Excerpt from The Harvest Gypsies

Article I

By John Steinbeck

1936

John Steinbeck (1902-1968) was an American author who won the 1962 Nobel Prize in Literature. While Steinbeck was most popular for his novels, which often focused on agricultural workers in California, he also wrote a series of articles on migrant farm workers for the San Francisco News. In this excerpt, Steinbeck discusses the role of migrant workers in California's agriculture industry. As you read, take notes on the common life and work experiences of migrant farm workers.

At this season of the year, when California's great crops are coming into harvest, the heavy grapes, the prunes, the apples and lettuce and the rapidly maturing cotton, our highways swarm with the migrant workers, that shifting group of nomadic, poverty-stricken harvesters driven by hunger and the threat of hunger from crop to crop, from harvest to harvest, up and down the state and into Oregon to some extent, and into Washington a little. But it is California which has and needs the majority of these new gypsies. It is a short study of these wanderers that these articles will undertake. There are at least 150,000 homeless migrants wandering up and down the state, and that is an army large enough to make it important to every person in the state.

To the casual traveler on the great highways the movements of the migrants are mysterious if they are seen at all, for suddenly the roads will be filled with open rattlettrap cars loaded with children and with dirty bedding, with fire-blackened cooking utensils. The boxcars and gondolas on the railroad lines will be filled with men. And then, just as suddenly, they will have disappeared from the main routes. On side roads and near rivers where there is little travel the squalid, filthy squatters' camp will have been set up, and the orchards will be filled with pickers and cutters and driers.

The unique nature of California agriculture requires that these migrants exist, and requires that they move about. Peaches and grapes, hops and cotton cannot be harvested by a resident population of laborers. For example, a large peach orchard which requires the work of 20 men the year round will need as many as 2000 for the brief time of picking and packing. And if the migration of the 2000 should not occur, if it should be delayed even a week, the crop will rot and be lost.

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1. **Nomadic** (adjective): wandering from place to place
2. "Gypsies" are members of a nomadic ethnic group, also known as the Roma, who originated in South Asia and migrated to Europe; the term is associated with nomads and migrants who move about often.
3. people who unlawfully occupy a vacant building or unused land
Thus, in California we find a curious attitude toward a group that makes our agriculture successful. The migrants are needed, and they are hated. Arriving in a district they find the dislike always meted out by the resident to the foreigner, the outlander. This hatred of the stranger occurs in the whole range of human history, from the most primitive village form to our own highly organized industrial farming. The migrants are hated for the following reasons, that they are ignorant and dirty people, that they are carriers of disease, that they increase the necessity for police and the tax bill for schooling in a community, and that if they are allowed to organize they can, simply by refusing to work, wipe out the season's crops. They are never received into a community nor into the life of a community. Wanderers in fact, they are never allowed to feel at home in the communities that demand their services.

Let us see what kind of people they are, where they come from, and the routes of their wanderings. In the past they have been of several races, encouraged to come and often imported as cheap labor; Chinese in the early period, then Filipinos, Japanese and Mexicans. These were foreigners, and as such they were ostracized and segregated and herded about.

If they attempted to organize they were deported or arrested, and having no advocates they were never able to get a hearing for their problems. But in recent years the foreign migrants have begun to organize, and at this danger signal they have been deported in great numbers, for there was a new reservoir from which a great quantity of cheap labor could be obtained.

The drought in the middle west has driven the agricultural populations of Oklahoma, Nebraska and parts of Kansas and Texas westward. Their lands are destroyed and they can never go back to them.

Thousands of them are crossing the borders in ancient rattling automobiles, destitute and hungry and homeless, ready to accept any pay so that they may eat and feed their children. And this is a new thing in migrant labor, for the foreign workers were usually imported without their children and everything that remains of their old life with them.

They arrive in California usually having used up every resource to get here, even to the selling of the poor blankets and utensils and tools on the way to buy gasoline. They arrive bewildered and beaten and usually in a state of semi-starvation, with only one necessity to face immediately, and that is to find work at any wage in order that the family may eat.

And there is only one field in California that can receive them. Ineligible for relief, they must become migratory field workers.

Because the old kind of laborers, Mexicans and Filipinos, are being deported and repatriated very rapidly, while on the other hand the river of dust bowl refugees increases all the time, it is this new kind of migrant that we shall largely consider.

The earlier foreign migrants have invariably been drawn from a peon class. This is not the case with the new migrants.

