The Acceleration of the Great Migration, 1916-17

Lesson Author

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Standards and Benchmarks (see page 26)

Lesson Description

Students work in groups to examine excerpts from primary source documents. They identify social and economic factors affecting specific categories of people when the Great Migration accelerated in 1916 to 1917: black migrant workers from the South, southern planters, southern small-farm farmers, northern industrialists, agents, and white immigrant workers in the North. Each student group creates a "perspectives page" to post for a gallery walk where students analyze the causes of the Great Migration and the changes it brought to both the North and South. Students also discuss the specific economic factors that influenced the Great Migration: scarcity, supply, demand, surplus, shortage, and opportunity cost. Using the PACED decisionmaking model, they analyze the alternatives and criteria of potential migrants.

Compelling Question

Why did African Americans migrate to the North in unprecedented numbers in 1916-17?

Grade Level

8-12

Concepts

Demand

Factors of production (natural resources, labor, capital resources)

Human capital

Opportunity cost

Scarcity

Shortage

Supply

Surplus

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Time Required

60-75 minutes

Objectives

Students will be able to

- identify point of view using primary source documents regarding the Great Migration,
- describe how groups differed in their view of the Great Migration,
- analyze the Great Migration using a PACED decisionmaking model,
- analyze changes in the North and the South stirred by the Great Migration,
- recognize economic and social factors that contributed to the Great Migration, and
- apply economic concepts to the Great Migration.

Materials

- Visual 1: PACED Decisionmaking Model
- Visual 2: Economic Terms
- One of the following group handouts for each assigned group member:
  - Handout 1: Group 1—Black Migrant Workers from the South
  - Handout 2: Group 2—Southern Planters
  - Handout 3: Group 3—Southern Small-Farm Farmers
  - Handout 4: Group 4—Northern Industrialists
  - Handout 5: Group 5—Agents
  - Handout 6: Group 6—White Immigrant Workers in the North
- Internet access and computers to access the Group 1-6 PDFs you will upload to your online class folder (or instruct students to access the PDFs with the URLs noted on the group handouts). Each PDF includes a copy of the respective handout (as on pages 14 to 19 of this lesson plan), the PACED decisionmaking model (as on Visual 1), and excerpts from the following two books (**NOTE: The book excerpts are included in the group PDFs only and not included in this lesson plan.**):

  Scott, Emmett J. *Negro Migration During the War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1920; https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/scribd/?title_id=5189&filepath=/docs/publications/books/scott_migration1920.pdf#scribd-open.

  Leavell, R.H.; Snavely, T.R.; Woofter, T.J. Jr.; Williams, W.T.B.; Tyson, Francis D. and Dillard, J.H. *Negro Migration in 1916-17*. U.S. Department of Labor, Office of the Secretary Division of Negro Economics, 1919; https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/scribd/?title_id=5184&filepath=/docs/publications/dne/dne_migration1916-1917.pdf#scribd-open.

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The excerpts from *Negro Migration During the War* are the same for all groups. The excerpts from *Negro Migration in 1916-17* vary for each group, both in length and content, with some overlap between groups.

For scaffolding, the group files rank in the following order, from most to least reading: Group 2, Group 1, Group 3 Groups 4 and 5, and Group 6.

Group 1_Black Migrants (page 27);

Group 2_Southern Planters (page 56);

Group 3_Southern Small-Farm Farmers (page 87);

Group 4_Northern Industrialists (page 113);

Group 5_Agents (page 139);

Group 6_White Immigrant Workers (page 164);

- Six large sheets of sticky-note paper or butcher paper and tape
- Six markers

Procedure

1. Introduce the lesson by discussing the following:
   - What does the term migration mean? (*Students will likely say movement from one location to another.*)
   - Why do some birds migrate from the North to the South each winter? (*Answers will vary but may include to find food and get away from the cold winter.*)
   - What comes to mind when you think of the Great Migration? (*Students will likely mention African Americans moving from the South to the North in the past century.*)
   - What would make you want to move to a different part of the country? (*Answers will vary but may include better work, climate, friends, or family.*)
   - What would keep you from wanting to move? (*Answers will vary but may include fear, moving away from friends and family, and the expense of moving*.)
   - What does **scarcity** mean? (*Answers will vary but may include a shortage or not enough of something.*)
   - What is **human capital** and how is it connected to human resources? (*Students may or may not know that human capital is the knowledge and skills that people*

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obtain through education experience, and training. The connection is that human resources are the people who do the mental and/or physical work to produce goods and services. Their human capital increases as they become better educated and have more experience and training that help them produce goods and services.)

2. Display *Visual 1: PACED Decisionmaking Model*. Explain that moving hundreds of miles is not something generally taken lightly or done on a whim. After learning more about the Great Migration from different viewpoints, students will work through the PACED decisionmaking model from the viewpoint of blacks in the South regarding whether to move to the North. Decisionmaking with the PACED model allows you to devise criteria and evaluate alternatives to arrive at the best decision. Ask students if they are familiar with the PACED model and have those familiar with the model help you explain it as follows:
    - **Step 1:** Define the **P**roblem
    - **Step 2:** List the **A**lternatives
    - **Step 3:** Choose **C**riteria
    - **Step 4: E**valuate the Alternatives
    - **Step 5:** Make a **D**ecision
    - Criteria go across the top and alternatives go down the side of the model.
    - As you evaluate each alternative based on the criteria, you place a plus sign (+) if the criterion is met and a minus sign (–) if it is not.

3. Display *Visual 2: Economic Terms*. Explain that the students will learn how each of the economic terms applies to the Great Migration. Review the definitions.
    - **Factors of production**
        - **Natural resources**—Things that occur naturally in and on the earth that are used to produce goods and services.
        - **Labor**—The quantity and quality of human effort directed toward producing goods and services. Also known as human resources.
        - **Capital resources**—Goods that have been produced and are used to produce other goods and services. They are used over and over again in the production process. Also called capital goods and physical capital.
        - **Scarcity**—The condition that exists because there are not enough resources to produce everyone's wants.
        - **Supply**—The quantity of a good or service that producers are willing and able to sell at all possible prices during a certain time period.
        - **Demand**—The quantity of a good or service that consumers are willing and able to buy at all possible prices during a certain time period.

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- **Shortage**—When the quantity demanded of a good or service exceeds the quantity supplied at a particular price.
- **Surplus**—When the quantity supplied of a good or service exceeds the quantity demanded at a particular price.
- **Human capital**—The knowledge and skills that people obtain through education, experience, and training.
- **Opportunity cost**—The value of the next-best alternative when a decision is made; it's what is given up.

4. Explain that these terms will help them understand the Great Migration. They are to keep the PACED decisionmaking grid in mind and look for alternatives and criteria and the economics vocabulary as they work in groups.

5. Explain that the Great Migration occurred from 1910 to 1960 but that the greatest movement occurred in 1916 and 1917. African Americans voluntarily moved from the South to the North more from 1916 to 1917 than at any other time. Students will explore the reasons in small groups by viewing the Great Migration from the perspectives of specific categories of people.

6. Divide the class into six groups and provide each group with a large sheet of sticky-note paper, a marker, and one copy per student of the assigned handout. Announce to the class the category of people assigned to each student group: *Handout 1: Black Migrant Workers from the South*; *Handout 2: Southern Planters*; *Handout 3: Southern Small-Farm Farmers*; *Handout 4: Northern Industrialists*; *Handout 5: Agents*; and *Handout 6: White Immigrant Workers in the North*. Explain the following:
   - Pretend that it is 1917 and you are the people designated on your handout.
   - Three groups are from the South (migrant workers, planters, and farmers), and three groups are from the North (industrialists, agents, and white immigrant workers).
   - Southern small-farm farmers generally provided their own labor but sometimes hired help if they could afford it. Southern planters owned far more farmland than the small-farm farmers and primarily hired workers to work the land and did little physical labor themselves. Agents were hired by industrialists to find workers.
   - Primary source documents will be viewed online, and the links to them are provided in the handouts.
   - The handouts include questions, which vary from group to group, and the PACED decisionmaking model.
   - Review the questions on the handout with your group before reading the excerpts from the primary source documents and answering the questions.

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- Consider the ideas, attitudes, and beliefs of your assigned group and answer the questions from that perspective.
- Combine your answers to create a perspectives page for your assigned category.

7. Explain that the excerpts are from two primary source documents: *Negro Migration In 1916-17* and *Negro Migration During the War*. Explain each of the documents as follows:

Negro Migration In 1916-17

- This book was published by the government in 1919 and written at the request of the U.S. Department of Labor under the leadership of Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson.
- "Negro" was an acceptable term during this era just as African American and black are today. The term "colored people" is also used in the documents. Both terms may be used in the lesson as they relate to references of such in the documents.
- The Division of Negro Economics was created to study the large demographic shift of blacks from the South to the North from 1916 to 1917. Employees of that division wrote the book.
- In the introduction to the book, Secretary of Labor W.B. Wilson noted fears prompted by the migration: In the North, workers feared potential competition and reduced wages. In the South, employers feared lost crops due to fewer workers.
- All of the surveys for the book (which were primarily one-on-one interviews) were conducted by college-educated "competent Federal employees of the Negro race." Race relations were such at the time that blacks were more likely to speak openly with black interviewers than white interviewers.

Negro Migration During the War

- The book was written by Emmett J. Scott. Scott was a journalist and close adviser to Booker T. Washington. Scott served as Special Assistant for Negro Affairs to the Secretary of War during Woodrow Wilson's administration. His book is referenced in Isabel Wilkerson's book, *The Warmth of Other Suns: The Epic Story of America's Great Migration*.

  Teacher note: The excerpts are copied from the original text, including original errors. Also, some spelling, grammar, and punctuation may differ from what is generally accepted today.

8. Review the questions each group will be answering. Remind the students to review their questions again before they begin reading the primary source documents. Note that answers to the first questions will differ for each group: Those assigned a northern group will be looking for evidence of a labor shortage and those assigned a southern group will be looking for evidence of a labor surplus.

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9. Explain that all group members are responsible for supplying answers from the perspective of the assigned category of people. The completed perspective pages will be posted for a gallery walk. Each group will need to decide who will do each of the following jobs:
    - **Record agreed-upon answers:** Number the questions on the sticky-note paper and write the group's answers.
    - **Find PACED-model alternatives:** List alternatives for black workers in the South considering migration to the North.
    - **Find PACED-model criteria:** List criteria for black workers in the South considering migration to the North.
    - **Apply the economic terms:** Identify how the given economic terms apply to the acceleration of the Great Migration.
    - **Check sources:** Locate the answers in the specific documents.

10. Allow time for the groups to work and then post the completed perspective pages around the room for a gallery walk. Instruct the students to move around the room and view the pages.

11. After the gallery walk, discuss the following:
    - As the Great Migration accelerated, how did the perspectives vary from group to group? (*Answers will vary but may include the following:*
        - *Black migrants saw the opportunity for higher wages, better schools for children, better treatment in the courts and cars (trains), and better housing.*
        - *Southern planters were concerned about the loss of workers and distrusting of those who lured workers away.*
        - *Southern small-farm farmers were glad to see competition for jobs go away and wages for themselves improve in the South.*
        - *Northern industrialists needed a source of steady cheap labor because of the lack of immigrant workers and to weaken the labor demands of immigrant workers trying to unionize.*
        - *Agents welcomed the opportunity to make money by connecting workers with jobs.*
        - *White immigrant workers in the North viewed blacks as union breakers who kept wages low.*)
    - What can be gained by looking at a historical event from different points of view? (*Answers will vary but may include a greater understanding of why people made the choices they did, new insights into behavior, and historical context of present-day issues.*)

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- How difficult was it for you to assume the perspective of your group in the 1917 time period? (*Answers will vary but for some it may be very difficult and for others it may feel very natural.*)

  Teacher note: Reflections on how the past influences present-day perspectives are likely.

12. Redisplay Visual 2. Ask the students how each of the following economic concepts related to the acceleration of the Great Migration:

    - Supply (*The quantity of workers willing and able to work [produce their labor] at all possible wages during that time was the main reason African Americans chose to migrate from the South to the North. There was a greater supply of work in the North than in the South and a greater supply of workers in the South than in the North. Also the quantity of housing and food were in greater supply in the North than in the South.*)
    - Demand (*The quantity of employers willing and able to employ (hire) workers at all possible prices during that time was greater in the North than in the South. Industrialists in the North were willing and able to pay higher prices for labor than landowners in the South. Also, the quantity of houses and food consumers were greater in the North than in the South.*)
    - Factors of production (*Land: farmland in the South and gifts of nature—iron ore, coal, etc.; labor: workers toiling; capital goods: factory machines, plows, railway cars, etc.*)
    - Shortage (*The quantity of workers demanded in the North exceeded the quantity supplied—that is, there was a shortage of workers in the North. There was also a shortage of schools and housing for blacks in the South.*)
    - Surplus (*The quantity of workers supplied in the South exceeded the quantity demanded—that is, there was a surplus of workers in the South. There were not enough jobs for people who wanted them in the South.*)
    - Human capital (*By moving to the North, black migrant workers were able to increase their human capital by training for new jobs and gaining experience in those jobs, and their children were building human capital by getting an education.*)
    - Opportunity cost (*For migrants, their opportunity costs were the values of their next-best alternatives when they moved; it's what they gave up. For most migrants, their next-best alternative was to move within the South.*)

13. Discuss the following:

    - How did competition for jobs influence race relations? (*Tension arose in the South between white farmers and African Americans who were competing for land and job opportunities. In the North, white immigrants considered migrants "strikebreaking scabs." Sectional wounds were reopened as Southern planters contended that*

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Northern industrialists were stealing their labor force by enticing African Americans to move north to work.)

- How did shortages of labor influence race relations in the South? (*There is evidence that conditions for blacks improved in some cases because of the need to keep them in the South to work.*)
- How did labor surpluses and labor shortages play a part in the Great Migration? (*In the North, due to the decline in immigration, there was a shortage of labor. In the South, due to boll weevils, storms, and poor crops, there was a shortage of capital [money] needed to employ labor, so there was a surplus of labor.*)

14. Explain that the class will now apply the PACED decisionmaking model to the decision southern blacks faced about migrating. Review the model:

    Step 1: Define the **P**roblem

    Step 2: List the **A**lternatives

    Step 3: Choose **C**riteria

    Step 4: **E**valuate the Alternatives

    Step 5: Make a **D**ecision

15. Draw a grid on the board placing the alternatives on the left and the criteria along the top. (See the sample below Procedure 16.)
    - What were alternatives for southern blacks? (*Don't move, move to the North, or move within the South*)
    - What were likely criteria southern blacks considered when deciding whether to move? (*Wages, better schools for children, better housing, fairer treatment in the courts, the likelihood of lynching, weather, treatment in the cars [trains]*)

16. Ask the students to decide for each alternative which criteria are met for southern blacks in 1917 at the acceleration of the Great Migration. Place a minus sign if the criterion is not met and a plus sign if it is. Total the pluses for each alternative. Discuss the following:
    - Which alternative has the most pluses? (*Move to the North*)
    - Which alternative is the next best? (*Move within the South*)
    - What is the definition of opportunity cost? (*The value of the next-best alternative when a decision is made; it's what is given up*)
    - What was the opportunity cost for blacks who decided to move north? (*Giving up moving to another place in the South*)

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PACED Decisionmaking Model						
Alternatives	**Criteria**					
	Higher wages	**Better schools**	**Better housing**	**Fairer treatment**	**Good weather**	**Totals**
Don't move	–	–	–	–	+	1
Move North	+	+	+	+	–	4
Move within the South	+	–	–	–	+	2

Closure

17. Discuss the perspectives of people from the southern and northern groups regarding evidence of changes that took place as a result of the acceleration of the Great Migration:

    - Southern perspectives (***Blacks who stayed in the South:*** *Some received remittances [money] from family members who had migrated to the North. Some enjoyed better wages, better treatment as tenants, improved schools for children, and improved housing.* ***Southern small-farm farmers:*** *They had to pay workers more, use more machinery, and switch to raising livestock and grass because they required less labor. There was less competition for scarce farmland.* ***Southern planters:*** *Those who successfully kept their labor provided better housing, gardens, assurance of financing, and more contact with tenants.*)
    - Northern perspectives (***Blacks who migrated to the North:*** *They earned higher wages, obtained better housing, had access to better schools, access to the ballot [voting], and were treated better on the cars [trains].* ***Northern industrialists:*** *Migrants allowed them to stave off organized labor and the eight-hour work day. Some, however, were disappointed by the high turnover of workers.* ***White immigrant workers in the North:*** *Negro workers often broke their strikes and took their jobs because they were willing to work for less.*)
    - How did the labor shortage in the North and the labor surplus in the South contribute to the Great Migration? (*Job availability in the North and lack of jobs in the South prompted the acceleration of the Great Migration in 1916-17.*)
    - How can the PACED decisionmaking model be applied to the Great Migration? (*The PACED model is a systematic approach to problem solving. Applying the model to evidence about the acceleration of the Great Migration shows why so many people chose to move to the North.*)
    - How did labor opportunities differ for blacks who migrated from the South to the North? (*Many blacks moved from manual labor agricultural jobs in the South*

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to manufacturing jobs in the North. Factories had more physical capital [large machines, conveyors, etc.]. This access to more physical capital increased productivity. In the South, as manual labor was in shorter supply, more labor-saving physical capital was used on farms and plantations, allowing them to produce goods with fewer workers.)

- Why was there less material for some perspectives? (Negro Migration in 1916-17 *focused on migrants, so there was less contact with northern immigrants and southern small-farm farmers. Also, the men who conducted the surveys were black. Poor, white, southern small-farm farmers were not likely to talk with them, nor were white northern immigrants. Also, no agent was likely to want to go on record for fear of jail time for violation of licensing laws in the South.*)
- How did the Great Migration connect with the Underground Railroad? (*Negroes from rural districts moved first to the nearest village or town. It was more secure to meet a labor agent in a city. Free transportation from Florida and Georgia on railroad cars hastened the departure.*)
- What does the map on page 71 of *Negro Migration During the War* show about the Great Migration? (*Answers may include that few migrants went West and Northwest, while most went to the Northeast and Upper Midwest and settled in cities.*)
- Why did the opportunity for blacks to migrate increase in 1916-17? (*The cessation of immigrant labor from Europe due to WWI created a labor shortage that opened the window of opportunity for blacks from the South to migrate. Agents were employed to actively recruit black workers in the South to fill job openings in the North.*)

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Visual 1: PACED Decisionmaking Model

PACED Decisionmaking Model							
	Criteria						
	Alternatives	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	Totals
	1.						
	2.						
	3.						
	4.						
	5.						

econlowdown
click. teach. engage.

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Visual 2: Economic Terms

Factors of production

- **Natural resources**—Things that occur naturally in and on the earth that are used to produce goods and services.
- **Labor**—The quantity and quality of human effort directed toward producing goods and services. Also known as human resources.
- **Capital resources**—Goods that have been produced and are used to produce other goods and services. They are used over and over again in the production process. Also called capital goods and physical capital.

Scarcity—The condition that exists because there are not enough resources to produce everyone's wants.

Supply—The quantity of a good or service that producers are willing and able to sell at all possible prices during a certain time period.

Demand—The quantity of a good or service that consumers are willing and able to buy at all possible prices during a certain time period.

Shortage—When the quantity demanded of a good or service exceeds the quantity supplied at a particular price.

Surplus—When the quantity supplied of a good or service exceeds the quantity demanded at a particular price.

Human capital—The knowledge and skills that people obtain through education, experience, and training.

Opportunity cost—The value of the next-best alternative when a decision is made; it's what is given up.

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Handout 1: Group 1—Black Migrant Workers from the South

Directions

- Pretend that it is 1917 and you are black migrants from the South now working in the North.
- Review the questions with your group.
- Read excerpts from primary source documents in the "Group 1" file in the online folder for this class
- Consider the ideas, attitudes, and beliefs of your assigned category and answer the questions from the perspective of those people.
- Combine your answers to create a perspectives page for your assigned category.
- Decide who will do each of the following jobs:

    - Record agreed-upon answers: Number the questions on the sticky-note paper and write the group's answers.
    - Find PACED-model alternatives: List alternatives for black southern workers considering migration to the North.
    - Find PACED-model criteria: List criteria for black southern workers considering migration to the North.
    - Apply the economic terms: Identify how the given economic terms apply to the acceleration of the Great Migration.
    - Check sources: Locate the answers in the specific documents.

1. **What factors caused a labor surplus in the South?**
2. **What factors contributed to balancing the labor supply between the surplus in the South and the shortage in the North?**
3. **What changes in conditions were evident for migrants in the North after the acceleration of the Great Migration?**
4. **What changes in conditions were evident in the South for those who stayed behind after the acceleration of the Great Migration?**

Economic Concepts

Factors of production	Scarcity	Surplus
• Natural resources	Supply	Human capital
• Labor	Demand	Opportunity cost
• Capital resources	Shortage	

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Handout 2: Group 2—Southern Planters

Directions

- Pretend that it is 1917 and you are southern planters in the South.
- Review the questions with your group.
- Read excerpts from primary source documents in the "Group 2" file in the online folder for this class
- Consider the ideas, attitudes, and beliefs of your assigned category and answer the questions from the perspective of those people.
- Combine your answers to create a perspectives page for your assigned category.
- Decide who will do each of the following jobs:

    - Record agreed-upon answers: Number the questions on the sticky-note paper and write the group's answers.
    - Find PACED-model alternatives: List alternatives for black southern workers considering migration to the North.
    - Find PACED-model criteria: List criteria for black southern workers considering migration to the North.
    - Apply the economic terms: Identify how the given economic terms apply to the acceleration of the Great Migration.
    - Check sources: Locate the answers in the specific documents.

1. What factors caused a labor surplus in the South?

2. What factors contributed to balancing the labor supply between the surplus in the South and the shortage in the North?

3. What changes were evident in the South after the acceleration of the Great Migration?

Economic Concepts

Factors of production	Scarcity	Surplus
• Natural resources	Supply	Human capital
• Labor	Demand	Opportunity cost
• Capital resources	Shortage	

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Handout 3: Group 3—Southern Small-Farm Farmers

Directions

- Pretend that it is 1917 and you are southern small-farm farmers in the South.
- Review the questions with your group.
- Read excerpts from primary source documents in the "Group 3" file in the online folder for this class
- Consider the ideas, attitudes, and beliefs of your assigned category and answer the questions from the perspective of those people.
- Combine your answers to create a perspectives page for your assigned category.
- Decide who will do each of the following jobs:

    - Record agreed-upon answers: Number the questions on the sticky-note paper and write the group's answers.
    - Find PACED-model alternatives: List alternatives for black southern workers considering migration to the North.
    - Find PACED-model criteria: List criteria for black southern workers considering migration to the North.
    - Apply the economic terms: Identify how the given economic terms apply to the acceleration of the Great Migration.
    - Check sources: Locate the answers in the specific documents.

1. What factors caused a labor surplus in the South?

2. What factors contributed to balancing the labor supply between the surplus in the South and the shortage in the North?

3. What changes were evident in the South after the acceleration of the Great Migration?

Economic Concepts

Factors of production	Scarcity	Surplus
• Natural resources	Supply	Human capital
• Labor	Demand	Opportunity cost
• Capital resources	Shortage	

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Handout 4: Group 4—Northern Industrialists

Directions

- Pretend that it is 1917 and you are northern industrialists.
- Review the questions with your group.
- Read excerpts from primary source documents in the "Group 4" file in the online folder for this class
- Consider the ideas, attitudes, and beliefs of your assigned category and answer the questions from the perspective of those people.
- Combine your answers to create a perspectives page for your assigned category.
- Decide who will do each of the following jobs:

    - Record agreed-upon answers: Number the questions on the sticky-note paper and write the group's answers.
    - Find PACED-model alternatives: List alternatives for black southern workers considering migration to the North.
    - Find PACED-model criteria: List criteria for black southern workers considering migration to the North.
    - Apply the economic terms: Identify how the given economic terms apply to the acceleration of the Great Migration.
    - Check sources: Locate the answers in the specific documents.

1. What factors caused a labor shortage in the North?

2. What factors contributed to balancing the labor supply between the surplus in the South and the shortage in the North?

3. What impact did the acceleration of the Great Migration have on the supply of workers in the North?

Economic Concepts

Factors of production	Scarcity	Surplus
• Natural resources	Supply	Human capital
• Labor	Demand	Opportunity cost
• Capital resources	Shortage	

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Handout 5: Group 5—Agents

Directions

- Pretend that it is 1917 and you are agents encouraging workers to move to the North to work.
- Review the questions with your group.
- Read excerpts from primary source documents in the "Group 5" file in the online folder for this class
- Consider the ideas, attitudes, and beliefs of your assigned category and answer the questions from the perspective of those people.
- Combine your answers to create a perspectives page for your assigned category.
- Decide who will do each of the following jobs:

    - Record agreed-upon answers: Number the questions on the sticky-note paper and write the group's answers.
    - Find PACED-model alternatives: List alternatives for black southern workers considering migration to the North.
    - Find PACED-model criteria: List criteria for black southern workers considering migration to the North.
    - Apply the economic terms: Identify how the given economic terms apply to the acceleration of the Great Migration.
    - Check sources: Locate the answers in the specific documents.

1. **What factors caused a labor shortage in the North?**
2. **What factors contributed to balancing the labor supply between the surplus in the South and the shortage in the North? Also, what hindrances were there to efforts to balance the labor supply?**
3. **What impact did the acceleration of the Great Migration have on the imbalance between the supply of workers in the North and South?**

Economic Concepts

Factors of production	Scarcity	Surplus
• Natural resources	Supply	Human capital
• Labor	Demand	Opportunity cost
• Capital resources	Shortage	

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Handout 6: Group 6—White Immigrant Workers in the North

Directions

- Pretend that it is 1917 and you are white immigrant workers in the North.
- Review the questions with your group.
- Read excerpts from primary source documents in the "Group 6" file in the online folder for this class
- Consider the ideas, attitudes, and beliefs of your assigned category and answer the questions from the perspective of those people.
- Combine your answers to create a perspectives page for your assigned category.
- Decide who will do each of the following jobs:

    - Record agreed-upon answers: Number the questions on the sticky-note paper and write the group's answers.
    - Find PACED-model alternatives: List alternatives for black southern workers considering migration to the North.
    - Find PACED-model criteria: List criteria for black southern workers considering migration to the North.
    - Apply the economic terms: Identify how the given economic terms apply to the acceleration of the Great Migration.
    - Check sources: Locate the answers in the specific documents.

1. What factors caused a labor shortage in the North?

2. What factors contributed to balancing the labor supply between the surplus in the South and the shortage in the North?

3. What impact did the acceleration of the Great Migration have on working conditions in the North?

Economic Concepts

Factors of production	Scarcity	Surplus
• Natural resources	Supply	Human capital
• Labor	Demand	Opportunity cost
• Capital resources	Shortage	

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Handout 1: Group 1—Black Migrant Workers from the South—Teacher Answer Key

Teacher note: Unless otherwise noted, answers are from *Negro Migration in 1916-17*.

1. What factors caused a labor surplus in the South?

Pages 11-12: Ravages of boll weevils, floods, and changes in crop systems led to excess labor.

Pages 21-22: Reorganization of agriculture required fewer workers.

Page 51: The boll weevil caused a surplus of labor since so many cotton crops were destroyed.

Pages 60-61: The old system of cotton planting was replaced with stock raising and diversification of crops, which required fewer workers. Flooding destroyed crops.

2. What factors contributed to balancing the labor supply between the surplus in the South and the shortage in the North?

Pages 21-22: Hunger wages in Mississippi and the attractions of northern and industrial centers—higher wages, better living conditions, better schools, and better treatment on the cars (trains)

Pages 28-29: Blacks sent letters home telling of better conditions and sent money as well.

Page 88: Lynching parties, mob violence, false accusations, and overzealous jailing for minor offenses

Page 101: Blacks believed God had opened a way to leave the oppression of the South and felt poorly treated by whites.

3. What changes in conditions were evident for migrants in the North after the acceleration of the Great Migration?

Pages 10-12: Better wages, paying the same rent for a better house, and better schooling for children

Page 38: Living conditions improved: "A country Negro may not use the bathtub in the house he rents in Chicago, but it's there and he writes home about it."

4. What changes in conditions were evident in the South for those who stayed behind after the acceleration of the Great Migration?

Pages 28-29: Money was sent to family in the South.

Negro Migration During the War

Pages 83-84: In Mississippi, $25,000 was designated for a negro agricultural high school and a race relations committee was formed.

Page 86: Common labor wages in Thomasville, Georgia, increased 100 percent and in Brunswick and Savannah increased 50 percent.

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Handout 2: Group 2—Southern Planters—Teacher Answer Key

Answers are from *Negro Migration in 1916-17*.

1. What factors caused a labor surplus in the South?

Page 60: Destroyed crops forced planters to let tenants go. Planters couldn't feed workers and released them from contracts and did not charge them rents.

Pages 21-22: There was lack of capital due to the boll weevil, storms, and poor crops, and thus no money to share with sharecroppers. Fewer laborers were needed for cattle ranching and food crops.

2. What factors contributed to balancing the labor supply between the surplus in the South and the shortage in the North?

Page 12: Labor agents, the negro press, letters from workers in the North, and railroads

3. What changes were evident in the South after the acceleration of the Great Migration?

Page 44: Successful planters fed and clothed tenants, planted fruit trees, kept houses and yards in repair, rewarded the "good croppers," built churches and schools, assisted in finding preachers and teachers, adhered to state laws, approved motherhood, attended to sanitation, paid for two months of school, introduced three- and five-year leases, rotated crops, provided a garden and truck patch, and shared rents.

Page 70: "[T]he exodus of Negroes has not stopped with the removal of the surplus, but has continued until there is a serious shortage."

Page 87: Planters who were able to keep their labor gave them extra benefits—for example, one planter had clothing mended for single men, provided for food preparation, improved housing, and provided pork throughout the winter.

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Handout 3: Group 3—Southern Small-Farm Farmers—Teacher Answer Key

Answers are from *Negro Migration in 1916-17*.

1. What factors caused a labor surplus in the South?

Pages 21-22: Lack of capital (no money) due to crop failure from boll weevils and storms and the switch from producing cotton to raising beef cattle reduced the need for workers.

2. What factors contributed to balancing the labor supply between the surplus in the South and the shortage in the North?

Page 74: Labor agents from the North solicited negroes to move north. The railroads added extra cars to accommodate the number of people moving.

3. What changes were evident in the South after the acceleration of the Great Migration?

Pages 40-42: Because there was "barely enough" land to go around, white farmers felt the negro and his child were "taking the place in the sun needed by the white farmer for his own children." Some wanted negroes to leave the state; others wanted enough negroes to leave so that they would no longer be a majority in the state and become a minority is certain locations.

Page 67: Farmers increased wages on average 10 to 20 percent and even more when they had to complete with lumber mills and mines for workers.

Pages 73-74: There were fewer workers available, especially for cotton picking. Farmers moved to sowing grass and raising livestock as a result. More farm machinery was used to make up for fewer workers.

