Highway 61: Good Roads, Great Migrations, and Delta Blues

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HIGHWAY 61: GOOD ROADS, GREAT MIGRATIONS, AND DELTA BLUES

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A thesis submitted to the faculty of the University of Mississippi in partial fulfillment of the requirement of the Sally McDonnell Barksdale Honors College.

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Abstract

This thesis analyzes the social and racial factors that contributed to the cultural significance of U.S. Highway 61. First, I explore the background of road building and transportation in the United States. Next I detail the history of convict labor in the South, from convict leasing to convict labor on roads as a result of the Good Roads Movement. Third, I describe how economic and social conditions contributed to the out-migration of southerners during the twentieth century. Lastly, I analyze how social conditions spawned the Mississippi Delta blues, and how Highway 61 became a symbol of opportunity for blues musicians.
Introduction

Running 1,699 miles from New Orleans to Minnesota, U.S. Route 61 winds through regions and cities that loom large in the cultural consciousness of the United States. Officially designated in 1926 by the Joint Board on Interstate Highways to stretch from Minnesota’s Canadian border to Louisiana, Route 61 is a historic highway of cultural significance.¹ For much of its history, Route 61 symbolized freedom of mobility, the opportunity to make a better life and also the hardscrabble reality faced by all Americans.

This project will focus primarily on the southern half of Route 61, particularly in Mississippi. Although U.S. Route 61 is a numbered road, and a federal commission originally designated the path of Route 61, it is not a federal highway.² Each state crossed by Route 61 is responsible for a section of the route.³ Federal money allocated to Route 61’s construction varied between federal road aid laws depending on the population, area, and rural post road mileage of each state.⁴ As a result, the progress of construction and quality of highway differed in each state. Unlike other named highways, such as the

¹ Joint Board on Interstate Highways, “Report, October 30, 1925” 54.
⁴ Ibid, 106.
Dixie Highway, it is difficult to know the exact history of the entire route. Different county and state work crews pieced '61 together over the course of many years.

That each state constructed a portion of Route 61 is significant because control of construction remained free of federal influence. Federal officials could not dictate what kind of labor each state used to build roads. Before the 1930s, southern states relied heavily on predominantly African American chain gang labor to build roads.\(^\text{5}\) Convicts faced barbaric conditions on the chain gangs. The brutality of the chain gangs is characteristic of “progressive” policies, those that were viewed by whites as positive reform to better the South’s society, of the era that helped usher in the “modern” South.\(^\text{6}\)

The South had been left behind by much of the industrialization of the rest of the nation. Before efficient highways and transportation methods stitched together many hamlets and rural communities, the South resembled a foreign country to the rest of the nation.\(^\text{7}\) Residents of the South experienced a “rural isolation” that is difficult to imagine in the modern age. Farmers, in particular, knew the isolation. Even after the rise of the automobile, a system of local roads that resembled “spokes in a wheel” did little to allow those who could afford a cheap car, such as the Model T, to explore beyond local areas.\(^\text{8}\)

The emergence of the numbered interstate highway system in 1926 did far more than


\(^{\text{6}}\) Howard Lawrence Preston, *Dirt Roads to Dixie*, University of Tennessee Press (1991), 8.

\(^{\text{7}}\) Preston, *Dirt Roads to Dixie*, 1.

\(^{\text{8}}\) Peter T. Hugill, “Good Roads and the Automobile in the United States 1880- 1936,” *Geographical Review*, Vol. 72, No. 6 (July 1982), 336
private efforts, such as the Dixie Highway, to construct interstate highways to connect rural people to the rest of the nation.

The most important product of the numbered highway system was that it eventually allowed people to move more freely between regions than ever before. Non-wealthy rural people, such as farmers and sharecroppers, who for decades could not generally afford long train trips, now had the opportunity to travel anywhere they wanted. The interstate bus system offered cheap transportation to those without cars, while cars were becoming more affordable by the mid 1920s. Thousands of southerners used numbered highways like Route 61 to spread across the country during what James Gregory termed the “Southern Diaspora.” The Great Migrations of the early twentieth century spread the culture of the once isolated South to the rest of the nation. Southern migrants found jobs and remade their lives in the North and Midwest. Those traveling from the Deep South of the Mississippi Delta and New Orleans had the option to go to Memphis, St. Louis, and most prominently Chicago.

The cultural significance of Route 61 can be largely attributed to the musicians who sang about it. Iconic musicians such as Sam Cooke and Bob Dylan wrote songs that reflected the troubled society of the area that Route 61 crossed through. Cooke’s song “Chain Gang” described the harsh conditions faced by convicts who toiled for decades to build Route 61. Dylan explored the mythic influence of the Mississippi blues on his own work, as well as the “hardscrabble realities of life in America” in his album, *Highway 61 Revisited*. Route 61 became known as the “Blues Highway” because of the legendary

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blues musicians who lived in towns along the route. Tourists drove down ’61 to visit the
hometowns of important bluesmen, many of which once traveled north on the same route
to recording studios in Memphis and Chicago. The complex, and at times dark, history of
Route 61 is represented in the music of these artists.

The proliferation of automobiles and the federal decision to connect all hamlets of
the United States with paved roads and highways pierced the Mississippi Delta’s veil of
isolation. The Mississippi Delta’s African American inhabitants, largely poor, struggled
under the violent hand of white supremacy. The discrimination Mississippi blacks faced
spawned the blues, a response to “a brutal and desperate situation.”

African Americans sang work songs as they toiled under forced labor to construct Highway 61, and sang as
they later traveled along it to escape from the Delta. The black musicians who traveled
along Highway 61 broadcasted their sound to the entire country, helped establish the
Chicago blues, and served as the primary influence for the burgeoning rock and roll
industry of the 1960s and later decades.

While there are many books about the blues musicians and destinations that
surround Highway 61, there has been no study of how the social and racial factors of the
highway's construction contributed to its cultural importance. The efforts by leaders of
the Good Roads Movement to connect towns and cities while diminishing the isolation of
rural areas, such as the Mississippi Delta, impacted the interpretation of Highway 61 as
the "blues" highway. African American convict laborers who toiled to construct Highway


61 did so as a "progressive" measure endorsed by white supremacist politicians and
governments. Measures such as road building and racial segregation were endorsed side
by side in the Jim Crow era. The Jim Crow system forced blacks to work on chain gangs,
on prison farms, and as sharecroppers stuck in a cycle of debt led to a musical response
that gave birth to the Delta Blues. The purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate that the
social environment of Highway 61's physical landscape laid the groundwork for its later
cultural importance
Chapter 1:

U.S. Roads and the Movement for an American Highway System

To understand the importance of Highway 61, it is crucial to understand the state of transportation in the South prior to its designation. In the first two decades of the twentieth century, the widely spaced towns and cities of the United States existed in relative isolation. Railroads constituted the most feasible method of interstate transportation, but the cost of a train ticket prevented many would-be travelers from leaving their homes.  

The official route that once ran 1700 miles through New Orleans, the Mississippi Delta, Memphis, St. Louis, and up to St. Paul Minnesota did not exist prior to 1926. What is now U.S. Route 61 once consisted of scattered sections of often-decrepit local roads. Few roads ran between cities. Rural farmers on horse-drawn wagons used roads only to go into town before the automobile became widely used, available, and cheaper to afford. If a person wanted to travel from the Mississippi Delta to St. Louis, for instance, they would almost certainly need to travel on railroads or the Mississippi River.


15 Ibid
travel was slow and limited. Only cities near the water could be reached by boat or barge. To travel to inland cities, railroads were most the feasible option. The rail system in the United States was extensive and widely used. The main disadvantage of traveling by rail was the high cost, and cost was especially problematic for individuals attempting to travel long distances. For some African Americans in the wake of the Civil War, the need to travel long distances was necessary. To escape discrimination in the South, or to seek out opportunities in the North and Midwest, some sold all of their belongings at a loss to finance their trips. For southern African American, the “promised land” of the North seemed close but often out of reach. In the 1910s, a train ticket from New Orleans to Chicago would cost around $20, equivalent to a month’s pay for many sharecroppers.

As a result of insufficient and expensive transportation, many white and black southerners remained isolated from the rest of the nation. Poor roads affected rural farmers in particular. Farmers had limited communication with those in town or even their neighbors, especially during inclement weather. Not until the 1900s did farmers gain access to free postal delivery, and most had to travel miles into town to buy a newspaper. In 1896, Congress passed a law providing a mere $10,000 for the “Rural Delivery of Mails,” which grew to a multi-million dollar enterprise. The only drawback for many southerners was that Rural Free Delivery would not deliver to areas with extremely poor roads.

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17 Charles E. Cobb, “Traveling the Blues Highway,” *National Geographic* (April 1999), 64

While the beginnings of a reasonably convenient method of communication for southerners began with Rural Free Delivery, transportation proved to be more difficult to improve. Roads were often so treacherous that even a farmer equipped with a mule and wagon struggled to bring a crop the few country miles into town.\textsuperscript{20} Most farmers still used railroads to transport their crops, but rail stations were often inaccessible in times of rain and snow. Farmers who braved the roads lost an estimated $500-600 million per year in inventory due to treacherous road conditions.\textsuperscript{21} If the prospect of traveling to town seemed difficult enough, the idea of traveling to another state via roads seemed almost unfathomable. Given the array of challenges, the time between 1850 and 1900 became known as the “dark ages of the rural road.”\textsuperscript{22}

A movement to construct better roads across America began with a group of bicyclists in the Northeast. In the 1880s, a safer version of the bicycle became popular in urban areas.\textsuperscript{23} The number of bicyclists grew. Not content with city streets, bicyclists ventured out into the country to ride for leisure and sport. Bicyclists grouped into clubs, most notably the League of American Wheelmen (LAW). The Wheelmen began as an urban club but flourished in rural areas, where “the demand for roads was most pronounced” and where the great majority of Americans still lived.\textsuperscript{24}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{20} Preston, \textit{Dirt Roads to Dixie}, 12.
\bibitem{21} Ingram, \textit{Dixie Highway}, 17.
\bibitem{22} U.S. Department of Transportation, \textit{America’s Highways}, 36.
\bibitem{23} Ibid, 42.
\bibitem{24} Ingram, \textit{Dixie Highway}, 20.
\end{thebibliography}
feasible means of long distance travel that the automobile would soon become, the bicycle became an important step in the direction toward individual mobility.\textsuperscript{25} Individuals could experience the personal freedom to travel without the price of rail tickets or a long line at the station.