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4. **Mete** (verb): to dispense or give out
5. **Ostracize** (verb): to exclude someone from a society or group
6. **Advocate** (noun): a person who speaks or writes in support of a person or cause
7. **Destitute** (adjective): without the basic necessities of life
8. **Repatriate** (verb): to send someone back to their own country
9. **Dust bowl**: an area of Oklahoma, Kansas, and northern Texas that was affected by severe drought and crop failure in the early 1930s
They are small farmers who have lost their farms, or farm hands who have lived with the family in the old American way. They are men who have worked hard on their own farms and have felt the pride of possessing and living in close touch with the land.

They are resourceful and intelligent Americans who have gone through the hell of the drought, have seen their lands wither and die and the top soil blow away; and this, to a man who has owned his land, is a curious and terrible pain.

And then they have made the crossing and have seen often the death of their children on the way. Their cars have been broken down and been repaired with the ingenuity of the land man.

Often they patched the worn-out tires every few miles. They have weathered the thing, and they can weather much more for their blood is strong.

They are descendants of men who crossed into the middle west, who won their lands by fighting, who cultivated the prairies and stayed with them until they went back to desert.

And because of their tradition and their training, they are not migrants by nature. They are gypsies by force of circumstances.

In their heads, as they move wearily from harvest to harvest, there is one urge and one overwhelming need, to acquire a little land again, and to settle on it and stop their wandering. One has only to go into the squatters’ camps where the families live on the ground and have no homes, no beds and no equipment; and one has only to look at the strong purposeful faces, often filled with pain and more often, when they see the corporation-held idle lands, filled with anger, to know that this new race is here to stay and that heed must be taken of it.

It should be understood that with this new race the old methods of repression, of starvation wages, of jailing, beating and intimidation are not going to work; these are American people. Consequently we must meet them with understanding and attempt to work out the problem to their benefit as well as ours.

It is difficult to believe what one large speculative farmer has said, that the success of California agriculture requires that we create and maintain a peon class. For if this is true, then California must depart from the semblance of democratic government that remains here.

The names of the new migrants indicate that they are of English, German and Scandinavian descent. There are Munns, Holbrooks, Hansens, Schmidts.

And they are strangely anachronistic in one way: Having been brought up in the prairies where industrialization never penetrated, they have jumped with no transition from the old agrarian, self-containing farm where nearly everything used was raised or manufactured, to a system of agriculture so industrialized that the man who plants a crop does not often see, let alone harvest, the fruit of his planting, where the migrant has no contact with the growth cycle.

10. any person of low social status
11. Ingenuity (noun): the quality of being clever or resourceful
12. Cultivate (verb): to promote or improve the growth of something
13. Anachronistic (adjective): not being in its correct historical or chronological time, especially belonging to an earlier time
And there is another difference between their old life and the new. They have come from the little farm districts where democracy was not only possible but inevitable, where popular government, whether practiced in the Grange,\(^{14}\) in church organization or in local government, was the responsibility of every man. And they have come into the country where, because of the movement necessary to make a living, they are not allowed any vote whatever, but are rather considered a properly unprivileged class.

Let us see the fields that require the impact of their labor and the districts to which they must travel. As one little boy in a squatters camp said, "When they need us they call us migrants, and when we've picked their crop, we're bums and we got to get out."

There are the vegetable crops of the Imperial Valley, the lettuce, cauliflower, tomatoes, cabbage to be picked and packed, to be hoed and irrigated. There are several crops a year to be harvested, but there is not time distribution sufficient to give the migrants permanent work.

The orange orchards deliver two crops a year, but the picking season is short. Farther north, in Kern County and up the San Joaquin Valley, the migrants are needed for grapes, cotton, pears, melons, beans and peaches.

In the outer valley, near Salinas, Watsonville, and Santa Clara there are lettuce, cauliflowers, artichokes, apples, prunes, apricots. North of San Francisco the produce is of grapes, deciduous fruits and hops. The Sacramento Valley needs masses of migrants for its asparagus, its walnuts, peaches, prunes, etc. These great valleys with their intensive farming make their seasonal demands on migrant labor.

A short time, then, before the actual picking begins, there is the scurrying on the highways, the families in open cars hurrying to the ready crops and hurrying to be first at work. For it has been the habit of the growers associations of the state to provide by importation, twice as much labor as was necessary, so that wages might remain low.

