well cultivated, and all the spare time of the immigrants is devoted to this work. Very few sell any vegetables, and the entire product of the gardens is grown for the food supply of the family alone.

*Food and clothing.*—The Polish priest says he has made an estimate of living expenses, and finds that families of four or five, who keep hogs and have a garden, raising their meat and vegetables, live for about \$12 per month. Those who have to buy everything expend about \$20 per month. The food consumed is about the same in quality and price as that used by natives engaged in the same occupations. The clothing worn is of the same quality as that of the American farm laborers. The second generation pays more attention to dress than the older immigrants, and this is especially noticeable among the women, the older women of the settlement wearing ill-fitting, coarse clothing, while those of the second generation dress very much like American working girls.

*Thrift.*—The Poles are very thrifty, which is proved by the way in which they have acquired property. One of the first settlers says that to his positive knowledge none of the immigrants were possessed of any large amount of money upon arriving in the region, and that all property now owned has been purchased with money made and saved since their arrival in the settlement. Lots purchased, upon which dwellings have since been erected, have always been large enough to provide space for a garden, and enough vegetables are raised to supply the needs of the family; a few also sell truck from their gardens in Albion. Potatoes, cabbage, turnips, onions, and such vegetables as can be kept, are put away for winter use, and enough poultry and hogs are raised to keep the family in meat; thus the garden almost supports the family, and only flour, sugar, coffee, and a few other necessities have to be purchased. The gardens are cultivated by the men, women, and children after they return from work, and all their spare time is devoted to repairing and improving the premises. Americans who do the same work as the immigrants have not made nearly the progress; few of them having acquired any property, and most of them are in about the same financial condition they were ten or twelve years ago, and still continue to rent their homes.

Polish children give their wages to their parents until they are of age, and all their earnings go toward the family fund, helping to pay for the home. Further, in the Polish home nothing is wasted or thrown away that can be of any use whatever, and almost their only extravagance is the universal beer drinking throughout the settlement.

Most of the money invested by immigrants has gone into homes and stores; some few in recent years have been buying farms, but this is exceptional, as the price of land in the vicinity is high. Those who have purchased farms have not confined themselves to any one locality, and the twenty families who have engaged in general farming are scattered over a wide area. The general opinion in the settlement is that from now on more and more Poles will invest in farms in Orleans County, for all are desirous to engage in farming for themselves. It is estimated that property owned by Polish immigrants in Orleans County is worth \$250,000. Very little money is

being sent abroad by the Polish settlers, and that in very small amounts, no individual sending over \$5 or \$10 at one time. During the past year the following amounts have been sent out by Poles, as shown by the money-order records in the post-office at Albion:

To Germany.....	\$86. 25
To Austria.....	8. 28
To Russian Poland.....	5. 15
<b>Total</b> .....	<b>99. 68</b>

#### SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS.

*Morals.*—The police of Albion say they have no trouble whatever with immigrants, and find them as law-abiding as natives. It is the general opinion that they are honest; merchants say they meet their bills promptly, and it is an unheard of thing to lose a debt among the Poles.

*Education.*—There is a large Polish church in Albion; this church is supported by the settlement and owns the following property: A handsome brick church building, a home for the priest, and a large frame school building. The church has organized and encourages several societies, to which most of the members of the settlement belong. These societies give entertainments from time to time and promote social intercourse between members.

The school supported by the church has 180 pupils. The priest says the children make good progress. They are taught English and the usual branches. All subjects are taught in English, except Polish history and such studies as are connected with the church. A graduate of this school has pursued the same courses as are taught in the city high schools. Very few Polish children attend the public schools.

*Citizenship.*—All immigrants interviewed were citizens of the United States, and it is claimed that practically all have taken out papers. They take a keen interest in all civic matters, and the Polish vote, which is unhampered and uncontrolled, almost decides the elections in Albion. Though the Poles live in one neighborhood, they mingle freely with Americans, and the second generation is almost completely Americanized. Without doubt the future of the settlement is exceedingly bright.

#### GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

There is a marked contrast in housing and living conditions between the Polish settlement and that of the South Italians in Albion. Though the races have been in the community an equal length of time the Poles have far outstripped the Italians in their advance toward complete Americanization. The condition of Italian immigrants has improved little since they first arrived in the locality; few have acquired property, the majority still continuing to rent; the interior of the dwellings is unclean, little civic interest is shown, and the second generation has made little progress. Conditions in the Polish settlement, which have been described elsewhere, show a much higher standard of living and an evidence of early Americanization on the part of the Poles.

## CHAPTER VII.

### CAPE COD, MASSACHUSETTS; BRAVAS, OR BLACK PORTUGUESE, CRANBERRY PICKERS.

#### INTRODUCTION.

Among the more than 20,000 foreign-born Portuguese in Massachusetts perhaps there is no element more significant nor more interesting from the standpoint of public welfare or of private economics than the black "Portuguese" from the islands of Cape Verde, who within a period of ten or twelve years have practically monopolized the labor on the cranberry bogs of eastern Massachusetts. Every autumn, beginning late in August, the Portuguese emerge from the mills of New Bedford, from the docks in and about Providence and Fall River, from the oyster boats along the coast, from the ranks of the longshoremens, and here and there from out of the woods and wilds in the vicinity of the cranberry district, and by twos and threes, by gangs, by hundreds, make their way to the fruit-laden bogs of Plymouth, Barnstable, and Nantucket—the "Cape Cod" cranberry district. Without apparent direction they distribute themselves over the 6,000 or 8,000 acres of cranberries and for six weeks, with hand, snap machine, or scoop, work at gathering the ripe berries. The cost of picking the cranberry crop is in the neighborhood of \$300,000, and perhaps two-thirds of this amount is carried away by the 3,000 black pickers at the end of the six weeks' picking season. They are rapidly taking upon themselves all the unskilled work connected with the preparation, the planting, the cultivation, the care, and the picking of the bogs. Twenty years ago there was scarcely a black laborer in the cranberry district; ten years ago they were beginning to come in in earnest; to-day they are driving before them the last of the Americans, the Poles, the Italians, and the Finns, and are proving themselves the best pickers and the best wheelbarrow men who ever came upon the bogs of Cape Cod. Hundreds of them are employed the year round, and something like 3,000 are employed during harvest.

To one who has had little experience in small-fruit growing or in intensive commercial farming, a cranberry bog is an interesting revelation of the possibilities of capitalized agriculture. Drive for some miles through a waste of rough, sandy land, covered with a heavy growth of scrubby pine, through which winds a narrow wagon trail, without a sign of human habitation to mark the way, not an acre of cleared, cultivated ground, not a sign of industry for miles, perhaps; then suddenly an opening appears in the woods and between two irregular lines of hills a "coulee," or valley, comes into view down below you. Ten, 20, 30, or perhaps 50 acres of ground, apparently level, covered with a mat of dark green, lies at your feet. A great dike runs around it, transverse ditches cross it;

it represents an investment of \$500 to \$800 for every acre in full bearing.

Five years ago this valley was a wet, swampy spot between the hills, covered with a tangle of wild grass, peat, great pine or cedar stumps, and a thick growth of swamp ash, cedar, and pine; trees, stumps, and débris were removed, the whole upper layer of grass, roots, and peat were dug up and carted off to help build a dike, the entire area was carefully leveled, ditches were dug for drainage, hundreds of loads of sand were wheeled out on the denuded tract, until a layer of white sand 4 to 6 inches deep covered the surface of the one-time peat bog. A reservoir was built at the head of the valley, and dikes were thrown across at convenient intervals. Then the ground was planted with cranberry vines in hills 12 to 15 inches apart, and these were sanded, weeded, flooded, and cared for for three years, when the first few hill berries were picked; the fourth year the rows were a solid line of vines, and there was a fair crop; the fifth year the ground is covered with a mat of vines and fruit and the bog is in full bearing. The best bogs represent an outlay of \$800 an acre; in fact, owners capitalize them for investment purposes at \$1,000 an acre and expect 10 per cent on the investment.

The pickers are of more interest than the bog. Stretched out in a long irregular line across the bog the black-skinned workers move forward on their knees; thrusting their long fingered scoops or snap machines under the berries, they raise them up and strip the berries from the vines. From a distance they look like a long row of busy ants; two-thirds of them are men, and when they stand up to carry off their filled measures of berries, one notes that they are big, broad-shouldered fellows, not as coarse featured as many southern negroes and with less of the shuffling gait. About one-sixth, perhaps, are women and children. Frequently there are no women and no children whatever among the pickers. They work hard, and at the end of the season take away from \$50 to \$100 each, to be put in the savings banks or carried home to Brava or Fogo on the next visit.

#### THE INDUSTRY.

The Massachusetts census for 1895 reported 686 independent cranberry bogs with a total area of 14,345 acres; 626 of these bogs were in Plymouth and Barnstable Counties and covered 13,111 acres. That is to say, 91.3 per cent of the bogs and 91.4 per cent of the acreage were in these two counties. The total production in 1895 was valued at \$1,038,712. Of this amount \$938,264, or more than 90 per cent, was reported from Plymouth and Barnstable Counties.

In 1899 the United States census reported 5,128 acres in bogs in 13 counties; nearly 87 per cent of the acreage and 91 per cent of the cranberries grown in the State in 1899 were from Plymouth and Barnstable, the Cape Cod district.

The report of the Massachusetts census for 1905 on agriculture, just issued, enumerates 1,939 independent bogs in the state; 1,345 bogs, or almost 70 per cent of the total, are reported in Barnstable County; 510, or 26 per cent, are in Plymouth County, making a total of 1,855 bogs, or 95.7 per cent, in the two counties. The total acreage of inde-



pendent bogs reported is 20,757; of this acreage 19,913 acres, or about 96 per cent, are in Barnstable and Plymouth. In all, 2,704 persons reported cranberries raised during the year ending November, 1905, valued at \$1,217,776; of this amount \$1,010,025 seems to have been produced by owners of independent bogs and \$207,751 by small growers who raised a few barrels in addition to other produce. Considering the total production, \$1,108,166, or nearly 91 per cent of the amount, is credited to these two counties. The figures show that the relative importance of the Cape Cod district is increasing and that the tendency is to concentrate the productive area. Nantucket bids fair to be an important center of production a few years hence.

On Nantucket the \_\_\_\_\_ Cranberry Company of Boston is developing a bog which on completion, it is claimed, will exceed in area and production any cranberry bog in the world. The yield from 235 acres in 1908 was 2,000 barrels. When the present plans are worked out the bog will embrace 480 acres with a probable yield of 45,000 barrels. Surrounded by salt water, which insures protection from late spring frosts, cranberries can be ripened there ten to fifteen days earlier than on the mainland, and the island thus presents exceptional advantages for the culture of this fruit.

*Cranberry production in Massachusetts.*

	Number of growers reporting.	Total acreage.	Acres per bog.	Total production.	Value of produce per acre.	Total value of property.	Value of property per farm.	Total production (barrels).
The State:								
1895 <i>a</i> .....	686	14,345	20.91	\$750,203	\$52.00	\$2,292,172	\$3,341	.....
1905 <i>b</i> .....	1,823 1,939 2,704	20,757	10.70	1,038,712 1,010,025 1,217,776	49.00	3,675,314	1,895	169,533 174,850
Barnstable:								
1895 <i>a</i> .....	363 718	3,575	9.85	150,447 312,577	42.00	639,587	1,762	.....
1905 <i>b</i> .....	1,345 1,432	6,525	4.85	368,883 464,629	57.00	1,294,213	962	49,916 63,969
Plymouth:								
1895 <i>a</i> .....	263 364	9,536	36.26	559,603 625,687	59.00	1,576,042	5,933	.....
1905 <i>b</i> .....	510 684	13,388	26.25	59,890 643,537	44.00	2,292,039	4,494	104,192 97,767

*a* Massachusetts census, 1895, Vol. VI, agriculture.

*b* Massachusetts census, 1905, Vol. IV, agriculture.

NOTE.—Figures in roman refer to the returns from independent bogs, the real cranberry growers. The *italic* figures refer to total persons reporting cranberries and total quantity and value reported.

It is readily seen that either the statistics are erroneous or returns fluctuate greatly. It is a frequently reiterated statement of cranberry growers that there is no average in cranberry production. One year there is a good crop and small returns, the next year the crop and the returns are both below the average. There is a tendency to larger bogs in some districts, and on such bogs matters are conducted on business principles, investments are made judiciously, and the returns tend to a very good dividend on the capital. The sales are controlled by two cooperative sales companies, which manipulate the distribution so skillfully that there is no glut in the market and the price obtained is very close to the highest the consumer is willing

to pay for the entire supply. The larger growers—those with from 6 to 100 acres in a bog—are the principal employers of outside Portuguese. On the small bogs it is often quite possible to obtain a number of pickers in the neighborhood, and white families from the towns come out to earn a little money on the bogs near at hand.

