

RECREATION WITHOUT HUMILIATION: THE PRESERVATION OF TRAVEL  
GUIDE RESOURCES IN PORTSMOUTH, VIRGINIA

by

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(Under the Direction of Wayde Brown)

ABSTRACT

The rise of the automobile occurred during Jim Crow in the United States. This was a time in which African Americans faced legal discrimination and violence on a regular basis, making travel particularly difficult. Many business owners either refused service to African Americans or provided substandard service. In order to ease these difficulties, guide books were published for the African American community beginning as early as 1930. These books served as directories to catalog safe businesses, such as hotels, gas stations, and restaurants, for traveling African Americans. This thesis examines travel guide resources in Portsmouth, Virginia to investigate what they reveal about the history of segregated travel in America and to discuss the future of preservation for these sites.

INDEX WORDS: African American History, Segregation, Travel, Automobility,  
Travel Guides, Green Books, Victor Green, Portsmouth, Virginia,  
Historic Preservation

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Automobility and travel have been firmly entrenched in American identity since the early twentieth century. Although the automobile industry initially targeted strictly wealthy consumers, soon the mass population was able to enjoy the freedom and exciting possibilities associated with cars and the open road. However, for some Americans, the relationship with automobiles has been more complicated. The ability of African Americans to own and freely enjoy automobiles during segregation directly reflects the racial climate and the effects of Jim Crow throughout the country.

While the car was initially marketed towards white drivers, by the 1920s, wealthy African Americans had begun to secure ownership of their own vehicles. As discussed in works such as *Autophobia: Love and Hate in the Automotive Age*, by University of Albany research associate Brian Ladd, and *Republic of Drivers: A Cultural History of Automobility in America*, by Dickinson College associate professor of American Studies Cotton Seiler, the car was a desirable way for middle-class and wealthy black people of color to avoid the humiliation and dangers embedded in segregated public transportation. Automobility reinforced the personal autonomy, freedom, and progress which they had largely been stripped of throughout American history due to slavery and, subsequently, segregation and Jim Crow laws.

Automobile travel necessitated roadside accommodations, such as gas stations, motels, and restaurants. While these services had increased for the white population

across the country, proprietors of these businesses often provided substandard service to, or prohibited the admittance of, African American customers. Travel could quickly become embarrassing, dangerous, or even deadly, for African Americans during the era of segregation.

African Americans began addressing these issues within their communities by creating guidebooks as early as 1930, with the publication of *Hackley and Harrison's Hotels and Apartment Guide*. These guides provided valuable information for African American travelers, listing businesses -- gas stations, motels, restaurants, barber shops, and entertainment venues -- that served black patrons. These publications enabled African American travelers to drive safely throughout the nation and arrive unscathed to their destinations.

Perhaps the most widespread and longest lasting of these guides was *The Negro Motorist Green Book* – colloquially known as the *Green Book* – created by Victor H. Green in Harlem, New York and published from 1936 to 1967.<sup>1</sup> While many of the buildings once featured in this guide book have been demolished or destroyed, others remain overlooked within the fabric of their communities. Too often, their histories have been forgotten.

This thesis aims to answer the question: “What can the physical remains of the African American travel guidebook sites tell us about segregated travel and how can we preserve the stories of these resources?” In order to answer this question, this thesis will examine the history of African American travel and automobility during segregation, as well as the history of these guidebooks, before delving into examples of specific locations

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<sup>1</sup> The publication was known as *The Negro Motorist Green Book* until 1952, when the name was changed to *The Negro Travelers Green Book*. In 1960, it was shorted to *The Travelers Green Book*. Some later editions were published simply as *The Green Book*.

listed in Portsmouth, Virginia. Finally, this thesis will explore current preservation efforts of *Green Book* locations across the nation, as well as address specific concerns about and strategies for the preservation of these resources.

### Methodology

The businesses listed in travel guides in Portsmouth, Virginia between 1930 and 1966 are the focus of this thesis. After preliminary research of several cities throughout the southeast, Portsmouth, along with the surrounding cities of Hampton, Norfolk, and Newport News, were chosen for further study due to the perceived number of resources left. With additional research, many of these initial observations were proven incorrect. Portsmouth, Virginia eventually became the sole focus of the research. Between Hampton and Norfolk, only one resource remained, which is already recognized for its historic significance. Further, while there were several remaining resources in Newport News, very little information was found for these and few contacts were made in the area. Out of the original twenty-four locations in Portsmouth, at least four remain within the community, while an additional three remain unverified. While each resource will be discussed briefly, Fagan's Seafood Restaurant, once located at 935 Portsmouth Boulevard (historically, Gosport Road), will be particularly focused on when discussing significance and integrity.

The main resource for this information were the guidebooks themselves. Those referenced in this thesis are various editions of *Grayson's Guide*, the *Green Book*, *Hackley and Harrison's Hotel and Apartment Guide*, and *Travelguide*. The most abundant set used was the *Green Book*, twenty-two of which are available online through the New York Public Library. In addition, photographs, deeds, and maps were all studied

to provide more insight into the histories of each property listed in the travel guides. When investigating these historic buildings and businesses, such as gas stations and motels, which have little documentation, it is important to combine a variety of source material to piece together their histories. Further, field work was completed and interviews were conducted of locals in Portsmouth, which proved extremely helpful in gaining a better understanding of the location and the resources historically.

### Literature

The historic context and historic travel guide information pulled heavily from research by authors such as University of Colorado at Denver history professor Mark Foster, Cotton Seiler, University of Virginia associate history professor Andrew Kahrl, and assistant professor of English at Virginia Commonwealth University Michael Rashon Hall. Mark Foster's "In the Face of "Jim Crow": Prosperous Blacks and Vacations, Travel and Outdoor Leisure, 1890-1945," in *The Journal of Negro History*, chronicles the history of travel and leisure for middle class and wealthy African Americans. While still subject to humiliation and discrimination, Foster concludes that they served an important role in challenging white supremacy and demonstrating equality by exhibiting their rights to travel and leisure. Cotton Seiler addresses automobility as a step towards full citizenship, while still dealing with the anxiety of the open road in his book *Republic of Drivers: A Cultural History of Automobility in America*. In his PhD dissertation, "On the Beach: Race and Leisure in the Jim Crow South," Kahrl, through case studies of African American beaches and resorts during Jim Crow, shows the difficulties, many of which relate to travel, that black Americans faced in achieving leisure spaces and their responses to securing them. Lastly, Hall, in "The Negro Traveller's guide to a Jim Crow

South: negotiation racialized landscapes during a dark period in United States cultural history, 1936-1967,” published in *Postcolonial Studies*, offers one of the most comprehensive discussions and histories specifically on the *Green Book* and its creator, Victor Green, while using the guide to trace the development of race relations in America. Along with numerous other books and articles, these sources provided a solid foundation to explore the historic context which necessitated the need for travel guides, as well as their development and use by African Americans during segregation.

Heather McDonald’s *The National Register of Historic Places and African-American Heritage* was instrumental in the discussion of ongoing concerns for the preservation of minority resources. In addressing the preservation of travel guide sites specifically, many of the resources consulted were articles and reports found regarding ongoing or recent projects aiming to preserve this history, such as the Los Angeles Inventory with the Getty Conservation Institute. A variety of preservation approaches are examined in this thesis, including the national efforts of various organizations and partnerships for the preservation of Route 66, such as the *National Historic Route 66 Federation* and the Route 66 Road Ahead Partnership, to offer possible future preservation strategies.

### Chapter Summaries

Chapter Two will set the historic context of African American travel. Beginning with emancipation until the Civil Rights Act of 1964, this chapter will chronicle Jim Crow legislation and its implications on public transportation for African Americans. This will set the stage when discussing the importance of the automobile in the next chapter.

Chapter Three will discuss automobility among African Americans throughout Jim Crow. While cars allowed for more freedom, businesses were still segregated, which made travelling dangerous for African Americans. Because of the discrimination and potential violence on the road, travel guides became an important tool for their use.

Chapter Four will focus on the creation of travel guides for African American use during segregation, focusing specifically on Victor H. Green, the *Green Book*, and its contents.

Chapter Five reviews the history of preservation of African American resources in the United States. Despite their importance, they have historically been overlooked and forgotten in the country's narrative. This lack of recognition has clear ties with the destruction of historic resources significant to African Americans.

Chapter Six narrows the focus to local examples of travel guide locations in Portsmouth, Virginia. This chapter will contain basic information on the businesses. Further, there will be a discussion on those buildings which have been lost through development and road construction. There will also be an examination of those resources which still remain today, with a particular focus on Fagan's Seafood Restaurant.

Chapter Seven will discuss the preservation of minority and travel guide resources in America. The issues with the current National Register of Historic Places – namely, the heavy focus on physical integrity – will be discussed, while examining the extant travel guide resources in Portsmouth. The chapter will end with suggestions for possible future preservation projects for travel guide resources.

Finally, Chapter Eight will serve to conclude the thesis. This chapter will reinforce the historic significance of the travel guides in the United States, detailing what



these resources say about segregated travel and re-emphasizing ways in which these buildings can be maintained in order to tell those stories.

## CHAPTER 2

### AFRICAN AMERICAN TRAVEL DURING SEGREGATION

The institution of slavery was pervasive in American society beginning in the 1600s and lasting through 1865, with the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment. With the emancipation of enslaved people in the United States, legal initiatives were introduced, which confirmed the civil rights of African Americans across the nation. The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments were all passed between 1865 and 1869 to solidify the equal rights of recently freed African Americans. These Amendments granted freedom from slavery, the promise of citizenship and equal protection, and the right to vote to African American men, respectively.<sup>2</sup> Further, Congress passed the *Civil Rights Act of 1866*, declaring all people born in the United States as citizens, the *Enforcement Act of 1870*, prohibiting voter discrimination based on race, and the *Civil Rights Act of 1875*, granting African Americans the same rights to accommodations, facilities, and privileges as white Americans. In support of this Act, Alabama Representative James Rapier argued:

Here a foreigner can learn what he cannot learn in any other country, that it is possible for a man to be half free and half slave, or, in other words, he will see that it is possible for a man to enjoy political rights while he is denied civil ones; here he will see a man legislating for a free people, while his own chains of

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<sup>2</sup> U.S. Const., Amendments XIII, XIV, XV, Constitutionus.com, Accessed November 15, 2017.; E. Franklin Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie: The Rise of a New Middle Class in the United States* (New York, NY: Free Press Paperbacks, 1997), 20-21.; While the Fifteenth Amendment was ratified in 1870 so no man could be deprived of the right to vote based on their race, the Amendment did not outlaw poll taxes, literacy tests, or property qualifications for voting. These were all tactics often used to effectively keep African Americans from voting. Darlene Clark Hine, William C. Hine, and Stanley C. Harrold, *The African American Odyssey: Volume 2* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2007), 336.

slavery hang about him and are far more galling than any the foreigner left behind him; here he will see and what is not to be seen elsewhere, that position is no mantle of protection in our “land of the free and home of the brave” ... Either I am a man or I am not a man.<sup>3</sup>

Despite the legal freedom and rights that African Americans had won, white Americans remained resistant to their equal standing. They often turned to violence, through vandalism, beatings, rape, and lynchings. Hate groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, founded in 1866, resorted to extreme intimidation and violence to maintain the status quo of racial hierarchy. Further, the members of these groups were rarely punished.<sup>4</sup> In 1865, a North Carolina Freedman’s Bureau Agent described this phenomenon, saying, “The fact is, it’s the first notion with a great many of these people, if a Negro says anything or does anything that they don’t like, to take a gun and put a bullet into him, or a charge of shot.”<sup>5</sup> The realities of race relations were reflected through the social etiquette of the time, which dictated that African Americans were not to look whites in the eyes, were only allowed to use certain doors, and would only be served after whites.<sup>6</sup>

For most African Americans during this time, any new-found freedom was stifled by working long hours for low wages. Most became sharecroppers and renters, remaining landless and largely impoverished.<sup>7</sup> However, there was a small, but growing, black elite. Notably, though still subjugated to white supremacy and discrimination, not all African Americans during the mid-to-late nineteenth century experienced the poverty of the

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<sup>3</sup> James T. Rapier, “Half Free, Half Slave,” in *Ripples Of Hope: Great American Civil Rights Speeches*, edited by Josh Gottheimer (New York: Civitas Books, 2003), Google Books, accessed November 15, 2017.

<sup>4</sup> Hine, *The African American Odyssey*, 332, 337.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 309.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 360-1.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 367.; Mark S. Foster, “In The Face of “Jim Crow”: Prosperous Blacks and Vacations, Travel and Outdoor Leisure, 1890-1945,” *The Journal of Negro History* 84, no. 2 (1990): 130, JSTOR, accessed October 17, 2016.

majority of their racial peers.<sup>8</sup> The estimated ten percent of black Americans who rose to become successful professionals and entrepreneurs – namely, doctors, lawyers, politicians, and writers – were able to enjoy a heightened sense of freedom.<sup>9</sup> One benefit of their new economic and social status was the ability to travel and partake in hospitality, tourism, and leisure services.

As entertainment and leisure opportunities rose during the late 1800s and more Americans were gaining time and wealth, there was an increase desire and demand from both white and black populations.<sup>10</sup> Some affluent families of color could plan individual vacations, and vacationed in popular destinations for white Americans, such as Saratoga Springs in New York, Sea Isle in New Jersey, and Harpers Ferry.<sup>11</sup> This small upper class generally consisted of those with skilled occupations, such as teachers, doctors, ministers, and businessmen, and were generally of mixed ancestry.<sup>12</sup> Early travel experiences during the 1870s and 1880s generally consisted of planned group excursions. Black organizations in New Orleans, for instance, hosted day and overnight trips via river boats and trains to destinations along the Gulf Coast.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Foster, “In The Face of “Jim Crow”,” 131.

<sup>9</sup> Myra B. Young Armstead, “Revisiting Hotels and Other Lodgings: American Tourist Spaces through the Lens of Black Pleasure-Travelers, 1880-1950,” *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 25 (2005): 137, JSTOR, Accessed October 17, 2016.; Richard A. Kennedy, “Automobility, Hospitality, African American Tourism, and

Mapping Victor H. Green’s Negro Motorist Green Book,” Master’s Thesis, East Carolina University, 2013, 67-68, retrieved from theScholarship.ecu.edu, accessed October 16, 2016.

<sup>10</sup> Andrew William Kahrl, “On the Beach: Race and Leisure in the Jim Crow South,” Ph.D. Diss., Indiana University, 2008, 4, EBSCOhost, accessed October 16, 2016.; Anthony J. Stanonis, *Faith in Bikinis: Politics and Leisure in the Coastal South Since the Civil War* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2014): 2.

<sup>11</sup> Armstead, “Revisiting Hotels and Other Lodgings,” 138.

<sup>12</sup> Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie*, 23.

<sup>13</sup> Foster, “In The Face of “Jim Crow”,” 135-6.

While there was a clear social hierarchy between African Americans, the dominant white group rarely recognized these differences.<sup>14</sup> White intolerance of racial integration on any level was apparent in their reaction to affluent black travelers, as they insisted on segregated transportation options. Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, legislation was passed which stripped the civil rights of black Americans. As these laws tightened, African Americans found it increasingly difficult to travel freely.

In 1877, the case of *Hall v. DeCuir*, involving a woman of color denied accommodation on the upper deck of the defendant's steamboat, found individual states could not ban segregation on transportation participating in interstate commerce, a federally controlled venture. This decision gave way to *Louisville, New Orleans & Texas Railroad v Mississippi*, which found segregation could be mandated by the state for public transportation.<sup>15</sup> Further, the efforts of black leaders who aimed to criminalize racial discrimination by private business owners were thwarted in 1883, when the Supreme Court found the *Civil Rights Act of 1875* unconstitutional. This effectively prohibited federal oversight of private citizens and businesses regarding racial discrimination. After this ruling, many states passed laws allowing segregation on railroads.<sup>16</sup>

Tennessee had enacted the first segregation law in 1881, mandating segregated railroad coaches. Florida followed suit in 1887. African American travelers were, then,

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<sup>14</sup> Kahrl, "On the Beach," 6.

<sup>15</sup> Kennedy, "Automobility, Hospitality, African American Tourism, and Mapping," 15.; *Louisville, New Orleans & Texas Ry. Co. v. Mississippi*, 133 U.S. 587 (1890), <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/133/587/case.html>, accessed Nov. 21, 2017.; *Hall v. Decuir*, 95 U.S. 485 (1877), <https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/95/485>, accessed Nov. 21, 2017.

<sup>16</sup> Kennedy, "Automobility, Hospitality, African American Tourism, and Mapping," 4.; Hine, *The African American Odyssey*, 329.

forced to occupy second-class coaches, often contaminated by soot and cinders. Georgia enacted segregated electric streetcars in 1891, the same year Louisiana instituted segregated trains.<sup>17</sup> Steamboat travel has been called the South's "most segregated form of travel" by historian Howard Rabinowitz with most steamboats maintaining a "color line" or segregated levels.<sup>18</sup> Frederick Douglass commented on the clear color discrimination and hypocrisy during this time: "As a slave, he could ride anywhere, side by side with his white master, but as a freeman he must be thrust into the smoking car. As a slave, he could go into the first cabin; as a freeman, he was not allowed abaft the wheel."<sup>19</sup>

The most notable case in this line of court decisions reinforcing discrimination, segregation, and white supremacy occurred in 1896 with *Plessy v. Ferguson*. In 1892, Homer Plessy, a 'white passing' African-American man, was arrested after boarding the whites-only section of the East Louisiana Railway. This arrest was part of a strategy to expose the arbitrary nature of the mandated segregation of railways in Louisiana. Through the court system, however, Plessy's conviction stood. When it reached the Supreme Court in 1896, the court argued the Constitution could only enforce political and civil equality, but not social equality, and that segregation did not inherently mean racial inferiority: "If one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States cannot put them upon the same plane." With this decision, 'separate but equal' accommodation and racial segregation became firmly legalized nationally throughout the

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<sup>17</sup> Interestingly, some companies resisted this change due to the extra expenses it would cause. Hine, *The African American Odyssey*, 358-9.

<sup>18</sup> Kahrl, "On the Beach", 86-87.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, 87.

United States for over 50 years.<sup>20</sup> This effectively did force African Americans into an inferior position based on race.

These legal attacks on racial equality came with the upward social and economic mobility of blacks, which threatened the economic and political supremacy of whites. Despite the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision which claimed that the “colored race chooses to put that construction upon it,” ‘separate but equal’ did indicate inferiority, as pro-slavery Justice John Marshall Harlan wrote in his dissenting opinion, “Everyone knows that the statute in question had its origin in the purpose not so much to exclude white persons from railroad cars occupied by blacks as to exclude colored people from coaches occupied by or assigned to white persons.”<sup>21</sup> While wealthy African Americans pushed societal boundaries by pursuing equal treatment in white spaces, whites sought to reinforce their position both spatially and behaviorally. These court decisions made a clear physical distinction between ‘white’ and ‘black’ spaces, and served to delineate the abstract ‘place’ of black people of color in society – as inferior to whites based on their race – and opened them up to humiliating, and often violent, interactions. This threat served to control black mobility, affecting the ways in which they could move throughout society.<sup>22</sup>

The institution and enforcement of racist laws and legalized segregation would become known as “Jim Crow,” a term originating with a blackface minstrel show,

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<sup>20</sup> *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896), <https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=false&doc=52>, accessed Nov. 21, 2017.

<sup>21</sup> *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896), <https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/163/537>, accessed Nov. 21, 2017.

<sup>22</sup> Michael Ra-shon Hall, “The negro traveller’s guide to a Jim Crow South: negotiating racialized landscapes during a dark period in United States cultural history,” *Postcolonial Studies* 17, no. 3 (2014): 311, EBSCOhost, accessed October 17, 2016.

performed by Thomas “Daddy” Rice in the 1830s and 1840s, entitled “Jump Jim Crow.”<sup>23</sup> By the early twentieth century, Jim Crow was firmly established and segregation was found in both public and private realms.<sup>24</sup> The white supremacy which characterized Jim Crow sought to control the movement of, and therefore deny full freedom to, African Americans. Historian William Cohen discussed this phenomenon, describing Jim Crow as a time when southern blacks lived at freedom’s edge, suspended between the world of slavery that had once been theirs and a world of freedom that still belonged mostly to whites.” He continued, “The extent of black freedom varied with time and place, but always the right to move without hindrance was one of its most important features.”<sup>25</sup> This made traveling an issue of, as W.E.B. DuBois said in 1917, “ever-recurring race discrimination,” as the law in many states required segregation in public transportation accommodations, such as on railroad trains, in waiting rooms, on streetcars, and on buses.<sup>26</sup>

African Americans had experienced such discrimination when travelling since Emancipation; Robert Smalls, an African American Civil War hero for the Union and, later, a South Carolina politician, was forced from a streetcar in Philadelphia in 1864. However, the laws instituted throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries only encouraged the discrimination, humiliation, and, often, violence that African Americans faced on public transportation.<sup>27</sup> In 1923, an article in the National

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<sup>23</sup> Hine, *The African American Odyssey*, 358.

<sup>24</sup> Armstead, “Revisiting Hotels and Other Lodgings,” 139.; Hall, “The negro traveller’s guide to a Jim Crow South,” 310.

<sup>25</sup> Cotton Seiler, “So That We as a Race Might Have Something Authentic to Travel By”: African American Automobility and Cold War Liberalism,” *American Quarterly* 58, no. 4 (2006): 1093, Project MUSE, accessed October 17, 2016.

<sup>26</sup> *Crisis* 14 (August 1917): 169, quoted in Armstead, “Revisiting Hotels and Other Lodgings,” 139.

<sup>27</sup> Hine, *The African American Odyssey*, 329.



Association for the Advancement of Colored People's official magazine, *The Crisis*, addressed the 'separate but equal' conditions in passenger trains:

Accommodations for travel are a constant menace to every self-respecting colored person who boards our passenger trains. It is not unusual to find the coach provided for colored passengers to be at the same time the baggage car, mail car, the butcher's booth and the conductor's desk, where our wives and daughters are frequently subjected to the most uncouth manners and forced to hear language too vile to be uttered.<sup>28</sup>

In 1941, almost eighty years after the incident with Mr. Smalls, Professor Hugh Gloster boarded a train in Atlanta headed for Memphis. During the trip, the Jim Crow coach became overcrowded, while another passenger coach sat two white passengers. Gloster asked the conductor if those two passengers might be moved to the "whites only" coach in order to make room for some of the black passengers to sit. However, instead, Gloster was ejected, beaten, jailed, and fined when the train reached Tupelo for violating segregation laws, despite the fact those laws could not be enforced for interstate travelers.<sup>29</sup> Later, Eugene Talmadge, the Georgia Governor at that time, claimed he was too busy to investigate this incident.<sup>30</sup> Certainly this was not an isolated event; Fred Wright was also beaten on a train traveling from San Francisco to Oklahoma, while Dr. Jackson, an elderly member of the clergy, was beaten for passing through the white section while on his way to his seat. At least one fatality has been recorded in similar

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<sup>28</sup> "Politics," *The Crisis* 26, no. 6 (October 1923): 269, Google Books, accessed November 8, 2017.

<sup>29</sup> Lawrence P. Jackson, *The Indignant Generation: A Narrative History of African American Writers, 1934-1960* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011): 150-151.

<sup>30</sup> Langston Hughes, "My America," quoted in Hall, "The negro traveller's guide to a Jim Crow South," 310-311.

instances.<sup>31</sup> Langston Hughes, an American poet, described the meaning of segregation in America in his 1944 essay “My America”:

That this change to complete Jim Crow happens at Washington is highly significant of the state of American democracy in relation to colored peoples today. Washington is the capital of our nation and one of the great centers of the Allied war effort toward the achievement of the Four Freedoms. To a southbound Negro citizen told at Washington to change into a segregated coach the Four Freedoms have a hollow sound, like distant lies not meant to be the truth.<sup>32</sup>

African Americans were met with discrimination in other aspects of travel, as well. Many hotels, restaurants, and gas stations were closed to blacks entirely. Some businesses served blacks only at certain locations or on certain days or hours.<sup>33</sup> If they were served in white establishments, they often were subjected to lesser treatment, despite ‘separate but equal’ laws; white business owners could exploit racial discrimination, making an increased profit by offering diminished services for equal pay.<sup>34</sup> Both hotels and food establishments often offered poor quality products to blacks. *The Crisis* published a critique on the food and service of African Americans at Buckeye Lake in Ohio in 1913: “Even a crook would recognize the injustice of this. For one white man I was ashamed of the selfishness of my race.”<sup>35</sup> In order to minimize their interactions with these businesses, many black travelers chose to partake in day instead of overnight trips whenever possible.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Michael Ra-Shon Hall, “Dramatizing the African American Experience of Travel in the Jim Crow South: *The Negro Motorist Green Book* in the African American Literary Imagination,” *The South Carolina Review* 46, no. 2 (2014), 83.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid*, 80.

<sup>33</sup> Armstead, “Revisiting Hotels and Other Lodgings,” 139.

<sup>34</sup> Hall, “The negro traveller’s guide to a Jim Crow South,” 310.

<sup>35</sup> Foster, “In The Face of “Jim Crow”,” 136.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid*, 137.