Hence the hurry, for if the migrant is a little late the places may all be filled and he will have taken his trip for nothing. And there are many things that may happen even if he is in time. The crop may be late, or there may occur one of those situations like that at Nipomo last year when twelve hundred workers arrived to pick the pea crop only to find it spoiled by rain.

All resources having been used to get to the field, the migrants could not move on; they stayed and starved until government aid tardily was found for them.

And so they move, frantically, with starvation close behind them. And in this series of articles we shall try to see how they live and what kind of people they are, what their living standard is, what is done for them and to them, and what their problems and needs are. For while California has been successful in its use of migrant labor, it is gradually building a human structure which will certainly change the State, and may, if handled with the inhumanity and stupidity that have characterized the past, destroy the present system of agricultural economics.
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Text-Dependent Questions

Directions: For the following questions, choose the best answer or respond in complete sentences.

1. PART A: Which statement best expresses the central idea of the text?
   A. While Steinbeck doesn't agree with the treatment of migrant workers, he understands that treating them unfairly is necessary to support America's agriculture industry.
   B. Despite the hostility toward migrant workers and their difficult life experiences, their work is essential to the success of the nation's agriculture industry.
   C. Migrant workers are often taken advantage of during harvests, because they don't know that they have a right to better conditions and pay.
   D. While America understands that it abuses the labor of migrant workers, the nation appreciates the sacrifices workers make to support the agriculture industry.

2. PART B: Which TWO details from the text best support the answer to Part A?
   A. “The unique nature of California agriculture requires that these migrants exist, and requires that they move about. Peaches and grapes, hops and cotton cannot be harvested by a resident population of laborers.” (Paragraph 3)
   B. “The migrants are needed, and they are hated. Arriving in a district they find the dislike always meted out by the resident to the foreigner, the outlander.” (Paragraph 4)
   C. “But in recent years the foreign migrants have begun to organize, and at this danger signal they have been deported in great numbers, for there was a new reservoir from which a great quantity of cheap labor could be obtained.” (Paragraph 6)
   D. “The earlier foreign migrants have invariably been drawn from a peon class. This is not the case with the new migrants.” (Paragraph 12)
   E. “They are resourceful and intelligent Americans who have gone through the hell of the drought, have seen their lands wither and die and the top soil blow away” (Paragraph 14)
   F. “They have come from the little farm districts where democracy was not only possible but inevitable, where popular government, whether practiced in the Grange, in church organization or in local government, was the responsibility of every man.” (Paragraph 24)

3. What distinction does the author draw between migrant farm workers who come from foreign countries and those who come from within the United States?
   A. While foreign migrant workers are discouraged from working in the United States, those who come from within the United States are welcomed.
   B. While foreign migrant workers come to the United States with few resources, migrant workers from within the United States are forced to find new work because their previous livelihood was lost.
   C. While foreign migrant workers are forced to leave the United States after a period of time, migrant workers from within the United States are able to stay and work indefinitely.
   D. While foreign migrant workers are forced to come to the United States because of poor crops abroad, migrant workers from within the United States choose to move from harvest to harvest.
4. How do paragraphs 21-25 contribute to the development of ideas in the article?
   A. They make the point that migrant workers' low status and exclusion from community life are problematic in a democracy.
   B. They argue that migrant workers are more likely to leave a community where they feel their voice is not heard or respected.
   C. They suggest that migrant workers will likely improve the democratic systems in the communities where they work.
   D. They maintain that the poor treatment of migrant workers reveals that the American public is less compassionate than people often believe.

5. According to Steinbeck, how does the service that migrant workers provide compare with how migrant workers are often viewed in America?

6. In the article, how does the author use word choice to convey his point of view about migrant farm workers?
Questions

Directions: Brainstorm your answers to the following questions in the space provided. Be prepared to share your original ideas in a class discussion.

1. In Steinbeck's article, he describes the experiences of migrant workers in the early twentieth century. How has migrant work changed in America over the decades? How do you think the experiences of migrant workers today compare to John Steinbeck's depiction in the text? Cite examples from the text, your own experience, and other literature, art, or history in your answer.

2. According to Steinbeck's article, how are some workers treated in the United States? How should we define what it means to be treated fairly at work?

3. How does social status affect the way someone is treated by society? Why do some people have to struggle so much more than others in order succeed? Cite examples from the text, your own experience, and other literature, art, or history in your answer.