

SECTION III REGIONAL ISSUES

“HEADED FOR LOUISVILLE:” RETHINKING RURAL TO URBAN MIGRATION IN THE SOUTH, 1930–1950

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Roughly 140 miles southwest of Louisville, Kentucky a confederate flag flew over the center of a small town called Russellville. A son of sharecroppers and the grandchild of slaves, James Wright was seventeen and recently married, and like many other Americans in 1936 he struggled to find a job. While Gladys Wright worked as a cook in a white home, her husband James alternately cut corn, worked at a Civilian Conservation Corps camp, and washed cars at the local Chevrolet dealership in an attempt to make ends meet. Of the latter job he recalled, “you worked like a dog” and that the owners Henry and George Page, “called you nigger.”¹ Over the next few years Wright made no less than three trips to Louisville to find work, but returned to Russellville each time without success.

However, the Wrights were not willing to give up so easily. As James Wright recalled, “I left Russellville on the first day of September 1941, and I never went back no more. I said, “I’m going to stay in Louisville if I have to dig ditches, get put in jail, steal somebody, rob, cut their head off. So I stayed.” According to the historian Tony Gilpin, Wright worked a number of odd jobs in Louisville, carrying cross ties for the railroad, doing menial labor for a moving company before he was hired at a construction company owned by DuPont. With the growth of defense industries in the area Wright briefly secured a job at the Vultee Aircraft factory prior to being drafted into the military and sent to Burma. In 1946, Wright chose to return to Louisville, where he found employment with International Harvester and set about the work of settling into his new environment.²

Nearly ten years after the process that brought James Wright to Louisville began, Maurice Rabb and his family arrived in the city from Shelbyville, Kentucky. Although they came to Louisville, from a small town thirty miles away, Rabb was a native of Columbus, Mississippi. Between Columbus and Louisville, Rabb had lived in Nashville, Tennessee where he studied medicine at Meharry Medical College, one of the few medical schools African-Americans could attend in the South. Although Dr. Rabb was a native of Columbia, Mississippi, by the time he landed in the “River City” he had lived in Nashville, Tennessee; Kansas City, Missouri; Frankfort, and Shelbyville, Kentucky.

During the era of the Great Depression Rabb was the only Black doctor treating people of color in Shelbyville. The Depression was not only a difficult time

for agriculturalists and industrial workers, but also for the doctors and lawyers that served them. Black lawyers and doctors, reliant on these impoverished communities, struggled to support their own families. For Rabb, the "depression was rough;" his patients could seldom afford to pay him in cash, and one family settled its debts each year by razing a hog. Instead of money, Rabb recalled that he was most often paid with "chicken eggs, fish frog legs [or] duck . . . we could eat, but we didn't make a lot of money."³ The opportunity to provide a bit of economic security for his family helped propel the Rabbs toward Louisville.

Within the personal histories of James Wright and Maurice Rabb there are a number of threads which can be woven into a larger narrative of African-American migration within the South during the era of Second Great Migration. During the period between 1930 and 1970 more than 17,000 migrants moved to Louisville in ever increasing numbers hoping to find a better life or at least better jobs.⁴ The experiences of Louisville migrants like Rabb and Wright raise a number of critical questions concerning our understanding of the origins and periodization of Black migration as a whole and the historical emphasis on rural to urban migration in particular. African American migration in Louisville, Kentucky, challenges us to rethink the centrality of rural to urban migration narratives during the era of the Second Great Migration.

While the literature on the First Great Migration, 1915–1921, is voluminous, far fewer studies examine African American migration during the World War II era. With the exception of a handful of excellent accounts of migration to the West Coast few scholars have given attention to this era. Not one has focused solely on African American migration within the South. Louis M. Kyriakouides has examined Black and white migration in Nashville 1890–1930, but no one has focused wholly on African American migration during the era of the Second Great Migration.⁵ While historians such as James Grossman, Peter Gottlieb, and Jacqueline Jones have mentioned seasonal or "step-wise" migration patterns during the early twentieth century, little attention has been given to the distinctive patterns of migration within the South during the Second Great Migration.⁶ For historians such as Gottlieb and Grossman, migration to Southern cities was simply part of the rural migration that eventually led the urban North. African Americans either "tarried" or were stranded in Southern cities.⁷

Too often our understanding of the Great Migration to the urban North between, 1915–1921, substitutes for a sustained historical analysis of the era of the Second Great Migration, 1940–1970.⁸ Though the city was something of a "way-station" to the North for some migrants, for many African Americans Louisville, Kentucky was their final destination. A number of migrant streams pooled in the River city: migrants from the Deep South displaced by changing New Deal policies; Black professionals reliant on the concentrations of Blacks in Louisville; and African Americans within the Upper South making an urban to urban migration. These different streams of Black migrants combined with the better known groups of Black migrants spurred by WWII and the access to defense industry employment provided by Executive Order 8802 in many Southern cities. African American migration in Louisville, Kentucky demonstrates the necessity of recognizing the distinctiveness of the Second Great Migration as well as the need to turn our attention to Black mobility within the South.

The Great Depression and the Roots of Black Migration within the South

For many migrants like Rabb and Wright, economically, the wheels of this migration were set in motion within the era of the Great Depression and the New Deal. The economic hardships Blacks faced during the Depression fueled African-American migration as a whole regardless of class. During the decade between 1930 and 1940 the New Deal's Agricultural Administration as well as the National Recovery Administration displaced large numbers of African-Americans, who in large measure had no outlet until World War II. Both programs directly and indirectly created the economic conditions that generated African-American migration within the South. During the life of the AAA there were two high-points of tenant and sharecropper evictions. The first was between 1933–1934 and the second lasted from 1935–1937 during the second life of the AAA.⁹ As early as the winter of 1933, the year the AAA was set in motion, widespread tenant evictions were already underway.¹⁰

By 1934, the first full year of operation, landowners began to evict entire families of sharecroppers and tenant farmers as a means of reducing crop acreage. The idea behind the AAA was to raise the prices staple crops, including corn, cotton and tobacco, received by limiting production. In order to induce landowners to cut output the government paid planters *not* to produce crops in order to bring their income up to par with the amount earned, had they brought those crops to market. These "parity payments" were given directly to landowners who in turn were expected to give a portion of the "parity payment" to the tenants and sharecroppers who worked their land.¹¹ For many African Americans and poor whites, the necessity of reducing crop production and the nature of the "parity payments" induced planters to reduce the number of tenants and sharecroppers. The reduction of crop acreage, which ranged between twenty-five and forty percent, also reduced the need for labor. According to Raymond Wolters, a historian of African-Americans during the Great Depression, one of the easiest and most economical methods landowners found to reduce production was to evict sharecroppers. The rate of tenant and sharecropper evictions began to accelerate and reached their height during the period between 1935–1937.¹²

Indirectly, and perhaps unintentionally, the AAA's "parity payments" infused the South with cash, facilitating the mechanization of Southern agriculture. Increasingly, landowners began to replace whole families of sharecroppers and tenants with tractors.¹³ Between 1930 and 1939 the number of tractors in the United States nearly doubled to more than 1,626,000. There were 111,399 tractors in the cotton producing southern states alone, and during the 1930's these tractors displaced between 100,000 and 500,000 families or from a half-million to two million people.¹⁴ In 1941, the Department of Agriculture noted, "nearly every one of these tractors has pushed a few tenants, sharecroppers, or hired hands out of jobs."¹⁵ Unlike the previous Great Migration during the earlier part of the twentieth century, during the 1930's *planters* fueled Black migration themselves through widespread evictions.