In 1890, the New England-based Wheelmen began publishing \textit{Good Roads} magazine, which quickly grew to reach a circulation of over a million readers in three years.\textsuperscript{26} \textit{Good Roads} and other publications rallied readers to advocate for better roads, especially in rural areas. Good roads advocates endorsed a Rural Free Delivery (RFD) bill, signed into law in 1896. RFD failed to produce better roads by 1900, largely because lack of funding and opposition from postmasters and private express companies.\textsuperscript{27} In the 1890s, good roads movement did little to improve the quality of rural roads, but it did establish a solid foundation of good roads advocates.

On October 20, 1892, an assembly of good roads advocates, including the Wheelmen, prominent merchants, railroad executives, politicians, and various good roads organization members met in Chicago to form the National League for Good Roads (NLGR).\textsuperscript{28} The NLGR first assembled in Chicago the October before the World’s Fair of 1893. NLGR members unsuccessfully lobbied Congress to appropriate one million dollars for a special building at the World’s Fair for a road-building exhibit.\textsuperscript{29} The NLGR

\textsuperscript{25} Hugill, “Good Roads and the Automobile in the United States,” 328.

\textsuperscript{26} Ibid, 21.

\textsuperscript{27} Ibid, 22-23.

\textsuperscript{28} National League for Good Roads, Vol. 1, No. 1 (November, 1892), 2-5.

\textsuperscript{29} Ibid, 55.
also turned its focus towards creating a local league in each state.\textsuperscript{30} Within a few years, the NLGR held good roads conventions across the country and led a spirited campaign to raise awareness for their movement in the South.

NLGR leagues advocated for the improvement of the United States’ limited system of roads, which were known as “the worst to be found in any civilized country.”\textsuperscript{31} Through an aggressive campaign to promote good roads across the nation, the Wheelmen managed to influence Congress, which created the Office of Road Inquiry in 1893.\textsuperscript{32} A largely symbolic and educational office, the Office of Road inquiry did not dispense any financial aid to build roads. With a budget of only $10,000 per year, the director of the ORI, Martin Dodge, stated “there could be no surer way of postponing the building of good roads than by making them dependent on federal aid.”\textsuperscript{33} Mr. Dodge’s statement reflects the opinion of many Americans disillusioned by the crawling bureaucracy of the federal government.

In Warren County, near Vicksburg, Mississippi, the NLGR gathered prominent citizens from across the area to survey a new one-mile stretch of “first-class hard road,” paved in only three days.\textsuperscript{34} In nearby Clarksdale, Mississippi, Governor Andrew Longino spoke in support of better roads, which he believed to be “more important than

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{30} Ibid, 54.
\textsuperscript{32} Preston, \textit{Dirt Roads to Dixie}, 12
\textsuperscript{33} U.S. Department of Transportation, \textit{America’s Highways}, 47.
\textsuperscript{34} League of American Wheelmen, \textit{Good Roads Magazine}, Vol. 2, No. 2 (July 1901), 1.
\end{flushleft}
Longino, a Democrat, was the first elected governor of Mississippi since the Civil War’s end. He pursued a progressive agenda because he viewed new technologies such as automobiles as promising for Mississippi, particularly white Mississippians. The stretch of newly paved road in Warren County was a part of Longino’s early vision of a “Century of Progress.”

In neighboring Louisiana, Governor William Heard, also a Democrat, gave a speech to a crowd of good roads advocates in the same year that Longino gave his speech. In 1901, the crowd gathered for the departure of the “Good Roads Train,” which the National Good Roads Association organized to raise support for better roads. The train utilized the Illinois Central Line, beginning in New Orleans, where Louisiana Heard spoke on the importance of better roads in the South. Heard, like Longino, believed that better roads would make life easier in the countryside. Heard believed that with better roads, the rural population would stop its migration to cities in other states, such as Memphis and Chicago. Heard also thought that better roads would lead to improved conditions for rural people. While he thought railroads would remain an important mode of transportation, he believed the recent invention of “horseless vehicles” would also usher in an “ideal Southland” of prosperous and efficient rural communities.


37 Ibid

38 League of American Wheelmen, Good Roads Magazine, Vol. 2, No. 1 (June 1901), 1

39 Ibid, 2.
nothing resembling an “autopia” of cheap cars and good paved roads would emerge immediately. But for Heard, the horseless vehicle provided a starting point.\textsuperscript{40}

The first popular “modern” gasoline-powered automobile was the 1901 Mercedes. The Mercedes gave motorists the ability to move faster than trains, but at a price that seemed out of reach for the vast majority of Americans. No sharecropper drove a Mercedes in 1901; only the elite could afford such an expensive vehicle.\textsuperscript{41} Automobiles wore down dirt or macadam roads faster than wagons did, although the wear was not serious until heavy trucks equipped with solid rubber tires became more common.\textsuperscript{42} Even though the Mercedes became a car for the elite, it also became the first of a class of “highway locomotive” capable of traveling distances formerly reserved for trains.\textsuperscript{43}

In 1909, Ford Motor Company produced the Model T, an inexpensive and tough vehicle. Ford’s target market for the Model T included the farming and rural people of America, but it proved popular among the urban and wealthy as well. Dubbed “the family car at an honest price” the Model T appealed to all economic classes.\textsuperscript{44} The tough Model T could take urbanites out of the cities and into the country, as well as help rural farmers with farm activities such as plowing, grinding, sawing, and “even running washing

\begin{footnotes}
\item[40]Christopher W. Wells, “The Road to the Model T: Culture, Road Conditions, and Innovation at the Dawn of the Automobile Age,” \textit{Technology and Culture}, Vol. 48, No. 3 (July 2007), 502.
\item[41]Hugill, “Good Roads and the Automobile in the United States,” 330.
\item[42]U.S. Department of Transportation, \textit{America’s Highways}, 93.
\item[43]Wells, “The Road to the Model T,” 509.
\item[44]Ibid, 521.
\end{footnotes}
machines.” The Model T increased in popularity throughout the 1910s and 1920s as its price incrementally dropped. By 1923, the Model T accounted for 55 percent of all automobile production in the United States. As a result, the price of the Model T dropped to a mere $298, or $4376.02 in 2019 dollars. The Model T was still not affordable for the poor, but it was practical for many Americans.

Yet, in the 1910s and 1920s, bad roads still crippled the mobility of the select few who did own cars. In 1916, just as the federal government first became involved in road building, the state of Mississippi, where much of the southern portion of Route 61 runs, had only 130 miles of good roads. Residents of Mississippi, unfazed by their state’s lack of good roads, invested in automobiles. In 1915, a mere 9,669 automobiles were registered in Mississippi; by 1920, over 68,000 automobiles were registered. Enthusiasm for automobiles increased pressure on state and federal governments to improve road conditions.

In the years before the federal government started dispensing aid for road building and maintenance, boosters raised road-building money from private citizens and organizations. Privately-funded highways did not conform to any regulated naming standards, and often carried unique names, such as the transcontinental “Lincoln Highway” or the “Dixie Highway.” Highway travel was confusing because of unreliable

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid, 497.


naming standards. Still, boosters who believed highways would lead to increased tourism and travel between cities, states, and regions financed and raised support. Much of what would become Highway 61 began as named private highways, such as the Jefferson Davis Highway.\textsuperscript{49} Some of what became Highway 61 in Mississippi originated as the historic Natchez Trace, which began over a century before as a trail for slave traders looking to return north after floating south down the Mississippi River. Once improved and paved in sections, the Natchez Trace occasionally merged with Route 61 in Mississippi.\textsuperscript{50}

The proliferation of the automobile and the eventual improvement of long distance highways led to the unity of North and South.\textsuperscript{51} But, for such a trek to be made reliably, the federal government had to intervene. Good roads advocates such as the Wheelmen, as well as lobbyists from the burgeoning automobile industry, had pestered Congress for years. Congress, controlled in both chambers by Republicans since 1889, supported the railroad industry and was skeptical of federal road building.\textsuperscript{52} Congress struck down all substantial road aid bills prior to 1916.\textsuperscript{53} But, in 1916, Democrat-controlled Congress passed the first Federal Aid Road Act, which President Woodrow

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid, 24.
\textsuperscript{51} Preston, \textit{Dirt Roads to Dixie}, 40-41.
\textsuperscript{52} United States Senate, “Party Division,” accessed March 7, 2019, \url{https://www.senate.gov/pagelayout/history/one_item_and_teasers/partydiv.htm} United States House of Representatives, “Party Divisions of the House of Representatives, 1789 to Present,” accessed March 7, 2019, \url{https://history.house.gov/Institution/Party-Divisions/Party-Divisions/}
\textsuperscript{53} Ingram, \textit{Dixie Highway}, 86.
Wilson signed into law.\textsuperscript{54} The 1916 bill succeeded for two main reasons: the increasing public demand for better roads, and the fact that Congressmen found a middle ground between radical and conservative ideas of federal road aid. The Federal Aid Road Act combined a bill from House Congressman Dorsey Shackleford, a Democrat, and a bill from Senator John Hollis Bankhead, also a Democrat. The Shackleford bill granted modest federal aid to rural counties, while the Bankhead bill represented the interests of the highway lobby that wanted a federal highway system.\textsuperscript{55} The end result, sometimes called the Bankhead-Shackleford Bill, allocated $75 million in aid over five years to improve rural post roads.\textsuperscript{56}

The Bankhead-Shackleford Bill did not immediately construct paved highways for interstate mobility. Some residents and politicians in the South were suspicious of any federal aid. Officials in Mississippi worried that federal aid dispensed to the Jackson Highway would mean the Government would “take the road over as a national highway.”\textsuperscript{57} Instead, the bill struck a middle ground between the concerns of conservative politicians and angry farmers. Only rural post roads would receive funding from the bill, and the bill did not stipulate that new roads must be linked to one another. But most importantly, every state that wanted federal funding would need to create a state highway department.\textsuperscript{58}

\textsuperscript{54} Ibid, 88.

