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Describes the vivid colors of the crew leaders trades. He comments on the laborers purchasing trade singer sewing machines to take back to Mexico. Discusses housing and social interaction at the Mexican barracks on the Stallings farm at Yarbro, AR.
Okay, we are recording. It is Wednesday, September 24, 2008. I am Brady Banta and I am in Blytheville, Arkansas at the home of Mr. Jonathan Abbot and we are conducting an interview on – that will be part of the Bracero oral history project. Mr. Abbot, you are aware that I am recording this interview, and that I have your permission to record the interview?

JA: That’s correct.

BB: Thank you. To get this started, would you please just tell me a little bit about yourself personally, professionally so I can have some background information?

JA: Okay, I’m Jonathan Abbot. I bill myself as the original local yokel in Blytheville, Arkansas. I am degreed. My degree is in economics, and I have one in general studies. My background is – I have always been associated with farm families.

My parents, my father being a long-time farmer here, he made his first crop in 1908, if not earlier. First crop he would claim he made in 1908.

I am retired this time. My wife has a business here in town, and we’re sitting in my home, which has been my home for sixty-five years at least. This house was built in 1930.

BB: All right. You said that your father was a farmer and made his first crop here in Mississippi County, I presume, in 1908. Where was the farm? Can you give us a geographic location?

JA: He homesteaded property in what we call Flat Lake, which was part of the Sicanlands lawsuit controversy that took place some years earlier. And when they cleared that, some of the title was turned back – some of the property was turned back to the federal government.

He took advantage of that, and homesteaded a hundred and twenty acres; I believe it was in what we call Flat Lake, which is now the interstate highway – runs north Blytheville. It runs north and south along side Blytheville, and it would be in the northeastern section of the area of Blytheville. But the interstate highway basically run
right down what we used to call Flat Lake Road, which was the way you got out of Blytheville to Flat Lake Road.

BB: Okay, so would it be within the current city limits, then, of Blytheville, or just to the north of Blytheville.

JA: No, it’s just north and east of Blytheville.

BB: Okay. Does it extend up almost to the Missouri line then?

JA: Not quite to the Missouri line, but very close to it.

BB: Okay. You said that he homesteaded and started 120 acres. Did he continue to expand this operation?

JA: Yes, he – the best way to understand my father was that he had a talent for making money. There are people that can sing. There’s people can play the piano. He had a talent for making money.

He expanded that 120 – I’m not sure if it was 120, could have been 140, but anyways, in that area he expanded that to – by the early ‘60s, he was in the range of 8,000 to 9,000 acres of property he owned. He didn’t – he rented in his early days, but he started buying property way back.

And he had farms – he had a large farm in Boothill, Missouri and Duncan County, and then he had a large farm in Dire County, Tennessee, and then he had a reasonably large farm here in Arkansas. Incidentally, at – 320 acres of it was in the east part of Blytheville in what we call Hamburger Row now.

BB: Okay. All right. Is most of this land, other than what’s here in Blytheville, still in cultivation?

JA: Yes, all of it in cultivation, although none of the families is involved with it anymore – none of our family.

BB: All right. What, primarily, did your father grow on this? Was it cotton, or mixed crop?

JA: Cotton on the better land, and the rest of it was soybeans, corn, milo. He was a – one of his methods of making money through. He would plant what we call corn and beans, in the cutover land, or what we call new ground, and – which he cleared most of the property.
He had his own equipment which he – and he did custom clearing for other people. And he’d put it in corn and beans, and he’d – every year, early in the year – or not early, but come the summertime, the way it used to be, the pastures would burn up in Mississippi. And he’d go to Memphis and buy the – at the slaughter house and buy the, what they call cutters, which they was slaughter – they sold for slaughter, but they would – he would buy the better stock out of it a lot of time be rich with stock that would – they had to get rid of cause [inaudible]. And then he had run them on his – in the corn beans and things like that up until the spring, and when the price was good, he’d sell them. He did that for years. Years and years.

BB: All right. Did he get into the ownership and operation of cotton gins?