Once they had been evicted, there were few options available to African-Americans. The majority of them either stayed on or around the farms they previously worked as wage or seasonal labor or moved to urban areas within the

South.¹⁶ As the historian Alan Brinkley observes, "the exodus of sharecroppers from the land was responsible, too, for a major increase in the black population of southern cities . . ." ¹⁷ Atlanta, Birmingham, New Orleans, Memphis, Norfolk and Louisville, were a few of the Southern cities which absorbed African-Americans displaced from Southern agriculture.

African-Americans who came to these Southern cities with the hopes of finding employment were often disappointed. At the same time that many African-Americans within the rural South lost both their homes and jobs, many urban Blacks throughout the United States faced similar employment problems. Just as the AAA led to the displacement of large numbers of Blacks in rural areas of the South, the National Recovery Administration facilitated the displacement of African-Americans in many Southern cities. In keeping with the language of the AAA, because of the NRA, Blacks were evicted from their jobs. The NRA fueled African-American displacement in a number of ways.

First, many employers reasoned that if they were required to pay both Blacks and whites an equal wage, then there was no real reason to keep Blacks employed, since Blacks were often employed precisely because they could be paid less than whites. Secondly, when employment opportunities were scarce many employers had a tendency to fire Blacks in order to make more jobs available to whites.¹⁸ Third, there were over a hundred NRA codes allowed Southern employers to pay their employees a lower minimum wage than that prevailing throughout the rest of the country. Many of the occupational classifications within these codes also denied African-Americans the same minimum wage whites received. Lastly, since the NRA failed to account for the way African-Americans' economic problems were intertwined with race.¹⁹

For African-Americans the NRA, which was intended to boost employment and increase the wages the "average" American earned, had the reverse effect. Instead of achieving either of these goals the NRA simply led many employers to fire Blacks. For example, in one widely publicized case a *maitre d' hotel* in Louisville, Kentucky boasted that he would never pay code wages to African-Americans. Instead he intended to fire his entire staff of Black waiters and replace them with whites, whom he would gladly pay code wages.²⁰ Although these Blacks retained their jobs through the intervention of the Urban League, more often than not Blacks were left out in the cold without work. The mass firings, due to the set-up of the NRA and the racism of many employers, led African-Americans to supply the NRA acronym with their own meaning. In the minds of many Blacks the NRA stood for "Negro Run Around," "Negroes Ruined Again," "Negroes Robbed Again," and most significantly, the "Negro Removal Act."²¹

Although the NRA resulted in less African-American displacement than the AAA, the two measures converged to create a large pool of potential migrants. Although many of the economic conditions that fueled Black migration were established during the Depression and the New Deal, many African-Americans had no place to go. The migration of Southern whites serves to highlight the importance of the Great Depression as an impetus to mobility. According to Chad Berry, historian of the "Great White Migration", the only prospect for countless Americans "if they wanted to stay fed and alive" was to move.²² Yet, racial

discrimination in employment circumscribed African-Americans' employment prospects, effectively short-circuiting potential mobility.

On the other hand, by 1930 Southern whites had already appeared in cities such as Chicago, Detroit, Akron, Dayton and Cincinnati in search of employment. Throughout the period entire families began to move, first in hundreds, then in thousands, hoping to find some measure of economic security. A 1938 Works Progress Administration Report found more than 200,000 families already on the move, representing over 700,000 people. The WPA report termed the growing movement of whites within and from the South as, "a migration of depression-stricken families."²³

Unfortunately, complete information on in-migration and out-migration rates for the entire era of the Second Great Migration do not exist. However, the surveys that are available suggest that historians have yet to give attention to the large numbers of migrants within the South moving from one urban location to another. Despite high rates of out-migration from the South, there were also large numbers of in-migrants to many Southern cities.

While historians have often focused on rural to urban migration narratives, in 1940 many of the migrants to the largest Southern cities were from the urban not rural South. As indicated in Table 1.1, in 1940 the Census found that over half of all in-migrants to Charlotte, Birmingham, Memphis, Atlanta, Nashville, New Orleans and Louisville had lived in an urban community five years before. For instance, in Birmingham there were 38,008 out-migrants and 31,223 in-migrants, 15,925 of which lived in a location defined as urban by the U. S. Census five years prior.²⁴

The Leightons were among those families driven into migration by depression and recorded in *Case Studies of Unemployment*. Having been laid off due to "business depression" down in Texas, Mr. Leighton "piled" his wife and six children in the family Ford and headed for Louisville, hoping to secure employment. Although he initially secured work at the Arctic Ice Company and later a box factory, after he lost both jobs the family faced the difficult decision of whether to remain in Louisville or move on to Detroit or Akron.²⁵ Whether or not the Leightons stayed in Louisville is not recorded, however their "case study" reflects the way many white southerners utilized migration to ameliorate the economic hardship of the Depression.

Table 1.1

City	Out Migration	In Migration	Urban In Migration
Atlanta	58,563	39,904	24,211
Birmingham	38,008	31,223	15,925
Charlotte	16,520	17,329	12,219
Louisville	33,828	28,179	14,946
Memphis	37,789	40,396	19,277
New Orleans	37,716	27,503	19,362

Total migration 1935-1940 selected southern cities. Source: Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Population. Internal Migration, 1935 to 1940. Color and Sex of Migrants.

Table 1.2

City	Out Migration	In Migration	Net Migration
<i>Atlanta</i>	8,779	5,526	-3,253
<i>Birmingham</i>	8,112	8,140	+ 28
<i>Charlotte</i>	N/A	2,685	N/A
<i>Louisville</i>	2,738	2,801	+ 63
<i>Memphis</i>	11,057	9,774	-1,283
<i>New Orleans</i>	6,159	3,580	-2,579

Total African American migration selected cities, 1935-1940.

Source: Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Population.

Internal Migration, 1935 to 1940. Color and Sex of Migrants

At the same time many white Southerners migrate during the Depression, smaller numbers of Blacks began to relocate within the South prior to World War II. Even though net migration rates suggest far greater numbers of out-migrants from Southern cities, net-migration rates also obscure the numbers of African American in-migrants to Southern cities and the desire of many African Americans to remain within the South. For instance, despite an exodus of African American population, Atlanta, Birmingham, Louisville, Memphis and New Orleans all witnessed a substantial influx of Black population. As noted in table 1.2, the largest Southern cities gained nearly half as many in-migrants as out-migrants, while Birmingham and Louisville made small gains in their migrant population between 1935-1940.