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Handout 4: Group 4—Northern Industrialists—Teacher Answer Key

Answers are from *Negro Migration in 1916-17*.

1. What factors caused a labor shortage in the North?

Pages 10-11: Immigration from Europe ceased.

2. What factors contributed to balancing the labor supply between the surplus in the South and the shortage in the North?

Pages 21-22: Hunger wages in Mississippi and the attractions of northern and industrial centers—higher wages, better living conditions, better schools, and better treatment on the cars (trains)

Page 151: Industrialists provided "housing quarters on a family basis," for which they received "some of the steadiest and most dependable men" they employed.

3. What impact did the acceleration of the Great Migration have on the supply of workers in the North?

Pages 11-12: Numerical estimates indicate between 150,000 and 350,000 migrants moved from the South to the North during this period.

Page 119: Pittsburgh still didn't have enough laborers even though labor agents had been hired. There was an extremely high turnover rate for negro workers.

Page 123: There was an extremely high turnover rate for negro workers. The railroads couldn't get enough workers because they paid the least.

Page 137: Southern migrants staved off or prevented the movement toward organization (unions) and an eight-hour work day, which foreign workers had wanted. They also allowed industrialists to "mix it up" and secure "a balance the power" among the labor force.

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Handout 5: Group 5—Agents—Teacher Answer Key

Answers are from *Negro Migration in 1916-17*.

1. What factors caused a labor shortage in the North?

Page 11: Immigration from Europe ceased.

Teacher note: The United States did not enter World War I until April 6, 1917, which was after the surveys were conducted for *Negro Migration in 1916-17*; thus the need to replace workers who had become soldiers was not yet an issue.

2. What factors contributed to balancing the labor supply between the surplus in the South and the shortage in the North? Also, what hindrances were there to efforts to balance the labor supply?

Page 28: Labor agents "acquainted negroes with the superior wages of the North, and with the greater degree of equality of treatment in the courts, in the schools, in the cars, at the polls, and elsewhere." Agents also helped secure free transportation and jobs but had to be secretive while in the South because Southerners did not want to lose their labor supply.

Page 62: Agents were the middlemen in the exodus, furnishing transportation and making leaving easy for migrants.

Page 65: Some states required agents to become licensed and charged a huge amount for the license. Circulars (advertisements) recruited negro miners and steelworkers. Subagents "disguised as salesmen and insurance agents" also solicited workers.

Page 86: Low wages in the South and high wages in the North contributed to workers moving to the North. Georgia charged labor agents a $500 license fee, and some were arrested in the South for trying to help negroes move north to work. The Pennsylvania and Erie railroads hired labor agents to recruit workers from the South.

3. What impact did the acceleration of the Great Migration have on the imbalance between the supply of workers in the North and South?

Pages 27-28: Surplus labor from the South moved to the North where there was a shortage of workers.

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Handout 6: Group 6—White Immigrant Workers in the North— Teacher Answer Key

Answers are from *Negro Migration in 1916-17*.

1. What factors caused a labor shortage in the North?

Pages 11-12: Immigration from Europe ceased.

2. What factors contributed to balancing the labor supply between the surplus in the South and the shortage in the North?

Page 12: Labor agents, the negro press, letters from workers in the North, railroads

3. What impact did the acceleration of the Great Migration have on working conditions in the North?

Pages 129-130: There was more competition for jobs. Negro workers were strikebreakers and some white men lost their positions.

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Standard and Benchmarks

College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards

Dimension 2: Applying Disciplinary Concepts and Tool

- History: Perspectives

  D2.His.4.6-8: Analyze multiple factors that influenced the perspectives of people during different historical eras.

  D2.His.6.6-8: Analyze how people's perspectives influenced what information is available in the historical sources they created.

  D2.His.4.9-12: Analyze complex and interacting factors that influenced the perspectives of people during different historical eras.

  D2.His.8.9-12: Analyze how current interpretations of the past are limited by the extent to which available historical sources represent perspectives of people at the time.

  D2.His.6.9-12: Analyze the ways in which the perspectives of those writing history shaped the history that they produced.

  D2.His.7.9-12: Explain how the perspectives of people in the present shape interpretations of the past.

- Historical Sources and Evidence

  D2.His.9.9-12: Analyze the relationship between historical sources and the secondary interpretations made from them.

Voluntary National Content Standards in Economics

Standard 1: Scarcity. Productive resources are limited. Therefore, people cannot have all the goods and services they want; as a result, they must choose some things and give up others.

- Benchmarks: Grade 8

  2. Making good choices should involve trading off the expected value of one opportunity against the expected value of its best alternative.
  3. The choices people make have both present and future consequences.
  4. The evaluation of choices and opportunity costs is subjective; such evaluations differ across individuals and societies.

- Benchmarks: Grade 12

  1. Choices made by individuals, firms, or government officials are constrained by the resources to which they have access.

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Group 1: Black Migrant Workers from the South—Handout 1 (page 1 of 29)

Directions

- Pretend that it is 1917 and you are black migrants from the South now working in the North.
- Review the questions with your group.
- Read excerpts from primary source documents in the "Group 1" file in the online folder for this class
- Consider the ideas, attitudes, and beliefs of your assigned category and answer the questions from the perspective of those people.
- Combine your answers to create a perspectives page for your assigned category.
- Decide who will do each of the following jobs:

    - Record agreed-upon answers: Number the questions on the sticky-note paper and write the group's answers.
    - Find PACED-model alternatives: List alternatives for black southern workers considering migration to the North.
    - Find PACED-model criteria: List criteria for black southern workers considering migration to the North.
    - Apply the economic terms: Identify how the given economic terms apply to the acceleration of the Great Migration.
    - Check sources: Locate the answers in the specific documents.

1. **What factors caused a labor surplus in the South?**
2. **What factors contributed to balancing the labor supply between the surplus in the South and the shortage in the North?**
3. **What changes in conditions were evident for migrants in the North after the acceleration of the Great Migration?**
4. **What changes in conditions were evident in the South for those who stayed behind after the acceleration of the Great Migration?**

Economic Concepts

Factors of production	Scarcity	Surplus
• Natural resources	Supply	Human capital
• Labor	Demand	Opportunity cost
• Capital resources	Shortage	

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Group 1: Black Migrant Workers from the South (page 2 of 29)
Visual 1: PACED Decisionmaking Model

PACED Decisionmaking Model							
	Alternatives	Criteria 1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	Totals
	1.						
	2.						
	3.						
	4.						
	5.						

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Group 1: Black Migrant Workers from the South (page 3 of 29)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott***

"Editor's Preface," David Kinley, page iii

I think that no one more capable than Dr. Emmett J. Scott could have been found to present to the public a study on the subject of this monograph. The topic is one of great public importance, and the author is equipped for its treatment both by his wide knowledge of the subject and his sympathy with the viewpoint of his race.

The problem of negro labor, its diffusion and its adaptation to more numerous kinds of work, are problems not only of great public importance but of great difficulty. Whatever views one may hold on the general subject of race relations between the negroes and the whites in this country, there is no question that we can not reach safe conclusions without a full knowledge of the facts as they appear to both of the interested parties. For that reason this presentation by Dr. Scott is a welcome addition to our information on the subject.

Sympathetically read it will help the whites to understand better the negro viewpoint, and will help the negroes to appreciate more fully the difficulties which appear from the white viewpoint. This is a field in which Tennyson's words are preeminently true, that "Knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers." Yet we can not hope ever to attain the necessary wisdom excepting by an increasing fulness of knowledge. Therefore I commend this study to every one who is interested in the question for dispassionate reading and consideration.

*Scott, Emmett J. *Negro Migration During the War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1920.

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Group 1: Black Migrant Workers from the South (page 4 of 29)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter III: Stimulation of the Movement

Page 31

In answer to the warnings of the South against the rigors of the northern winters, the *Defender* [newspaper] said:

> To die from the bite of frost is far more glorious than at the hands of a mob. I beg you, my brother, to leave the benighted land. You are a free man. Show the world that you will not let false leaders lead you. Your neck has been in the yoke. Will you continue to keep it there because some "white folks' nigger" wants you to? Leave for all quarters of the globe. Get out of the South. Your being there in the numbers in which you are gives the southern politician too strong a hold on your progress... So much has been said through the white papers in the South about the members of the race freezing to death in the North. They freeze to death down South when they don't take care of themselves. There is no reason for any human staying in the Southland on this bugaboo handed out by the white press.[1]

If you can freeze to death in the North and be free, why freeze to death in the South and be a slave, where your mother, sister and daughter are raped and burned at the stake; where your father, brother and sons are treated with contempt and hung to a pole, riddled with bullets at the least mention that he does not like the way he is treated. Come North then, all you folks, both good and bad. If you don't behave yourselves up here, the jails will certainly make you wish you had. For the hard-working man there is plenty of work—if you really want it. The *Defender* says come.[2]

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[1] The following clippings are taken from these white papers:

"Aged Negro Frozen to Death—Albany, Ga., February 8.

"Yesterday the dead body of Peter Crowder, an old negro, was found in out-of-the-way place where he had been frozen to death during the recent cold snap."—*Macon Telegraph*.

"Dies from Exposure—Spartanburg, S. C., February 6.

"Marshall Jackson, a negro man, who lived on the farm of J.T. Harris near Campobello, Sunday night froze to death."—*South Carolina State*.

"Negro Frozen to Death in Fireless Gretna Hut.

"Coldest weather in the last four years claimed a victim Friday night, when Archie Williams, a negro, was frozen to death in his bed in a little hut in the outskirts of Gretna."—*New Orleans Item*, February 4.

"Negro Woman Frozen to Death Monday.

"Harriet Tolbert, an aged negro woman, was frozen to death in her home at 18 Garibaldi Street early Monday morning during the severe cold."—*Atlanta Constitution*, February 6.

[2] Articles such as the following kept alive the spirit of the exodus:

"Tampa, Florida, January 19. J.T. King, supposed to be a race leader, is using his wits to get on the good side of the white people by calling a meeting to urge our people not to migrate north. King has been termed a 'good nigger' by his pernicious activity on the emigration question. Reports have been received here that all who have gone north are at work and pleased with the splendid conditions in the North. It is known here that in the North there is a scarcity of labor; mills and factories are open to them. People are not paying any attention to King and are packing and ready to travel north to the 'promised land.'"

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Group 1: Black Migrant Workers from the South (page 5 of 29)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter III: Stimulation of the Movement

Page 35

"The foreign laborer has been called home to bear arms for his country. The daily death toll [from Word War I] and waste and the recently enacted immigration law make it certain that he will not soon return in great numbers. As a result a large market exists for the negro laborer in localities in which he would have been considered an impudent trespasser had he attempted to enter a few years ago. The history of the world from the days of Moses to the present shows that where one race has been subjugated, oppressed or proscribed by another and exists in large numbers, permanent relief has come in one or two ways—amalgamation or migration. The thought of amalgamation is not to be entertained. If conditions in the South for the colored man are to be permanently improved, many of those who now live there should migrate and scatter throughout the North, East and West. I believe the present opportunity providential."—Hon. John C. Ashbury, Philadelphia Bar.

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Group 1: Black Migrant Workers from the South (page 6 of 29)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter V: The Call of the Self-Sufficient North

Pages 52-53

The following is a statement taken from reports of the Bureau of Foreign Immigration.

Immigration Since 1913

Year	Number
1913	1,197,892
1914	1,218,480
1915	326,700
1916	298,826
1917	295,403

The decrease of over 900,000 immigrants, on whom the industries of the North depended, caused a grave situation. It must be remembered also that of the 295,403 arrivals in 1917, there were included 32,346 English, 24,405 French and 13,350 Scotch who furnish but a small quota of the laboring classes. There were also 16,438 Mexicans who came over the border, and who, for the most part, live and work in the Southwest. The type of immigration which kept prime the labor market of the North and Northwest came in through Ellis Island. Of these, Mr. Frederick C. Howe, Commissioner of Immigration, said that "only enough have come to balance those who have left." He adds further that "As a result, there has been a great shortage of labor in many of our industrial sections that may last as long as the war."

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Group 1: Black Migrant Workers from the South (page 7 of 29)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VI: The Draining of the Black Belt

Page 65

The interstate migration has resulted from the land poverty of the hill country and from intimidation of the "poor whites" in Amite, Lincoln, Franklin and Wilkinson counties [in Mississippi]. In 1908 when the floods and boll weevil worked such general havoc in the southwestern corner of the State, labor agents the Delta went down and carried away thousands of families. It is estimated that more than 8,000 negroes left Adams county during the first two years of the boll weevil period. Census figures for 1910 show that the southwestern counties suffered a loss of 18,000 negroes. The migration of recent years to adjacent States has been principally to Arkansas.[1]

[1] The reasons back of this, as obtained from migrants themselves, are that, except in the town of Mound Bayou, negroes have not been encouraged to own property or rent, but to work on shares; in Arkansas it is possible to buy good land cheaply and on reasonable terms; inducements are offered by Arkansas in the form of better treatment and schools; there are no such "excessive" taxes as are required in the Mississippi Delta to protect them from the overflows; the boll weevil has not yet seriously affected that State, and a small farmer may be fairly independent in Arkansas.

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Group 1: Black Migrant Workers from the South (page 8 of 29)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VI: The Draining of the Black Belt

Page 66, Footnote 1

The lumber mills and the local corporations provide a great part of the work for laborers in the city. Wages last year ranged from $1.25 to $1.50 a day. Wages at present are $1.75 and $2 a day. Cotton picking last year brought 60 and 75 cents a hundred; at present $2 is paid for every hundred pounds picked. The city has enacted "move on" laws intending to get rid of drones. The police, it is said, could not distinguish drones from "all negroes."

It was further complained that the police deputies and sheriffs are too free with the use of their clubs and guns when a negro is involved. It was related that Dr.———, practicing 47 years in Greenville, Mississippi, was driving his buggy in a crowded street on circus day when he was commanded by a policeman to drive to one side and let a man pass. He replied that he could not because he himself was jammed. He was commanded again and then dragged from the buggy, clubbed and haled into the police court and fined. The officer who arrested him swore that he had given frequent trouble, which was untrue according to reliable testimony and his own statement. This incident is also told:

A policeman's friend needed a cook. The policeman drove by a negro home and, seeing a woman on the porch, told her to get in the buggy. No questions were permitted. She was carried to his friend's home and told to work. The woman prepared one meal and left the city for the North.— [Charles S.] Johnson, *Report on the Migration from Mississippi* [n. d.].

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Group 1: Black Migrant Workers from the South (page 9 of 29)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VI: The Draining of the Black Belt

Pages 68-69

It is an interesting fact that this migration from the South followed the path marked out by the Underground Railroad of antebellum days. Negroes from the rural districts moved first to the nearest village or town, then to the city. On the plantations it was not regarded safe to arrange for transportation to the North through receiving and sending letters. On the other hand, in the towns and cities there was more security in meeting labor agents. The result of it was that cities like New Orleans, Birmingham, Jacksonville, Savannah and Memphis became concentration points. From these cities migrants were rerouted along the lines most in favor.

The principal difference between this course and the Underground Railroad was that in the later movement the southernmost States contributed the largest numbers. This perhaps is due in part to the selection of Florida and Georgia by the first concerns offering the inducement of free transportation, and at the same time it accounts for the very general and intimate knowledge of the movement by the people in States through which they were forced to pass. In Hattiesburg, Mississippi, for example, the first intimation of a great movement of negroes to the North came through reports that thousands of negroes were leaving Florida for the North. To the negroes of Florida, South Carolina, Virginia and Georgia the North means Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York and New England. The route is more direct, and it is this section of the northern expanse of the United States that gets widest advertisement through tourists, and passengers and porters on the Atlantic coast steamers. The northern newspapers with the greatest circulation are from Pennsylvania and New York, and the New York colored weeklies are widely read. Reports from all of these south Atlantic States indicate that comparatively few persons ventured into the Northwest when a better known country lay before them.

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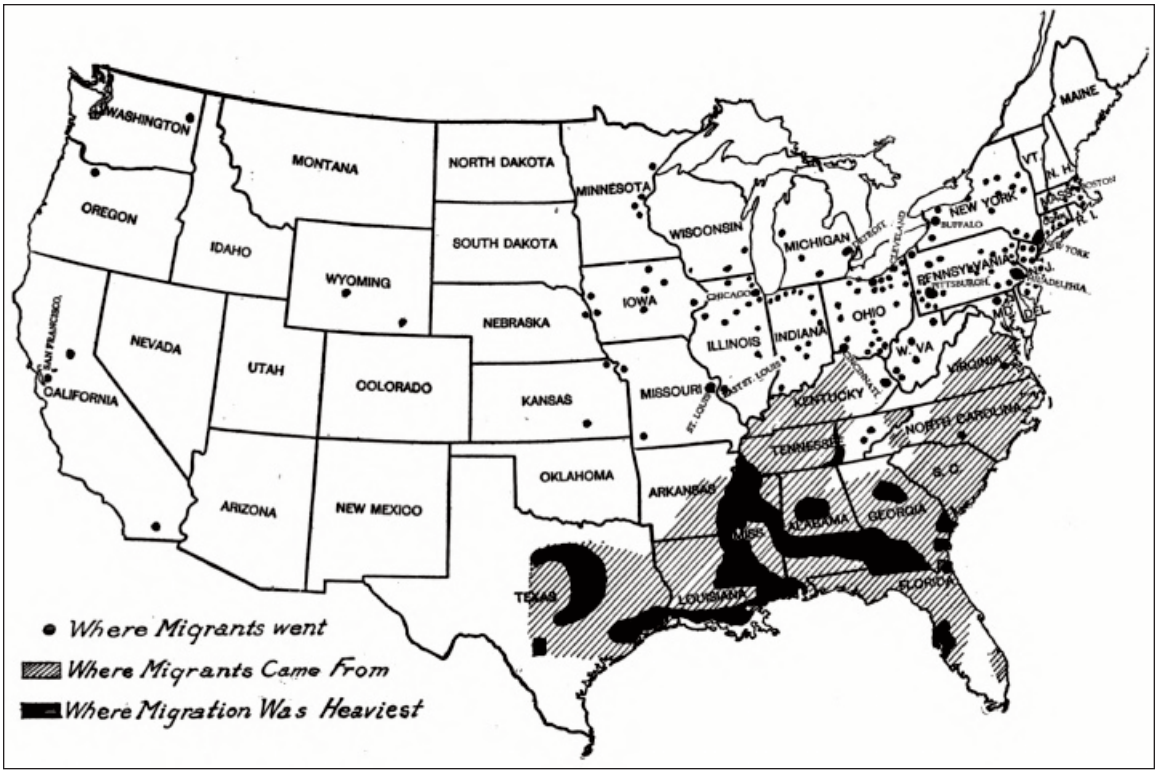
Group 1: Black Migrant Workers from the South (page 10 of 29)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VI: The Draining of the Black Belt

Page 71



econlowdown
click. teach. engage.

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Group 1: Black Migrant Workers from the South (page 11 of 29)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VII: Efforts to Check the Movement

Pages 78-79

...The federal authorities were importuned to stop the movement. They withdrew the assistance of the Employment Department, but admitted that they could not stop the interstate migration.[1]

One remarked, however, "It will scarcely be possible, to make a sectional issue of these Columbus convictions, as the charge of 'enticing away of labor in that country is aimed at certain Arkansas planters who carried away several carloads of negroes to work on their places, leaving the Mississippi employers without the labor to gather or grow their crops. It can not, therefore, be interpreted as an attempt to keep the negro in semislavery in the South and prevent him from going to work at better wages in the northern munition factories; it is only an effort to protect Mississippi employers from Arkansas planters."[2]

...After having enforced these drastic measures without securing satisfactory results, and having seen that any attempt to hold the negroes by force resulted apparently in an increased determination to leave, there was resort to the policy of frightening the negroes away from the North by circulating rumors as to the misfortunes to be experienced there. Negroes were then warned against the rigors of the northern winter and the death rate from pneumonia and tuberculosis. Social workers in the North reported frequent cases of men with simple colds who actually believed that they had developed "consumption." Speakers who wished to discourage the exodus reported "exact" figures on the death rate of the migrants in the North that were astounding. As, for example, it was said by one Reverend Mr. Parks that there were 2,000 of them sick in Philadelphia. The editor of a leading white paper in Jackson, Mississippi, made the remark that he feared that the result of the first winter's experience in the North would prove serious to the South, in so far as it would remove the bugbear of the northern climate. The returned migrants were encouraged to speak in disparagement of the North and to give wide publicity to their utterances, emphasizing incidents of suffering reported through the press.

When such efforts as these failed, however, the disconcerted planters and business men of the South resorted to another plan. Reconciliation and persuasion were tried. Meetings were held and speakers were secured and advised what to say. In

[1] Johnson, *Report on the Migration from Mississippi* [n.d.].

[2] *Times Picayune*, New Orleans, October 1, 1916.

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cities and communities where contact on this plane had been infrequent, it was a bit difficult to approach the subject. The press of Georgia gave much space to the discussion of the movement and what ought to be done to stop it. The consensus of opinion of the white papers in the State was that the negro had not been fairly treated, and that better treatment would be one of the most effective means of checking the migration. Mob violence, it was pointed out, was one of the chief causes of the exodus.[3]

[3] Johnson, *Report on the Migration from Mississippi* [n.d.].

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VII: Efforts to Check the Movement

Pages 83-84

It was found necessary to increase wages from ten to twenty-five per cent and in some cases as much as 100 per cent to hold labor. The reasons for migration given by negroes were sought. In almost all cases the chief complaint was about treatment. An effort was made to meet this by calling conferences and by giving publicity to the launching of a campaign to make unfair settlements and other such grievances unpopular. Thus, in Bolivar county, Mississippi, a meeting was called, ostensibly to look after the economic welfare of the Delta country, but in reality to develop some plan for holding labor. A subcommittee of seventeen men was appointed to look into the labor situation. There were twelve white men and five negroes. The subcommittee met and reported to the body that the present labor shortage was due to the migration, and that the migration was due to a feeling of insecurity before the law, the unrestrained action of mobs, unfair methods of yearly settlement on farms and inadequate school facilities. As a result of the report, it was agreed to make an appropriation of $25,000 towards an agricultural high school, as a step towards showing an interest in the negroes of Bolivar county and thus give them reasons for remaining. A campaign was started to make unpopular the practice among farmers of robbing negroes of the returns from their labor, and a general effort was made by a few of the leading men behind the movement to create “a better feeling” between the races.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VIII: Effects of the Movement on the South

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The first changes wrought by this migration were unusually startling. Homes found themselves without servants, factories could not operate because of the lack of labor, farmers were unable to secure laborers to harvest their crops. Streets in towns and cities once crowded assumed the aspect of deserted thoroughfares, houses in congested districts became empty, churches, lodges and societies suffered such a large loss of membership that they had to close up or undergo reorganization.

Probably the most striking change was the unusual increase in wages. The wages for common labor in Thomasville, Georgia, increased almost certainly 100 per cent. In Valdosta there was a general increase in the town and county of about 50 per cent, in Brunswick and Savannah the same condition obtained. The common laborer who had formerly received 80 cents a day earned thereafter $1.50 to $1.75. Farm hands working for from $10 to $15 per month were advanced to $20 or $35 per month. Brick masons who had received 50 cents per hour thereafter earned 62 1/2 cents and 70 cents per hour. In Savannah common laborers paid as high as $2 per day were advanced to $3. At the sugar refinery the rates were for women, 15 to 22 cents per hour, men, 22 to 30 cents per hour. In the more skilled lines of work, the wages were for carpenters, $4 to $6 per day, painters, $2.50 to $4 per day, and bricklayers $4 to $5 per day.

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For those who remained conditions were much more tolerable, although there appeared to persist a feeling of apprehension that these concessions would be retracted as soon as normal times returned. Some were of the opinion that the exodus was of more assistance to those negroes who stayed behind than to those who went away.

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The negroes, too, are very much in demand in the South and the intelligent whites will gladly give them larger opportunities to attach them to that section, knowing that the blacks, once conscious of their power to move freely throughout the country wherever they may improve their condition, will never endure hardships like those formerly inflicted upon the race. The South is already learning that the negro is the most desirable labor for that section, that the persecution of negroes not only drives them out but makes the employment of labor such a problem that the South will not be an attractive section for capital. It will, therefore, be considered the duty of business men to secure protection to the negroes lest their ill treatment force them to migrate to the extent of bringing about a stagnation of business.

The exodus has driven home the truth that the prosperity of the South is at the mercy of the negro. Dependent on cheap labor, which the bulldozing whites will not readily furnish, the wealthy southerners must finally reach the position of regarding themselves and the negroes as having a community of interests which each must promote. "Nature itself in those States," Douglass said, "came to the rescue of the negro. He had labor, the South wanted it, and must have it or perish. Since he was free he could then give it, or withhold it; use it where he was, or take it elsewhere, he pleased. His labor made him a slave and his labor could, if he would, make him free, comfortable and independent. It is more to him than either fire, sword, ballot boxes or bayonets. It touches the heart of the South through its pocket." Knowing that the negro has this silent weapon to be used against his employer or the community, the South is already giving the race better educational facilities, better railway accommodations, and will eventually, if the advocacy of certain southern newspapers be heeded, grant them political privileges. Wages in the South, therefore, have risen even in the extreme southwestern States, where there is an opportunity to import Mexican labor. Reduced to this extremity, the southern aristocrats have begun to lose some of their race prejudice, which has not hitherto yielded to reason or philanthropy.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter XIV: Public Opinion Regarding the Migration

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Among those holding the view that the South needed the negro was the [October 5, 1916] *Memphis Commercial Appeal*. Concerning this an editorial in this paper said that not only does the South need the negro, but that he should be encouraged to stay.

> The enormous demand for labor and the changing conditions brought about by the boll weevil in certain parts of the South have caused an exodus of negroes which may be serious. Great colonies of negroes have gone north to work in factories, in packing houses and on the railroads.
>
> Some of our friends think that these negroes are being taken north for the purpose of voting them in November. Such is not the case. The restriction of immigration because of the European war and the tremendous manufacturing and industrial activity in the North have resulted in a scarcity of labor. The negro is a good track hand. He is also a good man around packing houses, and in certain elementary trades he is useful. The South needs every able-bodied negro that is now south of the line, and every negro who remains south of the line will in the end do better than he will do in the North.
>
> The negro has been a tremendous factor in the development of agriculture and all the commerce of the South. But in the meantime, if we are to keep him here, and if we are to have the best use of his business capacity, there is a certain duty that the white man himself must discharge in his relation to the negro.
>
> The business of lynching negroes is bad, and we believe it is declining, but the worst thing is that the wrong negro is often lynched. The negro should be protected in all his legal rights. Furthermore, in some communities, some white people make money at the expense of the negro's lack of intelligence. Unfair dealing with the negro is not a custom in the South. It is not the rule, but here and there the taking of enormous profits from the labor of the negro is known to exist.
>
> It should be so arranged that the negro in the city does not have to raise his children in the alleys and in the streets.
>
> Liquor in the cities has been a great curse to negroes.
>
> Millions of dollars have been made by no account white people selling no account liquor to negroes and thus making a whole lot of negroes no account. Happily this business is being extinguished.
>
> The negroes who are in the South should be encouraged to remain there, and those white people who are in the boll weevil territory should make every sacrifice to keep their negro labor until there can be adjustments to the new and quickly prosperous conditions that will later exist.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter XIV: Public Opinion Regarding the Migration

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The [July 1, 1917] *New Republic* of New York City pointed out that the movement gave the negro a chance and that he, the South and the nation, would in the end, all be gainers.

> When Austria found the Serbian reply inadmissible, the American negro, who had never heard of Count Berchtold, and did not care whether Bosnia belonged to Austria or Siam, got his "chance." It was not the sort of chance that came to the makers of munitions—a chance to make millions. It was merely a widening of a very narrow foothold on life, a slightly better opportunity to make his way in the industrial world of America.
>
> In the beginning such a migration of negroes would increase the present race friction in the North. Within certain limits a racial minority is unpopular directly in proportion to its numbers. Only as it increases to the point where political and economic power makes it formidable, does it overcome opposition. The negro's competition for jobs and homes will probably exacerbate relations. As the negroes increased in numbers they would not only seek menial and unskilled work, but also strive to enter skilled trades where they would meet with antagonism of white workers. Moreover, the negroes would be forced to seek homes in what are now regarded as "white" neighborhoods, and a clamor would be raised at each new extension of their dwelling area.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.***

"Introduction," by J.H. Dillard, pages 10-12

...Many immigrants from Europe and most of the colored people in our southern States are within the definition of those who had the least chance of improvement through power, education, or inheritance. What can be done for extending their chances of improvement is a matter of supreme importance. The Negro migration may or may not be a step toward the attainment of better chances, but it is at any rate a most interesting effort in this direction, and should be recognized as such in our thoughts on the subject.

These thoughts recurred to my mind while talking with a colored man in Cincinnati, and while looking over the rolls of new admissions to a colored school in Philadelphia. I had just come up from the South with my mind full of the opinion, which I still hold, that the South is the best home for the masses of our Negro population. I was making my way near nightfall toward a railroad station in Cincinnati, and stopping to inquire the nearest way was accosted by a polite colored man who said he was going to the same station and would gladly show me the way. I found that he had been six months in the city, had moved from Atlanta, had a good job in some iron-works, had brought his wife and three children, and was making for the station to meet his brother for whom he had secured a position in the same plant. He himself had come through correspondence with a friend who had lived for some time in Cincinnati. He stated that he was getting better wages, and that he was paying the same rent for a better house. He gave no cause for moving other than the desire, as he said, "to better himself." In view of various reports in regard to housing conditions, this man's experience may have been exceptional in this respect, but at any rate he was apparently much pleased with his move, and I could not but think that he was to be commended for his desire and effort "to better himself."

A few days later I visited the Durham School in Philadelphia, a large public school for colored children. I thought that the new enrollment would probably afford some information as to new arrivals in that city. The principal had enrolled the new pupils on sheets containing 50 names, and he had been careful to enter opposite each name the place from which the pupil came. I took six of these sheets at random and found that one of them had 26 names of children who had been brought within the past year from various States of the South— Georgia, Alabama, Virginia, etc. The lowest number of names of recent arrivals found on any one of the six sheets was 21. In other words, among the new pupils there were between 40 and

*Leavell, R.H.; Snavely; T.R.; Woofter, T.J. Jr.; Williams, W.T.B.; Tyson, Francis D. and Dillard, J.H. *Negro Migration in 1916-17*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Labor, Office of the Secretary Division of Negro Economics, 1920.

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50 per cent who were newcomers, and all these from the South. I was surprised at the number, and could not but realize that the parents who had migrated to that city showed a commendable desire to give their children the benefit of education. I am inclined to the opinion that the desire to secure better opportunities for "schooling" has been one of the influential causes of the migration, certainly among the better class of Negroes who have moved. For it is an undoubted fact that the movement has embraced Negroes of all grades; many herded together by labor agents and many who have moved separately and of their own initiative.

On this subject, as well as on the other facts regarding the migration, I must refer to the reports. I had thought to collate these reports, but have concluded that it is better to let each writer's facts and inferences be read in his own setting.