JA: He had – yes – at a very early – 1921, 1920 he had a cotton gin here in Blytheville. The best way to tell you where it is – it was across the railroad track from where the – from the post office is right now. It was Blytheville Cotton Gin, I don’t know exactly how they had it – and he had. A couple of his brothers worked there at the gin, but the – he was a trader and he traded around and got rid of it. That’s all I can tell you about it.

BB: All right. Did your father employ the Mexican migrant laborers?

JA: Well yes, but early on he did. And now this is – of course, I wasn’t around when it happened. I’m just going from what I ascertained from him and the family through the years – way back. Possibly as late as the 1940s, but we’re talking about ‘30s and ‘20s even. And because – I know he used to tell a story about it. The front door of this house he had a – he would open up the front door of the house and he had a table he set down in the doorway, and that’s where he paid them.

BB: All right. But he did not use, to the best of your knowledge, the Brassaro laborers in the ‘50s and ‘60s?

JA: Not that I know of. The only – there may have been a short period of time when they used on the operation. Others had apparently contracted – others would bring them in, and he would – they used for chopping cotton sometimes. One particular instance I know of was in the 1950s. He had a couple of busloads. I don’t know how to explain other than that. On Island 21 – he owned Island 20 – my father owned Island 21, which was located out from Blytheville in the Mississippi River.
And this big island, it’s big. And they had a corn crop. Fresh corn crop planted there. And he had the laborers. The – he contracted through an operator of some sort, I don’t know the – but I know that they brought them over, and the reason I remember it so vivid is it was fresh corn. Good corn. It wasn’t hard corn. It wasn’t what you’d call feed corn. This was.

BB: Sweet corn.

JA: Sweet corn went to market. And they – my father asked the man brought them out there, “did they bring anything to eat?” And he said no – said they just eat all this corn that they want. And Dad – gave my dad a stomachache to think about them eating all that. And it was hot, I mean extremely hot, for those guys to be out there eating it. But they ate that green – it wasn’t green, it was – but they ate that corn without cooking it. Unbelievable – any – apparently they liked it.

BB: Hearty constitution, I guess.

[Crosstalk]

JA: I guess so, but it – I know my dad got a stomachache thinking about it.

BB: I can imagine. Were you living here in and around Blytheville when – during the ‘50s and early ‘60s when there was a large amount of the Mexican migrant labor being used in this area?

JA: Yes, I was, and was aware of it.

BB: Did you have occasion, either personally or professionally, in your business operations to be involved with them or to observe their activities?

JA: Let me break it down a little differently. The most vivid recall I have of them is the colorfulness of it. They would come in, and they had – when I say they came in, the people that transported them in, brought them in. Not all of them were busses; some of them had what we used to call bean trucks. They were two-ton trucks. Heavier trucks. Some of them were tandems, but some of them were single-axle trucks.

But the trucks would be multi-colored. They would be painted by hand. Some of them, I’m sure were professionally painted. But it
was not unusual to be orange and blue and yellow, or black or green. And it would be multi-colors on the truck, so it’s a very vivid memory from color. And almost to the vehicle, you could tell one of these transportation vehicles – I mean it was – It wasn’t your father’s Oldsmobile, or Buick. It was always very vivid colors, or sometime muty colors, but unusual colors to say the least.

That and the second-most vivid memory I have is, while they were here, and then when they started leaving, they bargained or bought – I don’t know how they came about it – every portable, foot-operated sewing machine that was in this country.

And you could tell when they was fixing to leave the country because on top of the busses and other vehicles – now, some of those bean trucks had hard tops on them. They wasn’t just all open, and they had tops on them, and they would strap those sewing machines, upside down on the – and when I say upside-down, I’m saying the top of the sewing machine would be against the vehicle, and the leg would stick up and some of the vehicles look like porcupines when they leave here. There’d be so many legs sticking up in the air.

BB: So, these would be the old sewing machines. That was in a sewing machine case – sewing machines, yeah.

[Crosstalk]

JA: Yeah, the – the old Singer sewing machines, yeah.

BB: Okay. In conducting any number of other interviews, people would talk about the standard workweek for these individuals would be five and a half days, and they always had, almost always, Sunday off. And almost always, the employer would make arrangements or either, personally bring them to town on Saturday afternoon to conduct – so they could conduct their business or wire their money home, or whatever they wanted to do. Do you have memories, or observations of them coming to town like that?