Despite the annoyances, inconveniences, or dangers posed, an increasing number of middle and upper-class blacks continued to seek the same travel opportunities as their white counterparts. Black Americans desired the same traveling experience as whites, namely natural retreats to beaches, wilderness, and the country.<sup>37</sup> While there were some white-owned businesses which served black people of color, largely in big cities, African Americans came to provide their own businesses to cater towards black clientele in order to circumvent segregationist barriers to travel.<sup>38</sup> For instance, Saratoga Springs offered black owned venues in a predominantly white resort town.<sup>39</sup>

By the 1920s, there was also a rise in the recognition of African Americans as a viable consumer base, specifically in large cities. Businesses opened dedicated specifically to black consumers around the country, including in large cities such as New York City and Atlanta, as well as in smaller areas, such as Asheville, NC and Chattanooga, TN.<sup>40</sup> This allowed some black workers and black patrons to distance their reliance on white employers and customers.<sup>41</sup> This recognition also contributed to a notable rise in promotional material available targeting traveling opportunities to African Americans during this time. As early as 1911, *The Crisis* ran advertisements to foster black interest in international travel.<sup>42</sup>

Even more radical was the push to establish exclusively black resorts to offer a respite for many travelers from the harsh realities of everyday life. This idea resulted in

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<sup>37</sup> Armstead, "Revisiting Hotels and Other Lodgings," 147-8.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, 141.

<sup>39</sup> Foster, "In The Face of "Jim Crow"," 136.

<sup>40</sup> *The Negro Motorist Travel Guide* (New York: Green Book Publishing Co., 1956), <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/collections/the-green-book#/?tab=about>, accessed October 1, 2016.

<sup>41</sup> Foster, "In The Face of "Jim Crow"," 137-8.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, 132.

black tourist venues, often near cities with large black communities, including Oak Bluffs at Martha's Vineyard, Arundel-on-the-Bay outside D.C., and American Beach, Florida.<sup>43</sup> However, these resorts were generally either remote or in less desirable locations than white resorts.<sup>44</sup> Throughout the 1910s, 20s, and 30s, this trend flourished, bringing more exclusively black hotels, resorts, and travel destinations, with growing destinations in the Midwest, most famously, Idlewild, Michigan, due to the increase of African American families moving to the Midwest for work.<sup>45</sup> However, with the Depression, the African American community was hit especially hard, which resulted in the closure of many of these attractions.<sup>46</sup>

Post-World War II became a "golden age" for travel, due to the expansion of the highway system and the rise of services, such as chain restaurants, motels, and gas stations.<sup>47</sup> Throughout history, leisure has become a signifier of wealth. As more African Americans were gaining wealth, middle and upper class African Americans were gaining the ability to travel more regularly – an act which publicly inferred affluence, success, and freedom.<sup>48</sup> In 1954, the first African American travel agency association, The InterAmerican Travel Agents Society (ITAS), was founded as the market for traveling blacks expanded.<sup>49</sup> This is not to say, however, that traveling had become equal with white experiences. Blacks were still relegated to the back of the bus, refused restrooms and other services, and could be the subject of verbal or physical abuse. Most African

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<sup>43</sup> Armstead, "Revisiting Hotels and Other Lodgings," 143.; Ibid, 136.

<sup>44</sup> Foster, "In The Face of "Jim Crow"," 140.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, 138-9.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid, 144.

<sup>47</sup> Perry L. Carter, "Coloured Places and Pigmented Holidays: Racialized Leisure Travel," *Tourism Geographies* 10, No. 3, (2008): 391, EBSCOhost, accessed Nov. 3, 2016.; Stanonis, *Faith in Bikinis*, 4.

<sup>48</sup> Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie*, 25.; Carter, "Coloured Places and Pigmented Holidays," 273.

<sup>49</sup> Carter, "Coloured Places and Pigmented Holidays," 273.

Americans still chose to travel in large groups to established, ‘black friendly’ places and still largely relied on word of mouth advertisement regarding travel destinations and safe establishments.<sup>50</sup> Wright’s Travel and Tours, the country’s oldest African American travel agency established in 1949, relied on advertising destinations in this manner: “They would go out in their neighborhoods and tell their friends and neighbors about places.”<sup>51</sup>

The institutional discrimination described endured throughout the early 1900s, through the Depression, and beyond World War II. For almost a century during their supposed “freedom,” African Americans experienced brutal oppression and violence affecting even the way they could move throughout society. However, over this time, people of color challenged segregation and discriminatory laws, especially after World War II.<sup>52</sup> One of the most earmarked signs of changes to the racial caste system in American was in 1954 with the landmark *Brown v. Board* decision. Effectively overturning *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the US Supreme Court found that segregation in public schools was unconstitutional. This had huge implications for the future of race in America.<sup>53</sup> Further, African Americans began protesting discrimination and segregation in other public areas, and, notably, on public transportation, with bus boycotts such as those in Montgomery in 1955 and 1956 and Tallahassee in 1956.<sup>54</sup>

The biggest win of the Civil Rights Movement was the *Civil Rights Act of 1964*, which served to outlaw legal discrimination against African Americans. This, therefore,

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid, 273-4.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid, 274-5.

<sup>52</sup> Kahrl, “On the Beach”, 17, 24.

<sup>53</sup> Seiler, “So That We as a Race,” 1097.

<sup>54</sup> Hall, “The negro traveller’s guide to a Jim Crow South,” 314.

outlawed the discrimination which African Americans had experienced since Emancipation when travelling, including the ‘separate but equal’ ruling. African Americans were legally required to be treated equally and integration was mandated at service stations, hotels, restaurants, entertainment venues, and other establishments, both private and public.<sup>55</sup> Since this decision, race relations in American have continued to evolve. This has been seen in large riots and confrontations, such as the L.A. Riot of 1992 and the Ferguson Unrest in 2014, as well as small occurrences every day. Issues of discrimination and violence did not end in 1964.

### Summary

For a century after emancipation, African Americans still dealt with discrimination and oppression, both legally and socially. Segregation became entrenched in the American way of life after Plessy v. Ferguson in the 1890s, with huge impacts on the freedom of African Americans in every facet of their lives, including travel. Public transportation reserved for black use was often substandard or undesirable. Further, African Americans were often subject to humiliation or violence while attempting to use it. In order to provide desired travel experiences, some African American entrepreneurs created their own businesses, or even full resorts, to cater to an emerging black consumer market.

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<sup>55</sup> Carter, “Coloured Places and Pigmented Holidays,” 265.

## CHAPTER 3

### AFRICAN AMERICAN AUTOMOBILITY

The first automobile was successfully developed by a German inventor, Karl Benz, and patented in 1886. However, seen as unnecessary and expensive, this invention was not immediately popular with consumers.<sup>56</sup> In 1903, the Oldsmobile plant in the United States began mass production of vehicles via an assembly line, producing a much more efficient and affordable product.<sup>57</sup> During these early years of automobile production, cars were almost exclusively marketed towards wealthy, white consumers. Some companies even specified their cars should only be sold to the white population; by company policy, African Americans were forbidden to buy from Cadillac dealerships.<sup>58</sup>

Throughout the early twentieth century, access to automobiles, as well as automobile ownership, would continue to grow. By 1908, Henry Ford had designed and begun to sell the Model T, which would become widely successful in the United States due to its combination of affordability and value. Ford would further improve on the assembly line efficiency, which cut cost and made his products even more affordable for the American population.<sup>59</sup> This, along with improved infrastructure for cars, meant a growing number of Americans gained the ability to travel. During the interwar years, the automobile market continued to grow to encompass both the upper and middle class; by

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<sup>56</sup> Diane Bailey, *How the Automobile Changed History* (North Mankato, MN: Abdo Publishing, 2016), 6, 8.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid*, 30.

<sup>58</sup> Mark Laver, *Jazz Sells: Music, Marketing, and Meaning* (New York: Routledge, 2015): 105, Google Books, Accessed December 5, 2017.

<sup>59</sup> Bailey, *How the Automobile Changed History*, 33-6.

1927, more than half of American families owned cars.<sup>60</sup> While African Americans still maintained relatively low ownership rates, by the post-WWII era, automobility had been firmly cemented in black culture, with contemporary black publications featuring numerous articles on car ownership and travel.<sup>61</sup> With the rise of the automobile and the road system throughout the twentieth century, African Americans gained a new way to exercise their mobility.

As car ownership increased and infrastructure improved, the middle class and African Americans began to engage in tourism travel throughout the 1920s, typically on short day or weekend trips.<sup>62</sup> Using cars, the black population was able to avoid the segregation, humiliation, and potential violence that was prevalent on public transportation, especially buses and trains.<sup>63</sup> Due to the implications of automobility, cars came to symbolize a newfound autonomy, affirming their place in American society. Ultimately, black Americans saw a hope for freedom in automobiles, physically and socially; cars came to symbolize “a world where there is no black or white.”<sup>64</sup>

Cars and automobility were a clear statement of physical freedom. No longer bound to the confines of public transportation, black drivers, much like white drivers, could enjoy the sense of freedom that inherently accompanies car ownership. Drivers were able to partake in self autonomy, choosing their own direction and purpose for

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<sup>60</sup> Stanonis, *Faith in Bikinis*, 18-19.

<sup>61</sup> Seiler, “So That We as a Race,” 1099.; Despite an abundance of articles on car ownership, there were relatively few advertisements for cars in African American publications. The first year a car advertisement ran in *Ebony* was 1954; the magazine did not feature a car advertisement with African American models until 1966. Laver, *Jazz Sells*, 105.

<sup>62</sup> Armstead, “Revisiting Hotels and Other Lodgings,” 137-8.; Jay Driskell, “Atlas of Self Reliance: The Negro Motorist’s Green Book,” *Smithsonian: National Museum of American History*, July 30, 2015, <http://americanhistory.si.edu/blog/negro-motorists-green-book>, accessed October 17, 2016.

<sup>63</sup> Hall, “Dramatizing the African American Experience,” 85.

<sup>64</sup> Seiler, “So That We as a Race,” 1099.



travel. This notion of freedom was likely even more pronounced in the African American experience, due to an entrenched history of bondage, oppression, and control.<sup>65</sup> For many, automobile travel was certainly a “liberating experience.”<sup>66</sup> In 1933, one African American driver noted in the African American journal, *Opportunity*: “It’s mighty good to be the skipper for a change, and pilot our craft whither and where we will. We feel like Vikings. What if our craft is blunt of nose and limited of power and our sea is macadamized; it’s good for the spirit to just give the old railroad Jim Crow the laugh.”<sup>67</sup>

Not only did the car indicate physical escape from Jim Crow realities, but also the accessibility of a new social position for African Americans. For those who could afford to own an automobile, it became a reaffirming symbol to themselves and the outside world of their rising social status and movement into the middle or upper class.<sup>68</sup> Serving to distance their owners from the poverty and lack of property that defined many African Americans in the twentieth century, cars became a public display of wealth, prestige, respectability, and progress.<sup>69</sup>

This desire for a social status symbol was even said to have saved Cadillac from bankruptcy during the Depression. During that time, Cadillac was threatened with being shut down by General Motors. Service manager Nick Dreystadt realized the popularity of their brand among wealthy African Americans, who often had to recruit white buyers to purchase the vehicles for them. He convinced the company to lift their ban on black

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid, 1095.

<sup>66</sup> Brian Ladd, *Autophobia: Love and Hate in the Automotive Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 53.

<sup>67</sup> Alfred E. Smith, “Through the Windshield,” *Opportunity* 11, no. 5 (May, 1933): 14, quoted in Foster, “In The Face of ‘Jim Crow,’” 141.

<sup>68</sup> Daniel Miller, *Car Cultures* (New York: Berg Publishers, 2001): 86, 94.; Seiler, “So That We as a Race,” 1094.

<sup>69</sup> Miller, *Car Cultures*, 84.

buyers and actively pursue this market. This decision, ultimately, allowed Cadillac to break even in 1934.<sup>70</sup>

In addition to affirmations of wealth and respectability, Cadillacs also represented an ideal of true citizenship. In 1949, an article entitled “Why Negroes Buy Cadillacs” in the popular magazine *Ebony*, targeted towards African American readers, observed, “the Cadillac is a worthy symbol of their aspiration to be a genuinely first-class American. . . . a solid and substantial symbol for many a Negro that he is as good as any white man.”<sup>71</sup> African Americans could not achieve true citizenship through political lanes at the time. However, the idea of car ownership, automobility, and the “open road” was seen as quintessentially American.<sup>72</sup> As Cadillacs became the first car company to market to African American buyers, their cars became an important way for black Americans to express their status as American citizens.<sup>73</sup>

However, while automobility offered some amount of freedom and social status to African Americans, for many whites the increase of car ownership served simply to reinforce segregation. While blacks were able to escape the inhumanities of segregated public transport, white travelers were able to escape sharing public transportation with other races. With the increasing freedom of movement inherent with the rise of

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<sup>70</sup> Stephanie Capparell, *The Real Pepsi Challenge: The Inspirational Story of Breaking the Color Barrier* (New York: Wall Street Journal Books, 2007), 9, Google Books, accessed December 2, 2017.

<sup>71</sup> Mary Pattilo-McCoy, *Black Picket Fences: Privilege and Peril Among the Black Middle Class*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 147.; Seiler, “So That We as a Race,” 1098.

<sup>72</sup> Miller, *Car Cultures*, 94.; Seiler, “So That We as a Race,” 1092, 1098.

<sup>73</sup> *The Routledge Companion to Intangible Cultural Heritage*, ed. Michelle L. Stefano and Peter Davis (New York: Routledge, 2017), 209, Google Books, accessed January 11, 2018.

automobility, came white flight from cities into homogenous neighborhoods and suburbs.<sup>74</sup> In some ways, the car served to reinforce separate travel and segregation.

Notably, only the wealthiest could afford to invest in personal automobiles. Most African Americans were still subject to the segregation of public transportation; the freedom of car ownership was not afforded to everyone.<sup>75</sup> Car travel did not make up for the lack of civil rights, but it helped to alleviate some of the issues with public transportation.<sup>76</sup> Further, while automobility did mark progress for civil rights and made the lives of some African Americans easier, it in no way stood for equality even on the road. True freedom on the road was only a white privilege. Road travel was still dominated and orchestrated by white citizens and was still subject to racial inequality.<sup>77</sup>

Social scientist Arthur Raper wrote in 1936, “Only in automobiles on public roads do landlords and tenants and white people and Negroes of the Black Belt meet on the basis of equality.”<sup>78</sup> However, traveling African Americans found that automobiles did not erase race. The social landscape was still defined by Jim Crow laws and inequality. Though African Americans technically had free reign of the roads, they had to be cognizant of their location due to the still segregated landscape to make sure they could ensure accommodations, such as hotels, gas stations, and restaurants.

African American journalist George S. Schuyler, in a 1943 survey, found that many African Americans traveling nationally had to go without overnight

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<sup>74</sup> Miller, *Car Cultures*, 94.; Carter, “Coloured Places and Pigmented Holidays,” 227-8.

<sup>75</sup> Miller, *Car Cultures*, 83.

<sup>76</sup> Ladd, *Autophobia*, 65-6.

<sup>77</sup> Seiler, “So That We as a Race,” 1093.

<sup>78</sup> Arthur Raper, *Preface to Peasantry: A Tale of Two Black Belt Counties* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2005), 174, Google Books, accessed January 11, 2018.

accommodations due to the lack of businesses serving them. He argued that blacks would likely have an easier time traveling abroad than within their own country.<sup>79</sup> Throughout the United States, they could be denied lodging, bathrooms, food, and, though less often, gas.<sup>80</sup> The only national chain of gas station which allowed African Americans to refuel and use the bathroom was Esso, while the only national restaurant and motor lodge to serve blacks was Howard Johnson.<sup>81</sup> Even when blacks were served or allowed to use facilities, they were often of low quality.<sup>82</sup>

The unknown of the open road could produce minor inconveniences, major difficulties, or even life-threatening violence. These anxieties, while frequently absent from white narratives, are featured prominently in road narratives of black Americans. Chester Himes, a black writer, discussed a “frightening” 1946 cross-country drive in the north: “literally none of the white people en route who operated hotels, motels, restaurants, or even local YWCAs or YMCAs would serve a clean, respectably dressed couple in a new Mercury car.”<sup>83</sup> Journalist Courtland Milloy Jr. remembered about his own childhood fears that “so many black travelers were just not making it to their destinations.”<sup>84</sup> Because of this, black motorists were denied some of the freedom that whites felt on the road and had to plan their trips more carefully. To avoid some of these inconveniences, African Americans often prepared food for road-side picnics and brought

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<sup>79</sup> Armstead, “Revisiting Hotels and Other Lodgings,” 140.

<sup>80</sup> Foster, “In The Face of ‘Jim Crow,’” 141.

<sup>81</sup> Hall, “The negro traveller’s guide to a Jim Crow South,” 308.; Hall, “Dramatizing the African American Experience,” 80.

<sup>82</sup> Foster, “In The Face of ‘Jim Crow,’” 142.

<sup>83</sup> Ladd, *Autophobia*, 65.

<sup>84</sup> Seiler, “So That We as a Race,” 1095.

pillows and blankets for sleeping in their cars; many also packed extra gas.<sup>85</sup> Mornings afforded more comfort; as night began approaching, traveling blacks were forced to worry about where they might stay.<sup>86</sup>

Travelers, especially men, were also subject to racial profiling by police during this time. Black motorists were frequently stopped by white police officers and harassed, usually for no discernable reason other than to remind them of their place in society. Whites often feared that cars would let the “wrong sort of people to go where they shouldn’t go, do what they shouldn’t do, and escape proper control.”<sup>87</sup> On a road trip to Mississippi, Milloy’s father reminisced: “Back in the old days, a black man with a new car would drive real slow on a road like this. The police would be looking for a reason to pull you over, humiliate you in front of your family or, if you were alone just brutalize you.”<sup>88</sup> Paula Wynter, an African American artist from Manhattan, New York, remembered a road trip herself during the 1950s in North Carolina. A local police officer had given chase to their family, however her father parked the car and turned off the lights in an effort to hide. She recalled, “We sat until the sun came up. We saw his lights pass back and forth. My sister was crying; my mother was hysterical.”<sup>89</sup>

The road for African Americans was filled with uncertainties, especially as towns throughout the nation dealt with race and segregation differently, even in the Deep South.

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<sup>85</sup> Kennedy, “Automobility, Hospitality, African American Tourism, and Mapping,” 2.; Brandee Sanders, “‘Green Book’ Kept Black Travelers Safe During The Jim Crow Era,” *Pittsburgh Courier* (Pittsburgh, PA), November 28, 2016, <https://newpittsburghcourieronline.com/2016/11/28/green-book-kept-black-travelers-safe-during-the-jim-crow-era/>, accessed November 23, 2017.

<sup>86</sup> Foster, “In The Face of ‘Jim Crow,’” 142.

<sup>87</sup> Ladd, *Autophobia*, 66.

<sup>88</sup> Courtland Milloy, Jr. “Black Highways,” *The Washington Post* (Washington, DC), June 21, 1987, page B4, EBSCOhost, accessed November 2, 2016.

<sup>89</sup> Jacinda Townsend, “Driving While Black,” *Smithsonian Magazine*, April 1, 2016, page 52, EBSCOhost, accessed October 17, 2016.

A black traveler had to be cautious and alert with each new town.<sup>90</sup> The most dangerous of these were known as ‘Sundown towns,’ marked with signs at city limits reading, “Nigger, don’t let the sun go down on you.” In these towns, African Americans were sure to be out of city limits by nightfall lest they be subject to considerable violence or fatalities.<sup>91</sup> Other areas of the country, which were less vocal about segregation and racial policies, could also be particularly dangerous as African Americans could not be sure what to expect.<sup>92</sup>

Mamie Garvin Fields wrote in *Lemon Swamp and Other Places*, “Just generally, if you were black, you were not supposed to have either time or money, and if you did, you ought not to show it. ... They’d whip a person or do something else humiliating, maybe even lynch you.”<sup>93</sup> This especially applied to traveling African Americans due to the car as a symbol of social status. This display of black wealth threatened white supremacy and racial subordination of Jim Crow.<sup>94</sup> In some instances, fines or jail could be issued to African Americans seen as too uppity. However, this could also turn deadly, as in 1948 when African American Robert Mallard was murdered in Georgia for appearing “too prosperous.”<sup>95</sup>

## Summary

The rise of automobiles provided important benefits, but also new hazards, to African Americans. Black car owners were able to avoid the dangers of public

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<sup>90</sup> Foster, “In The Face of ‘Jim Crow,’” 141.

<sup>91</sup> Kennedy, “Automobility, Hospitality, African American Tourism, and Mapping,” 17.

<sup>92</sup> “The Overground Railroad,” *Taylor Made Culture*, <http://taylormadeculture.com/the-green-book/>, accessed November 3, 2016.

<sup>93</sup> Kahrl, “On the Beach,” 1.

<sup>94</sup> Driskell, “Atlas of Self Reliance.”

<sup>95</sup> Seiler, “So That We as a Race,” 1099.

transportation, while enjoying physical freedom and asserting a new social status.

However, road travel was still oppressive. When driving, African Americans had to be more aware of their surroundings, making sure they had access to necessary amenities and they were physically safe. Difficulties on the road could range from minor inconveniences, to harassment and serious brutality.

## CHAPTER 4

### SEGREGATION ERA TRAVEL GUIDES

Despite growing automobility among African American communities, people of color were still restricted based on where and when they could access essential roadside services, such as gas stations, and on longer trips, restaurants and living accommodations. As Larry Gray, a resident of Hampton Roads, VA, remembered: “Sure, you could pretty much drive and go anywhere you wanted to. It’s just when you try to go into certain places like buildings and stuff like that. Then it just didn’t happen.”<sup>96</sup> Benjamin Swan, later a Massachusetts State Representative, echoed this sentiment, saying, “It was kind of understood there were certain places you could not stay.”<sup>97</sup>

With the expanding advertisement industry, black businesses began to embrace more formal advertisements to indicate safe places for African American customers. Some black newspapers and magazines, such as *Ebony*, offered advertisements for vacation spots and roadside accommodations. Further, more specialized publicity came in the way of brochures, maps, and postcards.<sup>98</sup> By the 1930s, travel guides for African Americans began to appear, which listed services, such as gas stations, restaurants, motels, tourist homes, and entertainment venues.

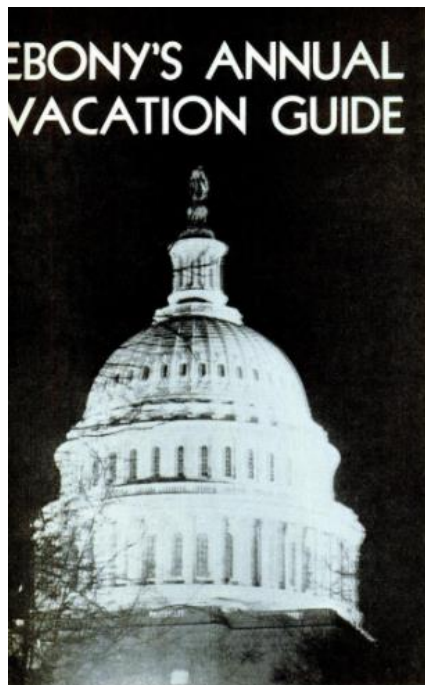
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<sup>96</sup> Larry Gray, Interview by Gabe Thomas and Randell Bronte-Tinkew, November 22, 2012, <http://sail.cnu.edu/omeka/files/original/23738b31370a56e7a8abba9df34c11b2.pdf>, accessed December 1, 2016.

<sup>97</sup> Ruth Tam, “Haven,” *Washington Post* (Washington, DC), August 28, 2013, EBSCOhost, accessed January 4, 2017.

<sup>98</sup> Armstead, “Revisiting Hotels and Other Lodgings,” 153.





RESORTS		
Where To Stay	What To Enjoy	Where To Write
<b>CANADA</b>		
Black and Tan Clear Lake	Housekeeping cottages.	C. Hutchinson, Clear Lake, P.O. Ontario, Canada
Cedar Inn Collingwood	Accommodations, meals.	Sheffield's Box #265 Collingwood Ontario, Canada
<b>CONNECTICUT</b>		
Dawn Lodge Moodus	Golf, fishing, swimming, tennis, horseback riding.	Dawn Lodge Moodus, Conn.
<b>FLORIDA</b>		
Sir John Miami	Accommodations, meals, band entertainment, swimming pool.	Sir John Hotel Sir John Square Miami, Fla.
<b>MASSACHUSETTS</b>		
Kingston Inn Kingston	Tennis, horseback riding, ocean bathing.	C. H. Hayes Kingston Inn Kingston, Mass.
Shearer Cottage Martha's Vineyard	Cottages, swimming, fishing, meals.	Sadie Shearer Box #1063 Oak Bluffs, Mass.
Cinderella Cottages Martha's Vineyard Island	Private house-keeping cottages, guest house.	Mrs. Dorothy White Box #598 Oak Bluffs, Mass.

Figure 4.1 Inserts from *Ebony's Annual Vacation Guide*, 1961. Google Books.

In 1987, journalist Courtland Milloy, Jr published an article about a road trip with his father to the Deep South. To begin, he reminisced on a similar segregation-era trip he took as a child:

I am in the back seat of my father's Buick Special, for the long drive to Grandma's house. The trip started with gaiety in the dark hours of the morning, but as the day wears on it becomes a nightmare. It is 1958. I am almost eight years old, quenching my thirst with bladder-busting cold drinks while riding through the hot, dusty South in an unairconditioned car with my two younger sisters.

Mom is seated attentively next to Dad. He is usually all-powerful and in control, but today, for some reason, he is uptight. And it isn't just because of the chicken-bone fight in the back seat, either. With every request from the kids to stop he seems to speed up. With every child's moan, Mom encourages self-control.

"Try to hold it a few more miles," she says, but she never explains why we can't stop. It's obvious to me now, setting off on a similar trip in June 1987, what frightened my father so long ago. At that time, in Louisiana, Mississippi and Arkansas—hell, all over the South—those backroads were simply too dangerous for parents to stop to let their little black children pee.

In those days, there was even a travel magazine—called the “Go Guide”—which offered the addresses of black-owned hotels, motels and tourist homes across the United States. There was a huge demand for those listings, especially among black travelling salesmen and conventioners. The reason: So many black travelers were just not making it to their destinations.<sup>99</sup>

Milloy’s description emphasizes just how dangerous traveling could be for African Americans; parents were too scared to pull over even to use the restroom. As the population of affluent traveling blacks increased, travel guides began to cater towards their needs. These guides would become important for many travelers across the United States aiming to minimize their discomfort and uneasiness on the road by listing various types of services and accommodations.

