

Automobility, Hospitality, African American Tourism, and
Mapping Victor H. Green's *Negro Motorist Green Book*

by

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Victor Green's travel guide stands as one illustration of tools used by African Americans to survive in the contested and disputed landscape of Jim Crow segregation. The *Green Book* as a symbol of the civil rights movement further represents the discourses and politics of automobility that both limit and empower resistance. The *Green Book* is an under-utilized source available to historical geographers for researching the numerous barriers to tourism. Racial discrimination is one that is especially under-analyzed. This research advances the field of digital humanities and historical GIS as well as pushing close the epistemological qualitative-quantitative discord over using geographic information systems to support geo-analytic approaches in human geography.

Automobility, Hospitality, African American Tourism, and
Mapping Victor H. Green's Negro Motorist Green Book

A Thesis

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by

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Chapter 1 – PROBLEM FORMULATION

Purpose of Thesis

On January 12, 2012, U.S. President Barack Obama, declared, “the travel and tourism industry is one of our Nation’s leading service sector sources of export” (Documents, President 2012). In 2010, the travel and tourism industry contributed 2.7 percent to the United States’ Gross Domestic Product and 7.5 million jobs (Department of Commerce: International Trade Administration 2011). The automobile is the dominant form of transportation used by American families when participating in travel and tourism (Merriman 2009, Melosi 2010, So 1990, Sugrue 2010). In terms of personal consumption of transportation, the automobile accounted for \$319.7 billion or 30 percent of the total \$1,225.9 billion spent on transportation as part of the Gross Domestic Product in 2009 (U.S. Bureau of Transportation Statistics 2011). In support of his statement, President Obama, speaking in reference to the current difficulties foreign tourists must work through to visit the National Parks, recognized the legacy of exclusion and segregation by issuing Executive Order 13597, which focused on reducing the barriers that limit contemporary travel and tourism in the United States. (Documents, President 2012). While there are numerous barriers to tourism, racial discrimination is one that is especially under-analyzed.

The research contributes to the Race, Ethnicity, and Social Equity in Tourism (RESET) initiative, affiliated with the Center of Sustainable Tourism at East Carolina University. This research also adds to the body of literature that focuses on African American travelers and explores the ways Jim Crow segregation in the travel and tourism industry marginalized the growing African American middle class during the era

of Jim Crow segregation. The overall purpose is to use Victor Green's *Green Book*, a travelers' guide published to assist African Americans avoid discriminatory accommodations, to document and critically interpret the historical geography of blacktravel and tourism during Jim Crow. Three major questions guide this research. First, where were the greatest and least concentration of *Green Book* establishments in terms of absolute number and rate per capita of African American population in 1949 and 1959? Second, what is the meaning of the *Green Book* as a reflection of social control of travel and as a mechanism of social resistance and empowerment? Third, what are the residual influences of Jim Crow in shaping memories of heritage and the social and spatial patterns of automobility today?

African American Travel During Jim Crow

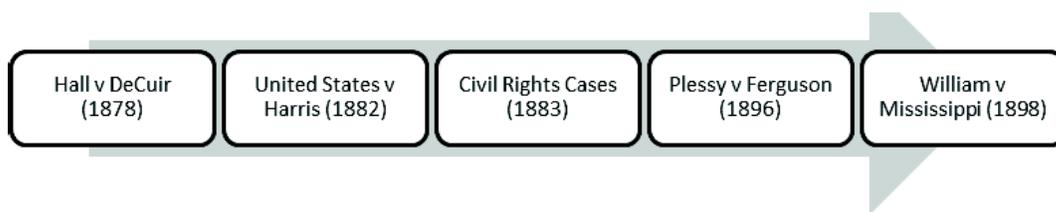
For African Americans traveling by automobile during the Jim Crow era meant preparing food baskets and packing blankets with pillows to accommodate not being able to eat in a whites-only restaurant or to sleep in a whites-only motor lodge (C. Beverly 2012). The desire to help the African American middle class enjoy the freedom of the open road, to eat a hot lunch at the counter, and to spend the night resting in a motel bed, convinced the New York postal worker Victor Green to publish a travel guide for African Americans. Victor Green's *Negro Motorist Green Book*, in subsequent years titled *The Negro Travelers' Green Book*, was one tour guide used by African Americans to navigate through the Jim Crow landscape. Published by Victor H. Green & Company and distributed with help from Standard Oil affiliate ESSO Gas Stations, the *Green Book* listed, by state and city, accommodations that welcomed black travelers. Starting in

1936, *The Green Book* began as a reference guide to metro New York City and surrounding areas (Victor H. Green & Co. 1949). In 1949, the guide had expanded to recording hotel, motels, tourist homes, barber shops, beauty parlors, service stations, garages, and liquor stores. During the course of this research access was never gained to Victor Green's personal papers and the limited availability of scholarly sources makes providing conjectures into Victor Green's motives or reasons, other than what appears in the *Green Book*, gratuitous. According to the *Green Book* (1949, 1959), Victor Green sought to provide a mechanism for the traveling/touring African American to avoid the humiliation of being refused hospitality because of the unjust landscape created by Jim Crow segregation and exclusion.

Jim Crow segregation originated out of the southern antebellum plantation system and received support from the United States Supreme Court through a series of court decisions (Figure 1) that effectively dismantled and disempowered the 14th and 15th Amendments to the United States Constitution. These rulings served as a guide for building an environment defined by racial segregation and discrimination. During the period of Reconstruction after the American Civil War, freed slaves received affirmation of their civil rights as Americans through three constitutional amendments (13th, 14th, 15th) and the legislation passed by the radical Republican controlled Congress. The Reconstruction Congress further attacked racial discrimination and segregation by passing the Civil Rights Act of 1875. The 1875 Civil Rights Act stated:

All persons (...) shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of inns, public conveyances, on land or water,

theaters, and other places of public amusement: subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law applicable alike to all citizens of every race and color, regardless of any previous condition of servitude” (The Civil Rights Act, March 1, 1875 1968).



Hall v DeCuir	Supreme Court rules Louisiana law prohibiting discrimination on railroads, steamboats, and buses a burden on interstate commerce, which is controlled by federal government
United States v Harris	Supreme Court rules crimes of murder and assault to fall under local jurisdiction
Civil Rights Cases	A group of five similar cases ruled on by The Supreme Court with one ruling. The ruling nullified the Civil Rights Act of 1875 and ruled the 14th Amendment does not limit racial discrimination by an individual
Plessy v Ferguson	The Court upheld legality of “separate but equal” passenger train cars. The court ruled segregation is not the same as discrimination
Williams v Mississippi	Supreme Court upholds the use of literacy tests for African Americans prior to voting. Court permitted illiterate whites to vote if they demonstrated a grasp of the Constitution.

Figure 1 Supreme Court Cases that contributed to a landscape of Jim Crow (Divine, et al. 2011)

In 1883, the United States Supreme Court took up review of five separate appeals from different circuit courts simultaneously. In each case, a person of color was denied accommodation or privilege because of color. In the Court’s opinion, the rights that the 1875 Civil Rights Act sought to protect were “social not civil” (Civil Rights Cases, 109 U.S. 3, 1883 1968) thereby ruling that the federal government could not regulate acts of discrimination committed by private citizens. By 1884, most of the states in the South enacted laws against miscegenation and by 1886 passed laws giving railroad employees the power to assign passengers to what they considered the proper seat or proper waiting area for each race. In 1887, Florida supported Jim Crow

racial segregation by requiring separate accommodations for different races in all public spaces. These laws adversely affected railroads as they were compelled to absorb the cost of adding additional cars for their non-white passengers. Louisiana followed suit in 1890, making it a requirement for passengers to sit in applicable areas or confront a \$25 fine or/and 20 days incarceration (Klarman 2004)

The Supreme Court's majority opinion, written by Justice Henry Brown of Michigan, in the 1898 landmark case, *Plessy v. Ferguson* stated;

We consider...the assumption that the enforced separation of two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority (to be a fallacy). If this were so, it is...solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it. (...) The argument also assumes that social prejudice may be overcome by legislation (...) If one race be inferior to the other socially, The Constitution of the United States cannot put them upon the same plane (National Archive and ABC-CLIO n.d.).

It is with these words and more that the Supreme Court of the United States and the many states' legislatures created and empowered a systemic landscape of racial segregation known as Jim Crow. The landmark decision in *Plessy v Ferguson* resulted in a system of "separate but equal" that pushed the entrepreneurial African American middle class to organize on many different levels to engage and employ any and all measures of empowerment and resistance. Victor Green, a retired postal worker living in Harlem New York, was one of those entrepreneurs.

Victor H. Green and The *Negro Motorist Green Book*

In 1936, Victor Green Publishing & Company set to paper the first installment of *The Negro Motorist Green Book* with the intent to “help (African Americans) solve (their) travel problems” (Victor H. Green & Co. 1949, 3). *The Green Book* was just one of many in a larger genre of Negro travel guides published during the Jim Crow era that included *Travelguide*, *Cook’s Negro Travel Guide*, *Grayson’s Guide*, *Hankley & Harrison’s Hotel and Apartment Guide*, and *The Negro Traveler*. The *Green Book* is significant because it is the only Negro travel guide on display at The International Civil Rights Center and Museum in Greensboro, North Carolina. The importance of the *Green Book*, as a topic of historical geography research is evidenced by Calvin Ramsey’s (2010) illustrated children’s book, *Ruth and the Green Book*. Ramsey’s book of historical fiction won the 2012 Jane Addams Peace Association Award for diversity education and is used in the New York City, South Carolina, and Greenville, North Carolina, elementary grades to teach racial diversity awareness.

The *Green Book* represents an under-analyzed chapter in the historical geography of African American travel and tourism. In general, geographers have paid limited attention to the black tourism experience and, to date; they have not examined the social and spatial dimensions of *The Green Book* and what light this archival resource sheds on the racially constructed and contestable nature of traveling by automobile within the United States, during the early to mid- 20th century.

After reading Victor Green’s introduction to the 1949 *Green Book*, it is apparent he disliked the fact that a publication like *The Green Book* was necessary. Green reminds African Americans that *The Green Book* started as a listing for metro New York

City and expanded to include the tri-state area of New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. However, the *Green Book* eventually became a national guide and later included international (Caribbean, Mexican, and Canadian) destinations. The 1949 *Green Book* contains listings for 3702 facilities, in 527 cities, across 46 of the 48 United States. The listing includes hotels, motels, tourist homes, service stations, restaurants, beauty parlors, barbershops, drug stores, and liquor stores. By 1959, Victor H. Green Publishing streamlined the listing in the *Green Book* to include only hotels, motels, and tourist homes. Because of the change in publishing style and the fact that the US Census is completed on a decennial basis the 1949 and 1959 versions of the travel guide and the 1950 and 1960 census serves as the empirical cornerstones in this research.

As one reads the 1949 *Green Book*, it is apparent that Chicago and Robbins, Illinois are two places Victor Green encouraged African Americans to visit. George W. Sheppard portrays Robbins Illinois as “the fastest growing town in the state of Illinois (...) owned and operated by Negroes,” while a cosmopolitan tone describes Chicago (Victor H. Green & Co. 1949). Advertisers paying for space among the listings of *The Green Book* emerge to capitalize on the disposable income of a fast growing and increasingly mobile African American middle class. Advertisers in the 1949 and 1959 *Green Book* appear to be a broad spectrum of businesses owned and operated by white and black entrepreneurs.

Broader Contributions of The Thesis

The broader contributions of this research are to map, empirically and theoretically, the *Green Book*. Such a mapping project involves first a literal mapping

and analysis of the cities and establishments highlighted in the travel guide and hence where a Jim Crow landscape of racism was enforced, could be negotiated or even resisted somewhat. Second, a conceptual mapping of the meaning of the *Green Book* is carried out in terms of how it advances a critical understanding of the culture of automobility and notions of hospitality as they applied to African Americans. Finally, an ethnographic mapping of the place of the *Green Book* and Jim Crow travel is carried out within the lives, memories, and journey stories of African Americans and the possible continuing legacy of these constraints on contemporary travel and possible contribution to the development of cultural heritage. Carrying out this literal, conceptual, and ethnographic mapping of the *Green Book* also promises to make a contribution to the fields of digital humanities and historical GIS, which are of growing prominence inside and outside of geography (Gregory 2010). Before delving into the specific research goals and methods of the work, it is necessary to define and review some of the relevant terms addressed in this thesis - namely automobility and hospitality.

The life decisions and daily routines of where we reside, function, and amuse ourselves contribute to the over 2 billion miles of distance covered by Americans each year (Bullard and Johnson 1997). The automobile plays a major role in covering this distance and is a major contributor to the social infrastructure. This inherently defines automobility as a creator and a consequence of racial justice, discrimination, and urbanization. The *Green Book*, as I argue, is a study in automobility.

The etymology to the word hospitality, like much of the English language, is rooted in the Latin and late Middle English languages. The 2012 *Oxford Dictionary* defines hospitality as “the friendly and generous reception and entertainment of guests,

or strangers,” the key word being *reception*. Hospitality also derives meaning from the Latin plural *hospes* and its singular form *hostis*, which meant *to have power* (Merriam-Webster 1991). These pronouncements support the presence of social power in the action of offering hospitality. In Victor Green’s ideal, the *Green Book* gives the Negro traveler a life-enhancing well-being and social welfare.

Collecting Jim Crow Journey Stories

This research attempts to mix a rich archive of empirical literature with current empirical evidence gathered using interviews to assemble journey stories from African Americans who traveled with and/or without the *Green Book* during the Jim Crow era. I use the phrase “and/or” in recognition that it may be difficult to locate members of the general population who used *The Green Book*. I know from my 27 years of service in the United States Armed Forces, that the military population rotates duty stations, on average, every three years. In 27 years, my family and I traveled to nine different assignments. The retired African American military community, to which I have access, may potentially provide rich empirical evidence of personal and family experiences as they traveled to and from places of assigned duty. This empirical evidence potentially could help shed light on the social and cultural meaning of travel/tourism during the Jim Crow era, identify the obstacles faced, and provide examples of how *The Green Book* aided or limited navigation paths across the landscape. During the course of research, a researcher often discovers the opportunity, more often the necessity, to expand beyond the structural bounds of the subject matter arena. Grounded Theory supports the idea that research integrity is not violated when a researcher sets data from outside

the structure aside for “secondary comparison” later, keeping in mind the scale/amount of non-structured data collected (Charmaz 1994, Ingersoll and Ingersoll 1995).

The Archived Journey Stories

A large amount of archived journey stories of African American tourism, automobility, and Jim Crow exist and are already part of the extensive reading material used for this thesis. This archive includes, but is not limited to newspaper interviews (Lacey-Borbeaux and Drash 2011, McGee 2010), a commissioned literary series through the Richard Hugo House (Ruff 2008), peer reviewed journal articles, books (Ford 2001, McConnell and Miraftab 2009), doctoral dissertations, auto-biographies, and private papers (Claude Barnett Papers n.d.). The archived journey stories used in this research provide an array of textual context that, when properly coded and organized, could potentially provide a very enlightening interpretation of African American automobility in the era of Jim Crow. It is expected these stories will reveal how blacks, who sought to travel for vacation experienced rude treatment and the most demeaning forms of discrimination.

Chapter Contents

Chapter 2, The Literature Review, discusses the historical origin of Jim Crow and the geographic structure of Jim Crow across the landscape built through Supreme Court decisions, state and federal legislation, and societal structure. As well as discussing Jim Crow, the literature review presents the different scholarly definitions of automobility from being a human love affair with cars to how automobility restructures urban and rural landscapes. Because the *Green Book* is a tourist guide designed to help find

hospitable respite in a conflicted landscape, a discussion of hospitality and its roots in antebellum southern plantation culture takes place.

Chapter 3 presents The Study Design. A qualitative and quantitative structure empirically investigate the research questions. With support from Fenneman's *Venn Diagram* for explaining geographic authority across academia, a qualitative grounded theory structure is used to document and interpret African American tourism during the Jim Crow era. Cartographic visualization and spatial analysis, completed using the proprietary software ARCGIS® and Microsoft Excel®, provides the ability to digitize Victor Green's travel guide and produce point and polygon overlays to interpret and analyze.

Chapter 4 discusses the data collection and analysis process. A presentation of GIS mapping seeks to provide a spatial expression of Victor Green's travel guide. With the digitized information in Victor Green's tour guide, a literal mapping of cities and a spatial analysis of greatest and least concentration of the cities serves as evidence to concluding where hospitality, without humiliation was present. In addition to the mapping, In-vivo coding of interview text contributes thematically coded evidence toward developing a theory of the current meaning of tourism among African Americans in terms of continuity and legacy.

Chapter 5 presents the conclusions that are drawn from the evidence of the literal mapping and the conceptual framework of how racial identity and racism shaped travel, tourism, and hospitality.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

*You road I enter upon and look around, I believe you are not all
that is here,
I believe that much more unseen is also here* (Whitman 2004)

Jim Crow

For many years after Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and passage of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of The United States, the average freed slave worked beyond the normal number of hours for a less than livable wage. Documentation of this appears in the writings of historians Jackson Spielvogel (2012) and Robert Devine (2011). However not so well documented by historians are the *rags to riches* story of the freedmen who experienced a high degree of success in business and entrepreneurship (Foster 1999). The stories of survivalists greatly outnumber the biographies and autobiographies of successful freed persons. As the nation approached the turn of the century, in cities like New Orleans, New York, and Atlanta, educated and economically successful middle and upper class African Americans pushed the envelope of societal conventions by seeking a share of the same places and spaces that educated and economically whites moved in and through. This push results in the iniquitous *Plessy v Ferguson* Supreme Court decision that said it is permissible, under the Fourteenth Amendment, to set apart public space and place for whites and blacks on railroad cars, at lunch counters, at public drinking fountains and bath houses, and schools (Klarman 2004, Foster 1999). *Jim Crow* became the nomenclature of the social environment created by the discrimination and segregation of place and space that ensued.

The character Jim Crow first appeared as *the character signature* of Thomas Dartmouth Rice, a stage actor in the 1830's (Woodward 2002). Rice, a white man, performed a dance and sang "turn about and wheel about, and do just so. And every time I turn about I Jump Jim Crow" while costumed in a ragged suit, tattered hat, ripped shoes, and black face.



Figure 2 Thomas D. Rice as Jim Crow (African American Registry 2012)

The majority of political leaders in the southern United States population, from the end of the American Civil War until of the Compromise of 1877, fall into two categories - redemptionists and redeemers. The redemptionists sought to remove the Northern carpetbagger and the reconstructionist establishment that the carpetbaggers brought with them. Redeemers refer to the members of the southern population who successfully accomplished the overthrow of the radical republican reconstruction

(Murrin, et al. 2008, Woodward 2002). The segregation and discrimination of African Americans by the white Anglo-Saxon population, which ensued after the 12 military governors and Union forces were removed from the southern states as part of the Compromise of 1877, was the result of a deterioration of race relations that grew out of regional and national developments. Sagaciously, the removal of Union forces implied that something or someone belonged in one place and not in another place.

The economic collapse of the 1890s resulted in extreme protests and a rise in conservatism in the Farmers' Alliance and the Populist Party (Divine, et al. 2011). The growing political power of white farmers gave rise to a milieu of white supremacy. South Carolina Governor and later United States Senator, Benjamin Tillman delivered sermons advocating uninhibited white supremacy (Murrin, et al. 2008, Klarman 2004). In 1898, a group of radical white supremacists from Wilmington, North Carolina staged a violent overthrow of the elected Republican black and white government. The action resulted in the ostracizing of 20 targeted individuals and the mass exodus of approximately 2100 Negroes (Umfleet 2006). In his 1898 Inaugural Address, Republican President William McKinley gave tacit approval to the North Carolinian white supremacists by failing to mention, criticize, or correct the actions. After this point, Republican and Northern support of racial equity or equality declined (Klarman 2004). As radical white-nativism grew, W. E. B. Du Bois and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) began to warn that if action was not taken the Negro population had a meager chance at anything more than being a subservient caste (Du Bois 2011).

In *Federalist Paper #78*, Alexander Hamilton wrote the judiciary is the weakest of the three branches of government. He went on to say, liberty has nothing to fear from the judiciary alone, but when the judiciary begins to work in concert with either of the other branches of government, liberty is in danger (The Library of Congress 1992). This warning came true as the Supreme Court hastened the cumulative legislative rush toward segregation.

To say each Justice of the Court was a racist because of legal opinions rendered and precedence set between the years of 1873 and 1898 would be a huge over-generalization. However, we do know that Justice Edward White served as a Confederate Soldier and helped “redeem” Louisiana from the post-Civil War Radical Republican reconstructionism. Chief Justice Melville Fuller, as an Illinois Democrat opposed President Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation, worked to segregate Chicago public schools, and rejected Negro suffrage. Justice David Brewer, as a Justice to the Kansas State Supreme Court wrote the dissenting opinion that clearly stated neither state law nor the 14th Amendment forbade public school segregation (Klarman 2004).

Cresswell (1996) has said that place and space often replace direct power, pointing to the reality that people and things are often controlled by space. This is nowhere more evidenced than in the Supreme Court opinions from 1878 to 1898. The Court’s majority opinion to *Hall v DeCuir*, which said States that prohibit segregation in the space of public transportation impede the federally controlled interstate commerce, provided the precedence for the Court, in *Louisville, New Orleans, and Texas Railroad v Mississippi*, to deliver the opinion that a state could require segregation in the space of public transportation (Klarman 2004, Woodward 2002). Then, less than a quarter

century later with the majority opinion in *Plessy v Ferguson* the Court said individual racism cannot be legislated away and instituted 'separate but equal' segregation of the races (Woodward 2002). It was the Court's opinion in *Williams v Mississippi* that eliminated any chance of Blacks using the ballot box to affect change by ruling that successful completion of a literacy test (Figure 3) is a condition of African Americans being able to vote (Divine, et al. 2011, Murrin, et al. 2008, Klarman 2004).