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid, 86-87.

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid, 88-89.

The Federal Aid Road Act could not help the South’s roads as much as its residents wanted. Most impoverished southern states could not afford to match federal funds to build new roads or to maintain primitive dirt roads. The entry of the United States into World War I became another hindrance to better roads. The war reduced the number of men available to work on roads. Moreover, trucks hauling war materials, men, and heavy machines further damaged roads around the country. By the time the war ended, a mere seventeen miles of new road had been built. A clear vision of an interstate highway continued to elude the U.S. even after an extension of the 1916 bill was approved in 1921.

Throughout World War I, good roads organizations “recast interstate highways as military necessities” in an attempt to secure more federal road funding. Enthusiasm for a national highways system continued after the war. In 1918, the Office of Road Inquiry was renamed the Bureau of Public Roads (BPI). The BPI had authority to build roads in national parks and help states with road construction. Along with the American Association of State Highway Officials (AASHO), which arose as a nongovernmental advisory committee, the BPI drafted legislation that would become the Federal Highway

58 Ingram, *Dixie Highway*, 89.

59 Ibid, 92.


61 Ingram, *Dixie Highway*, 92

Act of 1921. The act increased federal roads funding and presented a new vision of transportation in the United States that included linking interstate highways.63

The Federal Highway Act of 1921 set the stage for the creation of Highway 61. The bill included a stipulation that three sevenths of federal aid money must go to the creation of interstate highways.64 The three-sevenths stipulation was included to appease politicians who wanted rural roads to continue to receive the majority of aid, while still allocating a substantial minority of aid to interstate highways. Without increased federal funding, and the agreement that America’s highways should form a coherent interstate system of transportation, Route 61 would not have existed.

Highway mileage increased significantly after WWI and the Federal Highway Act of 1921, but the state of road building remained problematic. The competition between private investors led to low quality highways that often sprawled inefficiently between cities of importance to investors and the communities they represented. Many roads existed only to “provide salaries for their organizers.”65 Such an inefficient system would dissuade some would-be automobile travelers from using confusing and unnecessarily long routes. In 1924, the Joint Board on Interstate Highways formally released a plan to designate a numbered system of interstate highways.66 The Joint Board selected routes that would connect existing auto trails in the shortest distance manageable, with

63 Ibid.
64 Weingroff, “From Names to Numbers.”
66 Ibid, 110.
considerable input from state officials. The numbered system that the Joint Board finally approved in 1926 marks the official birth of U.S. Route 61.
Chapter 2:

From Convict Leasing to Chain Gangs

Route 61 became a sum of the unique histories of its parts. An amalgamation of existing roads prefaces Route 61 and then created a highway that would connect the North and South, eventually contributing to the physical and cultural diaspora of southern migrants. Most significant to this diaspora was the southern half of the highway, which connected Memphis to the Mississippi Delta and New Orleans. In the era in which most of the roads that became Route 61 emerged, the Jim Crow system of discrimination and white supremacy gripped the South. The Jim Crow system assisted the Good Roads Movement in the South via African American convict labor.

Before the Civil War, most prisoners in the South were white. Most prisoners were white because slave masters did not want to jail their own slaves.\(^67\) When the Civil War ended in 1865, the Mississippi State Legislature penned the first “Black Codes,” which white supremacists “vigorously” implemented in Mississippi. Other states copied Mississippi’s code, sometimes word for word, in South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas. Black Codes aimed to “control the labor supply” by jailing African Americans for being unemployed and for minor offences such as insulting

\(^{67}\) Ingram, *Dixie Highway*, 132.
gestures and mischief.\textsuperscript{68} The Black Codes restricted the freedoms of African Americans while helping a few white men build a fortune via a scheme known as convict leasing.

As imprisonment of African Americans increased after the Civil War, the prison system could not keep up. The Civil War destroyed many southern prisons, including the Jackson penitentiary, which burned down in 1863.\textsuperscript{69} Prisons soon overflowed with convicts and the southern states, increasingly controlled by whites, looked for a solution. In 1868, businessman Edmund Richardson struck a deal with federal authorities in Mississippi. Originally from North Carolina, Richardson turned a $2,800 inheritance into a cotton empire. A millionaire on the eve of the Civil War, Richardson lost nearly everything by 1865 except for five hundred bales of cotton.\textsuperscript{70} Richardson used his cotton as capital and moved his business to Mississippi. The deal he made with Mississippi authorities guaranteed him cheap labor to work his Yazoo farms. Felons on loan from the state worked for free on Richardson’s cotton plantations. The deal entitled him to $18,000 per year from the state to feed and house the prisoners. Richardson used this deal to become one of the richest men in the South. He diversified his holdings, which soon included railroads, banks, textiles, and steamboats. Based on Richardson’s model, convict leasing became a common method to ease the burden of overpopulated prisons across the South.

Only African American prisoners were sent to work on Richardson’s farms. In 1871, 152 African American prisoners were sent to work on Mississippi Delta farms,


\textsuperscript{69} Ibid, 35.

\textsuperscript{70} Ibid
while the other 61 white prisoners remained at a state penitentiary in Jackson. Leased convicts endured savage conditions. Convicts were punished by whipping and beating. Dozens were shot between 1868 and 1871. David Oshinksy argued that conditions for leased convicts were “far worse than anything they had ever experienced as slaves.” The convict leasing system faced little criticism in southern newspapers in its early years. Mississippi Governor James Lusk Alcorn condemned convict leasing in 1870 after he witnessed the “shocking spectacle” of a convict group followed closely by men with guns. Although Alcorn condemned convict leasing, the state had no other feasible alternatives. Only a few months after seeing the convict group, Alcorn extended Richardson’s contract for two more years.

The Mississippi State Legislature soon passed laws that expanded the convict leasing system. In 1876, Mississippi passed the “Pig Law” which imposed longer sentences for theft. Any theft of a farm animal or property worth ten dollars or more constituted “grand larceny,” punishable by up to five years in prison. The Pig Law caused convict numbers to increase. In 1874, Mississippi had 272 state prisoners. By 1877, their number had increased to 1,072. A second 1876 law, the Leasing Act, permitted county jails, which held prisoners serving a sentence of less than a year, to

71 Oshinsky, *Worse Than Slavery*, 36.
72 Ibid, 35.
73 Ibid, 37.
74 Ibid, 40.
lease out their convicts.\textsuperscript{76} County prisoners were sent to work on chain gangs and local plantations. The Leasing Act had a significant effect on the good roads movement in Mississippi. Though convict leasing officially ended in 1890, county jails were still able to send prisoners to work on roads and highways. Other states, most prominently Georgia, would eventually use state prisoners on their chain gangs while Mississippi used county inmates serving shorter sentences. The result was that even convicts serving time for minor crimes, such as gambling and petty theft, did hard labor on Mississippi’s roads. Prisoners such as Walter Blake, an African American boy who owed the county $182 for illegal gambling, was typical, sentenced to hard labor on chain gang for an entire year to pay off his debt.\textsuperscript{77}

The Pig Law and the Leasing Act expanded the convict leasing system, but also led to its demise. Conditions for leased convicts deteriorated after 1876. Jones S. Hamilton won the rights to Mississippi’s exclusive state convict leasing contract after Richardson. Unlike Edmund Richardson, who used convict labor on his own farms, Hamilton subleased convicts out for a fixed rate per person.\textsuperscript{78} In 1884, prisoners sent from plantations in the Delta were not allowed to march through Vicksburg because of their “horrifying” condition. Soon thereafter, the Mississippi House of Representatives investigated the incident and presented a report to the legislature.\textsuperscript{79}

\textsuperscript{76} Oshinsky, \textit{Worse Than Slavery}, 41.

\textsuperscript{77} Ibid, 42.

\textsuperscript{78} Ibid, 43-44.

\textsuperscript{79} Mancini, \textit{One Dies, Get Another}, 138.
Public sentiment turned against the convict leasing system by the late 1880s. Investigations into the conditions faced by leased convicts disturbed both whites and blacks. Convict labor also started to compete with contract labor. The outspoken editor of the *Clinton Sword and Shield*, Roderick Gambrell, criticized Hamilton for the treatment of his convicts. Hamilton challenged Gambrell to a duel on Capitol Street in Jackson, though dueling had been illegal since 1820. Hamilton killed Gambrell, but was severely wounded. In 1887, a jury acquitted Hamilton of murder.\(^\text{80}\) A year later, John Martin, an outspoken newspaper editor critical of convict leasing, was shot and killed by Hamilton’s friend.\(^\text{81}\)

Class anger contributed most to the end of convict leasing in Mississippi. At the 1890 constitutional convention, delegates clamored for the end of convict leasing because small farmers felt that plantations worked by convicts for free had an unfair advantage. Displaced low wage laborers convinced representatives to fight for lost jobs. On September 5, 1890, the convention voted to abolish convict leasing.\(^\text{82}\) Mississippi was the first southern state to end convict leasing, but an overcrowded penal system remained. Mississippi turned to convict labor on public projects to solve the problem.