One early guide was *Hackley & Harrison’s Hotel and Apartment Guide for Colored Travelers*, published out of Philadelphia, PA. In the 1930 edition, the introduction asserts the increased travel among African Americans was due to increased business development, support of religious, education, and fraternal activities, the convenience of the automobile, and, most importantly, the aspiration to overcome discrimination of other forms of transportation. In order to combat the “lack of knowledge of desirable and hospitable hotel and apartment accommodations,” *Hackley & Harrison’s* served to provide a directory of lodging for traveling African Americans, relying heavily on reader submissions for listings.<sup>100</sup> *Grayson’s Travel and Business Guide*, referencing the amount of African American drivers responsible for wrecks due to falling asleep at the wheel, note in their 1949 edition, “Much formality, time, money, and

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<sup>99</sup> Milloy, Jr. “Black Highways,” B1.

<sup>100</sup> 1930 *Hackley and Harrison’s* in “Travel: General Guides – Pamphlets,” The Claude A. Barnett Papers: The Associated Negro Press, 1918-1967, Part 3: Subject Files on Black Americans, 1918-1967, Series I: Race Relations, 1923-1965, ProQuest History Vault, accessed October 25, 2016.

possibly life itself can be saved by possessing a copy.”<sup>101</sup> Other publications included *Cook’s Negro Travel Guide*, the National Park Service’s *Directory of Negro Hotels and Guest Houses in the United States*, *The Negro Traveler*, and *Travelguide: Vacation and Recreation without Humiliation*.<sup>102</sup>

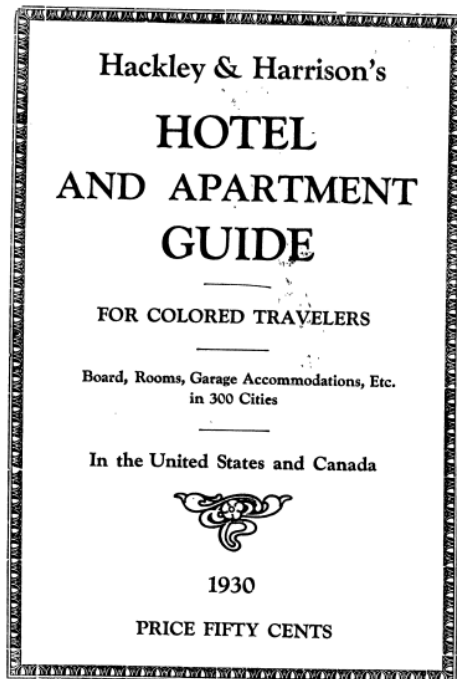


Figure 4.2 Hackley and Harrison’s Guide, 1930. “Travel: General Guides – Pamphlets,” The Claude A. Barnett Papers.

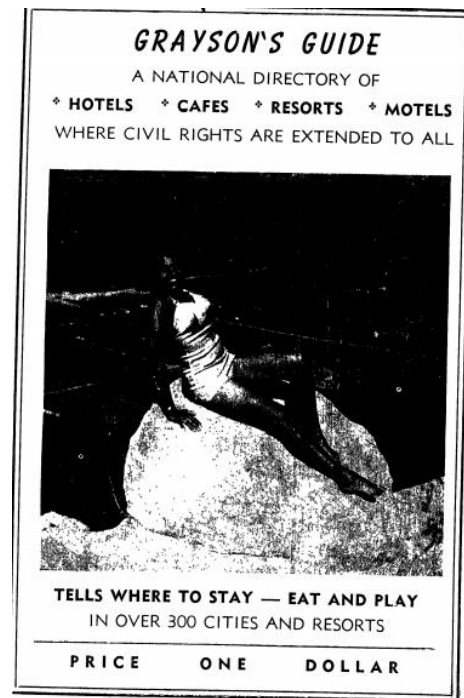


Figure 4.3 Grayson’s Guide, 1949. “Travel: General Guides – Pamphlets,” The Claude A. Barnett Papers.

Arguably the most well-known of these travel guides is the *Negro Motorist Green Book: A Classified Motorist and Tourist Guide*, or the *Green Book*, first published in

<sup>101</sup> 1949 *Grayson’s Guide* in “Travel: General Guides – Pamphlets,” The Claude A. Barnett Papers.

<sup>102</sup> *Travelguide and Grayson’s Guide* in “Travel: General Guides – Pamphlets,” The Claude A. Barnett Papers.; Armstead, “Revisiting Hotels and Other Lodgings,” 155.; Kennedy, “Automobility, Hospitality, African American Tourism, and Mapping,” 6.; The United States Travel Bureau published the *Directory of Negro Hotels and Guest Houses* in 1939 as a way to promote travel and spur economic activities as an impartial agency. While this study only found references to a 1939 edition, within its preface it is designated the “first annual.” The 16-page guide book can be found at: “The Coffee Shop Chronicles of New Orleans - David Lummis,” [https://www.facebook.com/pg/The-Coffee-Shop-Chronicles-of-New-Orleans-David-Lummis-150117595249/photos/?tab=album&album\\_id=10150307219500250](https://www.facebook.com/pg/The-Coffee-Shop-Chronicles-of-New-Orleans-David-Lummis-150117595249/photos/?tab=album&album_id=10150307219500250), accessed February 26, 2018.

1936.<sup>103</sup> The first edition aimed to “give the Negro traveler information that will keep him from running into difficulties, embarrassments, and to make his trip more enjoyable.”<sup>104</sup>

The *Green Book* was established by Victor Hugo Green, a U.S. Postal Service employee. He was born on November 9, 1892 in New York City, and grew up in Hackensack, New Jersey, where he received schooling through the seventh grade. By 1913, he was working for the USPS as a mail carrier in Hackensack. This was a common dependable job which allowed many African Americans to enter into the middle class.<sup>105</sup> He married Alma Duke in 1918 and had moved to Harlem, New York by 1933, where Green managed his brother-in-law, musician Robert Duke. He continued to work his mail



route in Hackensack, before moving to a route in Leonia, NJ by 1942; he maintained this job until his retirement in 1952, at the age of 60.<sup>106</sup> While not much is known about him, Green was described by Novera Dashiell, the *Green Book's* assistant editor in 1956, as “tall, well-built, always impeccably groomed, with an easy affable manner,” as well as having a “tremendous drive and energy.”<sup>107</sup>

Figure 4.4 The only known photograph of Victor Hugo Green. Found in the 1956 edition of the *Green Book*.

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<sup>103</sup> Herb Boyd, “Victor H. Green and his indispensable ‘Green Book,’” *The New York Amsterdam News* (New York City, NY), April 14-20, 2016, page 30, EBSCOhost, accessed October 17, 2016.

<sup>104</sup> Foster, “In The Face of ‘Jim Crow,’” 142.

<sup>105</sup> Boyd, “Victor H. Green,” 30.; Tam, “Haven.”

<sup>106</sup> Boyd, “Victor H. Green,” 30.; “The Green Book: The forgotten story of one carrier’s legacy helping others navigate Jim Crow’s Highways,” *The Postal Record*, September 2013, 22-25, [https://www.nalc.org/news/the-postal-record/2013/september-2013/document/09-2013\\_green-book.pdf](https://www.nalc.org/news/the-postal-record/2013/september-2013/document/09-2013_green-book.pdf), accessed December 4, 2016.

<sup>107</sup> *The Negro Travelers Green Book*, 1956.

As explained in the 1956 edition, Victor Green began to envision the *Green Book* in 1932 after complaining of the difficulties inherent in traveling with several friends. He said, “If Negro-owned business is good, it can be better with advertising.”<sup>108</sup> So, in 1936, Green published his first edition as a 15-page catalog of New York City resources with partner George L. Smith under the publishing name Victor H. Green & Company. This directory was modeled after similar guides for Jewish travelers. Smith soon left the company and, in 1938, Green was joined by William Green, his older brother, as editor, who remained with the company until his death in 1945.<sup>109</sup> In 1952 Victor retired from a leadership role, and his wife Alma took over as publisher.<sup>110</sup>

After the first issue of the *Green Book*, the company published a national guide, endorsed by many organizations across the country, including the United States Travel Bureau and the American Automobile Association.<sup>111</sup> Initially Green traveled to inspect listed locations for accuracy and condition; soon, however, he needed a more efficient way to obtain information.<sup>112</sup> Using his connections through the USPS, which was one of the country’s leading employers of African Americans, Green reached out to mailmen across the country to gain their knowledge of local businesses. These contacts had intimate knowledge of safe areas and neighborhoods which would be open and inviting to

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., Boyd, “Victor H. Green,” 30.; Michael T. Luongo, “Calvin A. Ramsey on How Black Travel Has Changed Since Jim Crow,” *The New York Times* (New York City, NY), July 14, 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/19/travel/calvin-a-ramsey-on-the-days-of-the-green-book.html>, accessed November 15, 2016.

<sup>110</sup> Hall, “The negro traveller’s guide to a Jim Crow South,” 317-8.

<sup>111</sup> *The Negro Travelers Green Book*, 1956, p 5.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid, p 6.

black visitors.<sup>113</sup> If any of these businesses did not meet expectations, readers could report them and have their listings removed.<sup>114</sup>

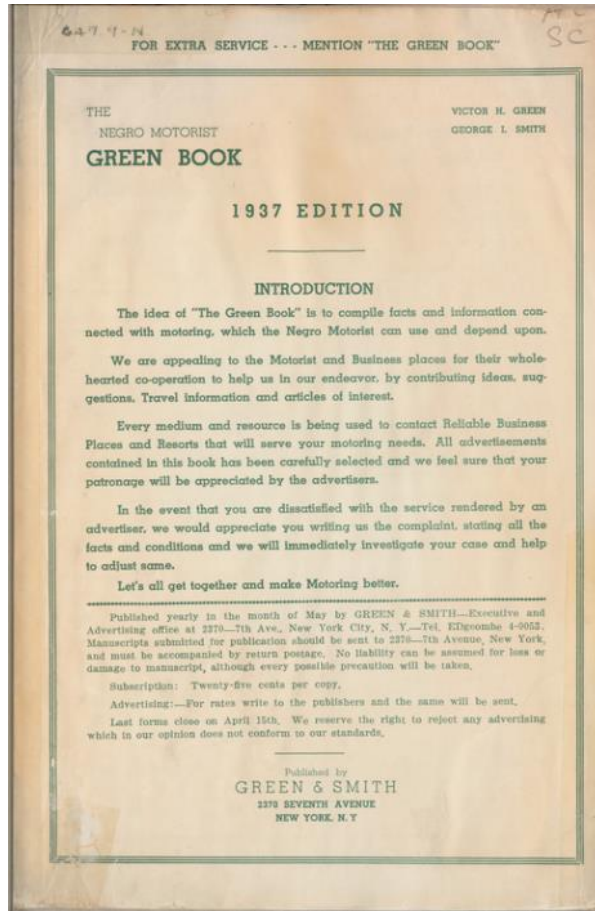


Figure 4.5 The 1937 edition of the Negro Motorist Green Book. New York Public Library.

In 1940, the guide clearly had grown, with listings for forty-three states, as well as Washington D.C.<sup>115</sup> By 1949, the guide covered the United States, as well as Bermuda, Mexico, and Canada. Over time, listings continued to be added internationally, in South America, the West Indies, Europe, and West Africa, though establishments were notably

<sup>113</sup> Luongo, "Calvin A. Ramsey."

<sup>114</sup> Hall, "The negro traveller's guide to a Jim Crow South," 314.

<sup>115</sup> Armstead, "Revisiting Hotels and Other Lodgings," 154.

concentrated in the Northeast near the publication office.<sup>116</sup> The growth of the *Green Book* can clearly be seen just in the increase in size – from the 15-page 1936 edition to the final 99-page edition, published in 1967.<sup>117</sup> Green’s business had also been growing, with the addition of an advertising director and a sales correspondent.<sup>118</sup> Green established an associated travel agency as well, in 1947, to respond to the growing desire to travel from African Americans.<sup>119</sup>

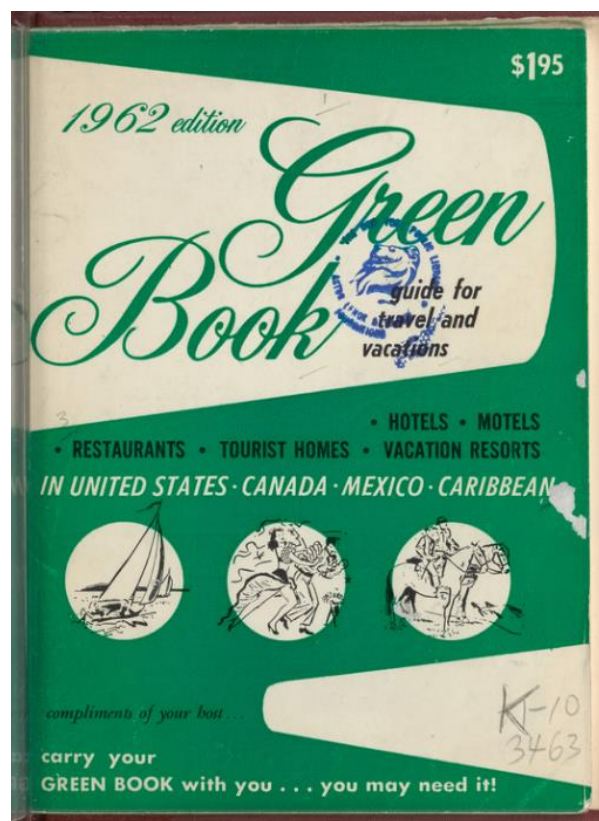


Figure 4.6 The 1962 edition of the *Green Book*. The cover shows the international growth of the guide by the 1960s. New York Public Library.

<sup>116</sup> Kennedy, “Automobility, Hospitality, African American Tourism, and Mapping,” 50.

<sup>117</sup> Townsend, “Driving While Black,” page 52.

<sup>118</sup> Kennedy, “Automobility, Hospitality, African American Tourism, and Mapping,” 89.

<sup>119</sup> *The Negro Travelers Green Book*, 1956, p 6.

The guides themselves were similar to other travel guides of the time. Most editions listed restaurants, hotels, tourist homes, gas stations, barbers, tailors, and theaters, among other services, by state and city to make traveling easier and safer; some editions, such as in 1959, were streamlined and only provided hotels, motels, and tourist homes. While certainly not comprehensive, it provided an important tool for African Americans to feel safer in exercising their mobility.<sup>120</sup>

*Green Books* were available for purchase at various black owned businesses, black churches, the Negro Urban League, through mail order advertisements from *Ebony*, and at Esso Gas Stations.<sup>121</sup> An important relationship formed between Victor Green Publishing and James Jackson and Wendell Alston, special representatives for Standard Oil (Esso).<sup>122</sup> In addition to selling *Green Books* in their stores, Esso also advertised within the guides and provided financial assistance to Green.<sup>123</sup> Esso stations were notably the only national chain in which African Americans were welcome to use the restrooms, as well as purchase gas.<sup>124</sup> In support of the *Green Book's* purpose, Alston, known as "The Esso Man," wrote in the 1949 edition that "The *Green Book* ... can most certainly help solve your travel problems."<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Hall, "The negro traveller's guide to a Jim Crow South," 309.; Hall, "Dramatizing the African American Experience," 84.

<sup>121</sup> Townsend, "Driving While Black," page 53.; Kennedy, "Automobility, Hospitality, African American Tourism, and Mapping," 2.; Louis Sahagun, "The guidebook helped African Americans find a hotel along segregation-era Route 66," *Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles, CA), May 17, 2016, <http://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-route-66-20160516-snap-story.html>, accessed November 15, 2016.

<sup>122</sup> *The Negro Motorist Travel Guide*, 1949.; It has been proposed that this relationship lead to a higher concentration of distribution of *Green Book* guides in the northeast region. Kennedy, "Automobility, Hospitality, African American Tourism, and Mapping," 40-41.

<sup>123</sup> Calvin Alexander Ramsey, *Ruth and the Green Book* (Minneapolis: Carolrhoda Books, 2010), EBSCOhost, Accessed November 20, 2016.

<sup>124</sup> Hall, "The negro traveller's guide to a Jim Crow South," 308.

<sup>125</sup> *The Negro Motorist Travel Guide*, 1949.; Kennedy, "Automobility, Hospitality, African American Tourism, and Mapping," 63, 87.



For his work, Green has been compared to Harriet Tubman and other abolitionists who offered protection and a route to freedom for enslaved people on the Underground Railroad, referring to the *Green Books* as part of an “Overground Railroad.”<sup>126</sup> His efforts were truly to aid in offering an important service. In the Foreword of the 1957 *Green Book*, the guide’s goal was explained to give “assured protection for the Negro traveler.”<sup>127</sup> Prompted by the excess of stories of discrimination, oppression, and racial violence, Green designed the guides so black travelers could escape any humiliation or difficulties of being refused service in the segregated landscape, making any trip safer, easier, and more enjoyable.<sup>128</sup> He likely did not profit much off the guides, which were sold for 25 cents in 1936 and 1 dollar and 94 cents by 1966. In 1940, his reported income reflected only his pay as a mail carrier.<sup>129</sup>

Green’s ultimate goal for the publication was that it simply would become obsolete and his business would no longer be needed. In 1948, he wrote: “There will be a day sometime in the near future when this guide will not have to be published. That is when we as a race will have equal opportunities and privileges in the United States. It will be a great day for us to suspend this publication for then we can go wherever we please, and without embarrassment.”<sup>130</sup>

Victor Green died in 1960 and his wife maintained operations for the remaining years of publication.<sup>131</sup> Though he was able to see some of the Jim Crow legislation begin to fade, he, unfortunately, did not survive to see the signing of the *Civil Rights Act of*

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<sup>126</sup> Hall, “The negro traveller’s guide to a Jim Crow South,” 312.

<sup>127</sup> *The Negro Travelers Green Book*, 1957.

<sup>128</sup> *The Negro Motorist Travel Guide*, 1948.

<sup>129</sup> Townsend, “Driving While Black,” page 53.; “The Green Book,” *The Postal Record*.

<sup>130</sup> *The Negro Motorist Travel Guide*, 1948.

<sup>131</sup> Boyd, “Victor H. Green,” page 30.

1964, which outlawed racial discrimination. While this Act did not immediately end discrimination, it did give African Americans legal recourse to defend themselves against injustice. This Act did effectively render the *Green Book* obsolete and the organization would publish its last edition in 1967. These final issues expanded international information, as well as provided state specific information on discrimination and desegregation.<sup>132</sup> Other similar guides did not survive even as long as the *Green Book*, such as *Travelguide*, which opened in 1946 and shut down operations in 1957.<sup>133</sup>

### Summary

Due to the inconveniences and dangers involved in automotive travel for African Americans, guide books were published throughout the Jim Crow era to ease these concerns and help black travelers find amenities and accommodations on the road. These books generally listed a variety of resources, such as gas stations, motels, restaurants, and entertainment venues. It seems one of the longest lasting and most prominent guidebooks was the *Green Book*. Created by Victor H. Green, it was published out of Harlem, New York beginning in 1936 and provided national, and eventually international, listings. Its purpose was to provide protection for African American travelers. Green's wish, however, was that the guidebook would ultimately become unnecessary – a hope that came true when the company ceased production in 1967.

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<sup>132</sup> Hall, "The negro traveller's guide to a Jim Crow South," 316-317.

<sup>133</sup> Seiler, "So That We as a Race," 1109.; 1952 *Travelguide* in "Travel: General Guides – Pamphlets," The Claude A. Barnett Papers.

## CHAPTER 5

### PRESERVATION OF AFRICAN AMERICAN RESOURCES

Prior to the 1960s, historic preservation in the United States largely revolved around preserving European heritage. These efforts to save a specific history directly reflect what the larger society deemed important in the historical legacy of the nation and served to perpetuate the white supremacy that reigned dominant in American culture. Throughout the preservation movement, minority resources and histories have consistently been forgotten or erased – a trend that, fortunately, has begun to change in recent decades.

In Virginia, the first truly noteworthy act of preservation for African American heritage occurred in 1907, when Congress allocated \$100,000 to construct a ‘Negro Building,’ designed by an African American architect, to be featured at the Jamestown Exposition. This building, along with a sculpture of Africans arriving in Jamestown, was the first time the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities acknowledged the African history present at Jamestown, an historical site described as a “shrine for white America” that did not allow African American visitors at the time.<sup>134</sup>

However, it was not until the 1940s that any African American historic sites were recognized on a national scale. In 1943, the National Park Service (NPS) named the birthplace of George Washington Carver, an African American agricultural scientist, in Diamond, Missouri a National Landmark. In 1956, the NPS also acquired the birthplace

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<sup>134</sup> Heather McDonald, “The National Register of Historic Places and African-American Heritage,” Master’s Thesis, University of Georgia, 2009, [ced.uga.edu](http://ced.uga.edu), accessed May 2017.

of Booker T. Washington, which was dedicated as a National Monument.<sup>135</sup> Preservation efforts were still slow and the majority of preservation work was still focused on the dominant white culture. This mindset is seen clearly in *With Heritage So Rich*, a 1966 publication by The National Trust for Historic Preservation. This report, prompted by the destruction of many of the nation's historic resources, resulted in the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, the most significant act of preservation legislation in the United States.<sup>136</sup> However, notably, this work overlooked the abundant historic resources of minority populations in the United States.<sup>137</sup>

By the 1960s, grassroots preservation efforts were beginning to occur in the African American community. It is not surprising that this coincides with the growing Civil Rights Movement, as Black America began to become more involved with politics and empowered by their own history.<sup>138</sup> An example of this grassroots activism is seen in a community effort during the 1960s to save Weeksville, an 1830s African American village in Brooklyn. The only three remaining buildings were eventually located and, after being threatened through redevelopment efforts, they were restored and opened to the public as a museum. In 1971, the properties were listed as Local Historic Landmarks by the New York Landmarks Commission.<sup>139</sup> During this time, African Americans also

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<sup>135</sup> Brent Leggs, "Preserving African American Historic Places," *National Trust for Historic Places*, February 4, 2013, <https://savingplaces.org/stories/preserving-african-american-historic-places-new-resource-available/#.WpjjaITBrIU>, accessed November 20, 2017.

<sup>136</sup> Special Committee on Historic Preservation, "With Heritage So Rich," National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1966, <http://preservation50.org/about/with-heritage-so-rich/>, accessed November 20, 2017.

<sup>137</sup> McDonald, "The National Register of Historic Places and African-American Heritage."

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> Leggs, "Preserving African American Heritage," 3, 19.

began creating their own museums in order to present and commemorate their own history.<sup>140</sup>

As similar attempts to preserve these forgotten histories occurred in other areas of the country, national preservation leadership groups began making efforts, as well. In 1972, the NPS funded a survey which aimed to locate important historic sites for African American history, ultimately leading to 85 properties being designated as National Historic Landmarks. Two years later, the Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site was acquired, and funding was approved for several buildings on the campus. These developments brought many African American sites into the public eye.<sup>141</sup>

Efforts have steadily continued, and many publications and manuals have been published aimed at balancing the scales for preservation representation. In 1984, the Georgia State Historic Preservation Office published the *Historic Black Resources: A Handbook for the Identification, Documentation, and Evaluation of Historic African American Properties in Georgia*. In a 1993 update, Elizabeth Lyon, the State Historic Preservation Officer at the time, wrote that, in 1984, “appreciation of the historic properties associated with Georgia’s African-American heritage was just beginning to be recognized. The historical significance of these properties had long been unnoticed.” With their publication, they aimed to “provide tools and strategies that can assist the preservation of the historic properties that give meaning to all of our lives.”<sup>142</sup> This has

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<sup>140</sup> Aleia Brown, “On Race and Museums: Starting Conversations, Embracing Action,” *Museums and Social Issues* 10, No. 2 (2015): 111-112, EBSCOhost, accessed January 2, 2018.

<sup>141</sup> McDonald, “The National Register of Historic Places and African-American Heritage.”

<sup>142</sup> Georgia Department of Natural Resources, *African American Historic places and culture*, Atlanta, GA, 1993, <http://georgiashpo.org/sites/default/files/hpd/pdf/AfricanAmericanHistoricPlacesCulture.pdf>, accessed December 6, 2017.

continued into relatively recent times with the 2012 publication by the National Trust for Historic Preservation, entitled *Preserving African American Historic Places*.

Over time, many heritage sites, historic organizations, and museums have become more inclusive of African American stories in their interpretative materials. For example the American Civil War Center in Richmond, Virginia describes its mission as “the exploration of the American Civil War and its legacies from multiple perspectives: Union and Confederate, enslaved and free African Americans, soldiers and civilians.”<sup>143</sup> In 2014, the Whitney Plantation in Edgard, Louisiana became the only plantation museum in the state to focus on the enslaved people who lived and worked at the plantation.<sup>144</sup> Even in places where important historic sites have been demolished, efforts have been made to commemorate those locations. In Los Angeles, California, an exhibit was designed to commemorate Billy Mason, an enslaved African American woman who sued for her freedom, in the parking garage which now stands on the site of her former home.<sup>145</sup> Overall, the preservation movement and tourism industry have made significant strides to represent a more inclusive and accurate history – even the dark history of racial oppression and struggle. However, as Brent Leggs, a Senior Field Officer for the National Trust for Historic Preservation, concisely says in *Preserving African American Historic Places*: “Yet there is still much to be done.”<sup>146</sup>

Despite these efforts for greater recognition, it is no exaggeration to recognize that African American history has “traditionally been silenced, romanticized, and

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<sup>143</sup> “About Us,” *The American Civil War Museum*, <https://acwm.org/about-us>, accessed January 4, 2018.