#### THE LABOR SUPPLY.

*Source.*—For perhaps one hundred years cranberries have been grown in the Cape Cod district, and for sixty years at least they have been a commercial crop, but it has been only within the last thirty years that their culture has been undertaken on a large scale. They are now raised principally in three States—Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Wisconsin—in the order of importance; of the estimated 500,000 barrels produced in 1909, Massachusetts probably produced 60 per cent, New Jersey 25 per cent, and Wisconsin about 12 per cent. Formerly the picking was done by hand at the average rate of one barrel, or 100 quarts, per day; perhaps a little more. At this rate it would have required an army of 10,000 pickers to handle a 300,000-barrel crop in six weeks, which ordinarily means about thirty working days. In addition to this number of pickers, a gang of cleaners, sorters, and packers is required on every bog over 5 acres in size, when the yield is good, to prepare the fruit for storage or shipment. It is evident that machine picking has greatly reduced the number of pickers required per acre.

The first pickers in the Cape Cod district were Americans from the neighborhood or from towns not far distant. Frequently a good many mill hands, as well as farmers' families, came out to help. When this source of supply became inadequate, owing to increasing acreage and the disinclination of Americans to this sort of labor, the growers sought other pickers. The employment agencies sent out Finns and the padrones brought out gangs of Italians. The Finns were good pickers, because they worked steadily, but they were rather slow and slovenly. They brought their families, and many of them stayed on the bog the year round. At the present time there are sections around Carver and on the small bogs farther east where Finns are still employed. They are chiefly esteemed as bog laborers for laying out ditches, distributing sand, and the like. But the Finns have moved westward to the mines in Michigan and Wisconsin and elsewhere, and those who remain available are the best of the bog laborers.

The Italians came or were brought from Boston by padrones, and in most cases were the lowest class of South Italians. They were rather unsatisfactory, quarreled among themselves, and were hard to please. In one instance an employer reported that a gang of them at the close of the season objected to paying for their buckets as was the usual custom. The Italians became enraged, smashed their buckets, and threatened an attack upon the superintendent if the full wages were not handed over without delay. They were paid in full, but the superintendent has employed Portuguese ever since. This is but one instance, but there seems to be general dissatisfaction with the South Italians.

Polish pickers were employed in considerable numbers ten or fifteen years ago, but the Poles apparently did not like the shifting, seasonal occupation. They find work in the mills or steady employment on farms and do not consider the cranberry work desirable or profitable. They make excellent laborers, are fine bog makers, and occasion very little trouble, but most of them have risen above miscellaneous day labor and prefer a steady occupation. "As a matter of fact," said the superintendent of one of the largest bogs on the Cape, "the black Portuguese are the only dependable supply of labor that we have; no other sufficient source of supply remains."

The black Portuguese all come from the islands of Cape Verde, chiefly Brava and Fogo. These are very small islands, with a rough, hilly topography that is with difficulty made productive agriculturally; but the climate is almost tropical and fruits and vegetables grow almost spontaneously. Little clothing and very indifferent shelter is required. The natives, who are a mixture of African, Spanish, and various other stocks, due to intermingling with foreign sailors and inhabitants of other islands, multiply rapidly, and the population is continually outrunning the food supply. Portuguese sailors, who frequently landed at New Bedford from whaling vessels, brought back word of the possibilities of America, Portuguese emigration started, and for thirty years and more there has been a steady, though small, stream of immigrants from these islands. Nearly all land at New Bedford, and the larger part of them are found along the coast from Providence and Fall River to Harwich. Perhaps two-thirds of them are single men or men who have left their wives in Brava or Fogo, and who expect to return to them as soon as they have earned enough to buy a little land. A few, indeed, bring or send for their wives and families, and intend to make their homes in the United States. There is a little settlement of them at Harwich, at Wareham, and a few other places, and larger settlements at New Bedford, Fall River, Taunton, and near Providence. Since they have been getting permanent employment on the bogs, small numbers of them are scattered through the woods in the bog district, living in little huts hastily thrown together, or in abandoned houses where, with their wages and their little gardens, they manage to exist and to save a little money. During the year those who are not permanently on the bogs find employment on the docks, as sailors, oyster men, unskilled laborers, performing the lowest type of labor; a few work in the cotton and woolen mills, and occasionally some farm laborers are recruited from their ranks; they are said to be idle very little of the time, although they roam about from place to place, having no home ties. When cranberry season begins late in August, they crowd into the bogs. That is their harvest time, and for many it closes their term in the United States. Every year there is a considerable exodus to the islands after the cranberries are harvested.

*Number employed.*—A canvass was made of some 25 of the largest bogs and many smaller ones on Nantucket, and in Plymouth and Barnstable counties. On these bogs 1,800 pickers, practically all black Portuguese, were found. It is safe to say that the total of that race employed during the season is fully 2,500 to 3,000. The number of women and children on the bogs inspected did not equal one-sixth of the total employed, and in many instances none were found. The

number of Portuguese employed increases yearly, and, as has been noted, there is little doubt that all the larger bogs will very soon employ this race exclusively. There are bog owners who declare that at cranberry-gathering time practically every black Portuguese in the New England States finds his way to the cranberry marshes. This is probably an exaggeration, but it is certain that a large proportion of them look upon cranberry picking as a fixed vocation and come back to it year after year.

*Wages and conditions of labor.*—In harvest season all the “Bravas” employed are pickers, unless perhaps one of them is “boss” picker, or foreman of the picking squad. In the sorting and cleaning houses American girls, women, and men are employed; most of the drivers, foremen, timekeepers, and persons in authority are Americans; the checker is frequently an American girl. Cranberries can not be picked when wet, consequently the picking day does not begin until the dew is off and closes before the dew begins to form, making a day of six and one-half or seven hours. Before and after picking there is nothing to do but attend to personal wants, eat, or sleep. Towns are frequently at a distance and the company of pickers seldom visit town until Saturday night, unless the weather forbids picking; it is estimated that one-sixth to one-tenth of the time is lost by bad weather.

There are three methods of picking: By hand; with a snap machine, using one hand; and with a scoop, using two hands. In all cases the picker works on his knees and drags his box or pail with or behind him. In Wisconsin the scoop is called a rake and is fashioned with a longer handle, so that the raker may stand upright, or nearly so. It is said that this method gives better results in every way and is not nearly so fatiguing to the picker. There is great difference of opinion as to the advantages and disadvantages of the scoop. This implement is a sort of box, 17 to 24 inches wide, with long, sharpened teeth or prongs set close together; a handle on top and one at the back enables the implement to be forced under the vines and the fruit; it is then lifted up, stripping off the berries and tearing the vines somewhat. When a bog has been carefully planted and cared for, and is in full bearing, there is little doubt about the advantages of the scoop. It enables the berries to be picked with much more celerity, and is a real benefit to the bog in pulling up some of the tangled runners and old vines. On the new bogs and those not well set out it is doubtless a detriment or a serious injury. On new bogs not in full bearing, small irregular bogs, and on some heavily matted bogs hand picking is the rule. This is a slow process but a safe one. A few growers cling obstinately to this old system. The snap machine is a small form of the scoop. It is operated with one hand and looks like a cigar box with the bottom made of long sharpened prongs and the top and front end so hinged that they can be raised together, by the thumb, from the back of the box. The operator grasps a handle at the back, presses the front of the box open with his thumb, thrusts the prongs under the berries, and, lifting upward, strips the fruit from the vines; as he does so he releases the hinged top and front, which close with a snap and prevent the berries from rolling out; after a few thrusts he empties the accumulated berries into a “measure” or pail. To handle

a snap machine rapidly and effectively requires skill rather than strength, and some Bravas, who can handle a 24-inch scoop with ease, have never been able to operate a snap machine. When snap machines are used it is customary to stretch twine or wrapping cord across the bog in parallel lines about 10 feet apart; between each two cords 4 or 5 pickers work. The cords serve to keep the pickers in place and to prevent overlapping of territory. When scoops are used "lining off" is dispensed with.

When hand picking or snap machines are employed the berries are picked into measures, tin pails, holding 6 quarts. When the picker has filled his measure or measures, he carries the berries to the checker, who inspects them, empties them into a 30-quart box, and credits him with one or more measures on the tally sheet. Occasionally a picker is found who partially fills his measure with trash or fails to fill it to the rim. The boxes are strung along the dike or embankment at intervals and are usually but a short distance from the pickers. The blacks work rapidly and run back and forth to empty their measures, even after a full day in the berry fields. When scoops are used the scoopers take the 30-quart boxes with them into the bog and drag them behind, emptying the berries into them from the scoops. In this case it is an easy matter to fill the boxes partially with vines pulled up by the scoop, but as scoopers are usually paid by the hour the temptation to do this is not often present. The usual price for hand picking is 7 to 10 cents a 6-quart measure, 8 cents being the most frequent price noted. Snappers are paid 6 to 8 cents a measure, 7 cents being the usual price. Scoopers are paid by the hour, 30 or 35 cents per hour for a seven-hour day. In some instances the regular day is six and one-half hours, and the price in these instances is almost always 35 cents. Perhaps one-half of the scoopers received 35 cents an hour, and some worked eight hours per day in 1909. There are a few employers who pay the scoopers 5 cents a measure, but very few. When paid by the piece it is almost impossible to keep the scoopers from rushing, skipping the poor patches and tearing up the vines. By hurrying over the bog a strong scooper can earn very high wages by the piece, but it is very easy to slight the work. For these reasons an hourly wage which nets the laborer from \$2 to \$3 a day has come to be the rule. Some scoopers, when paid by the measure, have picked from 15 to 20 barrels, or from 250 to 330 measures a day—ordinarily scoopers paid by the piece can pick from 100 to 160 measures per day, earning from \$5 to \$8. The earnings of the snappers and hand pickers vary very greatly. Some hand pickers do not gather 5 measures a day and few pick more than 25; 18 to 20 measures is a very good average, making the earnings \$1.40 to perhaps \$1.75 per day. This is a high average where both hand pickers and snap machine hands are employed, since the poorer pickers are then the hand pickers. The snappers pick more than twice as many berries as the hand pickers, averaging on a fairly productive bog 50 to 75 measures a day and earning \$3.50 to \$5.25. Frequently snappers in a good bog earn \$5 per day, and \$9 and \$10 per day are not unknown. As wages now go the snapper is the most skilled as well as the best paid laborer on the bogs. Seasonal earnings have no average.

The weather, the character of the bog, the yield per acre, the length of season, the watchfulness of the superintendent, and a number of other contingencies make an approximation of a general average useless. A few instances may be given. One owner reported hand pickers earning \$50 to \$90 a month for a season of six weeks. Another reported \$48, \$117, \$127 for hand pickers, snappers, and scoopers (all paid by the measure), respectively, for the season of about thirty working days. Another bog owner pays about \$50 per season for hand pickers. A gang of scoopers on a Barnstable bog averaged \$78 per hand this season; a neighbor paid his gang at the rate of \$95 each for the same period of time. Probably, as a whole, few earn less than \$50 and few more than \$100 during the season, if the crop is normal. These are fairly high wages, as wages go, for unskilled men. During the year permanent laborers are paid about \$1.75 for a nine-hour day. Some employers pay by the hour, 18 to 20 cents for ordinary hands. One bog owner employing about 50 laborers from March to December stated that the wage scale ran from 18 to 30 cents an hour, depending on the efficiency of the men. The usual work day is nine hours. When new bogs are being made a large number of laborers are permanently employed while the ground is not frozen, but otherwise from one-sixth to one-tenth of the picking force only is required to care for the bog and the vines. The work is not necessarily hard and, except in handling the large scoops, no great strength is required. So far as hand pickers are concerned, women and children can often pick more rapidly than men, and the best snappers are usually the smaller and more active men or strong-handed women. The work is somewhat monotonous and grows tiresome even when slowly done. Each gang of 20 or 30 is in charge of a boss, who follows behind to prevent the pickers from leaving berries unpicked or spilling them on the ground. These "bosses" are kept busy, too, and every few minutes some one is called back to pick over a square foot of vines that he has skipped. Men are seldom asked to hurry; most of them work faster than clean picking warrants. The bosses are, as a rule, white men, who seem to understand the Portuguese disposition and character, if not the language of the race. Each carries a stick and gives orders in a positive voice. All personal observation and the testimony of employers go to show that the Bravas are obedient and docile and that within their intelligence they do their work after the manner prescribed by the bosses.

The cranberry-picking season on Nantucket extends from the 20th of August to the 1st of October. One hundred pickers, all black Portuguese, were employed in 1909; next year there will be work for 300, and the work of developing new bogs provides steady employment for about 250 laborers. The laborers were practically all recruited from the black Portuguese along Cape Cod and Wareham and Onset, and were induced to come to Nantucket, as the cranberry growers along the cape stated, by slight increase in the wages usually paid for any day laborers in the development of cranberry bogs, the usual rate, \$1.50 per day being increased to \$1.75. Hand pickers on the Nantucket bog are paid at the rate of 8 cents per 6-quart measure; snap pickers, 7 cents per measure; and "scoopers," 30 cents per hour. A hand picker will earn at this rate, working seven hours, an average of \$1.75 per day; a snap picker, \$3 per day. For the season a hand

picker will earn \$60 or \$70, and a snap picker \$100. The berry-picking day begins about 8.30 a. m., and ends about 5 p. m. Picking by measure, a scooper has been known to pick 20 barrels in a day.