Not only did the largest Southern cities witness an influx of Black population, many of these migrants originated in the urban, not rural South. In Charlotte, Louisville and New Orleans over half the Black migrants relocated from another city. By contrast, barely 25% of the migrants in Memphis moved from the urban South. However, in Birmingham, nearly 37% of African American men and nearly 40% of African American women migrated from cities. Significantly, Tables 1.3 and 1.4 suggest that many of the migrants to these cities relocated from communities of over 100,000. Whether they moved from large

Table 1.3

City	In Migration	Urban > 100,000		Percentage Urban
		Urban > 100,000	Urban < 100,000	
<i>Atlanta</i>	2,489	355	768	45.1
<i>Birmingham</i>	3,699	210	1,146	36.6
<i>Charlotte</i>	1,242	119	550	53.8
<i>Louisville</i>	1,316	338	463	60.8
<i>Memphis</i>	5,184	346	975	25.5
<i>New Orleans</i>	1,652	273	644	55.5

Number and percentage of African American male urban in-migrants selected cities.

Source: Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Population. Internal Migration, 1935 to 1940. Color and Sex of Migrants.

Table 1.4

City	In Migration	Urban >100,000	Urban <100,000	Percentage Urban
Atlanta	3,037	400	1,041	47.0
Birmingham	4,441	276	1,484	39.6
Charlotte	1,443	110	690	55.4
Louisville	1,485	352	532	59.5
Memphis	5,873	336	1,223	26.5
New Orleans	1,928	227	800	53.2

Number and percentage of African American female urban in-migrants selected cities. Source: Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Population. Internal Migration, 1935 to 1940. Color and Sex of Migrants.

cities or small in significant numbers, it is clear that Blacks migrated to Birmingham, New Orleans, Charlotte or Louisville from the urban South. Though many of these migrants moved between 1935–1940, before the largest waves of African American migration facilitated by the need for labor in defense industries during World War II, the influx of Black migrants from the urban South may indicate that during the Second Great Migration rural to urban migration was not the only pathway African Americans followed to the city.

African American Migration in the River City

The stream of working class Blacks displaced by New Deal policy was joined by smaller numbers of professional Blacks flowing into the urban South. For professional Blacks, Southern cities provided an ideal setting to ply their trade. In 1940 seventy-seven percent of African-Americans in the United States still lived below the Mason-Dixon line. While few cities in the North held African-American populations above ten percent, any number of Southern cities had Black populations ranging from twenty-five to fifty percent. In Louisville, like Memphis, Atlanta and Richmond, the Black community existed almost as a “city within a city,” a segregated “separate city,” served by black business and professionals. As Silver and Moeser, observe, in spite of a narrow economic base Blacks “served their own community in matters such as financing, insurance, jobs, personal services and patronage, as well as offering a social life that rivaled that the white world in its depth and diversity.”²⁶

For a Black lawyer, doctor or dentist those concentrations of African-Americans represented potential customers. A 1942 study of business and employment in Louisville found only 616 Blacks employed by white-owned establishments. Nearly 50,000 Blacks in Louisville spent more than 4.6 million dollars in retail businesses in the city. Blacks in Louisville often turned to Black owned and operated establishments. The majority of Louisville’s 654 Black businesses were located within an area two blocks wide centered on West Walnut Street extending from 6th Street to 18th Street. According to the survey of business in the city, “if a business conducted by Negroes in Louisville is not on West Walnut or West Chestnut Street, between the boundaries of 6th and 18th, it is either not in existence, or is located in a Negro neighborhood.”²⁷

Although Black owned businesses ranged in size from the massive Mammoth Life Insurance Company to the individual "peddlers," the African-American establishments in Louisville were best characterized as "small businesses." The majority of Black businesses were either service oriented or "food stores," taverns, restaurants or lunch counters "selling groceries, meats, poultry, and vegetables and fruits, or selling those items processed."²⁸ In fact taverns generated over half the income of Black business in the River City. While proprietors of restaurants, funeral homes or transfer companies tended to fit the mold of the average Black entrepreneur (over 44 years in age, with limited training and born in Kentucky, although not necessarily Louisville), slightly less than half the Black grocers, barbers, ice, wood or junk peddlers were migrants. According to the survey, many of the establishments in Louisville were owned by migrants who had gained their business skills elsewhere. Junk, ice and fuel peddling all seemed particularly inviting to older migrants who were "unable to find any other place in the economic life of the city."²⁹

Similarly, a 1947 study of Black migration found that although some college educated Blacks migrated North to secure employment, "most of them find jobs among people of their own race and these, of course, reside principally in the South."³⁰ In fact many of the cities with the largest Black populations such as Atlanta, Memphis, New Orleans and Richmond were in the South. At that time the Black population in Louisville, Kentucky was greater than that of Los Angeles, Oakland, San Francisco, and Norfolk.³¹ Like many professional Black migrants, the 1947 study concluded that "economic security" could be found by remaining in the South.

In fact many of the most prominent Black law firms in the River City had migrants at the helm. Charles Anderson, James Crumlin and Eubanks Tucker were all African-American lawyers who came to Louisville to set up shop. Eubanks Tucker was born in Baltimore, Maryland, became a pastor in the African Methodist Episcopal Zion church in Arlington, Virginia and was first admitted to the bar in West Virginia before coming to Louisville in 1929. Although a native of Spartanburg, South Carolina, James Crumlin attended Howard and Terrell School of Law, in Washington, D. C. before he came to the city in 1944.³² He joined Alfred Carroll to form the firm Carroll and Crumlin, Washington, D. C. proved common ground for many of Louisville's lawyers. Charles Anderson received his law degree at Howard, even though he was a originally from Frankfort, Kentucky. Co-founder of Williams and Anderson, Attorney and Counsel at Law, located at 614 West Walnut Street, he came to Louisville in 1932 during the height of the Depression's economic insecurity.³³

Crumlin, Tucker and Anderson are not only significant because they chose to migrate to a Southern city, or because they built businesses founded on the large concentrations of African-Americans located in the South, but because they brought a wealth of experience with urbanization with them when they came to Louisville. Although they were Southern, they were not the ignorant, uncouth or unsophisticated people their Northern cousins and historians' portrayals often suggested. A migrant's class or personal history often helped determine how they adapted to Louisville upon arrival.

For instance, Lyman Johnson came from a family in Columbia, Tennessee that raised crops on land they owned throughout town. His mother had at-

tended high school and his father was a college graduate who taught mathematics and served as principal in the local "colored" school system for more than forty years. Unlike African-Americans throughout much of the South his family had maintained their right to vote by paying poll taxes since Reconstruction.³⁴ By the time he arrived in Louisville Lyman had earned an A. B. from Virginia Union University and an M. A. degree from the University of Michigan and had completed a number of courses toward a Ph.D. at the University of Wisconsin.³⁵

If there was such a thing as a Black middle class, then Lyman Johnson was surely in it. Lyman Johnson acknowledged there were many things for African-Americans to do within their own community, such as attending balls at the Pythian Temple or enjoying music at any of the local "juke joints." However, as a whole he felt Louisville had very little to offer African-Americans in terms of culture compared to other Southern cities. For instance, Nashville was known as the "Athens of the South," and in his mind was nothing less than a cultural Mecca.