A key role of convict leasing was, as Tammy Ingram wrote, the “strengthening of the walls of white supremacy,” but by the time convict leasing ended in Mississippi, the Jim Crow era was just beginning. Convict road-building took the place of convict leasing, and it also served as a critical part of what Tammy Ingram terms “a reform agenda based

\(^{80}\) Oshinsky, *Worse Than Slavery*, 49-50.

\(^{81}\) Ibid, 50.

\(^{82}\) Ibid, 52.
on racial control. The reform agenda, later known as the Jim Crow system, created a society of racial separation in the South.

To understand the significance of convict labor on roads it is crucial to understand its role in the South’s progressive movement. Jim Crow laws emerged in the 1880s, and were distinct from Black Codes because they mandated the separation of races regarding public works and amenities. Tennessee enacted the first Jim Crow law in 1881. The law required railroad companies to provide separate cars or compartments to African-American passengers, but most importantly, it set a precedent for later segregationist laws. Mississippi passed a similar law in 1888 requiring black and white passengers to ride in different cars. Railroad companies resisted the law because it required them to provide additional rail cars. In 1890, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the Mississippi law. Louisiana followed Mississippi and Tennessee’s example in 1890 when it passed a railcar segregation law of its own. Homer Adolph Plessy, who refused to ride in a “Jim Crow Car”, challenged the Louisiana law in 1892. Four years later, in a landmark decision, the Supreme Court ruled against Plessy. The Court cited the “separate but equal” rule as the “justification for segregation.” The Plessy decision deemed segregation legal.

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83 Ingram, *Dixie Highway*, 136.


85 Ibid, 244.

86 Ibid, 245.

C. Vann Woodward stated that the first step to accomplishing white supremacy in the South was “the total disenfranchisement of the Negro.” 88 Mississippi led the way in drafting legislation that limited the rights of African Americans. Mississippi enacted poll taxes and literacy tests that indirectly limited the rights of African Americans to vote. Mississippi also used the “understanding clause,” where an illiterate individual could vote only if they were arbitrarily judged to understand a part of the state Constitution read to them. The rest of the southern states quickly followed Mississippi by implementing similar voter suppression schemes. Louisiana was the first to use the “grandfather clause” to directly prevent African Americans from voting because their grandfathers could not vote. 89 Voter suppression efforts were effective in Louisiana, which had 130,334 registered African American voters in 1896, and only 1,342 in 1904. 90

Disenfranchised African Americans had little recourse against emerging laws that discriminated against them. Through voter suppression, “lily-white” state and county governments enforced a system of white supremacist racial order. 91 Lily-white governments churned out laws segregating African Americans from whites, and targeted African American freedom. A key facet of the disenfranchisement that Woodward wrote about was the imprisonment of African Americans for minor crimes. These laws were a part of what some white southerners called progressive reform. Imprisonment for minor

88 Ibid, 66.

89 Ibid, 67.

90 Ibid, 68.

crimes fueled the convict labor system. Mississippi’s Leasing Act gave counties the ability to either lease out convicts to local plantations, or use them for public works. While convict leasing ended in 1890 in Mississippi, counties retained the right to use prisoners serving less than a year to work on local roads. Mississippi counties used convicts for roadwork until the 1950s. Oddly and tragically, the move to chain gangs was viewed as a progressive “reform” in the South. Chain gangs provided both an affordable way to build and maintain roads that residents clamored for, while still upholding the racial ideology of the Jim Crow era by using forced black labor. In the South, chain gangs became widespread by 1890, just as the good roads movement was gaining momentum.92

Leaders of the good roads movement endorsed convict labor on roads. A recurring segment in Good Roads magazine extolled the virtues of convict road labor. An article in Good Roads praised the efficiency of convict road labor in North Carolina, and even contended that the health of prisoners working on roads had improved.93 By 1900, good roads enthusiasts accepted convict labor in both the North and South. In North Carolina, good roads advocate and state geologist, Joseph Holmes, championed convict road labor as the answer for improvement of public roads, and as “the beginning and the basis of modern road building in the southern states.”94 Holmes wrote that Mississippi rightly adopted convict road labor by 1901.95 Roy Stone, the first chairman of the Office


94 “Good Roads and Chain Gangs in the Progressive South,” 88.
of Road Inquiry, the precursor to the Bureau of Public Roads, “bragged to the secretary of agriculture” about the success of chain gangs in the South and West.\textsuperscript{96}

Critics pointed to chain gangs as inhumane and inefficient. Journalists exposed the brutal treatment of convicts during the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s. The most influential first-hand account of life on chain gangs was Robert Burns’ memoir \textit{I Am a Fugitive from a Georgia Chain Gang!} In the book, Burns describes in horrific detail the whippings of his fellow convicts with a heavy leather strap.\textsuperscript{97} Shackles were permanently attached to convicts, which led to a painful condition known as “shackle poison.”\textsuperscript{98} Convicts worked tirelessly for the state, without adequate food or shelter. Just as in convict leasing, the resemblance to slavery was pronounced, but Burns’s experience on his chain gang was indicative of how chain gangs across the South operated. Indeed, in 1912, The National Committee on Prison Labor called chain gangs “the last surviving vestige of the slave system.”\textsuperscript{99}

Convict roadwork reached its height during the 1920s, as federal funds for roads first became available. Federal money helped pay for materials and expert road workers, but southern states continued to utilize cheap convict labor to do the brunt of the work. Ingram contends that convicts did most of the work on southern roads between 1900 and

\textsuperscript{95} J. A. Holmes, “Road Building With Convict Labor in the Southern States,” \textit{Yearbook of the Department of Agriculture} (1901), 320.

\textsuperscript{96} Ingram, \textit{Dixie Highway}, 134.

\textsuperscript{97} Robert E. Burns and Matthew J. Mancini, \textit{I Am a Fugitive From a Georgia Chain Gang!} University of Georgia Press (1997), 54.

\textsuperscript{98} Ibid, 49.

1930. By 1930, Mississippi was well on its way to finishing its portion of the 1926 national highway designation, including Route 61. On June 30, 1930, a total of 1,820 miles of the 3,604 miles of highway designated by the Joint Board in 1926 had been improved via federal aid and convict labor. “Improved” highways were no longer the treacherous paths of previous decades, but instead they were made drivable for a growing number of automobile travelers.

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100 Ingram, Dixie Highway, 131.

Chapter 3:

Traveling the Highway: The Southern Diaspora

Just as the federal government took action to build interstate highways, and southern states began using convict labor to build highways, millions of southerners began to migrate north and west. They migrated for a bevy of economic reasons, including turmoil within the cotton industry and economic opportunity in the North spurred by WWI. Some southern African-Americans decided to leave the South as the Jim Crow system solidified in the 1920s, and as racial violence increased. In what James Gregory called “the most momentous internal population movement of the twentieth century,”102 white and black southerners piled into trains, automobiles, and busses, hungry to begin a new life with better economic opportunities, and for some, an escape from discrimination. Highway 61 served as a route for migrants from the Mississippi Delta and below to journey north to Memphis, St. Louis, and Chicago.

Most historians cite 1914 as the beginning of the “Great Migration.” The stream of migrants leaving the South began accelerating in 1914, when the First World War erupted in Europe and new immigrant labor dwindled. Southerners migrated at smaller rates for decades before 1914 because of economic opportunities in industrialized cities, as the U.S. touted the biggest industrial economy in the world by 1900.103 The start of

102 Gregory, The Southern Diaspora, xii.

103 Ibid, 22.
WWI led to two major factors that influenced the U.S. economy and labor market: first, the war created over three million manufacturing jobs.\textsuperscript{104} Second, immigration plummeted during WWI. Immigrants supplied the U.S with low-cost labor for most of its history. In the years prior to WWI, the U.S. witnesses over a million immigrants annually, but that number dwindled to 110,000 by 1918.\textsuperscript{105} With millions of new, high-paying jobs in America’s manufacturing cities, primarily in the north Midwest and Northeast, companies needed to attract laborers. The most accessible labor pool became white and black southerners. The South was not nearly as industrialized as the Midwest and North by World War One; most southerners were agricultural workers.

Disruption within the southern cotton industry contributed to unease among the southern labor population. A small insect called the boll weevil swarmed the southern countryside; decimating cotton crop yields for cotton-producing states. Mississippi experienced the greatest crop reduction in its history in 1913, when the weevil reduced cotton yields by 33 percent.\textsuperscript{106} The boll weevil hit Mississippi and Louisiana hardest between 1910 and 1919. Mississippi lost the largest percentage of black residents to out-migration during the same time span, as 153 per every thousand blacks migrated.\textsuperscript{107} While the boll weevil did not solely cause blacks to leave Mississippi, it did impact the economic welfare of farmers dependent on cotton. Boll weevil destruction acted as one of several “push” mechanisms for migration. Push mechanisms such as the weevil, and

\textsuperscript{104} Ibid, 24.

\textsuperscript{105} Ibid.


\textsuperscript{107} Ibid, 339.
general economic struggle among poor black and white southerners, combined with the “pull” factors created in industrial centers by the war.\textsuperscript{108} The economic opportunity in rising industrial centers varied between migrants, with the largest divide between white and black migrants.