It may be well, however, to bring together here a few of the statements in regard to certain leading questions:

1. The number.—The movement had been well under way for some time before anyone thought of making an effort to secure statistics. Moreover, so many left separately and unobserved that to get complete statistics would at any time have been impracticable. Mr. Leavell says that "any numerical estimate must be based on such scanty data as to have no scientific value." Mr. Snavely estimates 75,000 left Alabama within 18 months, but adds that "except in a few particular instances it is impossible to give numbers with scientific accuracy." Mr. Woofter estimates the number leaving Georgia between May, 1916, and September, 1917, at 35,000 to 40,000, but says that "a numerical estimate of the total number must be an approximation." Mr. Williams gives 50,000 for Georgia, quoting the commissioner of commerce and labor; 90,000 for Alabama, quoting the commissioner of agriculture; and 100,000 for Mississippi, according to officials of insurance companies, and 75,000 according to the editor of the *Jackson Daily News*. Prof. Tyson says that "within certain limits one guess is as good as another." I should be inclined to set the limits at 150,000 and 350,000 and my guess would be 200,000. The number of those who have returned South is equally uncertain. Some say 10 per cent; some say as much as 30 per cent.

2. The cause.—That the lack of labor at the North, due mainly to the ceasing of immigration from Europe, was the occasion of the migration all agree. The causes assigned at the southern end are numerous: General dissatisfaction with conditions, ravages of boll weevil, floods, change of crop system, low wages, poor houses on plantations, poor school facilities, unsatisfactory crop settlements, rough treatment, cruelty of the law officers, unfairness in courts, lynching, desire for travel, labor agents, the Negro press, letters from friends in the North, and finally advice of white friends in the South where crops had failed. All of these causes have been

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mentioned, and doubtless each cause mentioned has had its influence in individual cases. A discussion of these causes will be found in the reports, none of which give as much prominence to the influence of labor agents as might be expected. Doubtless the spectacular part of the migration, the movement of large numbers at the same time, was due to agents, and doubtless in many localities the labor agent was the instigator of the movement. "The universal testimony of employers was, however," says Mr. Woofter, "that after the initial group movement by agents, Negroes kept going by twos and threes. These were drawn by letters, and by actual advances of money, from Negroes who had already settled in the North." Mr. Williams says that "every Negro that makes good in the North and writes back to his friends starts off a new group." He thinks that this quiet work "has been more effective in carrying off labor than agents could possibly have been." Mr. Leavell approves the opinion that "the railroads and the United States mails have been the principal 'labor agents.' " However the influence came, and whatever concurrent causes may have operated, all will agree with Mr. Williams when he says that "better wages offered by the North have been the immediate occasion for the exodus."

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.**

"The Negro Migration from Mississippi, with Special Reference to the Exodus to Northern Communities in 1916-17," by R.H. Leavell

"Causes of the Negro Migration," pages 21-22

Hence my effort has been twofold. I have sought to find out what economic and social facts are pushing the Negro out of Mississippi and pulling him toward other communities. And I have tried to find out what beliefs of the Negroes have been influencing their migration. In both endeavors I have found the widest variety of facts and beliefs operating as motives in different parts of the State and in different local communities.

The inference is obvious that this diagnosis of causes of the movement will be useful only when employed by white leaders locally in determining whether actual or threatened shortage of labor is due to one or more of the causes mentioned. For such testing of the attractiveness of a community to Negro labor, the facts and beliefs about facts which are herein set forth it is hoped may be of help.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CAUSES OF MIGRATION.

The economic and social facts, as distinguished from beliefs about facts, that have been responsible for much of the Negro migration are the following:

1. In southeast and east Mississippi *lack of capital* for carrying labor through the fall and early winter until time to start a new crop. This lack of capital has been occasioned by one or more of three causes—a succession of short crops, the more recent advent of the boll weevil, a destructive storm in the summer of 1916.
2. *Reorganization of agriculture* behind the boll weevil so as to for a smaller number of farm laborers per hundred acres. This is notable in southwest Mississippi, which was the first section to meet the boll-weevil pest. Such reorganization, although paying considerable attention to trucking, is emphasizing live stock, particularly beef cattle.
3. *Hunger wages* in Mississippi.
4. *The attractions of Arkansas*. That State, country Negroes assert, competes for Mississippi Negro agricultural labor not only affording larger economic opportunity but also by offering more considerate treatment.
5. The attractions of the northern urban and industrial centers. These attractions are of two sorts: (a) Distinctly higher wages for unskilled labor, such as

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in munitions plants, railroad construction, stockyards; (6) better living conditions, such as (1) housing that seems superior to the rough cabins of southern plantations; (2) a closer approximation to evenhanded justice in the courts in cases where both whites and Negroes are involved[1]; (3) better schools for the Negro race than in either the country or the towns of Mississippi;(4) equal treatment on the cars [trains]. Indeed, in the cars equality of treatment is the necessary result of the fact that there is no segregation in them. Concerning equality of treatment, be it noted that northern Negro leaders are strenuously opposed quite generally to any sort of compulsory segregation anywhere. The southern Negro leaders pay little attention to this, but limit themselves to asking for equality of treatment, even though segregated. It is quite possible, however, that this difference in attitude is accounted for by the fact that at present abolition of "Jim Crowism" is in Mississippi a purely academic proposal.

[1] A Chicago weekly calls attention to the fact that the grand jury was able at least to find persons to indict for the East St. Louis affair; but this same weekly maintains that grand juries seem unable to locate the culprits in southern mobs.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.**

"The Negro Migration from Mississippi, with Special Reference to the Exodus to Northern Communities in 1916-17," by R.H. Leavell

"Agents of Migration: United States Mails Stimulate Migration," pages 28-29

The United States mails have been increasingly effective in prompting the migration in two different ways. Letters from Negroes in the North—especially letters containing that unanswerable evidence of better conditions, considerable sums of actual cash—have probably been of unsurpassed effectiveness in stimulating the later migration. A white banker told me of one young Negro who regularly every two months sent back to his aged father $75. Other remittances for smaller, though considerable, amounts were reported to me in a number of communities.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.**

"The Negro Migration from Mississippi, with Special Reference to the Exodus to Northern Communities in 1916-17," by R.H. Leavell

"Negro Suggestions on Practical Plantation Management," page 38

One colored man whom I interviewed in Chicago, after telling me that he would keep silent about anything that he would be silent about in Mississippi, expressed the opinion that better living conditions in the North were not the same stimulus to the migration of the country Negro as to the one in town. "If you have never eaten lemon pie, you don't know how fond you may be of it. After you have tasted it, it's different." He believed that improved living conditions in the northern cities, even though not the attracting force for the country Negro, would keep him from returning South. This colored man laid special emphasis on the city housing of the North. "A country Negro," he said, "may not use the bathtub in the house he rents in Chicago; but it's there and he can write home about it." The whole situation as the Negro sees it was summed up by one educator in these words: "The Negro wants a square deal."

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.**

"The Exodus of Negroes from Southern States: Alabama and North Carolina," by Tipton Ray Snavely

"Causes of the Movement," pages 60-61

One of the underlying causes of the migration, therefore, may be characterized as the changed conditions incident to the transition from the old system of cotton planting to stock raising and the diversification of crops...

The immediate causes came at a time most favorable for the exodus. The effectiveness of the movement was greatly enhanced on account of this fact. One of these was a shortage of crops which resulted from the floods of July, 1916. The crops were destroyed not only in the black-belt counties but throughout a large portion of the State.

For many planters this new disaster formed a climax to a series of misfortunes from which they have not been able to recover. They were making a final attempt to recoup themselves from the losses of the past four years. The result was immediate. Both farmers and tenants who had staked all on this last effort were obliged to find some means for a present livelihood.

The customary advances of provisions to the negro tenants were cut off. Owners of large plantations were compelled for the first time in their lives to tell their Negroes that they could not feed them and that they were forced to let them move away. In a number of the black-belt counties the state of actual privation was such that food was distributed to the starving Negroes by the Federal Department of Agriculture and by the organization of the Red Cross. The tenants were not only left without food but they were also in debt for provisions which had been furnished them during the past winter. Thus in many instances they lost their mules and other property which were taken for the payment of rent and store debts.

On the other hand, hundreds of landowners simply released their tenants from such contracts as they held against them. The rents were either relinquished outright or postponed indefinitely. In some instances work was improvised on the farms in order that the Negroes might be supplied with food. But the mere canceling of rents and debts did not relieve the immediate necessity for provisions, and planters who were not able to furnish work for their Negro tenants saw them go to the railroads and sawmills for employment. The landowners who felt justified in carrying their tenants for another year, and were able to do so, have suffered less from the recent shortage of labor than have those who did not adopt similar measures. Absentee owners, who depended upon a self-adjustment of the situation, have suffered most. The exodus from the rural districts and towns into the cities began, and there was soon a steady movement toward the Birmingham district and to the northern and eastern States.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.**

"Migration of Negroes from Georgia, 1916-17," by T.J. Woofter, Jr.

"Causes of the Movement," pages 87-88

After the initial movement of laborers by agents, the migration attracted the attention of the press and excited much discussion among the Negroes themselves. Then their social grievances became a topic of conversation, and quite a few economically independent, respected citizens moved North. It was noted in connection with farm labor that a few independent renters and owners have sold their property, in the majority of instances at a sacrifice, and moved North. Real estate men also report that in the towns a number of home owners have sold out and left. While this number forms a relatively small proportion of the total number migrating, they form quite an appreciable proportion of the property-owning Negroes, and their departure from the South marks a recession of the Negro race from some of the gains it has made in its progress toward economic independence in the South. In these cases economic advantage can be said to play but a small part in the movement, for unquestionably these men sacrifice their property and move for better protection in the courts and better social advantages in housing and education.

It is difficult to determine the exact influence of the lynchings in Georgia upon the movement of Negroes, on account of the fact that the lynchings which occurred immediately before and during the movement of Negroes were in the boll-weevil section, where the economic conditions were also at their worst. Several planters across whose places lynching parties passed say that their loss was heavier than those of the surrounding plantations on account of the terrorization of their tenants. Negroes on the farm, the ignorant class, seem to take the lynching of a guilty Negro as a matter of course. In cases in 1915 and 1916, however, in the boll-weevil section of Georgia not only the guilty Negro was killed but also other Negroes. In one county the mob beat and terrorized many Negroes and after killing the criminal went across the county and killed his mother and one of his relatives. This feeling of danger, even from the misdeeds of other Negroes, has undoubtedly contributed largely to the willingness of many Negroes to seek opportunity in the North. The two counties in which these lynchings occurred, Randolph and Early, were among the heaviest losers in Negro population...

Minor injustices in the courts also are frequently assigned by Negroes as a cause of discontent with life in the South. Under the fee system county and police officials are often overzealous in rounding up Negroes for gambling, drinking, and petty infractions of the law. The limit fine or sentence to work the county roads is often imposed. Two city officials stated that they had endeavored to discourage

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Group 1: Black Migrant Workers from the South (page 28 of 29)

this practice since the movement of Negroes started, and that they believed that their success had contributed to the slackening of the movement. As long as rural recreational facilities and social life of the Negro is so barren, such cases of petty disorders among the Negro population will continue, and as long as they are dealt with summarily he will continue to nurse his grievance against the courts.

A well-developed public opinion among the Negroes concerning inequalities in educational facilities is also apparent. A recent report of the Bureau of Education indicates that the per capita expenditure in public-school teachers' salaries for each white child 6 to 14 years of age is about six times the per capita expenditure for each colored child 6 to 14.

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Group 1: Black Migrant Workers from the South (page 29 of 29)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.**

"The Negro Exodus from the South," by W.T.B. Williams

"Underlying Causes of the Exodus," page 101

The unusual amounts of money coming in, the glowing accounts from the North, and the excitement and stir of great crowds leaving, work upon the feelings of many Negroes. They pull up and follow the crowd almost without a reason. They are stampeded into action. This accounts in large part for the apparently unreasonable doings of many who give up good positions or sacrifice valuable property or good businesses to go North. There are also Negroes of all classes who profoundly believe that God has opened this way for them out of the restrictions and oppressions that beset them on every hand in the South; moving out is an expression of their faith. Unfortunately the South gives the Negro abundant occasions for wanting to leave. As someone has put it, it is not only the northern pull but also the southern push that is sending so many Negroes out of the South.

The treatment accorded the Negro always stood second, when not first, among the reasons given by Negroes for leaving the South. I talked with all classes of colored people from Virginia to Louisiana—farm hands, tenants, farmers, hack drivers, porters, mechanics, barbers, merchants, insurance men, teachers, heads of schools, ministers, druggists, physicians, and lawyers—and in every instance the matter of treatment came to the front voluntarily. This is the all-absorbing, burning question among Negroes. For years no group of the thoughtful, intelligent class of Negroes, at any rate, have met for any purpose without finally drifting into some discussion of their treatment at the hands of white people.

*Leavell, R.H.; Snavely; T.R.; Woofter, T.J. Jr.; Williams, W.T.B.; Tyson, Francis D. and Dillard, J.H. *Negro Migration in 1916-17*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Labor, Office of the Secretary Division of Negro Economics, 1920.

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Group 2: Southern Planters—Handout 2 (page 1 of 31)

Directions

- Pretend that it is 1917 and you are southern planters in the South.
- Review the questions with your group.
- Read excerpts from primary source documents in the "Group 2" file in the online folder for this class
- Consider the ideas, attitudes, and beliefs of your assigned category and answer the questions from the perspective of those people.
- Combine your answers to create a perspectives page for your assigned category.
- Decide who will do each of the following jobs:

    - Record agreed-upon answers: Number the questions on the sticky-note paper and write the group's answers.
    - Find PACED-model alternatives: List alternatives for black southern workers considering migration to the North.
    - Find PACED-model criteria: List criteria for black southern workers considering migration to the North.
    - Apply the economic terms: Identify how the given economic terms apply to the acceleration of the Great Migration.
    - Check sources: Locate the answers in the specific documents.

1. What factors caused a labor surplus in the South?

2. What factors contributed to balancing the labor supply between the surplus in the South and the shortage in the North?

3. What changes were evident in the South after the acceleration of the Great Migration?

Economic Concepts

Factors of production	Scarcity	Surplus
• Natural resources	Supply	Human capital
• Labor	Demand	Opportunity cost
• Capital resources	Shortage	

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Group 2: Southern Planters (page 2 of 31)
Visual 1: PACED Decisionmaking Model

PACED Decisionmaking Model							
	Alternatives	Criteria 1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	Totals
	1.						
	2.						
	3.						
	4.						
	5.						

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Group 2: Southern Planters (page 3 of 31)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott***

"Editor's Preface," David Kinley, page iii

I think that no one more capable than Dr. Emmett J. Scott could have been found to present to the public a study on the subject of this monograph. The topic is one of great public importance, and the author is equipped for its treatment both by his wide knowledge of the subject and his sympathy with the viewpoint of his race.

The problem of negro labor, its diffusion and its adaptation to more numerous kinds of work, are problems not only of great public importance but of great difficulty. Whatever views one may hold on the general subject of race relations between the negroes and the whites in this country, there is no question that we can not reach safe conclusions without a full knowledge of the facts as they appear to both of the interested parties. For that reason this presentation by Dr. Scott is a welcome addition to our information on the subject.

Sympathetically read it will help the whites to understand better the negro viewpoint, and will help the negroes to appreciate more fully the difficulties which appear from the white viewpoint. This is a field in which Tennyson's words are preeminently true, that "Knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers." Yet we can not hope ever to attain the necessary wisdom excepting by an increasing fulness of knowledge. Therefore I commend this study to every one who is interested in the question for dispassionate reading and consideration.

*Scott, Emmett J. *Negro Migration During the War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1920.

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Group 2: Southern Planters (page 4 of 31)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter III: Stimulation of the Movement

Page 31

In answer to the warnings of the South against the rigors of the northern winters, the *Defender* [newspaper] said:

> To die from the bite of frost is far more glorious than at the hands of a mob. I beg you, my brother, to leave the benighted land. You are a free man. Show the world that you will not let false leaders lead you. Your neck has been in the yoke. Will you continue to keep it there because some "white folks' nigger" wants you to? Leave for all quarters of the globe. Get out of the South. Your being there in the numbers in which you are gives the southern politician too strong a hold on your progress... So much has been said through the white papers in the South about the members of the race freezing to death in the North. They freeze to death down South when they don't take care of themselves. There is no reason for any human staying in the Southland on this bugaboo handed out by the white press.[1]

If you can freeze to death in the North and be free, why freeze to death in the South and be a slave, where your mother, sister and daughter are raped and burned at the stake; where your father, brother and sons are treated with contempt and hung to a pole, riddled with bullets at the least mention that he does not like the way he is treated. Come North then, all you folks, both good and bad. If you don't behave yourselves up here, the jails will certainly make you wish you had. For the hard-working man there is plenty of work—if you really want it. The *Defender* says come.[2]

---

[1] The following clippings are taken from these white papers:

"Aged Negro Frozen to Death—Albany, Ga., February 8.

"Yesterday the dead body of Peter Crowder, an old negro, was found in out-of-the-way place where he had been frozen to death during the recent cold snap."—*Macon Telegraph*.

"Dies from Exposure—Spartanburg, S. C., February 6.

"Marshall Jackson, a negro man, who lived on the farm of J.T. Harris near Campobello, Sunday night froze to death."—*South Carolina State*.

"Negro Frozen to Death in Fireless Gretna Hut.

"Coldest weather in the last four years claimed a victim Friday night, when Archie Williams, a negro, was frozen to death in his bed in a little hut in the outskirts of Gretna."—*New Orleans Item*, February 4.

"Negro Woman Frozen to Death Monday.

"Harriet Tolbert, an aged negro woman, was frozen to death in her home at 18 Garibaldi Street early Monday morning during the severe cold."—*Atlanta Constitution*, February 6.

[2] Articles such as the following kept alive the spirit of the exodus:

"Tampa, Florida, January 19. J.T. King, supposed to be a race leader, is using his wits to get on the good side of the white people by calling a meeting to urge our people not to migrate north. King has been termed a 'good nigger' by his pernicious activity on the emigration question. Reports have been received here that all who have gone north are at work and pleased with the splendid conditions in the North. It is known here that in the North there is a scarcity of labor; mills and factories are open to them. People are not paying any attention to King and are packing and ready to travel north to the 'promised land.'"

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Group 2: Southern Planters (page 5 of 31)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter III: Stimulation of the Movement

Page 35

"The foreign laborer has been called home to bear arms for his country. The daily death toll [from Word War I] and waste and the recently enacted immigration law make it certain that he will not soon return in great numbers. As a result a large market exists for the negro laborer in localities in which he would have been considered an impudent trespasser had he attempted to enter a few years ago. The history of the world from the days of Moses to the present shows that where one race has been subjugated, oppressed or proscribed by another and exists in large numbers, permanent relief has come in one or two ways—amalgamation or migration. The thought of amalgamation is not to be entertained. If conditions in the South for the colored man are to be permanently improved, many of those who now live there should migrate and scatter throughout the North, East and West. I believe the present opportunity providential."—Hon. John C. Ashbury, Philadelphia Bar.

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Group 2: Southern Planters (page 6 of 31)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter V: The Call of the Self-Sufficient North

Pages 52-53

The following is a statement taken from reports of the Bureau of Foreign Immigration.

Immigration Since 1913

Year	Number
1913	1,197,892
1914	1,218,480
1915	326,700
1916	298,826
1917	295,403

The decrease of over 900,000 immigrants, on whom the industries of the North depended, caused a grave situation. It must be remembered also that of the 295,403 arrivals in 1917, there were included 32,346 English, 24,405 French and 13,350 Scotch who furnish but a small quota of the laboring classes. There were also 16,438 Mexicans who came over the border, and who, for the most part, live and work in the Southwest. The type of immigration which kept prime the labor market of the North and Northwest came in through Ellis Island. Of these, Mr. Frederick C. Howe, Commissioner of Immigration, said that "only enough have come to balance those who have left." He adds further that "As a result, there has been a great shortage of labor in many of our industrial sections that may last as long as the war."

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Group 2: Southern Planters (page 7 of 31)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VI: The Draining of the Black Belt

Page 65

The interstate migration has resulted from the land poverty of the hill country and from intimidation of the "poor whites" in Amite, Lincoln, Franklin and Wilkinson counties [in Mississippi]. In 1908 when the floods and boll weevil worked such general havoc in the southwestern corner of the State, labor agents the Delta went down and carried away thousands of families. It is estimated that more than 8,000 negroes left Adams county during the first two years of the boll weevil period. Census figures for 1910 show that the southwestern counties suffered a loss of 18,000 negroes. The migration of recent years to adjacent States has been principally to Arkansas.[1]

[1] The reasons back of this, as obtained from migrants themselves, are that, except in the town of Mound Bayou, negroes have not been encouraged to own property or rent, but to work on shares; in Arkansas it is possible to buy good land cheaply and on reasonable terms; inducements are offered by Arkansas in the form of better treatment and schools; there are no such "excessive" taxes as are required in the Mississippi Delta to protect them from the overflows; the boll weevil has not yet seriously affected that State, and a small farmer may be fairly independent in Arkansas.

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Group 2: Southern Planters (page 8 of 31)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VI: The Draining of the Black Belt

Page 66, Footnote 1

The lumber mills and the local corporations provide a great part of the work for laborers in the city. Wages last year ranged from $1.25 to $1.50 a day. Wages at present are $1.75 and $2 a day. Cotton picking last year brought 60 and 75 cents a hundred; at present $2 is paid for every hundred pounds picked. The city has enacted "move on" laws intending to get rid of drones. The police, it is said, could not distinguish drones from "all negroes."

It was further complained that the police deputies and sheriffs are too free with the use of their clubs and guns when a negro is involved. It was related that Dr.———, practicing 47 years in Greenville, Mississippi, was driving his buggy in a crowded street on circus day when he was commanded by a policeman to drive to one side and let a man pass. He replied that he could not because he himself was jammed. He was commanded again and then dragged from the buggy, clubbed and haled into the police court and fined. The officer who arrested him swore that he had given frequent trouble, which was untrue according to reliable testimony and his own statement. This incident is also told:

A policeman's friend needed a cook. The policeman drove by a negro home and, seeing a woman on the porch, told her to get in the buggy. No questions were permitted. She was carried to his friend's home and told to work. The woman prepared one meal and left the city for the North.— [Charles S.] Johnson, *Report on the Migration from Mississippi* [n. d.].

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Group 2: Southern Planters (page 9 of 31)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VI: The Draining of the Black Belt

Pages 68-69

It is an interesting fact that this migration from the South followed the path marked out by the Underground Railroad of antebellum days. Negroes from the rural districts moved first to the nearest village or town, then to the city. On the plantations it was not regarded safe to arrange for transportation to the North through receiving and sending letters. On the other hand, in the towns and cities there was more security in meeting labor agents. The result of it was that cities like New Orleans, Birmingham, Jacksonville, Savannah and Memphis became concentration points. From these cities migrants were rerouted along the lines most in favor.

The principal difference between this course and the Underground Railroad was that in the later movement the southernmost States contributed the largest numbers. This perhaps is due in part to the selection of Florida and Georgia by the first concerns offering the inducement of free transportation, and at the same time it accounts for the very general and intimate knowledge of the movement by the people in States through which they were forced to pass. In Hattiesburg, Mississippi, for example, the first intimation of a great movement of negroes to the North came through reports that thousands of negroes were leaving Florida for the North. To the negroes of Florida, South Carolina, Virginia and Georgia the North means Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York and New England. The route is more direct, and it is this section of the northern expanse of the United States that gets widest advertisement through tourists, and passengers and porters on the Atlantic coast steamers. The northern newspapers with the greatest circulation are from Pennsylvania and New York, and the New York colored weeklies are widely read. Reports from all of these south Atlantic States indicate that comparatively few persons ventured into the Northwest when a better known country lay before them.

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Group 2: Southern Planters (page 10 of 31)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VI: The Draining of the Black Belt

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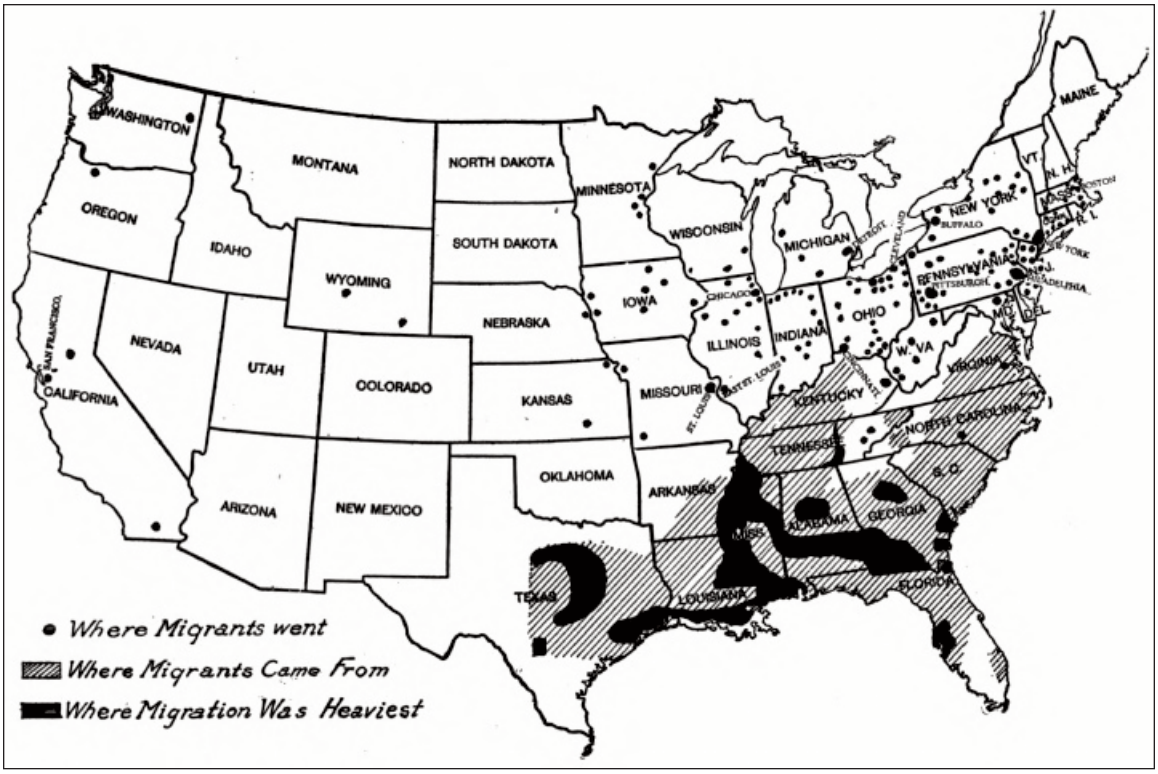

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Group 2: Southern Planters (page 11 of 31)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VII: Efforts to Check the Movement

Pages 78-79

...The federal authorities were importuned to stop the movement. They withdrew the assistance of the Employment Department, but admitted that they could not stop the interstate migration.[1]

One remarked, however, "It will scarcely be possible, to make a sectional issue of these Columbus convictions, as the charge of 'enticing away of labor in that country is aimed at certain Arkansas planters who carried away several carloads of negroes to work on their places, leaving the Mississippi employers without the labor to gather or grow their crops. It can not, therefore, be interpreted as an attempt to keep the negro in semislavery in the South and prevent him from going to work at better wages in the northern munition factories; it is only an effort to protect Mississippi employers from Arkansas planters."[2]

...After having enforced these drastic measures without securing satisfactory results, and having seen that any attempt to hold the negroes by force resulted apparently in an increased determination to leave, there was resort to the policy of frightening the negroes away from the North by circulating rumors as to the misfortunes to be experienced there. Negroes were then warned against the rigors of the northern winter and the death rate from pneumonia and tuberculosis. Social workers in the North reported frequent cases of men with simple colds who actually believed that they had developed "consumption." Speakers who wished to discourage the exodus reported "exact" figures on the death rate of the migrants in the North that were astounding. As, for example, it was said by one Reverend Mr. Parks that there were 2,000 of them sick in Philadelphia. The editor of a leading white paper in Jackson, Mississippi, made the remark that he feared that the result of the first winter's experience in the North would prove serious to the South, in so far as it would remove the bugbear of the northern climate. The returned migrants were encouraged to speak in disparagement of the North and to give wide publicity to their utterances, emphasizing incidents of suffering reported through the press.

When such efforts as these failed, however, the disconcerted planters and business men of the South resorted to another plan. Reconciliation and persuasion were tried. Meetings were held and speakers were secured and advised what to say. In

[1] Johnson, *Report on the Migration from Mississippi* [n.d.].

[2] *Times Picayune*, New Orleans, October 1, 1916.

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Group 2: Southern Planters (page 12 of 31)

cities and communities where contact on this plane had been infrequent, it was a bit difficult to approach the subject. The press of Georgia gave much space to the discussion of the movement and what ought to be done to stop it. The consensus of opinion of the white papers in the State was that the negro had not been fairly treated, and that better treatment would be one of the most effective means of checking the migration. Mob violence, it was pointed out, was one of the chief causes of the exodus.[3]

[3] Johnson, *Report on the Migration from Mississippi* [n.d.].

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Group 2: Southern Planters (page 13 of 31)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VII: Efforts to Check the Movement

Pages 83-84

It was found necessary to increase wages from ten to twenty-five per cent and in some cases as much as 100 per cent to hold labor. The reasons for migration given by negroes were sought. In almost all cases the chief complaint was about treatment. An effort was made to meet this by calling conferences and by giving publicity to the launching of a campaign to make unfair settlements and other such grievances unpopular. Thus, in Bolivar county, Mississippi, a meeting was called, ostensibly to look after the economic welfare of the Delta country, but in reality to develop some plan for holding labor. A subcommittee of seventeen men was appointed to look into the labor situation. There were twelve white men and five negroes. The subcommittee met and reported to the body that the present labor shortage was due to the migration, and that the migration was due to a feeling of insecurity before the law, the unrestrained action of mobs, unfair methods of yearly settlement on farms and inadequate school facilities. As a result of the report, it was agreed to make an appropriation of $25,000 towards an agricultural high school, as a step towards showing an interest in the negroes of Bolivar county and thus give them reasons for remaining. A campaign was started to make unpopular the practice among farmers of robbing negroes of the returns from their labor, and a general effort was made by a few of the leading men behind the movement to create “a better feeling” between the races.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VIII: Effects of the Movement on the South

Page 86

The first changes wrought by this migration were unusually startling. Homes found themselves without servants, factories could not operate because of the lack of labor, farmers were unable to secure laborers to harvest their crops. Streets in towns and cities once crowded assumed the aspect of deserted thoroughfares, houses in congested districts became empty, churches, lodges and societies suffered such a large loss of membership that they had to close up or undergo reorganization.