<sup>144</sup> “Whitney Plantation,” *Whitney Plantation*, <http://whitneyplantation.com/>, accessed January 4, 2018.

<sup>145</sup> McDonald, “The National Register of Historic Places and African-American Heritage.”

<sup>146</sup> Leggs, “Preserving African American Heritage,” 4.

homogenized” in favor of the perpetuation of a white, often male, narrative.<sup>147</sup> Many sites which could provide African American narratives to present more complex histories have historically glossed over these more “uncomfortable” stories. This ignores the rich and diverse history of African Americans, and has led to an unbalanced representation at historic sites.<sup>148</sup> This is especially notable in the South, whose preservation for many years focused almost fully on white histories of plantations and battlefields.<sup>149</sup> These serve to provide a more palatable, but certainly not a very accurate, portrayal of life for African Americans throughout the history of the United States in an effort to minimize tension. For instance, in 1990, Richard Miller, an independent consultant hired by the Afro-American Institute for Historic Preservation and Community Development to assess the NPS’s relationship to the African American public, pointed out the ways in which the General Grant National Memorial in New York City included an African American story, but one that served to be non-controversial for public consumption. The memorial included information on Richard T. Greener, the first black American to graduate from Harvard University. However, Miller argued a more relevant and useful topic would be to examine the ways in which policies during Grant’s presidency affected African Americans during Reconstruction in the South. By focusing on a singular positive account, the memorial effectively left out an important story of African American history in favor of something more pleasant.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> Stefanie Benjamin, Carol Kline, Derek Alderman, and Wilson Hoggard, “Heritage Site Visitation and Attitudes toward African American Heritage Preservation: An Investigation of North Carolina Residents,” *Journal of Travel Research* 55, no. 7 (2015): 931, EBSCOhost, accessed October 17, 2016.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid, 930.; Derek H. Alderman, “Introduction to the Special Issue: African Americans and Tourism,” *Tourism Geographies* 15, no. 3, 375, EBSCOhost, accessed November 3, 2016.

<sup>149</sup> Carter, “Coloured Places and Pigmented Holidays,” p 277.

<sup>150</sup> Richard E. Miller, “The National Park Service and the Afro-American Experience,” *United States Department of the Interior*, 1990, page 8,

One of the most telling examinations of this phenomenon comes from surveys of nationally recognized historic sites, through the National Register of Historic Places, a nation-wide list of significant sites deemed preservation worthy, and the National Historic Landmarks, a more exclusive list of exceptional nationally significant sites. In 1990, Miller found that out of 2000 National Historic Landmarks, only 88 had an officially recognized connection to African American heritage. Further, he found that these were mostly related to negative aspects of this history, focusing on enslavement and legal injustices. He also found that sites which listed African American association as of secondary importance often relegated to saying “more research needed” as a way to relieve the pressure to revise interpretation.<sup>151</sup> Further in 2008, the National Historic Landmarks were found to represent a fair amount of African American history, however only “a limited range of events, ideas, themes, and significant individuals.”<sup>152</sup>

While designed to be all-inclusive of the nation’s history, in 1998 it was found that only 2.6% of properties listed on the National Register were relevant to minority and ethnic groups, well below the proportion of those communities compared to whites in America. By 2004, the situation of these lists had not much improved, as a survey completed by the NPS found that “minority participation in heritage programs has been limited, and the picture of American history presented by officially designated sites

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[https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online\\_books/npsg/afro\\_american\\_experience.pdf](https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/npsg/afro_american_experience.pdf), accessed December 20, 2017.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid, page 2, 7.

<sup>152</sup> *African American NHL Assessment Study*, Washington D.C.: National Park Service, 2008, 2, <http://npshistory.com/publications/nhl/special-studies/african-american.pdf>, accessed January 5, 2018.



understates the diversity of the nation's actual history.”<sup>153</sup> In fact, in 2004, a survey found that just 1% of National Register properties were associated with African Americans.<sup>154</sup>

A major difficulty in the preservation of African American specific resources stems from landscape changes that occurred across the country which negatively affected many African American communities; their communities are often the ones physically impacted by development, such as urban renewal and road construction.<sup>155</sup> Urban renewal constitutes redevelopment efforts of cities, generally in areas deemed blighted, in order to improve them. In the United States, urban renewal experienced a boom in the 1950s, with the Housing Act of 1949 and its modified version in 1954. These initiatives provided federal money for city improvements.<sup>156</sup> These efforts generally constituted relocating businesses and residents and demolishing old buildings.<sup>157</sup> Urban renewal efforts began with a city identifying a blighted area and developing a plan for a new desired use of the area. This plan, then, was to be approved by the government. When this was achieved, the land would be seized by eminent domain and, subsequently, developed.<sup>158</sup>

While the outward purpose of urban renewal was city improvement, minority populations, and their resources, were overwhelmingly targeted. The blighted areas designated by cities were generally African American neighborhoods, which means it

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<sup>153</sup> Ned Kaufman, *Cultural Heritage Needs Assessment: Phase I*. draft (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2004), 1, <https://www.nps.gov/heritageinitiatives/pubs/PhaseIReport.pdf>, accessed January 5, 2018.

<sup>154</sup> McDonald, “The National Register of Historic Places and African-American Heritage.”

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, 922.

<sup>156</sup> Mindy Thompson Fullilove, *Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighborhoods Hurts America and What We Can Do About It* (New York: New Village Press, 2016), 57, Google Books, accessed December 3, 2017.

<sup>157</sup> Karen R. Florez, et al., “The Power of Place: Social Network Characteristics, Perceived Neighborhood Features, and Psychological Distress Among African Americans in the Historic Hill District in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania,” *American Journal of Community Psychology* 58 (2016): 1, EBSCOhost, accessed December 3, 2017.

<sup>158</sup> Fullilove, *Root Shock*, 58.

was African American people who were being displaced and relocated, and African American resources which were being demolished. This trend was not a secret as a retired planner in Detroit discussed their choice to redevelop the east side of downtown, despite similar conditions on the west: “I guess the practical difference was that the west side was predominantly White and the east side was predominantly Black.” The Planning Director in Detroit spoke at the national planning conference, where he argued that African American areas would be less likely to have “organized opposition” to such plans.<sup>159</sup> Ultimately, as clinical psychiatry and public health professor at Columbia University Dr. Mindy Fullilove writes, “Urban Renewal is Negro Removal.”<sup>160</sup>

There have been local studies across the nation of the effects of urban renewal on individual cities and their African American populations. Many neighborhoods that were affected were once successful and healthy. However, with urban renewal policies, they were significantly negatively impacted. A notable example is the Hill District in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. This neighborhood was characterized by old buildings built close together, cobblestone streets, and an important sense of community.<sup>161</sup> However, in the 1950s, developers envisioned redeveloping the area – getting rid of some of the density and mixed land use which signified the area’s blighted nature. While much of the housing was dilapidated, the social and community fabric was ignored in development plans.<sup>162</sup> 8000 residents were displaced to construct a civic arena, significantly impacting both the population and the community which had thrived there.<sup>163</sup> Similar initiatives

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<sup>159</sup> June Manning Thomas, *Redevelopment and Race: Planning a Finer City in Postwar Detroit* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1997), 58.

<sup>160</sup> Fullilove, *Root Shock*, 61.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>162</sup> Laura Grantmeyer, “Conflicting visions of renewal in Pittsburgh’s Hill District, 1950–1968,” *Urban History* 43, no. 4 (2016), EBSCOhost, accessed December 3, 2017.

<sup>163</sup> Florez, et al., “The Power of Place,” 1-2.

were seen in countless cities across the country, including Birmingham, where sixty blocks of a black neighborhood were demolished to build the University of Alabama at Birmingham in the 1950s.<sup>164</sup>

A closely related phenomenon was the introduction of the Federal Highway Program, which also had a hand in impacting African American communities. The Federal Highway Act of 1956 offered federal money for the cost of expressway construction, a program many cities and states aimed to take advantage of.<sup>165</sup> This road construction fit into other urban renewal efforts and, subsequently, worked to devastate those same communities. Road construction at this point gave little regard to the built environment, instead focusing on the best route regardless of what stood in its path.<sup>166</sup> New highway plans often split, or completely razed, neighborhoods, many of which were predominantly African American.<sup>167</sup> In Birmingham, Alabama, African American neighborhoods were experiencing large population decline in the 1960s, as highways were built directly through them. In a 2013 study by the director of the University of Iowa School of Urban and Regional Planning, Charles E. Connerly found that the interstate highway system being instituted effectively maintained the racial zoning law – and segregation – of Birmingham from 1926.<sup>168</sup>

With the extensive landscape changes beginning in the 1950s, low income African American communities were clearly adversely affected. Their buildings were torn down, their populations were displaced, and their communities were dissipated. The

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<sup>164</sup> Charles E. Connerly, “From Racial Zoning to Community Empowerment: The Interstate Highway System and the African American Community in Birmingham, Alabama,” *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 22 (2002): 99, EBSCOhost, accessed December 3, 2017.

<sup>165</sup> Thomas, *Redevelopment and Race*, p 68.

<sup>166</sup> Kara Mollano, “Race, Roads, and Right of Way,” *The Annals of Iowa* 68 (2009): 257-8, EBSCOhost, accessed December 3, 2017.

<sup>167</sup> Fullilove, *Root Shock*, 64.; *Ibid*, 258.

<sup>168</sup> Connerly, “From Racial Zoning to Community Empowerment,” 110.

businesses in those neighborhoods often struggled without the community support.<sup>169</sup> In fact, in 2016, the Hill District of Pittsburgh was plagued with 41% of residents below the poverty line.<sup>170</sup>

### Summary

Throughout the history of preservation in America, resources of white European history have taken priority over minority resources and histories. However, grassroots community efforts in the 1960s jumpstarted significant progress in preserving African American resources. Soon after, national preservation organizations followed suit, aiming to increase minority representation in preservation through surveys, historic designations, and publications. Overall, there has been great advancement in representing a more inclusive history, however, much work remains to be done. Current preservation efforts are further complicated by the history of development initiatives throughout the country. Programs such as urban renewal and road construction have disproportionately targeted undervalued African American neighborhoods on a national scale, hurting both resources and their communities.

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<sup>169</sup> Ibid, 112.

<sup>170</sup> Florez, "The Power of Place," 1-2.

## CHAPTER 6

### TRAVEL GUIDE RESOURCES IN PORTSMOUTH, VIRGINIA

#### Portsmouth History

Portsmouth, Virginia is a city in the Tidewater region of the Virginia Peninsula, located on the Elizabeth River, and is part of Hampton Roads, a metropolitan region in southeastern Virginia and northeastern North Carolina. Formally established in 1752, the town was 65 acres: the town was bordered by the Elizabeth River on the east and the north, South Street and Crab Creek on the south, Dinwiddie Street on the west and Main Street (now Crawford Street) on the east. Throughout its history, it has continued to grow and acquire land. The establishment of the county court in Portsmouth in 1801 cemented the city's status within the region. By 1858, the town was incorporated as an independent city. Today, it has grown to encompass twenty-six square miles.<sup>171</sup>

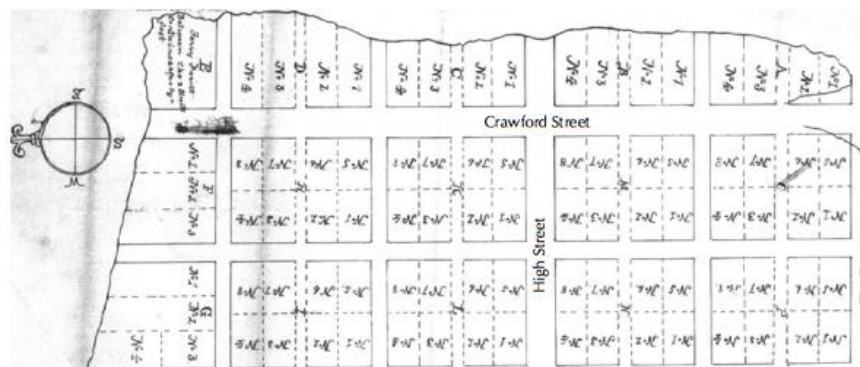


Figure 6.1 Original Plat of Portsmouth, VA. “Olde Town Historic District Guidelines,” Portsmouth Planning Department.

<sup>171</sup> “Truxton Historic District Guidelines,” Portsmouth Planning Department, <https://www.portsmouthva.gov/DocumentCenter/Home/View/864>, Accessed December 3, 2017.; Rogers De Whichard, *History of Lower Tidewater Virginia*, [https://archive.org/stream/historyoflowerti02whic/historyoflowerti02whic\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/historyoflowerti02whic/historyoflowerti02whic_djvu.txt), Accessed November 10, 2016.

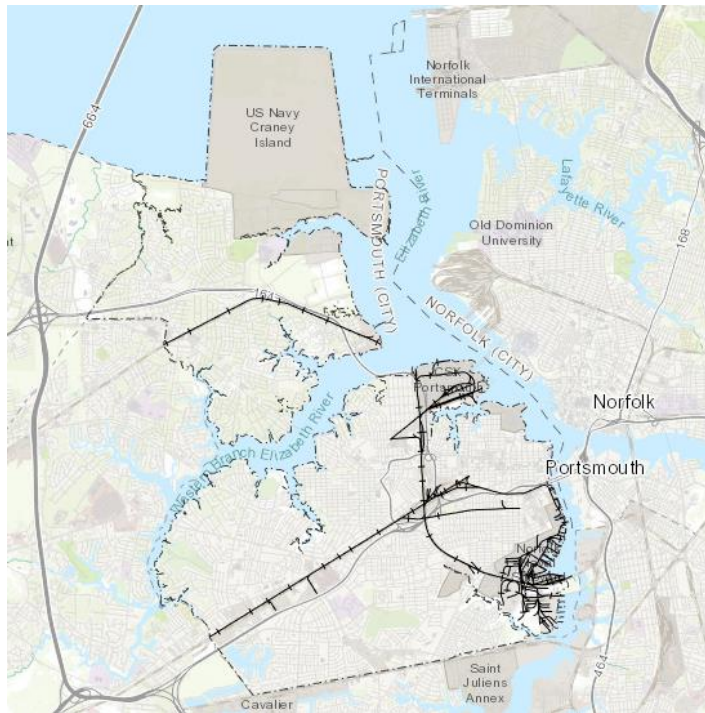


Figure 6.2 Current Boundaries of Portsmouth, VA. Portsmouth, Virginia Tax Assessor.

Life in Portsmouth has historically revolved around the Norfolk Naval Shipyard, or the Yard, which has grown from its inception as the Gosport Shipyard in 1767, making it the oldest industrial facility owned by the United States Navy. Following its role in the Civil War, the Yard became a national leader in naval construction projects. In the early years of the twentieth century, the city's population began growing rapidly as the Yard grew with more employees; the population almost doubled between 1900 and 1920. With the onset of World War I, this trend continued. In order to provide housing for this large influx of workers, two neighborhoods – Craddock and Truxton – were established. Truxton became home to the African American workers in Portsmouth. By the end of the war, the city's resources were strained and the population declined, sending the city into an economic depression and highlighting how dependent they were on naval construction needs. Another boom in population occurred as the country began preparing for

participation in World War II, which brought about another large increase in housing projects in the city. By the 1950s, one in every five workers was employed by the government, with the large majority of those employed federally. The town began incentivizing private investment, and industry began growing in the 1940s and 1950s in the city. Large industrial centers began moving operations to Portsmouth, such as a refinery opened by the Esso Standard Oil Company and the Portsmouth Coca Cola Bottling Works, Inc.<sup>172</sup>

Portsmouth also functioned as a transportation hub. The Portsmouth and Roanoke Railroad, an early railroad in the region, was established in 1834 by the Seaboard Air Line. By the 1950s, there were nine railroads serving the area: the Pennsylvania, Norfolk and Western, Atlantic Coast Line, Seaboard, Atlantic and Danville, Virginian, Southern, Norfolk and Southern, and Chesapeake and Ohio. Portsmouth is also a large port town. The Hampton Roads region is the greatest seaborne coal port in the United States, connecting American coal abroad. The automobile also had a large impact on the physical city. Dr. George Carr acquired the first automobile in Portsmouth in 1902. As more people began obtaining vehicles, the city notably went through physical changes. New cars on the road necessitated new businesses – namely service stations and garages – to support them. Called “tin” garages, many people built detached structures next to or behind their homes. Many roads which had not been paved previously were improved and the highway system came into the town.<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> “Portsmouth Historic Districts Report,” Frazier Associates and the City of Portsmouth, 2007, [http://dhr.virginia.gov/pdf\\_files/SpecialCollections/PM-067\\_Portsmouth\\_Historic\\_Districts\\_2007\\_FA\\_report.pdf](http://dhr.virginia.gov/pdf_files/SpecialCollections/PM-067_Portsmouth_Historic_Districts_2007_FA_report.pdf), Accessed December 12, 2017.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

As was the case throughout the rest of the country, segregation was the status quo in Portsmouth. African Americans and whites did not socialize together at restaurants, theaters, or other establishments.<sup>174</sup> Larry Gray discussed his experience growing up in segregated Hampton Roads: “You knew where you could and could not go, bottom line. That’s probably why you didn’t have incidents, because you knew your limitations. You knew your limitations, so you didn’t violate them.”<sup>175</sup> However, many residents have been quick to comment on the quality of life they had. Flora Crittenden, of Newport News, remembered, “Well, of course, we were segregated. I lived in a totally segregated community. The way they depict African Americans during that era was not my experience. We had very fine communities. I lived in a community where we left our doors open all the time. We raised our windows in the summer. We had no problems whatsoever. It was quiet. Everybody looked out for everybody else.”<sup>176</sup> Alice Rainey, also of Newport News, remembered “they had a lot of things that you could do.”<sup>177</sup> While segregation was the reality for the African American community in this area, they were able to create spaces for themselves to enjoy and thrive in.

### Travel Guide Resources in Portsmouth

Juan Fagan remembered of Portsmouth: “We were still dealing with segregation. There weren’t a whole lot of listings for black businesses.”<sup>178</sup> Some of those businesses that did exist for African Americans were catalogued in the travel guides. While certainly

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<sup>174</sup> Juan Fagan, Interview with the Author, Portsmouth, VA, January 3, 2018.

<sup>175</sup> Gray, Interview.

<sup>176</sup> Flora Davis Crittenden, Interview by Emily Caldwell and Ebony Tyler, November 16, 2012, <http://sail.cnu.edu/omeka/files/original/6b92558d17e08097aa81f9efea44aeac.pdf>, accessed December 1, 2016.

<sup>177</sup> Alice Rainey, Interview by Megan Canny and Kelly Russo, November 1, 2012, <http://sail.cnu.edu/omeka/files/original/426916a373ef28850b8d28f801f59fdf.pdf>, accessed December 1, 2016.

<sup>178</sup> Fagan, Interview.



not a comprehensive record, they do provide an insight into some of the services available for local Portsmouth residents, as well as travelers to the area. Out of the four travel guides consulted for this study, Portsmouth had listings in three – the *Green Book*, *Grayson's Guide*, and *Travelguide; Hackley and Harrison's* was the only guide which featured no listings.<sup>179</sup> Between 1939 and 1962, twenty-four listings were recorded in the travel guides. Of these, there were five service stations, four restaurants, three hotels, three motels and restaurants, one tavern, one vacation resort, one doctor, one dentist, one attorney, a building associated with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), a Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), a movers, and a beauty school. Appendix A features a complete list of these businesses, along with their addresses, years of listing, and current status. Appendix B shows a map of these locations.

The current states of three businesses were unverifiable during the research period as exact locations could not be determined for the buildings – Capitol Tavern, Sportsman's Motel and Restaurant, and Combo Terrace Motel and Restaurant. Capitol Tavern, run by Geo Hall, was listed at 600 Effingham Street in the 1939 *Green Book* and a Capital Café was listed in the same location in the 1949 *Grayson's Guide*. However, as listings were not always fully accurate, each address was verified with the city directory for their respective years. Unfortunately, the business was not listed in the city directory. If the location is correct in these guides, then the building would no longer be extant. Today, the address of 600 Effingham is an empty lot.

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<sup>179</sup> The following years were consulted: *Travelguide*: (1949, 1952), *Graysons Guide*: (1949), *Green Book*: (1937-41, 1947-50, 1952-54, 1956, 1957, 1959-62, 1963-64), *Hackley and Harrison's*: (1930).

Sportsman's Motel and Restaurant was listed in the 1962 edition of the *Green Book*. The city directory provided no exact address, though it did indicate the original building was located between Chowan Drive and Hodges Ferry Road on Route 2, which has since been renamed Airline Boulevard. Based on the information provided by the directory, it is likely the building was demolished by 1968; however, there are some buildings along this strip dated prior to 1962 by the tax assessor, so there may possibly be remnants which could be discovered with further research.<sup>180</sup>

The last unverified listing is the Combo Terrace Motel and Restaurant, which was posted at Hiway #13 & 460 in the 1962 *Green Book*. This business was unable to be located in the Portsmouth City Directory, as well. However, a Combo Terrace was located in nearby Chesapeake, where Highway #13 and 460 converge. As businesses outside city limits, but still within an appropriate distance, were sometimes listed in the travel guides, it is probable that this is the business referred to.

Chesapeake's Combo Terrace was opened by William Reid, an African American man from Crestwood, a small largely African American town a few miles across the Elizabeth River from Portsmouth. While no mention of a motel was included, this Combo Terrace was described as a restaurant and bar, in which well-known musicians, such as Ruth Brown, Gary U.S. Bonds, and the Showmen, performed. His son, Tim Reid, later remembered,

He built it with his bare hands. He had painters put an amazing scene of the Harlem Renaissance on the back wall. It was iridescent and when he shined blue lights on it, it looked three-dimensional. There was a bar and a restaurant in one section and a stage in the back where you would pay a cover charge and see a

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<sup>180</sup> *Hill's Norfolk and Portsmouth City Directories* (Norfolk County, VA: Polk and Company, 1962, 1968).


show. There was nothing like it in the black community, and since we couldn't go to white night clubs back then it was the place to be.<sup>181</sup>

Not realizing state law required a license for any establishment which featured dancers, Reid's club was soon shut down. His son testified that his father never quite recovered from the failure of his business – both emotionally and financially.<sup>182</sup>

### Lost Travel Guide Resources in Portsmouth

According to Juan Fagan, a Portsmouth resident and the son of Fagan's Restaurant owner, after Portsmouth began integrating in the 1960s, many of the historically black businesses closed as the clientele began to branch out.<sup>183</sup> Many locations listed in the travel guides closed around the time of integration, as well.

Taxi Tavern, listed in the 1949 *Grayson's Guide*, operated at 841 County Street. While the city directory in 1949 actually listed a Sonny's Tavern at this address in 1949, subsequent directories listed this location as Taxi Tavern. The tavern was one location which served beer to African American customers in Portsmouth and was billed as "The Bright Spot in the Heart of Portsmouth." However, by 1962 the business was closed and replaced by Victory Tavern. The building was demolished soon after by 1968.<sup>184</sup>



**The Taxi Tavern, 841 County St.**  
**"The Bright Spot in the Heart of**  
**Portsmouth."**

Figure 6.3 Advertisement for the Taxi Tavern in *Grayson's Guide*, 1949. "Travel: General Guides – Pamphlets," *The Claude A. Barnett Papers: The Associated Negro Press, 1918-1967, Part 3: Subject Files on Black Americans, 1918-1967, Series I: Race Relations, 1923-1965, ProQuest History Vault.*

<sup>181</sup> Tim Reid and Tom Dreesen, *Tim and Tom: An American Comedy in Black and White* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2008), 30-1, Google Books, accessed January 4, 2018.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid*, 30-1.

<sup>183</sup> Fagan, Interview.

<sup>184</sup> *Hill's Norfolk and Portsmouth City Directories*, 1949, 1962, 1968.

Miles Beauty School was listed in the 1949 edition of *Grayson's Guide* at 502 Effingham Street. This particular business actually closed earlier than integration in the city, and the address was listed as Scientific Beauty Parlor in 1952. The business changed names several times throughout the 1950s and 1960s, though consistently remained as some form of beauty parlor.<sup>185</sup> In 1954, the building was home to Ila Evans Beauty College, which advertised: "This progressive beauty institution conducts the leading school for beauty culture ... It is in fact a modern beauty school in all essentials."<sup>186</sup> Its final name was Barnes Cosmetics, listed in 1968. The building was subdivided in the 1980s, and, by the 1990s, it was vacant. It was torn down during the 1990s, as well.<sup>187</sup>

Riddick's Transfer was listed under proprietor John Riddick at 2766 High Street in the 1949 *Grayson's Guide*. Its description in the listing reads: "Local and Long Distance Hauling." It had closed by 1962, replaced by Evans Electric Co. In 1968, it had become the May Edwin Restaurant, and by 1975, it was listed as overflow for LuLu's Pool Room, which had been the neighboring business since at least 1949. The building itself was demolished between 1975 and 1980.<sup>188</sup>

John Anderson Jackson was a medical doctor in Portsmouth, who operated his business out of his home on Effingham Street. Jackson grew up in Portsmouth and lived with his parents on South Street Road while studying to be a doctor until he was about 30.<sup>189</sup> He married Caroline Catherine Worrell in 1935 and, by 1936, the couple had

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<sup>185</sup> Ibid, 1952-1962.

<sup>186</sup> "Business and Industrial Review," *Smithfield Times* (Smithfield, VA), 26 August 1954, <https://virginiachronicle.com/cgi-bin/virginia?a=d&d=TSMT19540826.1.9>, accessed 3 December 2017.

<sup>187</sup> *Hill's Norfolk and Portsmouth City Directories*, 1968, 1990, 2000.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid, 1949, 1962, 1968, 1975, 1980.