While Nashville supported first-rate institutions such as Fisk and Meharry Medical School for Negroes, Louisville had no college "worthy of the name." In Johnson's mind Louisville Municipal College was little more than a "starving public school" and Simmons University was no more than a struggling seminary Blacks would only attend if there were no other choice.³⁶ The point here is not that Lyman Johnson initially thought Louisville's cultural life was lacking, but that he was one of a number of migrants that had extensive experience within the urban South before he came to Louisville. More importantly that experience helped ameliorate his adjustment to the particular urban environment in Louisville, Kentucky.

Considering the limits of higher education in the Louisville and Kentucky as a whole, many of 28 doctors, 45 nurses or 14 dentists in the city were apt to be migrants.³⁷ For instance, at Red Cross Hospital the majority of the doctors on call including Milton Young, Maurice Rabb, Jessie Bell and Houston Baker, Sr. were migrants. Similarly, the majority of the faculty at Louisville Municipal College for Negroes, from its president to the librarian Ms. Atkins, were also migrants. In fact before Rufus Clement, president of Municipal College, came to Louisville he had lived in North Carolina; after he left he moved on to Atlanta, Georgia.³⁸ As a whole professionals like Rufus Clement were apt to have spent time in a number of towns or cities prior to their arrival in the River City.

Given the limits of higher education for African-Americans throughout the South, the choice to become a doctor, teacher or lawyer often necessitated migration. The concentrations of African-Americans present in the River City played a central role in the decision making process of the small number of college-educated Blacks to relocate in Louisville. Although the number of such Blacks was admittedly small, their actions demonstrate that they were no more immune to the hardships of the Depression than the Black working class or agricultural workers. These differing classes of Black migrants combined to make the area surrounding Louisville one of the few regions in the state to increase its Black population due to migration.³⁹

One such migrant, Goldie Winstead-Beckett, who came to Louisville in 1938 from Clarksville, Tennessee, recalled that the city functioned as something of a

way-station, where migrants stopped and stayed and before continuing on their way to the north.⁴⁰ Some migrants were native Louisvillians or Kentuckians who used the "Falls City" as their jumping off point to the north. For instance, Harry S. Mc Alpin arrived in the late 1940's, becoming deeply involved in the community, participating in civil rights struggles, before moving on to California, nearly a decade later.⁴¹ Yet, for many others, whether they were from the Deep South or Kentucky, Louisville was their final terminus. In fact, a survey of 491 migrant households in the Southwick neighborhood, compiled from the Urban Renewal Relocation Files between 1960–1965, revealed the average tenure in the city was 18.18 years at the time of interview. It seems safe to say migrants were committed to staying in Louisville when they came.⁴²

Many African-American migrants arrived in Louisville with a number of experiences in other places. In fact it seems few African-Americans migrated directly to Louisville; rather they often arrived after a number of stops. For instance, W. L. Holmes reached Louisville after "many *unpleasant* stops." He was born in Orville, Alabama on April 13, 1913 and came to Louisville just after World War II. However, he had first left home years before at the age of 18, when he "ran away" to attend the Prairie Normal and Industrial School some twenty-two miles away. Interestingly, his parents only allowed him to remain there after some family friends in the area checked on him to make sure he was safe.

Holmes only stayed there for one year before moving on. As he recalled, there was not much to eat and he "stayed hungry an awful lot."⁴³ When he left school, he headed for Birmingham, where his mother, Elizabeth, lived working as a domestic for \$3.00 a week. While Holmes lived there he worked as a laborer in concrete construction for \$5.00 a week. He lingered in Birmingham a while before he decided to move again. Before he first left Birmingham, he wrote to his aunt who lived in Jenkins County, Kentucky to obtain information about working in the coalmines. Once he was assured he could get a job there and had a place to stay, he moved. For the next five or six years Holmes labored as a coal miner and attended the local WPA school at night, until he joined the Army during World War II. After the war Holmes returned to Kentucky, but this time he chose to settle in Louisville where he secured employment at a tractor company changing treads.⁴⁴ When Holmes finally arrived in Louisville he had been to no less than five different cities or towns and was nearly thirty years removed from the eighteen year-old that had originally left Orville, Alabama.

Nor was Holmes alone. Migrants like Rebecca Smith and Mae Street Kidd also followed a path to Louisville that was less than direct. Born in Cumberland County, Kentucky, Smith only arrived in Louisville in 1945, *after* living in Toledo, Ohio and returning to her prior home.⁴⁵ Although Mae Street Kidd had spent the majority of her life in Millersburg, Kentucky, at the time of her migration she had some limited familiarity with life outside her hometown. Since the Black school in Millersburg did not go beyond the eighth grade, her mother sent her to the Lincoln Institute in Shelbyville, Kentucky where Mae Street Kidd spent two years in a "place of love and harmony and hard work."⁴⁶

Unfortunately, her family was unable to afford the minimal cost Lincoln Institute required, and she returned home to find a job. In Millersburg, Mae began working as an insurance agent for the Black owned and operated Mammoth Life

Accident and Insurance Company. Over the next four years her work carried her throughout Millersburg, Carlisle, Kentucky and a little town in Nicholas County, selling insurance policies or collecting industrial premiums at thirty-five or fifty cents apiece per week.⁴⁷ During this period she learned to adapt to a variety of new environments. So, while Louisville may have represented something of an unknown to her, she arrived in the city with a number of experiences in a number of different places under her belt.

Indeed, many Blacks migrated to Louisville from smaller towns within Kentucky; the city offered a variety of opportunities that did not exist anywhere else within the state. While the desire for economic security motivated many a migrant, it was not the only motive for migration. Louisville has been called one of the most "liberal" or "progressive" cities on race relations in the South as well as a city with "southern racial traditions and a northern class dynamic."⁴⁸ To some small degree Louisville's "progressive" reputation was accurate when measured by the standard set by the rest of the South.

In his examination of Mississippi during the age of Jim Crow, Neil McMillen demonstrates that throughout much of the South segregation meant exclusion not separation.⁴⁹ However, Blacks in Louisville had limited access to a small number of segregated facilities including a hospital, Louisville Municipal College for Negroes (a branch of the University of Louisville created specifically for African-Americans), two small branches of the public library (although they were denied access to all other branches of the Louisville Free Public Library) and public transportation that most African-Americans in the South did not have at all. Blacks in Louisville also had more African-Americans on the city police force than any other Southern city, although they could only practice their police work in the Black districts of the city.⁵⁰ For many of the whites in Louisville, Blacks' uneven access to these small second-rate facilities allowed them to assert a "progressive" image of themselves and their city. This image was further enhanced in 1956, when Louisville became the first Southern city to desegregate peacefully.