Probably the most striking change was the unusual increase in wages. The wages for common labor in Thomasville, Georgia, increased almost certainly 100 per cent. In Valdosta there was a general increase in the town and county of about 50 per cent, in Brunswick and Savannah the same condition obtained. The common laborer who had formerly received 80 cents a day earned thereafter $1.50 to $1.75. Farm hands working for from $10 to $15 per month were advanced to $20 or $35 per month. Brick masons who had received 50 cents per hour thereafter earned 62 1/2 cents and 70 cents per hour. In Savannah common laborers paid as high as $2 per day were advanced to $3. At the sugar refinery the rates were for women, 15 to 22 cents per hour, men, 22 to 30 cents per hour. In the more skilled lines of work, the wages were for carpenters, $4 to $6 per day, painters, $2.50 to $4 per day, and bricklayers $4 to $5 per day.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VIII: Effects of the Movement on the South

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For those who remained conditions were much more tolerable, although there appeared to persist a feeling of apprehension that these concessions would be retracted as soon as normal times returned. Some were of the opinion that the exodus was of more assistance to those negroes who stayed behind than to those who went away.

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Group 2: Southern Planters (page 16 of 31)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VIII: Effects of the Movement on the South

Page 91

The negroes, too, are very much in demand in the South and the intelligent whites will gladly give them larger opportunities to attach them to that section, knowing that the blacks, once conscious of their power to move freely throughout the country wherever they may improve their condition, will never endure hardships like those formerly inflicted upon the race. The South is already learning that the negro is the most desirable labor for that section, that the persecution of negroes not only drives them out but makes the employment of labor such a problem that the South will not be an attractive section for capital. It will, therefore, be considered the duty of business men to secure protection to the negroes lest their ill treatment force them to migrate to the extent of bringing about a stagnation of business.

The exodus has driven home the truth that the prosperity of the South is at the mercy of the negro. Dependent on cheap labor, which the bulldozing whites will not readily furnish, the wealthy southerners must finally reach the position of regarding themselves and the negroes as having a community of interests which each must promote. "Nature itself in those States," Douglass said, "came to the rescue of the negro. He had labor, the South wanted it, and must have it or perish. Since he was free he could then give it, or withhold it; use it where he was, or take it elsewhere, he pleased. His labor made him a slave and his labor could, if he would, make him free, comfortable and independent. It is more to him than either fire, sword, ballot boxes or bayonets. It touches the heart of the South through its pocket." Knowing that the negro has this silent weapon to be used against his employer or the community, the South is already giving the race better educational facilities, better railway accommodations, and will eventually, if the advocacy of certain southern newspapers be heeded, grant them political privileges. Wages in the South, therefore, have risen even in the extreme southwestern States, where there is an opportunity to import Mexican labor. Reduced to this extremity, the southern aristocrats have begun to lose some of their race prejudice, which has not hitherto yielded to reason or philanthropy.

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Group 2: Southern Planters (page 17 of 31)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter XIV: Public Opinion Regarding the Migration

Page 154

Among those holding the view that the South needed the negro was the [October 5, 1916] *Memphis Commercial Appeal*. Concerning this an editorial in this paper said that not only does the South need the negro, but that he should be encouraged to stay.

> The enormous demand for labor and the changing conditions brought about by the boll weevil in certain parts of the South have caused an exodus of negroes which may be serious. Great colonies of negroes have gone north to work in factories, in packing houses and on the railroads.
>
> Some of our friends think that these negroes are being taken north for the purpose of voting them in November. Such is not the case. The restriction of immigration because of the European war and the tremendous manufacturing and industrial activity in the North have resulted in a scarcity of labor. The negro is a good track hand. He is also a good man around packing houses, and in certain elementary trades he is useful. The South needs every able-bodied negro that is now south of the line, and every negro who remains south of the line will in the end do better than he will do in the North.
>
> The negro has been a tremendous factor in the development of agriculture and all the commerce of the South. But in the meantime, if we are to keep him here, and if we are to have the best use of his business capacity, there is a certain duty that the white man himself must discharge in his relation to the negro.
>
> The business of lynching negroes is bad, and we believe it is declining, but the worst thing is that the wrong negro is often lynched. The negro should be protected in all his legal rights. Furthermore, in some communities, some white people make money at the expense of the negro's lack of intelligence. Unfair dealing with the negro is not a custom in the South. It is not the rule, but here and there the taking of enormous profits from the labor of the negro is known to exist.
>
> It should be so arranged that the negro in the city does not have to raise his children in the alleys and in the streets.
>
> Liquor in the cities has been a great curse to negroes.
>
> Millions of dollars have been made by no account white people selling no account liquor to negroes and thus making a whole lot of negroes no account. Happily this business is being extinguished.
>
> The negroes who are in the South should be encouraged to remain there, and those white people who are in the boll weevil territory should make every sacrifice to keep their negro labor until there can be adjustments to the new and quickly prosperous conditions that will later exist.

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Chapter XIV: Public Opinion Regarding the Migration

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The [July 1, 1917] *New Republic* of New York City pointed out that the movement gave the negro a chance and that he, the South and the nation, would in the end, all be gainers.

> When Austria found the Serbian reply inadmissible, the American negro, who had never heard of Count Berchtold, and did not care whether Bosnia belonged to Austria or Siam, got his "chance." It was not the sort of chance that came to the makers of munitions—a chance to make millions. It was merely a widening of a very narrow foothold on life, a slightly better opportunity to make his way in the industrial world of America.
>
> In the beginning such a migration of negroes would increase the present race friction in the North. Within certain limits a racial minority is unpopular directly in proportion to its numbers. Only as it increases to the point where political and economic power makes it formidable, does it overcome opposition. The negro's competition for jobs and homes will probably exacerbate relations. As the negroes increased in numbers they would not only seek menial and unskilled work, but also strive to enter skilled trades where they would meet with antagonism of white workers. Moreover, the negroes would be forced to seek homes in what are now regarded as "white" neighborhoods, and a clamor would be raised at each new extension of their dwelling area.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.***

"Introduction," by J.H. Dillard, pages 11-12

2. The cause.—That the lack of labor at the North, due mainly to the ceasing of immigration from Europe, was the occasion of the migration all agree. The causes assigned at the southern end are numerous: General dissatisfaction with conditions, ravages of boll weevil, floods, change of crop system, low wages, poor houses on plantations, poor school facilities, unsatisfactory crop settlements, rough treatment, cruelty of the law officers, unfairness in courts, lynching, desire for travel, labor agents, the Negro press, letters from friends in the North, and finally advice of white friends in the South where crops had failed. All of these causes have been mentioned, and doubtless each cause mentioned has had its influence in individual cases. A discussion of these causes will be found in the reports, none of which give as much prominence to the influence of labor agents as might be expected. Doubtless the spectacular part of the migration, the movement of large numbers at the same time, was due to agents, and doubtless in many localities the labor agent was the instigator of the movement. "The universal testimony of employers was, however," says Mr. Woofter, "that after the initial group movement by agents, Negroes kept going by twos and threes. These were drawn by letters, and by actual advances of money, from Negroes who had already settled in the North." Mr. Williams says that "every Negro that makes good in the North and writes back to his friends starts off a new group." He thinks that this quiet work "has been more effective in carrying off labor than agents could possibly have been." Mr. Leavell approves the opinion that "the railroads and the United States mails have been the principal 'labor agents.' " However the influence came, and whatever concurrent causes may have operated, all will agree with Mr. Williams when he says that "better wages offered by the North have been the immediate occasion for the exodus."

*Leavell, R.H.; Snavely; T.R.; Woofter, T.J. Jr.; Williams, W.T.B.; Tyson, Francis D. and Dillard, J.H. *Negro Migration in 1916-17*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Labor, Office of the Secretary Division of Negro Economics, 1920.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.**

"The Negro Migration from Mississippi, with Special Reference to the Exodus to Northern Communities in 1916-17," by R.H. Leavell

"Causes of the Negro Migration," pages 21-22

Hence my effort has been twofold. I have sought to find out what economic and social facts are pushing the Negro out of Mississippi and pulling him toward other communities. And I have tried to find out what beliefs of the Negroes have been influencing their migration. In both endeavors I have found the widest variety of facts and beliefs operating as motives in different parts of the State and in different local communities.

The inference is obvious that this diagnosis of causes of the movement will be useful only when employed by white leaders locally in determining whether actual or threatened shortage of labor is due to one or more of the causes mentioned. For such testing of the attractiveness of a community to Negro labor, the facts and beliefs about facts which are herein set forth it is hoped may be of help.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CAUSES OF MIGRATION.

The economic and social facts, as distinguished from beliefs about facts, that have been responsible for much of the Negro migration are the following:

1. In southeast and east Mississippi *lack of capital* for carrying labor through the fall and early winter until time to start a new crop. This lack of capital has been occasioned by one or more of three causes—a succession of short crops, the more recent advent of the boll weevil, a destructive storm in the summer of 1916.
2. *Reorganization of agriculture* behind the boll weevil so as to for a smaller number of farm laborers per hundred acres. This is notable in southwest Mississippi, which was the first section to meet the boll-weevil pest. Such reorganization, although paying considerable attention to trucking, is emphasizing live stock, particularly beef cattle.
3. *Hunger wages* in Mississippi.
4. *The attractions of Arkansas*. That State, country Negroes assert, competes for Mississippi Negro agricultural labor not only affording larger economic opportunity but also by offering more considerate treatment.
5. The attractions of the northern urban and industrial centers. These attractions are of two sorts: (a) Distinctly higher wages for unskilled labor, such as

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in munitions plants, railroad construction, stockyards; (6) better living conditions, such as (1) housing that seems superior to the rough cabins of southern plantations; (2) a closer approximation to evenhanded justice in the courts in cases where both whites and Negroes are involved[1]; (3) better schools for the Negro race than in either the country or the towns of Mississippi;(4) equal treatment on the cars [trains]. Indeed, in the cars equality of treatment is the necessary result of the fact that there is no segregation in them. Concerning equality of treatment, be it noted that northern Negro leaders are strenuously opposed quite generally to any sort of compulsory segregation anywhere. The southern Negro leaders pay little attention to this, but limit themselves to asking for equality of treatment, even though segregated. It is quite possible, however, that this difference in attitude is accounted for by the fact that at present abolition of "Jim Crowism" is in Mississippi a purely academic proposal.

[1] A Chicago weekly calls attention to the fact that the grand jury was able at least to find persons to indict for the East St. Louis affair; but this same weekly maintains that grand juries seem unable to locate the culprits in southern mobs.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.**

"The Negro Migration from Mississippi, with Special Reference to the Exodus to Northern Communities in 1916-17," by R.H. Leavell

"Attitude of Negro Leaders," pages 31-32

Another Negro of equally high standing, who had cooperated actively though silently with local white leaders to prevent injustice to a member of his race, said: "I am discouraged over the outlook. Frankly, the thing that discourages me most is the helplessness of the southern white man who wants to help us."

His point was that he believed southern white men were in danger of social censure from their own race if they exerted themselves actively on behalf of fair dealing for the Negroes in the courts and elsewhere. The secrecy that whites had felt it necessary to employ in order to secure justice for the Negro in trouble, mentioned above, was the thing that had depressed and discouraged this leader.

The fundamental cause, however, of the apathy of the local Negro leaders to the migration is that at heart they rejoice over it. The feeling is general that the things they desire for their race will come only as concessions prompted by the self-interest of the whites. These leaders believe they see in the growing need for Negro labor so powerful an appeal to the self-interest of the white employer and the white planter as to make it possible to get an influential white group to exert itself actively to provide better schools; to insure full settlements between landlord and tenant on all plantations at end of the year; to bring about abolition of the abuses in the courts of justices of the peace, operating under the fee system, as well as a fair trial in cases where a white man is involved; and to obtain living wages for the Negro masses. These leaders believe that in some sections not enough Negroes have departed as yet to compel the economic self-interest of the white capitalist and landlord; and therefore when, in their thinking, such Negro leaders separate their personal interest from the racial interest, they are silently hoping that the migration may continue in such increasing proportions as to bring about a successful bloodless revolution, assuring equal treatment in business, in the schools, on the trains, and under the law.

The local leaders differ from those controlling the northern Negro press in that as a class in our interviews they have laid no emphasis on the use of the ballot. Said one: "I do not care to vote; I only ask that those who do have the ballot shall see to it that the rulers whom they choose give to white and black equal protection under the law."

In my judgment, the most serious weakness in the present situation is the lack of contact and of personal acquaintance between the white leaders and the Negro

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leaders in local communities. Speaking generally, the white leaders are familiar with the existence of the Negro field hand and the house servant, while at the same time they are out of touch with the handful of thoughtful and practically educated Negroes who guide their people. These leaders are not asking for social intermingling, but only for equal opportunity for the selfdevelopment of their race.

The significance of this group is well stated by one of their number in this fashion:

> Whether you whites like it or not, you have educated some of us; and now we are persons, and we want the rest of our race to have a chance to become persons, too. That is what makes this exodus different from any other that has taken place before. We are helping the masses to think.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.**

"The Negro Migration from Mississippi, with Special Reference to the Exodus to Northern Communities in 1916-17," by R.H. Leavell

"Change in Relations of White and Negro," page 33

A man of mixed blood, a country preacher, gave this account of the change as illustrated in the three generations of his own family: "My father," said he, "was born and brought up as a slave. He never knew anything else until after I was born. He was taught his place and was content to keep it. But when he brought me up he let some of the old customs slip by. But I know there are certain things that I must do, and I do them, and it doesn't worry me; yet in bringing up my own son, I let some more of the old customs slip by. He has been through the eighth grade; he reads easily. For a year I have been keeping him from going to Chicago; but he tells me this is his last crop; that in the fall he's going. He says, 'When a young white man talks rough to me, I can't talk rough to him. You can stand that; I can't. I have some education, and inside I has the feelin's of a white man. I'm goin'.'"

Compare with this the account given me by a leading political thinker in Mississippi of the changed attitude in three generations of his own family: "My father owned slaves," he told me. "He looked out for them; told them what to do. He loved them and they loved him. I was brought up during and after the war. I had a 'black mammy' and she was devoted to me and I to her; and I played with Negro children. In a way I'm fond of the Negro; I understand him and he understands me; but the bond between us is not as close as it was between my father and his slaves. On the other hand, my children have grown up without black playmates and without a 'black mammy.' The attitude of my children is less sympathetic toward the Negroes than my own. They don't know each other."

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.**

"The Negro Migration from Mississippi, with Special Reference to the Exodus to Northern Communities in 1916-17," by R.H. Leavell

"Attitudes of Whites Toward Negroes," pages 40-42

Now that attention has been given to the silent indorsement of the Negro exodus by the leaders of the race and to the underlying causes of their passivity as found in their beliefs about the attitude and policy of the whites toward opportunity for Negro self-development, it is worthwhile to inquire what are the prevailing attitudes of the white leaders.

In order to show these attitudes in their proper setting, a brief reference to the traditional beliefs of the white toward the Negro as fixed in the Reconstruction period is essential. In that era when, as the Negro who was a slave the day before himself expressed it, "the bottom rail was on top," the whites were reinforced in the conviction that the Negro could not profit by schooling and that it only added to the embarrassments of maintaining law and order to give the Negro educational opportunity. The Negro, it was commonly believed, aspired to social intercourse, intermarriage, and the ballot. And it was believed that to grant the ballot would be subversive of white civilization under these circumstances. In 1890 the new constitution enfranchised those who could read. This, in view of the conviction about Negro aspirations and Negro political incapacity, operated as a deterrent to the white in providing adequate school facilities.

Meantime the old close personal relations existing between the finer spirits of the two races have lapsed in great degree and there have come quite generally in its place two different attitudes among the whites. The small white farmer on the unproductive soils that constitute a large part of the uplands regards the Negro and his child as taking the place in the sun needed by the white farmer for his own children. There is barely enough to go around, even if the whole product of the soil is reserved for the whites.

The white landlord group, on the other hand, has a direct economic interest in such a degree of Negro well-being as will insure a dependable supply of the kind of labor which they know how to deal with. There is, however, a growing separation in spirit between this group and the Negroes; the economic tie tends more and more to be the principal connecting link. Under these circumstances the attitude of economic exploitation with which students of labor problems are familiar in the militant white manufacturers' group has an unusual chance to flourish in southern agriculture. This is all the truer because under southern conditions the employing class can buttress their economic exploitation of the weaker Negro laborer and absolve

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themselves by appeal to race prejudice, which in many cases seems to have become a sort of religion.

The white employer has been sincere in this attitude; he has honestly believed it was better for the Negro himself to keep him ignorant and to deal with him on the animalistic rather than on the human plane.

These are the attitudes of the older groups of white men—the small white farmer who holds the political power in the State [Mississippi] and in the uplands, and the white capitalist who as planter, banker, and business man holds the economic power in the State and in the delta.

Another attitude is coming into being: The educated son of the small white farmer and the educated son of the white capitalist and planter are beginning to see that perpetuation of ignorance is no solution of human problems. Out of all these attitudes arise differences of opinion as to the good and evil in the exodus. Some wish to see all the Negroes leave the State; others want to see enough Negroes go to change their majority in the State as a whole and in certain localities into a minority. Business men and planters are concerned over the loss, or the threatened loss, of an ample supply of comparatively docile labor, for their immediate profits are menaced. But even in this group one finds thoughtful men who are willing to accept immediate loss for what they regard as the permanent welfare of the community in getting rid of the Negro majority. Some dream of the time when the Negro population may become evenly distributed throughout the Nation, and the complex problems of democratic behavior in a biracial community thus tend toward the vanishing point.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.**

"The Negro Migration from Mississippi, with Special Reference to the Exodus to Northern Communities in 1916-17," by R.H. Leavell

"Planters Successful in Labor Management," page 44

The appearance of the boll weevil in destructive numbers for the first time, or the destruction of the crops by a storm, produces a special condition. Planters who under such circumstances were successful in holding their labor for the next season against the allurements of the upper delta or Arkansas or the northern cities—in Adams County some years ago and more recently in Noxubee, Clay, and Lowndes Counties, in the eastern part of the State, and in Marshall and Pontotoc, in north and northeastern Mississippi—attribute their achievement to their undertaking the feeding and clothing of the tenants so long as the tenants stayed with them and worked. The methods of two notably successful planters in the upper delta have been of special interest. One of these was reported as practicing the system of farm labor given below:

Mr. D. has his tenants know that there is a home for a lifetime.

(*a*) Has tenants plant a few fruit trees.

(*b*) Tenants are asked to keep house and yard in good repair.

(*c*) Rewards the good croppers.

(*d*) Plantations build good churches and schoolhouses.

(*e*) Mr. D. assists his Negroes in selecting preachers and teachers.

(*f*) The State laws govern.

(*g*) Motherhood approved.

(*h*) Sanitation attended to.

In a personal interview I obtained from the second planter an account of his methods, with some of which he is still experimenting. He has abolished the plantation commissary; he proposes to make his profits as an efficient planter rather than as a merchant. The use of improved machinery is encouraged. The plantation pays the expense for two months of school in the summer months after the State support is used up. A tariff of $7.50 to $10 a bale is charged to meet plantation overhead expense, such as wages of management. The Negro is notified of this at the time the contract is made. Other significant features of his plantation management include—

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1. Introduction of three and five year leases.
2. Agreement by tenant to plant a certain proportion of leguminous, restorative crops annually.
3. Planting of fruit trees.
4. Provision of garden and truck patch with agreement by tenant to raise as much of his living as possible.
5. Share rents, to enable both landlord and tenant to profit by gains produced by increased fertility.

There is general agreement that friendly personal interest, absolutely fair dealing in all business transactions, clear understanding of the terms of the contract at the outset, itemized statements of indebtedness, good housing, and encouragement of the Negro to raise his foodstuffs as far as possible, taken together, will attract and hold labor on plantations.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.**

"The Exodus of Negroes from Southern States: Alabama and North Carolina," by Tipton Ray Snavely

"Causes of the Movement," pages 60-61

One of the underlying causes of the migration, therefore, may be characterized as the changed conditions incident to the transition from the old system of cotton planting to stock raising and the diversification of crops...

The immediate causes came at a time most favorable for the exodus. The effectiveness of the movement was greatly enhanced on account of this fact. One of these was a shortage of crops which resulted from the floods of July, 1916. The crops were destroyed not only in the black-belt counties but throughout a large portion of the State.

For many planters this new disaster formed a climax to a series of misfortunes from which they have not been able to recover. They were making a final attempt to recoup themselves from the losses of the past four years. The result was immediate. Both farmers and tenants who had staked all on this last effort were obliged to find some means for a present livelihood.

The customary advances of provisions to the negro tenants were cut off. Owners of large plantations were compelled for the first time in their lives to tell their Negroes that they could not feed them and that they were forced to let them move away. In a number of the black-belt counties the state of actual privation was such that food was distributed to the starving Negroes by the Federal Department of Agriculture and by the organization of the Red Cross. The tenants were not only left without food but they were also in debt for provisions which had been furnished them during the past winter. Thus in many instances they lost their mules and other property which were taken for the payment of rent and store debts.

On the other hand, hundreds of landowners simply released their tenants from such contracts as they held against them. The rents were either relinquished outright or postponed indefinitely. In some instances work was improvised on the farms in order that the Negroes might be supplied with food. But the mere canceling of rents and debts did not relieve the immediate necessity for provisions, and planters who were not able to furnish work for their Negro tenants saw them go to the railroads and sawmills for employment. The landowners who felt justified in carrying their tenants for another year, and were able to do so, have suffered less from the recent shortage of labor than have those who did not adopt similar measures. Absentee owners, who depended upon a self-adjustment of the situation, have suffered most. The exodus from the rural districts and towns into the cities began, and there was soon a steady movement toward the Birmingham district and to the northern and eastern States.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.**

"The Exodus of Negroes from Southern States: Alabama and North Carolina," by Tipton Ray Snavely

"Present Shortage of Labor and Means of Checking the Exodus," pages 70-71

Although there was a surplus of labor in the black-belt counties at the beginning of 1916, the exodus of Negroes has not stopped with the removal of the surplus, but has continued until there is a serious shortage, not only in these counties, but also in other sections of the State. Some of the counties in the black belt which have suffered most severely for labor during the past summer are Macon, Bullock, Montgomery, Autauga, Lowndes, Dallas, Perry, Greene, Sumter, and Pickens. In the entire black-belt territory much land has been allowed to lie out during the past season, due, in addition to the scarcity of tenants and laborers, to the reluctance of landowners, merchants, and bankers to supply the capital necessary for cultivating it. The following example is one of many instances and is illustrative of both the causes and effects of the exodus: A prominent citizen of Selma owns 7,000 acres of land in Dallas County. Before the boll weevil reached the State he was accustomed to plant the whole of this in cotton, and ran 250 plows annually. For the past three or four successive years he has realized no profits, but has constantly suffered a loss on the capital invested. When the floods of July, 1916, virtually wiped out the crops of his tenants, he decided that as a matter of sound business he could not afford to make an additional outlay in the advancement of provisions to them, the result being that the great majority were obliged to move elsewhere. In the spring of 1917 he was unable to secure more than 50 tenants and was, therefore, able to put in cultivation only about 1,500 acres of his land. The remainder was allowed to lie out. Of the amount cultivated, about 250 acres were planted in cotton, 800 or more in corn, and the rest in oats, peanuts, etc. He expressed the intention of going into the cattle business as soon as possible. The farm demonstration agent of Dallas County reported a reduction of more than 3,000 in the number of plows operated in the county this year.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.**

"Migration of Negroes from Georgia, 1916-17," by T.J. Woofter, Jr.

"Causes of the Movement," page 87

Planters who have been successful in holding their labor emphasize these other conditions of labor more than they do their money wage. In fact, one of the few planters who had not advanced wages since the movement started was a Negro. In 1917 he still paid but $12 per month for his farm labor. He, however, hired a woman on his plantation to attend to the mending of his single laborers and to see that their food was properly prepared and he gave especial attention to his tenant houses and gardens and made it a point to have the plantation produce enough pork to furnish fresh meat all through the winter. These and other points of contact between landlord or overseer and laborer and tenant greatly influence the economic and social life of the Negro farm laborer. In the past on many plantations they have been left to work themselves out. A statistical study of the movement of farm labor would probably reveal a close relation between the number of Negroes leaving and the care given by the landlord to the supervision of these details of plantation life. In the weevil section the method of change from cotton to food crops seems also to have influenced the attitude of tenants. Some Negro tenants became panic-stricken at appearance of the weevil and had to be assured that they would be financed, and landlords who seemed to give this assurance grudgingly naturally lost their laborers and tenants. Other tenants who had not been damaged by the weevil desired to keep on planting cotton and had to be shown the value and method of raising food crops.

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Group 3: Southern Small-Farm Farmers—Handout 3 (page 1 of 26)

Directions

- Pretend that it is 1917 and you are southern small-farm farmers in the South.
- Review the questions with your group.
- Read excerpts from primary source documents in the "Group 3" file in the online folder for this class
- Consider the ideas, attitudes, and beliefs of your assigned category and answer the questions from the perspective of those people.
- Combine your answers to create a perspectives page for your assigned category.
- Decide who will do each of the following jobs:

    - Record agreed-upon answers: Number the questions on the sticky-note paper and write the group's answers.
    - Find PACED-model alternatives: List alternatives for black southern workers considering migration to the North.
    - Find PACED-model criteria: List criteria for black southern workers considering migration to the North.
    - Apply the economic terms: Identify how the given economic terms apply to the acceleration of the Great Migration.
    - Check sources: Locate the answers in the specific documents.

1. What factors caused a labor surplus in the South?

2. What factors contributed to balancing the labor supply between the surplus in the South and the shortage in the North?

3. What changes were evident in the South after the acceleration of the Great Migration?

Economic Concepts

Factors of production	Scarcity	Surplus
• Natural resources	Supply	Human capital
• Labor	Demand	Opportunity cost
• Capital resources	Shortage	

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Group 3: Southern Small-Farm Farmers (page 2 of 26)
Visual 1: PACED Decisionmaking Model

PACED Decisionmaking Model

Alternatives	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	Totals
	Criteria					
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						
5.						

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Group 3: Southern Small-Farm Farmers (page 3 of 26)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott***

"Editor's Preface," David Kinley, page iii

I think that no one more capable than Dr. Emmett J. Scott could have been found to present to the public a study on the subject of this monograph. The topic is one of great public importance, and the author is equipped for its treatment both by his wide knowledge of the subject and his sympathy with the viewpoint of his race.

The problem of negro labor, its diffusion and its adaptation to more numerous kinds of work, are problems not only of great public importance but of great difficulty. Whatever views one may hold on the general subject of race relations between the negroes and the whites in this country, there is no question that we can not reach safe conclusions without a full knowledge of the facts as they appear to both of the interested parties. For that reason this presentation by Dr. Scott is a welcome addition to our information on the subject.

Sympathetically read it will help the whites to understand better the negro viewpoint, and will help the negroes to appreciate more fully the difficulties which appear from the white viewpoint. This is a field in which Tennyson's words are preeminently true, that "Knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers." Yet we can not hope ever to attain the necessary wisdom excepting by an increasing fulness of knowledge. Therefore I commend this study to every one who is interested in the question for dispassionate reading and consideration.

*Scott, Emmett J. *Negro Migration During the War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1920.

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Group 3: Southern Small-Farm Farmers (page 4 of 26)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter III: Stimulation of the Movement

Page 31

In answer to the warnings of the South against the rigors of the northern winters, the *Defender* [newspaper] said:

> To die from the bite of frost is far more glorious than at the hands of a mob. I beg you, my brother, to leave the benighted land. You are a free man. Show the world that you will not let false leaders lead you. Your neck has been in the yoke. Will you continue to keep it there because some "white folks' nigger" wants you to? Leave for all quarters of the globe. Get out of the South. Your being there in the numbers in which you are gives the southern politician too strong a hold on your progress... So much has been said through the white papers in the South about the members of the race freezing to death in the North. They freeze to death down South when they don't take care of themselves. There is no reason for any human staying in the Southland on this bugaboo handed out by the white press.[1]

If you can freeze to death in the North and be free, why freeze to death in the South and be a slave, where your mother, sister and daughter are raped and burned at the stake; where your father, brother and sons are treated with contempt and hung to a pole, riddled with bullets at the least mention that he does not like the way he is treated. Come North then, all you folks, both good and bad. If you don't behave yourselves up here, the jails will certainly make you wish you had. For the hard-working man there is plenty of work—if you really want it. The *Defender* says come.[2]

---

[1] The following clippings are taken from these white papers:

"Aged Negro Frozen to Death—Albany, Ga., February 8.

"Yesterday the dead body of Peter Crowder, an old negro, was found in out-of-the-way place where he had been frozen to death during the recent cold snap."—*Macon Telegraph*.

"Dies from Exposure—Spartanburg, S. C., February 6.

"Marshall Jackson, a negro man, who lived on the farm of J.T. Harris near Campobello, Sunday night froze to death."—*South Carolina State*.

"Negro Frozen to Death in Fireless Gretna Hut.

"Coldest weather in the last four years claimed a victim Friday night, when Archie Williams, a negro, was frozen to death in his bed in a little hut in the outskirts of Gretna."—*New Orleans Item*, February 4.

"Negro Woman Frozen to Death Monday.

"Harriet Tolbert, an aged negro woman, was frozen to death in her home at 18 Garibaldi Street early Monday morning during the severe cold."—*Atlanta Constitution*, February 6.

[2] Articles such as the following kept alive the spirit of the exodus:

"Tampa, Florida, January 19. J.T. King, supposed to be a race leader, is using his wits to get on the good side of the white people by calling a meeting to urge our people not to migrate north. King has been termed a 'good nigger' by his pernicious activity on the emigration question. Reports have been received here that all who have gone north are at work and pleased with the splendid conditions in the North. It is known here that in the North there is a scarcity of labor; mills and factories are open to them. People are not paying any attention to King and are packing and ready to travel north to the 'promised land.'"

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Group 3: Southern Small-Farm Farmers (page 5 of 26)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter III: Stimulation of the Movement

Page 35

"The foreign laborer has been called home to bear arms for his country. The daily death toll [from Word War I] and waste and the recently enacted immigration law make it certain that he will not soon return in great numbers. As a result a large market exists for the negro laborer in localities in which he would have been considered an impudent trespasser had he attempted to enter a few years ago. The history of the world from the days of Moses to the present shows that where one race has been subjugated, oppressed or proscribed by another and exists in large numbers, permanent relief has come in one or two ways—amalgamation or migration. The thought of amalgamation is not to be entertained. If conditions in the South for the colored man are to be permanently improved, many of those who now live there should migrate and scatter throughout the North, East and West. I believe the present opportunity providential."—Hon. John C. Ashbury, Philadelphia Bar.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter V: The Call of the Self-Sufficient North

Pages 52-53

The following is a statement taken from reports of the Bureau of Foreign Immigration.

Immigration Since 1913

Year	Number
1913	1,197,892
1914	1,218,480
1915	326,700
1916	298,826
1917	295,403

The decrease of over 900,000 immigrants, on whom the industries of the North depended, caused a grave situation. It must be remembered also that of the 295,403 arrivals in 1917, there were included 32,346 English, 24,405 French and 13,350 Scotch who furnish but a small quota of the laboring classes. There were also 16,438 Mexicans who came over the border, and who, for the most part, live and work in the Southwest. The type of immigration which kept prime the labor market of the North and Northwest came in through Ellis Island. Of these, Mr. Frederick C. Howe, Commissioner of Immigration, said that "only enough have come to balance those who have left." He adds further that "As a result, there has been a great shortage of labor in many of our industrial sections that may last as long as the war."