*Efficiency.*—Nearly all of the Portuguese, white as well as black, are illiterate, but in addition to their illiteracy the Bravas are stupid. Indeed, this is the gravest charge against them as workmen. They are excellent diggers, but much of the ditching must be done by other laborers or under careful white supervision, because the Brava can not follow a straight line. "They need immediate supervision in the simplest performances," said an employer of nearly 200. Berry picking, and in fact most of the work on the bogs, is very simple work, easily comprehended, and by selecting the few who show intelligence and initiative for the general work on the bog, it is possible to get on with them very well. Both Finns and Italians are said to possess more intelligence, and when both Finns and Portuguese are employed on the same job the Finns refuse to perform certain tasks. Thus, the Finns will not wheel sand to the bog. When no Portuguese are employed, no objection is made and the Finns handle a wheelbarrow without question. There are some few Portuguese who have real ability and become foremen of gangs, but they are the exceptions. On arrival they are ignorant of the simplest matters of foresight. They take no thought for provision of food or shelter, and some have come miles out into the woods to pick berries with no food of any sort, and no idea, apparently, that food could not be procured anywhere. Very few speak English well, but after a few years here most of them understand what is said to them by the bosses, and in general can make themselves understood. Of the many who deposit in savings banks, very few indeed can write their names. They are ignorant day laborers only, and as such fill a much-needed place in the supply of seasonal labor on the cape. Employers agree in praising their efficiency as pickers and their general work as unskilled laborers. Reliable under supervision, docile, obedient, willing to work, and not over-fastidious with regard to food or shelter or the discomforts of the weather, and apparently satisfied with the isolation and the somewhat disagreeable work, they are very desirable men all the year round in the cranberry district; furthermore, they are almost the only men who can now be obtained in sufficient numbers to supply the demand for bog laborers.

*Yearly itinerary.*—As noted above, most of the Portuguese come from the cities along the coast, and either return thither after the season is over and find intermittent jobs during the winter on the docks, in ice plants, on the streets, or any sort of work that comes to hand, or they return on the fall boats to the Cape Verdes, remain during the winter and come back to New Bedford the next spring. There are some who remain permanently in the vicinity of the cranberry bogs. They build new bogs when they can, get work as diggers and shovelers on roads and railways or construction gangs, and others find employment chopping cord wood for the natives. A large number enter the woods in the spring and gather the mayflower, or trailing arbutus, which is put up in bunches and sold to buyers who come down from Boston on the evening train, returning with the flowers in the morning. The flowers bring from 5 to 75 cents per bunch,

depending on the size of the bunch and the skill with which the flowers are arranged. Blueberries, or whortleberries, begin to ripen in July, and a large number of Portuguese gather the fruit, which grows wild on the cape. The berries are sold at the rate of 15 cents per quart, or two quarts for 25 cents. Earnings at this occupation vary from \$1 to \$1.50 per day.

Both the gathering of arbutus and blueberry picking are profitable occupations when the crops are good, and living is very cheap where rent and fuel cost practically nothing. There are a number of families near Wareham, Onset, Plymouth, and Harwich that earn a living in the manner just described. The yearly shift gives them a roving habit, and there is more or less complaint of their unreliability in that regard. Frequently a gang will move from one bog to a neighboring one without warning. The man who has an exceptionally light crop is likely to lose his pickers in the middle of the season. Some growers offer a higher wage as a bonus to all who remain through the season. This nomadic trait is due to the lack of any sort of family or property bond and to the naturally shifting character of their employment. It is one of the risks which the employer must take and one of the safeguards against harsh or unfair treatment by the bog owner toward his employees.

The Nantucket Portuguese are somewhat more stable than those employed on the cape, and many remain on the island throughout the entire year. During the summer a large number are employed as porters, chambermaids, waiters, and waitresses in the numerous hotels and boarding houses. After the berry-picking season there is work for some of the force sanding the bog and developing new bogs. Earnings in these occupations vary from \$1.50 to \$1.75 per day for nine hours' labor. Others ship on fishing or whaling vessels or seek employment about the wharves at New Bedford.

#### STANDARD OF LIVING.

The usual period of residence in the United States is from three to five years. Many return to their native land after two years. They go back in the fall and return in the spring. Most of them make two or three such trips it is said—two or three years in the United States, then a trip home for the winter. Eventually most of them return to their island homes. Some tell of living a gay life for a winter in Fogo; some are content to dazzle their friends with gifts and a show of money, but most do not intend to give up Fogo for America permanently.

They begin to save as soon as they begin to earn. The pickers when paid weekly or biweekly go at once to the nearest town and deposit their pay checks, or, if at some distance, appoint one of their number each pay day to make the trip. In Harwich, Plymouth, New Bedford, Wareham, and other places certain savings banks have hundreds of black Portuguese depositors. The savings bank in one of these villages in Massachusetts, in the cranberry district, is illustrative. This bank has approximately 500 black Portuguese depositors, with accounts averaging about \$200 to \$300 each. These accounts run from two to six years, and the individual credits foot up \$800, \$1,000, or



even \$1,500 in some instances. The bulk of the deposits are made in the early autumn, and come in the shape of pay checks, but there are many who deposit all through the summer. "About October 15," said the bank president, "they draw out their deposits. In 1907 we paid out about \$15,000 to black Portuguese at that time; in 1908, the amount drawn was over \$20,000; this year it will probably exceed either 1907 or 1908." In another village a 5-cent savings bank has 100 black Portuguese depositors, and no account exceeds \$100. The disposition to save is universally commented on; and perhaps a larger proportion of Portuguese than of any other race doing unskilled labor make use of the savings banks. There are some spendthrifts, but on the whole frugality and the disposition to save are characteristic. Probably 50 per cent of their savings are sent to the old country, a small percentage for investment, but the most for the support of destitute relatives, or to bring members of the family to the United States.

The pickers are very well clad. Some use overalls, but most wear ready-made suits, frequently protecting their knees with bagging or canvas; scarcely any are ragged; shirts, trousers, and shoes are usually whole and substantial; nearly all wear caps or hats, and a few have linen collars and cravats. Most seem to patronize barbers, and for workmen of their class they are unusually well groomed.

In the matter of food and shelter conditions are not so favorable. Housing conditions, where the quarters are furnished by bog owners, are described as they exist on the Nantucket bog. At this bog the ——— Cranberry Company house their laborers in one-and-a-half-story frame houses, the first floor serving as a combination living room, dining room, and kitchen, with sleeping quarters on the second floor. The larger houses measure about 18 by 20 feet, and are usually occupied by two families, who pay a monthly rent of 25 cents per head for house and furniture. A brick chimney flue is built in the center of the building, and a stove placed on each side; the remainder of the furniture consists of a few tables and benches and wooden bunks. The superintendent compels a housecleaning at frequent intervals, and the interior of the houses presents a much neater appearance than the home of the average Italian or Slav coal miner or steel worker. Left to their own pleasure, however, the black Portuguese have little regard for cleanliness or sanitation in the home. The single men occupy smaller houses, 4 to 5 living in a house about 8 by 10 feet in size, paying \$4 per month rent.

Those who live in their own homes in the small towns or in the woods near the bogs find shelter in the poorest of lodgings. Old abandoned houses, cheap shed-like structures, or rooms in some tenement house where each family or gang eats and sleeps, are usual. In one instance 13 men lived in a two-story building about 16 by 20 feet, some little distance from the bog. They slept upstairs on straw and cheap mattresses and cooked and ate on the ground floor. One of the number was appointed each day to do the cooking. The whole place was very bare and dirty; filth and litter of all sorts abounded and evidently no pretense of cleaning was made. On other bogs 10 by 12 foot two-story houses are built to accommodate the transients. There are a stove, benches, and a cheap table below, and a

couple of 4-foot bunks of rough lumber above. Four or five or more occupy each of these houses. These are cleaned periodically under supervision of the superintendent, but otherwise no attention is paid to sanitation. The rent of these houses is not much; sometimes \$6 or \$8 a month is charged, sometimes nothing. Some of the shacks provided are of the roughest and rudest sort imaginable; mere 1-story sheds about 8 by 10 feet, rough boarded, with a shed roof of rough boards. The bunks are rude boxes filled with straw. That anything will do for six weeks is the idea. Near Wareham, where there are several families of permanent residents, they and the transients pickers live in a dirty, squalid quarter of the village, locally known as "Fogo." The houses and yards are dirty and ill kept, and while crowding is not so bad as it might be, sanitary arrangements and regard for cleanliness could not be much less than they are. The families living near the bogs dwell in miserable houses. They have gardens and raise some cabbages, beans, and potatoes; some have a few chickens, but the aspect of the whole domestic economy is very depressing. There is no regard for neatness or care—windows stuffed with rags, fences down, doors sagging, roofs leaking, everything dirty, is typical of a "Brava" household. Some are much more trim, but they are the exceptions.

When they first come to the bogs, they know very little about cooked food, and almost nothing about preparing it. They actually suffer want until some one teaches them the method of getting and preparing food. They eat rice, beans, and pork, and use a great deal of lard. Some biscuits of white flour are made for the evening meal, the heartiest meal of the day, but milk crackers and bakers' cakes serve at the other meals. When they first began coming to one large bog ten years ago, their menu consisted of ripe maize, or Indian corn on the cob. This they boiled until partly softened and ate with molasses poured over it. But this diet has now given way to a much better variety of food. The butcher's wagon and the baker's cart make regular trips to the bogs when many are employed, and the grocery stores send out quantities of canned goods, canned roast beef, flour, and beans to some of the gangs. Those who remain during the year add sweet corn, potatoes, and string beans. They are living better each year, but their cooking is not good, and there is a tendency to depend largely on crackers and bakers' bread. The diet is more largely vegetable than animal, but the cost of living is somewhat higher than that of the Italians, and fully up to that of the Finns. The food both in variety and in preparation grows gradually better. Lima beans, which retail at 12 cents per quart, and rice are staple articles of diet for the Portuguese throughout the cranberry section. A favorite dish for the Nantucket Portuguese is made by boiling rice and lima beans together and pouring in a tin of canned beef. At the end of the picking season, when money is plentiful, beans are bought by the bushel. Formerly they bought only the broken rice, which sells for 6 cents per pound, but are gradually buying more of the better grade at 9 cents a pound. There can be no question that their standard of living, both in respect to food consumed, clothing, and sanitation, is considerably lower than that of the Americans.

## SOCIAL, MORAL, AND EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS.

The Bravas have a much higher moral code than one would suppose, judging by their ignorance and their standard of life. While they are a social people who love music, dancing, and frolics, they are generally temperate and the average of personal morality is fairly advanced. Rioting, drunkenness, and indecent revelings are said to be infrequent or (in places) unknown occurrences. The newcomers are more temperate than those who have learned the American leniency of laws in this regard. Some who know the men well, and who have talked much with them, believe that added to their naturally peaceable disposition they have grown up under a great fear of the law and its officers. An offender suffers seriously in Fogo if he gets into the clutches of the officers, and penalties for lawbreaking are severe. "The Brava is afraid to drink, or rather to be caught drinking; a word from a policeman makes him tremble and slink away when he is indulging in hilarious antics, and for the same reason he will not steal or pilfer," remarked an employer, who had dealt with Portuguese for many years. "But every year I see more drinking in secret; my men carry bottles of whisky and beer into the woods and consume it there. I know that this vice as well as immorality is growing with their lessening fear of the law." However, the testimony is that they are unusually temperate. Gambling is not a conspicuous vice. Few robberies or crimes of violence are mentioned. The Bravas have little regard for a Puritan Sabbath, and, although the greater number are nominally Catholics, they are not much given to church attendance or religious observances of any sort. Many are pock marked, and physicians report a good many with syphilitic tendencies, perhaps inherited for generations. They are subject to skin diseases, and out of this fact arose a clamor in one or two places to have the Brava school children segregated in seats, rooms, or schools set apart for them. Nothing came of it, however, and in the public schools white New Englanders and black Portuguese study side by side. A good many die of pulmonary diseases, pneumonia, consumption, and the like, and the mortality was very high when the Portuguese first began to arrive. Now most have become acclimated and have learned to take care of themselves in a degree.

There is noticeable a growing sense of their importance. Electric-car conductors, trainmen, and others have become well aware of this fact. Some of the Portuguese are beginning to have "rights." A few years ago it was easily possible to put a Brava on the back seat in a street car and to make the "jim-crow" car idea a practicable expedient. Now the Brava who knows his importance refuses to move back or forward or anywhere else until he pleases to do so, much to the annoyance of the conductor. Said an old electric trainman: "They are making themselves more offensive to us on the cars and to the public generally every year. Frequently the bolder spirits seem to take delight in sitting down in the same seat with a white woman, if there is any opportunity. The white patrons complain, but there is no legal method of putting the Brava into any seat he does not choose to occupy. This independent attitude is a matter of

a very few years, but it increases steadily." Except for dark skins, many of the men are not unattractive physically. They are big, muscular fellows, and many carry themselves well. The hair is less kinky and the thick lips and squat nose not so prominent as in the southern negro of full negro ancestry. Many have a strain of white blood, although the white Portuguese repudiate the idea that there is any blood relation between them and the blacks, who are African or African mixed with half a dozen non-Portuguese races.

#### CITIZENSHIP.

There are not many citizens, but there are some property owners. Few care to become citizens of the United States, nearly all are illiterate, and can neither write, read, nor even speak English. One of their number—a Protestant clergyman—said that there were many more citizens or aliens who had applied for first papers than anyone suspected, but even he could not call to mind, definitely, more than a dozen or fifteen with first papers. They take no interest in local politics or self government, as a rule, and seem to know or care nothing about American institutions of a political nature. With their ideals and their ignorance the loss to the Commonwealth is not a serious one. They feel that their country is Brava or Fogo, and that they owe their allegiance there. The few exceptions are the home owners, scattered here and there along the cape.