Despite this "progressive" reputation, more often than not Blacks in Louisville found themselves segregated throughout the city, whether it was in public parks or private businesses. A 1948 Urban League Survey on African-American life discovered that most of the traditions on race relations found in the Deep South could also still be found in Louisville.⁵¹ Though segregation in the city was maintained by custom more than law, white Louisvillians' ability to promote a "progressive" self-image was founded on "polite racism". In his groundbreaking study on Blacks in Louisville, George Wright argued that what existed in Louisville was "racism in a polite form; it would remain polite as long as Afro-Americans willingly accepted 'their place,' which, of course, was at the bottom."⁵²

Yet, for a number of migrants the segregated schools offered quality education they could not realize elsewhere. It was the very same seminary Johnson looked down on that led Reverend William G. Marks to migrate to Louisville. For Reverend Marks, a native of Lexington, Kentucky, Simmons University was the only theological seminary Blacks could attend and offered training he could not get anywhere else in the state. Before he and his family chose to move to Louisville, he traveled more than seventy miles each way to attend classes at that "struggling" little seminary. The chance to attend the school on a full-time

basis in conjunction with the opportunity to find employment doing something other than "hard labor" was well worth the permanent trip to Louisville.⁵³

Similarly, Celia Cox, found the schools in Louisville compared quite favorably with the ones she had known before in Florence, Alabama. Like Lyman Johnson, she too arrived in Louisville in 1930; however, in her mind Louisville Municipal College was the best school in the state and offered everything she desired.⁵⁴ For migrants like W. L. Holmes and Amelia B. Ray, Louisville presented them an opportunity of achieving life-long dreams. W. L. Holmes grew up in Orville, Alabama and attended classes in a school system that went no further than the sixth grade. His sole reason for leaving Alabama at the age of eighteen was his desire to go to school. In his words, "I left home because of that, I came here to Louisville because of that."⁵⁵ That desire led him from Orville to Birmingham to the coal mines of Jenkins, Kentucky and eventually to Louisville. In Louisville he finally completed his high school education, attending night school held by the WPA, and proudly began the next phase of his education at Louisville Municipal College.⁵⁶

W. L. Holmes was not the only migrant who felt the affects of a limited educational system. Others, like Amelia B. Ray faced similar problems. African-Americans in her former home in Clarksville, Tennessee were forced to attend a "so-called" high school that only went to the ninth grade. Amelia Ray recalled that in spite of the efforts of dedicated teachers, the education she received was less than satisfactory. When she arrived in Louisville in 1934, she immediately began to attend night school held by the WPA. In 1938, at the age of 38, she began the first of five years at Louisville Municipal College. As she recalled, "I was a fossil at that time."⁵⁷

The fact that she remained in school and earned her degree while working and raising a family was a testament to the desire for an education that she shared with many migrants. The attitudes of migrants such as these toward the educational opportunities offered in Louisville were also indicative of the way in which migrants expected life to be better in their new environment. Black education in Louisville suffered from a number of deficiencies; it was segregated, under-funded and of a lesser quality when compared to many other white institutions. But relative to the prospects African-Americans faced before they migrated, even these second-rate facilities were an improvement.

Migration often served a means for African-Americans to escape the oppression which existed in their daily lives. Not only was this the case in education, but in housing, employment and race-relations as well. For instance, Maria Walter's family migrated from a small town just below Atlanta, Georgia solely because of the better opportunities they believed existed in Louisville. In her words, "Down South they couldn't make any money and educational facilities were bad."⁵⁸

No matter whether the impetus for migration was economic, social or some combination of both, Black migrants like Amelia B. Ray, Goldie Winstead-Beckett, and Dr. Maurice Rabb were more than typical in the number of places they had lived in prior to their arrival in Louisville. Amelia Ray was born in Clarksville, Tennessee and had been "in and out" of Kentucky any number of times before she decided to make Louisville her home in 1934. Indeed the first time she came to Louisville was thirteen years before she finally moved there.⁵⁹

Goldie Winstead-Beckett may have been brought into the world in Hopkins County, Kentucky but by the time she settled in Louisville she had lived in no fewer than four other places. Her husband, William, was no different. He was born in Baltimore, Maryland but lived in Nashville and St. Louis before he made Louisville his home in 1936.⁶⁰ These narratives are more than anecdotal, rather they are indicative of the experiences many migrants brought with them to the city.

The majority of migrants in Louisville came from within Kentucky, followed in descending order from Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi. The narrative of African-American migration in Louisville is largely one of urban to urban migration, rather than rural to urban. The origin of many African-American migrants in Louisville was in small towns of the urban South. Although more than forty-four percent of Kentucky's population was rural, African-Americans in the state were chiefly city and town dwellers. While the census definition of 2,500 may hardly seem "urban" by many standards, by that same definition nearly seventy percent of African Americans in the South lived in rural settings in 1932.⁶¹ That only nineteen percent of Kentucky's Blacks (Louisville's primary migrant pool) lived on rural farms stood in stark contrast with much of the South.⁶² However, Blacks in Kentucky were not alone; African-Americans in Tennessee, Alabama, Florida and North Carolina were also predominantly urban. Mabel and Richard Anderson came to Louisville from Christian County, Kentucky, a community of more than 10,000 Blacks, instead of some backwoods "holler." Similarly, James and Lillian Edmondson were natives of Middlesboro, Tennessee.⁶³ Like the Andersons and Edmondsons, the majority of Black migrants from Kentucky and Tennessee, the two leading contributors to Black migration in Louisville, were most likely urbanites.

The Arsenal of Defense: African American Migration in the South

By 1941 there were 15,000 migrant workers in the River City, but only three percent of them were African-American. Although more there was net gain of 799 African-Americans in Louisville during the 1930's, in large measure the constraints of the Depression did not change until World War II.⁶⁴ During World War II a labor shortage was created by the increase in production dictated by the war as well as by the large numbers of white men who served in the Armed Forces in Africa, Asia and Europe.

In response to African Americans' demands for defense industry employment in the form of the March on Washington Movement, Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 in 1941 to take advantage of all available labor. The executive order established the Fair Employment Practices Commission [FEPC] to facilitate the "full participation in the defense program by all persons, regardless of race, creed, color or national origin."⁶⁵ The FEPC, in conjunction with the labor shortages and the absence of white male workers, created a window of economic opportunity for African-Americans.

During World War II African-Americans seized the opportunity created by defense industries no matter where they existed. While many Blacks chose to migrate to war-boom cities such as Detroit, San Francisco and Los Angeles, many others chose to go to closer cities within the South. Although approx-

imately 2,800,000 migrants left the South during the war years, the Census Bureau noted there had been about 4,300,000 intra-state migrants and 2,100,000 inter-state migrants within the South.⁶⁶ Indeed the trend toward industrial cities in the South emerges as far more indicative of African-American migration than movement to the urban north. Given these Census figures Blacks appear more likely to remain in the South than to leave for the north.

Large numbers of African-Americans packed up their belongings and moved from rural areas of the South to Southern industrial centers. According to Ira Reid's 1947 study of "Special Problems of Negro Migration During the War" more than 100,000 Blacks moved to industrial centers of the South from rural areas; he estimated at least another 300,000 Blacks moved from the Deep South to border states.⁶⁷ Southern cities like Norfolk, Charleston and Mobile all drew Blacks from throughout the South to fill jobs created by the defense industries located there. Indeed, the African-American population in many of them, including Birmingham, Atlanta, Mobile and the Hampton Roads, grew far more rapidly than Louisville as a result of their even greater industrialization. For instance, between 1940 and 1944 more than 22,000 African-Americans migrated to Norfolk, Virginia and more than 6,000 came to Charleston County in hopes of finding employment in these Southern defense centers.⁶⁸ Between 1940 and 1946 Louisville's Black population grew from 47,158 to 56,154.⁶⁹ Clearly, not all African-Americans chose to go north; during the 1930's and 1940's many African-Americans began to make their way to a number of Southern cities.