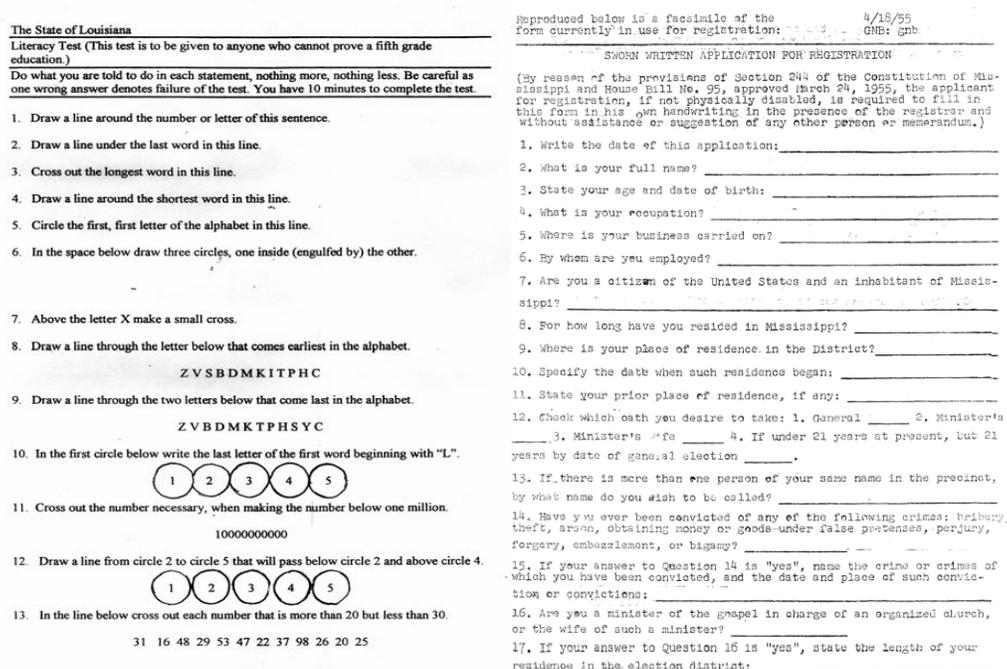


Figure 3 Images of Negro literacy tests from the State of Louisiana and Mississippi (Ferris State University 2012)

It was not long after this that the former slave states of South Carolina, Arkansas, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Kentucky, Texas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Virginia, and North Carolina instituted state-wide Democrat Conventions that disenfranchised black voters. Proof of the success of the disenfranchisement is the number of registered Negro voters. In 1896 Louisiana, there were over 130,000 registered Negro voters. By 1904, there were less than 1400 (Woodward 2002). A mushroom cloud of prejudiced and apartheid legislation rose across the United States.

In addition to the Jim Crow laws, many cities instituted policies of racial cleansing and ostracism of Negro populations, these actions created sundown towns (Loewen 2006). Sundown towns are so named because many marked their city limits with signs reading “N* don’t let the sun go down on you” (The Central Library of Arkansas 2011). Many others masked their towns as off-limits to minorities through formal and informal social practices of discrimination and violence.

Jim Crow Laws and the State that enforced them	
Nurses: No person or corporation shall require any white female nurse in wards or rooms in hospitals, either public or private, in which negro men are placed [sic]	Alabama
Railroads: The conductor of each passenger train is authorized and required to assign each passenger to the car or the division of the car, when it is divided by a partition, designated for the race to which such passenger belongs [sic]	Alabama
Intermarriage: The marriage of a person of Caucasian blood with a Negro, Mongolian, Malay, or Hindu shall be null and void [sic]	Arizona
All marriages between a white person and a negro, or between a white person and a person of negro decent to the fourth generation inclusive, are hereby forever prohibited [sic]	Florida

Table 1 Jim Crow laws (National Park Service U. S. Department of the Interior 2013)



Figure 4 Sundown town sign (The Pragmatic Pundit n.d.)

James Loewen credits the nadir of race relations and tightening of Jim Crow practices to “three I’s – Indian wars, Immigrants, and Imperialism” (Loewen 2006, 31). The nativist attitude that complimented these practices also produced a political disenfranchisement of African Americans that led to Congressman George H. White, from North Carolina, losing his bid for re-election in 1901. Beginning in 1901, no African American served in the United States Congress until Oscar De Priest, from Chicago Illinois, won a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1929 (Klarman 2004). No African American would represent a southern state in the United States Congress until almost ten years after the 1965 Voting Rights Act passed. The Jim Crow infrastructure of racial discrimination affected all aspects of the African American daily routine, especially the routines of automobility.

Automobility

In his book *Divided Highways*, Thomas Lewis (1997, ix) described the interstate highway system as “the space we fill with moving.” Lewis continues to say the interstate highway system, which was a planned and engineered pathway by white men. The pathway that the interstate highway system created led many, predominantly white, entrepreneurs and white communities to great economic wealth through the processes of relocation the pathway provided both figuratively and literally. Conversely, many others, predominately the non-white population, were deprived access to the opportunity of wealth as a result of the relocation processes that led to living space being usurped to create the space necessary to build the pathway (Cresswell 2010, Merriman 2009, Cresswell 2006, Beckmann 2001). Ultimately, the story of “creation and consequences” (Lewis 1997, xiv) leads me to conclude that one of the

consequences of the interstate highway system is the rise of automobility as a corporeal component of navigating through and across the spatial, regional, and platial landscapes. Urry (2004) lends support to this conclusion.

Urry defines automobility as possessing both humanistic and mechanical attributes. Through the symbiotic “hybrid” (Urry 2004, 26) amalgamation of car and driver, automobility facilitates autonomous human movement through spatial landscapes that is not only physical, but also social. The amalgamation provides a new sense of freedom, a freedom of space on the road (Sexton 2004, Urry 2004).

Automobility is a part of a larger context that includes African American social power. Automobility’s social power provides an individual the ability to transport one-self by traveling through differing social landscapes (Cresswell 2010, Alderman, Kingsbury and Dwyer 2013, Cresswell 2006, Franz 2004, Gallardo and Stein 2007, Cresswell 1993). Jim Crow is one of those landscapes. Figure 5 illustrates that the impact of automobility in facilitating travel is not simply a function of technology and distance, but a function of social maneuverability and economic involvement. Automobility helps us to understand the secular measure of success and freedom. Both of which, it is commonly accepted, are inherently not equal and even further, whose level of achieving or access to can be socially manipulated. Automobility by design provides the individual with the ability to reduce the number of nodes and ability to pick and choose node points more freely than walking, riding a bike, riding a bus, or train (Farber and Páez 2009).



Figure 5 The impact of automobility (AutoNation 2011)

Cotton Seiler (2008) argues that the study of automobility must be disassociated from the thesis that Lewis (1997) defined as being a love affair with our car and viewing the car as a creation of consequences associated with the highway system and the view that transportation is essential to increase and to access the nation's economy. Like Seiler, I support a deeper analysis of automobility beyond the idea that a car is a symbol that one has "made it" or as an indication of economic and social position. Beyond automobility being simply, as Henderson (2006) adds, a struggle over for what, who, or how the modern urban environment should be organized. Automobility is, as Wolfgang Sachs (1984) says, synonymous with the gothic cathedral. Both, automobility and the gothic cathedral are quantifiable interpretations of culture, in the case of automobility – American culture. Automobility mollifies the link between citizenship and a distinct way of moving in space. Seiler gives automobility an ideological subjectivity of individual autonomy, autonomy conferred with purpose and geographical justices of transport in civil rights and social justice (Beckmann 2001, Bullard and Johnson 1997).

Robert Bullard and Glenn Johnson (1997) along with Jörg Beckmann (2001) create a modern paradigm of automobility, as a distinct movement through a space

interwoven with contemporary society. Beckman tells us that the flexibility and efficiency of automobility make it an important social phenomenon whose geography, like the geography of highways and interstates, provide commuters a broad array of mediated socio-material relations and entanglements. The public thoroughfares and associated public places, like the public places posted by Victor Green in his travel guide, all have geographies that are important to helping to understand how automobility created a new freedom of movement and at the same time, automobility resulted in racialized landscapes that formulated new dependencies. The rise of automobility overwhelmingly changed the structure of the urban centers, economy, environment, and landscape. Automobility takes place in a quasi-private space, impacted by authoritative pecuniary and partisan players and planners who can influence occurrences in the system (Merriman 2009, Urry 2004).

The visceral circumstances of the car and driver symbiosis are the anchors of competence and self-determination that resulted in the racialized and gendered narratives of automobility. The modern civil rights movement is rooted in the context of automobility. From *Plessy v Ferguson*, to Rosa Parks, to the Montgomery Bus Boycott, to the Freedom Riders, institutional racism attributed automobility differently for white and black persons. Racism, like Jim Crow, refers to rules, procedures, and ordinances that differentially influences or inconveniences persons, parties, or populations based on ethnic group or color (Bullard and Johnson 1997). Automobility involves both measurable procedures and consequences of making meaning that has an exceptional straightforward association to the genuine intimidation of power and is therefore distinctive in the way custom controls mobility and the meaning of those controls

(Cresswell 2006). The meaning of the controls produces a procedural inequity which, in turn, influences decisions of individual automobility. This raises the question – can decisions of individual automobility be carried out uniformly, fairly, and consistently based on the diverse nature of procedural inequity? Bullard and Johnson (1997) say none of the decisions of individual automobility are uniform, fair, or consistent. It is Cresswell (2006) who argues that human automobility is a practical universality of social power, as fundamental as nature and deeply implicated with politics. It is through automobility, as allowed, persuaded or excluded, that the injustice of racism and discrimination may be realized.

African Americans are citizens who share a particular set of rights, rights that share attributes that are social, psychological, physical, and economic in nature. All of these impacts take action on access to public services, business, and facilities. Automobility influences, and is influenced by, economic decisions, land-use patterns, real estate investment, and energy consumption (Holmes 1997). Social policy affected not only state action, but also the action of individuals. *The Negro Motorist Green Book* reflects the geographic costs of racial discrimination. Even after the approach of full citizenship, affluent African Americans with substantial purchasing power found themselves separated from vast markets (Seiler 2008). Automobility, as both commodity and symbol, is responsible for structuring the blueprint of the American landscape. Victor Green's book transformed automobility into something that African Americans ought and can participate, *The Green Book* asserted a republican qualification of the readership. Depicting the African American readership as upwardly mobile in business and outwardly interested in vacationing, *The Green Book* speaks to

the economic and moral cost of discrimination in automobility. In the midst of the Jim Crow landscape, the *best* hotels, motels, and public facilities were not recipients of the hundreds of millions of dollars spent by a discerning African American minority. In this context, automobility promised an escape from Jim Crow through an upward economic stratum, which allowed better access to goods and services across geographic space, thereby superseding a catering to physical movement (Seiler 2006, Lucas 2004).

The expansion of automobility increased the capacity of freedom for African Americans. Interviews that I conducted with African Americans demonstrate how power and politics permeate automobility, testimony that professed worry about availability of service or what that service costs, point to the power and politics present in automobility (Essers 2009). Within the testimony of African Americans are subtle aspects of automobility that include emotional and imaginative ties to travel and the inequitable programs and preparations that make up the informal structures of customary white authority that are used to marginalize based on race, color, creed, or national origin (Hague 2010, Shubin and Swanson 2010). Shubin & Swanson (2010) as well as Hague (2010), like Cresswell (2010) and Seiler (2008) reconsider automobility as a socialized attribute steeped with value and authority. Shubin & Swanson's research points to the qualitative assessment that automobility of African Americans, during the era of Jim Crow, was bound by laws and unwritten rules used to legitimize automobility in terms of subordination and difference. Automobility was made to exist in a landscape of policies and practices of 'race' that projected a specific order and control on space and the movement of people.

Automobility has been commonly accepted and remains a central tenet of the American national identity (Hague 2010, Shubin and Swanson 2010). Automobility is part-and-parcel of the myth that surrounds the founding of American (Seiler 2008, Hague 2010, Shubin and Swanson 2010), settlers arriving from the East and continuing *West from sea to shining sea*. The classification as 'traveler' accentuates an expressive, figurative, and inspirational significance to automobility. The discursive composition of automobility involves understanding the white racial attributes that created it. Much of the United States is hegemonically-constructed white space which, holds each person has a defined space and place in the structure. (Loewen 2006, Dwyer and Jones 2000). Using Creswell's (1993) assertion that automobility is an attribute of African American resistance to white spaces helps to explain the shared stories of social exclusion and separation. More difficult to explain is the institutionalized system of racial segregation that largely impeded African American automobility, in contrast to white automobility and the free movement in and out of *Black* spaces. The necessity Victor Green felt for publishing the *Green Book* speaks to the ingrained legacy of racism in automobility in the United States. Henderson (2006) maintains that limitless automobility remains principally a pleasure of the white upper income male and female. Those who are black are left unable to secure support for diversification of access to public or private spaces of automobility. For a vast majority of the 19th and 20th century people of color have grappled with and to end transportation discrimination, linking unequal treatment to the due process clause of the 14th Amendment (Bullard and Johnson 1997). *The Negro Motorist Green Book* addresses

automobility based on race and the corresponding demands for free African American automobility and hospitality while touring.

Hospitality and Tourism

The concept of hospitality to tourists stretches to Biblical writings. For example, The Book of Genesis Chapter 19: verses 4-11 teaches that hospitality to travelers is of such great importance, that the sacrifice of a virgin daughter is not too much to offer in an attempt to protect welcomed individuals. In this context, hospitality is far more than simply a gesture. Hospitality is a distinguishing and inescapable virtue of charity and liberality to allocate outsiders a place (Shryock 2009, Friese 2009). Hospitality is synonymous with attachment, integrity, endowment, and aptitude (Balibar 2009). Hospitality consents to allow parties that originate from distinctive places to mingle and deliver reciprocated benefits. Hospitality also inherently brings with it tension. The tension brought on by hospitality includes feeling at home, as a stranger in a space that is both private and public, and a space that offers membership and exclusion (Friese 2009). All of this infuses hospitality with the aspects of social responsibility and power. Further, there is not one lone or interdisciplinary definition for hospitality. In fact, in the first editorial to appear in the first edition of the journal *Hospitality and Society* the editors openly proclaim, “the field of hospitality has become intrinsically inhospitable to interdisciplinary study” (Lynch, et al. 2011, 3).

For some people hospitality, especially southern hospitality is a virtue that turns a “living room floor into a favorite hotel” and permits the “apologetic abuse of friendships” (Manning 2010, 191). The image of what southern hospitality is finds its description in welcome guests sitting around the supper table, wearing smiles from down-home meals

and kindness (Huler 2012). However, the truth of southern hospitality rests in its Victorian nature and the antebellum plantation culture, a culture that showed an unapologetic priority to another person of the same race and same social class (Balibar 2009). In his research about the lessons of hospitality, Shryock (2009) points out that most conversations of southern hospitality often fail to traverse cultural and intellectual differences. The Rousseau romanticism of southern hospitality depicted by Huller (2012) does not align with the historical conflicts that resulted in American sectionalism. Figure 6 helps to challenge the myth of southern hospitality as unproblematic and reveal the true reality of southern hospitality extended to Blacks during the era of Jim Crow.



Figure 6 Photograph of historical artifact found in a store in Savannah, Ga. Photograph taken by Richard Kennedy

Robert Putnam (2000) says that Americans have a long history as a society that moves about the landscape and space. Putman (2000) also says this mobility does not contribute to the erosion of social capital. In fact, Rätz and Michalkó (2011) inform us that travel/tourism is one of the apparatuses that increase our sense of well-being. In a study of social capital and neighborhood effects, Nancy Osterling (2007) points out that individual connections (social networks) create a form of social capital that leads to reciprocal trust. These pronouncements of social power make it evident to me that Victor Green's ideal of the *Green Book* providing the Negro travelers information that will keep them from running into difficulties and embarrassments, points as evidence to

the social network his guide created being a source of life enhancing well-being and social welfare. This interpretation is supported by Alderman and Modlin (2013, 30) as they demonstrate the geographic history southern hospitality has for “limiting, if not altogether denying” identity.

In an abstract way, during the era of Jim Crow, travel and tourism rendered African Americans to the status of refugee. For African Americans, seeking refuge while traveling and touring became a process of contestation, where the potential of a particular city as a place of hospitality was not guaranteed (Loewen 2006, Young 2011). Refuge, like hospitality, is an incident of sensation or staying sheltered and protected pursued by vacationers. The ability of African Americans to find hospitable refuge, without humiliation, in the American South was not an absolute. For African Americans refuge was sought for and struggled over on uneven grounds in relation to the range of societal practices and everyday negotiations that involved facilitating hospitality (Young 2011). During the nineteenth and twentieth century African American tourism at mainstream holiday locations challenged the established anticipations for tourist spaces during an age of legitimately authorized racial discrimination. The African American travel tourist in the nineteenth and twentieth century consisted of the most “economically privileged segment of the African American population” (Young Armstead 2005). There is no better example of this than the “travel and travail” (Ford 2001) of early African American entertainers. First, why travel and travail?

The notion of travel and travail finds its origin in the French antecedent *Travailler* or *to torture* (Merriam-Webster, Inc. 1991). By the Middle Ages, each word took on a milder definition related to trouble, labor, or toil. History records that travel during the

Middle Ages was no easy task, to tour required immense wealth and troublesome labor (Speilvogel 2012). Travel began as an alternative spelling of travail; however, travel has since been converted as singularly identifiable with a particular definition.

One can easily conclude from the evidence that the travel experiences of African American Vaudeville entertainers were achievements born out of labor, toil and torture. Many of the traveling minstrels tell a story of comic tragedy (Ford 2001), most were sequestered and lonesome. One such comic tragedy occurred when white members of the Ziegfeld Follies walked off the show when Bert Williams integrated the show bill.



Figure 7 Portrait of and picture of rooster costume worn by Bert Williams first African American to star in Ziegfeld Follies (Woodward 2002, Ford 2001)

Prior to publications, like the *Green Book*, African Americans learned and accumulated large amounts of cultural history making it possible to navigate the Jim Crow environment. The difficulties suffered by African American Vaudeville artists, travelers, and tourists faced trying to find hospitality set them apart from their white equivalents in a way no other attribute of the landscape could. Most African Americans traveled without the benefit of an identity that allowed them to walk tall and proud (Ford

2001, Grant 2005, Young Armstead 2005). Rather, African Americans were given an identity that required them to, as the incomparable Etta James sang, *Steal Away* (James 1968). However, following the conventions did not safeguard evading the viciousness and physical battering; as Jim Crow segregation found its grounding in the provocation and violence of fear and intimidation (Grant 2005).

The literature reveals how legislative, political, and social actions contributed to the origins of Jim Crow and its becoming the nomenclature for an environment containing the attributes of discrimination and segregation. The literature also exposes how the forces of discrimination and segregation helped to create both a racialized landscape and formulate new dependencies as access to automobility increased for African Americans. It is also evident from the literature that as automobility increased; places that offered hospitable welcome became increasingly more difficult for African Americans to identify. The information presented lays the foundation for understanding how a resource, like the *Green Book*, offered African Americans the prospect of participating in and expanding racial automobility.

Based on the sources it is expected the interviews will provide journey stories that contribute to building a thematic conclusion of the positive social and cultural importance of travel/tourism to the African American community. Considering residual effects, it is my proposal that the radical practices of racism, like those Jim Crow represents, are not the norm in the contemporary landscape. This does not infer that racial stereotyping does occur in contemporary society. To the contrary, there are good indicators that Jim Crow stereotypes continue to linger in the social landscape. This

legacy affect, although well hidden, does continue to contribute to contemporary social and spatial barriers that influence travel/tourism behaviors and patterns.

CHAPTER 3: THE STUDY DESIGN

The thesis research capitalizes on the respected position geography holds in the world of research and academia. Early in the twentieth century, Nevin Fenneman (1919) demonstrated how geography holds an authoritative relationship with other fields of study (Figure 1).

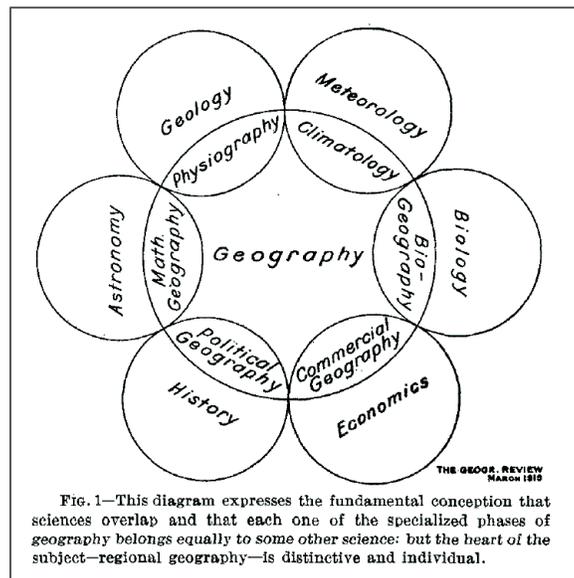


Figure 8 Adaptation of Fenneman's original Venn diagram (Fenneman 1919, 149)

His fundamental acknowledgement of connections between geography and other academic sciences provide the opportunity to ameliorate this study through the interrelations of the historical and racial components of the broader social and cultural landscape. The Venn relationship envisioned by Fenneman is not a stagnate representation. Instead the Venn diagram connection has grown and continues to grow, encompassing the academic departments in higher education appearing since Fenneman's original publication. This research uses Fenneman's origin theory of science overlap to extend human geography's overlap into the curriculums of travel/tourism and Information Science, also known as Geographic Information Science.