<sup>189</sup> Ancestry.com, *1930 United States Federal Census* [database on-line], (Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2002).; Ancestry.com, *1910 United States Federal Census* [database on-line], (Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010).

moved to Effingham Street.<sup>190</sup> His doctor's office was listed in the 1949 *Travelguide* at 200 Effingham Street. The house went through several address changes during his tenure and was listed in later city directories as 400 and 450 Effingham. In the 1940s and 1950s, a dental supply office also operated out of the building, run by a Mr. Holmes, who supplied dentures to Dr. Jackson, Dr. John McGriff and Dr. Hugo Owens during this time period.<sup>191</sup> The house was vacated by 1980 and demolished by 1990. Jackson passed away in 1992 at the age of 90.<sup>192</sup>



Figure 6.4 The house of Dr. Jackson on Effingham Street is in the forefront of this photograph. Courtesy of Mae Breckenridge-Haywood.

John Leroy McGriff was a dentist who operated his office out of his home at 719 London Boulevard. McGriff was born in South Carolina around 1884. He married Isabelle McGriff in 1909 in Richmond, VA.<sup>193</sup> They were living in Portsmouth, residing on Green Street, by 1910. The pair moved to County Street, before settling on London

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<sup>190</sup> Ancestry.com, *Virginia, Select Marriages, 1785-1940* [database on-line], (Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc, 2014).; *Hill's Norfolk and Portsmouth City Directories*, 1936.

<sup>191</sup> Cassandra Newby-Alexander and Mae Breckenridge-Haywood, *Black America Series: Portsmouth* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2003), 41.

<sup>192</sup> Ancestry.com, *Virginia, Death Records, 1912-2014* [database on-line], (Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2015).

<sup>193</sup> Ancestry.com, *Virginia, Select Marriages, 1785-1940*.

Street between 1920 and 1930: “It was a big house. It was a two-story house. It had a front porch that went around to the right. And a door on the side. It had a cellar and a high attic ... It had shutters.”<sup>194</sup> His office was listed in the 1949 edition of *Travelguide* as a dentist's office. While not mentioned in the book, the McGriff house was also used as a tourist home for African Americans who were travelling. J.L. McGriff, as well as his son, were avid tennis players, and were a part of the American Tennis Association (ATA), a black tennis organization. McGriff was even on the executive committee for a time.<sup>195</sup> When tennis athletes came to play in the area, the McGriff family opened their doors for those who needed a place to stay.<sup>196</sup> He died in 1952 at 68.<sup>197</sup> The home was demolished between 1975 and 1980.<sup>198</sup>



Figure 6.5 The southwest corner of London and Effingham. Dr. McGriff's house was along this road. Photo from the Portsmouth Public Library.

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<sup>194</sup> Mae Breckenridge-Haywood, Interview with the Author, Portsmouth, VA, January 3, 2018.

<sup>195</sup> Gerald Norman, “American Tennis Association,” *Opportunity* 4, 166, Google Books, accessed January 4, 2018.

<sup>196</sup> Breckenridge-Haywood, Interview.

<sup>197</sup> Ancestry.com, *Virginia, Death Records, 1912-2014*.

<sup>198</sup> *Hill's Norfolk and Portsmouth City Directories, 1975, 1980*.

Wilbur Obadiah Watts was an attorney in Portsmouth whose office was listed at 834 South Street in the 1949 *Travelguide*, though it was operating at least by 1942.<sup>199</sup> He had moved to County Street by 1951 with his wife, H.M. Watts, and the South Street address became home to Dr. Cannady, DDS and Dr. Adams, a physician. Watts died shortly thereafter, in 1954, from a heart attack.<sup>200</sup> The building itself was demolished between 1962 and 1968. Watts, along with his brother Dr. Irving Watts, became well known professionals in the Hampton Roads area. They were among twenty-one investors for Seaview Beach, an African American resort which operated from 1946 to 1965. The resort featured access to an African American beach and an amusement park, which was the first of its kind for African Americans in the area. The brothers managed a hotel and a dance hall at the resort, which was also listed in the *Green Book*.<sup>201</sup> In 1946, Watts said: “the club will feature the finest acts which can be bought.” Entertainers who performed there included Count Basie, Mercer Ellington, Dizzy Gillespie, Ella Fitzgerald, and Louie Armstrong.<sup>202</sup> The brothers also operated a 500-acre farm, owned the taxi service Safeway Cab, owned open-air markets, and had other investments in several businesses in the area. The Watts Motor Bus Company was one of only three other bus companies owned and operated by African Americans at the time and their Christmas tree business was the “largest individual distributor of Christmas trees in the entire South.”<sup>203</sup>

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<sup>199</sup> Ancestry.com, *U.S. City Directories, 1822-1995* [database on-line], (Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011).

<sup>200</sup> Ancestry.com, *Virginia, Death Records, 1912-2014*.

<sup>201</sup> “Dudley Cooper Plans New Park; Opening Set May 1,” *Billboard*, December 21, 1946, Google Books, accessed January 4, 2018.

<sup>202</sup> “Seaview Beach and Amusement Park,” <https://seaviewbeach.wordpress.com/>, accessed January 4, 2018.

<sup>203</sup> “Watts must Distribute 30,000 Xmas Trees Before Santa Comes,” *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, (Norfolk, Virginia), December 25, 1948, quoted in “The Founders,” <https://seaviewbeach.wordpress.com/the-founders/>, accessed January 4, 2018.



*Figure 6.6 South Street Looking West from Chestnut Street, 1950s. While Watt's office would have been located behind the photographer, looking east from Chestnut Street, this photograph gives a feel for the neighborhood. Photo from the Portsmouth Public Library.*



*Figure 6.7 The Southwest corner of Effingham Street and South Street. Watt's office was located on South Street, west of Effingham. This photograph shows the area at a later date, after the roads had been paved. Photo from the Portsmouth Public Library.*



The Uptown Amoco Service Station was listed in *Travelguide* in 1949 at 1603 London Street. The proprietor was John D. Barnes, Jr, who was born in 1902 and gained a college education before running his service station.<sup>204</sup> Uptown Amoco closed after the owner's death in 1957 at 35.<sup>205</sup> By 1962, the building had reopened as Williams Auto Service. The building was demolished by 1968. Interestingly, Barnes's father, also John D. Barnes, was a physician in Portsmouth. His office was listed on Effingham Street, in the same building as Dr. Jackson and Mr. Holmes.<sup>206</sup>

The National Cafeteria was listed in 1949 *Travelguide* at 514 Effingham Street. It was replaced by Portsmouth Thrift by 1968. The building was vacant by 1980 and demolished by 1990.

The Chestnut Branch of the YMCA, erected at 1300 Chestnut Street in 1946, was located near the train tracks by the African American high school, I.C. Norcom.<sup>207</sup> It was listed in both the 1949 and 1952 editions of *Travelguide*. The YMCA was an important resource for African American communities across the United States. It provided a wide variety of activities, including lectures, plays, classes in liberal arts and industrial skills, music, dances, community meetings, and other social gatherings.<sup>208</sup> The YMCA was demolished between 1964 and 1968, likely due to construction of Highway 264, which was being constructed in the 1960s through the area which the building once stood.

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<sup>204</sup> Ancestry.com, *1940 United States Federal Census* [database on-line], (Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2012).

<sup>205</sup> Ancestry.com, *Virginia, Death Records, 1912-2014*.

<sup>206</sup> Ancestry.com, *U.S. City Directories, 1822-1995*.

<sup>207</sup> Newby-Alexander, *Portsmouth*, 53.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid*, 52, 95.



*Figure 6.9 The YMCA on Chestnut Street. Photo from the Portsmouth Public Library.*



*Figure 6.8 A group of African American teenagers socializing at the YMCA, 1950s. Photo from the Portsmouth Public Library.*

The Omicron Hotel was listed in the 1949 *Travelguide*, as well as the 1957, 1959, and 1960 iterations of the *Green Book*. While originally it was at 200 Green Street, in 1962, with changing roadways, the address became 400. In 1952, the business was listed as a luncheonette, hotel, and club in the city directory. The hotel was owned by Bill Myers.<sup>209</sup> The Blue Haven Hotel was located at 201 Green Street, and later at 401, across the street from the Omicron. It was listed in the 1962 edition of the *Green Book*. Benjamin's Confectionary and Dining Room was also located in the same block of Green Street – at 223, which became 423 in 1962. This restaurant was listed in 1962 in the *Green Book*. This whole block of Green Street, including the Omicron Hotel, the Blue Haven Hotel, and Benjamin's Confectionary and Dining Room, was closed and razed by 1968.



Figure 6.10 The center building is the Omicron Hotel on Green Street. The Blue Haven would have been across the street. Newby-Alexander, *Black American Series: Portsmouth*, 61.

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<sup>209</sup> Ibid, 61.

Bouie's Esso Service Station, listed in the 1962 *Green Book* at 1701 Effingham Street, had at least been at that location since 1957.<sup>210</sup> Bouie's was one of the longest lasting businesses from the travel guides in Portsmouth, lasting until 1975. However, the building was then demolished sometime between 1975 and 1980. The service center's tagline was "Home of happy motoring."<sup>211</sup>

Kelly's Motel and Restaurant was listed in the 1962 *Green Book* at 801 County Street. The 1962 city directory lists a Kelly's Taxi Service and Restaurant at 801 and a Kelly's Motel at 817. Kelly's was a neighborhood hot spot during its heyday. On the cab stand, Maurice Connor Taylor, a Portsmouth native, remembered: "It was always friendly competition between Kelly's Cab Stand and Safeway Cabs. Sometimes they would get on the other's frequency and steal each other's fare. ... They also sold food. Kelly had the best hotdogs and Safeway had the barbecue." Billie Montgomery Cook also reminisced about Mr. Kelly allowing her to ride on top of the convertible he drove in a parade in Portsmouth. Kelly's made such a notable impact on the community that a theatrical production put on in 2017 about black business in Portsmouth referred to the stand in its title: "Meet Me at Kelly's Cab Stand."<sup>212</sup> The business, however, closed by 1975, and the restaurant was replaced with Helen's Kitchen. It was demolished between 1980 and 1990.

Holmes Brothers Sinclair was a service station in Portsmouth listed at 3414 Gosport Road in the 1962 edition of the *Green Book*. Soon after, the road changed to Portsmouth Boulevard and the address for the station changed to 3349. By 1968, the gas

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<sup>210</sup> Hill's *Norfolk and Portsmouth City Directories*, 1957.

<sup>211</sup> *Norcomium*. I.C. Norcom Highschool Yearbook. 1952.

[https://archive.org/stream/norcomium1952icno/norcomium1952icno\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/norcomium1952icno/norcomium1952icno_djvu.txt). Accessed December 10, 2017.

<sup>212</sup> James Thomas Jr, "Meet Me at Kelly's Cab Stand," *The Virginian-Pilot* (Norfolk, VA), November 3, 2017, [https://pilotonline.com/news/local/article\\_fbb0c0b3-ae3c-55db-bc08-63b500273f37.html](https://pilotonline.com/news/local/article_fbb0c0b3-ae3c-55db-bc08-63b500273f37.html), accessed January 3, 2018.

station had been renamed Portsmouth Sinclair. It was then demolished by 1975. The site now holds a dental office.

Jimmie's Flying A was another service station in Portsmouth. It was originally listed as 1201 Langley Boulevard in the 1962 *Green Book*, however, the address was soon changed to 4001 Greenwood Drive. In 1968, the former Jimmie's Flying A bore the name Cavalier Manor Citgo. This name is notable as the gas station sat outside a new African American working-class neighborhood that was built in the early 1960s named Cavalier Manor. This became one of the largest black neighborhoods in the southeast. As a child moving to the area, Nathan McCall recalls it being filled with "impressive homes with freshly sprouted lawns, broad sidewalks, and newly paved streets."<sup>213</sup> The gas station was soon demolished and was no longer extant by 1975.

Ransdell's Motel, located at 630 London Boulevard, was listed in the *Green Book* in 1962. The proprietor was Curtis Lee Riddick, who was born in North Carolina in 1923. After marrying Clarine Rountree in 1944, the couple moved to Portsmouth.<sup>214</sup> He joined the army in 1945 for the World War II effort, worked at the Naval Air Station in Portsmouth, and was released from duty in 1946.<sup>215</sup> The motel he ran closed by 1968, sat vacant, and was demolished by 1975. Riddick later passed away in 2000 at the age of 76.<sup>216</sup>

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<sup>213</sup> Nathan McCall, *Makes Me Wanna Holler: A Young Black Man in America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 6, Google Books, accessed December 6, 2017.

<sup>214</sup> Ancestry.com, *Virginia, Marriage Records, 1936-2014* [database on-line], (Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2015.); Ancestry.com, *1940 United States Federal Census*.

<sup>215</sup> Ancestry.com, *U.S., Department of Veterans Affairs BIRLS Death File, 1850-2010* [database on-line], (Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011.); Ancestry.com, *U.S. WWII Draft Cards Young Men, 1940-1947* [database on-line], (Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011.)

<sup>216</sup> Ancestry.com, *Virginia, Death Records, 1912-2014*.

Many travel guide sites have been lost over time. In a recent study in Los Angeles, California, it was found that only 8% of their resources remained.<sup>217</sup> Not accounting for those which could not be verified, four extant buildings remain in Portsmouth, while 17 have been demolished. Out of those which can be verified, around 23% of resources remain in the city.

The demolition of some of these buildings has been part of urban renewal projects which occurred in Portsmouth. Between 1958 and 1974, Portsmouth instituted twelve urban renewal projects. The government ceased collecting displacement data in 1966, but the three projects that do have data estimate 832 families were displaced during this time. While the black population in Portsmouth in 1960 was only 34.6% of the population, 88% of the families displaced by these projects were African American.<sup>218</sup>

The earliest urban renewal project targeted a predominantly African American neighborhood to the north of downtown called Lincolnville. As part of an area labelled “downtown,” Lincolnville was surveyed in 1939 by the Home Owners’ Loan Corporation (HOLC) to create security maps. While the corporation was very successful in aiding Americans in acquiring and maintaining ownership of their homes, it has also been critiqued as “preserving racial segregation, intergenerational poverty, and the continued wealth gap between white Americans and most other groups in the U.S.”<sup>219</sup> According to the survey, most of the homes in the area were single family, two story frame construction built close to the street, with a few brick residences, that were in fair

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<sup>217</sup> “Mapped: LA’s last remaining Green Book locations,” *Curbed*, November 8, 2017, <https://la.curbed.com/maps/green-book-map-black-history>, accessed December 5, 2017.

<sup>218</sup> “Renewing Inequality: Family Displacements through Urban Renewal, 1950-1966,” *Digital Scholarship Lab*, <https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/renewal/#view=0/0/1&viz=cartogram&city=portsmouthVA&loc=13/36.8313/-76.3077>, accessed January 3, 2018.

<sup>219</sup> “Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America,” *Digital Scholarship Lab*, <https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=4/36.71/-96.93&opacity=0.8>, accessed January 3, 2018.

to poor condition. In further description they wrote: "The balance of the area is occupied by Negroes. ... The population is fairly stable, but evidence little pride of home ownership, and the general appearance of the neighborhood is undesirable, heterogeneous, and congested."<sup>220</sup> In 1939, the western section of the original Lincolnsville boundary was noted as all white, however, in declining condition. Called Park View in this survey, it was described as: "older and more congested. ... the area has generally a poor appearance, adjacent neighborhoods are bad." Such a description would peg this area as prime real estate for redevelopment, however, it vastly overlooked the historic and social value of these areas.

Lincolnsville, formed in 1890, was the first neighborhood dedicated for African Americans in Portsmouth. The thirty-acre community was north of downtown: north of North Street; west of Washington Street and Green Street; south of Emmett Street (no longer extant); and east of the Cedar Grove Cemetery. The community was comprised largely of shipyard employees and middle-class professionals, making it the first middle class black neighborhood in the city. This was one of the few areas where many African Americans did own their own property, rather than rent. The community itself was largely residential, though also housed several important black-owned businesses. The people who lived here were described as very close-knit and largely self-sufficient. During the late 1950s, Portsmouth turned to Lincolnsville for its first urban renewal project, which razed the community. Later, this endeavor was labeled as a pretense for

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<sup>220</sup> Ibid.

financial gain.<sup>221</sup> This project, lasting from 1958-1970, displaced 359 families, 87% of which were people of color.<sup>222</sup>

Lincolnsville was home to three businesses listed in travel guides – the Omicron Hotel, Blue Haven Hotel, and Benjamin’s Confectionary and Dining Room – all on Green Street and all destroyed during this project. The original street layout has been altered and most of the buildings today are multifamily residential and commercial on the south end and single family residential in the north end, built in the 1960s and 1970s. Today, there are four remaining homes from the Lincolnsville community in the southeast corner of the neighborhood. An historic marker reads:

The four houses directly across the street are the last remaining original houses of Lincolnsville, Portsmouth's first middle-class African American community, established in 1890. It was an area of about 34 acres and operated as a city within a city with schools, churches, and lodges. In the late 1950s, after an economic decline in the region, Portsmouth's City Council designated Lincolnsville as its first urban renewal project. The red brick house, built in 1926, is the boyhood home of Dr. James W. Holley, III, the first black mayor of Portsmouth.<sup>223</sup>

A few years later, in 1965, Portsmouth initiated another urban renewal project in an area called Weaver, located west of downtown. The eastern boundary of this community was marked by Effingham Street, on which the community built several large churches facing the adjacent white neighborhood. This area was also home to a public library, an Art Deco movie theater, and some now-demolished commercial buildings.<sup>224</sup> This neighborhood was home to more shipyard employees, as well as railroad workers and factory workers. However, in the 1960s, much of the neighborhood was razed to

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<sup>221</sup> Newby-Alexander, *Portsmouth*, 50-51.

<sup>222</sup> “Renewing Inequality.”

<sup>223</sup> “Lincolnsville,” *The Historical Marker Database*, October 13, 2010, <https://www.hmdb.org/marker.asp?marker=36911>, accessed December 15, 2017.

<sup>224</sup> Kimble A. David, "Downtown Portsmouth Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, December 2, 2003, 95, [https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/register/Cities/Portsmouth/124-5063\\_Downtown\\_Portsmouth\\_HD\\_2004\\_Final\\_Nomination.pdf](https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/register/Cities/Portsmouth/124-5063_Downtown_Portsmouth_HD_2004_Final_Nomination.pdf), accessed December 5, 2017.



construct low income housing.<sup>225</sup> The project area was between Effingham Street on the east and Elm Avenue on the west, and roughly bounded by High Street to the north and the rail line to the south. This project, lasting until 1974, would displace 114 families. 91% of those were people of color.<sup>226</sup> Today, the churches along Effingham are some of the few remaining buildings from this time. Even the library has been relocated by the African American Historical Society for Portsmouth for preservation purposes. The area is now dominated with residential development from the early 2000s.

While many of the African American travel guide locations were located in the vicinity of this neighborhood, it appears most were not directly demolished from this project. The Taxi Tavern and Kelly's Motel and Restaurant were both originally located in the 800 block of County Street, which is now an empty lot.<sup>227</sup> While the Taxi Tavern was taken down in the 1960s, Kelly's lasted into the 1980s. The site of Wilbur Watts's attorney's office, also demolished in the 1960s, is now within a small ranch house neighborhood. Both the Miles Beauty School and the National Cafeteria sites, located in the 500 block of Effingham, are now empty lots after demolition in the 1980s and 1990s. Assuming the correct address was listed in the travel guides, the Capitol Tavern, in the 600 block of Effingham Street, is also now an empty lot next to the Jewish Museum and Cultural Center. The Chestnut Street Branch of the YMCA appears to have been located where Highway 264 cuts through today. Further, just on the other side of the interstate, there is a vacant lot where Bouie's Esso Station once stood.

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<sup>225</sup> "Renewing Inequality."

<sup>226</sup> Ibid.; *Urban renewal project directory*, Washington DC, Dept. of Housing and Urban Development: 1965-1973, [https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000056671/Home\\_a](https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000056671/Home_a) accessed December 3, 2017.

<sup>227</sup> Portsmouth, Virginia Tax Assessor, <http://data.portsmouthva.gov/assessor/data/realestatesearch.aspx>, accessed February 3, 2018.

In 1967, the Northside No. 1 urban redevelopment project began. Ransdell's Motel was one of the casualties of this project, when it was replaced by a 1979 commercial building, which now houses the Virginia Association for Early Childhood Education. In the next block, John L. McGriff's home and dentist office is now the site of a service station, built in 1971.<sup>228</sup>

The last notable urban renewal project affecting Portsmouth travel guide businesses was the Mount Hermon redevelopment project, begun in 1972. The Mount Hermon community was founded even further west from downtown than Weaver. In 1930, it approached the edge of the Portsmouth city border. The 1930 description by the HOLC found the neighborhood, and its surrounding areas, featured mostly two-story frame buildings in poor to fair condition and mostly dirt roads in fair condition. They wrote about the neighborhood: "Negroes are concentrated south and west of the railroad tracks. ... The general appearance of the entire area is poor and there is little pride of home ownership. The proximity to industry and railroad yards, however, affords easy access to employment, but definitely detracts from residential desirability."<sup>229</sup> While it is true that Mount Hermon was full of people struggling, especially during the Great Depression, the community was also strong and supportive, emphasizing education, religion, and the importance of self-worth.<sup>230</sup>

Just as with Lincolnsville and Weaver, Mount Hermon was subjected to an urban development project which drastically changed the community fabric. One large

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<sup>228</sup> Ibid.

<sup>229</sup> "Mapping Inequality."

<sup>230</sup> Renate Chancellor, "Transformative Leadership: E.J. Josey and the Modern Library Profession," *Journal of History and Culture* 1, no. 4 (2011): 15-16, [https://www.pvamu.edu/tiphc/wp-content/uploads/sites/107/JHC\\_Summer%202011%20Vol%201\\_4.pdf](https://www.pvamu.edu/tiphc/wp-content/uploads/sites/107/JHC_Summer%202011%20Vol%201_4.pdf), accessed December 5, 2018.

neighborhood tract was demolished in order to build affordable housing units in 1977. This plot of land was once the site of the Riddick's Transfer.

These initiatives and the effects on the community hit many residents very hard. Alice Rainey, a Newport News resident, discussed some of her memories about the demolition of similar buildings during this time: "We had all kinds of businesses on Jefferson Avenue so we didn't really have to go too far. ... when they tore down those buildings, I cried again. Just seeing the buildings get torn down that had been there so long."<sup>231</sup> In Portsmouth, Mae Breckenridge-Haywood discussed her feelings on the demolition of these important properties: "Our history – black history – torn down. Moved. For redevelopment. Urban renewal. ... They tore them down and destroyed them."<sup>232</sup> She elaborated:

Most of the sections of cities that blacks have carved out a place to call home have been demolished, torn down for revitalization, and urban renewal. Black residents have been put back in a new project with some upgrade and it is the same section, with no way out to make a change. The stores are even different in black sections. The "title" for your car businesses are only placed in the black folks section of the city and stores with cheaper clothes, grocery stores with unhealthy food. And many, many "fast food" businesses are in neighborhoods that house people of color. Libraries, museums, cultural and arts spaces are not in the section of town for black folks.<sup>233</sup>

Today, many extant buildings are still at a high risk of being lost, especially as their possible historical significance is not widely known. For instance, just this past year, in 2017, a property, listed in the *Green Book* in 1962, was demolished in Newport News, VA – a city just north of Portsmouth across the James River. The vacant building, located

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<sup>231</sup> Rainey, Interview.

<sup>232</sup> Breckenridge-Haywood, Interview.

<sup>233</sup> Mae Breckenridge-Haywood, email correspondence with author, January 4, 2018.

at 604 Hampton Avenue, was once a service station called Norman's.<sup>234</sup> The remaining travel location sites are not well known and could easily be lost.

#### Extant Resources in Portsmouth, VA

The remaining extant resources are all located in the eastern portion of Portsmouth, near the Norfolk Naval Shipyard. For a map of their locations, see Appendix C. The known history and present condition of each will be discussed below, with a particular focus on Fagan's Seafood Restaurant. A discussion on the historic integrity of each will follow in the next chapter.

Edward Wesley Davidson was born in 1903 in Charlotte, NC.<sup>235</sup> He settled in Portsmouth, VA with his wife, Martha Davidson, who he married in 1930.<sup>236</sup> By 1937, the couple had moved into a home at 2306 Chestnut Street.<sup>237</sup> Davidson was listed in the city directories with several jobs, including a foundry worker, but by 1942 he had become a Baptist pastor, practicing at Noble Street Baptist Church.<sup>238</sup> Edward Davidson and his wife acquired the property at 2306 Chestnut on October 15, 1946 from M. Kramer.<sup>239</sup> Davidson was listed in the 1952 edition of *Travelguide* under the NAACP. The couple eventually moved to Leckie Street before Davidson died in 1967 at the age of 63.<sup>240</sup> While the correlation of the address with the NAACP could have indications of the location being historically significant, no information was found throughout this research

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<sup>234</sup> Evelyn Azeem, personal conversation with the author, January 4, 2017.

<sup>235</sup> Ancestry.com, *Virginia, Death Records, 1912-2014*.

<sup>236</sup> Ancestry.com, *Virginia, Select Marriages, 1785-1940*.

<sup>237</sup> Ancestry.com, *U.S. City Directories, 1822-1995*.

<sup>238</sup> Linwood Morings Boone, *The Chronological History of the Roanoke Missionary Baptist Association and Its Founders from 1866-1966, Volume 2* (Bloomington, Indiana: AuthorHouse, 2017), Google Books, accessed January 3, 2018.

<sup>239</sup> Deed of Sale from M. Kramer to E.W. Davidson and Martha A. Davidson, October 15, 1946, Portsmouth, Virginia, Deed Book 164, page 394, Circuit Court, Portsmouth, Virginia.

<sup>240</sup> Ancestry.com, *Virginia, Death Records, 1912-2014*.

project of Davidson's or the home's connection or role with the NAACP. Further research may prove important regarding this property.