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VI: The Draining of the Black Belt

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The interstate migration has resulted from the land poverty of the hill country and from intimidation of the "poor whites" in Amite, Lincoln, Franklin and Wilkinson counties [in Mississippi]. In 1908 when the floods and boll weevil worked such general havoc in the southwestern corner of the State, labor agents the Delta went down and carried away thousands of families. It is estimated that more than 8,000 negroes left Adams county during the first two years of the boll weevil period. Census figures for 1910 show that the southwestern counties suffered a loss of 18,000 negroes. The migration of recent years to adjacent States has been principally to Arkansas.[1]

[1] The reasons back of this, as obtained from migrants themselves, are that, except in the town of Mound Bayou, negroes have not been encouraged to own property or rent, but to work on shares; in Arkansas it is possible to buy good land cheaply and on reasonable terms; inducements are offered by Arkansas in the form of better treatment and schools; there are no such "excessive" taxes as are required in the Mississippi Delta to protect them from the overflows; the boll weevil has not yet seriously affected that State, and a small farmer may be fairly independent in Arkansas.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VI: The Draining of the Black Belt

Page 66, Footnote 1

The lumber mills and the local corporations provide a great part of the work for laborers in the city. Wages last year ranged from $1.25 to $1.50 a day. Wages at present are $1.75 and $2 a day. Cotton picking last year brought 60 and 75 cents a hundred; at present $2 is paid for every hundred pounds picked. The city has enacted "move on" laws intending to get rid of drones. The police, it is said, could not distinguish drones from "all negroes."

It was further complained that the police deputies and sheriffs are too free with the use of their clubs and guns when a negro is involved. It was related that Dr.———, practicing 47 years in Greenville, Mississippi, was driving his buggy in a crowded street on circus day when he was commanded by a policeman to drive to one side and let a man pass. He replied that he could not because he himself was jammed. He was commanded again and then dragged from the buggy, clubbed and haled into the police court and fined. The officer who arrested him swore that he had given frequent trouble, which was untrue according to reliable testimony and his own statement. This incident is also told:

A policeman's friend needed a cook. The policeman drove by a negro home and, seeing a woman on the porch, told her to get in the buggy. No questions were permitted. She was carried to his friend's home and told to work. The woman prepared one meal and left the city for the North.— [Charles S.] Johnson, *Report on the Migration from Mississippi* [n. d.].

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VI: The Draining of the Black Belt

Pages 68-69

It is an interesting fact that this migration from the South followed the path marked out by the Underground Railroad of antebellum days. Negroes from the rural districts moved first to the nearest village or town, then to the city. On the plantations it was not regarded safe to arrange for transportation to the North through receiving and sending letters. On the other hand, in the towns and cities there was more security in meeting labor agents. The result of it was that cities like New Orleans, Birmingham, Jacksonville, Savannah and Memphis became concentration points. From these cities migrants were rerouted along the lines most in favor.

The principal difference between this course and the Underground Railroad was that in the later movement the southernmost States contributed the largest numbers. This perhaps is due in part to the selection of Florida and Georgia by the first concerns offering the inducement of free transportation, and at the same time it accounts for the very general and intimate knowledge of the movement by the people in States through which they were forced to pass. In Hattiesburg, Mississippi, for example, the first intimation of a great movement of negroes to the North came through reports that thousands of negroes were leaving Florida for the North. To the negroes of Florida, South Carolina, Virginia and Georgia the North means Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York and New England. The route is more direct, and it is this section of the northern expanse of the United States that gets widest advertisement through tourists, and passengers and porters on the Atlantic coast steamers. The northern newspapers with the greatest circulation are from Pennsylvania and New York, and the New York colored weeklies are widely read. Reports from all of these south Atlantic States indicate that comparatively few persons ventured into the Northwest when a better known country lay before them.

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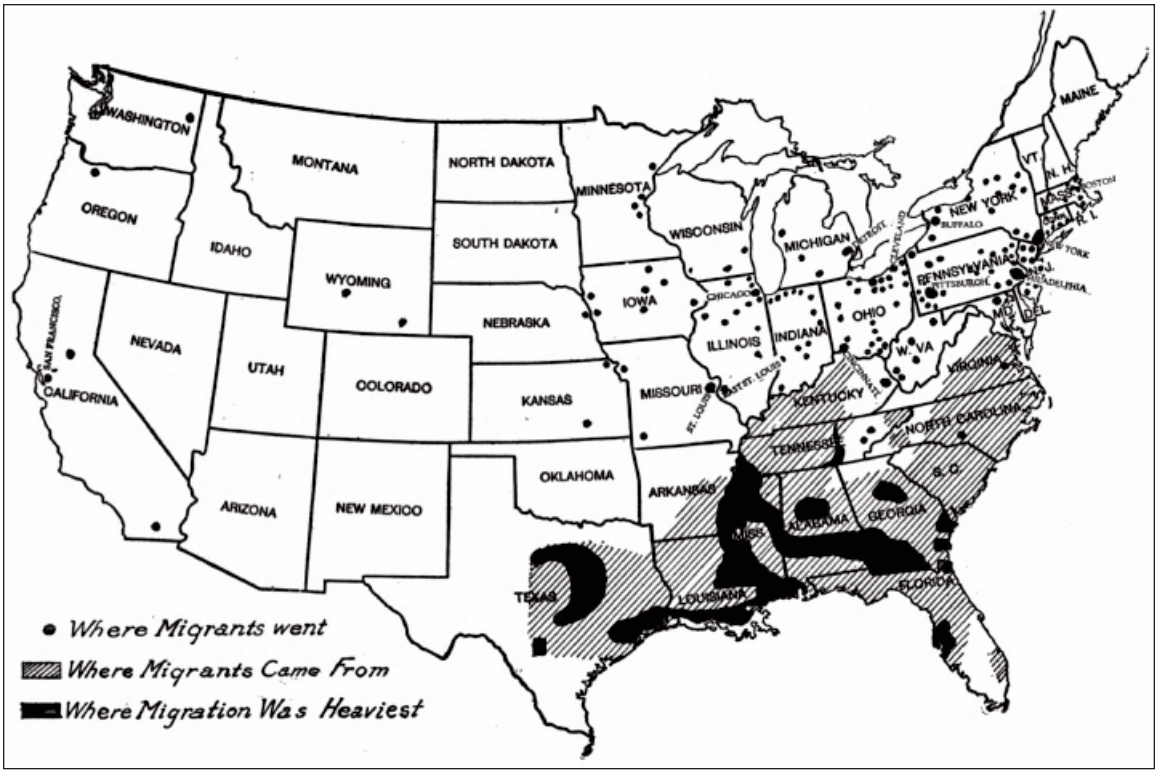

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VII: Efforts to Check the Movement

Pages 78-79

...The federal authorities were importuned to stop the movement. They withdrew the assistance of the Employment Department, but admitted that they could not stop the interstate migration.[1]

One remarked, however, "It will scarcely be possible, to make a sectional issue of these Columbus convictions, as the charge of 'enticing away of labor in that country is aimed at certain Arkansas planters who carried away several carloads of negroes to work on their places, leaving the Mississippi employers without the labor to gather or grow their crops. It can not, therefore, be interpreted as an attempt to keep the negro in semislavery in the South and prevent him from going to work at better wages in the northern munition factories; it is only an effort to protect Mississippi employers from Arkansas planters."[2]

...After having enforced these drastic measures without securing satisfactory results, and having seen that any attempt to hold the negroes by force resulted apparently in an increased determination to leave, there was resort to the policy of frightening the negroes away from the North by circulating rumors as to the misfortunes to be experienced there. Negroes were then warned against the rigors of the northern winter and the death rate from pneumonia and tuberculosis. Social workers in the North reported frequent cases of men with simple colds who actually believed that they had developed "consumption." Speakers who wished to discourage the exodus reported "exact" figures on the death rate of the migrants in the North that were astounding. As, for example, it was said by one Reverend Mr. Parks that there were 2,000 of them sick in Philadelphia. The editor of a leading white paper in Jackson, Mississippi, made the remark that he feared that the result of the first winter's experience in the North would prove serious to the South, in so far as it would remove the bugbear of the northern climate. The returned migrants were encouraged to speak in disparagement of the North and to give wide publicity to their utterances, emphasizing incidents of suffering reported through the press.

When such efforts as these failed, however, the disconcerted planters and business men of the South resorted to another plan. Reconciliation and persuasion were tried. Meetings were held and speakers were secured and advised what to say. In

[1] Johnson, *Report on the Migration from Mississippi* [n.d.].

[2] *Times Picayune*, New Orleans, October 1, 1916.

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cities and communities where contact on this plane had been infrequent, it was a bit difficult to approach the subject. The press of Georgia gave much space to the discussion of the movement and what ought to be done to stop it. The consensus of opinion of the white papers in the State was that the negro had not been fairly treated, and that better treatment would be one of the most effective means of checking the migration. Mob violence, it was pointed out, was one of the chief causes of the exodus.[3]

[3] Johnson, *Report on the Migration from Mississippi* [n.d.].

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VII: Efforts to Check the Movement

Pages 83-84

It was found necessary to increase wages from ten to twenty-five per cent and in some cases as much as 100 per cent to hold labor. The reasons for migration given by negroes were sought. In almost all cases the chief complaint was about treatment. An effort was made to meet this by calling conferences and by giving publicity to the launching of a campaign to make unfair settlements and other such grievances unpopular. Thus, in Bolivar county, Mississippi, a meeting was called, ostensibly to look after the economic welfare of the Delta country, but in reality to develop some plan for holding labor. A subcommittee of seventeen men was appointed to look into the labor situation. There were twelve white men and five negroes. The subcommittee met and reported to the body that the present labor shortage was due to the migration, and that the migration was due to a feeling of insecurity before the law, the unrestrained action of mobs, unfair methods of yearly settlement on farms and inadequate school facilities. As a result of the report, it was agreed to make an appropriation of $25,000 towards an agricultural high school, as a step towards showing an interest in the negroes of Bolivar county and thus give them reasons for remaining. A campaign was started to make unpopular the practice among farmers of robbing negroes of the returns from their labor, and a general effort was made by a few of the leading men behind the movement to create “a better feeling” between the races.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VIII: Effects of the Movement on the South

Page 86

The first changes wrought by this migration were unusually startling. Homes found themselves without servants, factories could not operate because of the lack of labor, farmers were unable to secure laborers to harvest their crops. Streets in towns and cities once crowded assumed the aspect of deserted thoroughfares, houses in congested districts became empty, churches, lodges and societies suffered such a large loss of membership that they had to close up or undergo reorganization.

Probably the most striking change was the unusual increase in wages. The wages for common labor in Thomasville, Georgia, increased almost certainly 100 per cent. In Valdosta there was a general increase in the town and county of about 50 per cent, in Brunswick and Savannah the same condition obtained. The common laborer who had formerly received 80 cents a day earned thereafter $1.50 to $1.75. Farm hands working for from $10 to $15 per month were advanced to $20 or $35 per month. Brick masons who had received 50 cents per hour thereafter earned 62 1/2 cents and 70 cents per hour. In Savannah common laborers paid as high as $2 per day were advanced to $3. At the sugar refinery the rates were for women, 15 to 22 cents per hour, men, 22 to 30 cents per hour. In the more skilled lines of work, the wages were for carpenters, $4 to $6 per day, painters, $2.50 to $4 per day, and bricklayers $4 to $5 per day.

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Chapter VIII: Effects of the Movement on the South

Page 90

For those who remained conditions were much more tolerable, although there appeared to persist a feeling of apprehension that these concessions would be retracted as soon as normal times returned. Some were of the opinion that the exodus was of more assistance to those negroes who stayed behind than to those who went away.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VIII: Effects of the Movement on the South

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The negroes, too, are very much in demand in the South and the intelligent whites will gladly give them larger opportunities to attach them to that section, knowing that the blacks, once conscious of their power to move freely throughout the country wherever they may improve their condition, will never endure hardships like those formerly inflicted upon the race. The South is already learning that the negro is the most desirable labor for that section, that the persecution of negroes not only drives them out but makes the employment of labor such a problem that the South will not be an attractive section for capital. It will, therefore, be considered the duty of business men to secure protection to the negroes lest their ill treatment force them to migrate to the extent of bringing about a stagnation of business.

The exodus has driven home the truth that the prosperity of the South is at the mercy of the negro. Dependent on cheap labor, which the bulldozing whites will not readily furnish, the wealthy southerners must finally reach the position of regarding themselves and the negroes as having a community of interests which each must promote. "Nature itself in those States," Douglass said, "came to the rescue of the negro. He had labor, the South wanted it, and must have it or perish. Since he was free he could then give it, or withhold it; use it where he was, or take it elsewhere, he pleased. His labor made him a slave and his labor could, if he would, make him free, comfortable and independent. It is more to him than either fire, sword, ballot boxes or bayonets. It touches the heart of the South through its pocket." Knowing that the negro has this silent weapon to be used against his employer or the community, the South is already giving the race better educational facilities, better railway accommodations, and will eventually, if the advocacy of certain southern newspapers be heeded, grant them political privileges. Wages in the South, therefore, have risen even in the extreme southwestern States, where there is an opportunity to import Mexican labor. Reduced to this extremity, the southern aristocrats have begun to lose some of their race prejudice, which has not hitherto yielded to reason or philanthropy.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter XIV: Public Opinion Regarding the Migration

Page 154

Among those holding the view that the South needed the negro was the [October 5, 1916] *Memphis Commercial Appeal*. Concerning this an editorial in this paper said that not only does the South need the negro, but that he should be encouraged to stay.

> The enormous demand for labor and the changing conditions brought about by the boll weevil in certain parts of the South have caused an exodus of negroes which may be serious. Great colonies of negroes have gone north to work in factories, in packing houses and on the railroads.
>
> Some of our friends think that these negroes are being taken north for the purpose of voting them in November. Such is not the case. The restriction of immigration because of the European war and the tremendous manufacturing and industrial activity in the North have resulted in a scarcity of labor. The negro is a good track hand. He is also a good man around packing houses, and in certain elementary trades he is useful. The South needs every able-bodied negro that is now south of the line, and every negro who remains south of the line will in the end do better than he will do in the North.
>
> The negro has been a tremendous factor in the development of agriculture and all the commerce of the South. But in the meantime, if we are to keep him here, and if we are to have the best use of his business capacity, there is a certain duty that the white man himself must discharge in his relation to the negro.
>
> The business of lynching negroes is bad, and we believe it is declining, but the worst thing is that the wrong negro is often lynched. The negro should be protected in all his legal rights. Furthermore, in some communities, some white people make money at the expense of the negro's lack of intelligence. Unfair dealing with the negro is not a custom in the South. It is not the rule, but here and there the taking of enormous profits from the labor of the negro is known to exist.
>
> It should be so arranged that the negro in the city does not have to raise his children in the alleys and in the streets.
>
> Liquor in the cities has been a great curse to negroes.
>
> Millions of dollars have been made by no account white people selling no account liquor to negroes and thus making a whole lot of negroes no account. Happily this business is being extinguished.
>
> The negroes who are in the South should be encouraged to remain there, and those white people who are in the boll weevil territory should make every sacrifice to keep their negro labor until there can be adjustments to the new and quickly prosperous conditions that will later exist.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter XIV: Public Opinion Regarding the Migration

Page 157

The [July 1, 1917] *New Republic* of New York City pointed out that the movement gave the negro a chance and that he, the South and the nation, would in the end, all be gainers.

> When Austria found the Serbian reply inadmissible, the American negro, who had never heard of Count Berchtold, and did not care whether Bosnia belonged to Austria or Siam, got his "chance." It was not the sort of chance that came to the makers of munitions—a chance to make millions. It was merely a widening of a very narrow foothold on life, a slightly better opportunity to make his way in the industrial world of America.
>
> In the beginning such a migration of negroes would increase the present race friction in the North. Within certain limits a racial minority is unpopular directly in proportion to its numbers. Only as it increases to the point where political and economic power makes it formidable, does it overcome opposition. The negro's competition for jobs and homes will probably exacerbate relations. As the negroes increased in numbers they would not only seek menial and unskilled work, but also strive to enter skilled trades where they would meet with antagonism of white workers. Moreover, the negroes would be forced to seek homes in what are now regarded as "white" neighborhoods, and a clamor would be raised at each new extension of their dwelling area.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.***

"The Negro Migration from Mississippi, with Special Reference to the Exodus to Northern Communities in 1916-17," by R.H. Leavell

"Causes of the Negro Migration," pages 21-22

Hence my effort has been twofold. I have sought to find out what economic and social facts are pushing the Negro out of Mississippi and pulling him toward other communities. And I have tried to find out what beliefs of the Negroes have been influencing their migration. In both endeavors I have found the widest variety of facts and beliefs operating as motives in different parts of the State and in different local communities.

The inference is obvious that this diagnosis of causes of the movement will be useful only when employed by white leaders locally in determining whether actual or threatened shortage of labor is due to one or more of the causes mentioned. For such testing of the attractiveness of a community to Negro labor, the facts and beliefs about facts which are herein set forth it is hoped may be of help.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CAUSES OF MIGRATION.

The economic and social facts, as distinguished from beliefs about facts, that have been responsible for much of the Negro migration are the following:

1. In southeast and east Mississippi *lack of capital* for carrying labor through the fall and early winter until time to start a new crop. This lack of capital has been occasioned by one or more of three causes—a succession of short crops, the more recent advent of the boll weevil, a destructive storm in the summer of 1916.
2. *Reorganization of agriculture* behind the boll weevil so as to for a smaller number of farm laborers per hundred acres. This is notable in southwest Mississippi, which was the first section to meet the boll-weevil pest. Such reorganization, although paying considerable attention to trucking, is emphasizing live stock, particularly beef cattle.
3. *Hunger wages* in Mississippi.
4. *The attractions of Arkansas*. That State, country Negroes assert, competes for Mississippi Negro agricultural labor not only affording larger economic opportunity but also by offering more considerate treatment.

*Leavell, R.H.; Snavely; T.R.; Woofter, T.J. Jr.; Williams, W.T.B.; Tyson, Francis D. and Dillard, J.H. *Negro Migration in 1916-17*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Labor, Office of the Secretary Division of Negro Economics, 1920.

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5. The attractions of the northern urban and industrial centers. These attractions are of two sorts: (a) Distinctly higher wages for unskilled labor, such as in munitions plants, railroad construction, stockyards; (6) better living conditions, such as (1) housing that seems superior to the rough cabins of southern plantations; (2) a closer approximation to evenhanded justice in the courts in cases where both whites and Negroes are involved[1]; (3) better schools for the Negro race than in either the country or the towns of Mississippi;(4) equal treatment on the cars [trains]. Indeed, in the cars equality of treatment is the necessary result of the fact that there is no segregation in them. Concerning equality of treatment, be it noted that northern Negro leaders are strenuously opposed quite generally to any sort of compulsory segregation anywhere. The southern Negro leaders pay little attention to this, but limit themselves to asking for equality of treatment, even though segregated. It is quite possible, however, that this difference in attitude is accounted for by the fact that at present abolition of "Jim Crowism" is in Mississippi a purely academic proposal.

[1] A Chicago weekly calls attention to the fact that the grand jury was able at least to find persons to indict for the East St. Louis affair; but this same weekly maintains that grand juries seem unable to locate the culprits in southern mobs.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.**

"The Negro Migration from Mississippi, with Special Reference to the Exodus to Northern Communities in 1916-17," by R.H. Leavell

"Attitude of Negro Leaders," pages 31-32

Another Negro of equally high standing, who had cooperated actively though silently with local white leaders to prevent injustice to a member of his race, said: "I am discouraged over the outlook. Frankly, the thing that discourages me most is the helplessness of the southern white man who wants to help us."

His point was that he believed southern white men were in danger of social censure from their own race if they exerted themselves actively on behalf of fair dealing for the Negroes in the courts and elsewhere. The secrecy that whites had felt it necessary to employ in order to secure justice for the Negro in trouble, mentioned above, was the thing that had depressed and discouraged this leader.

The fundamental cause, however, of the apathy of the local Negro leaders to the migration is that at heart they rejoice over it. The feeling is general that the things they desire for their race will come only as concessions prompted by the self-interest of the whites. These leaders believe they see in the growing need for Negro labor so powerful an appeal to the self-interest of the white employer and the white planter as to make it possible to get an influential white group to exert itself actively to provide better schools; to insure full settlements between landlord and tenant on all plantations at end of the year; to bring about abolition of the abuses in the courts of justices of the peace, operating under the fee system, as well as a fair trial in cases where a white man is involved; and to obtain living wages for the Negro masses. These leaders believe that in some sections not enough Negroes have departed as yet to compel the economic self-interest of the white capitalist and landlord; and therefore when, in their thinking, such Negro leaders separate their personal interest from the racial interest, they are silently hoping that the migration may continue in such increasing proportions as to bring about a successful bloodless revolution, assuring equal treatment in business, in the schools, on the trains, and under the law.

The local leaders differ from those controlling the northern Negro press in that as a class in our interviews they have laid no emphasis on the use of the ballot. Said one: "I do not care to vote; I only ask that those who do have the ballot shall see to it that the rulers whom they choose give to white and black equal protection under the law."

In my judgment, the most serious weakness in the present situation is the lack of contact and of personal acquaintance between the white leaders and the Negro

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Group 3: Southern Small-Farm Farmers (page 22 of 26)

leaders in local communities. Speaking generally, the white leaders are familiar with the existence of the Negro field hand and the house servant, while at the same time they are out of touch with the handful of thoughtful and practically educated Negroes who guide their people. These leaders are not asking for social intermingling, but only for equal opportunity for the selfdevelopment of their race.

The significance of this group is well stated by one of their number in this fashion:

> Whether you whites like it or not, you have educated some of us; and now we are persons, and we want the rest of our race to have a chance to become persons, too. That is what makes this exodus different from any other that has taken place before. We are helping the masses to think.

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Group 3: Southern Small-Farm Farmers (page 23 of 26)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.**

"The Negro Migration from Mississippi, with Special Reference to the Exodus to Northern Communities in 1916-17," by R.H. Leavell

"Attitudes of Whites Toward Negroes," pages 40-42

Now that attention has been given to the silent indorsement of the Negro exodus by the leaders of the race and to the underlying causes of their passivity as found in their beliefs about the attitude and policy of the whites toward opportunity for Negro self-development, it is worthwhile to inquire what are the prevailing attitudes of the white leaders.

In order to show these attitudes in their proper setting, a brief reference to the traditional beliefs of the white toward the Negro as fixed in the Reconstruction period is essential. In that era when, as the Negro who was a slave the day before himself expressed it, "the bottom rail was on top," the whites were reinforced in the conviction that the Negro could not profit by schooling and that it only added to the embarrassments of maintaining law and order to give the Negro educational opportunity. The Negro, it was commonly believed, aspired to social intercourse, intermarriage, and the ballot. And it was believed that to grant the ballot would be subversive of white civilization under these circumstances. In 1890 the new constitution enfranchised those who could read. This, in view of the conviction about Negro aspirations and Negro political incapacity, operated as a deterrent to the white in providing adequate school facilities.

Meantime the old close personal relations existing between the finer spirits of the two races have lapsed in great degree and there have come quite generally in its place two different attitudes among the whites. The small white farmer on the unproductive soils that constitute a large part of the uplands regards the Negro and his child as taking the place in the sun needed by the white farmer for his own children. There is barely enough to go around, even if the whole product of the soil is reserved for the whites.

The white landlord group, on the other hand, has a direct economic interest in such a degree of Negro well-being as will insure a dependable supply of the kind of labor which they know how to deal with. There is, however, a growing separation in spirit between this group and the Negroes; the economic tie tends more and more to be the principal connecting link. Under these circumstances the attitude of economic exploitation with which students of labor problems are familiar in the militant white manufacturers' group has an unusual chance to flourish in southern agriculture. This is all the truer because under southern conditions the employing class can buttress their economic exploitation of the weaker Negro laborer and absolve

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themselves by appeal to race prejudice, which in many cases seems to have become a sort of religion.

The white employer has been sincere in this attitude; he has honestly believed it was better for the Negro himself to keep him ignorant and to deal with him on the animalistic rather than on the human plane.

These are the attitudes of the older groups of white men—the small white farmer who holds the political power in the State [Mississippi] and in the uplands, and the white capitalist who as planter, banker, and business man holds the economic power in the State and in the delta.

Another attitude is coming into being: The educated son of the small white farmer and the educated son of the white capitalist and planter are beginning to see that perpetuation of ignorance is no solution of human problems. Out of all these attitudes arise differences of opinion as to the good and evil in the exodus. Some wish to see all the Negroes leave the State; others want to see enough Negroes go to change their majority in the State as a whole and in certain localities into a minority. Business men and planters are concerned over the loss, or the threatened loss, of an ample supply of comparatively docile labor, for their immediate profits are menaced. But even in this group one finds thoughtful men who are willing to accept immediate loss for what they regard as the permanent welfare of the community in getting rid of the Negro majority. Some dream of the time when the Negro population may become evenly distributed throughout the Nation, and the complex problems of democratic behavior in a biracial community thus tend toward the vanishing point.

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Group 3: Southern Small-Farm Farmers (page 25 of 26)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.**

"The Exodus of Negroes from Southern States: Alabama and North Carolina," by Tipton Ray Snavely

"Wages and Living Conditions," pages 66-67

As compared with the steady rise in wages which has occurred in all branches of labor since the beginning of the European war [World War I], wages for farm labor in the State were found to have advanced but little. The price paid for day labor in the 21 black-belt counties averages 50 and 60 cents a day. It ranges from 40 cents as a minimum to 75 cents and, in a very few instances, $1 as a maximum. The above average is based on the wages received by able-bodied male farm hands and does not include the somewhat lower wages received by women and boys. In exceptional instances the noon meal is given to employees, but the prevailing custom is for the Negroes to board themselves at all meals. To the question of whether they had raised wages within the past two years some of the farmers answered that they were now paying from $15 to $18 a month, whereas they formerly paid from $12 to $15. Others stated that they had made no increase at all. The majority, however, have made an advance averaging from 10 to 20 per cent. Wherever they have been forced to compete with the lumber mills and mining industries for labor, wages were found to have advanced most. In portions of Choctaw, Pickens, Sumter, and Tuscaloosa Counties, for example, the average farm wage was 75 cents a day. The lumber mills in the western part of the State give employment to a large number of Negroes. In April, 1917, the daily capacity of the mills located on the Alabama, Tennessee & Northern Railroad, which extends from Mobile to Reform, was 2,453,500 feet. Wages were found to vary both as to the grade of work and the locality—averaging from $0.75 to $1.50 and, in exceptional instances, $2 a day. Most of the companies reported an increase within recent months; the Alabama Dry Dock Co., at Mobile, stated that 600 Negroes were employed by the company and that wages had been increased from $1.50 to $1.75 and $2 a day.

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Group 3: Southern Small-Farm Farmers (page 26 of 26)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.**

"The Exodus of Negroes from Southern States: Alabama and North Carolina," by Tipton Ray Snavely

"North Carolina," pages 73-74

The commissioner of labor of the State reported a scarcity of Negro farm labor prior to the recent exodus. In the year 1916, 87 of a total of 100 counties reported a shortage of labor, and in many sections of the State, as in Mecklenburg County, for example, the farmers are sowing grasses and raising stock on account of the scarcity of hands. More farm machinery is also being employed. The statement was made in many of the cotton-producing counties that there would be a serious shortage of labor for cotton picking. In some counties, also, much land has been allowed to lie out during the past summer. Wages for Negro farm labor were found to average approximately $1 a day. Unlicensed emigrant agents were reported to have solicited Negro labor in all of the counties visited and in the city of Wilmington four agents—one negro and three whites—were awaiting trial. Although the exodus of Negroes from the State has diminished, they are continuing to leave in important numbers. The general passenger agent of the Richmond, Fredericksburg & Potomac Railroad, which extends from Richmond, Va., to Washington, D. C., stated that the number of Negro passengers going north over this railroad is frequently large enough to demand extra cars. While many of these are from Richmond and the surrounding country, the great majority are from North Carolina and other States in the lower South.

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Group 4: Northern Industrialists—Handout 4 (page 1 of 26)

Directions

- Pretend that it is 1917 and you are northern industrialists.
- Review the questions with your group.
- Read excerpts from primary source documents in the "Group 4" file in the online folder for this class
- Consider the ideas, attitudes, and beliefs of your assigned category and answer the questions from the perspective of those people.
- Combine your answers to create a perspectives page for your assigned category.
- Decide who will do each of the following jobs:

    - Record agreed-upon answers: Number the questions on the sticky-note paper and write the group's answers.
    - Find PACED-model alternatives: List alternatives for black southern workers considering migration to the North.
    - Find PACED-model criteria: List criteria for black southern workers considering migration to the North.
    - Apply the economic terms: Identify how the given economic terms apply to the acceleration of the Great Migration.
    - Check sources: Locate the answers in the specific documents.

1. What factors caused a labor shortage in the North?

2. What factors contributed to balancing the labor supply between the surplus in the South and the shortage in the North?

3. What impact did the acceleration of the Great Migration have on the supply of workers in the North?

Economic Concepts

Factors of production	Scarcity	Surplus
• Natural resources	Supply	Human capital
• Labor	Demand	Opportunity cost
• Capital resources	Shortage	

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Group 4: Northern Industrialists (page 2 of 26)
Visual 1: PACED Decisionmaking Model

PACED Decisionmaking Model							
	Alternatives	Criteria					
		1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	Totals
	1.						
	2.						
	3.						
	4.						
	5.						

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Group 4: Northern Industrialists (page 3 of 26)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott***

"Editor's Preface," David Kinley, page iii

I think that no one more capable than Dr. Emmett J. Scott could have been found to present to the public a study on the subject of this monograph. The topic is one of great public importance, and the author is equipped for its treatment both by his wide knowledge of the subject and his sympathy with the viewpoint of his race.

The problem of negro labor, its diffusion and its adaptation to more numerous kinds of work, are problems not only of great public importance but of great difficulty. Whatever views one may hold on the general subject of race relations between the negroes and the whites in this country, there is no question that we can not reach safe conclusions without a full knowledge of the facts as they appear to both of the interested parties. For that reason this presentation by Dr. Scott is a welcome addition to our information on the subject.

Sympathetically read it will help the whites to understand better the negro viewpoint, and will help the negroes to appreciate more fully the difficulties which appear from the white viewpoint. This is a field in which Tennyson's words are preeminently true, that "Knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers." Yet we can not hope ever to attain the necessary wisdom excepting by an increasing fulness of knowledge. Therefore I commend this study to every one who is interested in the question for dispassionate reading and consideration.

*Scott, Emmett J. *Negro Migration During the War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1920.

