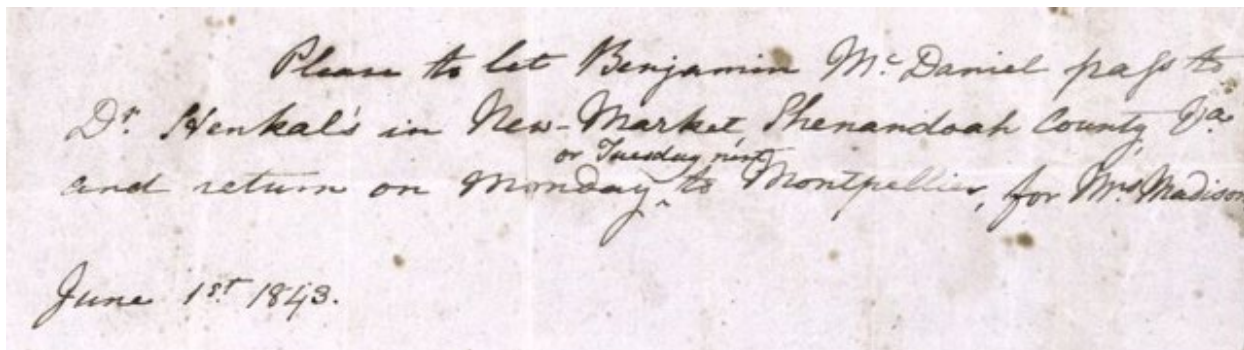


Migration and Movement in History

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English jurist William Blackstone's treatise on the rights of individuals greatly influenced the writers of the Constitution of the United States. "Personal liberty consists in the power of locomotion," he wrote, "of changing situation, or moving one's person to whatsoever place one's own inclination may direct, without imprisonment or restraint, unless by due course of law."¹

The freedom to move about as one pleases—mobility—(or, as Blackstone called it, locomotion) is at the heart of a free society and has always been essential to American democracy. Imagine what it would be like to have restrictions on movement between communities or states. Not only did the freedom of mobility enable the growth of American free society, but it also enabled the nation, whether for good or ill, to grow from its original population along the East Coast and spread to the Pacific Ocean through immigration and migration. It made Manifest Destiny possible—the idea that White Americans were divinely ordained to settle across the entire North American continent, a practice that led to the removal and destruction of many Native American populations.



Tight restrictions were placed on enslaved African Americans when they traveled. They were required to carry passes that identified the time and date of their absence from their master's property to prove that they had permission and were not running away. In Charleston, South Carolina, enslaved persons wore metal tags that permitted them to travel. New York Public Library (b19115609).

From the moment that enslaved Africans stepped onto the New World, their owners controlled their mobility. To travel alone, enslaved African Americans required a pass, which might be a handwritten slip of paper or a metal tag that gave them permission to leave their owner's property. Slave patrols, men and sometimes women who volunteered for the job, patrolled their community's streets at night looking for African Americans who ran away or who were gathering together. These slave patrollers checked passes and hoped to intimidate those considering running away. They also hoped to prevent enslaved African Americans from fomenting rebellions by keeping them from gathering. Many enslaved men and women lived their entire lives on the property of their owners. The freedom of movement was denied to them.

¹ William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Absolute Rights of Individuals* (1753), 134.



Artist Winslow Homer became one of the most significant artists of the nineteenth century. As a young man, hired by *Harpers' Weekly*, he found himself fascinated by the African Americans who followed the Union troops and by the colorful uniforms of the Zouave units. He often depicted both in his sketches and paintings. The son of an abolitionist mother, he depicted runaway slaves sympathetically, unlike most other artists of the period who demeaned African Americans with stereotypical images. Here, in an 1875 watercolor, a soldier in a Zouave uniform shares the water in his canteen with a child who has escaped enslavement. Courtesy of The Arkell Museum.