Many of the best paying white collar and skilled labor jobs went to white migrants, who outnumbered black migrants in each decade of the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{109} By 1920, only 22 percent of white southern-born males who moved north held unskilled jobs, while the rest held either white collar or skilled labor positions.\textsuperscript{110} In order to attract unskilled laborers, northern companies hired labor agents to recruit southern African Americans. The majority of African Americans who migrated were from rural areas. They mostly moved to Midwestern and southern cities. The net out-migration from the rural South totaled 1,013,000 between 1900 and 1920.\textsuperscript{111} Labor agents visited rural areas across the South and informed residents about the jobs up north and in southern cities. Some agents convinced potential laborers to sign agreements with pay under “minimum levels.”\textsuperscript{112} Labor agents largely recruited literate “able-bodied men.” As a result, a sixth of all literate African American men living in the South moved north by 1920.\textsuperscript{113}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{108} Ibid, 348.
  \item \textsuperscript{109} Gregory, \textit{The Southern Diaspora}, 14-15.
  \item \textsuperscript{110} Ibid, 86.
  \item \textsuperscript{111} Carole Marks, “Black Workers and the Great Migration North,” Clark Atlanta University, \textit{Phylon}, Vol. 46, No. 2 (2nd Qtr., 1985) 150.
  \item \textsuperscript{113} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
Southern towns punished labor agents with arrests and fines as governments passed a wave of “anti-enticement” laws intended to limit the drain of African Americans laborers leaving the rural South. Companies relied on labor agents for the first few years of the diaspora, after which other means of communication worked more effectively to pull African Americans north.

Family and friends served as an essential means of communication between migrants and African Americans still living in the South. Often, one family member moved north and secured a job, whereby that person’s company encouraged the rest of their family to move north as well. Companies sometimes loaned money to employees so that they could move the rest of their families north. Although in many cases, letters contained all the encouragement potential migrants needed to start their journey. Letters to family and friends from established migrants sometimes contained money, a physical indicator of the opportunity brought by migration. One migrant who wrote to a friend in Hattiesburg, Mississippi was credited to have “enticed over 200 people to leave the South.”

In addition to letters, black southerners found information on opportunity in the North through print media. An African American newspaper, the Chicago Defender, encouraged southern blacks to head north. A 1916 article in the Chicago Defender entitled, “Farewell, Dixie Land,” encouraged “Every black man for the sake of his wife

114 Gregory, The Southern Diaspora, 46.
116 Ibid, 77.
117 Ibid.
and daughters,” to move north even at a financial loss.\textsuperscript{118} The \textit{Defender} sold 150,000 copies in 1918, and an estimated ten people read each copy, making its readership as high as a million and half people. The \textit{Defender} became a helpful outlet for migrants by posting jobs and providing advice for transplants to the North. After restricting labor agent access to African American laborers, some white southerners tried to restrict access to the \textit{Defender}. In Meridian, Mississippi, for instance, the chief of police ordered the \textit{Defender} “confiscated from dealers.”\textsuperscript{119} Southern towns banned other publications, such as the \textit{Crisis}, a NAACP publication. In Franklin, Mississippi, a sentenced a black minister to “five months on the county farm and a four hundred dollar fine,” for selling issues of the \textit{Crisis}.\textsuperscript{120}

Many black southerners migrated north to escape the kind of treatment that the Franklin minister endured. They hoped to escape the injustices of the Jim Crow South. The threat of arbitrary arrest and subsequent assignment to a prison farm or brutal treatment on a county chain gang lingered in the consciousness of African-Americans. Historians have attempted to calculate the factor that social conditions played as a push factor for potential migrants. The first decades of the Great Migration, between the 1910s and 1930s, were a time of particular danger for African Americans. By 1920, the Jim


\textsuperscript{120} Ibid
Crow system was firmly in place, and blacks had virtually no voting rights and were assigned a “subordinate status” by law.\textsuperscript{121}

Lynching was the most glaring danger for southern African Americans. Extralegal violence has long been considered a major reason that millions of African Americans left the South. Steward E. Tolnay and E.M. Beck analyzed the history of lynching against African Americans in the South in their book, \textit{A Festival of Violence: An Analysis of Southern Lynching, 1882-1930}. They purport that most lynching against blacks were the result of an accusation of a felony such as murder, theft, or rape.\textsuperscript{122} Although most lynchings happened as a response to a major accusation, the most terrifying were in response to minor offences.

While most blacks did not need to worry about being accused of murder, they did worry about being lynched for something trivial. For instance, on Christmas Day 1923, a group of white men in Elliot Station, Mississippi, killed African American preacher, William Hardeman, because of “sarcastic remarks” about a local white woman.\textsuperscript{123} In the same year in Mississippi, a gang of white men invaded a black youth’s home because his inability to pay a ten-cent interest on a fifty-cent loan from a white man. The youth and his father fled, but the white men shot and killed the sister who remained at the house.\textsuperscript{124} Black soldiers returning from service in WWI were targeted with violence. An African


\textsuperscript{123} Ibid, 21.

\textsuperscript{124} Ibid.
American named Wilbur Little returned to Georgia from the war, only to be threatened by a group of white men who ordered him not to wear his uniform. Days later, Little was found beaten to death outside of town.\textsuperscript{125} In certain areas around the South, blacks witnessed brutality firsthand, as lynching was sometimes a public spectacle. Tolnay and Beck concluded that in areas with “high levels of lethal violence” African Americans migrated in greater numbers than other areas.\textsuperscript{126} Living in an environment where a slight remark or gesture could spell death, visions of a northern Promised Land shined brightly.

While most white migrants needed only to worry about the cost of a train ticket in order to leave the South, black migrants had a more difficult time leaving. Whites worried that they would lose their source of cheap labor if African Americans moved to cities in the North and South, so in order to stop the flow of migrants leaving by train, some southern towns restricted access to trains. While some landlords and employers to African Americans refused to pay settlements in full or on time so that blacks could not buy train tickets, others took more direct measure. In Macon, Georgia, police evicted “several hundred Chicago-bound blacks” from a train station.\textsuperscript{127} In Summit, Mississippi, authorities closed the entire train station and let trains pass without picking up any passengers.\textsuperscript{128} Trains did not offer the level of personal freedom to mobility that automobiles did, but most poor African American could not afford a car, and the bus


\textsuperscript{126} Steward E. Tolnay and E. M. Beck, \textit{Black Exodus: The Great Migration from the American South}, “Rethinking the Role of Racial Violence in the Great Migration,” 36.

\textsuperscript{127} Harrison and Grossman, \textit{Black Exodus}, “Black Labor is the Best Labor,” 57.

\textsuperscript{128} Ibid.
system was still years away from eclipsing the popularity and affordability of passenger trains.

African Americans who did migrate north were not always safe from racial violence. Housing in Chicago was limited before WWI. Between 1910 and 1930, Chicago’s black population rose from 44,000 to 234,000, with nearly all African-Americans confined to thirty-five city blocks known as the “black belt,” which expanded throughout the 1920s, much to the ire of nearby white residents.129 In the same period of time, fifty-eight bombings targeted African Americans living in the Black Belt. In July of 1919, a black boy swimming near a Lake Michigan beach was killed, supposedly for swimming over an “imaginary segregation line.”130 White children on the shore hurled rocks at him, causing the boy to drown. When police who witnessed the drowning refused to make any arrests, fighting and riots spread on the outskirts of the Black Belt. Twenty African Americans and fourteen white men died, while several black houses burned down.131

Despite incidents such as Chicago race riots, whites and African Americans continued to pour into northern cities throughout the 1920s. By the end of the twentieth century, more blacks lived in Chicago than in the state Mississippi.132 James Gregory contended that America’s great internal migration did not start reversing until the 1970s, when the South underwent its own economic revolution and more people began moving

129 Gregory, The Southern Diaspora, 120.


131 Ibid.

in rather than out.\textsuperscript{133} The tide of migration varied between its initial years and the 1970s. Migration slowed somewhat during the Great Depression of the 1930s. Word of urban unemployment kept many rural southerners from moving to cities, and some urbanites even moved back to rural areas.\textsuperscript{134} But the beginning of World War II launched an even greater exodus of people from the rural South into southern, northern, and increasingly, western cities. Gregory marks WWII as the initiator of the “greatest reorganization of Americans in the nation’s history.”\textsuperscript{135} WWII also marks what many historians refer to as the second phase of the Great Migration.

During the second phase, rural agricultural workers migrated in the highest percentages. In 1940, there were still fourteen million agricultural workers in the South, but by 1970, only three million remained.\textsuperscript{136} The abandonment of farm life stems from a labor transition in the cotton industry. Most plantations after the Civil War utilized the sharecropping system, where entire families farmed a certain tract of land. Sharecroppers were usually poor, but sharecropping families still had stable work from year to year. By the 1950s, nearly all plantations moved to a “centralized farm management” system.\textsuperscript{137} The centralized system excluded sharecroppers in favor of temporary or seasonal workers. Under the new system, employment for agricultural workers became an unstable, and increasingly infeasible way to support a family.