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Group 4: Northern Industrialists (page 4 of 26)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter III: Stimulation of the Movement

Page 31

In answer to the warnings of the South against the rigors of the northern winters, the *Defender* [newspaper] said:

> To die from the bite of frost is far more glorious than at the hands of a mob. I beg you, my brother, to leave the benighted land. You are a free man. Show the world that you will not let false leaders lead you. Your neck has been in the yoke. Will you continue to keep it there because some "white folks' nigger" wants you to? Leave for all quarters of the globe. Get out of the South. Your being there in the numbers in which you are gives the southern politician too strong a hold on your progress... So much has been said through the white papers in the South about the members of the race freezing to death in the North. They freeze to death down South when they don't take care of themselves. There is no reason for any human staying in the Southland on this bugaboo handed out by the white press.[1]

If you can freeze to death in the North and be free, why freeze to death in the South and be a slave, where your mother, sister and daughter are raped and burned at the stake; where your father, brother and sons are treated with contempt and hung to a pole, riddled with bullets at the least mention that he does not like the way he is treated. Come North then, all you folks, both good and bad. If you don't behave yourselves up here, the jails will certainly make you wish you had. For the hard-working man there is plenty of work—if you really want it. The *Defender* says come.[2]

---

[1] The following clippings are taken from these white papers:

"Aged Negro Frozen to Death—Albany, Ga., February 8.

"Yesterday the dead body of Peter Crowder, an old negro, was found in out-of-the-way place where he had been frozen to death during the recent cold snap."—*Macon Telegraph*.

"Dies from Exposure—Spartanburg, S. C., February 6.

"Marshall Jackson, a negro man, who lived on the farm of J.T. Harris near Campobello, Sunday night froze to death."—*South Carolina State*.

"Negro Frozen to Death in Fireless Gretna Hut.

"Coldest weather in the last four years claimed a victim Friday night, when Archie Williams, a negro, was frozen to death in his bed in a little hut in the outskirts of Gretna."—*New Orleans Item*, February 4.

"Negro Woman Frozen to Death Monday.

"Harriet Tolbert, an aged negro woman, was frozen to death in her home at 18 Garibaldi Street early Monday morning during the severe cold."—*Atlanta Constitution*, February 6.

[2] Articles such as the following kept alive the spirit of the exodus:

"Tampa, Florida, January 19. J.T. King, supposed to be a race leader, is using his wits to get on the good side of the white people by calling a meeting to urge our people not to migrate north. King has been termed a 'good nigger' by his pernicious activity on the emigration question. Reports have been received here that all who have gone north are at work and pleased with the splendid conditions in the North. It is known here that in the North there is a scarcity of labor; mills and factories are open to them. People are not paying any attention to King and are packing and ready to travel north to the 'promised land.'"

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Group 4: Northern Industrialists (page 5 of 26)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter III: Stimulation of the Movement

Page 35

"The foreign laborer has been called home to bear arms for his country. The daily death toll [from Word War I] and waste and the recently enacted immigration law make it certain that he will not soon return in great numbers. As a result a large market exists for the negro laborer in localities in which he would have been considered an impudent trespasser had he attempted to enter a few years ago. The history of the world from the days of Moses to the present shows that where one race has been subjugated, oppressed or proscribed by another and exists in large numbers, permanent relief has come in one or two ways—amalgamation or migration. The thought of amalgamation is not to be entertained. If conditions in the South for the colored man are to be permanently improved, many of those who now live there should migrate and scatter throughout the North, East and West. I believe the present opportunity providential."—Hon. John C. Ashbury, Philadelphia Bar.

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Group 4: Northern Industrialists (page 6 of 26)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter V: The Call of the Self-Sufficient North

Pages 52-53

The following is a statement taken from reports of the Bureau of Foreign Immigration.

Immigration Since 1913

Year	Number
1913	1,197,892
1914	1,218,480
1915	326,700
1916	298,826
1917	295,403

The decrease of over 900,000 immigrants, on whom the industries of the North depended, caused a grave situation. It must be remembered also that of the 295,403 arrivals in 1917, there were included 32,346 English, 24,405 French and 13,350 Scotch who furnish but a small quota of the laboring classes. There were also 16,438 Mexicans who came over the border, and who, for the most part, live and work in the Southwest. The type of immigration which kept prime the labor market of the North and Northwest came in through Ellis Island. Of these, Mr. Frederick C. Howe, Commissioner of Immigration, said that "only enough have come to balance those who have left." He adds further that "As a result, there has been a great shortage of labor in many of our industrial sections that may last as long as the war."

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Group 4: Northern Industrialists (page 7 of 26)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VI: The Draining of the Black Belt

Page 65

The interstate migration has resulted from the land poverty of the hill country and from intimidation of the "poor whites" in Amite, Lincoln, Franklin and Wilkinson counties [in Mississippi]. In 1908 when the floods and boll weevil worked such general havoc in the southwestern corner of the State, labor agents the Delta went down and carried away thousands of families. It is estimated that more than 8,000 negroes left Adams county during the first two years of the boll weevil period. Census figures for 1910 show that the southwestern counties suffered a loss of 18,000 negroes. The migration of recent years to adjacent States has been principally to Arkansas.[1]

[1] The reasons back of this, as obtained from migrants themselves, are that, except in the town of Mound Bayou, negroes have not been encouraged to own property or rent, but to work on shares; in Arkansas it is possible to buy good land cheaply and on reasonable terms; inducements are offered by Arkansas in the form of better treatment and schools; there are no such "excessive" taxes as are required in the Mississippi Delta to protect them from the overflows; the boll weevil has not yet seriously affected that State, and a small farmer may be fairly independent in Arkansas.

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Group 4: Northern Industrialists (page 8 of 26)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VI: The Draining of the Black Belt

Page 66, Footnote 1

The lumber mills and the local corporations provide a great part of the work for laborers in the city. Wages last year ranged from $1.25 to $1.50 a day. Wages at present are $1.75 and $2 a day. Cotton picking last year brought 60 and 75 cents a hundred; at present $2 is paid for every hundred pounds picked. The city has enacted "move on" laws intending to get rid of drones. The police, it is said, could not distinguish drones from "all negroes."

It was further complained that the police deputies and sheriffs are too free with the use of their clubs and guns when a negro is involved. It was related that Dr.———, practicing 47 years in Greenville, Mississippi, was driving his buggy in a crowded street on circus day when he was commanded by a policeman to drive to one side and let a man pass. He replied that he could not because he himself was jammed. He was commanded again and then dragged from the buggy, clubbed and haled into the police court and fined. The officer who arrested him swore that he had given frequent trouble, which was untrue according to reliable testimony and his own statement. This incident is also told:

A policeman's friend needed a cook. The policeman drove by a negro home and, seeing a woman on the porch, told her to get in the buggy. No questions were permitted. She was carried to his friend's home and told to work. The woman prepared one meal and left the city for the North.— [Charles S.] Johnson, *Report on the Migration from Mississippi* [n. d.].

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Group 4: Northern Industrialists (page 9 of 26)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VI: The Draining of the Black Belt

Pages 68-69

It is an interesting fact that this migration from the South followed the path marked out by the Underground Railroad of antebellum days. Negroes from the rural districts moved first to the nearest village or town, then to the city. On the plantations it was not regarded safe to arrange for transportation to the North through receiving and sending letters. On the other hand, in the towns and cities there was more security in meeting labor agents. The result of it was that cities like New Orleans, Birmingham, Jacksonville, Savannah and Memphis became concentration points. From these cities migrants were rerouted along the lines most in favor.

The principal difference between this course and the Underground Railroad was that in the later movement the southernmost States contributed the largest numbers. This perhaps is due in part to the selection of Florida and Georgia by the first concerns offering the inducement of free transportation, and at the same time it accounts for the very general and intimate knowledge of the movement by the people in States through which they were forced to pass. In Hattiesburg, Mississippi, for example, the first intimation of a great movement of negroes to the North came through reports that thousands of negroes were leaving Florida for the North. To the negroes of Florida, South Carolina, Virginia and Georgia the North means Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York and New England. The route is more direct, and it is this section of the northern expanse of the United States that gets widest advertisement through tourists, and passengers and porters on the Atlantic coast steamers. The northern newspapers with the greatest circulation are from Pennsylvania and New York, and the New York colored weeklies are widely read. Reports from all of these south Atlantic States indicate that comparatively few persons ventured into the Northwest when a better known country lay before them.

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Group 4: Northern Industrialists (page 10 of 26)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VI: The Draining of the Black Belt

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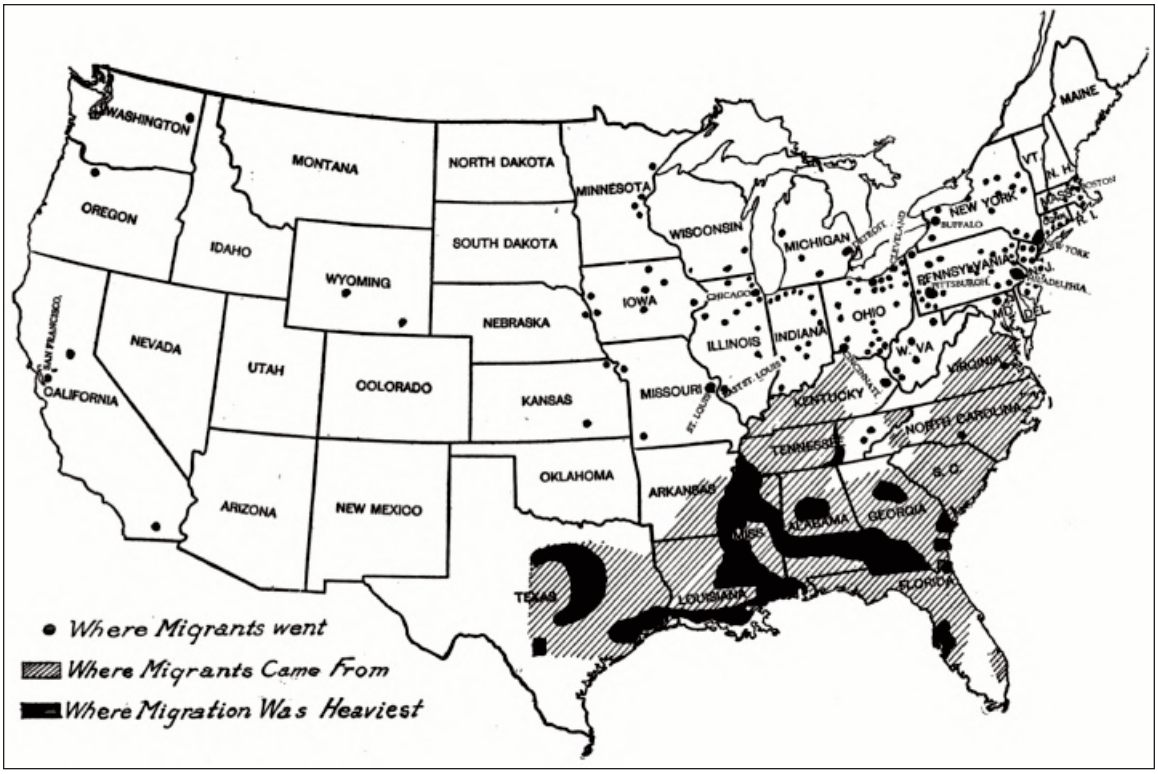

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Group 4: Northern Industrialists (page 11 of 26)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VII: Efforts to Check the Movement

Pages 78-79

...The federal authorities were importuned to stop the movement. They withdrew the assistance of the Employment Department, but admitted that they could not stop the interstate migration.[1]

One remarked, however, "It will scarcely be possible, to make a sectional issue of these Columbus convictions, as the charge of 'enticing away of labor in that country is aimed at certain Arkansas planters who carried away several carloads of negroes to work on their places, leaving the Mississippi employers without the labor to gather or grow their crops. It can not, therefore, be interpreted as an attempt to keep the negro in semislavery in the South and prevent him from going to work at better wages in the northern munition factories; it is only an effort to protect Mississippi employers from Arkansas planters."[2]

...After having enforced these drastic measures without securing satisfactory results, and having seen that any attempt to hold the negroes by force resulted apparently in an increased determination to leave, there was resort to the policy of frightening the negroes away from the North by circulating rumors as to the misfortunes to be experienced there. Negroes were then warned against the rigors of the northern winter and the death rate from pneumonia and tuberculosis. Social workers in the North reported frequent cases of men with simple colds who actually believed that they had developed "consumption." Speakers who wished to discourage the exodus reported "exact" figures on the death rate of the migrants in the North that were astounding. As, for example, it was said by one Reverend Mr. Parks that there were 2,000 of them sick in Philadelphia. The editor of a leading white paper in Jackson, Mississippi, made the remark that he feared that the result of the first winter's experience in the North would prove serious to the South, in so far as it would remove the bugbear of the northern climate. The returned migrants were encouraged to speak in disparagement of the North and to give wide publicity to their utterances, emphasizing incidents of suffering reported through the press.

When such efforts as these failed, however, the disconcerted planters and business men of the South resorted to another plan. Reconciliation and persuasion were tried. Meetings were held and speakers were secured and advised what to say. In

[1] Johnson, *Report on the Migration from Mississippi* [n.d.].

[2] *Times Picayune*, New Orleans, October 1, 1916.

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Group 4: Northern Industrialists (page 12 of 26)

cities and communities where contact on this plane had been infrequent, it was a bit difficult to approach the subject. The press of Georgia gave much space to the discussion of the movement and what ought to be done to stop it. The consensus of opinion of the white papers in the State was that the negro had not been fairly treated, and that better treatment would be one of the most effective means of checking the migration. Mob violence, it was pointed out, was one of the chief causes of the exodus.[3]

[3] Johnson, *Report on the Migration from Mississippi* [n.d.].

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Group 4: Northern Industrialists (page 13 of 26)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VII: Efforts to Check the Movement

Pages 83-84

It was found necessary to increase wages from ten to twenty-five per cent and in some cases as much as 100 per cent to hold labor. The reasons for migration given by negroes were sought. In almost all cases the chief complaint was about treatment. An effort was made to meet this by calling conferences and by giving publicity to the launching of a campaign to make unfair settlements and other such grievances unpopular. Thus, in Bolivar county, Mississippi, a meeting was called, ostensibly to look after the economic welfare of the Delta country, but in reality to develop some plan for holding labor. A subcommittee of seventeen men was appointed to look into the labor situation. There were twelve white men and five negroes. The subcommittee met and reported to the body that the present labor shortage was due to the migration, and that the migration was due to a feeling of insecurity before the law, the unrestrained action of mobs, unfair methods of yearly settlement on farms and inadequate school facilities. As a result of the report, it was agreed to make an appropriation of $25,000 towards an agricultural high school, as a step towards showing an interest in the negroes of Bolivar county and thus give them reasons for remaining. A campaign was started to make unpopular the practice among farmers of robbing negroes of the returns from their labor, and a general effort was made by a few of the leading men behind the movement to create “a better feeling” between the races.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VIII: Effects of the Movement on the South

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The first changes wrought by this migration were unusually startling. Homes found themselves without servants, factories could not operate because of the lack of labor, farmers were unable to secure laborers to harvest their crops. Streets in towns and cities once crowded assumed the aspect of deserted thoroughfares, houses in congested districts became empty, churches, lodges and societies suffered such a large loss of membership that they had to close up or undergo reorganization.

Probably the most striking change was the unusual increase in wages. The wages for common labor in Thomasville, Georgia, increased almost certainly 100 per cent. In Valdosta there was a general increase in the town and county of about 50 per cent, in Brunswick and Savannah the same condition obtained. The common laborer who had formerly received 80 cents a day earned thereafter $1.50 to $1.75. Farm hands working for from $10 to $15 per month were advanced to $20 or $35 per month. Brick masons who had received 50 cents per hour thereafter earned 62 1/2 cents and 70 cents per hour. In Savannah common laborers paid as high as $2 per day were advanced to $3. At the sugar refinery the rates were for women, 15 to 22 cents per hour, men, 22 to 30 cents per hour. In the more skilled lines of work, the wages were for carpenters, $4 to $6 per day, painters, $2.50 to $4 per day, and bricklayers $4 to $5 per day.

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For those who remained conditions were much more tolerable, although there appeared to persist a feeling of apprehension that these concessions would be retracted as soon as normal times returned. Some were of the opinion that the exodus was of more assistance to those negroes who stayed behind than to those who went away.

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The negroes, too, are very much in demand in the South and the intelligent whites will gladly give them larger opportunities to attach them to that section, knowing that the blacks, once conscious of their power to move freely throughout the country wherever they may improve their condition, will never endure hardships like those formerly inflicted upon the race. The South is already learning that the negro is the most desirable labor for that section, that the persecution of negroes not only drives them out but makes the employment of labor such a problem that the South will not be an attractive section for capital. It will, therefore, be considered the duty of business men to secure protection to the negroes lest their ill treatment force them to migrate to the extent of bringing about a stagnation of business.

The exodus has driven home the truth that the prosperity of the South is at the mercy of the negro. Dependent on cheap labor, which the bulldozing whites will not readily furnish, the wealthy southerners must finally reach the position of regarding themselves and the negroes as having a community of interests which each must promote. "Nature itself in those States," Douglass said, "came to the rescue of the negro. He had labor, the South wanted it, and must have it or perish. Since he was free he could then give it, or withhold it; use it where he was, or take it elsewhere, he pleased. His labor made him a slave and his labor could, if he would, make him free, comfortable and independent. It is more to him than either fire, sword, ballot boxes or bayonets. It touches the heart of the South through its pocket." Knowing that the negro has this silent weapon to be used against his employer or the community, the South is already giving the race better educational facilities, better railway accommodations, and will eventually, if the advocacy of certain southern newspapers be heeded, grant them political privileges. Wages in the South, therefore, have risen even in the extreme southwestern States, where there is an opportunity to import Mexican labor. Reduced to this extremity, the southern aristocrats have begun to lose some of their race prejudice, which has not hitherto yielded to reason or philanthropy.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter XIV: Public Opinion Regarding the Migration

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Among those holding the view that the South needed the negro was the [October 5, 1916] *Memphis Commercial Appeal*. Concerning this an editorial in this paper said that not only does the South need the negro, but that he should be encouraged to stay.

> The enormous demand for labor and the changing conditions brought about by the boll weevil in certain parts of the South have caused an exodus of negroes which may be serious. Great colonies of negroes have gone north to work in factories, in packing houses and on the railroads.
>
> Some of our friends think that these negroes are being taken north for the purpose of voting them in November. Such is not the case. The restriction of immigration because of the European war and the tremendous manufacturing and industrial activity in the North have resulted in a scarcity of labor. The negro is a good track hand. He is also a good man around packing houses, and in certain elementary trades he is useful. The South needs every able-bodied negro that is now south of the line, and every negro who remains south of the line will in the end do better than he will do in the North.
>
> The negro has been a tremendous factor in the development of agriculture and all the commerce of the South. But in the meantime, if we are to keep him here, and if we are to have the best use of his business capacity, there is a certain duty that the white man himself must discharge in his relation to the negro.
>
> The business of lynching negroes is bad, and we believe it is declining, but the worst thing is that the wrong negro is often lynched. The negro should be protected in all his legal rights. Furthermore, in some communities, some white people make money at the expense of the negro's lack of intelligence. Unfair dealing with the negro is not a custom in the South. It is not the rule, but here and there the taking of enormous profits from the labor of the negro is known to exist.
>
> It should be so arranged that the negro in the city does not have to raise his children in the alleys and in the streets.
>
> Liquor in the cities has been a great curse to negroes.
>
> Millions of dollars have been made by no account white people selling no account liquor to negroes and thus making a whole lot of negroes no account. Happily this business is being extinguished.
>
> The negroes who are in the South should be encouraged to remain there, and those white people who are in the boll weevil territory should make every sacrifice to keep their negro labor until there can be adjustments to the new and quickly prosperous conditions that will later exist.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter XIV: Public Opinion Regarding the Migration

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The [July 1, 1917] *New Republic* of New York City pointed out that the movement gave the negro a chance and that he, the South and the nation, would in the end, all be gainers.

> When Austria found the Serbian reply inadmissible, the American negro, who had never heard of Count Berchtold, and did not care whether Bosnia belonged to Austria or Siam, got his "chance." It was not the sort of chance that came to the makers of munitions—a chance to make millions. It was merely a widening of a very narrow foothold on life, a slightly better opportunity to make his way in the industrial world of America.
>
> In the beginning such a migration of negroes would increase the present race friction in the North. Within certain limits a racial minority is unpopular directly in proportion to its numbers. Only as it increases to the point where political and economic power makes it formidable, does it overcome opposition. The negro's competition for jobs and homes will probably exacerbate relations. As the negroes increased in numbers they would not only seek menial and unskilled work, but also strive to enter skilled trades where they would meet with antagonism of white workers. Moreover, the negroes would be forced to seek homes in what are now regarded as "white" neighborhoods, and a clamor would be raised at each new extension of their dwelling area.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.***

"Introduction," by J.H. Dillard, pages 10-12

On this subject, as well as on the other facts regarding the migration, I must refer to the reports. I had thought to collate these reports, but have concluded that it is better to let each writer's facts and inferences be read in his own setting.

It may be well, however, to bring together here a few of the statements in regard to certain leading questions:

1. The number.—The movement had been well under way for some time before anyone thought of making an effort to secure statistics. Moreover, so many left separately and unobserved that to get complete statistics would at any time have been impracticable. Mr. Leavell says that "any numerical estimate must be based on such scanty data as to have no scientific value." Mr. Snavely estimates 75,000 left Alabama within 18 months, but adds that "except in a few particular instances it is impossible to give numbers with scientific accuracy." Mr. Woofter estimates the number leaving Georgia between May, 1916, and September, 1917, at 35,000 to 40,000, but says that "a numerical estimate of the total number must be an approximation." Mr. Williams gives 50,000 for Georgia, quoting the commissioner of commerce and labor; 90,000 for Alabama, quoting the commissioner of agriculture; and 100,000 for Mississippi, according to officials of insurance companies, and 75,000 according to the editor of the *Jackson Daily News*. Prof. Tyson says that "within certain limits one guess is as good as another." I should be inclined to set the limits at 150,000 and 350,000 and my guess would be 200,000. The number of those who have returned South is equally uncertain. Some say 10 per cent; some say as much as 30 per cent.

2. The cause.—That the lack of labor at the North, due mainly to the ceasing of immigration from Europe, was the occasion of the migration all agree. The causes assigned at the southern end are numerous: General dissatisfaction with conditions, ravages of boll weevil, floods, change of crop system, low wages, poor houses on plantations, poor school facilities, unsatisfactory crop settlements, rough treatment, cruelty of the law officers, unfairness in courts, lynching, desire for travel, labor agents, the Negro press, letters from friends in the North, and finally advice of white friends in the South where crops had failed. All of these causes have been mentioned, and doubtless each cause mentioned has had its influence in individual cases. A discussion of these causes will be found in the reports, none of which give as much prominence to the influence of labor agents as might be expected. Doubt-

*Leavell, R.H.; Snavely; T.R.; Woofter, T.J. Jr.; Williams, W.T.B.; Tyson, Francis D. and Dillard, J.H. *Negro Migration in 1916-17*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Labor, Office of the Secretary Division of Negro Economics, 1920.

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less the spectacular part of the migration, the movement of large numbers at the same time, was due to agents, and doubtless in many localities the labor agent was the instigator of the movement. "The universal testimony of employers was, however," says Mr. Woofter, "that after the initial group movement by agents, Negroes kept going by twos and threes. These were drawn by letters, and by actual advances of money, from Negroes who had already settled in the North." Mr. Williams says that "every Negro that makes good in the North and writes back to his friends starts off a new group." He thinks that this quiet work "has been more effective in carrying off labor than agents could possibly have been." Mr. Leavell approves the opinion that "the railroads and the United States mails have been the principal 'labor agents.' " However the influence came, and whatever concurrent causes may have operated, all will agree with Mr. Williams when he says that "better wages offered by the North have been the immediate occasion for the exodus."

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.**

"The Negro Migration from Mississippi, with Special Reference to the Exodus to Northern Communities in 1916-17," by R.H. Leavell

"Causes of the Negro Migration," pages 21-22

Hence my effort has been twofold. I have sought to find out what economic and social facts are pushing the Negro out of Mississippi and pulling him toward other communities. And I have tried to find out what beliefs of the Negroes have been influencing their migration. In both endeavors I have found the widest variety of facts and beliefs operating as motives in different parts of the State and in different local communities.

The inference is obvious that this diagnosis of causes of the movement will be useful only when employed by white leaders locally in determining whether actual or threatened shortage of labor is due to one or more of the causes mentioned. For such testing of the attractiveness of a community to Negro labor, the facts and beliefs about facts which are herein set forth it is hoped may be of help.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CAUSES OF MIGRATION.

The economic and social facts, as distinguished from beliefs about facts, that have been responsible for much of the Negro migration are the following:

1. In southeast and east Mississippi *lack of capital* for carrying labor through the fall and early winter until time to start a new crop. This lack of capital has been occasioned by one or more of three causes—a succession of short crops, the more recent advent of the boll weevil, a destructive storm in the summer of 1916.
2. *Reorganization of agriculture* behind the boll weevil so as to for a smaller number of farm laborers per hundred acres. This is notable in southwest Mississippi, which was the first section to meet the boll-weevil pest. Such reorganization, although paying considerable attention to trucking, is emphasizing live stock, particularly beef cattle.
3. *Hunger wages* in Mississippi.
4. *The attractions of Arkansas*. That State, country Negroes assert, competes for Mississippi Negro agricultural labor not only affording larger economic opportunity but also by offering more considerate treatment.
5. The attractions of the northern urban and industrial centers. These attractions are of two sorts: (a) Distinctly higher wages for unskilled labor, such as

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in munitions plants, railroad construction, stockyards; (6) better living conditions, such as (1) housing that seems superior to the rough cabins of southern plantations; (2) a closer approximation to evenhanded justice in the courts in cases where both whites and Negroes are involved[1]; (3) better schools for the Negro race than in either the country or the towns of Mississippi;(4) equal treatment on the cars [trains]. Indeed, in the cars equality of treatment is the necessary result of the fact that there is no segregation in them. Concerning equality of treatment, be it noted that northern Negro leaders are strenuously opposed quite generally to any sort of compulsory segregation anywhere. The southern Negro leaders pay little attention to this, but limit themselves to asking for equality of treatment, even though segregated. It is quite possible, however, that this difference in attitude is accounted for by the fact that at present abolition of "Jim Crowism" is in Mississippi a purely academic proposal.

[1] A Chicago weekly calls attention to the fact that the grand jury was able at least to find persons to indict for the East St. Louis affair; but this same weekly maintains that grand juries seem unable to locate the culprits in southern mobs.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.**

"The Negro Migration in the North," by Francis D. Tyson

"The Causes of the Migration," pages 118-119

The Pittsburgh study convinces one that from the standpoint of the northern industrial and business interests, however, the migration into this district has not been altogether satisfactory. Pittsburgh, as the workshop of the world, is naturally playing a more important part than ever in the present crisis and has felt a proportionate interest in the increase of the labor supply. The Negro migrant in Pittsburgh, it can be safely stated, has not usurped the place of the white worker. Every man is needed, as there are now more jobs than men to fill them. Pittsburgh's industrial life is now partly dependent upon the Negro-labor supply.

In spite of its necessity, Pittsburgh did not get a sufficient supply of Negroes, and certainly not in the same full proportion as did smaller towns. Pittsburgh manufacturers are still in need of labor, and this in spite of the fact that the railroads, the largest steel corporations, and at least two smaller industrial concerns of the locality have had labor agents in the South. These agents, laboring under great difficulties because of the restrictive measures adopted in certain southern communities to prevent the Negro exodus, have nevertheless succeeded in bringing several thousand colored workers into this district. That they have had little success in keeping these people here is acknowledged by all of them. One company, for instance, which imported about 1,000 men within the past year, had only about 300 of these working at the time of the investigator's visit in July, 1917; another that had brought more than 12,000 had less than 2,000 left.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.**

"The Negro Migration in the North," by Francis D. Tyson

"The Adjustment to Northern Industry," pages 122-123

From the viewpoint of northern industry the outstanding problem of the Negro migration is that of the labor turnover. This was inevitable when the lack of selection of the newcomers, the majority of them single men with no responsibilities, and the camp and housing conditions accorded them are considered.

The railroads with their lower wage rate were the worst sufferers. After bringing tens of thousands on free transportation and building camps for them, the Pennsylvania, Baltimore & Ohio, and New York Central found themselves with less than 2,000 Negroes in the case of the Pennsylvania Railroad, or less than 1,000 so far as the other roads were concerned. The railroad camps visited were all running at 60 per cent capacity or less. Each road had a demand for 800 or 1,000 more workers and was futilely seeking to fill the depleted ranks of the laborers by new importations from the South. In despair of securing even a Negro male labor force at all adequate to their demand they are turning in some cases to the employment of women on the tracks and about the roundhouses.

The Erie Railroad received considerable publicity regarding its success with Negro labor, due to a policy of selection and supervision, but the general superintendent of this line admitted that among the 9,000 men brought during a period of six or seven months' transportation a full turnover occurred every 11 days. Only the first 2.000 worked their transportation out. Nor were the conditions at the Erie Railroad camp at Weehawken, N. J., when visited, an improvement upon, or even as favorable as, the conditions in the [Pennsylvania] camps. In August this superintendent admitted having between 600 and 700 women employed on the tracks and in the yards of New York State.

In many of the camps the same story of continuous turnover of laborers was heard. At Girard Point, the Pennsylvania Railroad in Philadelphia, the camp supervisor said that the group had been a fluxing one from the start. Of the last batch of 50 that had been brought 10 days before the visit, on August 10, less than 25 remained.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.**

"The Negro Migration in the North," by Francis D. Tyson

"The Negro Migration and the Labor Movement," page 137

The attitude of the superintendent of this plant, who believed in "welfare work" but was unalterably opposed to unionism, may fee indicative of a generally favorable disposition of some groups of employers toward the southern migrants. They may see in these colored workers the effective means of staving off or preventing the movement toward organization and the attainment of the eight-hour day, which is now spreading among the foreign workers [immigrants]. For instance, the employment manager of a Pittsburgh plant, which had a big strike about two years ago, pointed out also that one of the chief advantages of the Negro migration lay in the fact that it gives him a chance to "mix up" his labor force and so secure "a balance of power." "The Negro," he claimed, "is more individualistic—does not form a group and follow a leader as readily as many foreigners do."

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.**

"The Negro Migration in the North," by Francis D. Tyson

"Constructive Efforts Toward Adjustment of the Migrant Population," pages 150-151

The labor problem of the Negro worker is largely one of selection and supervision. Industries with executives farsighted enough to pick the men, to think in terms of the Negro's human relations, and to provide housing quarters on a family basis were universally favorable to the Negro laborers. Difference of opinion as to the value of the Negro as a worker often turned on these points. For example, two steel-plant employment managers serving the same corporation in the Pittsburgh district held absolutely opposite views as to the value of the Negro worker. One had seen 10,000 Negroes pass through his mills in 10 months, and described the Negro as "shiftless and undependable." The other manager had provided through the company 128 family homes for "some of the steadiest and most dependable men he had ever employed." Undoubtedly, as the relation between housing and the stability of the Negro labor force is recognized, more housing experiments will be undertaken with success in reducing the labor turnover. As it is, only the building of sanitary camps and bunk houses with commissary departments has assured a partly adequate force of colored workers to the railroads and steel and construction works.