So many industries were located in Louisville that it rapidly became one of the most important defense centers in the nation.⁷⁰ According to the historian George Yater, "the massive industrial development around Louisville that had been generated by the national defense program made the area a vital part of the American role as the arsenal of democracy."⁷¹ Defense industries in Louisville began in earnest early in 1940 when the E. I. du Pont Nemours Company announced plans to build a smokeless powder plant in Charlestown, Indiana. In 1941, the first full year of operation, more than 32,000 workers converged on the thirty million dollar plant each day. The du Pont plant was soon followed by Hoosier Ordinance Works, which was also located in Charlestown, and the Quartermasters Depot in Jeffersonville.⁷² Although all three of these plants were located in Indiana, the majority of its employees lived in Louisville.

Not all the industries brought on by the war were located outside of the city Louisville itself. By 1941 Louisville-area defense employment was estimated at 38,000 and there were more defense plants yet to be built. Between March and September of 1941 three new plants were built in the same area of Louisville devoted to the production of synthetic rubber. Louisville also proved an ideal location for the production of newly designed wooden cargo planes by Curtiss-Wright Corporation. While Louisville's distilleries and businesses like Reynolds Metals were drawn into war production under direct government control, they were soon joined in the war effort by a number of locally operated businesses. Ford Motor Company retooled and converted to the production of military jeeps. The city's woodworking industry produced glider parts for military service planes, while Hillerich and Brach transformed the baseball bats they produced prior to the war into gunstocks. Companies like Tube Turn and Henry Vogt Ma-

chine Company joined the fray by manufacturing artillery shell parts. During the 1940's World War II became the driving force behind Louisville's economy. As early as the spring of 1941 defense employment was estimated to include more than 38,000 war workers; by 1944 the influx of war workers peaked at more than 80,000. Industrial employment in the River City had increased by more than eighteen percent, and only grew throughout the duration of the war.⁷³

In spite of the labor demands created by World War II, employment opportunities did not simply open before African-Americans like the Red Sea before Moses. Instead, such opportunities were slow in coming and ultimately short-lived. Even after Roosevelt established the FEPC, the Louisville's Urban League demonstrated that the city's industrialists made "little or no effort to comply with the President's Executive Order."⁷⁴ The report continued to say that Blacks who applied for skilled positions were invariably informed by foremen that, "There is no point in referring Negroes to those departments as they would not be accepted because of race."⁷⁵ Nevertheless by 1943, the combination of the FEPC and the growing need to take advantage of all available labor eventually overcame the resistance of white Louisvillians, opening the door for Blacks in Louisville to the first widespread industrial experience.

At Naval Ordinance and the Hoosier Ordinance Works in Charlestown, Indiana, African-Americans were employed as production workers, machine operators, foremen and assistant chemists. For the first time Blacks in the Louisville area worked as shipbuilders. The Naval owned Howard Ship Yards in near-by Jeffersonville, Indiana hired Blacks as buffers, painters and welders in the production of landing craft to carry tanks and infantry. The synthetic rubber plants, central to the local war effort, began to employ African-Americans in positions throughout the production process.⁷⁶

Women like Gladys Bussey, a migrant from Alabama, secured employment as power machine operators. Others such as Mildred Bradley, Rebecca Smith and Annie Ruth Laid, migrants from Upton and Cumberland County, Kentucky and Giles, Tennessee respectively all found defense related work at the Louisville and Nashville railroad.⁷⁷ Lafayette Brown was one of the many migrants who came from rural regions in Kentucky to secure war-time employment. In 1943 he made his way to Louisville and began working at E. I. Dupont Company as a common laborer.⁷⁸ African-American employment soared, and for the first time Blacks in Louisville found employment in a wide range of manufacturing jobs that had previously been closed to them.

James Glass was one such African-American. He had been born and raised in Jenkins, Kentucky where he had lived for most of his life. Life was not easy in Jenkins, but working in its coal mines did provide some semblance of economic security. At the age of 15 James Glass quit school and joined his father at work in Consolidate Coal Company's mines; he often arrived at the mine around five in the morning and "would not come out until 6 and 7 at night."⁷⁹ Initially, Glass, like many other African-Americans, sought to join the war effort as a soldier; however, he was rejected when his physical examiner encountered his six fingers and toes. Glass remained in Jenkins, until 1942 when he decided to follow his father to Louisville. He loaded up his new convertible and traveled 167 miles to Louisville, with the hopes of finding a better job. Like many Blacks

looking for work in 1942, he was disappointed. In Louisville the best job he could find paid \$100 every two weeks compared to the \$200 to \$300 he brought home over the same period working in the coal mines. Despite the FEPC and the labor shortages created by war, Blacks simply were not hired in Louisville in 1942. Faced with grim employment prospects, Glass decided to go back to the coal mines.

He stayed there until 1944, when his father "got after [him] about coming on back down."⁸⁰ Which he did, but with the understanding that if did not find a suitable job he would not stay. Glass returned to Louisville with the hopes of getting a better job, but he also returned because of the bond between he and his father. With a bit of luck James Glass landed a job working at Louisville, Gas and Electric Company, where he was one of the 291 Blacks on the company's 2,224 person labor force.⁸¹ The majority of these workers, both during and after the war, were employed as common laborers; of the 291 African-Americans employed by L G&E there were only 10 semi-skilled workers and 2 foremen. Nonetheless, Glass liked his job, bought a home on South 42nd Street and chose to stay in Louisville.

So many migrants came to the city that housing war workers soon became such a problem that two newly constructed housing projects, Sheppard Square and Parkway Place, were used to house defense employees rather than the public for which they were initially intended. Migrants also represented a substantial number of the families in public housing in general. Among the city's Black housing projects migrants occupied more than a third of all available apartments. In Sheppard Square 94 of the 291 families who lived there were migrants; in the smaller College Court 51 out of 125 families were new to the city; in the Beecher Terrace, the largest Black housing project in the city, more than 270 of its dwelling units were inhabited by migrants.⁸² Although similar information does not exist for white migrants, there is no reason to doubt that their presence was any less in the white housing projects. The numbers of migrant *families* also indicates that Louisville was swelled not only by the large numbers of women and men who came seeking employment, but also by the children who accompanied them. These figures also suggest the large numbers of African-Americans who were lured to Louisville during the war by the hint of opportunity.