These relatively new additions to academia join with the long established fields of geography and history, to help provide a political and cultural interpretation of the relationship between African Americans (humans) and Jim Crow segregation (the social environment). This fact leads to the decision to use a qualitative grounded theory methodological structure and to include quantitative geographic information science to help define the Jim Crow environmental structure that the *Green Book* helped African Americans navigate and negotiate (Sui and DeLyser 2012).

Purpose and Questions

The overall purpose of the study is to use *The Green Book* to document and critically interpret the historical geography of African American tourism during the Jim Crow era. There are three reasons for selecting the 1949 and 1959 *Green Book* over other travel guides in the same genre. First, the 1949 edition of the *Green Book* is available as a downloadable and scrollable portable document format (pdf) file through the University of Michigan's *Automobile in American Life and Society* website, second selecting the 1959 edition of the travel guide permits examining a decade of change. Finally, The *Green Book* is the negro travel guide on display at the International Civil Rights Center & Museum in Greensboro, North Carolina and thus represents one of the most evocative and identifiable examples of this genre of travel literature.

My intent is to carry out: (1) a geocoding, cartographic visualization, and spatial analysis of the changing tourism landscape created by the accommodations listed in the 1949 and 1959 *Green Book* by state; and (2) to collect and thematically code/analyze Jim Crow journey stories of African Americans through interviews. While the primary intent is to reflect on African American travel/tourism, the collected stories allow for

exploration into the current meaning of travel/tourism among African Americans in terms of continuity and legacy of Jim Crow on mobility practice.

Mapping and Spatial Analysis

Using a copy of the 1949 and 1959 edition of the *Green Book*, this research literally maps the location of cities with *Green Book* establishments and spatially analyzes these cities of refuge for African Americans. The mapping of cities permits special attention to spatial variation in the number and rate of accommodations welcoming African Americans. A determination of where the greatest and least concentrations of *Green Book* establishments appear is made in terms of absolute number and rate per capita of African American population.

Mapping of the cities listed in the *Green Book* is completed by using ESRI's geographic information science software ArcGIS 10® and Microsoft Excel® proprietary software. These software packages make it possible to render textual data in the *Green Book* in a digital format. The latitude and longitude of cities listed in the *Green Book*, layered with boundary files, and population data from the 1950 and 1960 decennial census enhance the spatial analysis.

Choosing to use GIS software for qualitative research comes loaded with a history of epistemological and theoretical battles against using the GIS software to engage qualitative theory. The argument against this practice appears in epistemological scholarship (Leszcrynski 2009). Citing Peter Gould's classic argument, Leszcrynski (2009) re-states just how obtuse it is to use an inherently mathematical tool, like GIS, to build scientifically predictive outcomes of human interaction. When carried to completion, one side of the *using GIS for qualitative analysis* argument rests on the

foundation that because human behavior is not always logical, the use of a positivistic tool is “counterintuitive” (Leszczynski 2009, 354). This project on *The Green Book* does not seek to use GIS to make predictions based on the laws of mathematics, instead it seeks to push the limits of spatial humanities and to continue to regenerate and redefine scholarship by reestablishing the authority of natural or geographical space and place on cultural development (Bodenhamer, Corrigan and Harris 2010). The purpose of the GIS in this study is to provide basic map overlays and location analysis of populations and facilities.

Since the development of GIS, its use and application have continued to expand, but at its core GIS is a tool for mapping and representing phenomena spatially. The process of location analysis is one application that GIS is designed to perform (Chang 2012, Price 2012). In the case of this research, a geographic concept of racialized space is one that GIS can address. Geographic representation of human action in an environment extends back to the classic 1850’s method used to identify cholera sources in England (Morens 2000). GIS allows analog data that originates from Victor Green’s *Green Book* to join, for location analysis, with data that originates from the historical database of the United States Census Bureau and National Historical Geographic Information System.

Location analysis contains “four components 1) the customer, 2) location of the facilities, 3) space in which the customer and facility are located, and 4) the metric that represents the distances or time that separate customers and facilities (ReVelle and Eiselt 2005). In this research, the customer is the African American tourist, *The Green*

Book provides the facility locations, and because this research seeks to build a thematic spatial interpretation of the space, the study will benefit from using the GIS software.

Geo-coding and Population Data

The information contained in the Negro *Motorist Green Book*, as it exists on paper, is useful but not compatible with the GIS. The analog information in the *Green Book* requires digitization before it is applicable to GIS. Microsoft Excel© is the proprietary computer software to complete the digital conversion of *The Green Book's* analog data. By creating Excel worksheets, the resulting tables can be uploaded into ArcGIS, spatially geocoded, and rendered as points on a map (Chang 2012, Price 2012). Geo-coding addresses from the 1949 and 1959 travel guides does raise one very important question, will the addresses be adequately geocoded using the North American Geocode Service (NAGS) and/or U.S. Street Geocode Service (USSGS) databases.

Clodoveu Davis, et al, (2007) discusses the certainty of address geocoding using an address geocoding system. As the authors point out, addresses are the most common geoprocessing resource used by our population. The authors speak of these geo-addresses as “beyond the conventional elements of postal addresses..., but as direct or indirect references to places, such as building names, postal codes, or telephone area codes, which are also valuable as locators to urban places” (Davis and Fonseca 2007, 103). This broader outlook leads the authors to adopt a distinctive perspective, “the degree of certainty of the return is geo-spatially accurate to the real world” (Davis and Fonseca 2007, 103).

The authors culminate with a schema for the addressing database in an object-oriented data model (OMT-G) that says postal addresses are way-finding resources used throughout the world (Davis and Fonseca 2007). The authors also point out that addresses, in GIS, are event/attribute locators that require independent spatial orientation and location. The discussion by these authors leads me to conclude that geo-addresses, like any other attribute, is abstract data. As is true with any abstract data, an address requires specific components to match it to irrefutable geospatial location. The authors introduce the “geocoding certainty indicator (GCI)” (Davis and Fonseca 2007, 122). ESRI’s ArcGIS uses the GCI as both a filter and threshold for data discrimination.

Another consideration in conducting an accurate location analysis is acquiring the proper decennial census data and the correct county boundary shapefiles. Since I am using the 1949 and 1959 editions of the *Negro Motorist Green Book*, it is decided the most applicable population data is the 1950 and 1960 decennial census. The National Historic Geographic Information System (NHGIS) website provides Microsoft Excel© comma separated value files that contain the data collected and stored in the U.S. Census Bureau database. The NHGIS website also contains GIS compatible boundary shapefiles for the United States, as they existed in 1950 and 1960 (Minnesota Population Center 2011).

Visualization and Description

After downloading, entering, uploading, geo-coding, and transferring the data to geo-databases for use in the GIS software, I produced visualizations like those presented in Figure 9. The visualizations required using several functions within the

GIS. I generated joins and relates between the nonspatial census data attribute table, contained in comma-separated value Excel files from NHGIS, and the county boundary shapefiles attribute table from NHGIS. The joins and relates permit the description of relationships that exist between the number of establishments and African American population. Further, analysis of location and spatial attributes include identification of areas of least and greatest concentration of establishments using spatial analysis methods. For the purposes of this research, the spatial analysis functions include point–polygon overlay operations, point pattern analysis, and identification of hot spots.

In addition to these basic methods of spatial patterning, A local Getis-Ord G_i^* is presented. The local G_i^* shows where clusters or hot spots, either high/high or low/low occur. Some of the most latent pattern analysis information comes from identifying hotspots. The Getis-Ord tool uses z-scores to identify statistically significant hot spots and cold spots and whether clustering of values are more clustered in a more than or less than random pattern (ESRI 2012). Mitchelson and Alderman (2011, 33) demonstrated how these types of pattern analysis could quantitatively define characteristics of NASCAR’s “knowledge community” in terms of spatial pattern distribution, autocorrelation, and hot spotting. It is a realistic inferential leap to conclude that these same types of quantitative analysis tools, which appear in the GIS software spatial analyst toolbox, can be used to analyze information in *The Negro Motorist Green Book*.

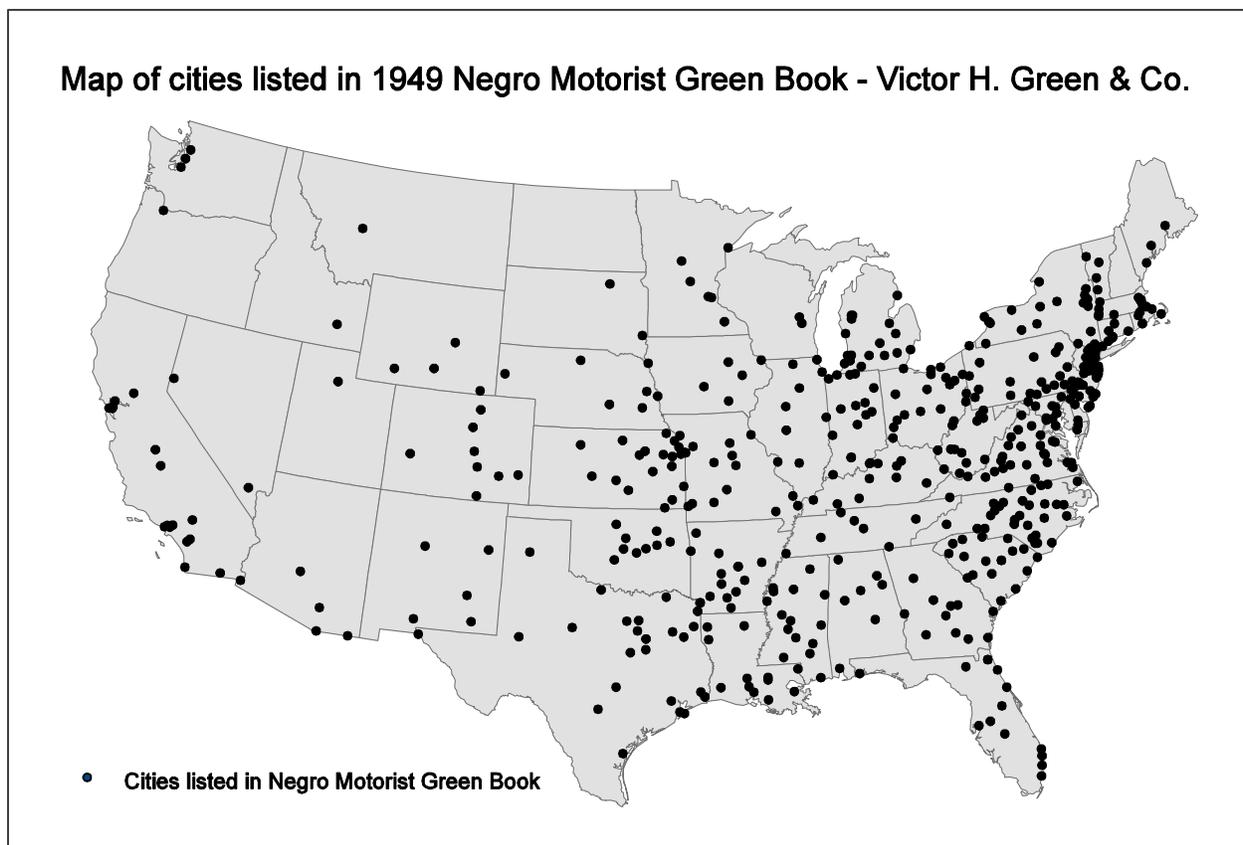


Figure 9 Overlay of all the cities listed in the 1949 *Negro Motorist Green Book* and state boundaries

The Qualitative Analysis

“The main trouble with theory is that people...insist on making...a song and dance about it, but...the intention of theory is to make thinking easier” (Shurmer-Smith 2002, 12). This research uses many different methods and techniques, but the discussion and analysis of travel experiences during the Jim Crow era and in contemporary time falls within the broader category of qualitative methods. As Megan Cope (2010) points out, the first official publication that specifically discusses qualitative geography was published in 1988, but pseudo-qualitative methods of passing on observed geographic knowledge were used by Leif Erikson, Marco Polo, Captain James Cook, Christopher Columbus, and John White (Craig, et al. 2012, Spielvogel 2012, Powell 1989). It was Carl Sauer, in his seminal publication, *The morphology of*

landscape (1963, 340) that said “the definition of landscape as singular, unorganized, or unrelated has no scientific value.” Sauer (1963) went on to say that, geography is equally qualitatively subjective of phenomena and quantitatively impartial to phenomena. Lastly, Sauer (1963, 342) says the study of a morphological landscape is a study that produces a testimony to the “(hu)man record on the landscape, a landscape record that defines culture itself.” In the case of this research, the environmental landscape is defined in terms of Jim Crow.

The thesis at hand includes a historical interpretative aspect. This historical aspect allows one to look back, select specific variables within the landscape of Jim Crow, and examine those variables within a grounded theory scientific research methodology. The variables identified for the purpose of this research are automobility, hospitality, specifically the politics of southern hospitality, and travel/tourism (Alderman and Modlin 2013, Szczesiul 2007). This framework permits a discovery of meaning and a discovery of importance for *The Green Book* as a mechanism of social resistance and empowerment for Negro travelers. The use of grounded theory to develop academic concepts that explain meaning and importance falls in line with Stern’s (1995) assertion that academic theories of action in a social construct result from the use of grounded theory research. Further, Steve Herbert (2010) reinforces, grounded theories goal is not to descriptively categorize experience, but grounded theory seeks to uncover aspects of experience.

Collecting Jim Crow Journey Stories

This research mixes a rich archive of empirical literature with current empirical evidence gathered using contemporary one-on-one and group interviews to assemble

journey stories from African Americans who did and/or who did not use *The Green Book* and who traveled/toured during the Jim Crow era. I was successful in locating only two individuals who used the *Green Book*. However, they did not grant permission for formal interviews or the use of their comments made in personal conversation. However, the empirical evidence that was gathered from individuals who did not use the *Green Book*, but who did travel/tour during the era of Jim Crow, helps to shed light on the social and cultural meaning of travel/ tourism during the Jim Crow era. These interviews also provide insight to the obstacles faced, and provide examples for how the *Green Book*, if available, would aid and limit navigation paths across the landscape. One explanation for the difficulty I experienced in finding participants with experience using the *Green Book* is revealed through the connection between Victor Green Publishing and Standard Oil of New York.

In 1911, President Taft used the Sherman Anti Trust Act to force John D. Rockefeller's monopoly trust, Standard Oil, to divide in the interest of fair economic competition (United States National Archives & Records Administration n.d.). The corporate division of Standard Oil created over 30 new petroleum companies with clearly defined distribution regions, one being Standard Oil of New York. According to the ExxonMobil Historical Archive, housed in the *Briscoe Center for American History* at the University of Texas at Austin, Standard Oil of New York held the rights for distribution of petroleum products to its petroleum stations located in New York and the six New England states. Although divided in business, the many corporate divisions agreed to keep and share the Standard Oil phonetic trademark, ESSO (Exxon Mobil Corporation n.d.). The 1949 edition of the *Green Book* documents the relationship that

developed between Victor Green Publishing and Standard Oil of New York special representatives James Jackson and Wendell Alston (Victor H. Green & Co. 1949). This information leads me to propose the support Victor Green Publishing received from Standard Oil of New York resulted in a largely northeast regional distribution of the guide. This does not mean that copies of the *Green Book* were not distributed to other Standard Oil divisions in the United States. I do support the proposition that the *Green Book* in fact was distributed outside the northeast region; just not in the quantities Standard Oil of New York distributed to their affiliated ESSO gas stations in the northeast.

My participant search took place in the middle-states region that includes North Carolina, Virginia, and South Carolina. During the period of interest to this research, these states would have had limited distribution of the *Green Book* because they are geographically outside the primary region to which Standard Oil of New York distributed. All of the participants in my research lived in and/or traveled through the middle and southern states region, regions, I propose, having a limited distribution of the *Green Book*. The fact that the participants had no previous introduction to the *Green Book* before the interviews does not diminish the impact the *Green Book* has for creating memories of what was. When introduced, during the course of the interviews, the *Green Book* produced moments of regret for not knowing about or not being told about the *Green Book's* publication. When introduced the *Green Book* also generated recollections and reminiscences of childhood experiences in landscapes, full of African American heritage, that have since been replaced by landscapes designed to improve automobility.

During the course of research, a researcher often discovers the opportunity, more often the necessity, to expand beyond the structural bounds of the subject matter. Grounded theory does not confuse or make it impossible to use any data collected outside of the methodological structure as a verifier of data collected under the 'structured' setting. Grounded theory supports the idea that research integrity is not violated when a researcher sets data from outside the structure aside for ancillary association, keeping in mind the scale/amount of non-structured data collected (Ingersoll and Ingersoll 1995, Charmaz 1994).

Participants and Interviews

The information required to allow the desired construction of theory to take place comes from two sources 1) written archival evidence of journey stories and 2) oral journey stories collected directly from individuals. Before discussing the archived journey stories, the source of the oral journey stories warrants further discussion.

To be successful, interviews need participants. Defining who the participants are, before inviting anyone to participate, is important to any study. Readings conducted for the literature review and pilot interviews helped to provide a beginning comprehensive perspective of the appropriate participants for this research. The discussion of Jim Crow segregation and an individual's experience within that cultural environment is, to say the least, an emotional expedition. The complex cultural situation requires some form of in-depth discussion that inevitably, on some level, disturbs all parties involved. The participants are volunteers willing to express in detail the complicated racial issues involved. None of the participants proved ideal - ideal defined as participants with direct experience with *The Green Book* and navigating the Jim Crow

shadowed highways and byways in the years leading up to and during the Civil Rights era in the United States. The distinguishing time-line lead to asking African American males and females that are today 75 to 85 years young. While this is the first choice, I recognized focus interviews with younger individuals, children of parents that are 75 to 85, provide the chance to collect coincidently relevant and rich information.

One of the focus areas of the research is automobility. The fact that not all African American families, of the Jim Crow era, obtained a significant disposable income is another demographic that must receive consideration. Not all African American families owned an automobile. This circumstance required they use public transport to move along the daily 'home to work and back home' route and to travel/tour beyond the same. Therefore, participants were asked to provide insight into availability of accommodations, treatment, and hospitality along the nation's highways with respect to relative affluence during the period. This is not to say participants with a background of less affluence did not provide valuable information of the Jim Crow segregation. In fact, information collected from individuals of less affluent backgrounds provided insight into a grassroots-level of experience that individuals from a more affluent background may not have experienced.

A combination of opportunistic, convenience, and snowball sampling (Bradshaw and Stratford 2010) provided the methods for inviting participants who can relate to the geographic nature of this thesis research. Three approaches were used for inviting participants. After receiving proper Institutional Review Board Approval (see Appendix A) I, first, contacted a revered friend, Don Coles, second I contacted community gatekeepers, Chester Beverly and Zann Nelson, third I volunteered to interview

participants in the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition, *Museum on Main Street*, that took place in Wilson, North Carolina.

Don Coles is a retired Senior Master Sergeant who was my mentor when I was a young and rising leader in the United States Air Force. I have stayed in touch with Don through the years; he has always expressed a willingness to help our family in any way. Don, and his wife Elizabeth, agreed to participate in the research effort. Don, in-turn, introduced me to retired Air Force Colonel and charter member of the Seymour Johnson Air Force Base Chapter of The Red Tails Squadron, Chester Beverly. Colonel Beverly agreed to participate in the research. Colonel Beverly is a second-generation member of the famed Tuskegee Airman. Colonel Beverly and the other retired Air Force members of The Red Tails travel and present talks to high schools and other organizations of the distinct past experiences of African Americans (Klindworth 2012).

Zann Nelson, besides being the Director and CEO of the Museum of Culpeper History, is an award winning researcher and writer of African American heritage. When I read of Zann and her research interests, I reached out and asked for her help in locating participants. Zann arranged my interviews with Peggy Place, Frank White, and the incomparable Laura Hoffman. Ms. Hoffman celebrated her 100th birthday by meeting the first African American President of the United States, Barack Obama. The final participant selection was opportunistic and convenient. Dr. Derek Alderman, my thesis director, introduced me to Nancy Van Dolsen, Curator at the North Carolina of the Coastal Plain, in Wilson, North Carolina. The Museum of the Coastal Plain hosted The Smithsonian Institute Museum on Main Street exhibit *Journey Stories*. My association with Nancy resulted in me using information gathered from the *Green Book* for this

thesis, to plan, develop, and produce three cartographic projects that were professionally mounted and prominently displayed as contributions to the *Journey Stories* exhibit. The projects focused on the North Carolina Coastal Plains presence in the *Green Book*. The *Journey Stories* exhibit uses illustrations from all the cultural elements that combine to define our American heritage and reveals how our ancestors traveled and moved, by choice, by necessity, or by force to and across our continent. *Journey Stories*, for me, illustrated how automobility is more than boats, wagons, trains, cars, trucks, or buses. *Journey Stories* re-enforces automobility's role in inspiring the innate human drive for freedom.

It was through Nancy and the *Journey Stories* exhibit that I was afforded the opportunity to talk with Calvin Ramsey, the award-winning author of the children's illustrated book, *Ruth and the Green Book*. Mr. Ramsey is also the playwright who wrote the first play as part of Backstage at the Lincoln (Roth 2010), *The Green Book*. Victor Green's travelers' guide inspired both pieces of work. Ms. Van Dolsen invited Calvin Ramsey to visit and speak as part of the educational experience to the *Journey Stories*. Mr. Ramsey's presentation explained his reasons for writing *Ruth and the Green Book*. As part of the audience to Mr. Ramsey's talk, I can say that the conversations and memories, expressed during the question and answer period, contributed to my understanding of the *Green Book* as a source of heritage and memory.