JA: Yes. Now we were still in the ‘50s. 1950s. This was a – wasn’t a totally rural town, but it was rural in nature, and it was the ending of the era when everybody come to the town on Saturday night and everybody knew who everybody else parked, and was kind of a social event.
But this would be somewhat interrupted by the trucks and things that brought them into town. Now there was – I have a – my memory was – is located on the east part of Blytheville. Hayes store, John Ad’s grocery, Faut – Mr. Faut’s grocery and stores like that, which were on the east end of Blytheville. And if you went in there, it would be crowded with the laborers.

I remember Hayes store – it seems like it was Hayes store in particular. They even had some, for lack of a better word, interpreters in there. They had some people that catered to them that could speak – at least speak broken Spanish – or – well, it’s not unusual – the – it seems like the churches even had programs set up for the – those – I don’t know if it was a direct ministry, or what they did.

But they made their presence known. I mean you could see them; they was there. And course they dressed somewhat differently than we did. Now not – they all didn’t look like the Cisco Kid, if you know what I’m saying. But what I’m saying is that you could tell by their dress who they were.

BB: Did you ever see or notice any particular tension between, or among the Mexican laborers and the – I guess maybe the indigenous labor pools here, either white or black?

JA: Well at that time – now east end had its share of the African-American public. But there was a – most of the African-American people – I don’t wanna use the word carter, but particularly were on, what we call Ash Street, and they did more of their shopping and socializing in that area as opposed to the whole town.

Now it wasn’t strictly segregated; that’s not the point. Because – especially like with Hayes store. But – ‘course Hayes was a big general store, is what it was. And you could buy clothing and food. You could buy basically anything – shoes. They also had an implement place where you could buy Case tractors and stuff. They had – it was extensive operation for the times.

The only thing that I know of – and I’m not – I don’t wanna be off color or anything like that. I know that some friends of mine, and myself, had a good friend that was – worked for the – for an older gentleman that worked for the county. He was one of the deputies, and he came and got us one night.

We were sitting around trying to find something to get into, as young men would do in those age, and we got in the car with him.
And we went out to where, we called the “Mexican Barracks,” at Stallings Farms, and we drove up there and had the lights off and we observed – there was a group of blacks there, and they were gambling with them. And then there was another car where there was some – being very kind, I’d say black prostitutes – and that was going on there.

And that was all very short distance from what we call the Mexican Barracks, where the actual buildings where they stayed in. That’s the only kind of interaction that I’ve ever seen like that. ‘Course they turned on their lights and arrested the gamblers and what have you.

As far as the general – it seems like that I can – where there was some scuffles and stuff like that, but nothing monstrous. You know what I’m saying?

BB: Nothing out of the ordinary.

JA: Nothing out of the ordinary. No police actions or anything like that. But just memories of run-ins, now and then. Which probably could have been attributed to just a language barrier, tell you the truth about it.

BB: I interviewed Don Stallings this morning, and he was telling me about the barracks. Were there other operations similar to that – that had barracks facilities around here?

JA: Yes, it’s – I wanna say they had them – I know there were some in the – I don’t dare say the south end of county, but more like the mid-part of the county. It seems like that there was a – but I don’t remember the actual buildings, if you see what I’m saying.

But I was aware that there was other groups of them in the county, but I’m not sure exactly where it was, and what kind of – but I just – I’m – because the Mexican Barracks are not far from here, and that’s why I – that area – why I knew so much about it.

And then, like I say, the – and the – I know the Stallings’, and they – we were friends and we would go out that way, and we would just see them out there, and I knew they worked.

Now, I may be getting ahead of our self, but it – that was all – I always thought it done through what they call the GM, Mr. Stallings redtop GM. And they contacted all, though they brought those in.
But you could contract with the contractors, if you know what I’m saying. And basically, what they did, as my understanding, it was just – you contact whoever had the laborers and say I’m going – can I get 100, or 50, or 25 for two or three days chopping, or picking, or whatever it was. I don’t remember them doing a lot in the picking area. They probably did, but I don’t remember that as much as I do about the chopping – is when it – chopping cotton is what I’m referring to.