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\textsuperscript{133} Gregory, \textit{The Southern Diaspora}, 40.
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\textsuperscript{134} Ibid, 28-29.
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\textsuperscript{135} Ibid, 32.
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\textsuperscript{136} Ibid.
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\textsuperscript{137} Ibid, 33.
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Those who migrated during the second phase were more likely to use different transportation than those of the first phase. Whereas most migrants during the first phase of the Great Migration used trains, migrants increasingly used automobiles and buses during the second phase. Automobile production steadily increased throughout the 1920s and 1930s. By 1947, there was one registered automobile per every 4.7 people in the United States.\textsuperscript{138} Due to advances in automobile durability and technology, as well as the expansion and improvement of the national highway system, cars became a popular interstate travel option. For those who did not own a car, the bus system provided a cheap means of transportation. In 1928, the bus fare between St. Louis and Chicago was $7 while rail fare was $10.43.\textsuperscript{139} Bus transportation became generally cheaper than any other type of travel in the 1930s, and in 1935, bus passengers outnumbered rail travelers for the first time.\textsuperscript{140}

Gregory concluded that the proliferation of cars, buses, and moving vans made relocating “easier than ever before,” at a time when economic opportunity abounded.\textsuperscript{141} The number of second phase migrants far outnumbered the first phase: 4.3 million southerners migrated in the 1940s, compared to two million in the 1920s.\textsuperscript{142}

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\item \textsuperscript{138} Automobile Manufacturers Association, \textit{Automobile Facts and Figures}, 28\textsuperscript{th} edition (1948), 20.
\item \textsuperscript{139} Board of Investigation and Research, “The National Traffic Pattern,” United States Government Printing Office (September 20, 1944), 112.
\item \textsuperscript{140} The Museum of Modern Art, \textit{One Way Ticket: Jacob Lawrence’s Migration Series}, Accessed February 18, 2019: https://www.moma.org/interactives/exhibitions/2015/onewayticket/static/visualizing-the-great-migration/
\item \textsuperscript{141} Gregory, \textit{The Southern Diaspora}, 32.
\end{itemize}
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once from an isolated, rural region, spread out across the United States and changed the
social and cultural landscape of the nation. The affordability of transportation especially
benefitted low-income migrants, and allowed those who had never before left the South
to relocate elsewhere. Southern musicians, for example, could more easily afford a trip to
recording studios in Chicago or Memphis. And it was musicians living along Highway 61
who most significantly contributed to what Gregory called “the southernization of
American popular music.”

142 Ibid, 14.
Chapter 4:
The Blues Highway

The Good Roads movement, forced convict labor, and the Great Migrations of the twentieth century laid the foundation for Highway 61’s significance. While the road building fervor of the 1920s changed the landscape of transportation in the United States, it also led to racially discriminatory “progressive” policies of the South. The social and racial factors that led to the widespread adoption of chain gangs also contributed to the emergence of the Jim Crow system. The discriminatory social environment of the Mississippi Delta contributed to the out-migration of African Americans along Highway 61’s route, inspiring the music that blues performers wrote.

Economic opportunity and social factors contributed to the exodus of black rural southerners, who migrated by the millions to cities in the North and South. The blues played an important role in the mythic significance of Highway 61. Many of the earliest blues musicians were from near Highway 61, as well as many influential musicians of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. For the most part, blues artists saw Highway 61 as the opportunity to escape the Mississippi Delta to pursue their music careers.

Historian Robert Palmer contended that the origins of the blues in America stem back from the first African slaves sent to America.143 Slaves experienced the musical traditions of many different African regions and communities as plantation owners.

bought slaves from different regions of Africa. As a result, a “hybridized musical language” emerged on plantation fields across the South. After emancipation, former slaves enjoyed freedom of mobility for the first time in America. While many freed slaves returned to the same plantation they worked on before the Civil War, some walked, rode in wagons, or hopped on trains to different areas. In the Reconstruction era, “plantation musicians” first exercised their new freedom to travel and play music as true professionals. Black musicians played on streets for tips or in social clubs, and influenced a younger generation of musicians to pursue their own talents.

The earliest black professional musicians in the South did not play blues songs, but instead played country music, ballads, and songs borrowed from the minstrel stage. Early traveling musicians developed the passionate “black performing style” that became a central characteristic of later blues artists. By 1900, blues became loosely known as a genre of music. It is unclear whether blues simply evolved from a combination of musical influences or if an artist could rightly claim to be the inventor of blues. Regardless, as blues became more popular, each blues performer espoused their own distinct musical style, and regions became known for their own brand of blues.

144 Ibid, 33.
145 Ibid, 40.
146 Ibid, 41.
147 Ibid.
148 Ibid, 42.
149 Ibid, 43.
The Mississippi Delta emerged as an influential regional sect of the burgeoning blues genre. Alan Lomax described the Delta as “the last American frontier,” known for its lawlessness, poverty, and harsh social conditions. The Delta’s cotton economy developed later than the rest of Mississippi. The Mississippi Delta was largely untouched by previous Native American activity, thickly forested and prone to floods. Around 1835, settlers started to clear the hardwood trees from the Delta’s fertile soil. Employment opportunities for laborers abounded after the Civil War. Freedmen moved to the Delta to fell trees, work on plantations, and farm their own land. To quell the threat of flood, levee commissions coordinated efforts to build levees. Building levees was brutal work; leased convicts did most of the labor. White supervisors used whips and clubs to drive convicts. Matthew J. Mancini describes Mississippi Delta levee camps as “the worst conditions on record anywhere in the history of convict leasing,” leading to a high convict mortality rate. The levee commissions finished the first stages of the enormous project by 1883. In levee camps, black laborers sang lonesome ballads known as levee hollers. Similar to the later sorrow-filled hollers of prisoners at Mississippi’s Parchman


153 Ibid, 214.

154 Mancini, *One Dies, Get Another*, 137.


156 Ibid, 233.
Prison farm, African-Americans sang levee hollers as a response to the conditions around them.

When Mississippi abolished convict leasing in 1890, the state still needed a large pool of laborers to construct and maintain levees. Levee work was seasonal, so many sharecroppers worked in between farming seasons for supplementary income. Some contractors paid black workers well, occasionally more than they would make in an entire cotton season. Other contractors swindled workers out of their pay. Black workers were subject to “debt peonage” while they worked and lived in levee camps. Contractors delayed pay periods for months so that workers had no choice but to accumulate debt purchasing food, clothes, drinking water, and rent through the commissary system. By the time workers received their pay, much of it went straight back to the contractors to pay for the exorbitantly priced supplies.

Delta bluesman Mississippi Fred McDowell described life in a levee camp in his song, “Levee Camp Blues,” released in 1968. In the song, McDowell sings “Well I worked on the levee, baby, ‘Till I went stone blind,” and also hints that the contractor took his friends pay, but “I declare, you can’t take mine.” Ethnomusicologist Alan Lomax recorded levee works songs as performed by ex-levee workers in the 1970s. One

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158 Ibid, 513.

159 Mississippi Fred McDowell, “Levee Camp Blues,” *Levee Camp Blues* LP.
sang, “Lord, in my trouble I stretch my hand to thee, Lord in my trouble no other help I know,” a common plea among levee workers.\textsuperscript{160}

Settlement of the Delta continued until the 1930s. Once laborers cleared the land of trees and built levees to prevent flooding, the Mississippi Delta boasted some of the most productive cotton lands in the United States. The Delta became known as “America’s super-plantation belt.”\textsuperscript{161} African Americans were largely excluded from rewards of the cotton boom, as they had been across the South since antebellum times. Many Delta blacks worked as sharecroppers and were regularly cheated out of their earnings by white landowners, kept in a constant cycle of debt.\textsuperscript{162} Robert Palmer contends that black African American music arose in response to “a brutal and desperate situation” that began with slavery, and continued with Jim Crow throughout much of the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{163}

Although convicts and later paid laborers toiled for years to build levees around the Mississippi River, floods still threatened the Delta. In 1927, one of the most destructive river floods in American history drowned a large portion of the Mississippi Delta. The Great Flood of 1927 displaced over 200,000 people, and 500 people died as a direct result of the flooding.\textsuperscript{164} In the wake of the flood, some whites forced blacks at gunpoint to pile sandbags to stave off the flood. In Greenville, Mississippi, William

\textsuperscript{160} Lomax, \textit{The Land Where the Blues Began}, 233.
\textsuperscript{161} Ferris, \textit{Blues From the Delta}, 3.
\textsuperscript{162} Ibid, 5.
\textsuperscript{163} Palmer, \textit{Deep Blues}, 39.
Percy, a local government official, granted whites “the authority to force African Americans into whatever type of work they desired after the flood.”

The Flood of 1927 inspired some black residents of the Mississippi Delta to create songs reflecting their experiences in a similar fashion that slavery, convict leasing, and levee camps inspired. “When the Levee Breaks,” by Memphis Minnie and Kansas Joe McCoy, described the pain and urge for mobility felt by people displaced by the flood. “When the Levee Breaks” was later adapted by the rock group Led Zeppelin, as well as Bob Dylan. Minnie was born in 1887 in Algiers, Louisiana, as Lizzie Douglas. Minnie and her family moved to Walls, Mississippi in 1904. Her trip to Walls followed exactly what one-day would become Highway 61. Not satisfied to work in cotton fields or as a domestic servant, Douglas learned to play the guitar. She was among the first travelling professional musicians who played the blues. Douglas played at parties, on Delta streets, and on Beale Street in Memphis. Douglas became professionally known as Memphis Minnie. After the flood in the late 1920s, Colombia Records sent talent scouts to Memphis who recorded Minnie with her music partner and husband, Joe McCoy. Minnie and Joe moved to Chicago in the early 1930s where they recorded more songs and played in blues clubs.