Interviews produce what appears to be an insurmountable amount of textual and discursive data. Grounded theory supports careful delineation of textual and discourse information to encapsulate, synthesize, and organize data through the properties of a

coding process (Ingersoll and Ingersoll 1995, Charmaz 1994, Duncan and Duncan 1988). It is through the coding process that the information is reduced into categories of assembled associations (Stern 1995). It is wise for researchers to listen to Stern (1995) and Charmaz (1994) as they advise researchers to remain distant from the data and refrain from over immersion into the data. The researcher must keep in mind the importance of recognizing the data collected are opinions, opinions that contain valuable emotional, cultural, and situational bias. There is a fine line of separation between opinion and informed interpretation, but the line does exist and the researcher must code with some degree of skepticism to prevent a singular opinion from becoming an abject truism. Within the textual contents, there will be distinguishable flashes of positive and negative estimations that produce outcomes. There is no doubt of the significant challenge to evaluating and organizing discourse data into categories and patterns, however data was reduced and distilled through coding.

The interview process requires thorough groundwork and contentious preparation (Dunn 2010). The interview process for this research took place in settings of one-on-one and one-on-many. The interviews were of significant length to take the conversation beyond the level of simple brainstorming. The interview was used as a tool for collecting experiential data. In preparation for using the interview, deciding how or what structure the process will take was important. My level of experience in using interviews dictated a more structured format to the interview (Dunn 2010, McDowell 2010, Breitbart 2006). Because this research sought to acquire oral histories, I decided to use a semi-structured interview process.

The conversational and informal nature of the semi-structured interview allowed for an open and contextual verbal exchange of experiences and opinions in the participants own words to take place. The active nature of the interview also turned the interviewer into a “privileged participant observer” (Mills 2000, 50-51) in the exchange taking place. As a privileged participant observer, I could take notes, tactfully direct how the conversation unfolded, and strategically control the direction of flow. A written guide containing a set of questions was used as prompts to elicit desired content conversation (Appendix D). The exact questions that made up the guide provided no guarantee that they were useful once the interview started. Things to keep in mind during the question development stage is that the language used must be universally understood, question order is important, questions should be open ended in order to receive more than a pat yes or no, and finally questions can not lead the respondent to a desired response (Longhurst 2006, Dunn 2010, McDowell 2010).

The Archived Journey Stories

A large amount of archived journey stories of African American tourism, automobility, and Jim Crow exist and are already part of the extensive reading material used for this thesis. This archive includes, but is not limited to newspaper interviews (Lacey-Borbeaux and Drash 2011, McGee 2010), a commissioned literary series through the Richard Hugo House (Ruff 2008), peer reviewed journal articles, books (McConnell and Miraftab 2009, Ford 2001), and private papers (Gorgas Library n.d.). The archived journey stories used in this research provide an array of textual context that, when coded and organized, provide a very enlightening interpretation of African American automobility in the era of Jim Crow.

Coding, Identification, and Interpreting

After collecting discourse on Jim Crow, African American tourism and the use of Victor Green's *Negro Motorist Green Book*, and contemporary travel accounts gathered through interviews, I carried out a coding, identification, and interpreting of themes. Both of these types of data required a coding protocol that not only analyzed content but also revealed underlying ideas (Cope 2010a) of the travel conditions during Jim Crow. As discussed earlier, coding is completed to reduce the data to a systematized and searchable aid to analysis. Coding is an active process used to generate themes and meanings. In the case of this research, the themes and meanings are identified by the terms of empowerment, resistance, and barriers. The archived text and the interview discourse were described using In Vivo and analytic codes (Cope 2006, Corbin 2004) . Two computer software packages provided assistance in completing complete this visualization; Nvivo 9© and Dragon©.

Peace and van Hoven (2010) wrote and explained how Nvivo allows researchers to digitize discourse and thematically map a code-based theory. Aitken and Kwan (2010) also demonstrate how the digitized information is used to build nodes and attributes that help to search out and build visual models that diagram ideas and representations. Aitken and Kwan (2010) and Kwan (2002) publish to demonstrate how when the computerized software programs like Nvivo assists the researcher a visual and contextual representation of qualitative data can be produced.

Dragon was the transcription software used to help in converting the interview audio to the printed words on a page.

CHAPTER 4: DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

This study asks three questions, 1) Where were the greatest and least concentration of *Green Book* establishments in terms of absolute number and rate per capita of African American population in 1949 and 1959? 2) What is the meaning of the *Green Book* as both a reflection of social control of travel during the Jim Crow Era as well as a mechanism of social resistance and empowerment for African American traveler? 3) What, if any, are the residual influences of the Jim Crow era in shaping memories of heritage and the social and spatial patterns of mobility today?

From the initial publication in 1936 to the final publication in 1964, Victor H. Green, a retired United States Postal worker living in Harlem New York, assembled and published a “guide of carefully checked listings (...) for everyone,(...) to give the Negro traveler information that will keep him from running into difficulties, embarrassments, and to make his trips more enjoyable (Victor H. Green & Co. 1949, 1).” On the cover of the 1949 edition of *The Negro Motorist Green Book*, Victor Green Publishing included this quote from Mark Twain, “Travel is fatal to prejudice.” This quote, added to the second quote on the same cover, “Carry your Green Book with you – You may need it,” provides creditable insight into Victor Green’s motivation for publishing the *Green Book* (Victor H. Green & Co. 1949). This study uses Victor H. Green’s 1949 and 1959 editions of the *Green Book*, archived sources, contemporary interviews, and geographic information science to add to the growing scholarship into how racial identify and racism shape the tourism and hospitality industry in the United States.

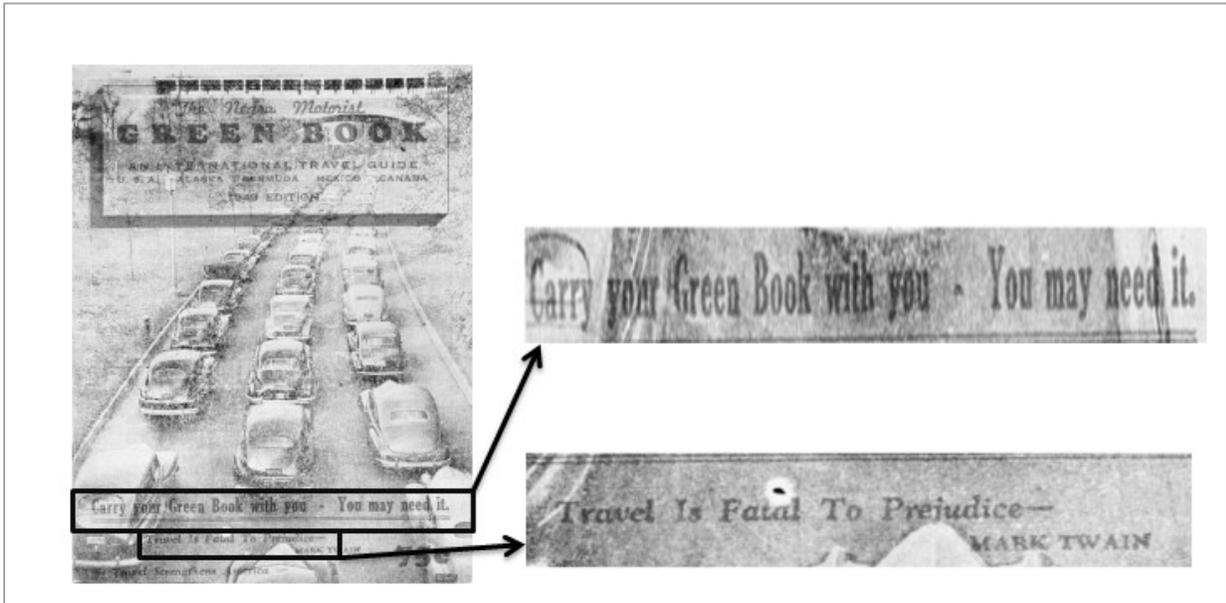


Figure 10 Front cover of the 1949 edition of *The Negro Motorist Green Book* (Victor H. Green & Co. 1949)

The Mapping and Analysis

The spatial expression of Victor Green’s 1949 Negro Motorist Green Book and 1950 Negro travelers’ Green Book are quite remarkable. Figure 11 illustrates the geographic location of cities listed in these respective volumes. The concentration of the city location within the Atlantic coast region of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia is unmistakably evident from first glimpse. The obvious level of concentration is in close proximity to the place of publication, Harlem, New York (Table 2).

For most of the 20th century, approximately 6 million African Americans migrated out of the Southern United States into the Northeast, Midwest, and Western United States, the data recorded in the 1950 and 1960 United States decennial census confirm this “great migration.” Specifically, the states of Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, and South Carolina experience an outward migration while the states of Kansas, California, Wisconsin, Illinois, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Michigan, and Washington experience a net inward migration of African American population (Figure 12).

City	Number_of_establishments_1949	Number_of_establishments_1959
Atlantic_City	60	24
Ocean_City	56	4
New_York_City	363	62
Philadelphia	87	8
Newport_News	16	3
Norfolk	12	4
Richmond	15	4

Table 2 Cities with historically high African American Population and large number of facilities listed in 1949 and 1959 Green Book

Between 1949 and 1959, Victor H. Green & Company changed the listing characteristics for *The Green Book*. In 1949, Green & Company listed hotels, motels, tourist homes, beauty parlors, barbershops, restaurants, and a variety of other types of facilities. By 1959, Green & Company listed only hotels, motels, and tourist homes. This change in publication method reduced the total number of facilities listed in 1959 to 1749 in 48 of 48 United States in 598 cities, compared to a total of 3706 facilities in 46 of 48 states and 527 cities in the United States. While there is reduction in the total number of facilities, which can be attributed to the streamlined listing method, there is a 13% increase in the number of cities listed in the *Green Book* over a 10-year period.

Map of cities listed in 1949 Negro Motorist Green Book - Victor H. Green & Co.



Map of cities listed in 1959 Negro Travelers' Green Book - Victor H. Green & Co.

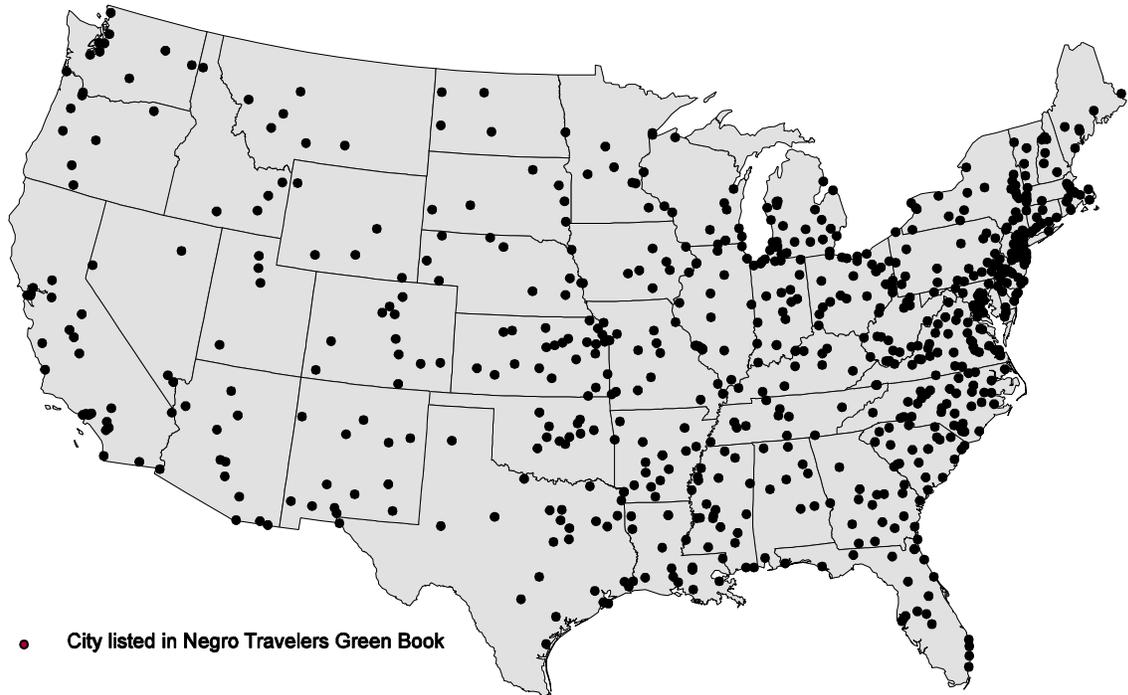


Figure 11 Geographic illustration of all cities listed in the 1949 and 1959 Green Book

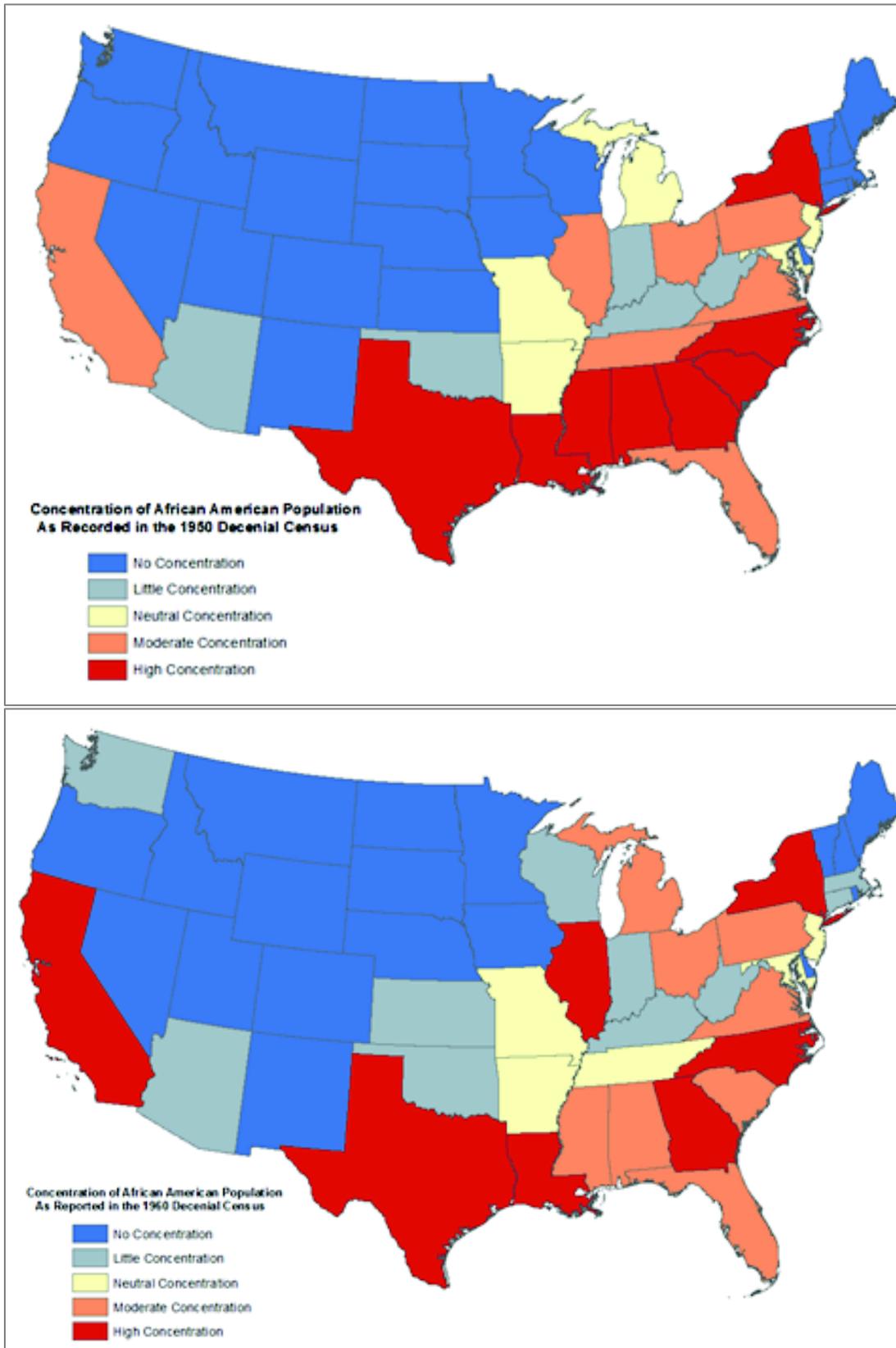


Figure 12 Change in concentration of African American population 1950 - 1960 (Minnesota Population Center; National Historic Geographic Information System 2011, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of The Census 1952)

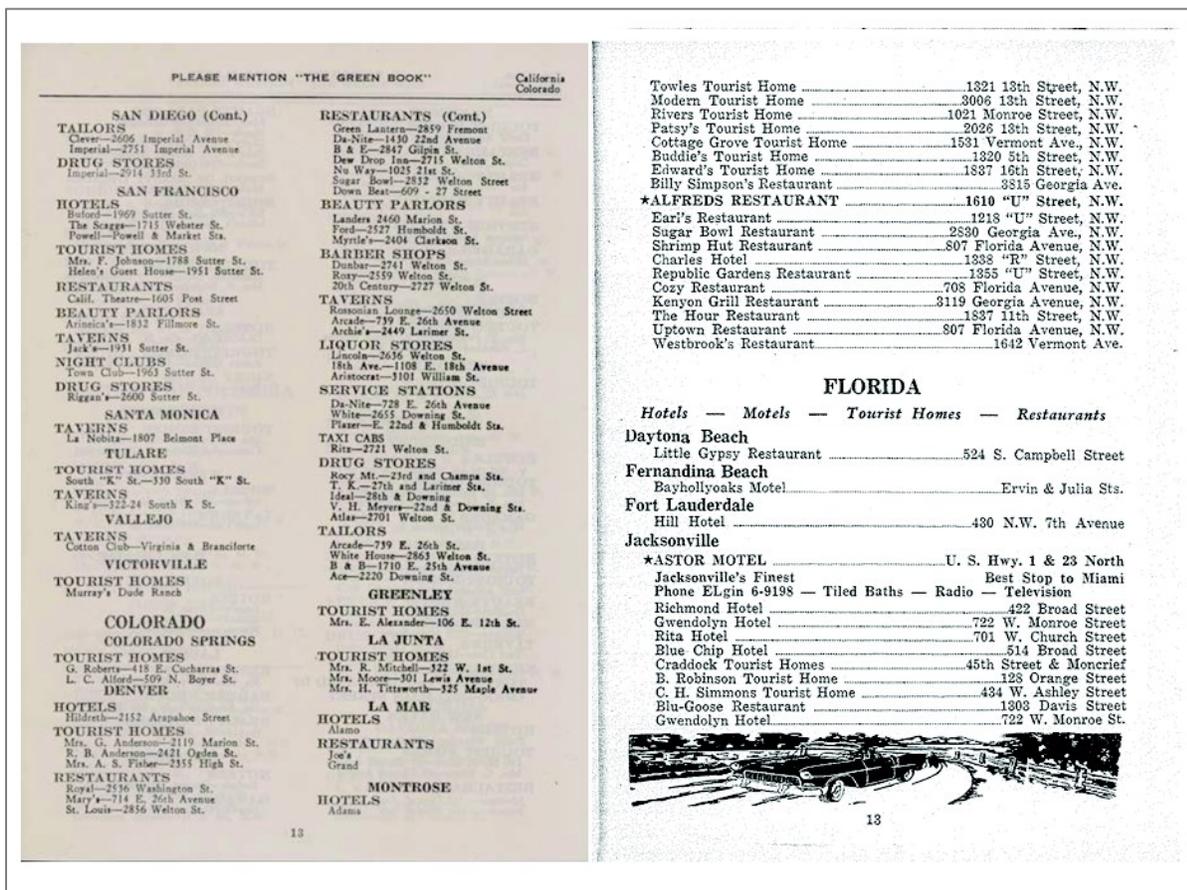


Figure 13 Representative pages from 1949 Green Book (on left) (The Henry Ford Collections 2004-2010) and on the right is a page from the 1959 Green Book (Green 1959)

A Getis-Ord G_i^* Hotspot Analysis (Figure 14) of the facility location in 1949 and 1959 reveals a reduction to the statistically significant clustering of Low-Low and High-High clustering. This reduction in clustering of z -scores tends to indicate that clustering, either high or low is not as pronounced as one would expect (ESRI 2012). In 1949, the New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania tri-state regions held the largest concentration of listed facilities; spots of high concentration also appear in the Ohio River Basin of Kentucky, Illinois, and Ohio, as well as in southern California. In 1959, we see a significant reduction in the high-high clustering in the New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania tri- state area. The hotspot concentrations in the Ohio River Basin and southern California all but disappear. The histograms (Figure 17 and 18) for the hot spot analysis appears to indicate movement toward a less biased distribution of facilities that

welcome African American travelers across the continental United States. This also serves to support the supposition that practices of Jim Crow segregation are declining.

The 1949 *Negro Motorist Green Book* listed 3,706 total facilities, 1,643 of the facilities was a hotel, motel, or tourist home. The 1959 *Negro Tourists' Green Book* listed 1,749 facilities that were hotel, motel, and tourist home, a 6.4 percent increase. Of the 1,749 facilities listed in the 1959 *Green Book*, 39 percent, or 691 of the listed facilities were also listed in the 1949 *Green Book*. This observation is one that contributes to the body of literature that discusses the disappearing African American urban landscape (Henderson 2006) and to the body of literature focusing on the politics that seeks to make space for automobility (S. Davis 1997, Lewis 1997, Sexton 2004). The observation supports to the literature that supports the idea of the “city-as-refuge” (Young 2011, 534) for African Americans, whether a result of social construction or coincidence. The reduction in the number of facilities per 1000 non-white residents, so evident in Figure 15 can be explained, as being due to Victor Green’s change in publishing style. What is more interesting about the symbology of Figure 15 is the westward movement of the regions that do increase in the number of facilities per 1000 non-white population. This westward movement of increasing facilities is into areas that Figure 12 shows as having little or no concentration of African American population.