But now, they did other things too. Other types of field work, while they was here. Clearing property and just general manual labor that they – but most of them was confined to the chopping and picking, as I understand it.

BB: Would they come for the chopping season and do other work as available, and then leave, and then come back for the picking season, or were they here for the summer?

JA: Some – I wanna say some and some. Now, as I wasn’t aware – now, in – let me skip way ahead, in later years, even up until now, there has been some people that would come here in, small, maybe two or three families that have five or six, eight, ten maybe twelve, fifteen, twenty of them would be together. And they would – they still have some kind of an agreement. Now, weather – I don’t know what kind of contract – I’m not that, but the – maybe they were freelance, doing it on their own.

But I – because, I’m aware that this – several bunches, and that’s the only way I know how to put it, would come back, stay with the – on the same farm and in the same houses, things like that.

But it seemed like, even when it started tailing off, or slowing down, that there would be groups of them, come back here. Maybe private. In other words, not under contract. But they would come in a truck. And it wouldn’t be as big – as many of them as it was. But it seemed like the way it was, especially; I know that’s the way it was with the “Mexican Barracks.”

BB: Okay. The – do you have any sense of weather the employers here, locally preferred to you as a Mexican laborer or a local laborer, if they could get it?

JA: Well, it was a – it was a transitional stage when this was all going on. Mechanization was coming on, is what I’ve observed. It seem like, that – from what I understood from different people, that the
local farmers were happy to get them. As I remember, the wages was always pretty well the same as if they was local people. In other words, you might see a field and it would have local laborers and the transported laborers in the same field. And I know that because it was not unusual that there was families of African-Americans that stayed on farms year-round, even in that day now, that was – it was a wind up of it.

But people that had been with the farmer for years and years, and they would put them out there kind of as a lead. We always used to call them Lead Choppers, and what have you. They had lead people that, if they stayed up with them – I know one instance, and it was dealing primarily with the African-Americans in a field right across the road over there. And there are some half-mile rows there, and it – and my dad – they – the bus brought – these were blacks they were bringing in, and they unloaded on the bus, and they’d been out there about 30 minutes, and Dad was talking with the man about what the pay was.

And Dad said, “well come on, and I’ll show you,” and he walked out in the field and there was four or five of them that was way out ahead. He said, “These is five dollars a day.” And then they walked back in, and there was four or five, and he said, “These is four dollars a day.” And then the rest – there was a big knot of them that – there’s always slow about getting started. That’s just human nature I guess.

But he’d say, “You take all the rest of them home. I don’t want them.” And when they head that, they all started chopping real fast. Going – they catching up with the first one. But that was the lead bunch, was the – so I don’t – I wouldn’t think it would be unusual for many of the farms to have had lead people mixed in with the hired people.

But I don’t remember – the only conversation I can – in reference to that – so-and-so has got the Mexican laborers, and they’re a good bunch. And then you’d hear, well so-and-so got a – then they’re a sorry bunch. Now that was a – that was the way the locals would refer to it. They didn’t pick out individuals; they’d say that bunch not worth a damn. And then they – and I know in later years, when they came back in small groups, they say they were really good. They’d get out there, and you don’t really have to stay with them and all that, if you know what I’m saying.

BB: Especially when the true Brassaro program was functioning and it was, I guess for want of a better word, governed by an
international agreement between the Mexican government, and an American government, there were provisions for all kinds of inspections of the type of work that was being done, the living quarters, and all of this. Do you have any memories of local employers here talking about run-ins or encounters they had with the inspectors, either from the United States Department of Labor, or Agriculture, or the Mexican consulate in Memphis?

JA: No, not specifically. I do know that – and again, this is based purely on the Mexican Barracks, what I knew about the Mexican Barracks. I do know that they were cleaner than you would think. I’m not talking about the people, I’m talking about the barracks them self.

And I know when the weather was hot, and I guess this deals with the picking aspect of it, that the laborers themselves would sleep out in the fields, in the cotton sacks, as being cooped up in the buildings. Which I guess – you know it was cooler out there, if you think about it. But they’d lay right out in the field. Cotton sacks were 8, 9, 10, 12, 14 foot long – whatever. And they just roll them out and crawl up in this – which a lot of people had did that. Not only – but they would sleep in the fields.