With the U. S. Senate Hearings on National Defense Migration, the federal government conducted a survey through the public employment office on defense employment in May 1941, which suggested that many of the Black workers employed in war production may have also migrated from urban locales. The survey was based upon roughly twenty percent of the applications and referrals received by defense industries. Of the 8,619 applicants considered in the survey, 6,392 were from referrals obtained in response to employer's demands and the remaining 2,227 were drawn from active files (walk-ins). The survey found that thirteen percent of the former referrals and ten percent of the latter active files were obtained from migrants; out of the 8,619 war workers employed in Louisville 1,028 of them had recently come to the city.⁸³ The majority of those 1,028 migrants included in the sample had made their way to Louisville from within the state of Kentucky. The rest, roughly forty-two percent, had relocated to Louisville from one of its neighboring states and were mostly likely from an urban, rather than rural setting.⁸⁴

Rethinking African American Migration

While it is unclear whether or not the urban to urban migration pattern present in Louisville may be found elsewhere, it is certain that more attention needs to be given African American migration in the South during the era of the Second Great Migration. The Black urban population in much of the Upper South and the high percent of urban migrants between 1935–1940, in Birmingham, Charlotte, New Orleans, Atlanta and Louisville suggests at the least that multiple migration patterns existed within the South and that our historical preoccupation with migration to the North and West cannot substitute for sustained historical inquiry into African American migration as a whole.

Not only does examining urban to urban migration patterns offer a more complex view of African American migration, it also offers a more nuanced view of African American urbanization as a process. The majority of migration narratives, either literary or historical, fail to account for urban to urban migration or the number of steps migrants took before they reached their final destination. In the past African-Americans were often portrayed as being completely unprepared as migrants but in fact few found the city they migrated to be a totally alien environment and more often than not they were prepared to cope with that environment.⁸⁵ No doubt, African-American migrants in Louisville did experience fear and confusion in varying degrees; however, those were not the only emotions present as they arrived in the city. As Mae Kidd Street's narrative suggests, as much as migrants felt fear or confusion, their arrival was also marked by a sense of anticipation, excitement and joy. Southern Black migrants were far from unprepared to cope with a new urban environment. Clearly, migrants brought with them a wide range of experiences, from Kidd Streets somewhat limited travels in the neighboring counties; to migrants like Dr. Rabb who had lived in cities as large, if not larger than Louisville; to others like A.J. Elmore who moved for the first time when he came to Louisville as an adolescent from Gadsden, Alabama.⁸⁶ Many migrants in Louisville seem to have had prior experiences which prepared them for life in the city.

More importantly the origin of many African-American migrants in Louisville was the urban South.⁸⁷ In terms of pace or scale, Louisville may have represented a somewhat different urban environment than migrants might have known before, but *the city* itself was not necessarily an unknown entity. Although it did take migrants some time to adjust to their new environment, they were by no means babes in the wilderness. Instead migrants arrived with a number of tools, which they used as they began the work of making Louisville their home.

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ENDNOTES

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2. *Ibid.*, pp. 417–419.

3. Interview with Dr. Maurice Rabb by Dwayne Cox. August 15, 1977. Black Oral History Collection, University of Louisville, Archives and Records Center.
4. Ann Ratner Miller, *Net Intercensal Migration To Large Urban Areas of the United States, 1930–1940, 1940–1950, 1950–1960* (Philadelphia, 1964), pp. 89, 161 & 220; on the decade 1950–1960, see *Net Migration of the Population by Age, Sex, Color*, vol. 1, part 4, p. 649; on 1935–1940 see Leon Truesdell, *Population, Internal Migration, 1935 to 1940, Sixteenth Census of the United States* (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943); and on 1960–1970 see Marcus E. Jones, *Black Migration in the United States with an Emphasis on Selected Cities* (U.S.A., 1980), p. 71. For a general overview of Louisville and Kentucky see, George H. Yater, *Two Hundred Years at the Falls of the Ohio: A History of Louisville and Jefferson County* (Louisville, 1979); Marion B. Lucas, *A History of Blacks in Kentucky*, Vol. 1: *From Slavery to Segregation, 1760–1891* (Frankfort, 1992), and George C. Wright, *A History of Blacks in Kentucky: Vol. 2: In Pursuit of Equity, 1890–1980* (Frankfort, 1992), which provide the background on African Americans in the state. Wright, *Life Behind a Veil: Blacks in Louisville, Kentucky, 1865–1930* (Baton Rouge, 1985), focuses on the city before the Depression. On African American migration in Kentucky, see Luther J. Adams, “It Was North of Tennessee: African American Migration and the Meaning of the South” *Ohio Valley History*, 3(3) (Fall, 2003) & “African American Migration to Louisville in the Mid-Twentieth Century,” *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, vol. 99, No. 4 (Autumn 2001). Joe William Trotter Jr., *River Jordan: African American Urban Life in the Ohio Valley* (Lexington, 1998), compares the formation of African American communities in Louisville, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, and Evansville.
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6. Peter Gottlieb, *Making Their Own Way*, p. 44–45; James Grossman, *Land of Hope*, p.95, 111–112 & Jacqueline Jones, “Southern Diaspora: Origins of the Northern ‘Underclass’” in Michael B. Katz, ed., *The “Underclass” Debate: Views from History* (Princeton, N.J., 1993) p.40.
7. James Grossman, *Land of Hope*, p. 111.
8. For overviews of the scholarship on the national migration that had begun in the 1910s, see Joe William Trotter, ed., *The Great Migration in Historical Perspective: New Dimensions of Race, Class, and Gender* (Bloomington, Ind., 1991); Alferdteen Harrison, ed., *Black Exodus: The Great Migration from the American South* (Jackson, Miss., 1991). On specific case studies see, Gilbert Osofsky, *Harlem: Making of a Ghetto, 1890–1930* (New York, 1968); Allan Spear, *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto, 1890–1920* (Chicago, 1967); William Tuttle, *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919* (New York, 1970, reprint, 1974); Elizabeth H. Pleck, *Black Migration and Poverty: Boston, 1865–1900* (New York, 1979); Florette Henri, *Black Migration: Movement North, 1900–1920* (Garden City, N Y, 1975); James Borchert, *Alley Life in Washington: Family, Community, Religion, and Folklife in the City, 1850–1970* (Urbana, 1980); Peter Gottlieb, *Making Their Own Way: Southern Blacks’ Migration to Pittsburgh, 1916–30* (Urbana, 1987); Joe William Trotter, Jr. *Black Milwaukee: The Making of an Industrial Proletariat, 1915–45* (Urbana, 1988); James R. Grossman, *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration* (Chicago, 1989); Earl Lewis, *In Their Own Interests: Race, Class and Power in Twentieth-Century Norfolk, Virginia* (Berkeley, 1991); Quintard Taylor, *The Forging of a Black Community: Seattle’s Central District, 1870 Through the Civil Rights Era* (Seattle, 1994); Elizabeth Clark-Lewis, *Living In, Living Out: African-American Domestic Workers and the Great Migration* (New York, 1994, reprint, 1996); Farah Griffin, “Who Set You Flowin’?”: *The African-*