Figure 16 is an overlay projection of Figure 11, the spatial pattern of cities listed in the 1949 and 1959 *Green Book*, and Figure 12, the spatial pattern of concentration of non-white population in the United States according to the 1950 and 1960 decennial census.

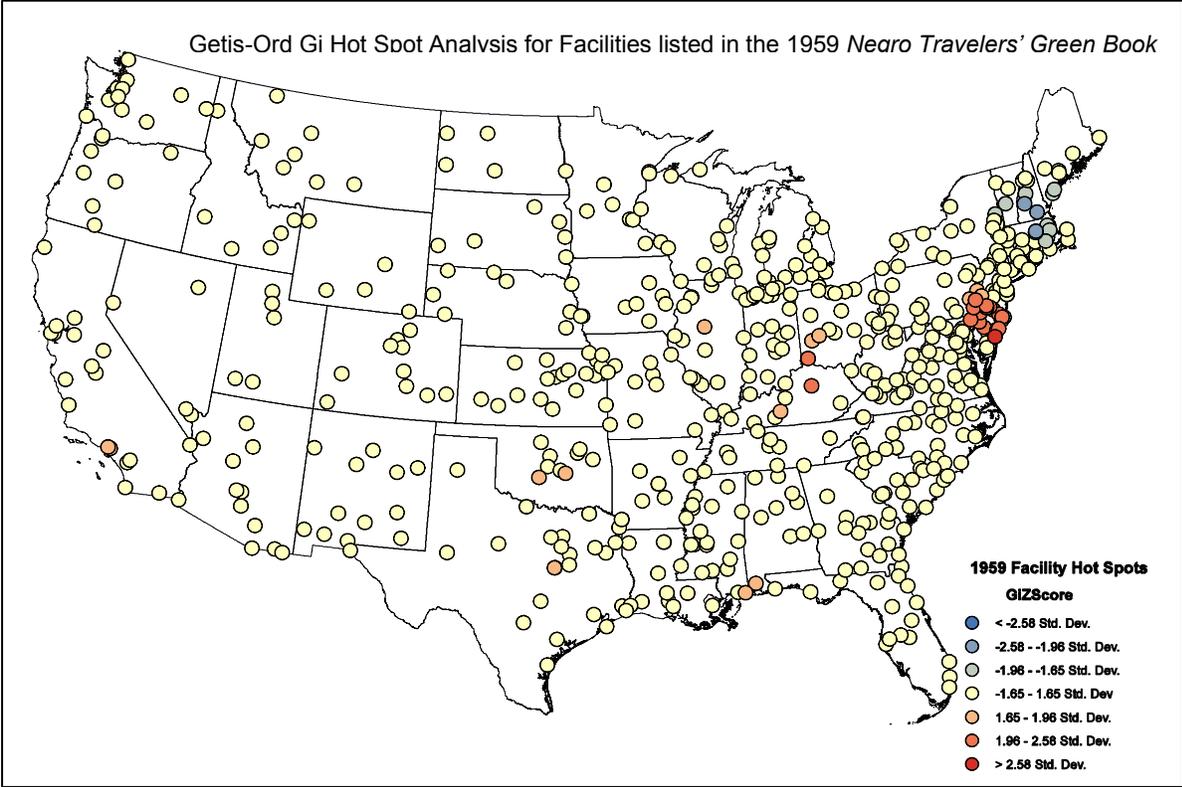
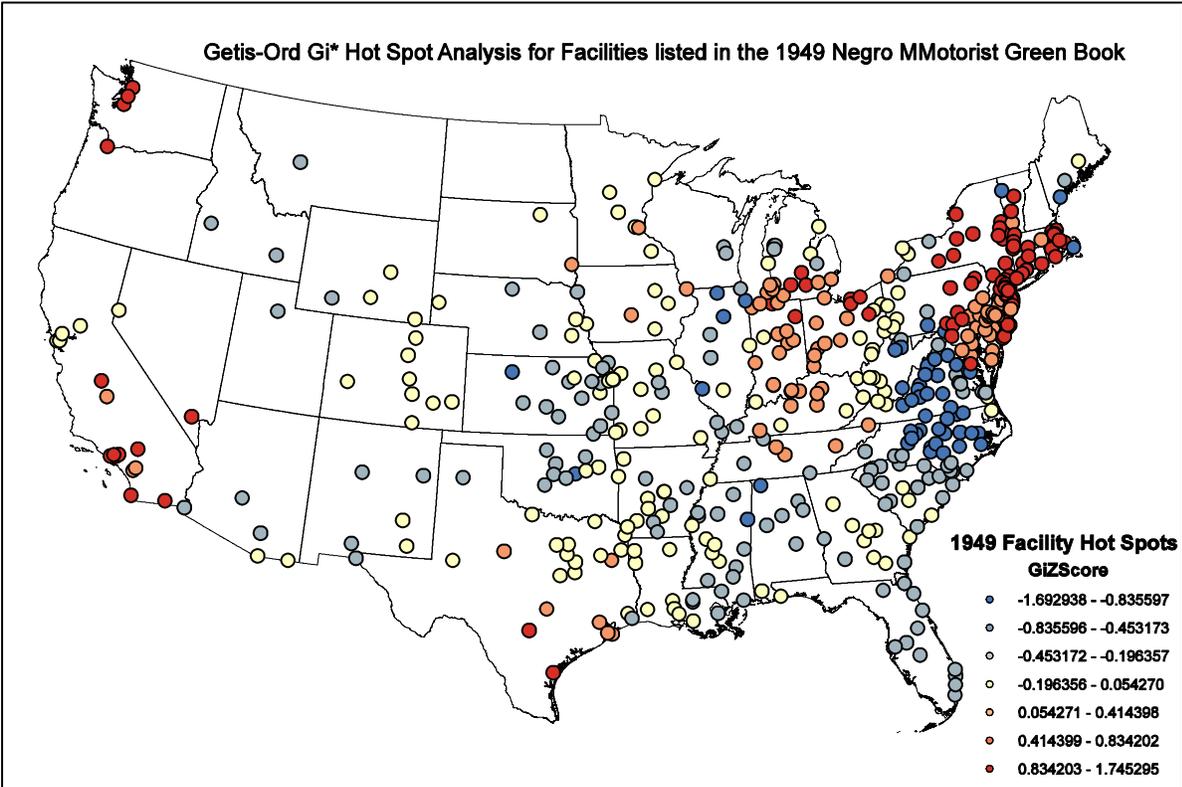
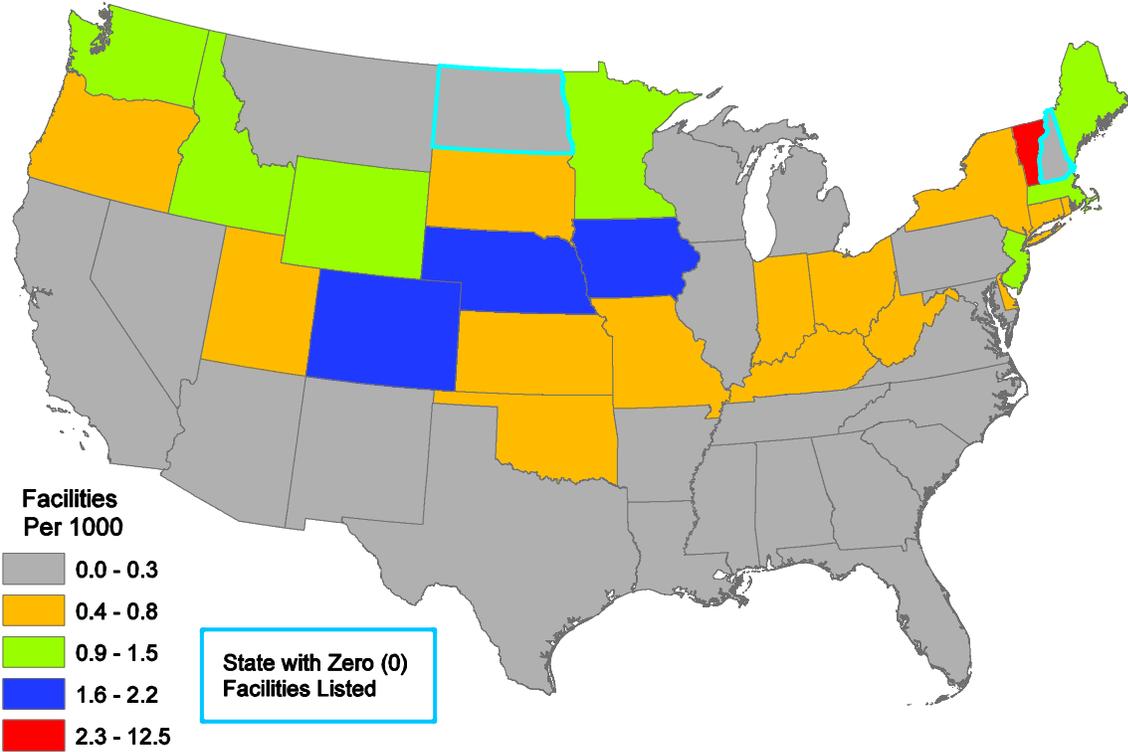


Figure 14 Getis Ord Gi* Hotspot Analysis

Number of Facilities in each State Per 1000 Non-White Residents 1949



Number of Facilities in each State Per 1000 Non-White Residents 1959

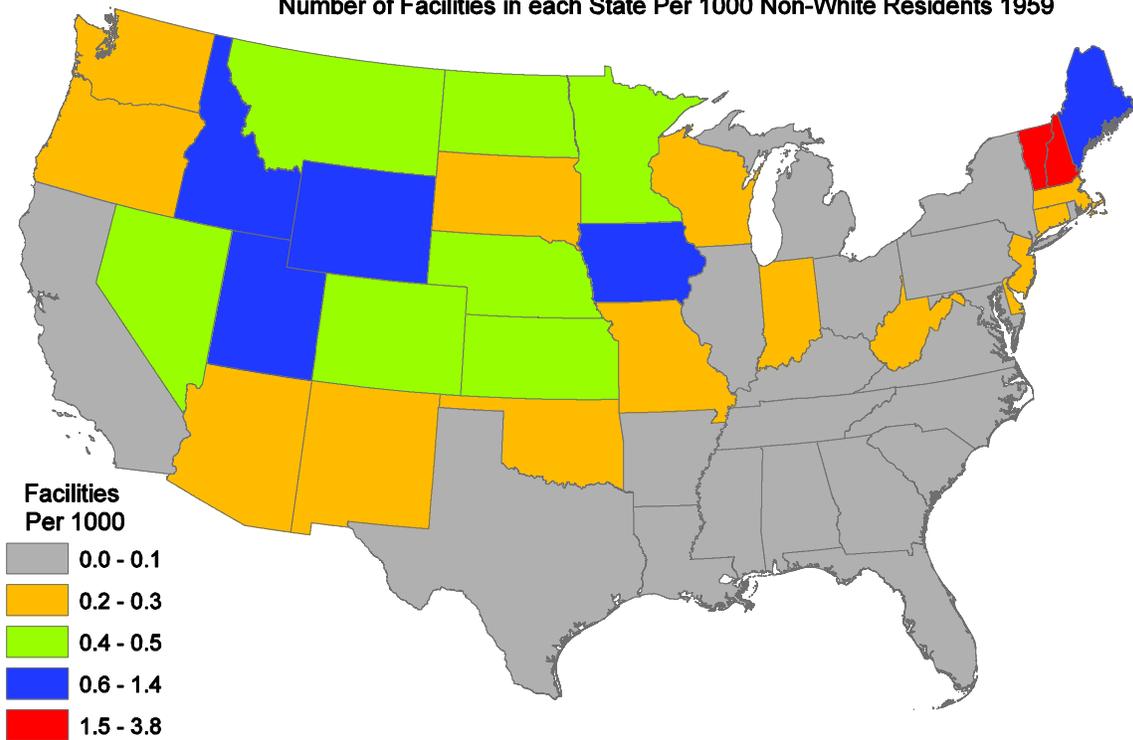
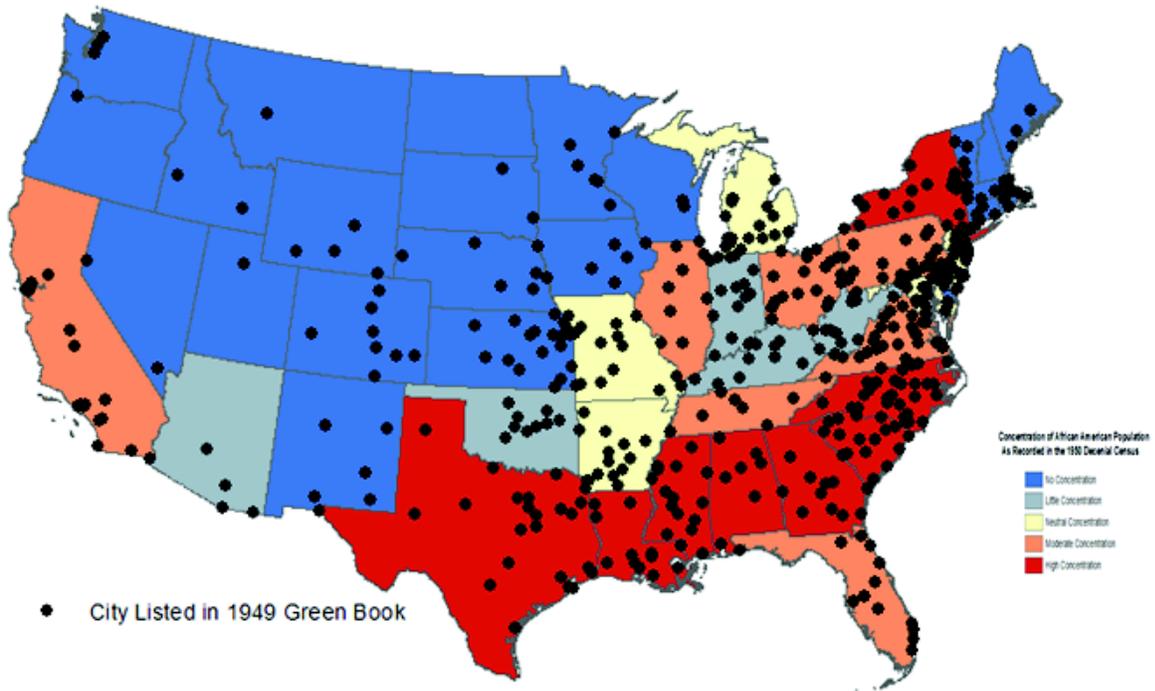


Figure 15 Number of listed facilities in each State per 1000 Non-White residents for 1949 and 1959

Concentration of Non-White Population and location of Cities listed in the 1949 Green Book



Concentration of Non-White Population and location of Cities listed in the 1959 Green Book

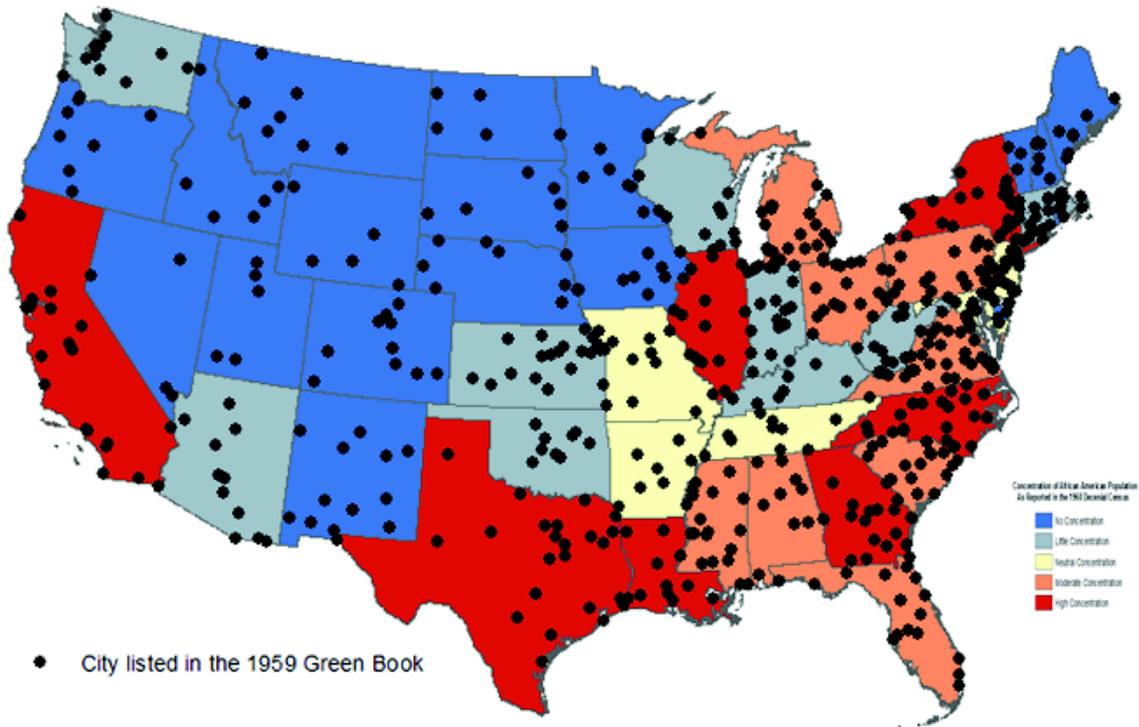


Figure 16 Overlay of Figure 11 on Figure 12

Figure 16 also displays the south to north and west shift in non-white population as the States of Alabama, South Carolina, and Mississippi drop from regions having a high concentration, to regions having a moderate concentration of non-white population. The State of Tennessee drops from a region having a moderate concentration of non-white population to a region of neutral concentration of non-white population. The States of Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Tennessee are significant as they are states identified in the 1965 Voting Rights Act as states with a history of segregation and discrimination against non-white populations. In addition, Figure 16 provides a spatial representation of just how much the availability of facilities, that provide hospitality to African Americans, expands north and west across the United States into regions with little or no concentration of non-white population. The symbology in Figure 16 further indicates an increasing growth of African American automobility and the concurrent expansion of African American travel / tourism into states with little or no concentration of a non-white population. The absolute increase, of 72 cities and 86 places of lodging listed as hospitable to African Americans, results from an increased demand for facilities, which welcome and provide hospitality to the non-white American population. Complementary to the increase in city and facility listings between 1949 and 1959 is the tendency toward a less biased distribution as shown with the Getis-Ord G_i^* z-statistic histograms.

The G_i^* statistic is a test of significance and a measure of standard deviation. A return G_i^* score of +2.5 translates as being +2.5 standard deviations from the mean. The G_i^* statistic separates clusters of high values from clusters of low values. The G_i^* statistic (Formula 1) is defined as: where x_i is the value at location i , x_j is the value at location j , and $w_{ij}(d)$ is the spatial weight (Chang 2012, 237).

$$G(d) = \frac{\sum \sum w_{ij} (d) x_i x_j}{\sum \sum x_i x_j}$$

Formula 1 Getis Ord G_i^* (Chang 2012, 235)

A high $G(d)$ indicates a clustering of high values and a low $G(d)$ value suggests a clustering of low values.

The hotspot analysis for facilities listed in the 1949 *Green Book* reveal a significant number of facilities not randomly dispersed throughout the United States. The clustering, that occurs in 1949, of very high and very low (negative) z-scores indicate that in 1949 the African American traveler / tourist would have a limited choice of where to travel and find a facility that offered hospitality. Conversely, an analysis of the 1959 G_i z-scores indicates a more unbiased distribution to the location of facilities that offer hospitality to African American. The histograms for the 1949 and 1959 G_i^* z-scores graphically depict the decreasing bias of faculty distribution. This contributes to the theory that African Americans could make making increasingly arbitrary decisions about where to travel or tour in an age when individual automobility is increasing. These descriptive measures of spatial data further support the conceptual meaning the *Green Book* provides to understanding the culture of automobility and notions of hospitality. To that end, I propose each agent listed in the *Green Book* contributed to the travel and tourism of African Americans and the increasing of resistance to Jim Crow segregation in an age of increasing automobility (1936-1964). As previously stated, Victor Green published his guide specifically to provide African Americans a tool for planning and avoiding the humiliation of Jim Crow discrimination and segregation as automobility increased travel and tourism. By listing in the *Green Book* the agents engaged in a process where each of them worked in “coopetition” (Edgell and Swanson 2013) to resist and reverse the impacts of Jim Crow segregation and discrimination on African American

automobility; thereby contributing to the development of African American travel / tourism. With the intent of providing thematic support to the spatial data interviews were conducted to collect journey stories containing textual evidence that provides further understanding of the obstacles African American travelers faced in terms of automobility and hospitality.