The extensive damage wrought by the Mississippi Flood of 1927 and the subsequent forced labor camps overseen by white elites convinced many black families to

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167 Ibid, 294.
leave the Delta for good.\textsuperscript{168} Flood victims were a part of a larger out-migration of southerners during the first phase of the Great Migration. Many migrants were musicians. Much like Memphis Minnie and Kansas Joe, southern musicians left the South for reasons common among other migrants: economic opportunity in the North, trouble within the southern cotton economy, natural disaster, and an escape from racial discrimination. Highway 61 would never have become a cultural symbol without these travelling musicians. Indeed, Highway 61’s legacy is both the physical product of racially exploitative “progressive” policy, and the mythical product of the musicians who traveled the route northward.

Convict labor on roads, one of the racially discriminatory “progressive” policies that white southerners endorsed, was often the subject of blues songs. Gertrude Pridgett, later known as Ma Rainey, was born in 1886 in Columbus, Georgia.\textsuperscript{169} Rainey toured with minstrel shows before signing with Paramount Records in 1923 as the first female professional blues musician.\textsuperscript{170} Paramount released Rainey’s “Chain Gang Blues,” in 1926.\textsuperscript{171} “Chain Gang Blues,” told the story of a woman sentenced to ninety days on the county chain gang for the crime of “stealing a woman’s man.”\textsuperscript{172} Rainey likely witnessed

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\textsuperscript{169} Malone and Wilson, New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture: Volume 12: Music, 333.

\textsuperscript{170} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{171} Max E. Vreede, Paramount: 12000/13000 Series, Storyville Publications, London (1971), series no. 12338

\textsuperscript{172} Ma Rainey, “Chain Gang Blues,” Ma Rainey, Roots Records (2011).
\end{flushleft}
chain gangs at work while living in Georgia. As Alex Lichtenstein detailed, the state of Georgia instituted chain gangs extensively in 1908 after the state abolished convict leasing. Georgia sent five thousand convicts began work on roads in 1908. Later in the 1950s, the Mississippi Delta soul artist, Sam Cooke, wrote a song after he witnessed a chain gang in action. Cooke wrote the hit song, “Chain Gang,” after he and his brother saw a chain gang while on tour. Cooke witnessed how hard the shackle-clad convicts worked, so he bought them some cartons of cigarettes to ease their pain.

As Sam Cooke’s forefathers knew, African Americans living in the Mississippi Delta in the 1920s had few options to achieve monetary stability. During the 1920s, recording companies began to target black audiences by selling so-called “race” records played by black musicians. Music thus became “one of the few avenues to success” for blacks. Talent scouts scoured the Mississippi Delta trying to find the best blues performers to send to record companies. One such freelance “talent broker,” Henry C. Speir, a Mississippi native, recorded several of the most legendary Delta bluesmen, including Son House, Robert Johnson, and Charley Patton. Speir charged “desperate” record companies a fee for finding bluesmen that became some of the best selling artists of the “race” records era.

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175 Ferris, Blues From the Delta, 9.

Charley Patton, known as the “father of the Delta blues,” was an early Delta musician who recorded albums in the North towards the end of his life.\textsuperscript{177} Born in Hinds County, Mississippi, Patton was raised in Sunflower County, Mississippi after his family moved to the Dockery Plantation. By the time Patton and his family moved, blacks outnumbered whites by more than three to one in Sunflower County.\textsuperscript{178} The white planter elite, anxious of the pronounced black majority, enforced a strict social system along racial lines. One of the most disturbing lynchings in Mississippi history occurred in 1904 in Sunflower County, when a white mob burned a black couple alive for allegedly killing a white man’s son.\textsuperscript{179} In Sunflower County, blacks had few options to escape the debt peonage cycle of sharecropping, and to avoid being exploited by white planters.

Although Patton worked in cotton fields starting at an early age, he disdained manual labor. Fellow blues performer Son House once said, “Charley hated work like God hates sin.”\textsuperscript{180} Instead, Patton turned to music to earn his living. Patton made his living by playing at plantation “juke joints,” black house parties, and white social functions.\textsuperscript{181} Patton auditioned with Speir in 1929. Speir soon thereafter sent Patton to Richmond, Indiana, to record with Paramount Records.\textsuperscript{182} The recording session produced several of Patton’s most famous songs, including “Down the Dirt Road Blues,”

\textsuperscript{177} Ibid, 12.
\textsuperscript{178} Ibid, 77.
\textsuperscript{179} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{180} Ibid, 82.
\textsuperscript{181} Ibid, 78.
\textsuperscript{182} Ibid, 135-136.
which earned him a thousand dollars.\textsuperscript{183} In 1930, a Paramount representative, Art Laibley, met Patton, Son House, bluesman Willie Brown, and piano player Louise Johnson in Lula, Mississippi on Highway 61. Laibley arranged a local man to drive the group up Highway 61 to Grafton, Wisconsin, for a recording session in Paramount’s new facility.\textsuperscript{184}

Historian Ben Wynne argues that Patton’s 1929 recording session represented a “flashpoint” that brought Mississippi Delta blues to national prominence.\textsuperscript{185} Patton influenced Son House and the next generation of Delta Blues performers to ply their trade in southern clubs and in northern recording studios. In 1930, Patton and his group’s drive north on Highway 61 was the beginning of a decades-long movement of musicians seeking fortune outside the confines of the Mississippi Delta. Highway 61 represented an escape from sharecropping under constant debt, peonage in levee camps, and a racist judicial system that sent blacks to work on sweltering roads and in prison fields. For Charley Patton, among many others, success in the music business lay north of the Delta.

The Mississippi Delta proved to be fertile territory for talent scouts to recruit blues artists. Alan Lomax contended that “the vast majority” of professional blues musicians in Chicago originated from the Mississippi Delta.\textsuperscript{186} Delta musicians were a big part of what Gregory termed the “southernization” of American music.\textsuperscript{187} Migrations

\textsuperscript{183} Ibid, 137.
\textsuperscript{184} Ibid, 139.
\textsuperscript{185} Ibid, 137.
\textsuperscript{186} Lomax, \textit{The Land Where the Blues Began}, 441.
\textsuperscript{187} Gregory, \textit{Southern Diaspora}, 30.
of black southerners to northern cities, created “Black Metropolises,” where African American culture became visible to the rest of the U.S. for the first time. The list of Mississippi Delta blues performers who migrated to Chicago to pursue their music career was extensive and included Muddy Waters, Howlin’ Wolf, and B. B. King. As he watched Memphis Minnie play in a Chicago club, the poet Langston Hughes wrote: “Through the smoke and racket of the noisy Chicago bar float Louisiana bayous, muddy old swamps, Mississippi dust and sun, cotton fields, lonesome roads, train whistles in the night, mosquitoes at dawn, and the Rural Free Delivery that never brings the right letter.” The Delta blues found its home in Chicago.

While many musicians still traveled north by train into the 1940s and 1950s, buses became the cheapest form of interstate transportation. Record companies, as in the case of Charley Patton, sometimes arranged for musicians to be driven to northern cities. Although Highway 61 did not connect directly to Chicago, it was only one highway away. Mississippi migrants travelling by car or bus would likely have taken Highway 61 to St. Louis and connected to Chicago via Route 66. The Delta blues performer James “Son” Thomas stated in 1985 that “Most of the blues players travelled 61 to get out of here. It’s the longest road I know.” Thomas spent most of his life in the Delta as a sharecropper and musician. Thomas, among others, sang about what Highway 61 meant to him. In his song “61 Highway,” Thomas describes the aching loneliness of a man who has yet to find someone “to give my poor heart ease,” even after walking all along

188 Ibid, 135.

189 Bright, Highway 61: Crossroads On the Blues Highway, 84.

190 Rafael Alvarez, “Son Thomas: Life on Highway 61,” the Baltimore Sun (September 26, 1985), 4D.
Highway 61, a road he claims stretches from “Chicago to the Gulf of Mexico.” Thomas had a wife, along with ten children who lived with him in his small “shotgun” house, but it seemed Thomas missed out on the opportunities that others found along Highway 61. Instead, Thomas lived the life of a Delta farmer. Thomas worked as a sharecropper for most of his life, though later as a gravedigger. Thomas lamented that “The highway is my home, Lord I might as well be dead.”

Another song entitled “61 Highway” described some of the same themes as Thomas’s song. Mississippi Fred McDowell also misconstrued the actual route of Highway 61, claiming “she run from New York City down to the Gulf of Mexico.” For McDowell, Highway 61 was still unpaved and sandy, so much so that “Greyhound buses don’t run,” making the only way out of the Delta on the back of a horse. McDowell did not find success through music until much later in his life. Born sometime around 1904, McDowell spent most of his life in the North Mississippi hills as a sharecropper. In 1959, ethnomusicologist Alan Lomax recorded McDowell in Como, Mississippi. McDowell claimed musical success soon thereafter, after he recorded songs for Atlantic Records. McDowell eventually produced fourteen LPs, and recorded a two volume live album in


193 Alvarez, “Son Thomas: Life on Highway 61,” 4D.


195 Ibid.

New York. McDowell’s journey to opportunity led to New York as it did in “61 Highway.”

Following McDowell’s 1960 release, the English rock and roll group, the Rolling Stones, invited McDowell to Europe. The Rolling Stones “wined and dined him” and bought him an expensive suit.\(^{197}\) The Rolling Stones owed a debt of gratitude to McDowell, among several other American blues artists, for their influence on successful blues-based albums. The name “Rolling Stones” is derived from the 1950 Muddy Waters song, “Rollin’ Stone,” which was based on Delta bluesman Robert Petway’s “Catfish Blues.”\(^{198}\) Many of the most successful rock groups of the 1960s were influenced by the blues artists of previous decades. When asked what they most wanted to see in America, the Beatles replied “Muddy Waters or Bo Diddly.” The reporter did not recognize the names.\(^{199}\) By the 1960s it became commonplace for white rock groups to cover older blues songs, as Led Zeppelin did with Memphis Minnie and Kansas Joe’s “When the Levee Breaks,” featured on their fourth studio album.