There are estimated to be 400 black Portuguese in Harwich at the present time, and of this number probably 75 own their homes, consisting of small houses and 2 or 3 acres of land, 1 acre in cranberries; and 10 or 12 are naturalized citizens. Educationally their standard is low; the children seldom attend school longer than their fourteenth year, the period required by law. In only two instances have black Portuguese entered the high school. A movement for separate schools for the black Portuguese in Harwich was agitated without success a few years ago.

#### EXPENSES AND PROFITS IN THE CRANBERRY INDUSTRY.

The estimated cost of producing cranberries is variously given, and runs anywhere from \$2 to \$4 per barrel of cranberries, delivered on the central market. One grower declared he could get his berries on the market for \$1.37, but did not include freights and commissions. Picking cost varies from 30 cents to \$1.25 a barrel, depending on a dozen contingencies of pickers, bogs, and methods. In a general way, \$1 per barrel is considered a rough estimate of this expense, and does not include screening and packing, which cost from 15 to 25 cents a barrel. The screening is done by a wind machine, which removes the vines, vegetable trash, and frozen or bruised berries; then the berries are placed in racks and twice hand picked to remove stones, unsalable berries, and any other trash not taken out by the cleaning machine. The cleaned berries are then packed in barrels by an official expert packer, if the owner sells through a cooperative sales company. The standard barrel holds 100 quarts of berries. The barrels are labeled by the packer and inspector, and two grades

are put upon the market. The early berries do not keep well and are shipped out at once. The late berries may be kept in the 30-quart boxes or on large trays for some time before barreling and marketing. Trays, 30-quart boxes, and barrels are fixed items of expense. Some of the larger growers have 2 or 3 coopers at work making barrels during the packing season, the staves and hoops being procured in the rough and set up near where they are used. The saving in freightage on bulky barrels is evident. When bought outright, the barrels cost about 40 to 45 cents each.

Another variable item is the amount of shrinkage or waste between picking and selling. The 30-quart boxes as brought in from the field contain trash, stones, bruised, diseased, or frozen berries, and they may not contain a full 30 quarts; that is, the pickers may not have given full measure. Sometimes the shrinkage runs up to 10 per cent; on the other hand, a few employers who had gangs of careful pickers reported an overrun of 5 per cent or more. This meant that the berries were perfect, the picking very clean, and the boxes filled "heaping full." In addition to the waste by shrinkage, some 3 to 5 per cent of the berries produced are spilled or left on the ground. Some growers told me that there were years when 20 per cent of the crop was lost by waste and shrinkage.

The total expense of placing cranberries on the market may be approximated by items as follows, a sort of composite statement made by growers in various parts of the cranberry district:

	Per barrel.
Picking -----	\$1. 00
Screening -----	. 25
Cost of barrel -----	. 42
Fertilizing, sanding bog, etc. -----	. 40
Cartage -----	. 10
Freight, drayage, and commissions -----	. 75
Shrinkage and waste -----	. 14
	3. 06

The estimates of a few owners of smaller bogs are lower, varying from \$2 to \$2.50 per barrel.

One actual account for a 4-acre bog shows that aside from the natural situation, preparation, care, water supply, manner of picking, unpreventable pests, frosts, and location with respect to market, the yield varied from 350 barrels packed for market in 1907 to 30 barrels on the same area in 1908, and 240 barrels on the same area in 1909; this instance is typical.

But after packing, the price is rather uncertain and profits vary with market price frequently. Thirty barrels per acre in 1908 brought as great a return as 70 barrels per acre in October, 1909, when the price was \$5.25 to \$5.50 per barrel.

Most of the cranberries are sold through cooperative sales companies, the largest of which is the New England Cranberry Sales Company, which operates also in Wisconsin and New Jersey, and claims to handle one-half of the total crop. The Growers' Sales Association is another large cooperative company. The growers who are members get the benefit of the services of a central sales or distributing agent, who keeps in touch with markets all over the United States;

they also get the advantage of a 7 per cent commission for selling instead of the usual 10 per cent. The 3 per cent difference goes into the treasury of the company as a sinking fund. The berries are inspected by these companies both while being sorted and packed and after they are in barrels. Then they allow labels to be affixed to the barrels signifying the grade of berry packed.

There are a good many growers who ship independently, but the work of the cooperative associations is said to be excellent, and more growers come into the associations every year.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### CENTRAL WISCONSIN, POLISH CRANBERRY PICKERS.

#### INTRODUCTION.

It has not been many years since Wisconsin cranberry growers began to give serious thought to the improvement of Wisconsin fruit and the intensive care of Wisconsin bogs. The wild bog and the native berry were almost the only sorts to be found, and these bogs were so covered with a tangle of vines, weeds, and grass that until recently there was scarcely one that did not resemble a field of wild marsh grass more than a small-fruit farm. The natural cranberry areas are in Waushara County, in the southern and eastern parts of Jackson and Wood Counties, and northern Juneau. Until well on in the nineties practically all fruit harvested was grown on the wild natural marshes. Forest fires, however, destroyed many of the natural bogs in 1895, and since then more and more attention has been given to the intensive culture of the berry and to the means of controlling the conditions of successful growth.

In these counties in 1900 practically 5,000 acres were reported in cranberries and 5,821 acres for the entire State. The acreage at present is no doubt greater, at any rate the acreage of cultivated bog has increased. Since 1903 the University of Wisconsin, in connection with the United States Department of Agriculture, has had a working cranberry experiment station near Cranmoor, in Wood County, about 11 miles southwest of Grand Rapids. This station is a scientific attempt to reach a full understanding of the conditions of successful culture and the best methods for securing and controlling these conditions. Up to date very material knowledge has been acquired and very material aid given the private cranberry growers of Wisconsin.

#### RACES.

Labor conditions near Cranmoor, in the heart of the cranberry district, are similar to those on Wisconsin bogs in general. For that reason the study of bog laborers was confined to the environs of Cranmoor. As in the eastern cranberry districts, two types of labor are required—the permanent hands who are employed in making bog and in cultivating the berries, and the cranberry pickers employed for the season only. The permanent hands are Poles and Indians, chiefly the latter, with an intermixture of other races, who hold the more responsible positions. The total number employed on any bog is not large, but in the aggregate several hundred men are employed in this industry. Life on the bogs is isolated, the work is largely hand labor, some of it very heavy work—digging, wheeling sand, or cutting turf—and most men prefer other employment. So, while no one race is uniformly employed, it has come to pass that the most available

help are Indians, who bring their families and dwell in tents, and immigrant laborers, usually Poles.

The picking season begins early in September and extends over six weeks or a little longer. Three classes of labor are employed to gather the berries: Local help, i. e., persons of several different nationalities living near at hand who come onto the marshes for a few days or for the entire harvesting period; Polish people, chiefly from Portage County and near-by farming communities; and Indians. The local pickers are of several nationalities, frequently farmers, who spend but a few days on the bogs and are usually employed by the smaller growers. The Poles are imported from the vicinity of Stevens Point usually. They do not always come in gangs, but they frequently bring their families and remain during the season. They are largely farmers and farm laborers. The Indians are recruited from the reservations at some distance, come in companies by families, and, arriving before the season opens, remain to the end.

#### THE INDUSTRY.

The Wisconsin bogs vary greatly in size, running from 5 or 10 up to 250 acres in bearing bog. The average of the larger bogs is perhaps about 60 to 70 acres. When it is noted that 2 acres of water supply is required to irrigate 1 acre of bog—natural means alone are employed—one can see that the moorland acreage devoted to cranberries is much larger than at first appears.

To secure a favorable soil, an adequate and effective water supply, suitable topography for distributing and holding the water, proper drainage, and good marketing facilities—the chief factors in successful cranberry growing, since the problem of securing labor has never been a very real one to the Wisconsin grower—and to prepare, plant, and get a bog into full bearing, has cost the ordinary cranberry grower \$250 or perhaps less per acre. It must be remembered that the ordinary Wisconsin bog is of the hay-field variety, planted (if planted at all) on peat, never weeded, and seldom sanded or pruned. Properly to prepare the soil for planting by removing the peat and sanding the bog, ditching, leveling, and draining, to buy and set out good cultivated plants, and to cultivate, weed, and care for them three years, or until they come into bearing, requires an approximate expenditure of \$500, or a little less perhaps, for 1 acre, including the value of the land and the water supply. It requires three years from planting to secure a crop, longer if the planting has not been properly performed. Eighty barrels per acre are sometimes secured, but the average yield is very much less, 20 to 30 barrels or more being considered a very good crop average on a bog. This is not nearly so high an average as that secured by many of the Cape Cod growers, but, in the main, investment per acre does not average one-third of that in Massachusetts.

One of the greatest uncertainties in the cranberry industry is that of temperature. Early frosts are responsible for many failures. In 1904 a frost early in August was responsible for a loss of 60 per cent of the crop, a loss in value approximately \$200,000. In 1909 a loss of practically 50 per cent of the crop was sustained on account of a frost early in September. Because of the seriousness of this menace the experiment station and growers generally have given a great deal



of attention to forecasting these cold waves and to means of protection of the bogs from loss thereby. It has been demonstrated that the well-sanded, properly-weeded, well-drained bog is practically immune to early frosts. In fact, the temperature on the experimental plats is usually 8° F. higher than that of the neighboring moorland, where the mossy, matted tangle of vines, weeds, and grass makes the conditions of radiation and absorption of heat much less favorable. The ordinary grower depends on flooding to protect his vines from sudden frosts. In 1909 the scarcity of water precluded this means of salvation. On the experimental farms water is never employed as a means of protection from frost. A sand covering, good drainage, and clean culture seem to be sufficient preventives. In 1904 when the average yield per acre for the State fell below 5 barrels, "the few vines on the experimental station \* \* \* were made to yield on the average of 62.5 barrels to the acre."\*

#### LABOR REQUIREMENTS.

In berry picking in Wisconsin, two methods are employed—long rakes (or scoops) and hand picking. Which method shall be used depends on the nature of the bog and the seasonal conditions of temperature and rainfall. Because few bogs have been properly pruned and cared for and suitably prepared for rakes, hand picking is necessarily the more general method. In general, too, considering the condition of the marshes, it is the most economical method; what one gains in speed by the employment of rakes is lost in the harm done to the unprepared vines and in the berries that are shaken off and lost. More than this, there seems to be a prejudice here as in many localities in Massachusetts against the rake. At the government experiment station, located at Cranmoor, a few miles southwest of Grand Rapids, experts are demonstrating the proper methods of setting out, sanding, cleaning, and caring for cranberry bogs. On some of their plats the rake is used without any damage to the plants; on other plats hand picking only is permitted.

The rake or scoop employed on Wisconsin bogs is made in various widths and in all essentials corresponds closely to the instrument used on the Cape Cod bogs. The handles, however, are longer and permit the operator to use the implement while standing. The work is easier, for a greater swing is possible with more force than when one is on his knees. The movement is more rapid, too, and it is claimed that many more berries can be harvested in a day. Just why the implement is called a rake in Wisconsin and a scoop in Massachusetts does not appear.

The hand pickers work on their knees, pick into small measures, and empty their berries into standard, rectangular crates holding 1 bushel of berries. After picking the berries are freed from trash, sorted by sizes, milled to discard all the frozen, mashed, or diseased berries, hand picked to remove any stones, dirt, or foreign matter, stored in trays for drying, and finally packed in barrels holding from 100 to 116 quarts of berries. The Wisconsin berries store better than the Cape Cod fruit and usually bring a better price on the market.

\* Report on Cranberry Investigations, Bull. No. 119, Agr. Experiment Station, Wisconsin.

## THE LABOR SUPPLY.

*The Poles.*—The Polish pickers are largely farmers, who, having small farms, can come out to the bogs from September 1 to October 10, or within these limits, without neglecting any farming operations; at the same time their earnings from picking cranberries amount to a not insignificant sum. They come from various sections within 25 or 30 miles of the bogs, but perhaps the largest number comes from the vicinity of Stevens Point. They are usually brought in in gangs of 35 to 50 by foremen, who come out early in the season, take estimates of the number of hands needed by each grower, and make contracts to furnish all the hands required to pick the crop. Men, women, and well-grown children are represented in the picking gangs. The women are as good pickers as the men and receive the same wages, from 50 cents to \$1 per bushel for hand picking. A good many of the men use scoops or rakes and receive a wage varying from \$1.75 to \$2.50 per day and board. This is a very good wage considering the price of labor in this section. During the summer \$1.25 to \$1.50, or even as low as \$1 for a ten-hour day, is paid; this of course usually includes board unless Indians are the laborers.

The picking season lasts four or five or six weeks; hence the earnings per season may be very easily approximated when it is observed that 3 to 4 bushels a day is considered good picking on a well-fruited bog. Usually the number of women and children in a gang of these pickers far exceeds the men. Paid by the piece, the women are superior to the men, and all children over 14 or 15 are wage-earners. All are hand pickers except a few of the men, who use scoops or rakes.