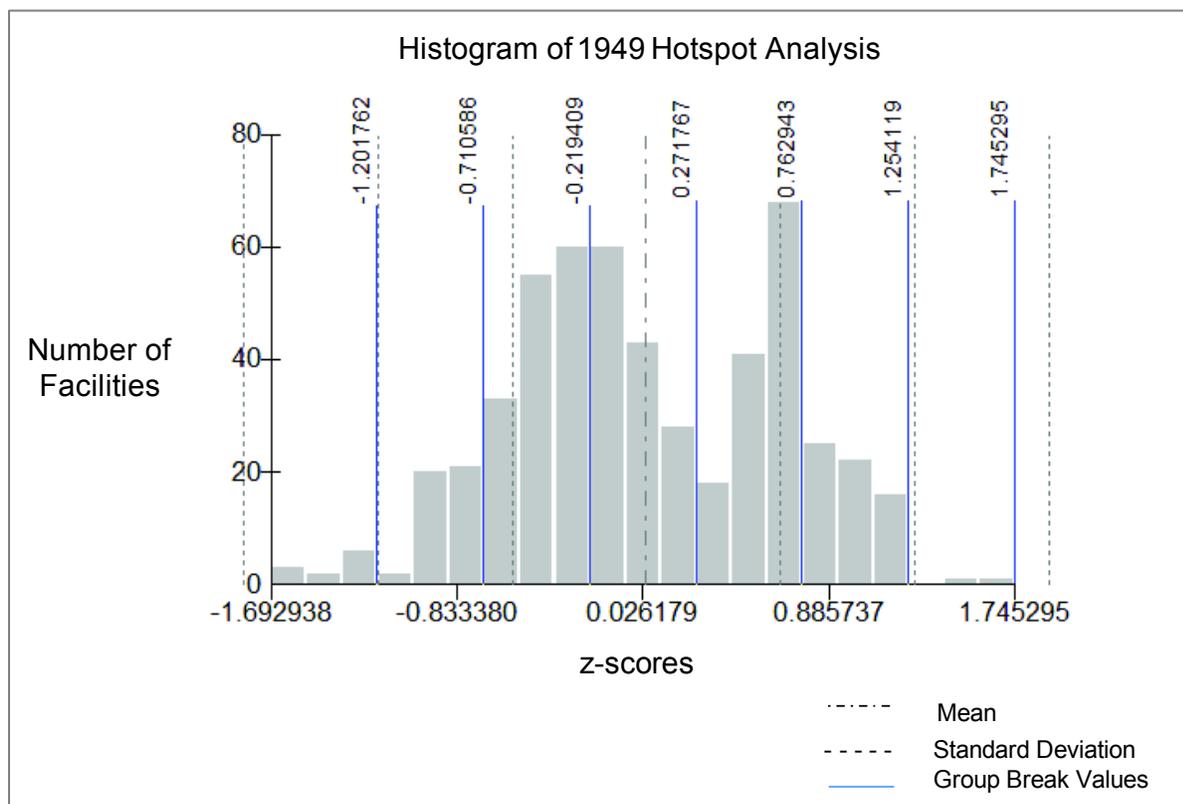


Figure 17 Histogram of 1949 z-scores

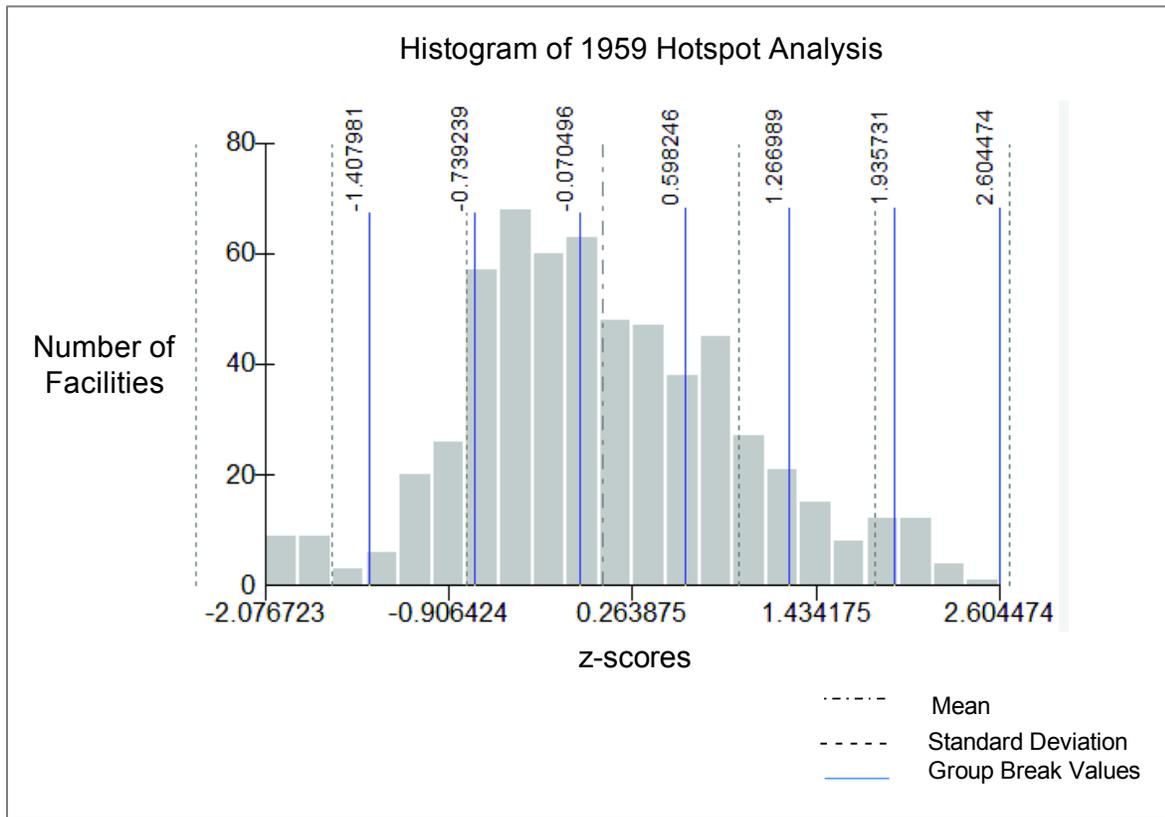


Figure 18 Histogram of 1959 z-scores

Meaning of the Green Book

The period of publication for the *Green Book*, 1936 – 1964, matches the years when automobility came of age (Seiler 2008, Bullard and Johnson 1997). The sightseeing and vacation businesses imparted momentous social, cultural, political, and economic influences in destination spaces (Kostopoulou 2001). Evidence of the impact Victor Green’s publication sought to have appears in the words printed in the 1949 and 1959 edition. In the 1949 edition, the guide’s writers tout the fact that one New York City’s white newspapers praised the guide’s roughly 70 pages of businesses, including white owned businesses that serve the Negro customer (Victor H. Green & Co. 1949).

Wendell P. Alston, a.k.a. “*The Esso Man*,” was a Special Representative for Esso Standard Oil Company and one of the four African Americans responsible for

incorporating the National Alliance of Market Developers in Washington, D.C., in 1954. In the 1949 edition of Green's travel guide, Alston wrote, "The Negro traveler's inconveniences are many and they are increasing because today so many more are traveling, individually and in groups. (...) The *Green Book* with its list of hotels, boarding houses, restaurants, beauty shops, barbershops, and various other services can most certainly help solve your travel problems. It was the idea of Victor H. Green, the publisher, in introducing *The Green Book*, to save the travelers of his race as many difficulties and embassassments as possible" (Victor H. Green & Co. 1949, 3/4). The 1959 publication of Victor Green's book continues to speak to the framework of racial power and resistance, the revised title and cover art also speaks to the changing nature of automobility.



Figure 19 James A. Jackson and Wendell Alston, a.k.a. The Esso Man (Victor H. Green & Co. 1949, 4)

Referring to Figure 20, the cover of the 1949, *The Negro Motorist Green Book*, possesses a semantically singular tense to its structure. It is my interpretation, that the

cover art delivers an image of a great highway where the individual Negro motorist is one of many moving toward the forest on the horizon. The image, to me, implies racial unity and the travel of the Negro race into the undefined spaces of a different culture that exists in the forest on the horizon. This interpretation finds support in the scholarship of Latin, Germanic, and Andalusian Hebrew poets. Dector (2004) speaks of how writers seek out and use specific landscapes to inspire and project implicit cultural substance. Latin authors portrayed forest dwellers as barbaric subsistent hunters; Germanic authors portrayed the forest as a haven of spiritual virtue, immune to urban seductions.

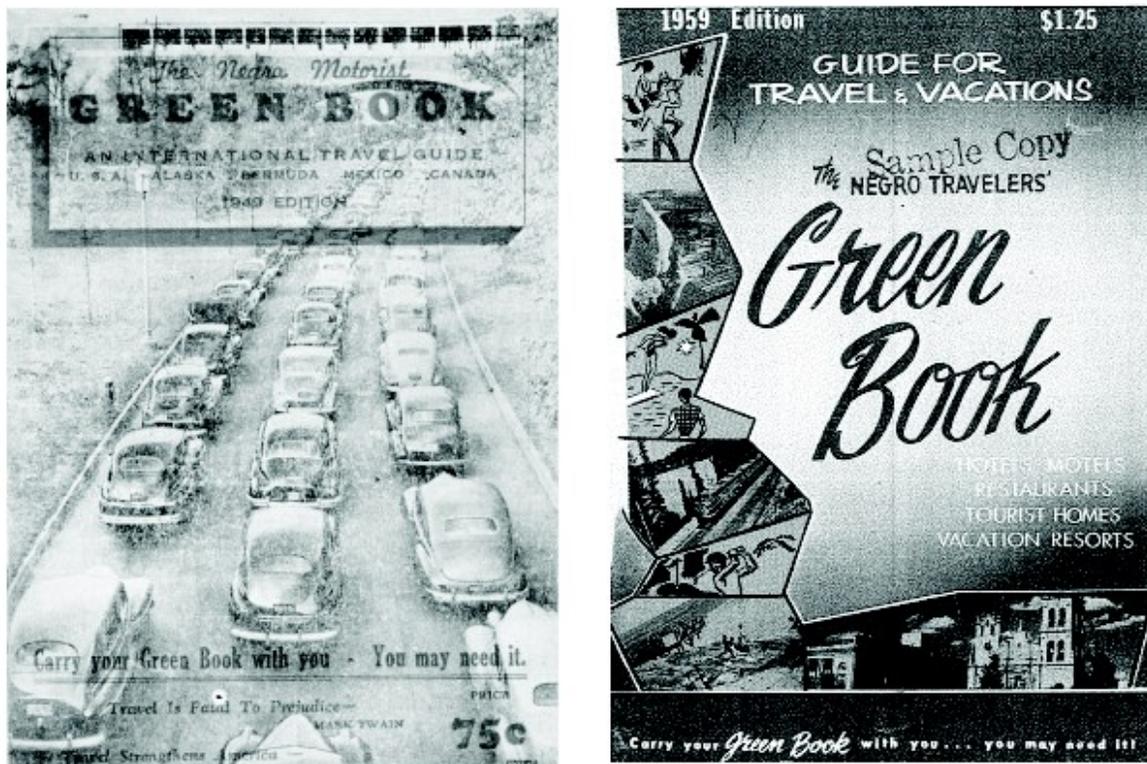


Figure 20 Cover art to the 1949 *Negro Motorist Green Book* (The Henry Ford Collections 2004-2010) and the 1959 *Negro Travelers' Green Book* (Green 1959)

Andalusian Hebrew poetic literature contrasted the desert and forest against the garden (Dector 2004, Glick 1995). The poetic Hebrew contrasts in landscapes represent the cultural differences that existed between the southern Andalus region of Granada and

northern Christian spaces of Castilian Iberia prior to unification under Ferdinand and Isabella (Speilvogel 2012, Dector 2004, Glick 1995). The cover art and editorial text found in the 1949 *Green Book* address a racial and cultural prejudice identified as Jim Crow as Victor Green quoted Mark Twain – “travel is fatal to prejudice.”

Again referring to Figure 20, the crowded highway of 1949 is replaced in 1959 by what I interpret as being the bright sunlit sky bordered with postcards of popular culture vacation and recreation activities. Some of the activities, specifically equestrianism and golfing, can be defined as high culture pastimes. Pastimes historically closed off from African Americans. In the 1959 edition, the editorials are teaching in nature, advising travelers “no travel guide is perfect, (...) secure a road map, plan your trip on this map, noting the route and cities that you are to pass through (Green 1959, 2). The editorial then gives the reader an intuitive push to use the *Green Book* by suggesting, “then you make note of the accommodations in the cities that you are to pass through in case you might want to stop over” (Green 1959, 2). At the very end of the 1959 travel guide (Figure 21), the publishers ask for the public’s feedback on accommodations and provides vacationers traveling away from home a list of things do help “keep the thief away from your door” (Green 1959, 84-85), a list that still good advise today. Victor Green Publishing & Company was not the only publicist of the Jim Crow Era to use available resources to teach the greater Negro community.

The personal files of Claude A. Barnett, housed in The University of Alabama’s Gorgus Library, contain documents that illustrate the landscape African Americans navigated through at the pinnacle of the African American culture’s isolated advancement. Claude Albert Barnett graduated, with the highest honors, from Booker T. Washington’s Tuskegee Institute in 1906. After graduation, Mr. Barnett returned to this home town of Chicago and took a job, that “he (would) recall (...) as an experience (that

allowed him) a good opportunity to peruse the newspapers and magazines and to develop an eye for effective writing and advertising, with the United States Post Office” (Black Metropolis Research Consortium n.d., BlackPast.org n.d.).

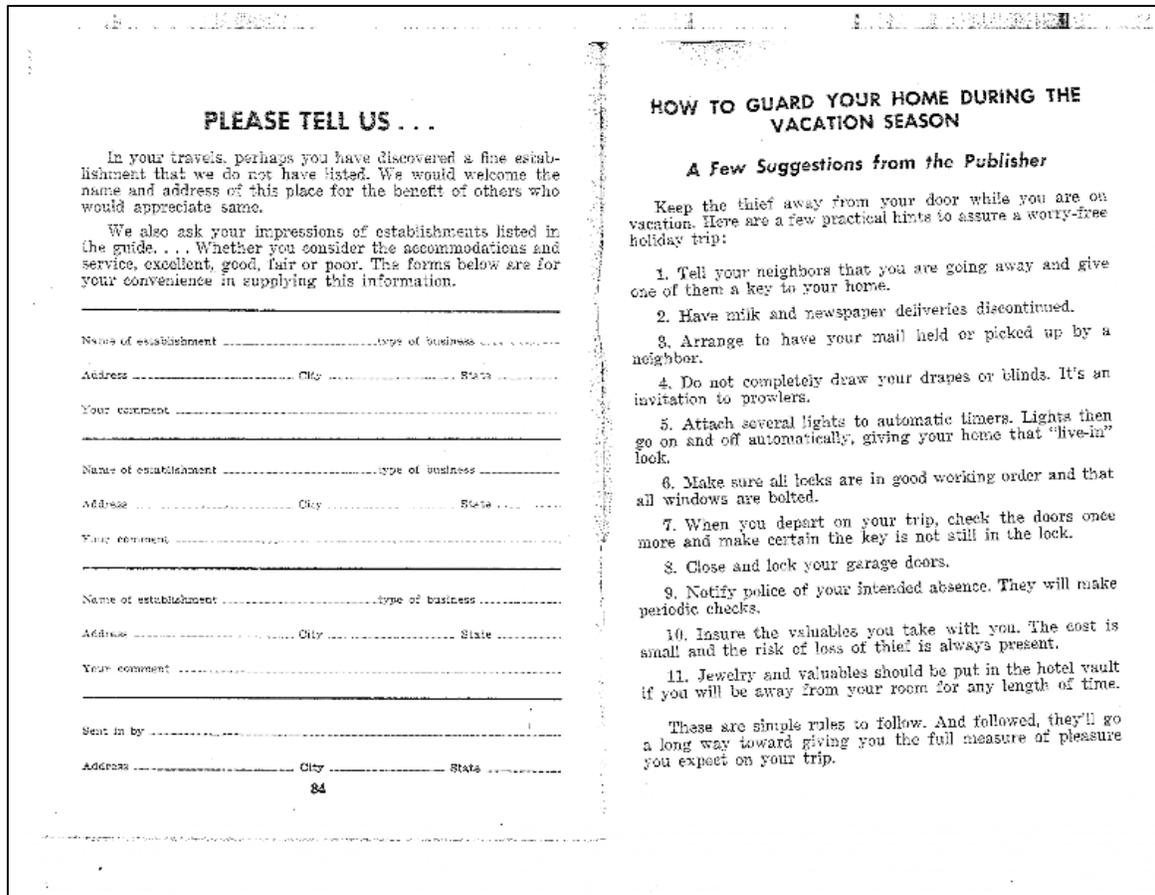


Figure 21 Final pages in the 1959 *Negro Travelers' Green Book* (Green 1959)

Currently, there is no verifiable evidence that Claude A. Barnett and Victor H. Green ever met. However, it is conceivable that they were aware of each other through the National Association of Letter Carriers and their common acquaintance with William (Billy) H. Butler, a freelance writer and an employee for the New York City based *Travelguide*, another publication in the same genre as the *Green Book*. Included in the Barnett Papers are a series of business letters exchanged between the Executive Editor for the Associated Negro Press, Frank Davis and Mr. Butler. The letter discussed the

publication of a series of publicity ads for the fledgling *Travelguide* in the “some 60 newspapers throughout the United States (a) list (that included) virtually all the important Negro papers” (F. M. Davis 1947).

The relevance of this connection finds credence in the six part series *Travel versus Discrimination* written by Billy Butler and published in consecutive Saturday editions of the Associated Negro Press affiliated *Pittsburg Courier* from April 3 through May 8, 1954. In his weekly columns, Butler, like Victor Green, informed the greater African American readership on the “educational and enlightening (effect the) ever increasing number of refined, cultured, and educated Negro travelers are having in gradually chipping away at the underpinnings of racial segregation and discrimination” (Butler April 3, 1954). Butler goes on in subsequent columns to express the importance for all Negro travelers “to win respect, respect yourself, and others” (W. Butler May 1, 1954), the implication here is self-respecting Negro travelers contribute to all African Americans share in the mutual progress toward ending Jim Crow segregation and discrimination. refined courteous and educated persona, is parallel to the message delivered by Booker T. Washington as he addressed the As illustrated through Butler’s columns and the guidance provided to black travelers through the *Green Book*, guide-assisted travel was seen as a means of not just getting from point A to point B, but as a part of a larger resistance to and redefinition of the American landscape of consumerism and mobility. Even further, as part of a broader fight for rights and respectability.

Jim Crow Journey Stories, Residual Influence, and Heritage

Victor Green and other successful independent African American entrepreneurs looked forward to the day when publications like the *Green Book* would no longer be relevant in the travel, tourism, and hospitality industry (Lacey-Borbeaux and Drash 2011). Like their white counterparts, a limited sector of the African American population,

primarily doctors lawyers, publishers, clergyman, politicians, and entertainment professionals, participated in the pleasure-seeking hospitality industry of travel tourism (Young-Armstead 2005). The firmly entrenched Jim Crow system of discrimination and segregation affected private and public vacation facilities. African Americans increasingly experienced the humiliation of being denied access to facilities placed in mainstream travel destinations like Atlantic City. The racial discrimination resulted in African Americans taking advantage of the developing marketing technology in real estate brochures, guidebooks, and newspapers (Young-Armstead 2005). Fifty years after the United States Interstate Commerce Act desegregated all private and public facilities; specifically those engaged in the hospitality industry, interviews conducted in support of this research indicate that the legacy of Jim Crow haunts the contemporary American landscape and the perceptions of those who travel and negotiate it.

Don and Elizabeth (Liz) Coles recalled two incidences where they were refused service. Once while on their honeymoon in 1970 in Salem Virginia and a second time again in 1970 while traveling to Homestead Air Force Base in Florida. Don and Liz were in the midst of a permanent-change-of-station (PCS) move. Liz recalled arriving in Jesup, Georgia. It was late, Don pulled into a motel, after a tiring day of traveling on the nation's highways. "Highways I was sworn to protect," Don added (Coles and Coles 2012). Liz explained Don always kept a handgun locked in the glove box of the automobile, against Liz's wishes. "Don came from the motel, opened the car door and snapped – "Give me the gun, I'm gonna shot that - well I won't repeat the words he used" (Coles and Coles 2012). Don defended himself, "I was upset. Here I was just back from a tour in Vietnam and refused a room because of my skin color" (Coles and Coles , The Green Book and travel 2012). In the course of our conversation, Don affirmed that Commanders at the Air Force Bases he was stationed, Homestead AFB and Seymour-

Johnson AFB, published official letters placing some establishments off-limits to assigned personnel because of complaints against them for discrimination. My military experience confirms this as true. At the very beginning of my military career in 1978, I attended the training faculty at the Naval Support Activity Mid-South in Millington, Tennessee, just 20 miles north of Memphis. As a student, I received many briefing of businesses, establishments, and geographic areas off-limits to assigned students.

For further, clarification on military bases and establishments being listed as off-limits, I contacted Ted Roberts, Base Historian at Tyndall AFB, Florida. During our phone conversation, Ted spoke of Base Commanders at Tyndall listing facilities as off-limits well into the 1990s. He spoke of an apartment complex just outside of Tyndall AFB, being off limits after an African American military couple complained of discriminatory rental practices. According to Ted, after the original complaint was made, the Tyndall Commander, arranged for two couples, one black, one white, to seek rental property at the facility. The couples were of equal rank and economic means. The African-American couple was refused rental property, while the white couple was approved, with no waiting. Also according to Ted, the military installations exerted pressure toward reforming segregation laws. He pointed to the fact that, Tyndall AFB is one of the military installations inside the continental United States to have an elementary school on base. Tyndall Elementary School was built in the 1960s because the military was desegregated and did not want dependent children of active duty personnel to attend the public schools that remained segregated. Coincidentally, during the interview with Don and Liz Coles, I had acquired only a copy of the 1949 *Green Book* at the time. Upon acquiring the 1959 edition, I checked. Both Jesup Georgia and Salem Virginia listed one facility each that offered humiliation free hospitality to African Americans. The experience of Don and Liz Coles, as well as, the information given by

Ted Roberts, there is no doubt, that a publication like the *Green Book* is a source for understanding the landscape of contemporary society.