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Group 5: Agents—Handout 5 (page 1 of 25)

Directions

- Pretend that it is 1917 and you are agents encouraging workers to move to the North to work.
- Review the questions with your group.
- Read excerpts from primary source documents in the "Group 5" file in the online folder for this class
- Consider the ideas, attitudes, and beliefs of your assigned category and answer the questions from the perspective of those people.
- Combine your answers to create a perspectives page for your assigned category.
- Decide who will do each of the following jobs:

    - Record agreed-upon answers: Number the questions on the sticky-note paper and write the group's answers.
    - Find PACED-model alternatives: List alternatives for black southern workers considering migration to the North.
    - Find PACED-model criteria: List criteria for black southern workers considering migration to the North.
    - Apply the economic terms: Identify how the given economic terms apply to the acceleration of the Great Migration.
    - Check sources: Locate the answers in the specific documents.

1. **What factors caused a labor shortage in the North?**
2. **What factors contributed to balancing the labor supply between the surplus in the South and the shortage in the North? Also, what hindrances were there to efforts to balance the labor supply?**
3. **What impact did the acceleration of the Great Migration have on the imbalance between the supply of workers in the North and South?**

Economic Concepts

Factors of production	Scarcity	Surplus
• Natural resources	Supply	Human capital
• Labor	Demand	Opportunity cost
• Capital resources	Shortage	

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Group 5: Agents (page 2 of 25)
Visual 1: PACED Decisionmaking Model

PACED Decisionmaking Model							
	Alternatives	Criteria					
		1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	Totals
	1.						
	2.						
	3.						
	4.						
	5.						

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Group 5: Agents (page 3 of 25)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott***

"Editor's Preface," David Kinley, page iii

I think that no one more capable than Dr. Emmett J. Scott could have been found to present to the public a study on the subject of this monograph. The topic is one of great public importance, and the author is equipped for its treatment both by his wide knowledge of the subject and his sympathy with the viewpoint of his race.

The problem of negro labor, its diffusion and its adaptation to more numerous kinds of work, are problems not only of great public importance but of great difficulty. Whatever views one may hold on the general subject of race relations between the negroes and the whites in this country, there is no question that we can not reach safe conclusions without a full knowledge of the facts as they appear to both of the interested parties. For that reason this presentation by Dr. Scott is a welcome addition to our information on the subject.

Sympathetically read it will help the whites to understand better the negro viewpoint, and will help the negroes to appreciate more fully the difficulties which appear from the white viewpoint. This is a field in which Tennyson's words are preeminently true, that "Knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers." Yet we can not hope ever to attain the necessary wisdom excepting by an increasing fulness of knowledge. Therefore I commend this study to every one who is interested in the question for dispassionate reading and consideration.

*Scott, Emmett J. *Negro Migration During the War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1920.

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Group 5: Agents (page 4 of 25)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter III: Stimulation of the Movement

Page 31

In answer to the warnings of the South against the rigors of the northern winters, the *Defender* [newspaper] said:

> To die from the bite of frost is far more glorious than at the hands of a mob. I beg you, my brother, to leave the benighted land. You are a free man. Show the world that you will not let false leaders lead you. Your neck has been in the yoke. Will you continue to keep it there because some "white folks' nigger" wants you to? Leave for all quarters of the globe. Get out of the South. Your being there in the numbers in which you are gives the southern politician too strong a hold on your progress... So much has been said through the white papers in the South about the members of the race freezing to death in the North. They freeze to death down South when they don't take care of themselves. There is no reason for any human staying in the Southland on this bugaboo handed out by the white press.[1]

If you can freeze to death in the North and be free, why freeze to death in the South and be a slave, where your mother, sister and daughter are raped and burned at the stake; where your father, brother and sons are treated with contempt and hung to a pole, riddled with bullets at the least mention that he does not like the way he is treated. Come North then, all you folks, both good and bad. If you don't behave yourselves up here, the jails will certainly make you wish you had. For the hard-working man there is plenty of work—if you really want it. The *Defender* says come.[2]

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[1] The following clippings are taken from these white papers:

"Aged Negro Frozen to Death—Albany, Ga., February 8.

"Yesterday the dead body of Peter Crowder, an old negro, was found in out-of-the-way place where he had been frozen to death during the recent cold snap."—*Macon Telegraph*.

"Dies from Exposure—Spartanburg, S. C., February 6.

"Marshall Jackson, a negro man, who lived on the farm of J.T. Harris near Campobello, Sunday night froze to death."—*South Carolina State*.

"Negro Frozen to Death in Fireless Gretna Hut.

"Coldest weather in the last four years claimed a victim Friday night, when Archie Williams, a negro, was frozen to death in his bed in a little hut in the outskirts of Gretna."—*New Orleans Item*, February 4.

"Negro Woman Frozen to Death Monday.

"Harriet Tolbert, an aged negro woman, was frozen to death in her home at 18 Garibaldi Street early Monday morning during the severe cold."—*Atlanta Constitution*, February 6.

[2] Articles such as the following kept alive the spirit of the exodus:

"Tampa, Florida, January 19. J.T. King, supposed to be a race leader, is using his wits to get on the good side of the white people by calling a meeting to urge our people not to migrate north. King has been termed a 'good nigger' by his pernicious activity on the emigration question. Reports have been received here that all who have gone north are at work and pleased with the splendid conditions in the North. It is known here that in the North there is a scarcity of labor; mills and factories are open to them. People are not paying any attention to King and are packing and ready to travel north to the 'promised land.'"

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter III: Stimulation of the Movement

Page 35

"The foreign laborer has been called home to bear arms for his country. The daily death toll [from Word War I] and waste and the recently enacted immigration law make it certain that he will not soon return in great numbers. As a result a large market exists for the negro laborer in localities in which he would have been considered an impudent trespasser had he attempted to enter a few years ago. The history of the world from the days of Moses to the present shows that where one race has been subjugated, oppressed or proscribed by another and exists in large numbers, permanent relief has come in one or two ways—amalgamation or migration. The thought of amalgamation is not to be entertained. If conditions in the South for the colored man are to be permanently improved, many of those who now live there should migrate and scatter throughout the North, East and West. I believe the present opportunity providential."—Hon. John C. Ashbury, Philadelphia Bar.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter V: The Call of the Self-Sufficient North

Pages 52-53

The following is a statement taken from reports of the Bureau of Foreign Immigration.

Immigration Since 1913

Year	Number
1913	1,197,892
1914	1,218,480
1915	326,700
1916	298,826
1917	295,403

The decrease of over 900,000 immigrants, on whom the industries of the North depended, caused a grave situation. It must be remembered also that of the 295,403 arrivals in 1917, there were included 32,346 English, 24,405 French and 13,350 Scotch who furnish but a small quota of the laboring classes. There were also 16,438 Mexicans who came over the border, and who, for the most part, live and work in the Southwest. The type of immigration which kept prime the labor market of the North and Northwest came in through Ellis Island. Of these, Mr. Frederick C. Howe, Commissioner of Immigration, said that "only enough have come to balance those who have left." He adds further that "As a result, there has been a great shortage of labor in many of our industrial sections that may last as long as the war."

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VI: The Draining of the Black Belt

Page 65

The interstate migration has resulted from the land poverty of the hill country and from intimidation of the "poor whites" in Amite, Lincoln, Franklin and Wilkinson counties [in Mississippi]. In 1908 when the floods and boll weevil worked such general havoc in the southwestern corner of the State, labor agents the Delta went down and carried away thousands of families. It is estimated that more than 8,000 negroes left Adams county during the first two years of the boll weevil period. Census figures for 1910 show that the southwestern counties suffered a loss of 18,000 negroes. The migration of recent years to adjacent States has been principally to Arkansas.[1]

[1] The reasons back of this, as obtained from migrants themselves, are that, except in the town of Mound Bayou, negroes have not been encouraged to own property or rent, but to work on shares; in Arkansas it is possible to buy good land cheaply and on reasonable terms; inducements are offered by Arkansas in the form of better treatment and schools; there are no such "excessive" taxes as are required in the Mississippi Delta to protect them from the overflows; the boll weevil has not yet seriously affected that State, and a small farmer may be fairly independent in Arkansas.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VI: The Draining of the Black Belt

Page 66, Footnote 1

The lumber mills and the local corporations provide a great part of the work for laborers in the city. Wages last year ranged from $1.25 to $1.50 a day. Wages at present are $1.75 and $2 a day. Cotton picking last year brought 60 and 75 cents a hundred; at present $2 is paid for every hundred pounds picked. The city has enacted "move on" laws intending to get rid of drones. The police, it is said, could not distinguish drones from "all negroes."

It was further complained that the police deputies and sheriffs are too free with the use of their clubs and guns when a negro is involved. It was related that Dr.———, practicing 47 years in Greenville, Mississippi, was driving his buggy in a crowded street on circus day when he was commanded by a policeman to drive to one side and let a man pass. He replied that he could not because he himself was jammed. He was commanded again and then dragged from the buggy, clubbed and haled into the police court and fined. The officer who arrested him swore that he had given frequent trouble, which was untrue according to reliable testimony and his own statement. This incident is also told:

A policeman's friend needed a cook. The policeman drove by a negro home and, seeing a woman on the porch, told her to get in the buggy. No questions were permitted. She was carried to his friend's home and told to work. The woman prepared one meal and left the city for the North.— [Charles S.] Johnson, *Report on the Migration from Mississippi* [n. d.].

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VI: The Draining of the Black Belt

Pages 68-69

It is an interesting fact that this migration from the South followed the path marked out by the Underground Railroad of antebellum days. Negroes from the rural districts moved first to the nearest village or town, then to the city. On the plantations it was not regarded safe to arrange for transportation to the North through receiving and sending letters. On the other hand, in the towns and cities there was more security in meeting labor agents. The result of it was that cities like New Orleans, Birmingham, Jacksonville, Savannah and Memphis became concentration points. From these cities migrants were rerouted along the lines most in favor.

The principal difference between this course and the Underground Railroad was that in the later movement the southernmost States contributed the largest numbers. This perhaps is due in part to the selection of Florida and Georgia by the first concerns offering the inducement of free transportation, and at the same time it accounts for the very general and intimate knowledge of the movement by the people in States through which they were forced to pass. In Hattiesburg, Mississippi, for example, the first intimation of a great movement of negroes to the North came through reports that thousands of negroes were leaving Florida for the North. To the negroes of Florida, South Carolina, Virginia and Georgia the North means Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York and New England. The route is more direct, and it is this section of the northern expanse of the United States that gets widest advertisement through tourists, and passengers and porters on the Atlantic coast steamers. The northern newspapers with the greatest circulation are from Pennsylvania and New York, and the New York colored weeklies are widely read. Reports from all of these south Atlantic States indicate that comparatively few persons ventured into the Northwest when a better known country lay before them.

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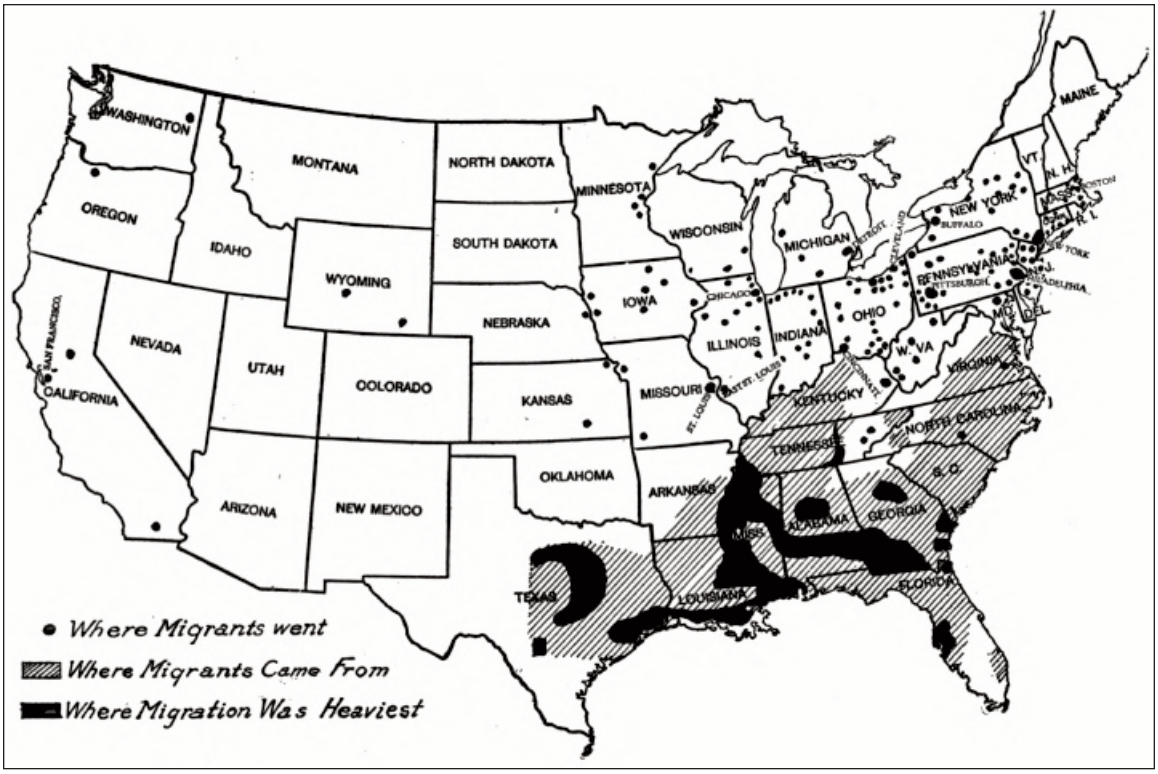

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VII: Efforts to Check the Movement

Pages 78-79

...The federal authorities were importuned to stop the movement. They withdrew the assistance of the Employment Department, but admitted that they could not stop the interstate migration.[1]

One remarked, however, "It will scarcely be possible, to make a sectional issue of these Columbus convictions, as the charge of 'enticing away of labor in that country is aimed at certain Arkansas planters who carried away several carloads of negroes to work on their places, leaving the Mississippi employers without the labor to gather or grow their crops. It can not, therefore, be interpreted as an attempt to keep the negro in semislavery in the South and prevent him from going to work at better wages in the northern munition factories; it is only an effort to protect Mississippi employers from Arkansas planters."[2]

...After having enforced these drastic measures without securing satisfactory results, and having seen that any attempt to hold the negroes by force resulted apparently in an increased determination to leave, there was resort to the policy of frightening the negroes away from the North by circulating rumors as to the misfortunes to be experienced there. Negroes were then warned against the rigors of the northern winter and the death rate from pneumonia and tuberculosis. Social workers in the North reported frequent cases of men with simple colds who actually believed that they had developed "consumption." Speakers who wished to discourage the exodus reported "exact" figures on the death rate of the migrants in the North that were astounding. As, for example, it was said by one Reverend Mr. Parks that there were 2,000 of them sick in Philadelphia. The editor of a leading white paper in Jackson, Mississippi, made the remark that he feared that the result of the first winter's experience in the North would prove serious to the South, in so far as it would remove the bugbear of the northern climate. The returned migrants were encouraged to speak in disparagement of the North and to give wide publicity to their utterances, emphasizing incidents of suffering reported through the press.

When such efforts as these failed, however, the disconcerted planters and business men of the South resorted to another plan. Reconciliation and persuasion were tried. Meetings were held and speakers were secured and advised what to say. In

[1] Johnson, *Report on the Migration from Mississippi* [n.d.].

[2] *Times Picayune*, New Orleans, October 1, 1916.

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cities and communities where contact on this plane had been infrequent, it was a bit difficult to approach the subject. The press of Georgia gave much space to the discussion of the movement and what ought to be done to stop it. The consensus of opinion of the white papers in the State was that the negro had not been fairly treated, and that better treatment would be one of the most effective means of checking the migration. Mob violence, it was pointed out, was one of the chief causes of the exodus.[3]

[3] Johnson, *Report on the Migration from Mississippi* [n.d.].

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VII: Efforts to Check the Movement

Pages 83-84

It was found necessary to increase wages from ten to twenty-five per cent and in some cases as much as 100 per cent to hold labor. The reasons for migration given by negroes were sought. In almost all cases the chief complaint was about treatment. An effort was made to meet this by calling conferences and by giving publicity to the launching of a campaign to make unfair settlements and other such grievances unpopular. Thus, in Bolivar county, Mississippi, a meeting was called, ostensibly to look after the economic welfare of the Delta country, but in reality to develop some plan for holding labor. A subcommittee of seventeen men was appointed to look into the labor situation. There were twelve white men and five negroes. The subcommittee met and reported to the body that the present labor shortage was due to the migration, and that the migration was due to a feeling of insecurity before the law, the unrestrained action of mobs, unfair methods of yearly settlement on farms and inadequate school facilities. As a result of the report, it was agreed to make an appropriation of $25,000 towards an agricultural high school, as a step towards showing an interest in the negroes of Bolivar county and thus give them reasons for remaining. A campaign was started to make unpopular the practice among farmers of robbing negroes of the returns from their labor, and a general effort was made by a few of the leading men behind the movement to create “a better feeling” between the races.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VIII: Effects of the Movement on the South

Page 86

The first changes wrought by this migration were unusually startling. Homes found themselves without servants, factories could not operate because of the lack of labor, farmers were unable to secure laborers to harvest their crops. Streets in towns and cities once crowded assumed the aspect of deserted thoroughfares, houses in congested districts became empty, churches, lodges and societies suffered such a large loss of membership that they had to close up or undergo reorganization.

Probably the most striking change was the unusual increase in wages. The wages for common labor in Thomasville, Georgia, increased almost certainly 100 per cent. In Valdosta there was a general increase in the town and county of about 50 per cent, in Brunswick and Savannah the same condition obtained. The common laborer who had formerly received 80 cents a day earned thereafter $1.50 to $1.75. Farm hands working for from $10 to $15 per month were advanced to $20 or $35 per month. Brick masons who had received 50 cents per hour thereafter earned 62 1/2 cents and 70 cents per hour. In Savannah common laborers paid as high as $2 per day were advanced to $3. At the sugar refinery the rates were for women, 15 to 22 cents per hour, men, 22 to 30 cents per hour. In the more skilled lines of work, the wages were for carpenters, $4 to $6 per day, painters, $2.50 to $4 per day, and bricklayers $4 to $5 per day.

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Chapter VIII: Effects of the Movement on the South

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For those who remained conditions were much more tolerable, although there appeared to persist a feeling of apprehension that these concessions would be retracted as soon as normal times returned. Some were of the opinion that the exodus was of more assistance to those negroes who stayed behind than to those who went away.

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Chapter VIII: Effects of the Movement on the South

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The negroes, too, are very much in demand in the South and the intelligent whites will gladly give them larger opportunities to attach them to that section, knowing that the blacks, once conscious of their power to move freely throughout the country wherever they may improve their condition, will never endure hardships like those formerly inflicted upon the race. The South is already learning that the negro is the most desirable labor for that section, that the persecution of negroes not only drives them out but makes the employment of labor such a problem that the South will not be an attractive section for capital. It will, therefore, be considered the duty of business men to secure protection to the negroes lest their ill treatment force them to migrate to the extent of bringing about a stagnation of business.

The exodus has driven home the truth that the prosperity of the South is at the mercy of the negro. Dependent on cheap labor, which the bulldozing whites will not readily furnish, the wealthy southerners must finally reach the position of regarding themselves and the negroes as having a community of interests which each must promote. “Nature itself in those States,” Douglass said, “came to the rescue of the negro. He had labor, the South wanted it, and must have it or perish. Since he was free he could then give it, or withhold it; use it where he was, or take it elsewhere, he pleased. His labor made him a slave and his labor could, if he would, make him free, comfortable and independent. It is more to him than either fire, sword, ballot boxes or bayonets. It touches the heart of the South through its pocket.” Knowing that the negro has this silent weapon to be used against his employer or the community, the South is already giving the race better educational facilities, better railway accommodations, and will eventually, if the advocacy of certain southern newspapers be heeded, grant them political privileges. Wages in the South, therefore, have risen even in the extreme southwestern States, where there is an opportunity to import Mexican labor. Reduced to this extremity, the southern aristocrats have begun to lose some of their race prejudice, which has not hitherto yielded to reason or philanthropy.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter XIV: Public Opinion Regarding the Migration

Page 154

Among those holding the view that the South needed the negro was the [October 5, 1916] *Memphis Commercial Appeal*. Concerning this an editorial in this paper said that not only does the South need the negro, but that he should be encouraged to stay.

> The enormous demand for labor and the changing conditions brought about by the boll weevil in certain parts of the South have caused an exodus of negroes which may be serious. Great colonies of negroes have gone north to work in factories, in packing houses and on the railroads.
>
> Some of our friends think that these negroes are being taken north for the purpose of voting them in November. Such is not the case. The restriction of immigration because of the European war and the tremendous manufacturing and industrial activity in the North have resulted in a scarcity of labor. The negro is a good track hand. He is also a good man around packing houses, and in certain elementary trades he is useful. The South needs every able-bodied negro that is now south of the line, and every negro who remains south of the line will in the end do better than he will do in the North.
>
> The negro has been a tremendous factor in the development of agriculture and all the commerce of the South. But in the meantime, if we are to keep him here, and if we are to have the best use of his business capacity, there is a certain duty that the white man himself must discharge in his relation to the negro.
>
> The business of lynching negroes is bad, and we believe it is declining, but the worst thing is that the wrong negro is often lynched. The negro should be protected in all his legal rights. Furthermore, in some communities, some white people make money at the expense of the negro's lack of intelligence. Unfair dealing with the negro is not a custom in the South. It is not the rule, but here and there the taking of enormous profits from the labor of the negro is known to exist.
>
> It should be so arranged that the negro in the city does not have to raise his children in the alleys and in the streets.
>
> Liquor in the cities has been a great curse to negroes.
>
> Millions of dollars have been made by no account white people selling no account liquor to negroes and thus making a whole lot of negroes no account. Happily this business is being extinguished.
>
> The negroes who are in the South should be encouraged to remain there, and those white people who are in the boll weevil territory should make every sacrifice to keep their negro labor until there can be adjustments to the new and quickly prosperous conditions that will later exist.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter XIV: Public Opinion Regarding the Migration

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The [July 1, 1917] *New Republic* of New York City pointed out that the movement gave the negro a chance and that he, the South and the nation, would in the end, all be gainers.

> When Austria found the Serbian reply inadmissible, the American negro, who had never heard of Count Berchtold, and did not care whether Bosnia belonged to Austria or Siam, got his "chance." It was not the sort of chance that came to the makers of munitions—a chance to make millions. It was merely a widening of a very narrow foothold on life, a slightly better opportunity to make his way in the industrial world of America.
>
> In the beginning such a migration of negroes would increase the present race friction in the North. Within certain limits a racial minority is unpopular directly in proportion to its numbers. Only as it increases to the point where political and economic power makes it formidable, does it overcome opposition. The negro's competition for jobs and homes will probably exacerbate relations. As the negroes increased in numbers they would not only seek menial and unskilled work, but also strive to enter skilled trades where they would meet with antagonism of white workers. Moreover, the negroes would be forced to seek homes in what are now regarded as "white" neighborhoods, and a clamor would be raised at each new extension of their dwelling area.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.***

"Introduction," by J.H. Dillard, pages 10-12

On this subject, as well as on the other facts regarding the migration, I must refer to the reports. I had thought to collate these reports, but have concluded that it is better to let each writer's facts and inferences be read in his own setting.

It may be well, however, to bring together here a few of the statements in regard to certain leading questions:

1. The number.—The movement had been well under way for some time before anyone thought of making an effort to secure statistics. Moreover, so many left separately and unobserved that to get complete statistics would at any time have been impracticable. Mr. Leavell says that "any numerical estimate must be based on such scanty data as to have no scientific value." Mr. Snavely estimates 75,000 left Alabama within 18 months, but adds that "except in a few particular instances it is impossible to give numbers with scientific accuracy." Mr. Woofter estimates the number leaving Georgia between May, 1916, and September, 1917, at 35,000 to 40,000, but says that "a numerical estimate of the total number must be an approximation." Mr. Williams gives 50,000 for Georgia, quoting the commissioner of commerce and labor; 90,000 for Alabama, quoting the commissioner of agriculture; and 100,000 for Mississippi, according to officials of insurance companies, and 75,000 according to the editor of the *Jackson Daily News*. Prof. Tyson says that "within certain limits one guess is as good as another." I should be inclined to set the limits at 150,000 and 350,000 and my guess would be 200,000. The number of those who have returned South is equally uncertain. Some say 10 per cent; some say as much as 30 per cent.

2. The cause.—That the lack of labor at the North, due mainly to the ceasing of immigration from Europe, was the occasion of the migration all agree. The causes assigned at the southern end are numerous: General dissatisfaction with conditions, ravages of boll weevil, floods, change of crop system, low wages, poor houses on plantations, poor school facilities, unsatisfactory crop settlements, rough treatment, cruelty of the law officers, unfairness in courts, lynching, desire for travel, labor agents, the Negro press, letters from friends in the North, and finally advice of white friends in the South where crops had failed. All of these causes have been mentioned, and doubtless each cause mentioned has had its influence in individual cases. A discussion of these causes will be found in the reports, none of which give as much prominence to the influence of labor agents as might be expected. Doubt-

*Leavell, R.H.; Snavely; T.R.; Woofter, T.J. Jr.; Williams, W.T.B.; Tyson, Francis D. and Dillard, J.H. *Negro Migration in 1916-17*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Labor, Office of the Secretary Division of Negro Economics, 1920.

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less the spectacular part of the migration, the movement of large numbers at the same time, was due to agents, and doubtless in many localities the labor agent was the instigator of the movement. “The universal testimony of employers was, however,” says Mr. Woofter, “that after the initial group movement by agents, Negroes kept going by twos and threes. These were drawn by letters, and by actual advances of money, from Negroes who had already settled in the North.” Mr. Williams says that “every Negro that makes good in the North and writes back to his friends starts off a new group.” He thinks that this quiet work “has been more effective in carrying off labor than agents could possibly have been.” Mr. Leavell approves the opinion that “the railroads and the United States mails have been the principal ‘labor agents.’ ” However the influence came, and whatever concurrent causes may have operated, all will agree with Mr. Williams when he says that “better wages offered by the North have been the immediate occasion for the exodus.”

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.**

"The Negro Migration from Mississippi, with Special Reference to the Exodus to Northern Communities in 1916-17," by R.H. Leavell

"Agents of Migration," pages 27-28

Many of the whites whom I interviewed laid great stress on the activities of labor agents as a cause of emigration. The truth seems to be that the white labor agent was and to some extent still is an important means for acquainting Negroes with the superior wages of the North, and with the greater degree of equality of treatment in the courts, in the schools, in the cars [trains], at the polls, and elsewhere.

But since the parties to whom the labor agent went, if they responded, left Mississippi, it has not been practicable to get direct information from those securing free transportation through such agents. The repeated statements of men of standing, both whites and Negroes, leave no doubt, however, that free transportation could be had for the asking by Negroes willing to go north in the autumn of 1916, although the labor agent himself is inclined to be secretive, his occupation not being regarded favorably as a rule by white communities. The impression prevails that the white labor agent is still somewhat active, but that more and more dependence is placed upon Negro emigrants who have been sent back to draw others after them.

I quote upon this point a letter from a well-known Negro educator, who stands high with both the whites and his own race:

> There were a few labor agents for a while, but they are not very abundant now; though I was told up north by some colored men that several white agents were in X at various times and the white people never knew it. Parties said it was the first time in their lives they ever knew colored people to keep anything or that it didn't leak out in some way, but they kept it absolutely secret.
>
> Another labor agent is the colored man who comes back proclaiming he has come to stay, don't like the North, and is back to die in the Sunny South. Nine times out of ten he is back after a crew and pretty soon disappears and a hundred more with him.
>
> Uncle Sam is the most effective agent at this time. All who are away are writing for others to come on in, the water's fine.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.**

"The Exodus of Negroes from Southern States: Alabama and North Carolina," by Tipton Ray Snavely

"Volume of the Migration," page 57

It has been the policy of the railroads within recent months to discourage the movement of Negroes by refusing to provide extra equipment and by not accepting prepaid orders for transportation. Some months ago, when the Pennsylvania and Erie Railway Cos. Transported several thousand Negroes for employment on their roads, they tried to reach an agreement with certain railways in the South whereby prepaid orders would be accepted in lieu of cash fares for the Negroes being transported. The officials of some of the railways in Alabama stated that these requests were not complied with and that they have consistently refused to accept such orders for the transportation of Negroes from anyone. Labor agents have also found it difficult to obtain party tickets from the railways desiring to discourage the removal of Negroes. During the months when the migration was heaviest the railway companies provided extra cars, when the number leaving was sufficient to demand them.

This policy was discontinued after President Wilson requested the railroads to conserve their equipment. Since that time, when there are more passengers than can be accommodated on the regular cars, all who are unable to obtain seats are required to wait for other trains. On the through trains, however, Negroes are now being given the use of a full car, whereas formerly the cars contained a partition, one section being used for Negro passengers, the other as a smoking car for whites.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.**

"The Exodus of Negroes from Southern States: Alabama and North Carolina," by Tipton Ray Snavely

"Causes of the Movement," page 62

This demand for labor in the north was another of the immediate causes of the movement. Without the economic basis of higher wages offered there it would not have been given the momentum which it attained during the past winter and spring. By the spring of 1916 there was a real surplus of labor throughout the black belt which was ready to respond to the demand for labor and higher wages in the northern and eastern States. But the current once started did not stop when the surplus was removed.

Another of the immediate causes was the labor agent. The agents have played the part of middleman in the exodus. By furnishing transportation and by other means they have made it possible and easy. From the conditions which have already been described it may be seen that Alabama afforded an exceptional field for the activities of such agents. This is especially true, since the unlicensed agents allowed to solicit for a time practically unmolested by the State authorities. The State had laws which imposed a heavy license for the soliciting of labor to be removed from its borders; but it was not until its own industries were threatened with a shortage of labor that a successful attempt was made to enforce the laws. In all the counties visited it was reported that unlicensed agents had come and gone, but that it was usually impossible to detect their presence until they had got away. White agents have found it advantageous to employ Negro subagents to work for them among the Negroes. This made it difficult for the State license inspectors to obtain the necessary proof for conviction. The statement was everywhere made that it was impossible to get much information concerning the agents from the Negroes themselves.

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.**

"The Exodus of Negroes from Southern States: Alabama and North Carolina," by Tipton Ray Snavely

"Causes of the Movement," page 65

The labor agents as a class, whether residing temporarily or permanently and whether licensed or unlicensed, have been unscrupulous as to the means used for soliciting Negroes to be sent out of the State. Their work has been a profitable business in proportion to the numbers they have sent. One of the agencies at Bessemer has issued attractive circulars from time to time as a means of advertising. These were distributed among the Negroes in Birmingham and Bessemer and some were found in the black-belt counties. They contained such phrases as, "Let's go back north where there are no labor troubles, no strikes, no lockouts; Large coal, good wages, fair treatment; Two weeks' pay; Good houses; We ship you and your household goods; All colored ministers can go free; Will advance you money if necessary; Scores of men have written us thanking us for sending them; Go now while you have the chance."