The gangs of Poles, who are furnished with railway transportation to and from the bogs by the growers, are housed in more or less comfortable "bunk houses" provided by the grower. A small "lean-to," in which is a cook stove, is attached to the bunk house, and here the cooking is done through the season. Wood for fuel and hay for beds are provided free. Two rows or tiers of bunks are built along each side of the building, and a dozen find plenty of room in a small house. Often more are crowded in.

The foreman receives \$2 a day for his services as overseer or "boss," and few employers make any complaint about the adequacy of the service rendered. The same foreman frequently brings a gang of pickers every year for a number of years. Sometimes the Poles are quarrelsome and there is some trouble, occasionally a cutting affray when too much beer gets into camp or when there is a preponderance of the more undesirable element from the towns. Few make any disturbance, and those who do are mostly floaters who have no property, no family, and no responsibility. Troubles, difficulties, and disturbances connected with labor are comparatively few and far between in the cranberry area.

On the experimental bog at Cranmoor, which is conducted jointly by the Agricultural Experiment Station of the University of Wisconsin and the Office of Experiment Stations of the United States Department of Agriculture, in addition to the several bunk houses for the pickers, a dance hall, cheaply built, is placed at the disposal of the pickers. Dances occur in this as frequently as music can be procured, and they are well patronized by the Polish laborers.

The cranberry season over, the men with families and the families themselves return to their homes. Some single men remain to work by the day on the bogs during the autumn. There are a good many regular laborers who must be kept the year round and a large proportion of these are Poles. As a rule, the Polish berry picker saves his money and adds it to his farm income. It all goes to aid him in eking out a livelihood until his farm becomes self-supporting. Those who do not own farms are children of farmers or permanent residents with some fixed regular occupation. The picking of berries is a profitable incident in the yearly routine, not a vacation nor a principal means of livelihood.

*The Indians.*—The second group of pickers, chiefly employed on the larger bogs, and perhaps the main dependence of the Wisconsin grower, are the Indians, who come with their families from the Oneida Reservation, near Green Bay, and from Black River Falls, Wis. They are not as rapid pickers as the Poles or the Germans, but they pick more cleanly, work very steadily, gather the fallen berries, and in general are reliable workers. Moreover, they are obedient and tractable, and unless they have access to whisky, procured for them by some unscrupulous dealer, they are very peaceable, quarrel very little with each other or with their collaborators, the Poles, and go about their tasks quietly, without murmur or complaint. Indians have been engaged by the cranberry men for many years, and on the whole have been very satisfactory workers.

They come in gangs, by families, and all over 10 or 12 years of age are of use in the harvesting season. Those who come from a distance are paid their transportation to and from their homes. Others who live within driving distance come in buggies and wagons of their own, and having made arrangements with a bog manager, their tents are set up on some vacant lot and their horses turned out to graze. From whatever place they come, in gangs of 40 or more pickers or by single families, each family provides canvas for a round tent, large or small according to the size of the family. This is set up by the squaws and an improvised fireplace made for cooking, out of doors usually, and housekeeping is ready to begin. A little straw or hay and a blanket serve for a bed, the ground does very well as a seat, and no tables are needed. For four or five weeks the family picks berries during the day, gambles in the evening, and sleeps until the dew is off in the morning.

The women are better workers and quicker than the men, but the children beyond the age of 15 are often more rapid hand pickers than either. Some of the men use scoops, or rakes as they are called in Wisconsin, and are paid by the day for their labor. A number find employment raking and weeding the bogs and putting all in readiness for the winter flooding of the bog. None seem to remain during the winter. The children under 12 or 15 years old are something of a nuisance, but are not unruly; they seem to have a wholesome respect for parental authority.

The food of the Indians is very simple; stale bread, vegetables, corn, cakes made of meal or flour, soup, with almost any kind of meat in any stage of decay, are the chief articles of diet. Some canned goods and crackers are now being bought. They are fond of game and fish and are equally fond of procuring it with gun, rod, and spear,

The clothing of the men does not differ very much from that of other laborers of the same grade; a few wear moccasins. The women wear shawls, gaudy calicoes, strings of beads, bracelets, earrings, finger rings, shapeless dresses, and moccasins. They usually wear their long hair braided tightly, combed straight back from their foreheads. Most of them submit very meekly to the authority of the husband, who is the head of the tent.

The gang manager is frequently a man of importance and some intelligence. Usually he can speak English and is a sort of interpreter and guide to the members of his party. He receives \$2 per day for following behind the pickers, keeping them at work, and holding the work up to standard. The stragglers, the careless, slovenly pickers, and those who hasten so rapidly that berries are left on the ground or vines, must be carefully looked after. Some of the gang masters or foremen have been coming with parties every year for many years. The employees are not supposed to compensate their foreman in any way for his trouble in finding work for them.

The earnings of the Indians do not differ materially from those of the other races who pick. The men who use scoops, of course, get \$1.75 to \$2.50 a day and rations; the others, paid by the bushel at 50 cents in the beginning to \$1 when the season grows old, earn, on the average, \$1.50 or a little more per day for a season of twenty-eight days. This means \$42 or perhaps \$56 for the entire period. Some owners are accustomed to give 5 to 10 cents per bushel more if the laborers agree to remain during the whole picking season, and a good many take advantage of this offer. A number, too, remain on the bogs after the real picking season is over to gather up the leavings; they receive \$1 per bushel for all of these they bring in. It is a common sight to see Indian squaws and youngsters scattered here and there over the great expanse of cranberry bogs, working away day after day when every other picker has returned to his home.

The Indians have few wants and make very few demands on the employer. They have no "union" and, once hired, seldom strike or raise any dispute about hours or wages. A store near at hand supplies their wants in the way of "store" food and tobacco. Unless they are supplied with bad whisky by some unscrupulous dealer, there is no disturbance whatever. Other than gambling, their amusements do not follow the inclinations of their white collaborators. Sometimes they join in the dances held in a hall built for that purpose, the young squaws desiring to win the attentions of the white men, but, as a rule, the Indians are content to remain onlookers while the others dance.

The Indians are not thrifty nor provident. Their earnings are soon lost by gambling or are foolishly spent. The seasonal labor satisfies them very well. They pick blueberries and cranberries, dig potatoes, or cut wood, and clear brush land. All these afford employment at good, cash wages for short periods, and the hours are practically fixed by the Indian himself. The squaw and the children can earn as much as the head of the household, all goes to add to the family income, and the season is such that this outside employment interferes but little with the work of the farm, wherever it may be.

*Local pickers.*—Another group of pickers must be mentioned. These are the small farmers, American, German, or Scandinavian,

and the floating, useless population who come from the neighborhoods in close proximity to the moorlands. No general characterization of this factor can be made. Some are too old and some are too young to do full adult labor. A good many women, fully 60 per cent, are among them. They are not altogether reliable nor dependable, but in the demand for pickers they find a place and live the simple life of the bog and the bunk house for a few weeks; many travel from bog to bog, seeking easier earnings in a way to try the patience and temper of the grower.

#### THE TOTAL NUMBER EMPLOYED.

The total number of cranberry pickers employed varies very much from season to season and depends largely on the condition of the crop. An early frost may reduce the quantity of berries from 10 to 75 per cent. Other earlier weather conditions may be responsible for just as great variations. In a general way it may be estimated that two pickers are employed per acre of bog in full bearing; for instance, a typical marsh with 50 acres of cranberries employs about 90 pickers, another of 125 acres makes use of nearly 250 first and last during the season. The number of acres of bog in bearing is now approximately 1,500 in Wood County, and the area is about 800 acres in Jackson County, Wis. On this calculation 4,000 to 4,500 pickers find employment in these counties in a normal crop year. There are a number of small bogs employing only local laborers. Among the larger bogs the character of the laborers varies greatly, some use Indians entirely, some employ Poles, some have none of either race. As no census was taken it is not worth while hazarding an approximation of the absolute numbers of each. Out from Grand Rapids, Wis., Poles and Indians seem to be employed in about equal numbers on many marshes, and perhaps three-fifths of all the pickers come from these two races.



## CHAPTER IX.

### WISCONSIN, SUGAR-BEET LABORERS.

#### THE INDUSTRY.

*Extent.*—The manufacture of beet sugar is an industry of comparatively recent origin in the State of Wisconsin. The first sugar factory was erected at Menomonee Falls in 1896, with a capacity for chopping 500 tons of beets daily. Subsequent development has been gradual, and since the inception of the industry at Menomonee Falls only three other factories have been established in the State. These are located at Janesville, Chippewa Falls, and Madison, each of 500-ton capacity. A factory with a capacity of 1,000 tons daily commenced operation at Menominee, Mich., in 1907. This factory is located only a short distance from the Michigan-Wisconsin state line, and the greater part of the beets consumed by that plant are produced in the latter State.

There are large areas of soil in various sections of Wisconsin adapted to the production of the sugar beet. Gravelly loam, clay loam, loam, and sandy loam are soils suitable for beet culture, and all these varieties are encountered in the southern and central portions of the State. The sugar beet will thrive in any soil adapted to the cultivation of Irish potatoes, and this crop is one of the most important agricultural products of Wisconsin, but notwithstanding these favorable conditions the sugar factories have always experienced some difficulty in obtaining a sufficient supply of beets.

*Labor requirements.*—The best method of cultivation requires a deep plowing in the fall, following the turn plow with a subsoil plow, turning up 2 or 3 inches of new soil. Deep plowing is essential to the successful culture of the beet in order that the taproot may penetrate a sufficient distance for the beet to develop below the surface of the ground, as it is this part of the beet that is richest in saccharine liquor. Where the beet spreads out above the surface in turnip shape it has little value for commercial purposes. When the ground is not plowed in the fall it should be plowed deeply in the early spring. Manure, if used, should be applied to the preceding crop, or if commercial fertilizer is used it should be thoroughly incorporated in the soil. After plowing, the soil should be harrowed and rolled until it is compact and level. It is then laid off in rows 18 to 20 inches apart and the seed covered with 1 or 2 inches of soil, using about 20 pounds of seed to the acre, though if all grow this is more than is necessary. Cultivation with horse and hand hoe may be commenced as soon as the beets are large enough to mark the row. Thinning should be commenced when the beets show four leaves. The first thinning is called "bunching," and is done by taking a hoe and striking out portions the width of the hoe blade, leaving 2 or 3 inches of small plants. At the next thinning plants are

reduced to one in a place, and all weeds removed by hand or with a hoe. When the grower has finished the second cultivation the beets are given a second hoeing, killing all weeds to a distance of 4 inches on each side of the row and removing any double plants overlooked in the thinning. A third hoeing is sometimes necessary, or if the weeds have grown too large they are removed by hand. Harvesting begins the latter part of September or first of October. The roots are first loosened with a plow and the beets are then pulled up by hand and thrown into piles of about 1,000 pounds each. They are next topped, by cutting off the tops squarely just below where the lowest leaf has grown, and are then ready to be hauled to the factory.

Among other difficulties confronting the sugar manufacturer has been the problem of obtaining a sufficient quantity of beets to keep the factory in operation. The regular season for the manufacture of sugar commences about October 1 and continues three months, but owing to the scarcity of beets some of the factories have never been able to operate longer than six weeks. The farmers have displayed much hesitancy in adopting the beet as a regular crop. Their attitude may be explained in part by the fact that the value of the crop does not depend solely on the tonnage per acre, but to command a market the beet must average a certain per cent in saccharine juices which requires a careful selection of seed and thorough and scientific preparation of the soil in order that the beet may develop properly. The labor required for the cultivation of the crop is excessive when compared with the labor involved in growing potatoes, corn, and other cereals to which the farmer has been accustomed. The work of harvesting the beets in the fall also makes a heavy demand on the farmer's time at the period when his labor is required in turning the land for his winter crop of grain. Proceeds from the first one or two crops of beets are frequently no more than sufficient to pay the cost of production. After mastering the proper method of cultivation many of the farmers find it a profitable crop. The yield varies greatly, but the average production per acre over the entire State at the present time will hardly exceed 10 tons. The yield may increase with increased experience by the farmer in sugar-beet culture. The price paid for beets is for the net weight of the trimmed and washed beets as delivered at the factory. In 1909 the price varied from \$4.50 to \$5 per ton.

#### THE LABOR SUPPLY.

To secure a larger production of beets the sugar manufacturing companies have adopted the practice of bringing in immigrant labor. This labor is supplied the beet grower under a tripartite contract between the grower, the laborer, and the sugar company. The immigrant binds himself for a stipulated consideration per acre to perform the hand labor necessary for the cultivation of a certain number of acres of beets to be planted by the grower, all the cultivating, plowing out, and loading being done by the grower. The sugar company adjusts all disputes that may arise over the contract between the grower and hand laborer, and retains the amount due the laborer from the proceeds of the crop, when requested in writing to do so. The following is a form of the contract in general use over the State:



## CONTRACT FOR HAND LABOR FOR SEASON OF 1909.

This agreement, made and entered into this 10th day of April, A. D. 1909, by and between John Brown, of Madison, Wis. (hereinafter called the grower), and Michael Rodosky and Ernest Saboski, of Sheboygan, Wis. (hereinafter called the contractor)—

Witnesseth, that each of the said parties, in consideration of the promises herein contained, hereby agrees to and with each other as follows: The contractor binds himself to furnish sufficient and competent labor to the satisfaction and approval of the United Sugar Company for the working, and to work twenty acres of sugar beets, more or less, according to a correct measurement, planted, or to be planted, for the season of 1909, in accordance with the rules and regulations printed on the back hereof, which are made a part of this contract.