African Americans who chose to run away from enslavement showed great courage and grit. Often hiding by day and traveling at night, they stole themselves from slavery. Some made their way to the Underground Railroad and the assistance of abolitionists who helped them reach freedom in the northern states or Canada. Others made their way to freedom without this assistance. Most enslaved people who could run away were young, single men. There were instances of women fleeing from slavery, but it was much more difficult for women, especially if they had children in tow. Fugitive slaves devised creative methods to reach freedom. Henry “Box” Brown mailed himself in a shipping crate from slavery in Virginia to freedom in Philadelphia. He endured rough rides with only a small container of water and some biscuits to sustain him. In 1848, William and Ellen Craft devised an ingenious plan to escape servitude in Georgia. Ellen, who had light skin, disguised herself as a sick White man traveling with William, “his” supposed manservant.

To avoid having to sign her name, she placed her arm in a sling. After several harrowing experiences and near detection, they arrived in Philadelphia on Christmas Day and later traveled to Boston.

During the Civil War, many enslaved persons ran away to reach Union lines, believing that it was a route to freedom. Early in the conflict, some Union officers, not knowing what to do with the so-called “fugitives,” returned them to their owners, viewing them as property. However, General Benjamin Butler, an

attorney, believed that as property of states that illegally seceded from the Union, enslaved persons should be considered contraband and not returned to their previous enslavers. Butler’s policy stuck, and thousands of enslaved persons who asserted their right to freedom by running away achieved freedom by reaching the advancing Union lines. Butler’s policy on the battlefield ultimately helped to pave the way for emancipation.

With the passage of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 and the official legal end of slavery, many African Americans did not travel or could not travel because they had no place to go. They knew no other life. Many could not read. Freedom did not make them free. At this time, the vast majority of the Black residents of the nation lived in the Southern states. These states reinstituted a new method of keeping African Americans in place, working on farms, and producing cotton and other crops for plantation owners. Former slaveowners “permitted” their formerly enslaved families—the people with no place to go—to remain on their land in exchange for a considerable portion of the crops that they produced. This system, called sharecropping, kept the formerly enslaved families poor and dependent. At the same time, Jim Crow restrictions on movement, the denial of voting rights, the segregation of public accommodations, as well as restrictions on education combined to make life in the South untenable for Black Americans. The Ku Klux Klan, White Citizen’s Councils, and others used violence and intimidation to keep African Americans “in their place.”

The end of Reconstruction in 1877 brought an end to the federal troops' protection of the South. Coupled with the possibility of obtaining their own tracts of land, African Americans fled to Kansas because of its reputation as a free state. The Homestead Act offered the promise of land grants, and Kansas held a special place in the hearts of Black Americans as the place that John Brown and his sons defended from pro-slavery activists. Known as Exodusters, these migrants compared their plight to the Biblical flight to freedom recounted in Exodus. As formerly enslaved people, they were among the first to leave the South and move north in large numbers to claim their rights as American citizens to the freedom of movement and the determination of their fates.

In the early twentieth century, the Great Migration began. It was the largest movement of any group within the borders of the United States. African Americans left the rural South for the urban North in large numbers, and this migration would continue for decades. Northern relatives urged Southern friends and family members to leave the South and resettle in the North. Black newspapers like the *Chicago Defender* encouraged African Americans to come to the North to take well-paying factory jobs and escape the worst segregated conditions.

As many as six million African Americans relocated to cities in the North and West, including Chicago, Detroit, Newark, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles. Conditions in these cities were not perfect. The new residents faced discrimination in housing and education, as well as some segregation in public accommodations. But life was better.