The residence itself appears to be similar to what the historic appearance would have been during Rev. Davidson's tenure at the home in the 1950s. In 1954, a Sanborn Map showed it as a one-story frame dwelling with porches on the front and rear.<sup>241</sup> Today, it remains a one story bungalow with a front gabled roofline on a continuous brick foundation. The rectangular floorplan appears to be two unequal rooms wide and at least two rooms deep. The house features vinyl siding and a standing seam metal roof. The front façade features an off-center main entrance flanked by 1/1 double hung sash windows, which is consistent with the three windows lining each side of the home. The windows and entry door are likely replacements. There is a front porch with a half-hip roof which runs along the majority of the front façade. The porch is supported by battered wooden posts on brick piers. It is approached by a set of centrally placed brick stairs leading to the main entrance. The porch gives the home a distinct Craftsman look, typical of its early 20<sup>th</sup>-century construction date. The porch also maintains green and white striped mid-century awnings. There is also a rectangular wooden vent in the front facing gable. There appears to be a small shed roof addition in the rear of the building. The yard is surrounded by a chain link metal fence. There are remnants of a concrete and brick walkway to the front entrance, as well as a concrete drive to a small garage at the northwest corner of the property.

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<sup>241</sup> Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps of Portsmouth, Virginia. Sanborn Map Company, Map, Portsmouth, Virginia Public Library.



*Figure 6.12 Rev. E.W. Davidson's Residence at 2306 Chestnut Street, Front Façade, East Elevation, 2017. The battered porch supports are a common characteristic of Craftsman homes. Photo by Author.*



*Figure 6.11 Rev. E.W. Davidson's Residence at 2306 Chestnut Street, North Elevation, 2017. The rear addition can be seen. Photo by Author.*

On the other side of Portsmouth Boulevard, Raymond Durant lived at 3016 S. Elm Street (now Elm Avenue). Durant was born in 1912 in Savannah, Georgia. After moving to Portsmouth, he married Hattie Louise Ives in 1934.<sup>242</sup> The two lived with Durant's brother on 630 Carroll Street before moving into their own home on Elm by 1942.<sup>243</sup> In 1948, the Durant's were conveyed the property by deed of Portsmouth and Norfolk Co. Building and Loan Association.<sup>244</sup> This house was a two-story frame dwelling, with a one-story porch on the front and the rear. There was also a concrete block garage in the rear of the property by 1954.<sup>245</sup> By the time they were at their own house, Durant had settled into a career as a pipe fitter, eventually working as Durant Heating and Plumbing.<sup>246</sup> During this time, Durant had acquired land near Seaview Beach. Here he rented out cottages, called the Bayside Cottages, for vacationing African Americans. His address on Elm Street was listed as the reference in the Vacation Guide of the 1962 *Green Book* for rental inquiries of Bayside. While the cottages are no longer extant, Durant's home remains. Durant passed away in 2011 at the age of 99. As this home was only used as Durant's primary residence and did not function as a tourist home listed in the travel guides, it likely does not have any meaningful historic significance.

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<sup>242</sup> Ancestry.com, *Virginia, Select Marriages, 1785-1940*.

<sup>243</sup> Ancestry.com, *1940 United States Federal Census*.

<sup>244</sup> Deed of Gift to Raymond and Hattie Durant, February 10, 1978, Portsmouth, Virginia, Deed Book 189, page 25, Circuit Court, Portsmouth, Virginia.

<sup>245</sup> *Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps of Portsmouth, Virginia*, Sanborn Map Company, Map, Portsmouth, Virginia Public Library.

<sup>246</sup> Ancestry.com. *U.S. City Directories, 1822-1995.; Hill's Norfolk and Portsmouth City Directories, 1962*.



Figure 6.13 Advertisement for Durant Bayside Cottages in *Ebony* in 1960. "Vacation Guide." *Ebony*. June 1960. Google Books.

3016 S. Elm is an American Foursquare form with Craftsman style detailing. The two-story building sits on a continuous brick foundation and features asbestos siding. The front façade maintains a side entry door with sidelights, flanked by a tripartite 1/1 double hung sash window to the left. The second story maintains two sets of paired 1/1 double hung sash windows. Each side of the home also features a seemingly randomly placed assortment of single, paired, and tripartite windows. All the windows and the main entry are likely replacements. Along the front façade is a porch, almost full width with a low-pitched half hipped asphalt shingle roof. The porch base is brick with a set of brick stairs approaching it from the front on the right side, leading to the main entryway. The porch supports and railing are of a leafy mid-century design. The roof is low pitched, side gabled, and features asphalt shingles. The roof features large overhanging eaves with exposed rafter tails. An interior brick chimney is also noted on the left side, protruding from the roof surface. There is a large dormer window with a very low pitch along the front with a central fixed four pane window, divided with vertical muntins, flanked by identical windows on either side. There is a large addition on the rear, with an apparent front gabled roof line. The house sits close to the street, with the front steps leading



directly to the paved concrete sidewalk. There is also visible concrete to the right of the house used as a driveway.



*Figure 6.15 Raymond Durant's Residence at 3016 S. Elm Avenue, Front Façade East Elevation, 2017. There are clear Craftsman details, including the exposed rafter tails, the low-pitched roof, and the front porch. Photo by Author.*



*Figure 6.14 Raymond Durant's Residence at 3016 S. Elm Avenue Street, South Elevation, 2017. A large addition is seen on the rear. A similarly formed house appears next door, as well. Photo by Author.*

Marshall Cities Service Station was listed at 1808 Gosport Road, subsequently named Portsmouth Boulevard, in 1962. According to deed records, the Cities Service Oil Company bought the property of lots 4-8 in Block 2 on the Piedmont Heights Plat in September of 1957 from the Taylor Oil Company, which had owned the land since 1954, and built the service station which stands today.<sup>247</sup> After Cities Service rebranded with the name CITGO in 1965, the service station was renamed Manpower Citgo.<sup>248</sup> Cities Service Oil Company then sold the property to Linwood Winfield Parker, Jr. in 1973, who maintained the service station under the name Parker's into the 1980s.<sup>249</sup> However, by 1990, the property was vacant. In 2008, the property was sold from Parker, Jr. to The H and B Group, LLC out of Chesapeake, Virginia.<sup>250</sup> Pre-2008, the property faced decline, with boarded up windows, though it appeared to still be in use. Since this sale, however, there has been work on the exterior.

The building which stands at 1808 Portsmouth Boulevard today was built in 1957.<sup>251</sup> It maintains largely the same form, with no apparent additions, as it would have historically. The building is a one story, stucco on concrete block rectangular form. The building maintains two distinct parts – an office space and a garage space. The office space features a central doorway, with a fixed four light window, divided vertically, and a transom light above which features the address. It is flanked on either side by large single fixed pane windows. The left window is mirrored to another window, on the side of the

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<sup>247</sup> Deed of Sale, March 20, 1954, Portsmouth, Virginia, Deed Book 268, page 307, Circuit Court, Portsmouth, Virginia.

<sup>248</sup> "Company History," *CITGO*, <https://www.citgo.com/AboutCITGO/CompanyHistory.jsp>, accessed January 4, 2018.

<sup>249</sup> Deed of Sale, September 5, 1973, Portsmouth, Virginia, Deed Book 631, page 304, Circuit Court, Portsmouth, Virginia.

<sup>250</sup> Deed of Sale. November 20, 2008. Portsmouth, Virginia. Deed 0800 15898. Circuit Court. Portsmouth, Virginia.

<sup>251</sup> Portsmouth, Virginia Tax Assessor.

building which faces Portsmouth Boulevard. This side of the building also features a side entry on the back right corner. There is also evidence of a doorway and small window which have been covered over. The visible door and window openings feature new unpainted wood surrounds. The most notable character defining feature of the building is the curvilinear decorative element which protrudes from the main office building just below the roof line and wraps around the Portsmouth Boulevard facing side. Above this, the roofline is flat, though featuring a step detail, which differentiates the office space from the garage space. The garage side of the building maintains the smooth appearance of the stuccoed cement block. It features two large identical garage doors on the front façade. The building itself sits diagonally on the parcel facing the corner of Portsmouth Boulevard and Staunton Road. It is located on a large concrete lot, consistent with its historic use. While the remnants of a gas pump area remain, the pumps themselves are no longer extant. The pump covering was still visible in 2007 but has since been removed. However, there are still historic streetlamps on the property.



*Figure 6.16 Marshall's Cities Service Station, East and South Elevation, 2017. The building features a curved decorative element around the top and a stepped roofline. Photo from Google Maps.*



*Figure 6.17 Marshall's Cities Service Station, East Elevation, Entry, 2017. Photo Courtesy of Mae Breckenridge-Haywood.*

### Fagan's Seafood Restaurant

John Lloyd Fagan, Sr. was born around 1916 in Portsmouth, Virginia. After marrying Willie Mae Parker in 1947, the two opened Fagan's Seafood Restaurant in 1950.<sup>252</sup> The business began as a small confectionary on the corner of Gosport Road (now Portsmouth Boulevard) and Pine Street (now Peach Street). They had four tables and served hot dogs and hamburgers. The shop also had two gas pumps outside the main entry. Two other businesses occupied the same building – a laundry and an automotive repair shop. When the dry cleaner moved out, the Fagan's took over that portion of the building and expanded their operation. By the 1960s, the repair shop moved, and Fagan's Restaurant took over the entire building.<sup>253</sup>

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<sup>252</sup> Ancestry.com, *Virginia, Marriage Records, 1936-2014*.

<sup>253</sup> Fagan, Interview.



*Figure 6.18 Willie Mae Fagan outside the original Fagan's Restaurant, 1954. Courtesy of Juan Fagan.*



*Figures 6.19 John Fagan outside the original Fagan's Restaurant, 1954. Courtesy of Juan Fagan.*



*Figure 6.20 The seating area expanded when the Fagan's took over the former drycleaners, late 1950s to early 1960s. Courtesy of Juan Fagan.*

This expansion allowed the Fagan family to do a lot more with their business. In the original portion of the building, the family created a full-service restaurant, which served dinner, sandwiches, beer, and wine. The former auto service was transformed into a private event room, which housed bathrooms, seating, and a bar for private parties or dances. The Norfolk State College football team would occasionally book the space for private banquets.<sup>254</sup>

The restaurant was a family operated endeavor and they all helped out in a variety of roles. John became the main cook and Willie Mae was known as a waitress. Mae Breckenridge-Haywood described this establishment, saying, “The food was fine. Mrs. Fagan was very pleasant. I don’t remember seeing Mr. Fagan as much as I saw her. She was a waitress.”<sup>255</sup> Cousins and aunts would assist as cooks and waitresses, as well. Juan Fagan, John’s son, described his own experience working at the restaurant:

That’s how I started – as a dishwasher. A teenage dishwasher. I couldn’t wait tables or anything back then. Not old enough. But I wound up doing everything. ... I was in charge of the maintenance, that was another teenage experience that was one of my duties. ... And from there, after I got older, night manager. In ’79 I went to bartending school. I did that. I took butcher training – so I did kitchen work. I cooked. You name it, I did it. ... bookkeeper, I did that too. I did a lot of it. The final book keeper was done by a bookkeeper, but the weekly stuff I did.

Once Juan’s children became teenagers, they joined the family business and helped out with weekly shifts, as well.<sup>256</sup>

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<sup>254</sup> Fagan, Interview.

<sup>255</sup> Breckenridge-Haywood, Interview.

<sup>256</sup> Fagan, Interview.



Figure 6.21 Willie Mae Fagan and a sister-in-law in the kitchen, late 1950s to early 1960s. Courtesy of Juan Fagan.

In 1962, the building was listed in the *Green Book*. Juan Fagan said he did not know about the *Green Book*, or other travel guides during this era, and that most of their advertising came from word of mouth. However, he did mention that they had many people from out of town visit the restaurant, especially when there were big events in surrounding areas. For instance, when Norfolk State hosted the Fish Bowl, many visitors would come year after year to Fagan’s for dinner and entertainment.<sup>75</sup>

The restaurant acted as a social hub for the community at a time when there were few other public places such as this to gather. Breckenridge-Haywood remembered going to Fagan’s with her friends in the 1960s and 1970s. Though she didn’t drink alcohol, she “danced a lot to the music, talked to the group that I went with.” She remembered it being “a good place to relax and have fun with friends.”<sup>257</sup>

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<sup>257</sup> Breckenridge-Haywood, Email correspondence.



*Figure 6.22 This photograph shows customers in the original portion of Fagan's in the late 1950s or early 1960s. Courtesy of Juan Fagan.*

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, Fagan's began hosting live music on Monday and Thursday nights. Thursdays became jazz nights and had a big impact on the popularity of the restaurant. The clientele of Fagan's during this time were the more respected professionals of the area, such as doctors, lawyers, the mayor, and the police chief, Chief Warren.<sup>258</sup> Mae confirmed this, saying, "It really was where teachers, lawyers, college grads would go to have good clean fun without out fights, arguments, conflicts." Notable African American musicians would also visit Fagan's after playing music in other areas, such as Norfolk, as they were not welcome to relax in the white venues after they performed. Some of these performers Juan remembered were Dizzy Gillespie, Louie Armstrong, and Count Basie. The restaurant became so established, that it even began attracting white customers on jazz nights. Juan remembered: "And the dance drew people from different cultures. We became integrated. ... Later, when I was

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<sup>258</sup> Fagan, Interview.



teaching, I went to a staff meeting and one of the band directors asked me, “Fagan, y’all still have white night?” I said, “What night?” ... I didn’t know the reference to Thursday night jazz as ‘white night.’ But the majority of the crowd would be white. They would call in, make reservations.”<sup>259</sup> However, when the jazz left, so did the white customers.

In the 1970s, with the rise of disco, the live jazz music ended. Instead, Fagan’s hosted DJs, eventually every night but Wednesday. With this new era, came a new clientele. The restaurant became a hangout for military members, as well as the locals in the neighborhood. The Fagan’s scene got a little rougher: “It wasn’t always peaceful. We had fights. ... The young folks would come and they started claiming territory. ... I don’t recall of any hospitalizations – busted lips and noses and stuff. It didn’t happen during the jazz era. ... The disco brought a different element. It wasn’t my favorite, but got to make a living.”<sup>260</sup>



*Figure 6.23 Willie Mae Fagan between 1979 and 1986, after the business began selling alcohol. Courtesy of Juan Fagan.*

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<sup>259</sup> Ibid.

<sup>260</sup> Ibid.



*Figure 6.24 Willie Mae and John Fagan between 1979 and 1986, after the business began selling alcohol. Courtesy of Juan Fagan.*



*Figure 6.25 John Fagan between 1979 and 1986, in the renovated eating area. Courtesy of Juan Fagan.*



*Figure 6.26 Willie Mae John Fagan between 1979 and 1986, in the renovated eating area. Courtesy of Juan Fagan.*

This continued until the mid-1980s. John Fagan had a stroke around 1984. This, combined with the slowing of the business due to the opening of other clubs, pushed the family to sell the business in 1986. Juan, who had been working both as a teacher and at the restaurant, decided to pursue teaching and leave the restaurant behind after working in it for almost 30 years.<sup>261</sup> John Fagan passed away in 1992, followed by Willie Mae in 2000. Juan Fagan still lives in Portsmouth as a retired music teacher.<sup>262</sup>

Fagan's was an important locale in Portsmouth. It provided a much-needed recreational space for the residents. Mae spoke on her experiences there and what Fagan's meant to her:

I went there using it as a restaurant. Which is what it was about. And it was one of the spaces that we had. We couldn't go to spaces like the Holiday Inn ... We had to go to segregated facilities. This was a restaurant that provided music, that

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<sup>261</sup> Ibid.

<sup>262</sup> Ibid.

provided entertainment, that provided an atmosphere for us to sit down ... and enjoy. So that is why I used it. But it was a place that gave us a facility to have fun, dance, listen to good music, and fellowship. That's what I remember about Fagan's.<sup>263</sup>

Juan Fagan echoed her sentiment, "It was just a focus point for many persons in the area. ... We were a go to place."<sup>264</sup>

Today, the building stands at 935 Portsmouth Boulevard, at the corner of Peach Street, as a convenience store. It is a mid-century one-story multiple-business front commercial building. The building has two distinct sections – the original Fagan's Restaurant and the expansion section. The original building, closest to the corner, is brick. The front entry way is off-center towards the right, and is approached by a set of concrete steps and a concrete ramp. To the right of the main entrance is a large paired window. A similar window is found on the left end of the original building, as well. In between this left window and the entry door is another smaller single fixed frame window. The asphalt shingle, front gabled roof is obscured from the front façade by a large vinyl false front. The side of the building extends along Peach Street. It is generally one long brick wall, with a singular boarded-up window towards the back corner, where the Fagan's dishwasher was located.<sup>265</sup> It also has an interior chimney protruding through the roof ridgeline in the rear. An added concrete block wall extends past the original building's rear, obscuring a rear addition to the building. This addition housed Fagan and his family between 1950-1957. The addition is one large room, which was partitioned into two while the Fagan's resided there.<sup>266</sup>

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<sup>263</sup> Breckenridge-Haywood, Interview.

<sup>264</sup> Fagan, Interview.

<sup>265</sup> Ibid.

<sup>266</sup> Ibid.

The expansion building attaches to the original building and maintains continuity through a continuous brick veneer. This building maintains an asphalt shingle overhang along the front façade. The roof, however, is obscured. This side has newly installed central double glass doors. To the right of this, is a simple singular wooden door. On the far right end of the façade is a single boarded up window. The other side of the double door features a large, newly installed fixed paired window, as well. The visible side of the building is one long white stuccoed plane, with no door or window openings.

The property itself maintains a small parking lot along Portsmouth Boulevard. It sits close to the road, with just enough room for patrons to park. The gas pumps are no longer extant, removed while the Fagan's were still operating it as a restaurant. Grassy areas are maintained along each side of the building. The rear is obscured by the concrete addition and a chain link fence at the back end of the property, along Peach Street.



*Figure 6.27 The front facade of 935 Portsmouth Boulevard, South Elevation, 2017. The storefront to the right, with the false front, is the original 1950s Fagan's Restaurant, while the portion to the left is where the restaurant expanded. Photo by Author.*



*Figure 6.28 The East Elevation, along Peach Street, which shows the false front, rear chimney, and boarded window. Photo by Author.*

### Summary

The travel guides provide an important insight into some of the African American businesses present in Portsmouth, Virginia during segregation. Between 1939 and 1962, twenty-four businesses were listed across three different guides, with the majority being gas stations, restaurants, and hotels or motels. While three remain unverified as to their current condition, four have been confirmed extant in the city – two private residences, a service station, and a restaurant. The rest of the resources were demolished between the late 1960s and the 1990s, some due to urban renewal projects that appear to have targeted largely African American neighborhoods. Out of the extant resources, the history of Fagan’s Restaurant stands out as being particularly significant as an entertainment hub for the community.

## CHAPTER 7

### PRESERVATION OF TRAVEL GUIDE RESOURCES

#### Ongoing Preservation Efforts

Recognition of the *Green Books*, and other segregation-era travel guides, has been growing in popularity in recent years. This trend started in earnest with Calvin Alexander Ramsey, an author from Atlanta, GA who has produced several works on Victor Green and the *Green Books*. Due to the rapidly declining stock of these resources, efforts have begun by writers, artists, and curators to preserve the legacy of the guides and Green. A 2015 short film directed by Karen Borger, entitled “100 Miles to Lordsburg,” followed an African American couple across the state of New Mexico in 1961 while they searched for lodging using the *Green Book*. Borger, along with script writer Philip Lewis, are also planning a short film series called “The Green Book Project.”<sup>267</sup> Further, documentarian Ric Burns is in the process of a film to show the conflict between automobility and living as an African American.<sup>268</sup>

Museums are also participating in this discussion. The California African American Museum in Los Angeles hosted a discussion in 2015 to discuss the use of the *Green Book* and the memories associated with it. Further, after opening in 2016, the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture in Washington

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<sup>267</sup> Eve M. Kahn, “The ‘Green Book’ Legacy, a Beacon for Black Travelers,” *The New York Times* (New York City, NY), August 6, 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/07/arts/design/the-green-book-legacy-a-beacon-for-black-travelers.html>, accessed October 23, 2016.

<sup>268</sup> Townsend, “Driving While Black.”

DC displayed a copy of the 1941 *Green Book*.<sup>269</sup> William Daryl Williams, the director of the School of Architecture and Interior Design at the University of Cincinnati, created a traveling exhibition in 2007, which drew on *Green Books* when artists delved into black travel during segregation.<sup>270</sup>

Perhaps the person who has the largest impact in bringing publicity to the *Green Books* is Calvin Alexander Ramsey. Though he had not heard of the guides previously, he became inspired in the early 2000s when, preparing for a trip to the South, the grandfather of a family friend asked for a *Green Book*. Ramsey became increasingly interested in this guide: “I spoke to college educated people, librarians, and not one time did these people mention the *Green Book* or talk about how hard it was for us on the road.”<sup>271</sup> One of his first endeavors in publicizing the *Green Book* legacy was a dramatic 2006 play called *The Green Book: A Play in Two Acts*, which was later released in a book copy. This play highlights both the difficulties of traveling for African Americans during segregation, but also their resistance.<sup>272</sup> In 2010, he then published a children’s book entitled *Ruth and the Green Book*, which again discusses the troubles blacks faced while traveling. About his efforts, Ramsey replied, “[Children today] know about antislavery, the period of the Underground Railroad, and about Reconstruction, but even after that, travel was really difficult. It just fell on me, really, to tell the story.”<sup>273</sup> Lastly, Ramsey and Becky Wible Searles are in the process of creating a documentary called *The Green Book Chronicles*, which will feature people who owned sites in the books and people

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<sup>269</sup> Kahn, “The ‘Green Book’ Legacy.”

<sup>270</sup> Celia McGee, “The Open Road Wasn’t Quite Open to All,” *The New York Times* (New York City, NY), August 22, 2010, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/23/books/23green.html>, accessed October 23, 2016.

<sup>271</sup> Brandee Sanders, “‘Green Book’ Kept Black Travelers Safe.”

<sup>272</sup> Hall, “Dramatizing the African American Experience,” 81.

<sup>273</sup> “The Green Book,” *The Postal Record*.



who used the books to better understand the influence that such a publication had on travel decisions.<sup>274</sup>

While those initiatives are largely preserving the story of the *Green Book*, there are also several programs to document and protect these important buildings that were featured in the guides across the country. The city of Los Angeles and the Getty Conservation Institute have joined forces on an inventory of *Green Book* sites, which is the beginning step of a process that could protect significant historic treasures. In LA, only 56 buildings remain of the original 224 listed.<sup>275</sup> Likely the largest *Green Book* project currently is the National Park Service Route 66 *Green Book* Project, part of the Corridor Preservation Program. This project seeks to identify extant travel guide sites along Route 66, which featured many sundown towns, in order to promote preservation and provide better understanding of the racial segregation which occurred along the roadway.<sup>276</sup> The program stated: “While history is not always comfortable or easy, it is important that the stories of Route 66 are representative and inclusive of the diverse experiences of all who worked and traveled on the road. Never has this work been more important as we strive to engage the next generation of travelers and stewards.”<sup>277</sup> Lastly, in conjunction with the National Park Service, Candacy Taylor is identifying and documenting extant resources in the *Green Book*, which will be published in a tourism guide to *Green Book* locations.<sup>278</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> Kahn, “The ‘Green Book’ Legacy.”

<sup>275</sup> Sahagun, “The guidebook helped African Americans.”

<sup>276</sup> “Route 66 and the Historic Negro Motorist Green Book,” *National Park Service*, <https://www.ncptt.nps.gov/rt66/green-book/>, accessed November 6, 2017.

<sup>277</sup> Ron Warnick, “Full inventory of Negro Motorist Green Book sites released,” *Route 66 News*, August 4, 2015, <http://www.route66news.com/2015/08/04/full-inventory-of-negro-motorist-green-book-sites-released/>, accessed October 24, 2016.

<sup>278</sup> Kahn, “The ‘Green Book’ Legacy.”

## Minority Resources, Travel Guide Resources, and the National Register

As preservationists aim to begin recognizing these places formally via the National Register of Historic Places, challenges and issues will likely arise. There are certainly some resources listed in the travel guides which are simple and easy to understand their historic importance. For instance, the Attucks Theatre in Norfolk, Virginia was listed in the *Green Book* in 1939 under the name the Booker T. Built in 1919 and added to the National Register in 1982, the theater's significance stated it was a "rare example of an early motion picture theatre, in Virginia, financed, designed, and built exclusively by blacks."<sup>279</sup> There is no doubt the importance of this theatre in the Norfolk community, however, interestingly, there is no mention of its place in the *Green Book*. This becomes even more notable today as the theatre is the only confirmed travel guide location still extant in Norfolk.<sup>280</sup> However, for many sites on the list, their architecture is not remarkable and the histories they tell are that of average citizens, which certainly complicates the preservation process.

In 1992, Antoinette J. Lee wrote, "preservationists are more concerned with ensuring that cultural groups enunciate what resources are important to them, how the resources should be protected and who should be empowered with the management of the resources."<sup>281</sup> The presence of African Americans in the field of historic preservation is limited. This can lead to many African American resources being overlooked and

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<sup>279</sup> Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission, "Attucks Theatre National Register Nomination," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission, Richmond, May 10, 1982, [http://www.dhr.virginia.gov/registers/Cities/Norfolk/122-0074\\_Attucks\\_Theatre\\_1982\\_Final\\_Nomination.pdf](http://www.dhr.virginia.gov/registers/Cities/Norfolk/122-0074_Attucks_Theatre_1982_Final_Nomination.pdf), accessed January 2, 2018.; The theatre has gone by several names throughout its history, including Booker T., as it is listed in the *Green Book*, and Attucks. It is now known as the Attucks Theatre.