The agents stated that they have done no illicit soliciting through the employment of unlicensed subagents, but State license inspectors have caught such subagents from time to time and punished them. The use of subagents is an extremely effective method of soliciting. The licensed agents have not gone among the mining camps in person, but have attracted the Negroes to their offices. Negro subagents, however, disguised as salesmen and insurance agents, have obtained access to the Negro quarters. In some instances, those who went North were sent back by their northern employers to put up a plea of distress and regain their former jobs in the Birmingham district. When allowed to go to work they left for the North again in a few days, after having induced 20 or 25 other employees to go with them.

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Group 5: Agents (page 25 of 25)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.**

"Migration of Negroes from Georgia, 1916-17," by T.J. Woofter, Jr.

"Causes of the Movement," page 86

Low wages, in the South and high wages in the North have been the chief determining factors in the movement. The foregoing discussion of the conditions prevailing in sections which have been losing Negro population indicate a complex of economic and social causes—wages, conditions of labor, lynching, minor injustices in the courts, and other social considerations. However, the fact that the movement began among the farm laborers and the day laborers in the city and, at first, largely among the unemployed in Savannah indicates that a living wage attracted the first migrants and has been one of the primary considerations with the large majority of the later migrants. In such cases the labor agent from the North was the instigator of the movement. Agents of the Pennsylvania and Erie railroads started the movement from Savannah, and agents carried the first groups up from the boll-weevil section. Arrests of labor agents were made in Americus, Cuthbert, Thomasville, and Sylvester, and direct evidence of labor agents having been at work was found in many of the south Georgia towns. Only one agent—who operated in Macon three months—paid the $500 State license for soliciting labor; the others operated in a semisecret way. The universal testimony of employers was that after the initial group movement by agents, Negroes kept going by twos and threes. These were drawn by letters and actual advances of money from Negroes who had already settled in the North.

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Group 6: White Immigrant Workers in the North—Handout 6 (page 1 of 21)

Directions

- Pretend that it is 1917 and you are white immigrant workers in the North.
- Review the questions with your group.
- Read excerpts from primary source documents in the "Group 6" file in the online folder for this class
- Consider the ideas, attitudes, and beliefs of your assigned category and answer the questions from the perspective of those people.
- Combine your answers to create a perspectives page for your assigned category.
- Decide who will do each of the following jobs:

    - Record agreed-upon answers: Number the questions on the sticky-note paper and write the group's answers.
    - Find PACED-model alternatives: List alternatives for black southern workers considering migration to the North.
    - Find PACED-model criteria: List criteria for black southern workers considering migration to the North.
    - Apply the economic terms: Identify how the given economic terms apply to the acceleration of the Great Migration.
    - Check sources: Locate the answers in the specific documents.

1. What factors caused a labor shortage in the North?

2. What factors contributed to balancing the labor supply between the surplus in the South and the shortage in the North?

3. What impact did the acceleration of the Great Migration have on working conditions in the North?

Economic Concepts

Factors of production	Scarcity	Surplus
• Natural resources	Supply	Human capital
• Labor	Demand	Opportunity cost
• Capital resources	Shortage	

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Group 6: White Immigrant Workers in the North (page 2 of 21)
Visual 1: PACED Decisionmaking Model

PACED Decisionmaking Model							
	Alternatives	Criteria					
		1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	Totals
	1.						
	2.						
	3.						
	4.						
	5.						

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Group 6: White Immigrant Workers in the North (page 3 of 21)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott***

"Editor's Preface," David Kinley, page iii

I think that no one more capable than Dr. Emmett J. Scott could have been found to present to the public a study on the subject of this monograph. The topic is one of great public importance, and the author is equipped for its treatment both by his wide knowledge of the subject and his sympathy with the viewpoint of his race.

The problem of negro labor, its diffusion and its adaptation to more numerous kinds of work, are problems not only of great public importance but of great difficulty. Whatever views one may hold on the general subject of race relations between the negroes and the whites in this country, there is no question that we can not reach safe conclusions without a full knowledge of the facts as they appear to both of the interested parties. For that reason this presentation by Dr. Scott is a welcome addition to our information on the subject.

Sympathetically read it will help the whites to understand better the negro viewpoint, and will help the negroes to appreciate more fully the difficulties which appear from the white viewpoint. This is a field in which Tennyson's words are preeminently true, that "Knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers." Yet we can not hope ever to attain the necessary wisdom excepting by an increasing fulness of knowledge. Therefore I commend this study to every one who is interested in the question for dispassionate reading and consideration.

*Scott, Emmett J. *Negro Migration During the War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1920.

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Group 6: White Immigrant Workers in the North (page 4 of 21)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter III: Stimulation of the Movement

Page 31

In answer to the warnings of the South against the rigors of the northern winters, the *Defender* [newspaper] said:

> To die from the bite of frost is far more glorious than at the hands of a mob. I beg you, my brother, to leave the benighted land. You are a free man. Show the world that you will not let false leaders lead you. Your neck has been in the yoke. Will you continue to keep it there because some "white folks' nigger" wants you to? Leave for all quarters of the globe. Get out of the South. Your being there in the numbers in which you are gives the southern politician too strong a hold on your progress... So much has been said through the white papers in the South about the members of the race freezing to death in the North. They freeze to death down South when they don't take care of themselves. There is no reason for any human staying in the Southland on this bugaboo handed out by the white press.[1]

If you can freeze to death in the North and be free, why freeze to death in the South and be a slave, where your mother, sister and daughter are raped and burned at the stake; where your father, brother and sons are treated with contempt and hung to a pole, riddled with bullets at the least mention that he does not like the way he is treated. Come North then, all you folks, both good and bad. If you don't behave yourselves up here, the jails will certainly make you wish you had. For the hard-working man there is plenty of work—if you really want it. The *Defender* says come.[2]

---

[1] The following clippings are taken from these white papers:

"Aged Negro Frozen to Death—Albany, Ga., February 8.

"Yesterday the dead body of Peter Crowder, an old negro, was found in out-of-the-way place where he had been frozen to death during the recent cold snap."—*Macon Telegraph*.

"Dies from Exposure—Spartanburg, S. C., February 6.

"Marshall Jackson, a negro man, who lived on the farm of J.T. Harris near Campobello, Sunday night froze to death."—*South Carolina State*.

"Negro Frozen to Death in Fireless Gretna Hut.

"Coldest weather in the last four years claimed a victim Friday night, when Archie Williams, a negro, was frozen to death in his bed in a little hut in the outskirts of Gretna."—*New Orleans Item*, February 4.

"Negro Woman Frozen to Death Monday.

"Harriet Tolbert, an aged negro woman, was frozen to death in her home at 18 Garibaldi Street early Monday morning during the severe cold."—*Atlanta Constitution*, February 6.

[2] Articles such as the following kept alive the spirit of the exodus:

"Tampa, Florida, January 19. J.T. King, supposed to be a race leader, is using his wits to get on the good side of the white people by calling a meeting to urge our people not to migrate north. King has been termed a 'good nigger' by his pernicious activity on the emigration question. Reports have been received here that all who have gone north are at work and pleased with the splendid conditions in the North. It is known here that in the North there is a scarcity of labor; mills and factories are open to them. People are not paying any attention to King and are packing and ready to travel north to the 'promised land.'"

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Group 6: White Immigrant Workers in the North (page 5 of 21)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter III: Stimulation of the Movement

Page 35

"The foreign laborer has been called home to bear arms for his country. The daily death toll [from Word War I] and waste and the recently enacted immigration law make it certain that he will not soon return in great numbers. As a result a large market exists for the negro laborer in localities in which he would have been considered an impudent trespasser had he attempted to enter a few years ago. The history of the world from the days of Moses to the present shows that where one race has been subjugated, oppressed or proscribed by another and exists in large numbers, permanent relief has come in one or two ways—amalgamation or migration. The thought of amalgamation is not to be entertained. If conditions in the South for the colored man are to be permanently improved, many of those who now live there should migrate and scatter throughout the North, East and West. I believe the present opportunity providential."—Hon. John C. Ashbury, Philadelphia Bar.

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Group 6: White Immigrant Workers in the North (page 6 of 21)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter V: The Call of the Self-Sufficient North

Pages 52-53

The following is a statement taken from reports of the Bureau of Foreign Immigration.

Immigration Since 1913

Year	Number
1913	1,197,892
1914	1,218,480
1915	326,700
1916	298,826
1917	295,403

The decrease of over 900,000 immigrants, on whom the industries of the North depended, caused a grave situation. It must be remembered also that of the 295,403 arrivals in 1917, there were included 32,346 English, 24,405 French and 13,350 Scotch who furnish but a small quota of the laboring classes. There were also 16,438 Mexicans who came over the border, and who, for the most part, live and work in the Southwest. The type of immigration which kept prime the labor market of the North and Northwest came in through Ellis Island. Of these, Mr. Frederick C. Howe, Commissioner of Immigration, said that "only enough have come to balance those who have left." He adds further that "As a result, there has been a great shortage of labor in many of our industrial sections that may last as long as the war."

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Group 6: White Immigrant Workers in the North (page 7 of 21)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VI: The Draining of the Black Belt

Page 65

The interstate migration has resulted from the land poverty of the hill country and from intimidation of the "poor whites" in Amite, Lincoln, Franklin and Wilkinson counties [in Mississippi]. In 1908 when the floods and boll weevil worked such general havoc in the southwestern corner of the State, labor agents the Delta went down and carried away thousands of families. It is estimated that more than 8,000 negroes left Adams county during the first two years of the boll weevil period. Census figures for 1910 show that the southwestern counties suffered a loss of 18,000 negroes. The migration of recent years to adjacent States has been principally to Arkansas.[1]

[1] The reasons back of this, as obtained from migrants themselves, are that, except in the town of Mound Bayou, negroes have not been encouraged to own property or rent, but to work on shares; in Arkansas it is possible to buy good land cheaply and on reasonable terms; inducements are offered by Arkansas in the form of better treatment and schools; there are no such "excessive" taxes as are required in the Mississippi Delta to protect them from the overflows; the boll weevil has not yet seriously affected that State, and a small farmer may be fairly independent in Arkansas.

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Group 6: White Immigrant Workers in the North (page 8 of 21)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VI: The Draining of the Black Belt

Page 66, Footnote 1

The lumber mills and the local corporations provide a great part of the work for laborers in the city. Wages last year ranged from $1.25 to $1.50 a day. Wages at present are $1.75 and $2 a day. Cotton picking last year brought 60 and 75 cents a hundred; at present $2 is paid for every hundred pounds picked. The city has enacted "move on" laws intending to get rid of drones. The police, it is said, could not distinguish drones from "all negroes."

It was further complained that the police deputies and sheriffs are too free with the use of their clubs and guns when a negro is involved. It was related that Dr.———, practicing 47 years in Greenville, Mississippi, was driving his buggy in a crowded street on circus day when he was commanded by a policeman to drive to one side and let a man pass. He replied that he could not because he himself was jammed. He was commanded again and then dragged from the buggy, clubbed and haled into the police court and fined. The officer who arrested him swore that he had given frequent trouble, which was untrue according to reliable testimony and his own statement. This incident is also told:

A policeman's friend needed a cook. The policeman drove by a negro home and, seeing a woman on the porch, told her to get in the buggy. No questions were permitted. She was carried to his friend's home and told to work. The woman prepared one meal and left the city for the North.— [Charles S.] Johnson, *Report on the Migration from Mississippi* [n. d.].

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Group 6: White Immigrant Workers in the North (page 9 of 21)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VI: The Draining of the Black Belt

Pages 68-69

It is an interesting fact that this migration from the South followed the path marked out by the Underground Railroad of antebellum days. Negroes from the rural districts moved first to the nearest village or town, then to the city. On the plantations it was not regarded safe to arrange for transportation to the North through receiving and sending letters. On the other hand, in the towns and cities there was more security in meeting labor agents. The result of it was that cities like New Orleans, Birmingham, Jacksonville, Savannah and Memphis became concentration points. From these cities migrants were rerouted along the lines most in favor.

The principal difference between this course and the Underground Railroad was that in the later movement the southernmost States contributed the largest numbers. This perhaps is due in part to the selection of Florida and Georgia by the first concerns offering the inducement of free transportation, and at the same time it accounts for the very general and intimate knowledge of the movement by the people in States through which they were forced to pass. In Hattiesburg, Mississippi, for example, the first intimation of a great movement of negroes to the North came through reports that thousands of negroes were leaving Florida for the North. To the negroes of Florida, South Carolina, Virginia and Georgia the North means Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York and New England. The route is more direct, and it is this section of the northern expanse of the United States that gets widest advertisement through tourists, and passengers and porters on the Atlantic coast steamers. The northern newspapers with the greatest circulation are from Pennsylvania and New York, and the New York colored weeklies are widely read. Reports from all of these south Atlantic States indicate that comparatively few persons ventured into the Northwest when a better known country lay before them.

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Group 6: White Immigrant Workers in the North (page 10 of 21)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VI: The Draining of the Black Belt

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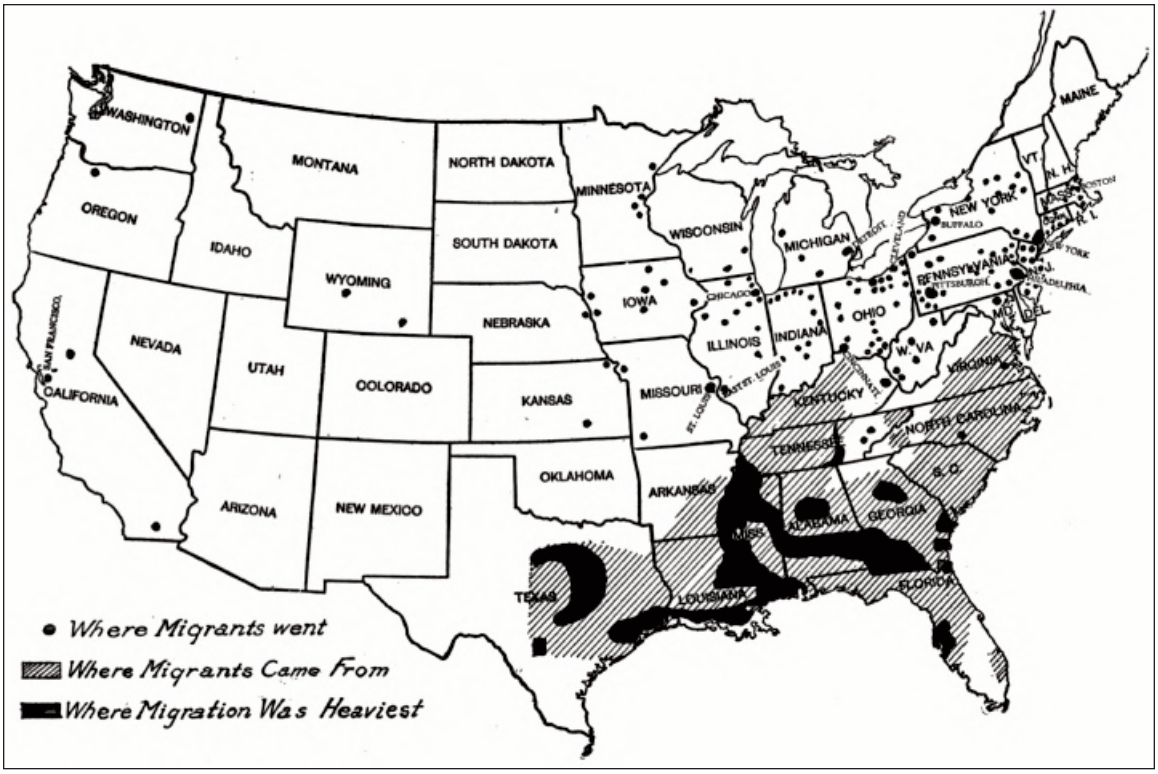

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Group 6: White Immigrant Workers in the North (page 11 of 21)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VII: Efforts to Check the Movement

Pages 78-79

...The federal authorities were importuned to stop the movement. They withdrew the assistance of the Employment Department, but admitted that they could not stop the interstate migration.[1]

One remarked, however, "It will scarcely be possible, to make a sectional issue of these Columbus convictions, as the charge of 'enticing away of labor in that country is aimed at certain Arkansas planters who carried away several carloads of negroes to work on their places, leaving the Mississippi employers without the labor to gather or grow their crops. It can not, therefore, be interpreted as an attempt to keep the negro in semislavery in the South and prevent him from going to work at better wages in the northern munition factories; it is only an effort to protect Mississippi employers from Arkansas planters."[2]

...After having enforced these drastic measures without securing satisfactory results, and having seen that any attempt to hold the negroes by force resulted apparently in an increased determination to leave, there was resort to the policy of frightening the negroes away from the North by circulating rumors as to the misfortunes to be experienced there. Negroes were then warned against the rigors of the northern winter and the death rate from pneumonia and tuberculosis. Social workers in the North reported frequent cases of men with simple colds who actually believed that they had developed "consumption." Speakers who wished to discourage the exodus reported "exact" figures on the death rate of the migrants in the North that were astounding. As, for example, it was said by one Reverend Mr. Parks that there were 2,000 of them sick in Philadelphia. The editor of a leading white paper in Jackson, Mississippi, made the remark that he feared that the result of the first winter's experience in the North would prove serious to the South, in so far as it would remove the bugbear of the northern climate. The returned migrants were encouraged to speak in disparagement of the North and to give wide publicity to their utterances, emphasizing incidents of suffering reported through the press.

When such efforts as these failed, however, the disconcerted planters and business men of the South resorted to another plan. Reconciliation and persuasion were tried. Meetings were held and speakers were secured and advised what to say. In

[1] Johnson, *Report on the Migration from Mississippi* [n.d.].

[2] *Times Picayune*, New Orleans, October 1, 1916.

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Group 6: White Immigrant Workers in the North (page 12 of 21)

cities and communities where contact on this plane had been infrequent, it was a bit difficult to approach the subject. The press of Georgia gave much space to the discussion of the movement and what ought to be done to stop it. The consensus of opinion of the white papers in the State was that the negro had not been fairly treated, and that better treatment would be one of the most effective means of checking the migration. Mob violence, it was pointed out, was one of the chief causes of the exodus.[3]

[3] Johnson, *Report on the Migration from Mississippi* [n.d.].

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Group 6: White Immigrant Workers in the North (page 13 of 21)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VII: Efforts to Check the Movement

Pages 83-84

It was found necessary to increase wages from ten to twenty-five per cent and in some cases as much as 100 per cent to hold labor. The reasons for migration given by negroes were sought. In almost all cases the chief complaint was about treatment. An effort was made to meet this by calling conferences and by giving publicity to the launching of a campaign to make unfair settlements and other such grievances unpopular. Thus, in Bolivar county, Mississippi, a meeting was called, ostensibly to look after the economic welfare of the Delta country, but in reality to develop some plan for holding labor. A subcommittee of seventeen men was appointed to look into the labor situation. There were twelve white men and five negroes. The subcommittee met and reported to the body that the present labor shortage was due to the migration, and that the migration was due to a feeling of insecurity before the law, the unrestrained action of mobs, unfair methods of yearly settlement on farms and inadequate school facilities. As a result of the report, it was agreed to make an appropriation of $25,000 towards an agricultural high school, as a step towards showing an interest in the negroes of Bolivar county and thus give them reasons for remaining. A campaign was started to make unpopular the practice among farmers of robbing negroes of the returns from their labor, and a general effort was made by a few of the leading men behind the movement to create “a better feeling” between the races.

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Group 6: White Immigrant Workers in the North (page 14 of 21)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VIII: Effects of the Movement on the South

Page 86

The first changes wrought by this migration were unusually startling. Homes found themselves without servants, factories could not operate because of the lack of labor, farmers were unable to secure laborers to harvest their crops. Streets in towns and cities once crowded assumed the aspect of deserted thoroughfares, houses in congested districts became empty, churches, lodges and societies suffered such a large loss of membership that they had to close up or undergo reorganization.

Probably the most striking change was the unusual increase in wages. The wages for common labor in Thomasville, Georgia, increased almost certainly 100 per cent. In Valdosta there was a general increase in the town and county of about 50 per cent, in Brunswick and Savannah the same condition obtained. The common laborer who had formerly received 80 cents a day earned thereafter $1.50 to $1.75. Farm hands working for from $10 to $15 per month were advanced to $20 or $35 per month. Brick masons who had received 50 cents per hour thereafter earned 62 1/2 cents and 70 cents per hour. In Savannah common laborers paid as high as $2 per day were advanced to $3. At the sugar refinery the rates were for women, 15 to 22 cents per hour, men, 22 to 30 cents per hour. In the more skilled lines of work, the wages were for carpenters, $4 to $6 per day, painters, $2.50 to $4 per day, and bricklayers $4 to $5 per day.

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Group 6: White Immigrant Workers in the North (page 15 of 21)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VIII: Effects of the Movement on the South

Page 90

For those who remained conditions were much more tolerable, although there appeared to persist a feeling of apprehension that these concessions would be retracted as soon as normal times returned. Some were of the opinion that the exodus was of more assistance to those negroes who stayed behind than to those who went away.

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Group 6: White Immigrant Workers in the North (page 16 of 21)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter VIII: Effects of the Movement on the South

Page 91

The negroes, too, are very much in demand in the South and the intelligent whites will gladly give them larger opportunities to attach them to that section, knowing that the blacks, once conscious of their power to move freely throughout the country wherever they may improve their condition, will never endure hardships like those formerly inflicted upon the race. The South is already learning that the negro is the most desirable labor for that section, that the persecution of negroes not only drives them out but makes the employment of labor such a problem that the South will not be an attractive section for capital. It will, therefore, be considered the duty of business men to secure protection to the negroes lest their ill treatment force them to migrate to the extent of bringing about a stagnation of business.

The exodus has driven home the truth that the prosperity of the South is at the mercy of the negro. Dependent on cheap labor, which the bulldozing whites will not readily furnish, the wealthy southerners must finally reach the position of regarding themselves and the negroes as having a community of interests which each must promote. “Nature itself in those States,” Douglass said, “came to the rescue of the negro. He had labor, the South wanted it, and must have it or perish. Since he was free he could then give it, or withhold it; use it where he was, or take it elsewhere, he pleased. His labor made him a slave and his labor could, if he would, make him free, comfortable and independent. It is more to him than either fire, sword, ballot boxes or bayonets. It touches the heart of the South through its pocket.” Knowing that the negro has this silent weapon to be used against his employer or the community, the South is already giving the race better educational facilities, better railway accommodations, and will eventually, if the advocacy of certain southern newspapers be heeded, grant them political privileges. Wages in the South, therefore, have risen even in the extreme southwestern States, where there is an opportunity to import Mexican labor. Reduced to this extremity, the southern aristocrats have begun to lose some of their race prejudice, which has not hitherto yielded to reason or philanthropy.

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Group 6: White Immigrant Workers in the North (page 17 of 21)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter XIV: Public Opinion Regarding the Migration

Page 154

Among those holding the view that the South needed the negro was the [October 5, 1916] *Memphis Commercial Appeal*. Concerning this an editorial in this paper said that not only does the South need the negro, but that he should be encouraged to stay.

> The enormous demand for labor and the changing conditions brought about by the boll weevil in certain parts of the South have caused an exodus of negroes which may be serious. Great colonies of negroes have gone north to work in factories, in packing houses and on the railroads.
>
> Some of our friends think that these negroes are being taken north for the purpose of voting them in November. Such is not the case. The restriction of immigration because of the European war and the tremendous manufacturing and industrial activity in the North have resulted in a scarcity of labor. The negro is a good track hand. He is also a good man around packing houses, and in certain elementary trades he is useful. The South needs every able-bodied negro that is now south of the line, and every negro who remains south of the line will in the end do better than he will do in the North.
>
> The negro has been a tremendous factor in the development of agriculture and all the commerce of the South. But in the meantime, if we are to keep him here, and if we are to have the best use of his business capacity, there is a certain duty that the white man himself must discharge in his relation to the negro.
>
> The business of lynching negroes is bad, and we believe it is declining, but the worst thing is that the wrong negro is often lynched. The negro should be protected in all his legal rights. Furthermore, in some communities, some white people make money at the expense of the negro's lack of intelligence. Unfair dealing with the negro is not a custom in the South. It is not the rule, but here and there the taking of enormous profits from the labor of the negro is known to exist.
>
> It should be so arranged that the negro in the city does not have to raise his children in the alleys and in the streets.
>
> Liquor in the cities has been a great curse to negroes.
>
> Millions of dollars have been made by no account white people selling no account liquor to negroes and thus making a whole lot of negroes no account. Happily this business is being extinguished.
>
> The negroes who are in the South should be encouraged to remain there, and those white people who are in the boll weevil territory should make every sacrifice to keep their negro labor until there can be adjustments to the new and quickly prosperous conditions that will later exist.

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Group 6: White Immigrant Workers in the North (page 18 of 21)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration During the War*** **by Emmett J. Scott**

Chapter XIV: Public Opinion Regarding the Migration

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The [July 1, 1917] *New Republic* of New York City pointed out that the movement gave the negro a chance and that he, the South and the nation, would in the end, all be gainers.

> When Austria found the Serbian reply inadmissible, the American negro, who had never heard of Count Berchtold, and did not care whether Bosnia belonged to Austria or Siam, got his "chance." It was not the sort of chance that came to the makers of munitions—a chance to make millions. It was merely a widening of a very narrow foothold on life, a slightly better opportunity to make his way in the industrial world of America.
>
> In the beginning such a migration of negroes would increase the present race friction in the North. Within certain limits a racial minority is unpopular directly in proportion to its numbers. Only as it increases to the point where political and economic power makes it formidable, does it overcome opposition. The negro's competition for jobs and homes will probably exacerbate relations. As the negroes increased in numbers they would not only seek menial and unskilled work, but also strive to enter skilled trades where they would meet with antagonism of white workers. Moreover, the negroes would be forced to seek homes in what are now regarded as "white" neighborhoods, and a clamor would be raised at each new extension of their dwelling area.

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Group 6: White Immigrant Workers in the North (page 19 of 21)

Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.***

"Introduction," by J.H. Dillard, pages 10-12

On this subject, as well as on the other facts regarding the migration, I must refer to the reports. I had thought to collate these reports, but have concluded that it is better to let each writer's facts and inferences be read in his own setting.

It may be well, however, to bring together here a few of the statements in regard to certain leading questions:

1. The number.—The movement had been well under way for some time before anyone thought of making an effort to secure statistics. Moreover, so many left separately and unobserved that to get complete statistics would at any time have been impracticable. Mr. Leavell says that "any numerical estimate must be based on such scanty data as to have no scientific value." Mr. Snavely estimates 75,000 left Alabama within 18 months, but adds that "except in a few particular instances it is impossible to give numbers with scientific accuracy." Mr. Woofter estimates the number leaving Georgia between May, 1916, and September, 1917, at 35,000 to 40,000, but says that "a numerical estimate of the total number must be an approximation." Mr. Williams gives 50,000 for Georgia, quoting the commissioner of commerce and labor; 90,000 for Alabama, quoting the commissioner of agriculture; and 100,000 for Mississippi, according to officials of insurance companies, and 75,000 according to the editor of the *Jackson Daily News*. Prof. Tyson says that "within certain limits one guess is as good as another." I should be inclined to set the limits at 150,000 and 350,000 and my guess would be 200,000. The number of those who have returned South is equally uncertain. Some say 10 per cent; some say as much as 30 per cent.

2. The cause.—That the lack of labor at the North, due mainly to the ceasing of immigration from Europe, was the occasion of the migration all agree. The causes assigned at the southern end are numerous: General dissatisfaction with conditions, ravages of boll weevil, floods, change of crop system, low wages, poor houses on plantations, poor school facilities, unsatisfactory crop settlements, rough treatment, cruelty of the law officers, unfairness in courts, lynching, desire for travel, labor agents, the Negro press, letters from friends in the North, and finally advice of white friends in the South where crops had failed. All of these causes have been mentioned, and doubtless each cause mentioned has had its influence in individual cases. A discussion of these causes will be found in the reports, none of which give as much prominence to the influence of labor agents as might be expected. Doubt-

*Leavell, R.H.; Snavely; T.R.; Woofter, T.J. Jr.; Williams, W.T.B.; Tyson, Francis D. and Dillard, J.H. *Negro Migration in 1916-17*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Labor, Office of the Secretary Division of Negro Economics, 1920.

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less the spectacular part of the migration, the movement of large numbers at the same time, was due to agents, and doubtless in many localities the labor agent was the instigator of the movement. “The universal testimony of employers was, however,” says Mr. Woofter, “that after the initial group movement by agents, Negroes kept going by twos and threes. These were drawn by letters, and by actual advances of money, from Negroes who had already settled in the North.” Mr. Williams says that “every Negro that makes good in the North and writes back to his friends starts off a new group.” He thinks that this quiet work “has been more effective in carrying off labor than agents could possibly have been.” Mr. Leavell approves the opinion that “the railroads and the United States mails have been the principal ‘labor agents.’ ” However the influence came, and whatever concurrent causes may have operated, all will agree with Mr. Williams when he says that “better wages offered by the North have been the immediate occasion for the exodus.”

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Excerpt from ***Negro Migration in 1916-17*** **by R.H. Leavell, et al.**

"The Negro Migration in the North," by Francis D. Tyson

"Race Frictions in the North," pages 129-130

Race friction sometimes develops immediately out of economic rivalry and competition for jobs. Here the employer is often responsible for the trouble, because he brings in the Negro workers to replace the striking whites [immigrant workers]. In March and April, 1917, some rioting occurred in connection with the strike at a Philadelphia sugar refinery. The I. W. W. [a union] was attempting the organization of the plant, and the stevedores already in that organization went out in sympathy. The attempt to man the plant with a Negro force resulted in rioting.

The July riot of 1917 in East St. Louis, during which, it is reported, several hundred thousand dollars' worth of property was destroyed, 5,000 Negroes were driven from their homes, and more than a hundred blacks shot or maimed, seems to have had as its basis such deep-seated ill feeling and economic antagonism. This statement concerning the East St. Louis trouble is made after a perusal of newspaper and magazine accounts of the riot and interviews with special investigators and other informed and unprejudiced persons. The influx of Negro workers came early to East St. Louis, which is an industrial center, with large packing and manufacturing plants that employ great numbers of unskilled workers. In the summer of 1916 about 4,000 white men went on a strike in the packing plants, and it is claimed that Negroes were used in plants as strike breakers. When the strike was ended Negroes were still employed, and some of the white men lost their positions. The white leaders undoubtedly realized that the effectiveness of striking was materially lessened by this importation of black workers. Trouble was brewing in May when some rioting occurred after a meeting attended by some of the white strikers of a large ore works.

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