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9. Pete Daniel, "The New Deal, Southern Agriculture, and Economic Change," in *The New Deal and the South* (Jackson, 1984), p. 57.
10. Jack Temple Kirby, *Rural Worlds Lost: The American South, 1920–1960* (Baton Rouge, 1987), p. 167.
11. Alan Brinkley, "The New Deal and Southern Politics," in *The New Deal and the South* (Jackson, 1984); Broadus Mitchell, *Depression Decade: From New Era Through New Deal, 1929–1941* (New York, 1961), pp. 99–101; Pete Daniel, "The New Deal and Southern Labor," in *The New Deal and the South* (Jackson, 1984), pp. 48–49; Pete Daniel, "Going Among Strangers: Southern Reactions to World War II," in *Journal of American History*. (December, 1990), pp. 886–887; Harvard Sitkoff, *A New Deal For Blacks: The Emergence of Civil Rights as a National Issue: The Depression Decade* (Oxford, 1978), p. 48; Harvard Sitkoff, "Impact of the New Deal On Black Southerners," in *The New Deal and the South* (Jackson, 1984), p. 121; Jeannie Whayne, *A New Plantation South: Land, Labor and Federal Favor in Twentieth Century Arkansas* (Charlottesville, 1996), pp. 162–165; Raymond Wolters, *Negroes and the Great Depression: The Problem of Economic Recovery* (Westport, Connecticut, 1970), pp. 12–13. The AAA contracts established in 1933 determined that landowners and cash tenants would receive the entire "parity payment." While tenants and sharecroppers would receive between three-quarters to one-half the payment depending on their status and interest in the crop, farmer laborers working for wages did not receive any of the payment.
12. Pete Daniel, "The New Deal and Southern Labor," p. 56 & Raymond Wolters, *Negroes and the Great Depression*, p. 60.
13. Jack Temple Kirby, *Rural Worlds Lost*, p. 72.
14. Pete Daniel, "The New Deal and Southern Labor," p. 55.
15. Broadus Mitchell, *Depression Decade: From the New Era Through the New Deal, 1929–1941* (New York, 1961), pp. 220–221.
16. Pete Daniel, "The New Deal, Southern Agriculture, Economic Change," p. 59 and Jack Temple Kirby, *Rural Worlds Lost*, p. 319.
17. Alan Brinkley. "The New Deal and Southern Politics," p. 113.
18. Raymond Wolters. *Negroes and the Great Depression*, p. 93.
19. Raymond Wolters, *Negroes and the Great Depression* & Harvard Sitkoff, *A New Deal For Blacks*, p. 55.
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22. Chad Berry, *Southern Migrants, Northern Exiles* (Urbana, 2000), pp. 31–32 and 60.
23. John N. Webb and Malcolm Brown, *Migrant Families* (Washington, 1938) 4. See also C. E. Lively, *Rural Migration in the United States* (Washington, 1939) and Sam Joseph Dennis, *African-American Exodus and White Migration, 1950–1970*. For out-migration during between 1950–60 in Eastern Kentucky see, Harry K. Schwarzweller, *Mountain Families in Transition: A Case Study of Appalachian Migration* (University Park, 1971); “Sociocultural Origins of Migration Patterns of Young Men From Eastern Kentucky,” University of Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, Lexington, Kentucky, December, 1963; “Career Placement and Economic Life Chances of Young Men from Eastern Kentucky,” University of Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, Lexington, Kentucky, January, 1964; “Family Ties, Migration, and Transitional Adjustment of Young Men from Eastern Kentucky,” University of Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, Lexington, Kentucky, May, 1964.
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28. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 62–63 & 68.
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31. Earl Lewis, “Expectations, Economic Opportunities and Life in the Industrial Age: Black Migration to Norfolk, Virginia, 1910–1945,” in Joe William Trotter, Jr. ed., *The Great Migration in Historical Perspective* (Bloomington, 1991), p. 23.
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36. Wade Hall. *The Rest of the Dream*, p.60.
37. Associates of Louisville Municipal College, University of Louisville, Louisville Urban League, and Central Colored High School, *A Study of Business and Employment Among Negroes in Louisville*. (Louisville, 1942), pp. 73 & 74.
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41. Interview with Lyman T. Johnson by Regina Monsour. 1977. Black Oral History Collection, University of Louisville Archives and Records Center.
42. Urban Renewal Relocation Files, 1960–65
43. Interview with W. L. Holmes by Mary Bobo. 1979. Black Oral History Collection, University of Louisville, Archives and Records Center.
44. Interview with W. L. Holmes.
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Urban League (Louisville, 1948), pp. 80, 111, 159 and 33. See Wright, *A History of Blacks in Kentucky*, p. 54.

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53. Interview with Reverend William G. Marks by Luther Adams. November 29, 1997

54. Charles Henry Parrish, Jr. Papers. Interview with Code, 036. University of Louisville, Archives and Records Center. Since the Parrish Papers stipulate that the interviewees remain anonymous I have adopted pseudonyms for each interview in the text.

55. Interview with W. L. Holmes by Mary D. Bobo. August 15, 1978. University of Louisville, Archives and Records Center.

56. *Ibid.*

57. Interview with Amelia B. Ray by Kenneth Chumbley. August 25, 1978. University of Louisville, Archives and Records Center.

58. Charles Parrish Papers, Box 10, Interview with Code 048. University of Louisville, Archives and Records Center.

59. Interview with Amelia B. Ray by Kenneth Chumbely. August 25, 1978. Black Oral History Collection, University of Louisville, Archives and Records Center.

60. Interview with Goldie Winstead-Beckett by Kenneth Chumbely. September 12, 1978 and Municipal Reference Collection, Folder: Planning Urban Renewal. University of Louisville, Archives and Records Center.

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70. National Defense Migration Hearings p. 6770 and George H. Yater, *Two Hundred Years at the Falls of the Ohio: A History of Louisville and Jefferson County* (Jefferson County, K.Y., 1979) p. 206.

71. George H. Yater, *Two Hundred Years at the Falls of the Ohio*, p. 208.

72. George Yater, *Two Hundred Years at the Falls of the Ohio*, p. 206. *Hearings Before the Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration*, Part 14, Trenton Hearings (Washington, D. C., 1941), p. 6770.

73. *Ibid.*, pp. 208 and 210.

74. Joe William Trotter, Jr. *River Jordan: African American Urban Life in the Ohio Valley* (Lexington, 1999), p. 147 & George C. Wright, *Blacks in Kentucky*. p. 16.

75. *Ibid.*

76. *Survey of the Economic and Cultural Conditions of the Negro Population of Louisville*, p. 22. It is important to note that the President's Executive Order which established the FEPC did not lead to African-American employment in defense industries as a whole, but in all branches of the federal government. For the first time Blacks gained access to a host of jobs such as supervisors, foremen, chemists, clerical and postal workers throughout various federal agencies.

77. Shirley Mae Harmon, "A Comparison Study of Black and White Women War Workers in the Louisville, Kentucky During World War II," (M. A. Thesis: University of Louisville, 1999).pp. 20–21.

78. Urban Renewal Relocation Files. R-10 Southwick I to West Downtown. Box 20 & 29. City of Louisville Archives.

79. Interview with James Glass. By James Montgomery, February 29, 1976. Oral History Collection, University of Louisville, Archives and Records Center.

80. *Ibid.*

81. Interview with James Glass and *Survey of the Economic and Cultural Conditions of the Negro Population of Louisville*. pp. 34–35.

82. Murray B. Walls Papers. Box 2, Folder 17. University of Louisville, Archives and Records Center.
83. *National Defense Migration Hearings*, p. 6772
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