Lutcher, La

May 13, 1917

Dear Sir:

I have been reading the Chicago defender and seeing so many advertisements about the work in the north I thought to write you concerning my condition. I am working hard in the south and can hardly earn a living. I have a wife and one child and can hardly feed them. I thought to write and ask you for some information concerning how to get a pass for myself and family. I dont want to leave my family behind as I cant hardly make a living for them right here with them and I know they would fare hard if I would leave them. If there are any agents in the south there havent been any of them to Lutcher if they would come here they would get at least fifty men. Please sir let me hear from you as quick as possible. Now this is all. Please dont publish my letter, I was out in town today talking to some of the men and they say if they could get passes that 30 or 40 of them would come. But they havent got the money and they dont know how to come. But they are good strong and able working men. If you will instruct me I will instruct the other men how to come as they all want to work. Please dont publish this because we have to whisper this around among our selves because the white folks are angry now because the negroes are going north.

The *Chicago Defender*, one of the most prominent African American newspapers, urged Black residents in the South to relocate to northern cities with articles about good jobs and a better life. The *Defender* published dozens of letters from individuals in the South seeking employment and instructions on how to get North. This transcription includes the original spelling and capitalization.

Henry Ford, the founder of the Ford Motor Company and inventor of the Model T automobile, is well known for his antisemitic beliefs, which hurt the American Jewish community, but he was willing to hire Black men to work in the Ford factory, albeit doing the dirtiest jobs. Many African Americans who migrated to Detroit during the Great Migration made good wages at the Ford plant and could support their families. Employers like Ford helped facilitate the movement of African Americans into the middle class. With their wages, they could buy automobiles and other consumer goods. The automobile gave important independence and increased mobility to African Americans since travel by bus and train throughout the United States remained segregated. Every Black family who could buy a car bought one. Automobiles became the preferred method of travel.

The power of movement provided by the automobile also facilitated the modern Civil Rights Movement. Cars enabled protestors to support successful boycotts by providing a way to transport people to work and keep them from riding on buses. They did not lose their jobs but could support the boycott. The Montgomery Bus Boycott succeeded because Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and other planners purchased a fleet of cars and used public pressure to bankrupt the bus company while enabling local Black residents to continue to get to their jobs. They successfully desegregated the city bus company.



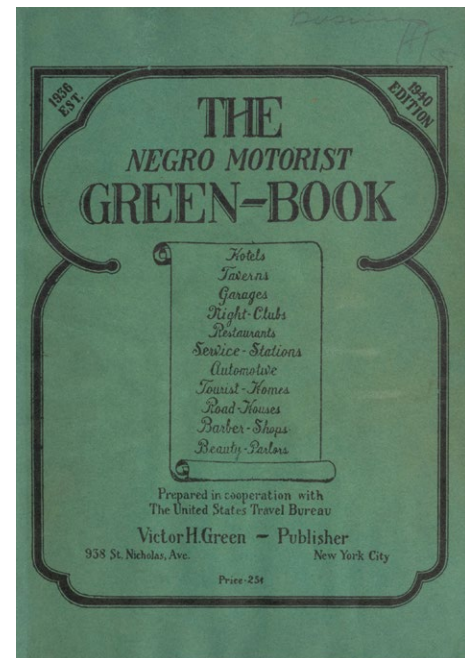
Not wanting to lose their cheap labor force, local businesses and plantation owners sought to prevent “the Negroes” from going North. Many African Americans had to escape from the South under cover of darkness. They traveled by bus and train and, if they were lucky, by automobile, carrying their most precious possessions and seeking freedom, a living wage, and good schools for their children. This family arrived in New Jersey with their possessions strapped to the car. Library of Congress (2017761088).

As the automobile grew in popularity, so did the enthusiasm for travel. African American families, like other Americans, wanted to explore the vast United States, take their children on vacation, and see the country's natural wonders. Many who had moved to the North also traveled each year, at least once, back to the South to visit family and friends. They remained connected to their southern roots. But, when they traveled by train or bus, modes of transportation often segregated into the 1950s and early 1960s, they felt humiliation, distress, fear, and even violence. Bus drivers threatened them, sometimes with guns, if they did not sit in the back of the bus or forced them to enter the bus at the rear door. Train conductors pushed them into the rarely cleaned "Negro car."