The contractor further agrees to receive as full pay for said work, and the grower hereby agrees to pay for said work, the sum of twenty (\$20) dollars per acre, payment to be made by the grower to the contractor as follows:

\$6 per acre when beets are properly bunched and thinned.

\$3 per acre when second hoeing is completed.

\$2 per acre on October 15th.

\$9 per acre when harvesting is completed.

In addition to the above the grower agrees to pay the Menominee River Sugar Company one (\$1) dollar per acre toward the expense for transportation and securing said labor; this amount to be deducted from the first moneys due the grower from the sugar company upon the delivery of beets.

The grower further agrees to furnish a suitable house for the contractor to live in until the harvesting is completed, and also agrees to furnish firewood. The grower further agrees to furnish transportation from railroad station to and from house provided for laborer to live in.

It is expressly agreed that in case the contractor fails to perform the work at the proper time and in the manner as herein agreed, the grower shall have the right to perform such work and deduct the cost of doing so and also the cost of railroad transportation from the amount due said contractor. It is further agreed that in case the grower fails to secure a satisfactory stand of beets that this contract shall be considered void, and that if at any time during the growing of said crop of beets its condition shall be such that it will not justify the continuance of the work on the crop, this agreement shall be considered null and void as to the unfulfilled portion of it, said contractor to receive pay only for what he has done.

In case a dispute as to the advisability of continuing the work on the crop, or as to the measurement of the field, said dispute shall be decided by the Menominee River Sugar Company or its field representative having authority to so decide.

This contract and its fulfillment shall be and is the first lien on said beet crop, and the Menominee River Sugar Company, if requested in writing by the contractor, shall hold out of the proceeds of any beets delivered by the said grower to said company any sum remaining unpaid to the contractor, under this contract, until adjustment of account.

In witness whereof the parties hereto have subscribed their names the day and year first above written.

MICHAEL RODOSKY (33),

ERNEST SABOSKI (36),

*Contractors.*

JOHN BROWN, *Grower.*

The owner of the land is designated in this contract as the grower, and the contractor represents the hand laborer, who performs all the labor necessary to be done by hand in the cultivation of the beet.

Immigrant labor is employed to some extent in the production of beets consumed in each of the factories in Wisconsin, though the greater proportion of the crop is usually supplied by independent growers. It was estimated at one factory that 50 per cent of their beets were grown under the hand-labor contracts. Over the entire State, including the factory at Menominee, Mich., the quantity of

sugar beets grown under these contracts will approximate 40 per cent of the total production.

*Source and number employed.*—Definite figures of the number of immigrants employed in the industry are not available, but it can be placed approximately at 1,300. The races employed are Belgian, Bohemian, German, Japanese, and Russian, with a small sprinkling of Poles and Magyars. The Belgians, Russians, Germans, and Bohemians comprise probably 90 per cent of the entire number. The laborers brought in by the sugar companies are for the greatest part single men, with the exception of the German and Bohemian races. Probably 50 per cent of these are made up of family groups. Occasionally a family is encountered among the Belgians and Russians, but by far the larger number are single men and alternate between the beet fields and the factories and public works in the cities of the Middle West. Moline and Kewanee, Ill., are the localities from which the majority of the Belgians are obtained. Large numbers of this race are employed in these cities in plow factories and as unskilled laborers at other occupations. Germans and Bohemians are procured from the breweries and other industries of St. Louis and Cincinnati. Russians are also obtained from these cities. Akron, Ohio, and Sheboygan, Wis., are other localities from which labor is recruited.

Part of this labor is obtained through negotiations carried on by the factory directly with the immigrants. A short time prior to the opening of the season in the spring an agent of the factory visits the locality where the laborers are available and contracts with some of the more intelligent immigrants to work in the beet fields, and these induce others to engage in the same work. Others are obtained through correspondence. By keeping in touch with employment agencies in the large industrial centers of the Middle West the sugar companies usually experience no great difficulty in obtaining sufficient laborers for such acreage of beets as the farmers can be induced to plant. The Japanese, which are employed at only one factory, were brought from Colorado when this factory first began to operate, in 1905. The manager of the factory had employed Japanese in the beet fields of Colorado, and because of the high degree of satisfaction experienced with this race brought 25 or 30 to the Wisconsin fields, where they have remained permanently, working as ice cutters or section hands on the railroad when not engaged in beet culture. At this factory are also employed 100 Belgians, obtained from factories at Moline and Kewanee, Ill.

The practice of the various companies varies to some extent regarding the payment of transportation for the laborers. One company follows the practice of allowing transportation from Chicago to the beet field, and from the field back to Chicago if the laborer elects to return at the end of the season. Another company pays transportation the entire distance necessary for the laborer to travel to reach the beet field from the place where last employed, but allows nothing for his return. In the contract herein set out it is stipulated that the grower shall pay the sugar company \$1 per acre toward the expense of transportation and securing the labor. Estimating that each laborer will tend 10 acres it appears that this expense is borne principally by the beet grower.

## CONDITIONS OF LABOR.

The statements made by officers of the several sugar companies vary somewhat in estimating the number of acres usually tended by an adult laborer. In one locality where Belgians, Germans, and Russians were employed it was estimated that each adult cultivated 11 or 12 acres. At another factory employing Germans, Bohemians, and Russians, the estimate was 8 or 9 acres. A general average of quantity of land tended by each adult over the entire State will probably not exceed 10 acres. The Japanese, who were said to display the most untiring energy, averaged only 10 acres, and to tend this quantity of beets it was necessary for them to utilize every moment of daylight. It is stated that the Japanese work from 3 o'clock in the morning until 11 in the evening during the beet season, leaving only four hours for sleep, but after the crop is laid by an entire week is devoted almost exclusively to sleep. The Belgians also display great industry in the beet field, and the Russians are excellent workers. The Germans and Bohemians, while not lacking in industry, do not seem to work as strenuously as the Japanese and Belgians. It is among the Germans and Bohemians, however, that the greater proportion of families are found, and no definite limit can be placed for the acreage tended by a family group, as the labor is shared by every member of the family with the exception of the children under 10 or 11 years of age.

Having ascertained the average acreage and the price per acre, the earnings of an adult laborer during the season are easily calculated. The average gross income of the laborer is uniformly placed at \$200. For this compensation he has worked during the months of May, June, and July, bunching, thinning, and hoeing the beet, and has been engaged for five or six weeks, commencing the latter part of September or first of October, in the labor incident to harvesting the crop. After the crop has been laid by, and before the harvesting season begins, there is an interval of five or six weeks in which the laborer is free to follow other occupations. During this period some return to the cities, but usually they remain near the beet field until the crop is harvested. Employment can be obtained from the neighboring farmers and other occupations are available. A small proportion of the immigrants remain permanently in the locality of the beet fields. Employment can usually be obtained as section hands on the railroad, or as ice cutters, the earnings at these occupations varying from \$1.25 to \$1.50 per day. Farm laborers are in constant demand in most parts of the State, and are paid from \$20 to \$30 per month, with board and lodging.

## STANDARD OF LIVING.

The dwellings furnished by the beet grower are usually substantial frame structures in which the immigrant can live in comparative comfort, and among the Germans and Bohemians there is a great deal of cheerful and respectable family life. Receiving transportation to the beet field and house rent and firewood free during the beet season, it is possible for the laborers to save a large proportion of their earnings. Their surroundings all contribute to inexpensive living, and, with characteristic thrift, many of the Germans

and Bohemians have invested their savings in real estate and are becoming independent. Unimproved land can be bought at \$10 to \$25 an acre and improved land at \$40 and upward, and there are not a few families among these races who came to the State almost destitute of resources and now own small farms and are on the road to prosperity. This is also true to a less extent of the Russians and Belgians, though there are very few families among these races. The greater proportion are single men. These laborers unite in groups of from two to six men and occupy one or two rooms, doing their own cooking and such washing as may be deemed necessary. The ordinary rules of cleanliness and sanitation are not very scrupulously observed. The household furniture is, of course, limited to a few of the most essential articles, and the standards of food and clothing are correspondingly low. In point of thrift and intelligence the Belgian seems to rank lowest of all the races represented in this industry.

The Japanese were spoken of in terms of unstinted praise, and, according to the manager of the factory which procured these laborers, it would be difficult to obtain more desirable immigrants. Their standards of living are said to compare favorably, in many respects, with those of skilled American laborers. In general character they rank much higher than the Belgians and Russians. As laborers they are efficient, energetic, sober, and tractable, and can be relied on not to waste their employer's time when working by the day, while as day laborers the Belgians will loaf on the job if not given constant supervision. The Japanese are appreciative of good treatment, but are intolerant of imposition or deceit. They are cleanly in personal habits and wear a good quality of ready-made clothing except when at work, when they put on the established garb of the farm laborer—overalls and shirt. Their food is of good quality, though it includes large quantities of rice. They are unusually thrifty, and send their savings to a Japanese specie bank in California, which issues receipts written in the Japanese language. The Japanese are manifesting a strong tendency to engage in agricultural pursuits on their own account, and it is the ruling ambition of a great many of them to become independent farmers. Few have yet purchased land, but there are a number who have rented small tracts and are raising sugar beets, cucumbers, and other produce. Japanese are regarded at this factory as one of the most desirable class of immigrants ever admitted to the United States, and a desire was expressed for 100 additional laborers of this race.

## CHAPTER X.

### NORTHERN OHIO, BELGIAN SUGAR-BEET LABORERS.

#### INTRODUCTION.

*Location.*—Sugar-beet culture in Ohio is confined to parts of the following counties: Fulton, Lucas, Wood, Ottawa, Sandusky, Hancock, Henry, Paulding, Defiance, and Williams. The —— Sugar Company, with plants at Fremont, Ohio, and Blissfield, Mich., buys practically all the beets grown in the State. One other company, located in Indiana, purchased few beets grown in this territory, but compared with the first named in number of laborers employed and beets produced it is not important.

*Occupation and races.*—The company controls the acreage and the production of beets and the wages and conditions of the labor employed. These are determined at the beginning of each season, and contracts made between the company and grower by which the grower agrees to plant a specified number of acres of beets and the company agrees to furnish labor sufficient to block and thin, hoe once, and pull and top the beets. A contract is likewise entered into by the laborers and grower, one to perform the labor properly and the other to pay for the work at a stipulated rate.

About 350 men were brought into the area above mentioned during the past season (1909) to work in the beet fields. All were Belgians, and were secured by an agent of the sugar company from Detroit and neighboring communities in Michigan. The entire labor force were either single men or married men who came without their families, principally the former. When not engaged in the beet fields they work in various industries in and about Detroit. Many work in lumber camps during the winter. The agent of the company goes to some of the Belgians who are in business in Detroit, usually saloon keepers, boarding-house keepers, and small shopkeepers, and through them gets in touch with a number of laborers, who generally cooperate with him to secure others. Many of the men return to the beet fields year after year, and in many instances bring their friends.

After experimenting with several races this company has found the Belgians more adaptable and generally better suited to the work than any other race. In past years as many as four or five races have been employed during the season, but for two years an effort has been made to employ Belgians only. In 1908 a few Bulgarians and Poles were employed, but during the past season (1909) only Belgians were brought in. As previously stated, many of these men have been coming to the locality for several years to work in the beet fields, and are very efficient laborers. The new men learn the work readily, and seem to be more satisfactory and to labor more efficiently than men of other races.

## THE INDUSTRY.

One of the most important features in the growing of sugar beets is the preparation of the soil for planting. This is done by plowing the land, usually in the fall, and just before planting, harrowing the soil until it is thoroughly pulverized and killing the weeds or grass which may have come up. After the soil has been thoroughly prepared, the planting is done with a drill furnished by the company, which puts in four rows at a time. This implement, a cultivator devised for cultivating beets, and a plow for loosening the soil around them to make the pulling easier, is rented to the farmer for 55 cents per acre.

Planting usually begins in April and lasts a month or six weeks. The company fixes the time each grower shall plant, so distributing the order of planting over the four to six weeks' planting period that the beets in a given community will not all be ready for the hand laborers at the same time. Successive planting permits the labor force to be handled to better advantage; it not only furnishes steady employment to the laborers, but prevents damage to the crop because of failure to cultivate at the proper time. The grower attends to all preparation of the soil, planting, and cultivation, other than that done by hand. The beet seed are drilled in rather thickly, and very soon after they come up the plants have to be thinned; this is done by the Belgian laborers. With a hoe they block the beets into hills and pull out all except the largest and strongest plant. For this operation \$6 per acre is paid—\$4 on completion of the blocking and thinning and \$2 later. After the thinning the grower cultivates the beets with a plow; a few weeks later they are hoed by the labor gang and all weeds and small plants are removed. The grower follows this hoeing with the cultivator, and generally no more hand labor is necessary, unless the season is very rainy, when an additional hoeing is sometimes given or the weeds are pulled by hand. The contract between the grower and laborer calls for blocking and thinning and one hoeing only, and if another hoeing is necessary the farmer must either do it himself or pay extra to have the laborers do it. After the hoeing the farmer pays the laborers \$5 per acre, which covers the \$4 due for this work and the \$1 due on the blocking and thinning.<sup>a</sup> When the cultivating season is over, the men usually return whence they came. The majority of them go back to Detroit, where some find employment for six or eight weeks which elapse between the cultivating season and the beet pulling or harvest. Practically none of the men stay in the field during this period. Pulling and topping usually begins in September and lasts about six weeks. Practically all of the men employed during the growing season return for this work; in fact, they are under contract to pull and top the beets. When the pulling and topping is completed the men are paid \$9 per acre—\$8 for the work of pulling and topping and \$1 due for hoeing.