As Son Thomas and Mississippi Fred McDowell did, the white folk artist, Bob Dylan, wrote a tribute to Highway 61 on his album *Highway 61 Revisited*. A native of Highway 61 on its north end, Dylan was born Robert Zimmerman in Duluth, Minnesota in 1941. Dylan moved to Hibbing, Minnesota just off of Highway 61 when he was six.\(^{200}\) Among Dylan’s early musical influences were Delta bluesmen Muddy Waters, Howlin’

\(^{197}\) Ibid.

\(^{198}\) Palmer, *Deep Blues*, 104.


Wolf, and B.B. King. Dylan listened to Delta artists on a broadcast from an Arkansas radio station.\textsuperscript{201} Dylan claimed to have seen Muddy Waters on a trip to Chicago in 1960, although Dylan fabricated some stories about his travels to make him seem worldlier.\textsuperscript{202} Dylan aspired to play music like the greats of the Delta, covering many of their songs on his 1960s albums. His first album,\textit{Bob Dylan}, featured a cover of Bukka White’s song “Fixin’ To Die Blues,” which White recorded after his release from Mississippi’s Parchman Prison.\textsuperscript{203}

In 1965, Dylan released\textit{Highway 61 Revisited}, a tribute to “the totality of American music as represented by Highway 61.”\textsuperscript{204} Dylan viewed Highway 61 as the physical link between his hometown and the Mississippi Delta, and the link between the native blues of the Mississippi Delta with his own music. Dylan referred to old blues songs as “my lexicon and my prayer book.”\textsuperscript{205} \textit{Highway 61 Revisited} featured blues guitarist Mike Bloomfield on lead guitar, though Dylan told him he did not want “any of that B.B. King stuff.”\textsuperscript{206} Although the blues influenced Dylan’s music, \textit{Highway 61}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{201} Ibid, 4.
\item \textsuperscript{202} Ibid, 49.
\item \textsuperscript{203} Olivier Trager, \textit{Keys To the Rain: The Definitive Bob Dylan Encyclopedia}, Billboard Books, New York (2004), 188
\item \textsuperscript{204} Court Carney, “A Lamp is Burning in All Our Dark,” \textit{Highway 61 Revisited: Bob Dylan’s Road from Minnesota to the World}, 39.
\item \textsuperscript{205} Thomas Crow, “Lives of Allegory,” \textit{Highway 61 Revisited: Bob Dylan’s Road From Minnesota to the World}, 74
\end{itemize}
Revisited was a rock album that “centered Dylan squarely” in the rock and roll genre.\textsuperscript{207} The opening track of the album, “Like a Rolling Stone,” is regarded as one of the greatest rock songs, and the “first truly serious rock ‘n’ roll song.”\textsuperscript{208}

The song title, “Like a Rolling Stone,” was a reference to multiple songs. While Dylan was possibly referring to Petway’s “Catfish Blues,” he was more likely referring to “Lost Highway,” a song written by Texas songwriter Leon Payne and made popular by Hank Williams.\textsuperscript{209} The main character of “Like a Rolling Stone” was “Miss Lonely,” an affluent young woman who lost everything and found herself stuck on the streets. “With no direction home, a complete unknown, just like a rolling stone,”\textsuperscript{210} Miss Lonely’s predicament resembles the “lost, too late to pay” narrator of “Lost Highway” and the abandoned mother in Muddy Waters’ “Rollin’ Stone.”\textsuperscript{211} But unlike Miss Lonely, Muddy Waters seemed proud of his “vagabond status” in his song.\textsuperscript{212} Miss Lonely “went to the finest school” according to Dylan.\textsuperscript{213} She may have idolized old bluesmen like Waters just as many white college students, Dylan included, did in the 1960s did as blues became more popular.\textsuperscript{214}

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\textsuperscript{207} Ibid, 418.
\textsuperscript{208} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{209} Ibid, 414.
\textsuperscript{211} Hank Williams, “Lost Highway,” Hank Williams Sings (1951).
\textsuperscript{212} David Yaff, “Not Dark Yet,” Highway 61 Revisited: Bob Dylan’s Road from Minnesota to the World, 204
\textsuperscript{213} Ibid, 204.
\end{flushright}
The songs on *Highway 61 Revisited* were difficult to interpret because of their absurd and scattershot lyrics. But in certain instances, Dylan’s mentioned his musical influences and offered some insight on his vision of Highway 61. At over eleven minutes long, “Desolation Row” described a street with inhabitants such as Nero, the Phantom of the Opera, Ezra Pound, and Albert Einstein. The opening line of “Desolation Row” read “they’re selling postcards of the hanging,” which could be an allusion to the hundreds of lynchings in the South in the twentieth century. Dylan previously wrote about lynching in his song “The Death of Emmitt Till,” which was about the murder of a black teenager in Mississippi by white men who were later acquitted of the crime. The opening reference to hangings in “Desolation Row” set up the rest of the song as a nightmarish and wild description of the street, a section of Dylan’s vision of Highway 61.

“From a Buick 6” was the most blues driven song on *Highway 61 Revisited*. The guitar riff was similar to those once played by Delta bluesmen Charlie Patton and Robert Johnson. The song described a gun toting “graveyard woman,” connected to the death of the narrator but who also is his caretaker. She supposedly walked like a man, “like Bo Diddley,” the Delta bluesman who the Rolling Stones admired. The Buick was not

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214 Ibid.


219 Ibid.
mentioned specifically in the song, but it is implied that the narrator crashed it. The automobile was a symbol of freedom that failed to redeem the narrator and may have ultimately led to his demise.

The album’s self-titled song, “Highway 61 Revisited” offered the most insight about Dylan’s vision of Highway 61 of any songs on the album. In the opening stanza, God orders Abraham to “kill me a son,” on Highway 61.220 Amid postcards of hangings and gods ordering murders, Dylan viewed Highway 61 as a treacherous place of violence. Though violence could be found on Highway 61, Dylan also viewed the highway as a place for opportunity. A man named Howard advised “Georgia Sam” to head to Highway 61 for help after the welfare department denied his request for clothes.221 Georgia Sam hoped to find a better life on Highway 61, as James Thomas never quite found, and as Mississippi Fred McDowell eventually achieved.

Dylan received some backlash from folk purists for the rock music on Highway 61 Revisited. Alan Lomax thought that Dylan’s new sound was shallow and commercialized.222 Dylan played his rock songs during the 1965 Newport Jazz festival, much to the displeasure of Lomax who served on the festival’s board.223 Lomax would have preferred another performance from Muddy Waters, who performed at the Newport festival for the first time in 1960.224 When Waters performed at Newport in 1960, the


221 Ibid.

222 McNally, On Highway 61, 422.

223 Ibid, 419.

224 Palmer, Deep Blues, 258.
blues genre was recovering from a slump. Waters stated that rock and roll “hurt the blues pretty bad,” and that many bluesmen quit in the 1950s. Some blues performers found a receptive audience in Europe. In 1951, Big Bill Broonzy was one of the first blues performers to travel to Europe. Others including Mississippi Fred McDowell and Muddy Waters followed suit. Waters’ 1958 European tour garnered attention with white audiences in America, and earned him an invitation to the 1960 Newport festival. The blues experienced a revival of interest in the early 1960s. Formerly unknown artists such as Mississippi Fred McDowell gained nation recognition when Alan Lomax released his four-volume set of recordings, Sounds of the South in 1960. By 1964, English artists, most prominently the Rolling Stones, were covering blues songs and drawing heavily from American blues performers.

Mississippi Fred McDowell and James Thomas sang their tributes to Highway 61 years before Dylan. Dennis McNally wrote that Highway 61 Revisited, “was altogether different, yet also consonant with their blues.” Dylan’s album was different from McDowell’s “61 Highway” because it was from the perspective of an outsider. Dylan, a young white artist from the north side of Highway 61 did more to popularize Highway 61 in large part because he was white. Muddy Waters explained that before white rock

225 Ibid, 255.

226 Ibid, 256.

227 Ibid, 258.


229 McNally, On Highway 61, 428
artists such as Dylan and the Rolling Stones recorded blues songs and spoke of blues artists in interviews, many white people wanted nothing to do with him. Waters said, “I was making race records,” and that if a white parent found a record of his in their kid’s collection, they would say “get this nigger record out of my house!”\textsuperscript{230} After his performance at Newport amid the blues revival of the 1960s, Waters found himself playing for crowds “that don’t have no black faces but our faces.”\textsuperscript{231} The popularity of rock and roll thus changed the popularity and audience of blues.

Dylan’s European tour following the release of Highway 61 “changed him from a folk star to an international pop superstar.”\textsuperscript{232} \textit{Highway 61 Revisited} represented “the flowering of the influence” of the blues on white music. Dylan’s \textit{Highway 61 Revisited} gave credit to the delta blues artists who were the inspiration for rock and roll. \textit{Highway 61 Revisited} rose to number three on the U.S. charts, and garnered arguably the most acclaim of any of Dylan’s albums.\textsuperscript{233} \textit{Highway 61 Revisited} lent Highway 61 the kind of national recognition that John Steinbeck’s classic, the \textit{Grapes of Wrath} lent to U.S. Route 66. Both highways served migrants during the Great Migrations. The migrants who travelled each highway did so for much the same reason: to seek out opportunity that seemed not to exist in the South.

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\item \textsuperscript{230} Palmer, \textit{Deep Blues}, 259.
\item \textsuperscript{231} Ibid, 260.
\item \textsuperscript{232} Shelton, \textit{No Direction Home}, 288.
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