<sup>280</sup> While not comprehensive, this study did cover several different guides between the years of 1930 and 1966.

<sup>281</sup> Antoinette J Lee, "Cultural Diversity and Historic Preservation," *CRM*, 15 (1992): 1.

remaining unrecognized as significant for African American heritage.<sup>282</sup> This could be seen as especially true with many *Green Book* sites that are “everyday” buildings and businesses. In Portsmouth all the remaining resources are fairly unassuming -- two residential properties which fit seamlessly into their neighborhoods, a small service station, and a small commercial building that now functions as a convenience store. In this way, it is important to engage with those minority and cultural groups in the community to determine significance and integrity of specific properties.<sup>283</sup>

Many preservationists recognize the pitfalls of the National Register evaluation of historic resources. Problems with both the “nomination process” and the “eligibility process” have been cited. The nomination process, by which a person intends to nominate a property to the National Register, can be complex and confusing for the average citizen, which becomes discouraging. This process has led to few community-initiated nominations, which becomes a problem for minority representation when preservation professionals are generally considered to be overwhelmingly white.<sup>284</sup> This may also indicate why there are so few African American resources designated in Portsmouth, as well.

In addition, the eligibility of resources for listing on the National Register relies heavily on the retention of integrity in architecturally insignificant resources. The importance placed on historic fabric can detrimentally impact resources of minorities and lower income communities. Cultural layering, or the changes due to continued use of the building, is an important aspect of understanding African American resources. Often, these communities used available materials and remolded as need be. These

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<sup>282</sup> McDonald, “The National Register of Historic Places and African-American Heritage.”

<sup>283</sup> Ibid.

<sup>284</sup> Ibid.

modifications can often serve to tell a greater story of the property and do not simply detract from the original itself. Further, it is important to recognize the cultural value the affected group places on that resource, especially when the resource is not meant to be architecturally significant.<sup>285</sup> Judith Wellman, the director of Historical New York Research Associates, explained this well in reference to Underground Railroad sites: “As we consider National Register listing for underground railroad sites, integrity alone cannot override the importance of the two other criteria – association with an event of national importance (Criterion A) and the value of these sites as evidence (Criterion D), defined in the broadest sense. To demand total integrity – an impossibility to any case – would be to exclude sites absolutely essential to the Underground Railroad story.”<sup>286</sup>

For eligibility on the National Register of Historic Places, a property must be examined through seven aspects of integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Location means that the property is located where it was during its significant period. Design refers to the visual continuity of the resource from its historic period to today, including form and style. Setting is the physical surroundings of the resource and how they convey or contradict the historic environment. Materials mean the actual physical makeup of the resource. Workmanship refers to evidence of a craft or culture within the resource. Feeling is an abstract concept, defined as the quality which conveys the sense of the past. Association, another abstract aspect,

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<sup>285</sup> Ibid.

<sup>286</sup> Ibid.

relies on all the previous aspects of integrity to form a distinct link from the present to the significant time period of the past.<sup>287</sup>

The Durant home, the Davidson home, and the Marshall Cities Service Station all likely have integrity issues. Throughout this study, I was unable to locate any historic photographic evidence or descriptions of these three businesses. Without knowing the historic character of the buildings, it is impossible to make full critiques or determinations. While they each have notable changes to their exteriors, it is not clear when these changes have occurred. Included are both photographs and a chart below of initial thoughts on the integrity of these buildings, however, further research would be necessary to make any definitive statements.

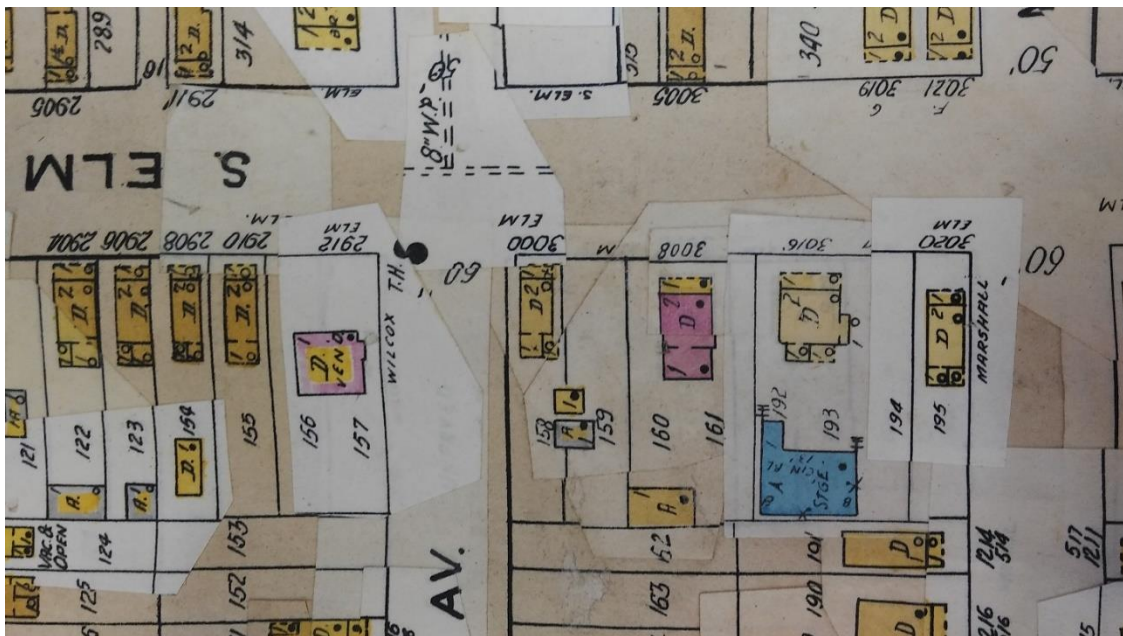


Figure 7.1 The Sanborn Map shows the footprint, lot size, and surrounding area of 3016 S. Elm in 1954. Portsmouth Public Library.

<sup>287</sup> National Register, History and Education, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, Washington, DC, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1995, <https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/pdfs/nrb15.pdf>, accessed December 18, 2017.



*Figure 7.2 Tax Assessor shows the current footprint, lot size, and surrounding area of 3016 S. Elm. While the map shows 3016 as 3012, the given address remains 3016 S. Elm. It appears the lots have remained relatively similar to 1954. Tax Assessor.*



*Figure 7.3 The historic photograph shows several buildings across the street from 3016 S. Elm, which give a hint to the historic character of the neighborhood. They are both still extant, adding to the historic setting and feeling of the area, while indicating what Durant's home may have looked like historically. Portsmouth Public Library.*

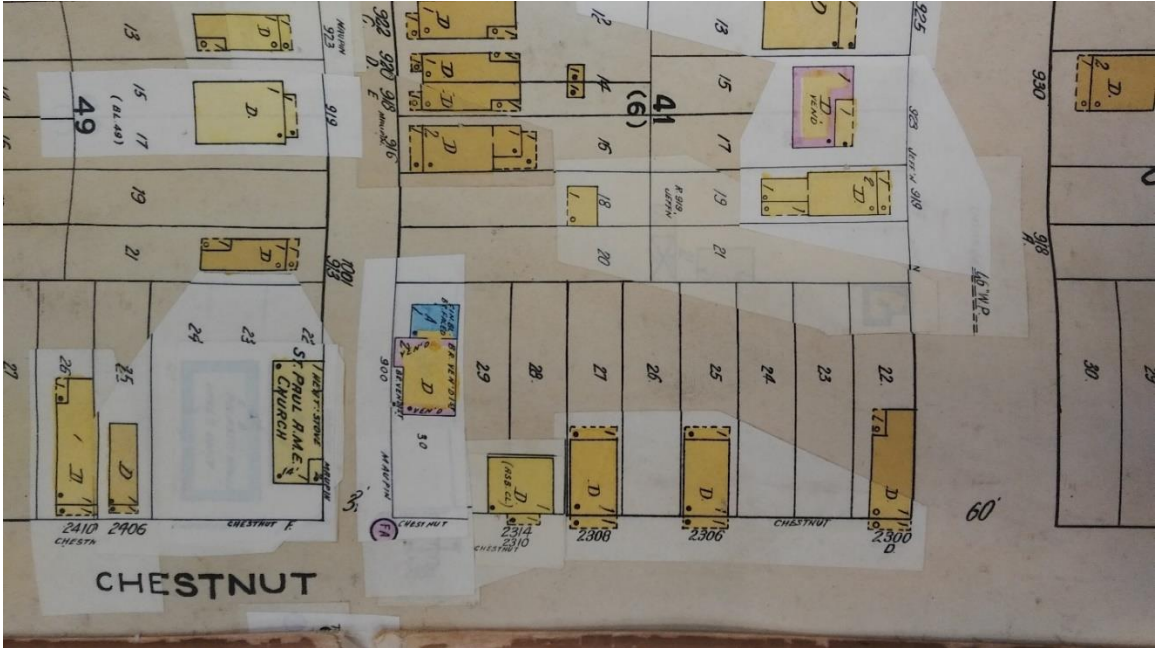


Figure 7.4 The Sanborn Map shows the footprint, lot size, and surrounding area of 2306 Chestnut Ave in 1954. Portsmouth Public Library.



Figure 7.5 Tax Assessor shows the current footprint, lot size, and surrounding area of 2306 Chestnut Ave. Lot sizes have expanded on this block and the detached garage has been added in the rear. Portsmouth, VA Tax Assessor.



Figure 7.6 The recent construction next to 2306 Chestnut Ave that detracts from the historic feel of the one-story dominated neighborhood. Google Maps.



Figure 7.7 The current footprint and surrounding area of 1808 Portsmouth Boulevard. This map shows the placement of the service station on its lot, as well. Portsmouth, VA Tax Assessor.



## Integrity of Extant Travel Guide Resources in Portsmouth, VA

	<b>DURANT HOUSE</b>	<b>DAVIDSON HOUSE</b>	<b>MARSHALL CITIES</b>
<b>LOCATION</b>	+ Original location	+ Original location	+ Original location
<b>DESIGN</b>	+ Maintains original Craftsman features, such as overhanging eaves  - Rear addition has altered original footprint	+ Maintains Craftsman features on the porch  - Rear addition has altered the original footprint	+ Maintains mid-century features and ornamentation + No additions  - Gas pumps have been removed - Some window and door openings appear changed
<b>SETTING</b>	+ Surrounding houses on block are similar in style and form  - Some vacant lots where houses have been demolished	+ Surrounding houses on block are early to mid-twentieth century and of a similar one-story form  - Large two-story home built directly next door in 2017 dwarfs the property	+ Remains in mixed use neighborhood + Several age appropriate buildings (commercial and residential) in area + Frederick Military Academy property remains across the street  - Several buildings of new construction in area
<b>MATERIALS</b>	- Mid-century porch supports and replacement door added - Replacement windows	+ Porch is likely original  - Vinyl siding - Replacement door and windows	+ Appears to be original stucco on concrete blocks  - Replacement door
<b>WORKMANSHIP</b>	+ Overhanging eaves and brackets indicative of early 20 <sup>th</sup> century Craftsman design	+ Battered porch supports as common tradition in early 20 <sup>th</sup> century Craftsman design + Relatively plain features of the house indicate vernacular building type	+ Mid-century details, such as plain exterior and roof ornamentation, indicative of time-period
<b>FEELING</b>	+ Surrounding neighborhood maintains the historic residential feeling + Still operates as a residence	+ Surrounding neighborhood maintains the historic residential feeling + Still operates as a residence	+ Concrete lot and historic lamp fixtures add to the historic feeling + Still operates within the automobile business
<b>ASSOCIATION</b>	- No clear historic association	- No clear historic association	+ Clear mid-century service station provides connection to the 1960s

Figure 7.8 Chart shows the seven aspects of integrity applied to 3016 S. Elm Ave, 2306 Chestnut St., and 1808 Portsmouth Blvd.

Fortunately, photographic evidence, as well as oral descriptions, of Fagan's Restaurant throughout its history are extant. Just during its use as Fagan's Restaurant, the building underwent several changes. After the Fagan family gave up the restaurant in 1986, the building changed hands several times. With new owners and new uses, the building has been subject to substantial alterations. The simplest aspect of integrity for Fagan's is location: the building has not moved since its historic use. Below, the rest of the remaining aspects of integrity are discussed more fully.

The building's design has gone through multiple significant changes, though it still does maintain a multiple-business commercial design and retains the basic footprint present during the Fagan days. The original Fagan's restaurant was a frame one story building, while the expansion was cinderblock construction with a concrete floor.<sup>288</sup> The section of the building which was the original Fagan's Restaurant was changed sometime between 1986 and 2007. During this time, a new entry addition was constructed onto the front façade of the building, obscuring the original entry door and window directly to the left of the door. The front of the addition featured a large fixed frame window, while the door was moved to the side, facing Peach Street. The window on the far right of the building remained visible, however, the one on the far left was boarded over. This addition featured an asphalt shingle pent roof, with a small recessed opening on the right side, leading to the new main entrance door. This small porch area was supported by a single wooden post. However, this addition was removed by 2015, and the front façade of the original portion of the building is much closer to its original appearance.

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<sup>288</sup> *Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps of Portsmouth, Virginia*, Sanborn Map Company, Map, Portsmouth, Virginia Public Library.



*Figure 7.9 This 2007 photo shows the front addition on the original portion of Fagan's Restaurant. Google Maps.*

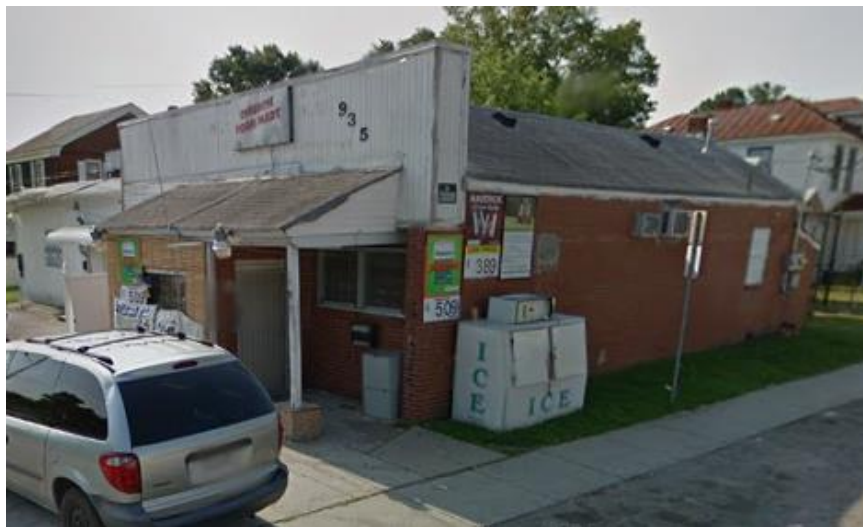


*Figure 7.10 This 2015 photo shows the subsequent removal of the front addition. Google Maps.*

The false front has remained constant through Fagan's history, though the materials have changed over time. During Fagan's tenure, this front was where they advertised with a large billboard-like sign, reading: Fagan's Seafood Restaurant.



*Figure 7.11 This 1954 photograph of John Fagan shows the bottom of the false front that was historically present. Courtesy of Juan Fagan.*



*Figure 7.12 The 2017 photograph shows the false front has been maintained, though it is now vinyl. Photo by Author.*

The building at the time of Fagan's restaurant featured a similar window placement as is now visible. Historically, there were fixed frame paired windows on each side of the door; today, there are still two windows in this fashion. There is also a smaller single fixed frame window in between the door and the left window. The side of the original portion of the building remains fairly consistent with its historic appearance. The window towards the back marked where the dishwasher was in the restaurant, though it is

now boarded over. The lengthening of the wall with cinderblock is a new addition from between 2012 and 2015.



*Figure 7.13 This 2012 Google Maps photograph shows there is no cinderblock wall at the rear of the building. Google Maps.*



*rear addition of the original restaurant, in which the Logan family lived during the 1950s. Google Maps.*



*Figure 7.15 This 2017 photograph offers a better view of the cinderblock addition, as well as the roof of the addition which housed the Fagan family in the 1950s. Photo by Author.*

When Fagan's expanded into the neighboring building, they kept the façade largely the same as when they acquired it, choosing to change the interior more drastically. They maintained the separate doors for the two businesses that had once been there – a standard door on the cleaners and both a standard door and a garage door for the auto repair shop. The buildings design here has changed quite drastically since Fagan's time. While the window on the right of this section and the standard door remain in place, the former has been covered and the latter replaced, as evident in the changes between 2007 and 2015. The 2007 door is likely not original either. In 2007, the main entrance for the auto repair shop remained, though the garage door had already been removed. Between 2015 and 2016, that door was replaced with large glass double doors. Where the garage door would have been, there is now a large fixed single pane window, added at the

same time. The side of this building once featured a stepped roofline, as evident in 2007, however this was altered into one continuous roofline by 2016.



*Figure 7.16 This 2007 photograph shows the boarded window and two single doors on the left side of the building, which Fagan's eventually expanded into. The original garage door on the left had already been removed. Google Maps.*



*Figure 7.17 This 2016 photograph shows the major changes of the former auto repair shop, in the process of creating a larger door opening and a large fixed window. Google Maps.*



*Figure 7.18 This 2017 photograph shows the current condition of the building today. The left side of the building has changed drastically, with the introduction of double glass doors and a large fixed window. Photo by Author.*



Figure 7.19 The 2007 photograph shows the stepped roofline. Google Maps.



Figure 7.20 The 2016 photograph shows the change to a flat roofline. Google Maps.

As far as the site itself, the design remains similar, with the parking area in the front. The gas pumps which Fagan owned in the beginning of the business days were removed while he still was running the business. There was also a large pole left over from the gas pump days the family later used for lighted signage, however, this has since been removed as well.<sup>289</sup>

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<sup>289</sup> Fagan, Interview.



The setting of Fagan's Restaurant has also seen some changes over the years. While it is still situated on a busy road in a largely residential area, the housing stock itself has changed somewhat. There is more public housing and more apartments, replacing the historic two story single family homes which once dominated the neighborhood.<sup>290</sup> Along Peach Street, directly across from Fagan's, there is notable new construction of townhomes from 1986 which are not compatible with the historic homes remaining in the area.<sup>291</sup>



*Figure 7.21 The 1986 townhomes can be seen across Peach Street on the left side of the photograph. Original housing in the area can be seen in Figure 7.12 and 7.15, directly behind Fagan's. Photo by Author.*

The materials have notably changed throughout the building's life. The original Fagan's restaurant was covered in wood siding. By the 1960s, the Fagan family had replaced this with brick veneer, which remains today. The false front on the original building has also been replaced from vertical wood to vinyl covering.<sup>292</sup>

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<sup>290</sup> Ibid.

<sup>291</sup> Ibid.

<sup>292</sup> Ibid.



*Figure 7.22 This photograph from 1954 shows the wood siding on Fagan's, as well as the historic window placement of the original building, and the now boarded over window on the expansion side. The material change of the false front can be seen here, contrasted with Figure 7.18.*



*Figure 7.23 This photograph from 1954 also shows the wood siding, the historic window placement, and the original false front material.*

Workmanship can be seen in the vernacular building tradition of Fagan's. It is largely a plain and efficient building, with no excessive ornamentation. The adaptation of the building over time shows the ways in which the owners addressed issues in an efficient and logical way. While the Fagan's lived there, the rear addition which housed the family could be an example of this type of adaptation. Much of the other renovations – such as door and window replacements – that show its evolution over time, occurred after Fagan's Restaurant closed. However, they are still a testament to the adaptations of a vernacular building in the area over time.

The feeling has certainly changed along with the materials, design, and other aspects of integrity. With the change of the business, the building has lost its feeling as a social hub of the community. However, it still does function as a neighborhood shop and commercial building. Likewise, the association of the building is not clear, especially as someone from outside of the community. This is where it becomes important to engage with local communities. On the possible preservation of Fagan's, Mae Breckenridge-

Haywood commented, "I think those spaces need to be here to let us know that we had wonderful places that made us proud."<sup>293</sup>

If the restaurant was nominated, the building's integrity issues would clearly provide substantial barriers in its successful listing on the National Register. This indicates a major flaw of the National Register in that it is not effective for evaluating many minority resources. In her thesis, Heather McDonald offered several ways to improve the current system: 1) Develop a new criteria for evaluation to include a social or spiritual value, and 2) Emphasize historical value of the resource rather than retention of historic fabric, when the resource's significance is not for design or architectural value.<sup>294</sup> The lack of retention of historic fabric would act as a major obstacle to its listing despite its clear historic significance to the community. For resources such as Fagan's Restaurant, the introduction of greater emphasis on historical or social value could make all the difference in a preservation context.

Fagan's provided an important recreation location for the African American community of Portsmouth, as well as traveling African Americans, during segregation when they were not allowed to go elsewhere. Ultimately, the restaurant conveys an important story about the "everyday" life of African Americans in Portsmouth during this era: while they were forced into a racially oppressive system, they overcame it and built important resources to enjoy life together as a community. As it was listed in the travel guides, Fagan's Restaurant also represents a nationally connected African American community which supported and protected each other. Ultimately, these buildings may not be magnificent architectural samples, but they are associated with the historic

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<sup>293</sup> Breckenridge-Haywood, Interview.

<sup>294</sup> McDonald, "The National Register of Historic Places and African-American Heritage."

collective memories of the local community in Portsmouth and the story of segregated travel throughout the nation.

### Beyond the National Register

Portsmouth currently is home to six historic districts listed on the National Register and State Register: Olde Town, Downtown, Parkview, Port Norfolk, Craddock, and Truxton. All except for the downtown district are locally regulated, as well.<sup>295</sup> These districts highlight Portsmouth's history with transportation and shipbuilding.<sup>296</sup> While the downtown district does feature some resources associated with African American heritage in the area, Truxton is the main district which emphasizes the area's African American history, as an early government planned and funded neighborhood. It was built during World War I for African American residents who were coming in to work at the Naval Yard.<sup>297</sup> Further, out of 16 other resources listed on the Register, only one is associated with the city's black history – the Portsmouth Colored Community Library, listed in 2010. This library has already been moved twice, but now is operated as an African American history museum for the city.<sup>298</sup> Out of ninety-three historic markers around the city listed in the Historical Marker Database, only five refer to the area's rich black history.<sup>299</sup> Three of the twenty-five official Highway Historical Markers, managed by the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, relate to African American history in

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<sup>295</sup> "Preliminary Historic Preservation Analysis," History Matters, LLC, November 12, 2008, <https://www.portsmouthva.gov/DocumentCenter/Home/View/916>, accessed January 2, 2018.

<sup>296</sup> "Portsmouth Historic Districts Report," page 5.

<sup>297</sup> Ibid.

<sup>298</sup> "About: The History of the Portsmouth Colored Community Library Museum," *Portsmouth Colored Library Museum*, <http://portsvafricanamericanheritage.com/about.html>, accessed October 15, 2017.

<sup>299</sup> "Portsmouth Virginia Historical Markers," *Historical Marker Database*, <https://www.hmdb.org/results.asp?County=Portsmouth&State=Virginia>, accessed January 3, 2018.

the city.<sup>300</sup> It is clear that Portsmouth's representation of African American heritage has room for growth. As none of the travel guide sites are located within historic districts or individually recognized, they could provide a worthwhile place to start in expanding representation in the city.

There are a variety of ways in which individuals, communities, and groups can approach preserving these resources and stories. As discussed, many of these resources are in danger of demolition due to neglect and new construction. Advocating and nominating these resources for placement on endangered historic sites lists, such as the National Trust for Historic Preservation's 'America's Most Endangered Places' or Preservation Virginia's 'Virginia's Most Endangered Historic Places,' can bring awareness to specific resources on an individual level. Such lists work to raise awareness of at-risk historic sites, which is certainly an important step in the process of preservation work. One African American resort listed in the *Green Books*, Pryor's Country Place in Angola, Indiana, landed on Indiana Landmark's 10 Most Endangered List in 2016 and 2017. While threatened, listing provides attention which, in hopes, will bring a preservation-minded buyer. These endangered lists have proven effective for many resources. In Indiana, only 16 of 119 listed sites have been lost since 1991, while 72 are no longer in danger.<sup>301</sup> It is difficult to know their overall effectiveness, however, Docomomo US found that "inclusion on an endangered list with its increased media

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<sup>300</sup> "Virginia Historical Highway Markers," *Virginia Department of Historic Resources*, [http://www.dhr.virginia.gov/hiway\\_markers/hwmarker\\_info.htm](http://www.dhr.virginia.gov/hiway_markers/hwmarker_info.htm), accessed February 24, 2018.

<sup>301</sup> "Announcing Indiana's 10 Most Endangered Places," *Indiana Landmarks*, May 1, 2017, <https://www.indianalandmarks.org/2017/05/announcing-indianas-10-most-endangered-places/>, accessed February 24, 2018.

attention and outreach to the general public, does seem to have a positive effect on public sentiment or at least the perception of positive public sentiment.”<sup>302</sup>

While many of the resources listed in travel guides are ineligible due to integrity issues, qualified resources could be nominated to be listed on the National Register of Historic Places. While this does not ensure protection and preservation from a federal legal standpoint, it does provide important benefits which could assist in the preservation of the property. First, it would offer some protection from possible impact due to a federally funded or licensed project based on Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, which requires consideration of effects on historic properties from such projects. Historic resources, recognized with listing or eligibility of listing in the National Register, are also qualified for some tax provisions and federal grants which can aid in preservation. For instance, there is a Federal Rehabilitation Investment Tax Credit which provides a 20% tax credit for approved rehabilitations of income-producing historic properties.<sup>303</sup> Many states also have similar tax credit and deduction programs for preservation projects. Virginia property owners can receive a tax credit of 25% of their eligible rehabilitation expenses, for instance.<sup>304</sup> Owners can also receive tax deductions for easements placed on their property, which would ensure preservation in perpetuity while maintaining ownership of the property.<sup>305</sup>

Another tactic, especially for resources which may not be eligible for listing on the National Register, is to institute an historic marker for individual resources. In

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<sup>302</sup> Liz Waytkus and Francine Morales, “Advocacy and Endangered Lists,” *DOCOMOMO US*, May 16, 2012, <http://www.docomomo-us.org/news/advocacy-and-endangered-lists>, accessed February 24, 2018.