When asked Don and Liz if the attitude displayed by the motel proprietor still appeared in contemporary society, they both expressed they had no experience with attitudes of segregation or discrimination since that experience. However, Don did add this.

- Richard, you know our son is married to a white girl.
- Yes Don I know that.
- You also know their children are fair skinned.
- Yes.
- Well, not long ago we (Liz and Don) took our Grandson to the Bakery Store on Grantham Street. (note: Liz began to nod almost knowingly)
- Yes, I know the store, the only place you can buy Outback® bread, besides the restaurant.
- We were in there not long ago and when our Grandson went to pay for his pastry treat the lady at the cash register asked, “young man what do you say to your sitters for this treat?” He replied, “They’re not my sitters, they’re my Grand-Parents and I love them.”

Don supported the conclusion that the legacy of Jim Crow is subversively present in contemporary society. Liz agreed with Don and recollected the number of times their second son, an airline pilot, has expressed his dismay at being mis-taken as a porter in airports in Chicago and New York (Coles and Coles 2012). In other interviews, that

included Mr. Luicoe and Mrs. Clarease Wilson with their daughter Adrian Middlebrook and in another interview with Chester Beverly, a comparable sentiment existed.

When asked if a legacy of Jim Crow is still present, Mr. and Mrs. Wilson answered “Yes, Its not out in the open. (...) Now its more subtle, like it was in the North and people are not quite as bold because of the mentality and the determination, the decision that some people (African Americans) say, if you want to be that ignorant, then I will take you to task and not let you disrespect me” (Wilson, Wilson and Middlebrook 2012). Ms. Middlebrook added, “They (African American children today) have not experienced true segregation and abuse of civil rights. They have been raised to believe and understand everyone is equal, then when they do experience the bigotry of discrimination they ask – wait, what just happened here” (Wilson, Wilson and Middlebrook 2012). For Chester Beverly the legacy of Jim Crow is exemplified in the experience of his daughter.

In the course of our discussion, Chester Beverly reinforced Don Coles’ story of how Jim Crow applied to all African Americans, even those in military uniform to the legacy of Jim Crow in society today.

Question: Bring the conversation forward a little bit – are there remnants of Jim Crow in todays society?

Chester: Yes, its there, but it has changed its texture. You have to be aware, but I guard against it. (...) You do not have the signs that that say colored and white, but you go buy a house and it hits you in the face. Right here in Goldsboro, my daughter, a Doctor, she had a hell-of- a-time finding a decent house. (...) They would not show her some of the houses she knew were available and when she found a house, the problem was the loan. The

loan with the bank – this was last year (2011). It is there.

Let's put it this way, they (younger African Americans) never knew what it use to be, when they get older they are going to be exposed to it.

Question - Are you referring to a learning curve among the younger generation

- Yes, there is a learning curve. Like my kids, I sit and talk to them how it use to be – they say – Well daddy why did you do this. (I reply) Well you wanted to survive. Now I have grandkids coming up and I hope they will not go through the same.

The interview I did with Laura Hoffman, a 101-year-old African American female, produced some the best texture to the landscape of Jim Crow. At first all Ms. Laura would say about the landscape was “things were just different then, things today they just ain't the same” (Hoffman 2012). However, about 45-minutes into the interview, Zann Nelson, mentioned Ms. Laura's Aunt Mary. Ms. Laura began talking about her Aunt Mary, who worked as a companion for Ms. Hannah, a well to do white women. Ms. Laura clarified companion was the term used to identify an African American or immigrant women who served in a domestic role (Hoffman 2012). According to Ms. Laura, Aunt Mary lived in New York City with Ms. Hannah and Aunt Mary traveled many times between New York City and the United Kingdom as Ms. Hannah's companion. According to Ms. Laura, Aunt Mary's African American heritage kept Ms. Hannah from purchasing tickets on the RMS Titanic. In her testimony, Ms. Laura revealed when Ms. Hannah attempted to purchase a ticket for herself and Aunt Mary from a New York ticket agent, the ticket agent refused to sell a ticket that would allow Aunt Mary equal lodging

as Ms. Hannah. If Ms. Hannah wanted a ticket for Aunt Mary, the ticket for Aunt Mary had to be in steerage. As a former member of the United States Navy, I know steerage is the term applied to the space between the ship's decks. The steerage area is nothing more than a hallway between decks. The steerage area may or may not have living quarters, showers, and bathrooms, if there are such amenities they are cramped, hot, and dirty. Because Aunt Mary could not travel with Ms. Hannah on the RMS Titanic, Ms. Hannah refused to purchase tickets at all (Hoffman 2012).

The interview with Ms. Peggy Place, a 69-year-old white female also produced evidence of the contested nature of the southern landscape. In the summer of 1958, 14-year-old Peggy Place, her three siblings, and mother traveled from Louisiana to the Ozarks outside of Saint Louis, Missouri. Traveling with the family was Alice, the African American female who worked as a laundress for the white middle class family (Place 2012). Ms. Peggy said the trip to the Ozarks went off without a hitch. However, the return trip to Louisiana started in a torrential rainstorm. The storm caused Ms. Peggy's family to stop in Jackson, Mississippi. Ms. Peggy's mother pulled into a hotel and registered everyone for a room with the night clerk and began to leave the office. Before exiting the door, "mother turned to the desk clerk and said, we have our maid with us, she can stay in our room, right? The clerk replied – No, you will need to take her to the (negro) hotel in town" (Place 2012). The illustration of the contested nature of the Jim Crow landscape is continued in another part of the interview with Chester Beverly.

Chester Beverly served 30 years in the United States Air Force as a pilot and eventually received assignment as the first Investigating Officer for Social Actions in the Strategic Air Command (C. Beverly 2012). Lieutenant (Lt) Beverly received his initial flight training at Maxwell-Gunter Air Force Base, just outside of Montgomery, Alabama. Lt Beverly reported for pilot training at Maxwell-Gunter Field in the winter of 1955/56. Lt

Beverly's assignment to Maxwell-Gunter Field coincided with the Montgomery Bus Boycott. Mr. Beverly described his initial Commanding Officer's briefing with these words.

We arrived when it was dark. On the bus ride to the field, we could not see a lot. They (the base personnel) got us fed and bedded, the next morning we were scheduled our first Commander's Briefing, after the Commander spoke to the whole group of Officers, the Command Chief (CmdC – the ranking enlisted member) and the Deputy Commander (DC) asked us (all African American Officers) to stay in place. Once the white Officers were gone, they (The CmdC and DC) informed us of the boycott and the tensions present. We (the African American Officers) were informed that to get involved in the boycott protests could adversely influence our successful completion of pilot training. We listened, but some of us could not help ourselves. (...) Gas stations were refusing to sell gas to us (referring to all African Americans civilian and military). We (African American Officers) could still buy gas on the field, what some of us would do is fill our gas tanks on the field, drive into Montgomery neighborhoods and allow our tank to be siphoned off into the cars of the boycotters. As we traveled from the field to town, we often picked up individuals walking along the road. Some of us even drove persons to and from work during the boycott (C. Beverly 2012).

The content received during these three interviews paint a vibrantly clear picture of the contested landscape created by Jim Crow prejudice and inequity. The final purpose to this research is an ethnographic mapping of the place the *Green Book* and Jim Crow rests within the lives, memories, and heritage of African Americans. Because the only direct experience any of the interviewees have with the *Green Book* results from presentation of the *Green Book* during the interview, I can only speak to the reactions and words of regret that the interviewees expressed for not knowing about the *Green Book*.

Laura Hoffman (2012) never learned to drive and Liz Coles (2012) learned to drive only after she was married, however both ladies relayed equal sentiments about the usefulness they saw in the *Green Book*. Chester Beverly (2012) said, "I could have used this. (...) It tells you where you can go. (...). I don't understand why no one said anything (about the *Green Book*)."

William Myers (2012), of Wilson North Carolina, when told an original copy of the *Green Book* is on display in the International Civil Rights Center & Museum in Greensboro NC, expressed words that indicated the *Green Book* deserves to be there. Diana Myer, a student at Winston-Salem State University when the 1960 Woolworth's lunch counter sit-in took place less than one-hour away in Greensboro and wife of William Myer, lamented - "we (Diana and her college girl friends) could have used this. (...) So many of us traveled to visit our families on (semester) break, this would have helped." The remaining interviewees expressed comparable and analogous sentiments for the *Green Book*. It is the textual conformity of the collective interviews that provides substantial proof that the *Green Book* holds a place as an archival source that is under- utilized and researched for understanding the lives and memories of African Americans. Two interviews, the interview with Don and Liz Coles

and the interview with Luicoe and Clarise Wilson and their daughter, Adrienne Middlebrook, contribute to the context for theorizing the legacy of Jim Crow.

During these interviews Don, Liz, and Adrienne talked about how as children growing up no mention was ever made by their parents of the segregated landscape that surrounded them. All three interviewees expressed they were just taught “this is how you behaved” (Wilson, Wilson and Middlebrook 2012, Coles and Coles 2012). For Liz and Don Coles (2012) it is “the way is was,” even as a young Liz stood behind the stage curtain and sang the words to the theme song of *Oklahoma*, while her white female classmate stood in front of the audience mouthing the words. For Adrienne, it was never explained why, but “when two or more white folks came toward you on a sidewalk, you stepped off into the gutter and allowed them to pass” (Wilson, Wilson and Middlebrook 2012). All three expressed some frustration with the fact that life under segregation was never talked about, but all three made sure they talked to their children about equality and fairness among races. Adrienne went as far to say enough is not talked about and more discussions need to take place. Don and Liz expressed similar opinions as they encouraged me in the work I was seeking to complete.

Illustrating the Importance of the *Green Book*

The cities of Birmingham, Alabama; Wilmington, North Carolina; Durham, North Carolina, and Memphis, Tennessee are cities from the listings found in the *Green Book* that help illustrate the *Green Book's* significance. Within the selected cities, 13 addresses appear in the 1949 and 1959 guides. It is reasonable to postulate that for every address a structure existed. In the course of the expanding African American heritage tourism industry, several locations have been designated *important* heritage locations. One location is the Lorraine Motel; 406 Mulberry Street, Memphis Tennessee (Figure 13) is remembered more for the assignation of Martin Luther King, Jr that took

place there April 4, 1968 than for its listing in the 1959 *Green Book*, the Loraine Motel is a heritage site. When included with the Marguette Hotel, the Traveler's Hotel, Mitchell's Hotel, and the other hotels listed in the 1959 *Green Book*, the possibility for building a sense of understanding for the lost African American heritage and community increases. Through the use of the modern virtual map and geographic information program, Google Earth 3D®, an even greater understanding of the lost heritage is possible. It is even possible to identify potential sites for rebuilding heritage.



Figure 22 Four cities, listed in the *Green Book*, important in the history of African American heritage



Huling Avenue / Mulberry Street
406 Mulberry St., Memphis, TN

Figure 23 Lorraine Motel today (Google Earth 3D 2013)

	Y.W.C.A.	210 E. Main St.
112	Hartford Hotel	325 Temperance St.
	Rollins Tourist Home	219 E. Vine St.
110	Anderson's Tourist Home	502 E. Vine St.
		501 E. Church St.
	Memphis	
12	Marguerite Hotel	500 Linden St.
	Travelers Hotel	347 Vance Ave.
	Mitchells Hotel	160 Hernando St.
	Eschery Hotel	181 Beale Ave.
	Hotel Queen Ann	228 Vance Ave.
	Scott's Restaurant	368 Vance Ave.
	Plaza Hotel	214 E. Cathoun St.
	Lorraine Motel	406 Mulberry St.
	Murfreesboro	
1	Moore's Tourist Home	State & University Sts.
1	Mrs. M. E. Howland Tourist Home	489 E. State
	Nashville	
	*CARYER COURTS	U. S. Hwy. No. 431
	Y.M.C.A.	4th & Charlotte Ave.

Figure 24 Page 63 from the 1959 *Green Book* (Green 1959)



Figure 25 Marguette Hotel 500 Linden St. Memphis, now empty space. (Google Earth 3D 2013)



Figure 26 Mitchell's Hotel 160 Hernando St. Memphis, now a parking garage (Google Earth 3D 2013)



Figure 27 Scott's Restaurant 368 Vance St, Memphis (Google Earth 3D 2013)



Figure 28 Travelers Hotel Memphis, empty property potential heritage site. (Google Earth 3D 2013)

Images, of what is now present in the places once occupied by the Dunbar (Figure 29) and Palm Leaf Hotel (Figure 30) in Birmingham, Alabama, illustrate the lost

African American heritage that Liz and Don Coles testified to when it was said that “there was a park near the tracks where Liz and I grew up(...) when the blacks lived there our auntie worked (...) to keep it clean, the city never did(...). After all the blacks was moved out (...) it (the Negro park) was all tore down and replaced with a nice park (...) with an affluent primarily white subdivision near it” (Coles and Coles 2012).

Henderson (2006) and Cresswell (2010, 2006, 1996) write about the lost heritage in cities like Birmingham and Roanoke due to urbanization and the changes in landscape, in predominately Black neighborhoods, to accommodate increased automobility.

Dr. David Edgell, former Under Secretary of Commerce for Travel and Tourism for the U.S. Department of Commerce and current Professor of Trade, Tourism, and Economic Development in the School of Hospitality Leadership at East Carolina University, wrote in *Business American* that “tourism is big business” (Edgell 1988). According to Dr. Edgell, the National Association of Black and Minority Chambers of Commerce promote and assist entrepreneurs develop and grow minority tourism industry. In a separate article, Dr. Edgell and Bernetta Hayes state further that “some industry and commercial activity may move to the suburbs, but the city remains a major attraction for tourists and conventioners” (Edgell and Hayes 1988, 8-9). Unfortunately, places like the Biltmore Hotel in Durham, North Carolina (Figures 31 and 32) could not be maintained or saved to attract tourists and conventioners.



Figure 29 Current occupant of property once listed as The Dunbar Hotel, Birmingham, AL (Google Earth 3D 2013)



Figure 30 Building now occupying location of Palm Leaf Hotel Birmingham, AL (Google Earth 3D 2013)

The Biltmore Hotel was located in a space once considered the heart of Black Wall Street, in Durham, North Carolina (Durham County, North Carolina n.d.). The Biltmore was one of the finer places between Washington, D.C. and Atlanta that African Americans could find for an overnight stay. Just one block from Union Station, which was tore down in 1968, the Biltmore Hotel was demolished in 1977 (Kueber, et al. 2013). The Church Street parking deck, which is used by patrons of the Durham Performing Arts Center and Durham Bulls Athletic Park, replaced Union Station. The site of what was once considered one of the South's best Negro hotels is now a vacant space, just minutes from Durham Bulls Athletic Park (Kueber, et al. 2013). Facilities located in Wilmington, North Carolina and listed in the 1949 and 1959 travel guides (Figure 34), offer a glimpse of the scale of the social network the *Green Book* helped to build and which can be rediscovered in thinking about the travel guide as a heritage educational resource..

Mention Wilmington, North Carolina in a discussion of African American civil rights heritage and most will immediately recall the conviction of nine African American men and one African American woman on the charges of arson and conspiracy. Most will also remember that a federal appeals court overturned the convictions because the state's witnesses admitted to perjury, revealing then District Attorney, Jay Stroud had violated the constitutional rights of the defendants. People will also remember the January 2013 Full Pardon of Innocence issued by North Carolina Governor Beverly as racism and said it is time to make the record right (Michaels 2013, Powell 1989). What most will not immediately call to mind are the 1898 massacre and ostracizing of the African American population, by white supremacists that seized political power (Divine, et al. 2011, Powell 1989). *The Green Book* contributes to the rich cultural heritage of

Wilmington, North Carolina by revealing a *grassroots* scale of activism in promoting travel, tourism, and automobility.

Listed in the 1949 and 1959 *Green Book* as Johnson's Restaurant (Figure 34) and Payne's Tourist Home (Figure 36), they now appear to be private residences. The photos captured using Google Earth 3D® reveal that not only did national and international organizations work to improve the travel and tourism of African Americans, but there was obviously a much smaller scale of grassroots social network that Victor Green's travel guides helped to build and make known. The African American Playwright and Author Calvin A. Ramsey, wrote of this network in *Ruth and the Green Book* (Ramsey 2010). *Ruth and the Green Book* is a illustrated children's book that has won the Jane Addams Children's Book Award for promoting "peace, social, justice, world community, and equality of sexes and races" (Jane Addams Peace Association 2012). Set in the 1950's, *Ruth and the Green Book* illustrate the movements of a young African American girl and how the *Green Book*, purchased by her father at the Esso Gas Station, helped to navigate the Jim Crow landscape as Ruth and her family traveled from their home in Chicago to Ruth's grandmother's home in Alabama. Ruth's journey story is another illustration of the *Green Book* aided the automobility of African American travelers and tourists during the Age of Jim Crow.

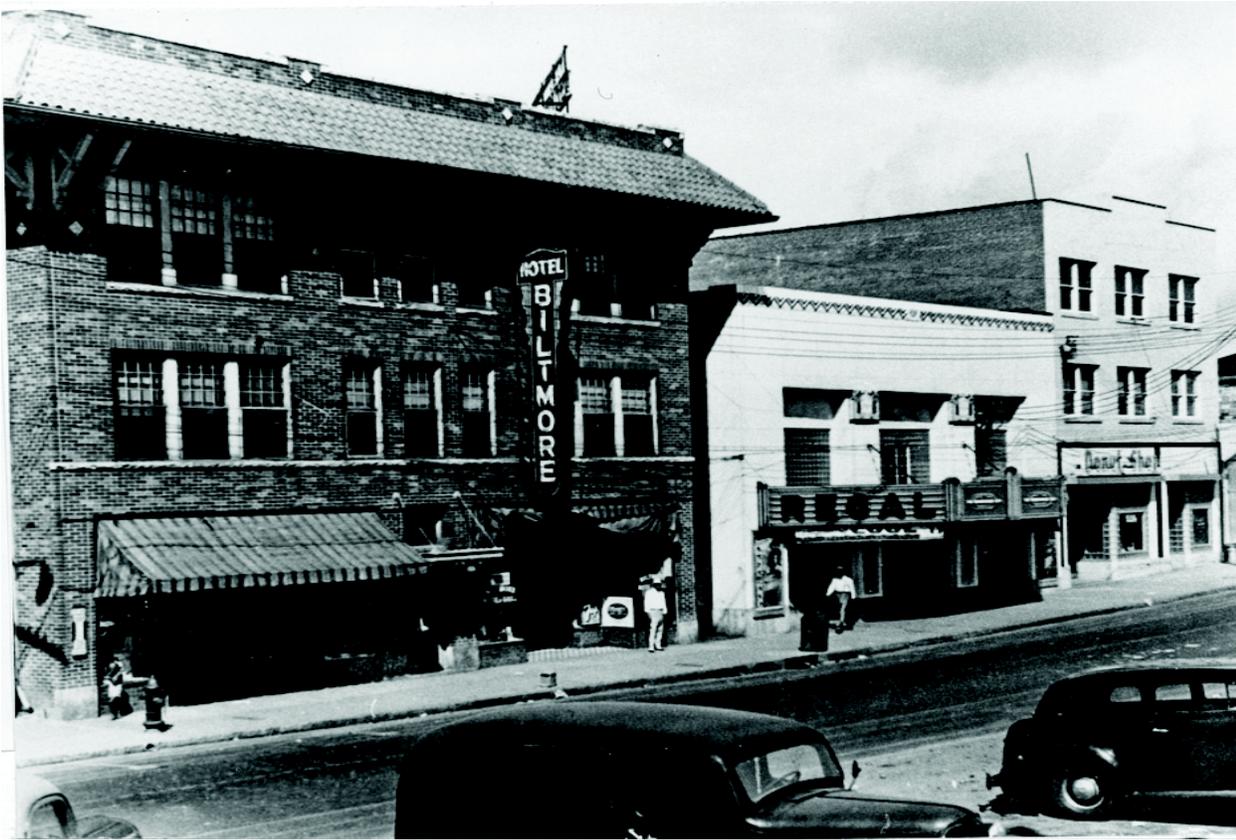


Figure 31 Historical Photo of the Biltmore Hotel circa 1940s (Durham County, North Carolina n.d.)



Figure 32 Biltmore Hotel today. Notice the fire hydrant in left side of each picture (Durham County, North Carolina n.d.)

ON "THE GREEN BOOK" North Carolina

SALISBURY
TAXI CABS
 Safety—122 N. Lee St.

SUMTER
TAVERNS
 Silver Moon—20 W. Liberty St.

WHITEVILLE
TOURIST HOMES
 Mrs. F. Jeffries—Mill St.

WILSON
HOTELS
 Biltmore—E. Washington St.
 The Wilson Biltmore—539 E. Nash

TAXI CABS
 M. Jones—1209 E. Queen St.

WINSTON-SALEM
HOTELS
 Y. M. C. A.—410 N. Church St.
 Lincoln—9 E. Third St.

TOURIST HOMES
 Charles H. Jones—1611 E. 14th St.
 Mrs. H. L. Christian—302 E. 9th St.
 R. B. Williams—1225 N. Ridge Ave.

NIGHT CLUBS
 Club 709—709 Patterson Ave.

WASHINGTON
DRUG STORES
 Lloyd's—408 Gladden St.

WELDON
HOTELS
 Pope
 Terminal Inn—Washington Ave.

WILMINGTON
HOTELS
 Payne—417 N. 6th St.
 Murphy—813 Castle St.