Before pulling the beets are loosened or "started" by a specially devised plow, which straddles the row and by running a pointed share underground on both sides of the beet row loosens the soil

<sup>a</sup> See pp. 573 to 575 for copy of the contracts used.

and lifts the beets slightly to make pulling easy. This implement, as before stated, is furnished by the sugar company. The laborers follow this plow and, using both hands, pull the beets, striking them together after pulling to remove the soil. When the beets are pulled and piled in rows, tops all one way, they are ready for topping. To "top" a beet the laborer takes a knife in one hand and grasps the beet tops in the other, severing the beet from the top just below the lowest leaf. Topping is the last work performed by the immigrant laborer, all the marketing being done by the farmer. The price paid for the beets is usually determined in the spring and is a matter of contract between the grower and the company; for 1909 the contract price was \$5 per ton for all beets delivered in good condition at the shipping point nearest to the grower. The time of delivery is determined by the sugar company. When the grower so desires, the sugar company plants the beets and deducts for this service \$2.75 per acre from the first delivery of beets at the factory. The company always furnishes the seed, for which it charges the farmer 10 cents a pound. If the farmer desires, the sugar company advances money to pay the laborers; or if for any reason the grower can not or will not pay the laborers their wages, the sugar company pays them and deducts the amount from the proceeds of the farmer's beets.

#### THE LABOR SUPPLY.

When sugar-beet culture first began in northern Ohio, all the work was done by the farmers themselves, supplemented by local gangs of laborers, men, women, and children from the community and neighboring towns, collected by the agents of the sugar company. The rapid extension of the beet area in the past few years has made it impossible to secure sufficient laborers in the localities where the beets are grown or to keep the gangs intact through the season. The cultivation of sugar beets requires so much more hand labor than ordinary farm crops grown in northern Ohio and the margin of profit to the grower is usually so small that few farmers cared to undertake beet culture unless a labor supply was assured. To obtain a sufficient acreage the sugar company was obliged to provide laborers. Local laborers are still used to some extent in localities where the acreage is small. Immigrant labor is more easily available, however, and can be handled to better advantage. The immigrants first employed were those races which were most easily secured. Germans were brought in from the far western fields in large numbers about three or four years ago, but they were found to be less satisfactory than the Belgians, the best laborers yet tried.

#### WAGES AND CONDITIONS OF LABOR.

After sufficient laborers have been secured by the sugar company, they are collected at Toledo and from there sent where they are needed. The men are divided into gangs of two to seven men, but the normal size for a gang is five. They are usually grouped so that close personal friends or relatives are together; in fact, the constitution of each group is left very largely to the men themselves. These gangs are distributed to the different localities, the number of gangs

depending very largely upon the acreage of beets. Each gang chooses one of the members for foreman of the gang. The gang lives and works together, and while the foreman really has no executive authority and receives no additional compensation, he is usually the man who takes orders from the grower and imparts them to his fellow-workmen; moreover, he is head of the boarding group—the supplies and provisions are usually charged to his account at local stores and at the final reckoning the laborers determine among themselves the share each shall pay. Gang labor begins about the 1st of May. With the bunching and thinning and hoeing the gangs are usually engaged through May, June, and July, and after a vacation they return about the middle of September for the pulling and topping, which lasts until about the end of October. The work is all piecework and the earnings depend very largely upon the skill of the laborer and the regularity with which he works. The Belgians are preferred to other laborers chiefly because of their industry. They go to work very early in the morning and work as long as they can see in the evening, putting in at least eleven or twelve hours a day. In hoeing, when the fields are comparatively clean, they sometimes earn \$3 to \$4 a day. Some of the more experienced and highly skilled men who have been engaged in this work for several years earn as much as \$350 or more a season, but the average is between \$200 and \$300.

#### STANDARD OF LIVING.

The Belgians have been found to be very honest. They keep their agreements to the letter and there is no disagreement when they fully understand the contract; the majority of them are able to read and write at least their own language, and some can both read and write English—most of them can speak English well enough to make themselves understood. They are generally orderly and live entirely by themselves. They are not abstainers, but their use of liquor has never been sufficient to cause a decrease in their efficiency.

The standard of living, as would be expected where gangs entirely composed of men are living temporarily in more or less isolated communities, is not high. The Belgians exercise little care with regard to cleanliness; the men are not willing to take much time from their work to wash their clothing, and changes of garments are rather infrequent, considering the nature of their work. Their food is cheap and simple but abundant, principally bread, meats, potatoes, and other vegetables. Many of these items they are able to procure from the farmers at very reasonable prices. Arrangements are usually made for each gang to trade at some local store, the provisions being charged to the account of the foreman, who in turn settles with the men at the end of the season. If the men do not settle their own accounts, the company or farmer usually compels a settlement before the gang leaves the community. From \$6 to \$12 per month per man is the usual cost of living, which includes food and light only, the other items being furnished either by the company or farmer. The men in each gang are housed in a shanty 16 feet long by 7 feet wide and 7 feet high, with a door at each end and two windows on each side. This shanty is built on ordinary wagon wheels so as to be readily moved. One end is equipped with a stove and a table, for



cooking and eating, while the other is fitted up with bunks for sleeping. An average of five men live in each of these shanties. When a gang has finished the fields of one grower, the farmer hitches his team to the wagon and readily moves them to the next farm. The portable shanty has been in use only one season, and a sufficient number have not yet been built to house all the laborers. The company previously used a stationary shanty which could be easily taken down and moved, but at best considerable time was required to move it. This house is still used to some extent. The shanties of every kind are furnished by the sugar company, and with each house there is a stove, table, knives, forks, dishes, and cooking utensils, as well as bedding—one pair of blankets and a comfort for each man. There is little cold weather during the period of employment and the houses furnished are sufficient for their needs.

The Belgian laborers are men who do not care particularly for regular employment, preferring to drift about from place to place and from one occupation to another. All those employed in this field came from the southern peninsula of Michigan. They are collected at Detroit, but many of them when not engaged in the beet fields are employed in lumber camps in different parts of southern Michigan. Those who live in Detroit work as common laborers in the industries of that city or in other forms of unskilled labor, construction work, etc. A very large percentage come back to the beet fields from year to year and follow practically the same itinerary when not working in the beet fields. Many of these men do not work at all between the season when they are through cultivating and time for return to the beet harvest.

#### CONTRACT NO. 1.

Agreement between the farmer or beet grower and the sugar company concerning raising, growing, and delivery of sugar beets:

*X. Y. Z. Sugar Company, Ohio.*

Dated \_\_\_\_\_, 190—. Name \_\_\_\_\_ R. F. D.—P. O. address, \_\_\_\_\_. Loading station \_\_\_\_\_.

The above must be filled in carefully by agent taking contract.

Memorandum of agreement concerning raising and delivery of sugar beets for campaign of 1909.

The undersigned, farmer, hereby agrees to plant, cultivate, harvest, and deliver on cars, during the year commencing with the spring of 1909, at \_\_\_\_\_ for X. Y. Z. Sugar Company \_\_\_\_\_ acres of sugar beets, on the following-described lands, to wit, \_\_\_\_\_, in section \_\_\_\_\_, township of \_\_\_\_\_, in the county of \_\_\_\_\_, State of \_\_\_\_\_.

Not less than 15 pounds of seed per acre shall be planted, which shall be furnished by X. Y. Z. Sugar Company at ten (10) cents per pound, and the cost of same, if not sooner paid, is to be deducted from the first payment made for beets delivered.

Said beets are to be properly grown, topped, and delivered in accord with the instructions of said sugar company or its authorized agents, and subject to the usual deduction at the time of delivery for tare, leaves, improper topping, or damaged beets.

The time and method of preparing the ground, planting the seed, thinning, weeding, cultivating, harvesting, and delivering said beets shall be in accordance with the instructions to be given by the sugar company or its authorized agents.

Said beets shall be harvested and delivered by the grower to the company at such times and in such quantities as may be directed by the company, allowing each grower his pro rata amount. The company will not be liable to receive or pay for beets improperly topped or which are rotten or otherwise unfit or undesirable for making sugar.

The beets will be paid for at the rate of five dollars (\$5) per ton.

Payment for beets to be made on the 15th day of each month following the calendar month of delivery.

All beets grown and delivered under this contract shall be weighed and tared at \_\_\_\_\_.

Where it becomes desirable on the part of either party for the sugar company to plant the seed, the same shall be done at a charge of two dollars and seventy-five cents (\$2.75) per acre for said seed and planting, which amount, if not sooner paid, shall be paid by the first party out of the first beets grown and delivered as already provided.

If the grower neglect or refuse to perform as agreed, the company may perform for him and deduct the expense from the payments for beets delivered.

No agent of the company has any authority to change or alter the conditions of this contract.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
 P. O. address, \_\_\_\_\_, R. F. D., —.  
 X. Y. Z. SUGAR COMPANY,  
 By \_\_\_\_\_

— District.

#### CONTRACT NO. 2.

An agreement between the beet grower, or party of the first part, and the sugar company, or party of the second part, whereby the sugar company agrees to provide labor for cultivating the grower's beets:

*X. Y. Z. Sugar Company, Ohio.*

\_\_\_\_\_, OHIO, \_\_\_\_\_, 190—.

This agreement between \_\_\_\_\_, of \_\_\_\_\_, and X. Y. Z. Sugar Company, of \_\_\_\_\_, Ohio, witnesseth: That whereas the party of the first part has signed a contract with the party of the second part, as hereto attached, it is further agreed that the party of the second part will furnish labor for blocking and thinning, one hoeing, pulling and topping to the party of the first part. Said labor to be paid by party of the first part to the laborer or laborers in accordance with the wage scale or contract price obtained for the party of the first part, not to exceed eighteen dollars (\$18) per acre.

The party of the second part reserves the right to refuse to furnish labor on the within contract, if the party of the first part defaults in payment for said labor, or fails to perform his part of the contract in the proper fitting of his soil and cultivation of the crop.

This agreement is not accepted by party of the second part until countersigned by the manager of X. Y. Z. Sugar Company.

Party of the first part, \_\_\_\_\_.  
 Party of the second part, X. Y. Z. SUGAR COMPANY,  
 By \_\_\_\_\_, *Agt.*  
 (Countersigned) X. Y. Z. SUGAR COMPANY,  
 By \_\_\_\_\_, *Local Mgr.*

#### CONTRACT NO. 3.

An agreement between the laborer, or party of the first part, and the beet grower, or party of the second part, whereby the laborers agree to work under the direction of the grower for specified wages, payable at specified times:

*X. Y. Z. Sugar Company, Ohio and Michigan.*

This agreement, made this \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_, 190—, by and between \_\_\_\_\_, contractor, party of the first and \_\_\_\_\_, party of the second part, beet grower for X. Y. Z. Sugar Company, witnesseth as follows: The party of

the first part hereby agrees with the party of the second part that \_\_\_\_\_ will properly bunch, thin, hoe once, top and pile, cover with all leaves \_\_\_\_\_ acres of sugar beets grown by the party of the second part.

All such work shall be done according to instructions of and to the satisfaction of the party of the second part or assigns, and in consideration of the above work being properly done, party of the second part agrees to pay party of the first part as follows:

\$6 per acre for bunching and thinning.

\$4 per acre for hoeing.

\$8 per acre for harvesting.

Payments to be made as follows:

\$4 per acre after bunching and thinning is completed.

\$5 per acre after hoeing is completed.

\$9 per acre after harvesting is completed.

If, after the bunching and thinning is completed, the party of the second part desires the hoeing, he agrees to pay \$1 per acre more for the bunching and thinning.

Party of the second part authorizes X. Y. Z. Sugar Company to deduct any nonpayments for this labor from the proceeds of the beets.

The land to be measured, and any difference settled by the field representative of the company.

The party of the second part agrees to keep the beets properly cultivated.

This contract shall be binding upon both parties hereto, their representatives or assigns.

Party of the first part \_\_\_\_\_.

Party of the second part \_\_\_\_\_.