But I do remember – because I had another friend whose father was – did a lot of the overseeing about the Mexican barracks themselves. That they would go down there from time to time to work on the barracks to ensure that they was, I guess, livable. And that – it kind of – it was inferred, but it was never spoken, that they was having inspections or anything like that. But I was aware that they had certain standards that they had to adhere to.

BB: Were you ever in the Mexican barracks?

JA: Oh, yes. Several – but never when – well, only once or twice. Maybe when they was actually some people there. But no, afterwards – because they didn’t really keep them locked up, or anything like that. They were pretty open as far as.

BB: How would – I mean again, I know from the interview with Don Stallings, that the – if I remember correctly, there were three of these buildings that would house approximately 100 people each.

[Crosstalk]

JA: Right. That sounds about right.
BB: And it – I mean, it truly was – it was just a barracks building.

JA: That’s exactly right.

BB: But, how would that barracks building compare with the accommodations of a sharecropper’s house at roughly the same time? Or are we talking apples and oranges too much here?

JA: Kinda apples and oranges, and neither place was a Holiday Inn. You have to understand that because the standard of living was low here for basically everybody except for the very top.

But the barracks itself were absolutely spartan. They had – I remember they had fixed sleeping arrangements. They had built-up in two-story. And then some of them had actual cots, as we would call them, but there was not a lot – it seem like they was even almost graded out, like they was – some of them were overseers and some – but I do know that they had a kitchen area. And I don’t remember much about it. But it was a designated area other than right where the bunks was. They had a kitchen area, they was – where they – my father would say, where they batched. It was that type of deal. And there was windows along the side for ventilation – tin roof, basically.

BB: It’d get a little warm in there.

[Crosstalk]

JA: It was hot. That why some of them slept in the field. But, the only thing you can compare it to would be the very rudimentary – like army barracks. Sorta long building with open draft in it, and beds. And when I say beds, I don’t even know if they had mattresses. I don’t remember whether they had mattresses or not, but I do remember some of those built-in sleeping areas made out of two-by-fours. And they had some form of fence wire, made the bottom of the beds. Now, wherever they had padding, what to go on top of that, I don’t know.

BB: Some kind of pallet thing, I’d put on top of it.

[Crosstalk]

JA: Yes. Some pallet. And that was always my impression, that they all had little pallets that they rolled out and rolled up. That was my impression. But it was not – it was very Spartan, to say the least.
They had water, ‘course. And that was running water. It wasn’t pump water. It was – now whether they was had a pump hooked to something like that, or it was city water. They could have had – where the Mexican Barracks was, could have had what we called, city water, hooked to the supplyable water system. And privies. Yah, privies.

BB: But that was not uncommon once you got outside of town?

JA: No, that was not unusual.

BB: In your sense of – from your memory, when did they – when did the use of the Mexican Laborers in this area stop to become – stop being the norm?

JA: Well, in the early ‘60s. That’s just – I went off to – like everybody else did in 1964, to the Vietnam area – era. And when I came back, there was none – and I came back in ‘67. But seemed like they was – but it was dwindling down in the early ‘60s. It is – the heyday of it was ’57, ’58? Somewhere in there. It peaked pretty rapid, and then it kind of went out.

But, like I say, it was during the mechanization era, and that’s when things were beginning to – before farm camps got real big – is in that kind of a step we was making to fully mechanize the operation.

BB: Did – you had mentioned at the beginning of our interview that your father used some Mexican Labor in the ‘20s and ‘30s. Did any of those people stay around?

JA: Well, kind of an offset, right out here, on what we call Airport Road, going to where John Ed Reginald’s house is, in the corner of his drive – yard, and there is a Mexican cemetery there. And I know there’s three or four people buried there. They had stones there at one time. And I was always told that was where Mexicans had died, and they buried them there. And so they must have been somewhat established to have stones put up.

BB: Sounds like it.

JA: And if I’m not badly mistaken, I don’t even know if the stones are still out there or not, but they were in Spanish. Spanish names on them anyway. Or what I perceived to be Spanish names. But as far as any – like I say, the closest thing to staying – there may have
been some arrangements where there was made with the individual families – it may have stayed over. I wouldn’t rule that completely out because it seemed like that during the time period you’re talking about, there was some here all the time.