RESTAURANTS
 Harris—10th & Worcester Sts.
 Johnson's—1007 Chestnut St.
 Hillcrest—1118 Dawson St.
 Manhattan—816 S. 13th St.
 Oiler's—415½ S. 7th St.
 Blue Bird 619 Castle St.

BEAUTY PARLORS
 Beth's—416 Anderson St.
 Lenora—609 Red Cross St.
 Germany's—715 Red Cross St.
 Lou's—820 Red Cross St.
 Newkirk's—1217 Castle St.
 Pieco's—615 Kedder St.
 Apex—613 Red Cross St.
 Dickson—1101 S. 7th St.
 Contrace—415 S. 7th St.
 Howard's—121 S. 13th St.
 Vinity Boy—115 S. 13th St.
 La Celeste—508 Nixon St.

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Kings Mountain
 Mrs. L. E. Ricks Tourist Home

Lumberton
 Sardin's Inn Hotel 168 Chestnut St.

New Bern
 Rhoads Hotel 42 Queen St.
 E. C. Sparrow Tourist Home 68 West St.

Raleigh
 DeLuxe Hotel 220 East Cabarrus St.
 Y.M.C.A. 800 So. Bloodworth St.
 Starksville Guest House 800 East Bragg St.
 Mrs. Charles Higgs Tourist Home 213 East Lenoir
 Legion Home Restaurant 418 E. Cabarrus St.
 *N.L.K. CONGO RESTAURANT Garner Road
 New York Restaurant 198 E. Hargett St.
 Stanton's Cafe-Restaurant 319 South East St.
 Bloodworth St. Tourist Home 424 So. Bloodworth St.

Pinhurst
 Foster's Tourist Home

Rocky Mount
 Wright's Motel State Hwy. No. 95 & Raleigh Rd.
 Lincoln Park Motel 1600 Leggett Rd.

Statesville
 *EVENING BREEZE MOTEL U. S. Hwy. No. 76, 64 & 21

Weidon
 Pope Hotel Washington Ave.
 Terminal Inn Hotel Washington Ave.

Whiteville
 Mrs. Fannie Jeffers Tourist Home Mill St.

Windsor
 Wood's Luncheonette Granville St.

Winston Salem
 Stevens Hotel 526 East 4th St.
 Lincoln Hotel 8 W. 2nd St.
 Charles H. Jones Tourist Home 1611 E. 14th St.

Wilmington
 Payne's Tourist Home 417 No. 6th St.
 Johnson's Restaurant 1007 Chestnut St.
 Oiler's Restaurant 415½ S. 7th St.
 Hill's Restaurant 804 Red Cross St.
 Owens Club 900 Restaurant 900 No. 9th St.



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Figure 33 Listings from 1949 (right) and 1959 (left) Green Book for Wilmington, North Carolina (Green 1959, Victor H. Green & Co. 1949)



Figure 34 Photo of the property listed as Johnson's Restaurant Wilmington, North Carolina (Google Earth 3D 2013)



Figure 35 Property listed as Payne's Tourist Home, Wilmington North Carolina (Google Earth 3D 2013)

Chapter 5: CONCLUSIONS

This research proceeded under the auspices of the Race, Ethnicity, and Social Equity in Tourism (RESET) initiative housed within the Center of Sustainable Tourism at East Carolina University. This research adds to the body of literature in historical GIS and spatial, digital humanities, supported by the reinforcement of the call by Alderman, Kingsbury, and Dwyer (2013) to critically reevaluate the literature of mobility; to literally and figuratively, provide a practical and symbolic perspective of how racial identity and racism shaped the travel, tourism, and hospitality industry. Through the research, three questions are answered.

First, where were the greatest and least concentration of cities with *Green Book* establishments in terms of absolute number and rate per capita of a state's African American population in 1949 and 1959? Second, what is the meaning of the *Green Book* as a reflection of social control of travel and as a mechanism of social resistance and empowerment? Finally, what are the residual influences of Jim Crow in shaping memories of heritage and social and spatial patterns of automobility today?

The literal mapping and analysis reveals the highest concentration of cities with the greatest values for the number of facilities present to be clustered in the northeast region of the United States. While it would be in Victor H. Green's business model to commission efforts to increase listings and advertisement, theoretically the clustering that appears in the northeast can be explained as being a result of the relationship that existed between Victor Green Publishing and Wendell Alston. Alston, also-know-as "The Esso Man" (Victor H. Green & Co. 1949), was the Special Representative of Marketing for Standard Oil (ESSO) New York, a company that held the

distributing contract for New York and the New England states. The clustering of cities with the second largest number of facilities occurs in the Great Lakes Region. We know from the 1959 travelers' guide that Victor Green did employ a advertising director and a sales correspondent (Green 1959, 1), to increase advertising and marketing . However an apparent network connection between Victor Green and Claude Barnett, Founder and Editor of the Associated Negro Press (ANP), home based in the Great Lakes City of Chicago, contributes to explaining the second large cluster and further addresses the second question, which asks what is the meaning of the *Green Book* as a reflection of social control of travel and as a mechanism of social resistance and empowerment.

As stated, both men were employees of the United States Postal Service. It is conceivable that Claude and Victor became aware of each other through the network created by membership in the National Association of Letter Carriers. The theory of a network relationship is strengthened by the fact that Claude Barnett was networked to Billy Butler, a freelance journalist and employee for *Travelguide*, a competing guide for places of hospitality, in the same genre as the *Green Book*. Butler's articles, titled Travel and Discrimination, both topics of interest to Victor Green. Additionally, the publishing offices for *Travelguide* and the *Green Book* were home based in New York City. This network theory contributes directly to understanding the *Green Book* as a reflection of the social control Jim Crow discrimination had on African American automobility in travel/tourism, a type of discriminatory hospitality that Victor Green sought to help African American resist. Further research into the common network linkages that Victor Green and Claude Barnett shared could lead to a greater construction of the overlapping and interconnected benefits the *Green Book* had in expanding African American automobility.

The mapping of the 1949 travel guide revealed small clusters of cities with a high concentration of facilities that were welcoming to African Americans in the Pacific Southwest, near the present region of Los Angeles County California and in the Pacific Northwest, near the cities of Portland and Salem Oregon. I believe an explanation for these clusters may be found with further research into the relationship between Standard Oil and Victor Green Publishing. As one of the largest petroleum companies of the era and the fact that Standard Oil was unusually unrestricted in hiring, granting of franchise licenses, and servicing African Americans in their pursuit of unobstructed automobility, a fact that Calvin Ramsey decided to highlight in his children's book. Research into the Esso – Green relationship offers another opportunity for expanding the idea that the *Green Book* is an underutilized source for historical geographers to increase the understanding of the mechanisms of social resistance and empowerment for African Americans. Credible research into Victor Green's status as a retired postal worker could reveal how the *Green Book*, with access to a network that stretched into virtually every city in the United States, further advanced African American resistance.

Finally, when considering the residual influences of Jim Crow in shaping the memories of heritage and the social and spatial patterns of modern automobility, the interviews, conducted as part of this thesis, provided a large amount of textual richness. The stories did reveal the public separation, humiliation to racial and cultural pride, and fear that lead to the surrender to white authority during the years of Jim Crow (1936 - 1964). The interviews also produced an underlying theme of continued stereotyping and segregation through covert actions such as selective marketing in real estate,. Districting, and urban renewal in the context of understanding how economic interests in automobility, socially and spatially, take advantage of the recorded history of white supremacy. Finally, the interviews offered an unexpected glimpse at the potential the

Green Book has as an alternative source for teaching lessons of heritage. Inwood (2011, 574) reminds us, and it is worth restating, “we have the power through our collective efforts as geographers to help make our own geography and history.” The *Green Book* stands as an under analyzed tool available to the study of racialized space by historical geographers. The limited number of facilities listed in the *Green Book* speaks to the historical force white privilege exerted in creating the racialized landscape of Jim Crow. The *Green Book* presents itself to other avenues of future research that includes increasing diversity education and how economic and social automobility coalesced to resist segregation.



Figure 36 The estate of Millard F. and Rosa M. Bell, recorded as the first black motel in Greenville, North Carolina. The Bell Hotel is not listed in either 1949 or the 1959 *Green Book*, but the Bell Restaurant is listed in both the 1949 and 1959 *Green Book*. (Picture taken by Richard Kennedy.)



512 Queen St, New Bern, NC

Figure 37 Registered Cultural Site that is part of the Heritage Walking Tours in New Bern, N.C. - Rhone Hotel, New Bern, North Carolina listed in both 1949 and 1959 *Green Book*, picture from Google Earth 3D, 2013.

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APPENDIX A: IRB APPROVAL LETTER

Richard Kennedy

From: umcirb@ecu.edu
Sent: Wednesday, March 28, 2012
To: 8:40 AM Kennedy, Richard
Subject: Almon
IRB: Study Correspondence Letter

EAST CAROLINA UNIVERSITY

University & Medical Center Institutional Review Board Office

IL-09 Brody Medical Sciences Building · Mail Stop 682
600 Moye Boulevard · Greenville, NC 27834
Office **252-744-2914** · Fax **252-744-2284** · www.ecu.edu/irb

Notification of Initial Approval: Expedited

From: Social/Behavioral IRB
To: Richard Kennedy
CC: Derek Alderman
Date: 3/28/2012
Re: UMCIRB 12-000476
Mapping the Negro Motorist Green Book

I am pleased to inform you that your Expedited Application was approved. Approval of the study and any consent form(s) is for the period of 3/27/2012 to 3/26/2013. The research study is eligible for review under expedited category #6, 7. The Chairperson (or designee) deemed this study no more than minimal risk.

Changes to this approved research may not be initiated without UMCIRB review except when necessary to eliminate an apparent immediate hazard to the participant. All unanticipated problems involving risks to participants and others must be promptly reported to the UMCIRB. The investigator must submit a continuing review/closure application to the UMCIRB prior to the date of study expiration. The Investigator must adhere to all reporting requirements for this study.

The approval includes the following items:

Name	Description
<u>Kennedy Informed-Consent-NMTMR GEOG 6160 2 22 2012.docx</u> History	
<u>Kennedy Interview revision 3 02 2012.docx</u> History	
Consent Forms Interview/Focus Group Scripts/Questions	

The Chairperson (or designee) does not have a potential for conflict of interest on this study.

IRB00000705 East Carolina U IRB #1 (Biomedical) IORG0000418
IRB00003781 East Carolina U IRB #2 (Behavioral/SS) IORG0000418
IRB00004973 East Carolina U IRB #4 (Behavioral/SS Summer)
IORG0000418

Study.PI Name: Study.Co-
Investigators:

APPENDIX B: INFORMED CONSENT FORM



Informed Consent to Participate in Research

Information to consider before taking part in research that has no more than minimal risk.

Title of Research Study: Mapping the Green Book

Principal Investigator: Richard Kennedy under the direction of Dr. Derek Alderman

Institution/Department or Division: Department of Geography

Address: Brewster D205

Telephone #: 919-583-8481

Researchers at East Carolina University (ECU) study problems in society, health problems, environmental problems, behavior problems and the human condition. Our goal is to try to find ways to improve the lives of you and others. To do this, we need the help of volunteers who are willing to take part in research.

1. Why is this research being done?

The purpose of this study is to offer a theoretical/analytical framework for interpreting the meaning and importance of Victor Green's *Negro Motorist Green Book* within the lives of African Americans during Jim Crow, using ideas about automobility, social power, and the politics of southern hospitality. The decision to take part in this research is yours to make. By doing this research, we hope to learn the meaning of the *Green Book* as both a reflection of social control of travel during Jim Crow as well as a mechanism of social resistance and empowerment for travelers.

Why am I being invited to take part in this research?

You are being invited to take part in this research because your input is a invaluable resource in this topic area. Your unique interpretation of social climate and structure will aid in developing the theory sought. If you volunteer to take part in this research, you will be one of many people to do so regionally.

Are there reasons I should not take part in this research?

If discussing topics of race and segregation are offensive or disturbing to you then participation may not be in your best interest.

What other choices do I have if I do not take part in this research?

You can choose not to participate.

Where is the research going to take place and how long will it last?

The research procedures will be at place convenient to you and the primary investigator.

What will I be asked to do?

You are being asked to sit with the primary investigator (Richard Kennedy) and his Thesis Director (Dr. Derek Alderman), and discuss race, segregation, travel. Tourism and to contemplate on meaning of the Green Book as both a reflection of social control of travel during Jim Crow as well as a mechanism of social resistance and empowerment for travelers

What possible harms or discomforts might I experience if I take part in the research?

There is no risk of health in this research, as all we will do is talk. You may experience discomfort because of the topic.

What are the possible benefits I may experience from taking part in this research?

We do not know if you will get any benefits by taking part in this study. This research will help us learn more about the residual influences of the Jim Crow era in shaping social and spatial patterns of mobility today. You may experience no personal benefit from your participation but the information gained by doing this research may help others in the future.

Will I be paid for taking part in this research?

There is no offer of financial compensation. Participation is voluntary.

What will it cost me to take part in this research?

The cost of transportation to and from the interview location.

Who will know that I took part in this research and learn personal information about me?

To do this research, ECU and the people and organizations listed below may know that you took part in this research and may see information about you that is normally kept private. With your permission, these people may use your information to do this research:

- The University & Medical Center Institutional Review Board (UMCIRB) and its staff, who have responsibility for overseeing your welfare during this research, and other ECU staff from The Department of Geography who are overseeing the research:
- Dr. Derek Alderman; Dr. Jennifer Brewer; and Dr. Thomas Crawford

How will you keep the information you collect about me secure? How long will you keep it?

A history file containing all information used in this will be stored in my private office in my private residence.

What if I decide I do not want to continue in this research?

If you decide you no longer want to participate in this research after it has already started, you may stop at any time. You will not be penalized or criticized for stopping.

Who should I contact if I have questions?

The people conducting this study will be available to answer any questions concerning this research. You may contact the Principal Investigator at 919-344-4586 any time of day. If for some reason I cannot answer the phone please leave a message and I will return your call.

If you have questions about your rights as someone taking part in research, you may call the Office for Human Research Integrity (OHRI) at phone number 252-744-2914 (days, 8:00 am-5:00 pm). If you would like to report a complaint or concern about this research study, you may call the Director of the OHRI, at 252-744-

Is there anything else I should know?

I have no more. Please feel free to contact me, Richard Kennedy, Principle Investigator, at 919-344-4586 with any questions.

I have decided I want to take part in this research. What should I do now?

The person obtaining informed consent will ask you to read the following and if you agree, you should sign this form:

- I have read (or had read to me) all of the above information.
- I have had an opportunity to ask questions about things in this research I did not understand and have received satisfactory answers.
- I know that I can stop taking part in this study at any time.
- By signing this informed consent form, I am not giving up any of my rights.
- I have been given a copy of this consent document, and it is mine to keep.

Person Obtaining Informed Consent: I have conducted the initial informed consent process. I have orally reviewed the contents of the consent document with the person who has signed above, and answered all of the person’s questions about the research.

**Person Obtaining Consent (PRINT)
Date**

Signature

Principal Investigator (PRINT)

Signature

Date

APPENDIX C: REPRESENTATIVE SAMPLE OF IN-VIVO CODING OF PARTICIPANT

INTERVIEW

Participant	Text	In vivo codes	Analytic codes
<p>Zann Nelson 60+ yrs old – white – journalist – gatekeeper to meeting interviewees</p>	<p>Zann published a newspaper article about the Green Book – I pick up conversation over breakfast before setting out to visit</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ Richard those lines (of respect taught to a child) were (drawn) before my time. But those lines served as a rule. When you're talking about whites vs blacks those lines disappeared. A white child could be terribly disrespectful to a black adult and it was okay. Now mind you, my father always had certain sayings, one was 'you are your brothers keeper.' To him it didn't matter what color your skin was. We didn't live in an urban region, daddy hired the local negroes to work on the farm and I worked right next to them. I wasn't exposed to that (segregation and discrimination). Work was work and you worked to eat. I missed integration because daddy sent me to private a (mixed-race) all girls boarding school ♦ Yesterday we talked about hospitality (...) in your research of segregation, Jim Crow, and the Green Book – How does it (the Green Book) fit 	<p>lines (of respect taught to a child) served as a rule. When you're talking about whites vs blacks those lines disappeared. A white child could be terribly disrespectful to a black adult</p> <p>the appearance of graciousness and hospitality.</p>	<p>Color barrier</p> <p>Deception</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ (...) in the south, they give the appearance, that's the key word, the appearance of graciousness and hospitality. ♦ (...) ♦ That's why I said appearance – now how they rationalize it (...) southerners will frame being lady-like and gracious, they won't be crass and abrupt (...) but it has been taught – ingrained – (...) African-Americans do not qualify to be treated with gracious hospitality. For their whole life, blacks were inferior (...) now those are generalized statements - but how do you be gracious and hospitable to someone who's inferior that is difficult line to walk. As long as everyone keeps their place you can walk that line, when someone steps out of place that line gets muddled (...) when the line (...) gets muddled people begin to get nervous. 	<p>African-Americans do not qualify to be treated with gracious hospitality. For their whole life, blacks were inferior</p> <p>As long as everyone keeps their place you can walk that line</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ when the line (...) gets muddled people begin to get nervous. 	<p>Segregation and discrimination based on color</p> <p>Structure</p> <p>Fear</p>
Participant	Text	In vivo code	Analytic Code
<p>Don and Elizabeth (Liz) Coles - both 60+ yrs. old - both African American (A-A) Don is retired USAF 30 yrs. of service. He is a close friend and was my mentor in the USAF – His son (DJ) baby sat our sons - gatekeeper to</p>	<p>Interview is in their living room(...)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ Look at these streets of Roanoke, Virginia – Henry Street doesn't even exist anymore ♦ A good example – when I go home to Radford, there was a park near the tracks where Liz and I grew up – was an all black area (...) it was all tore down and replaced with a large park – with 	<p>Streets doesn't exist anymore</p> <p>Tore down and replaced – with park and white affluent neighborhood</p>	<p>Heritage lost</p> <p>Heritage lost</p>

<p>meeting interviewees</p>	<p>an affluent primarily white subdivision near it</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ ♦ To this day the black cemetery is not kept—students from Radford University go out as community service and clean it <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ Growing up did your family travel ♦ ♦ D we traveled a lot – I was one of the fortunate ones- reason being my dad worked for the railroad he was able to get passes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ Even with passes were the cars segregated ♦ D yes, we had the Negro car absolutely ♦ ♦ L – I was in the school play Oklahoma – my part was to sing, but I sang behind the stage drapes while the white girl mouthed the words on stage ♦ 	<p>To this day cemetery is not kept – students clean it</p> <p>I was one of the fortunate ones – dada worked for railroad</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ Negro car absolutely ♦ ♦ I sang behind the stage drapes while the white girl mouthed the words on stage 	<p>Heritage kept</p> <p>Train travel</p> <p>Segregation</p> <p>Social segregation</p>
<p>Laura Huffman – A-A 100 yrs. old from Virginia</p>	<p>Takes place in Laura’s living room – hanging on the wall is a picture of when she met President Obama on her 100th birthday</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ Did you ever visit your son in the military (stationed in S.C.) ♦ -No sir (...) because I was scared to go. In the government he had 	<p>Because (...) in the government he had protection</p>	<p>Fear of being an outsider</p>

	<p>protection but myself, I didn't know any protection – it was different.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ Why do you think you needed protection – protection from what? ♦ They had different ways of doing things – I ain't sayin' didn't mix well – you know they just kind of different people – had different ways than here. The South – southern people was a little different than in Virginia so I didn't want to go there. You never know (...) lock me up (...) because they have different ways and I don't understand 'em. ♦ Laura, when you were young was travel easy? ♦ I never did no travelin'(...) till I was 20 – I traveled to D.C. ♦ (...) ♦ We rode the bus, didn't nobody bothered me. Only one driver – he said to me 'you need to go to the back – where there were empty seats' – I went about halfway was all (...) I didn't see no reason to go all the way back the seats were empty. He was the only one to ♦ (...) I was going to the Dr. in Culpepper (...)we set in the office and everybody was set in the same room (...) we sit there and the whole rest 	<p>they just kind of different people – had different ways than here. The South – southern people was a little different</p> <p>never did no travelin'</p> <p>Only one driver – he said to me 'you need to go to the back</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ this is no place for you (...) she wanted to set us in the back room <p>Whites got hired in the factory first(...)they could afford to hire you (Black women) one or two days a week – 8 hrs for a \$1</p>	<p>Acknowledged recognition of different landscape attribute</p> <p>Inferred everything was provided at home</p> <p>Color barrier</p> <p>More color barrier</p> <p>Even more color barrier</p>
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	<p>was white (...) Then this lady – she was behind the desk (...) this is no place for you (...) she wanted to set us in the back room</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ (...) ♦ Where were people being employed – where could you get work ♦ Well mostly doin' house work a lot of times. (...) Whites got hired in the factory first(...)they could afford to hire you (Black women) one or two days a week – 8 hrs for a \$1 		
	♦		

APPENDIX D: GUIDING QUESTIONS FOR INTERVIEWS

What do you remember about traveling during the days of racial segregation?

Can you remember a time when racial segregation and discrimination shaped the route or way you traveled?

Did you or your family use the *Green Book* or another published travel guide specifically for African Americans during the Jim Crow era (1936-1964)?

Follow-up questions if the response is yes.

Describe your memories of using the *Green Book* to travel.

How much help did the *green Book* provide?

What did having the *green Book as a resource* mean to you?

Even though legal segregation has ended, do you feel discrimination still affects your current travel patterns?

Are you still cautious about where you travel and how you are received and welcomed?

Did you ever consider the automobile as a vehicle that protected you from the humiliation of public segregation?