## LIST OF TEXT TABLES.

### PART III.—HEBREWS IN AGRICULTURE.

	Page.
Table 1.—Hebrew farmers and farms occupied by Hebrews.....	4
Table 2.—Hebrew farmers in certain New England settlements.....	12
Table 3.—First purchase of land, condition, size of farm, and price paid, Hebrew settlers, Chesterfield and Colchester, Conn.....	17
Table 4.—Average quantity and value per farm of crops raised, Hebrew farmers, Chesterfield and Colchester, Conn.....	23
Table 5.—Classification of farms by values of specified farm products produced and sold, Hebrew farmers, Chesterfield and Colchester, Conn.....	23
Table 6.—Net value of property now owned by 22 Hebrew farmers, Chesterfield and Colchester, Conn.....	28
Table 7.—Percentage of Hebrew taxpayers with specified amounts of taxable property, Connecticut, 1908.....	28
Table 8.—Value of property brought to locality, net value of property now owned, and number of years since first lease or purchase.....	29
Table 9.—Ability to speak English of persons 6 years of age or over, by sex and general nativity, and race of individual, 24 typical Hebrew farm families, Chesterfield and Colchester, Conn.....	32
Table 10.—Literacy of persons 10 years of age or over, by sex and general nativity, and race of individual, 24 typical Hebrew families, Chesterfield and Colchester, Conn.....	32
Table 11.—Economic history and present financial condition of certain typical Hebrew families, Chesterfield, Conn.....	34-37
Table 12.—Economic history and present financial condition of certain typical Hebrew families, Colchester, Conn.....	38-41
Table 13.—Economic history and present financial condition of certain typical families, Ellington, Conn.....	56-59
Table 14.—Number and location of Hebrew farmers in Sullivan and Ulster counties, N. Y.....	69
Table 15.—First purchase of land, condition, size of farms, and price paid, 24 Hebrew families, Sullivan and Ulster counties, N. Y.....	72
Table 16.—Land and improvements now owned, condition of land, size of farms, and average value, 24 typical Hebrew farms, Sullivan and Ulster counties, N. Y.....	79
Table 17.—Number of heads of families owning personal and real property of specified net value, 24 typical Hebrew farms, Sullivan and Ulster counties, N. Y.....	79
Table 18.—Economic history and present financial condition of certain typical Hebrew families, Sullivan and Ulster counties, N. Y.....	86, 87
Table 19.—Number and location of Hebrew families in southern New Jersey colonies.....	89
Table 20.—Condition, size of farms, and price paid, 42 typical Hebrew farms in southern New Jersey.....	101
Table 21.—Average quantity and value per farm of crops raised, typical Hebrew farmers, southern New Jersey.....	104
Table 22.—Farm expenditures, 42 typical Hebrew farms, southern New Jersey.....	109
Table 23.—Range of property assessments, 45 Hebrew farmers, southern New Jersey, 1908.....	110
Table 24.—Land and improvements now owned, condition of land, size of farms, and average value, 42 typical Hebrew farms, southern New Jersey.....	110
Table 25.—Economic history and present financial condition of certain typical Hebrew families, southern New Jersey.....	120-123
Table 26.—Economic history and present financial condition of certain typical Hebrew families, Woodbine, N. J.....	139, 140

## PART IV.—POLES IN AGRICULTURE.

	Page.
Table 1.—White male breadwinners in the United States and certain specified States, having one or both parents born in Poland, by general occupations, 1900.....	152
Table 2.—Geographical distribution of male breadwinners, farmers, and agricultural laborers, of Polish parentage, by States specified, 1900.....	153
Table 3.—Polish rural settlements visited by agents of the Commission.....	156
Table 4.—Estimated number of families of Polish origin in Portage County, Wis., in 1907, by parishes.....	170
Table 5.—Number of heads of families bringing to locality property of specified value, 47 typical Polish farms, Portage County, Wis.....	177
Table 6.—First purchase of land, condition, size of farms, and price paid, 47 typical Polish farms, Portage County, Wis.....	177
Table 7.—Land and improvements now owned; condition of land, size of farms, and average value, 47 typical Polish farms, Portage County, Wis.....	178
Table 8.—Net value of all property now owned, 47 typical Polish families, Portage County, Wis.....	179
Table 9.—Size of farms owned by Polish people and value of land and improvements per farm, Portage County, Wis.....	179
Table 10.—Value of property brought to locality, net value of property now owned and number of years since first lease or purchase, 47 typical Polish farmers, Portage County, Wis.....	182
Table 11.—Acreage and production of specified crops, Portage County, Wis..	182
Table 12.—Average quantity and value per farm of crops raised, 47 typical Polish farms, Portage County, Wis.....	186
Table 13.—Classification of farms, by values of specified farm products produced and sold, 47 typical Polish farms, Portage County, Wis.....	187
Table 14.—Economic history and present financial conditions of certain typical Polish families, Portage County, Wis.....	202-205
Table 15.—Economic history and present financial conditions of certain typical Polish-American families, Portage County, Wis.....	206-209
Table 16.—Acreage of Polish farms, near Independence, Wis., 1877.....	214
Table 17.—Acreage of Polish farms, near Independence, Wis., 1891.....	215
Table 18.—Acreage of 69 typical Polish farms, Burnside, Wis.....	216
Table 19.—Production of wheat, oats, corn, and hay, Trempealeau County, Wis., in years specified.....	217
Table 20.—Average quantity of crops raised in 1908 and growing in 1909, typical Polish farms, Independence, Wis.....	218
Table 21.—Range of assessments, Independence, Trempealeau County, Wis..	222
Table 22.—Economic history and present financial conditions of certain typical Polish and Polish-American families, Independence, Wis.....	230-233
Table 23.—Number and distribution of Polish and Polish-American families, Washington, Jefferson, and Perry Counties, Ill.....	235
Table 24.—First purchase of land, condition, size of farms, and price paid, 43 typical Polish farms, southern Illinois.....	240
Table 25.—Average quantity and value per farm of crops raised and sold, 43 typical Polish farms, southern Illinois.....	243
Table 26.—Classification of live stock, 43 typical Polish farms, southern Illinois.	243
Table 27.—Net value of all personal and real property now owned, 43 typical Polish families, southern Illinois.....	246
Table 28.—Economic history and present financial condition of certain typical Polish families, Radom, Ill.....	254-257
Table 29.—Estimated number and distribution of Polish and Polish-American families in specified localities, northern Indiana.....	260
Table 30.—First purchase of land, condition, size of farms, and price paid, 30 typical Polish farms, northern Indiana.....	271
Table 31.—Land and improvements now owned; condition of land, size of farms, and average value, 30 typical Polish farms, northern Indiana.....	273
Table 32.—Net value of all personal and real property now owned, 30 typical Polish families, northern Indiana.....	274
Table 33.—Average quantity and value, per farm, of crops raised, 30 typical Polish farms, northern Indiana.....	274
Table 34.—Classification of live stock, 30 typical Polish farmers, northern Indiana.....	275

	Page.
Table 35.—Economic history and present financial condition of certain typical Polish families, New Carlisle, Otis, and Rolling Prairie, Ind.....	282-285
Table 36.—Number of persons for whom detailed information was secured, by sex and general nativity and race of individual, Sunderland, Mass.....	294
Table 37.—General financial summary, Lithuanian, Polish, and Slovak farmers, Sunderland, Mass.....	295
Table 38.—Movement of population, Sunderland, Dana, Shutesbury, and Leverett, Mass., 1860 to 1905.....	296
Table 39.—Amount and value of the onion and tobacco crops, Sunderland, Mass., in state census years 1875 to 1905.....	300
Table 40.—Average quantity and value per farm of crops raised and sold, Lithuanian, Polish, and Slovak farmers, Sunderland, Mass.....	301
Table 41.—Classification of farms, by value of specified farm products produced and sold, Lithuanian, Polish, and Slovak farmers, Sunderland, Mass.....	302
Table 42.—Number of heads of families bringing to locality property of specified value, Lithuanian, Polish, and Slovak farmers, Sunderland, Mass.....	307
Table 43.—Assessed value of property owned by certain Lithuanian, Polish, and Slovak farmers, Sunderland, Mass.....	307
Table 44.—Net value of all personal and real property now owned, 58 Lithuanian, Polish, and Slovak farmers, Sunderland, Mass.....	308
Table 45.—Value of property brought to locality, net value of property now owned, and number of years since first lease or purchase, 58 Lithuanian, Polish, and Slovak farmers, Sunderland, Mass.....	309
Table 46.—First purchase of land, condition, size of farms, and price paid, 51 Lithuanian, Polish, and Slovak farmers, Sunderland, Mass.....	310
Table 47.—Land and improvements now owned; condition of land, size of farms, and average value, 51 Lithuanian, Polish, and Slovak farmers, Sunderland, Mass.....	310
Table 48.—Classification of live stock, Lithuanian, Polish, and Slovak farms, Sunderland, Mass.....	311
Table 49.—Births and deaths in the native American population, and the population of foreign origin, Sunderland, Mass., 1892 to 1909, inclusive.....	313
Table 50.—American and immigrant children in Sunderland, Mass., schools, by grades, 1908-9.....	315
Table 51.—Ages of American and immigrant children in school, Sunderland, Mass., 1908-9.....	316
Table 52.—Number of native-born Americans and immigrants tried for various crimes and offenses, Sunderland, Mass., 1905 to 1909, inclusive.....	318, 319
Table 53.—Number of marriages among native Americans and immigrants, Sunderland, Mass., by years, 1891 to 1909.....	320
Table 54.—Economic history and present financial condition of certain typical Lithuanian families, Sunderland, Mass.....	322-325
Table 55.—Economic history and present financial condition of certain typical Polish families, Sunderland, Mass.....	328-331
Table 56.—Economic history and present financial condition of certain typical Slovak families, Sunderland, Mass.....	334, 335
Table 57.—Land and improvements now owned, condition of land, size, and average value of farms, typical Polish farmers, Sobieski and Pulaski, Wis....	344
Table 58.—First purchase of land, condition, size of farms, and price paid, typical Polish farmers, Sobieski and Pulaski, Wis.....	346
Table 59.—Classification of live stock, 17 typical Polish farms, Sobieski and Pulaski, Wis.....	349
Table 60.—Value of property brought to locality, net value of property now owned, and number of years since first lease or purchase, 17 typical Polish farmers, Sobieski and Pulaski, Wis.....	352
Table 61.—Net value of real and personal property now owned, 17 typical Polish farmers, Sobieski and Pulaski, Wis.....	352
Table 62.—Range of assessments, 56 Polish farms, Angelica Township, Wis....	353
Table 63.—Economic history and present financial condition of certain typical Polish families, Sobieski and Pulaski, Wis.....	358, 359
Table 64.—Economic history and present financial condition of certain typical Polish families, Marche, Ark.....	369, 370

## PART V.—BOHEMIANS AND OTHER RACES.

	Page.
Table 1.—Geographical distribution of farmers and agricultural laborers of Bohemian parentage by States specified, 1900.....	376
Table 2.—Foreign-born population of Texas.....	383
Table 3.—Foreign-born Bohemian population in Texas, by counties reporting more than 100 persons of such race, 1900.....	383
Table 4.—Partial list of Bohemian settlements in Texas, with date of settlement and estimated population.....	385, 386
Table 5.—Economic history and present financial condition of five typical Bohemian families, Bryan, Tex.....	392
Table 6.—Immigrant farm families in Tolland and Windham counties, Conn.....	401
Table 7.—Classification of farms, by acreage and race of owner, Tolland County, Conn.....	406
Table 8.—General financial summary, Bohemian and Slovak farmers, Tolland County, Conn.....	410
Table 9.—Range of assessed valuations of land and all property, by township and nationality of owner, Tolland County, Conn.....	411
Table 10.—Net value of real and personal property now owned, 26 typical Bohemian and Slovak farmers, Tolland County, Conn.....	412
Table 11.—Value of property brought to locality, net value of property now owned, and number of years since first lease or purchase, 26 typical Bohemian and Slovak farmers, Tolland County, Conn.....	413
Table 12.—Classification of farms by value of specified farm products produced and sold, 26 Bohemian and Slovak farmers, Tolland County, Conn.....	414
Table 13.—Economic history and present financial condition of certain typical Bohemian and Slovak families, Tolland County, Conn.....	420-423
Table 14.—Economic history and present financial condition of certain typical Slovak and Bohemian families, Slovaktown, Ark.....	432, 433
Table 15.—Economic history and present financial condition of certain typical Bohemian families, Karlin, Mo.....	436, 437
Table 16.—Portuguese from Western Islands in Massachusetts.....	443
Table 17.—Portuguese in Rhode Island.....	444
Table 18.—Total farmers and farm laborers and total Portuguese in the same occupations, in towns specified, in Rhode Island, 1905.....	445
Table 19.—Average value per farm of crops raised and sold, 20 typical Portuguese farms, Portsmouth, R. I.....	450
Table 20.—Classification of live stock, 20 typical Portuguese farms, Portsmouth, R. I.....	450
Table 21.—Range of assessments, Portuguese farmers, Portsmouth, R. I., 1908-9.....	453
Table 22.—Net value of all personal and real property now owned, 20 Portuguese farmers, Portsmouth, R. I.....	453
Table 23.—Economic history and present financial condition of certain typical Portuguese families, Portsmouth, R. I.....	458-461
Table 24.—Classification of farms, by value of specified farm products produced and sold, Japanese farmers in Texas.....	465
Table 25.—General financial summary, Japanese families in Texas.....	472
Table 26.—Classification of live stock, 21 Japanese farms, Texas.....	473
Table 27.—Economic history and present financial condition of certain typical Japanese agricultural families, Texas.....	478-481

## LIST OF MAPS.

Study of immigrants in agriculture in North Atlantic States.....	Facing page 1
Study of immigrants in agriculture in Southern States east of Mississippi River.....	Facing page 1
Study of immigrants in agriculture in Southern States west of Mississippi River.....	Facing page 1
Study of immigrants in agriculture in North Central States.....	Facing page 1