The negative experiences of some travelers sparked many specialized travel guides and brochures designed to help African American travelers traverse the country in comfort and safety. *Travelers' Guide*, *The Bronze American*, *The Go Guide*, and the popular *The Negro Motorist Green Book* aided travelers by listing hotels and motels, restaurants, beauty parlors and barbershops, automotive repair shops, and tire stores—any businesses that might be needed along the road and that would welcome Black patrons. Black travelers knew that by stopping at the places in these travel guides, they would not be turned away or treated cruelly because of the color of their skin. These travel guides remained popular until the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which opened all public accommodations to African Americans. By the end of the 1960s, even *The Negro Motorist Green Book*, the most long-lasting of the guides, was out of business. These guides provided models for travel guides for other groups who felt uncomfortable when traveling or who experienced discrimination.

Ironically, with the legal end of segregation and the end of the travel guides, many African American businesses also closed. While some Black customers still patronized them, competition from major hotel chains and popular restaurants cut deeply into these businesses. At the same time, the building of interstate highways, often through Black neighborhoods, helped to destroy or reduce the size of African American communities. Urban renewal, a process by which governmental agencies seized or purchased private property to "improve" it or redevelop it, became a popular method to restore urban areas. Most often, downtown neighborhoods or poor or immigrant neighborhoods where the residents had the least political power were the places chosen for renewal.

The denial of the freedom of movement from the time that the first Africans stepped ashore in the New World has made the ability to travel and move about without restrictions a thread that runs throughout Black history. From the forced travel from Africa to the desire to escape slavery by running away to the flight from the South to the North during the Great Migration, migration and movement characterize Black life and Black agency. In recent years, a report completed by the Brookings Institution indicates that a different exodus is in progress: many college-educated African Americans are now moving, in a sort of reverse Great Migration, to warmer southern and western states. Attracted by growing job opportunities, growing Black communities, and ties to family and friends, this new migration represents the next phase of the African American story and the desire to seize the American dream.



The Negro Motorist Green Book, one of many African American travel guides, gave peace of mind to Black travelers and provided national advertising for hundreds of small mom-and-pop businesses. 1940 edition, Rare Books Collection, The New York Public Library.

RESOURCES TO LEARN MORE

- ▶ Alison Rose Jefferson, *Living the California Dream: African American Leisure Sites during the Jim Crow Era*
- ▶ Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave*
ibiblio.org/ebooks/Douglass/Narrative/Douglass_Narrative.pdf
- ▶ Frederick Douglass, et al., *Slavery: Not Forgiven, Never Forgotten—The Most Powerful Slave Narratives, Historical Documents & Influential Novels*
google.com/books/edition/Slavery_Not_Forgiven_Never_Forgotten_The/YdBxDgAAQBAJ
- ▶ *The Green Book* Digital Collection, The New York Public Library
digitalcollections.nypl.org/collections/the-green-book
- ▶ Gretchen Sorin, *Driving While Black: African American Travel and the Road to Civil Rights*
- ▶ Henry Louis Gates, *Stony the Road, White Supremacy and the Rise of Jim Crow*
- ▶ Ilyon Woo, *Master, Slave, Husband, Wife: An Epic Journey From Slavery to Freedom*
- ▶ Isabel Wilkerson, *The Warmth of Other Suns: The Epic Story of America's Great Migration*
- ▶ Nell Painter, *Creating Black Americans: African American History and Its Meanings, 1619 to the Present*
- ▶ Nell Painter, *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas After Reconstruction*
- ▶ *Sundown Towns*, Tougaloo University
justice.tougaloo.edu/sundown-towns/
- ▶ William H. Frey, "A New 'Great Migration' Is Bringing Black Americans Back to the South," The Brookings Institution
brookings.edu/articles/a-new-great-migration-is-bringing-black-americans-back-to-the-south/

To learn more about National History Day's Inclusive History Initiative, go to nhd.org/inclusivehistory.