And because I know that – through the churches that they had outreach programs. I said that before, but I – it’s basic memory I have, that there was ministers going out for – and seemed like there was outreach as far as clothing and things like that. And later years there was a number of – lord, for the lack of a better word, Indian type outreaches for people that had – for clothing and things like that.

It just – that’s just a part of my mind that – we were always very involved with the church, and it’s – I can remember that, and then talking about it. And it seemed like a horrible way of explain it would be the **hanger-oners**, in other words, the ones that stayed around. Seemed like that was more aimed towards those people than it was, the folks that came in the labor and left.

**BB:** Okay. It’s my understanding, and I don’t know exactly when this started, but it might – the two may have overlapped, that at some period, I don’t know if it was the ‘40s, ‘50s, ‘60s, there was a canning operation. If it wasn’t in Blytheville, it was very close to it. Did the – were the Mexican laborers involved, in any way, with that? Either in picking the crop, or working in the factory?

**JA:** Well, I have – like everything else, that became mechanized. The type of things we would grow here for – was particular for mechanization: greens, beans and Bush canning company was involved here with most everything as far as that. Now, Bush had a presence here for many years. The labor was seasonal. It would not be outside the realm that they’d use some, even in the seasonal operations. But I had no personal knowledge of that. But that sounds correct, if you know what I’m saying.

**BB:** Do you have any other, I guess, memories or vivid occurrences that we haven’t touched on, that you could add to our interview about the Mexican farm laborers here?

**JA:** No, that’s pretty well – this is a kind of a side-note, they had – some of them had very particular shoes that they wore. They made them out of car tires. There was always people laughing about it. Say that was running – you could hear their tires squealing when they run. But they had – they took those treads off the car tires, and they made the soles of their shoes out of those car tires. And
then they had – I don’t know if they – rope or whatever, how they – I don’t remember how it was secured to – but I know for a long time you could see in different places. You could see where somebody had cut out a sole out of a – where the tread of the tire would still be on.

BB: This would be the type of shoe, or sandal they would wear in the field?

JA: Yes, a lot of them. Not all of them, but I’m saying that would just – something particular or outstanding – I remember that. That, that was – and you would see them wearing them around town and stuff like that. But I always thought it was pretty neat. That they made – it was a sandal-like shoe, it wasn’t – it was a sandal-like shoe and it didn’t generally have sides on it. But it was interesting. That was an interesting aspect of it.

And they dressed pretty much like what laborers would dress like. It was – they didn’t have flamboyant dresses or anything like that. Because some of them had, the big hats that you would expect for the movies would portray them in. Most of them did not though. Most of them – many of them were bareheaded. The women and kids looked about like what you would think they would look for laborers, if you know what I’m saying.

Now, in later years you didn’t see as many big trucks – big transportation modes as you did. More, pick-up trucks with, I don’t wanna say campers on them, but that’s what they were. They were camper style. Most of them were homemade – had homemade-type beds on them. And you’d see a sewing machine on top of them too every now and then.

But it’s funny how you – certain things you remember, but you – I just remember those sewing machines real vividly. And pawnshops and what-have-you had those things for sale, and I don’t know what the price of it was, but they – I’ve always wondered what happened to all those that they left here with, and if they did it everywhere, or just here.

BB: I don’t know, but I’ve heard that’s something that we, at least in the interviews that I’ve conducted, that’s something that is frequently mentioned.

JA: It’s so vivid. When you saw it, it was – it stuck with you.
BB: And I have an idea also. As probably a function of the fact that since Singer had that cabinet works here close, that there were a lot of those products ended up in people’s homes here, and then ended up in the pawnshops, or the used furniture store, or whatever. So they were – probably a pretty good supply of them.

JA: It must have been – I don’t know exactly why – I’m like you, that’s – but as – they became obsolete after the electrified machines came in.

Incidentally, I have my grandmother’s sewing machine that her husband bought her as a wedding gift. They went to St. Louis from Barfield, and then they went up the river on a steamer. And he bought her – he was a real nice guy – he bought her something to work with while they was on there. Bought her – and I’ve still got it.

[End of Audio]

Duration: 42 minutes