<sup>303</sup> “National Register of Historic Places Program: Frequently Asked Questions,” *National Park Service*, <https://www.nps.gov/nr/faq.htm>, accessed February 24, 2018.

<sup>304</sup> “Grants and Incentives,” *Virginia Department of Historic Resources*, [http://dhr.virginia.gov/homepage\\_general/finance.htm](http://dhr.virginia.gov/homepage_general/finance.htm), accessed February 24, 2018.

<sup>305</sup> “National Register of Historic Places Program: Frequently Asked Questions.”

Virginia, there is a statewide Historical Highway Markers program to denote sites of historic importance for the state. For those deemed ineligible for statewide importance, local communities have their own marker programs as well.<sup>306</sup> Evelyn Azeem, owner and manager of Pearlie's in Newport News, is working on taking advantage of this program for her own historic restaurant. The building, located at 2108 Jefferson Avenue, has operated as a multitude of business endeavors, including restaurants, grocery stores, and briefly a barber shop, since the 1920s. The building housed the first restaurant to provide full service and full course meals to the African American population of the city. After closing its doors in 1999, Azeem reopened the restaurant under its most recent name in 2007. This location was listed as a restaurant in the *Green Books* under two of its names – The Tavern and Grant's – during the 1930s-40s, and 1960s. An historic marker was slated to be installed in front of the restaurant in late 2017.<sup>307</sup> Using resources such as historical markers would be a convenient way to highlight the importance of specific resources and interpret their history in the community. However, endangered sites lists, National Register listings, and historical marker recognitions, would only be effective in the preservation of individual travel guide resources. The story which an individual site can portray regarding this history is limited. While these would certainly be helpful for some resources, other tactics are necessary to preserve the larger stories of segregated travel.

In terms of what local communities can do to try and preserve their own resources listed in travel guides, the first step would be to conduct inventories. Using the guide books, communities can survey and document the extant properties. When doing this, it is

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<sup>306</sup> "Virginia Historical Highway Markers."

<sup>307</sup> Evelyn Azeem, personal conversation.; Mary Kayaselcuk, email correspondence with the author, March 1, 2017.

important to do background research of the area to determine any modifications in roadways or road names, building relocations, or other changes which may have occurred over time. It is also important to engage with those communities to understand their experience and perspective, especially when dealing with potentially sensitive subjects like segregation and racial discrimination. The results of such a survey could reveal patterns of African American businesses and neighborhoods. For instance, in Portsmouth, there were clear geographic areas in which these resources were found. Those that are extant remain in a specific area of town, as an historic African American community that was spared during urban renewal efforts.

With the information from a survey, as well as further historic research, local communities could assess their results for the possibility of a local historic district. If a specific district seems to emerge that would be worth looking into, resources could be used to help achieve a more in-depth survey of the entire area. To achieve this, communities or organizations could apply for grants to offset costs. For instance, Virginia has instituted a Survey and Planning Cost Share Program, which would allow a local government to team up with the Department of Historic Resources, through a matching funds program, in order to complete a survey project.<sup>308</sup> During a survey, specific landmarks may also emerge as important in the community, such as Fagan's Restaurant in Portsmouth. During a survey of *Green Book* sites in Los Angeles, the Hayes Motel was rediscovered, reviving the memory of its place in the local African American story.<sup>309</sup> Some landmarks, such as the Attucks Theatre in Norfolk or the A.G. Gaston Motel in

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<sup>308</sup> "Survey & Planning: Frequently Asked Questions," Virginia Department of Historic Resources, [http://dhr.virginia.gov/survey/Survey\\_faq.htm](http://dhr.virginia.gov/survey/Survey_faq.htm), accessed February 24, 2018.

<sup>309</sup> Sahagun, "This guidebook helped African Americans."



Birmingham, AL, may already be recognized for their historic importance but could benefit from the knowledge of being listed as another layer of their story.<sup>310</sup>

Identifying, documenting, and interpreting travel guide resources in a given community could ultimately serve in a greater effort to better document African American history more completely in these communities. Resources could be combined with other recognized historic resources for interpretive endeavors like brochures or walking/driving tours, which would raise awareness and create educational opportunities. This would also be a good endeavor to stimulate businesses which may still be operating at these locations, especially in areas which may need an economic boost. These initiatives, while working to preserve travel guide resources and educating about that history, would ultimately serve more to highlight locally specific African American history better than connecting sites nationally over a shared narrative of segregated travel.

One possible way to achieve a large-scale recognition of these sites would be through a Multiple Property Listing to the National Register, which allows related properties to be grouped together based on historic themes, trends, and patterns. By grouping travel guide resources together on one form, the national story of these sites could be effectively documented and preserved. However, as the properties associated with the Multiple Property Submission are still subject to the same standards as individual nominations, integrity issues may still stand.<sup>311</sup> Ultimately, having a regional or national voice and support system would allow for more comprehensive preservation

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<sup>310</sup> “A.G. Gaston Motel,” *National Trust for Historic Preservation*, <https://savingplaces.org/places/a-g-gaston-motel#.Wpr7EFTBrIV>, accessed February 24, 2018.

<sup>311</sup> “National Register Bulletin: How to Complete the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form,” *National Park Service*, 1999, [https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb16b/nrb16b\\_IIintroduction.htm](https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb16b/nrb16b_IIintroduction.htm), accessed February 24, 2018.

efforts across the country, instead of disjointed localized projects. Initiatives under a broader voice would be better able to connect the national significance of these sites.

So far, aside from the Route 66 *Green Book* project, inventory efforts of extant travel guide locations appear to be limited to local or statewide efforts. Connecting these inventory projects would be an important first step to have a better understanding of the extant resources across the country. This would allow for better preservation planning and projects, but would likely require a national organization or partnership to oversee this work. The collaboration of all the agencies who worked together to complete the inventory of surviving *Green Book* sites on Route 66 could provide a model of a cross-state, regional or even national, initiative. This project involved the National Park Service, state and municipal agencies, nonprofits, and individuals who all assisted with field research and surveying.<sup>312</sup>

When proposing a large-scale preservation program which would be effective for travel guide resources, it is necessary to evaluate previous similar efforts. One multi-state and ongoing preservation effort is that of Route 66. While the connection of these resources along a physical roadway certainly is a notable difference from the less physical connection between travel guide sites, many of the resources associated with Route 66 are similar to those associated with travel guides. Many of the resources overlap in type (such as motels and restaurants), in condition (many have lost integrity and are in poor physical condition), and suffer from their placement in economically depressed areas. Route 66 has become a nationally noted historic resource, gaining substantial governmental support through an Act in 1999 which created, under the National Park Service's purview, the Route 66 Corridor Preservation program. This program, working

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<sup>312</sup> Warnick, "Full inventory."

with other government agencies and both nonprofit and private organizations, aimed to preserve the historic fabric of Route 66. It provides planning, research, educational, and technical assistance, as well as matching grants to significant historic businesses along the roadway, which have been extremely beneficial to the businesses, as well as the complete preservation of Route 66.<sup>313</sup>

While this certainly has given significant preservation aid to the resources there, the likelihood of the government providing this amount of support and funding for travel guide resource preservation seems unlikely. However, there have also been other important organizations and initiatives which have instituted important efforts for the preservation of Route 66, which could possibly be used in planning for travel guide resource preservation.

A large non-profit organization, the National Historic Route 66 Federation, played an important role in the push for the passage of the 1999 Act. They also market the roadway internationally, publishing a quarterly magazine and various brochures and guides, maintaining a Route 66 website, initiating special events and programs, and mobilizing volunteers to evaluate and document resources regionally.<sup>314</sup> Travel guide resources could benefit from a similar large national network to promote similar advocacy, preservation, and education efforts. One program of the Federation – the Adopt-A-Hundred Preservation Program – could provide a better ongoing understanding of the national state of these resources. The program allows volunteers to adopt 100 miles

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<sup>313</sup> “Route 66 Corridor Preservation Program,” *National Park Service*, <https://www.nps.gov/orgs/1453/route-66-corridor-preservation-program.htm>, accessed February 24, 2018.

<sup>314</sup> “About Us,” *National Historic Route 66 Federation*, <https://www.national66.org/about-us/>, accessed February 24, 2018.

of Route 66 to check for possible preservation issues.<sup>315</sup> In the travel guide context, volunteers could work on a city-wide scale to do similar work. Initially, with oversight from local or statewide preservation professionals, this could work to identify extant resources. Subsequently, the program could serve to maintain an updated database of resources, their condition, preservation issues, and concerns.

The Federation also publishes several guides, such as the Route 66 Dining and Lodging Guide.<sup>316</sup> This would be a particularly well-suited idea for travel guide locations that are in current operation as restaurants, hotels, motels, or resorts. Having a compiled and up-to-date listing would bring awareness and educational opportunities to those interested in exploring these resources, while bringing economic support for businesses – which could in turn aid their preservation efforts.

The Route 66 Road Ahead Partnership is another important partnership bringing together Route 66 stakeholders across the country, including Route 66 state associations, state representatives for tourism and transportation, both public and private preservation advocates, business owners along the roadway, as well as the public, to promote revitalization of the road corridor through collaboration, promotion, preservation, development, and research and education. Road Ahead works to bring together players across state lines as well as from a variety of sectors, including tourism, preservation, and transportation, for more effective communication.<sup>317</sup> This model also shows the importance of communication and collaboration from a large variety of stakeholders.

Many people would have an investment in travel guide resources including preservation

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<sup>315</sup> Ibid.

<sup>316</sup> Ibid.

<sup>317</sup> *Route 66 The Road Ahead Partnership*, <http://route66roadahead.com/>, accessed February 24, 2018.; “Route 66: The Road Ahead Project,” *Route 66 of Texas*, <http://rt66oftexas.com/route-66-the-road-ahead-project/>, accessed February 24, 2018.

advocates, tourism professionals, city planners, developers, and many private owners. Having a partnership to allow all these people to communicate would ultimately better benefit these resources.

The Road Ahead Partnership focuses on promotion, preservation, economic development, and research and education – all important factors to consider. The promotion of income-producing properties, with such endeavors as the guides listed above, would raise awareness and serve to educate the public about the importance of these sites. Restaurants, such as Pearlie’s in Newport News, event spaces, such as the Attucks Theatre in Norfolk, and other properties, would likely benefit from the increased publicity. Other resources which promote African American history could also be promoted, such as the A.G Gaston Motel in Birmingham, Alabama. This *Green Book*-listed motel, an important site for the Civil Rights Movement, has been included in the Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument and, after rehabilitation, will be included as part of the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute as the Freedom Center.<sup>318</sup> The Partnership also works for preservation, by promoting the dissemination of knowledge and ideas between different agencies and stakeholders, while providing resources themselves. They also want to encourage economic development, sharing successful revitalization efforts to better understand effective strategies and best practices, while promoting the economic incentives for preservation. Lastly, Road Ahead focuses on research and education, encouraging people to research and educate about Route 66. They aim to assist and support research and educational efforts, while also providing their own comprehensive information from a variety of formats.<sup>319</sup> All of these initiatives

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<sup>318</sup> “A.G. Gaston Motel,” *National Trust for Historic Preservation*.

<sup>319</sup> *Route 66 The Road Ahead Partnership*.; “Route 66: The Road Ahead Project.”

could also be put in place by a large-scale group overseeing travel guide locations, to promote understanding of their historic role, the physical preservation of these resources, and the economic prosperity of the businesses and communities which house such resources.

### Summary

In the past few years, recognition of travel guides has been growing, with historians, authors, documentarians, and museums exploring the history and legacy of these books. There has been some preservation work, as well, mostly in the form of surveys on local or statewide levels. One of the most common ways in which to recognize historic sites in America is to have a resource listed on the National Register of Historic Places. However, as the National Register places a major focus on physical integrity, many minority and vernacular resources could find themselves ineligible for listing. The extant resources in Portsmouth, Virginia all likely maintain integrity issues which could prevent recognition in this form.

Despite difficulties in listing in the National Register, there are other ways to work for preservation and recognition of these sites and their stories to provide a more inclusive and realistic historical narrative. On individual and local levels, placement on endangered site lists, surveys, and the institution of historic markers can all provide raised awareness and education of these resources. However, to best understand these resources and their relation to a national story about segregated travel, there should be national efforts to promote awareness, preservation, and education of these sites. This could come in the form of a national partnership to promote collaboration between a variety of groups, which could oversee a catalog of current extant sites and their

condition, provide information about preservation to interested agencies and owners, and create educational programs about travel guides and their resources.

## CHAPTER 8

### THE LEGACY AND FUTURE OF TRAVEL GUIDE RESOURCES

The travel guides are an important segment of a familiar trend in African American history in this country. Elmer Jackson III, who was introduced to the *Green Books* by his grandfather, related the necessity of the travel guides to the reality of being an African American: “Everything that black folks have really done in this country have been a result primarily of being able to survive. Doing what`s necessary to survive and make your way.”<sup>320</sup>

Though Jim Crow and segregation legally ended in 1964, the legacy is imprinted on the landscape to this day. The locations listed in these travel guides can serve to tell a broader story of this era and African American heritage in the United States. Ernest Green described the travel guide: “The *Green Book* was, I think, an institution in black life.”<sup>321</sup> Travel guides were important tools many African Americans relied on during their travel and, now, the extant locations highlight the important history of Jim Crow in America. They serve to tell a multi-faceted story of life for African Americans during this period. As a whole, they are the physical evidence of a dark history of racial segregation and oppression of black people of color throughout our nation. By preserving those sites, these stories have a physical representation. The small amount of resources – both originally and extant today – speaks volumes to the effects of oppression throughout our

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<sup>320</sup> Sherae Honeycutt, “A link to the past: The Green Book reveals Kansas City homes’ connections to black history,” *Fox4kc* (Kansas City, MO), February 26, 2018, <http://fox4kc.com/2018/02/26/a-link-to-the-past-the-green-book-reveals-kansas-city-homes-connections-to-black-history/>, accessed February 27, 2018.

<sup>321</sup> “The Green Book,” *The Postal Record*.



history and its effects on the landscape today.<sup>322</sup> Succinctly, Mae Breckenridge-Haywood explained, “There were African American spaces that were important history and we need to know this.”<sup>323</sup> Jackson reinforced this sentiment: “This what you're trying to capture now is just another example of so much of our history that has been swept under the rug, or obliterated, or forgotten, and unless somebody like yourself or others try to document it, it will be forever lost, and that's sad.”<sup>324</sup> These buildings serve as part of the historical memory of segregation in the community.

The remains of these sites act as physical reminders of several truths about segregated travel in America: 1) Travel for African Americans was often dangerous, requiring them to create guide books for safer travel; 2) Segregation served to reinforce not only spatial restrictions on African Americans, but also social restrictions; 3) African American businesses grew to cater towards African American customers; and 4) Many African Americans banded together nationally as a community to aid each other against the effects of Jim Crow and white supremacy.

The segregation era travel guides were important for many travelers in the segregation age. As discussed in previous chapters, travel was extremely difficult for African Americans during this period due to discrimination, intimidation, and lack of access to essential services. The travel guide could serve as a safety net – allowing travelers to plan in advance and feel more comfortable on the road. Ernest Green, who was part of the Little Rock Nine, described the guide after driving from Little Rock, AR

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<sup>322</sup> Kennedy, “Automobility, Hospitality, African American Tourism, and Mapping,” 91.

<sup>323</sup> Breckenridge-Haywood, Interview.

<sup>324</sup> Honeycutt, “A link to the past.”

to Hampton, VA: “It was a survival tool.”<sup>325</sup> In this, the locations listed represent that safety net.

These historic sites can help map the limits of spatial freedom African Americans had during Jim Crow, as discussed by Richard A. Kennedy, an adjunct professor at North Carolina Wesleyan College, in “Automobility, Hospitality, African American Tourism, and Mapping Victor H. Green's *Negro Motorist Green Book*.” In his study, Kennedy mapped the distribution of locations of travel guide listings nationwide from both 1949 and 1959 editions of the *Green Book*, which visually showed the concentration of African American resources in certain areas, namely the northeast and the Great Lakes Region. This allows us to have a fuller understanding of the spatial constraints of African Americans and map the changes of racial dispersion over time. This process has already been initiated by several projects. An on-going project at the University of South Carolina has culminated in a *Green Book* map in 2011, which maps out the locations of the listings nationwide in 1956.<sup>326</sup>

Further, as Andrew Kahrl wrote in his dissertation on race and leisure in the Jim Crow South, “Segregation as an act of power cannot be understood apart from the spaces it created.”<sup>327</sup> These buildings represent the physical, as well as the social, barriers put in place for African Americans. The spatial segregation only served to reinforce white superiority and black inferiority; the landscape literally serves as a record of the historic culture of the time.<sup>328</sup> One white southerner even wrote: “The underlying purpose ... is clearly not for the separation of the races in space ... The underlying purpose ... seem to

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<sup>325</sup> Tam, “Haven.”

<sup>326</sup> “The Negro Travelers’ Green Book,” *University Libraries Digital Collections*, <http://library.sc.edu/digital/collections/greenbookabout.html#mapabout>, accessed November 6, 2016.

<sup>327</sup> Kahrl, “On the Beach,” 18.

<sup>328</sup> *Ibid.*; Kennedy, “Automobility, Hospitality, African American Tourism, and Mapping,” 39.

be the separation of the races in status.”<sup>329</sup> By analyzing the locations of travel guide listings, one could make deductions about race relations nationwide and in individual regions.<sup>330</sup>

The guides also serve to tell a more positive story, as well. While the need for such guides came from a distinct necessity for safety, they also represent the self-reliance and power of the African American community. African Americans had been oppressed in American society, both socially and economically, since their introduction to the country. However, though small, a new black middle class, made up of wage earners and salaried professionals, began emerging.<sup>331</sup> African Americans were able to create and sustain their own businesses. The *Green Books* document these sites of economic activity across the nation. These sites were ultimately a resistance against racist stereotypes and white supremacy.<sup>332</sup> Not only can the travel guides pinpoint specific businesses which contributed to this legacy, but it can also generally trace the rise of the middle class of color, as more businesses were listed in a growing variety of places.

While the guide books are important in documenting the rise of black business, there is also another story of camaraderie and community in the face of discrimination. When Victor Green began the *Green Book*, he began it by wanting to help people feel safe while driving: “Green was just a guy who saw that something needed to be done, so he did it. I find that very uplifting.”<sup>333</sup> Green’s project relied on a large network of postal workers for information on black businesses and users to assess the sites listed. After his

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<sup>329</sup> Kahrl, “On the Beach,” 18.

<sup>330</sup> Hall, “The negro traveller’s guide to a Jim Crow South,” 309.

<sup>331</sup> Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie*, 11.

<sup>332</sup> Kahrl, “On the Beach,” 6.

<sup>333</sup> Calvin Alexander Ramsey, Interview by The Local Palate, February 16, 2017, <http://thelocalpalate.com/articles/interview-the-color-of-safety/>, accessed October 23, 2017.

project grew, he continued to publish them, pocketing very little compensation from his work. By and large, this company did not serve to profit Green. Tourist homes are a great example of this phenomena, as well. Often times, families did not charge for their rooms. As Calvin Ramsey says, “Think about asking people to open their homes to people traveling—just the beauty of that alone.” He continued, “This was put together with love from Black people for each other to keep each other safe. ... This book was about the love and ability to preserve our dignity.”<sup>334</sup>

While it was clear this was a dark and difficult period for African Americans, the *Green Book* certainly shows resilience and resistance. As Portsmouth resident and president of the African American Historical Society in Portsmouth, Mae Breckenridge-Haywood explained: “We had churches that we could go to and get satisfied, we had organizations, lodges, social clubs. This is during integration that we became proud. And if we can look back and say that people made good times out of the bad, then this is what history is about.”<sup>335</sup> Many of the extant buildings listed in the guides are a testament to this self-reliance. Plenty of the buildings became grounds for the Civil Rights Movement.<sup>336</sup> Calvin Ramsey commented: “This wasn’t the Underground Railroad; this was out in the open. It was a group of people who very publicly connected to help each other out.”<sup>337</sup> These locations stood as a statement that African Americans would not give in to white supremacy.

Locations listed in travel guides, tied together, connect ordinary people with the larger narrative of segregation throughout the country. Each individual listing also has its

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<sup>334</sup> Foster, “In the Face of ‘Jim Crow,’” 53.; Sanders, “‘Green Book’ Kept Black Travelers Safe.”

<sup>335</sup> Breckenridge-Haywood, Interview.

<sup>336</sup> Ramsey, Interview.

<sup>337</sup> Ibid.

own unique history. There are important sites listed in the travel guides that will certainly be remembered far more notably for the other roles they played during segregation and Civil Rights Movement. For instance, the Lorraine Motel, the site of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s assassination in Memphis, Tennessee, was listed in the *Green Book* almost a decade prior to his killing.<sup>338</sup> However, other sites of average African American citizens during this time are abundant in the travel guides. Each building left behind has a history of everyday life which is important to understand and remember. Researching through the travel guides can ultimately provide an insight into overlooked buildings and resources that have important histories to share about local African American communities and their experience with segregation. Documenting and preserving travel guide sites would serve to better understand the important resources through which we can tell these histories.

In order to successfully preserve all aspects of the intricate history of travel guide resources, it will be important to use a variety of preservation initiatives. Individual and local efforts will be instrumental in preserving individual and local histories of segregation and African American businesses. While individual sites have important stories to tell, they are also a part of a nationally significant history. Larger regional or national programs will more effectively connect these resources and place them in a national narrative of the difficulties of segregated travel and the resilience of the African American community against white supremacy and Jim Crow laws.

Even with the large variety of efforts which can be employed when aiming to preserve these resources, difficulties may arise. Local politics is one of the most common

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<sup>338</sup> *Negro Travelers Green Book*, 1959, 76-77.

challenges in local preservation.<sup>339</sup> Communities are made up of a variety of people, who all have different opinions, perspectives, goals, and value systems. With different viewpoints come disagreement on how best to handle community resources. Racial topics can further exacerbate and complicate issues. Notably, the preservation of Confederate monuments has sparked controversy nationwide, as seen in Charlottesville, VA and New Orleans, LA. Portsmouth has not been exempt from this discussion, with staunch supporters for both preservation and demolition present during protests of the Confederate statue located in downtown Portsmouth.<sup>340</sup>

Further, these historic buildings exist in changing towns and cities, which must evaluate their needs constantly. This can certainly cause impediments for preservation. For instance, in Alexandria, VA, a controversial decision was made in 2015 to demolish fifteen public housing units in an historic African American neighborhood in order to provide space for fifty-three affordable housing units. While this move allowed for more and updated housing to address the community's low-income residents, some community members were disappointed in the decision for dismissing the historic and cultural significance of the properties.<sup>341</sup>

In Portsmouth, the African American Historical Society (AAHS) experienced some of these local preservation issues in their effort to restore the Portsmouth Colored Community Library and open the property as a museum, a process that began in 1999.

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<sup>339</sup> "Success stories," *Landmarks Illinois*, <http://landmarks.org/preservation-program/success-stories/>, accessed March 28, 2018.

<sup>340</sup> Liz Kilmer, "Spirited debates in Portsmouth at protest to remove Confederate monument," *WAVY* (Norfolk, VA), August 17, 2017, <http://www.wavy.com/news/protest-planned-for-tonight-at-portsmouth-confederate-statue/1060855328>, accessed March 28, 2018.

<sup>341</sup> Patricia Sullivan, "In Alexandria, a choice of historic preservation or affordable housing," *Washington Post* (Washington DC), September 12, 2015, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/virginia-politics/a-choice-of-historic-preservation-or-public-housing/2015/09/12/6b8702c0-58d8-11e5-8bb1-b488d231bba2\\_story.html?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.1970aec26f1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/virginia-politics/a-choice-of-historic-preservation-or-public-housing/2015/09/12/6b8702c0-58d8-11e5-8bb1-b488d231bba2_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.1970aec26f1), accessed March 28, 2018.

This project, which took thirteen years to complete, is a testament to the slow movement that preservation can take. After years of support for the library from the AAHS and the community, the city agreed to move the building for preservation purposes in 2003. However, this relocation was not undertaken until 2007, after renewed talks of demolition had been thwarted. Finally, after much research, renovation work, and a partnership agreement between the AAHS and the city, the museum opened in 2015.<sup>342</sup>

Preservation can be a complex and uncertain endeavor. Many difficulties that will arise for preservation efforts may be similar, though some may vary between different locations depending on the local preservation environment. However, there is some important advice provided by the National Trust for Historic Preservation to help in the process: research preservation, arm yourself for conflict by knowing your supporters and strategies, and use losses to further the conversation and gained continued support for preservation.<sup>343</sup> When discussing her own work with the Portsmouth Colored Community Library, Breckenridge-Haywood noted that she researched preservation, sought advice from professional preservationists, and gained support from the local community. Of the process, she said, “The journey was not easy, but I stayed focused on the end of the journey.”<sup>344</sup>

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<sup>342</sup> Breckenridge-Haywood, email correspondence.

<sup>343</sup> Jamesha Gibson, “How to Save a Place: Manage Your Personal Expectations,” *National Trust for Historic Preservation*, May 7, 2015, <http://savingplaces.org/stories/preservation-tips-tools-how-to-save-a-place-manage-your-personal-expectations#.Ws-ZTKkpDKY>, accessed March 28, 2015.

<sup>344</sup> Breckenridge-Haywood, email correspondence.

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APPENDIX A

TRAVEL GUIDE RESOURCES LISTED IN PORTSMOUTH, VA

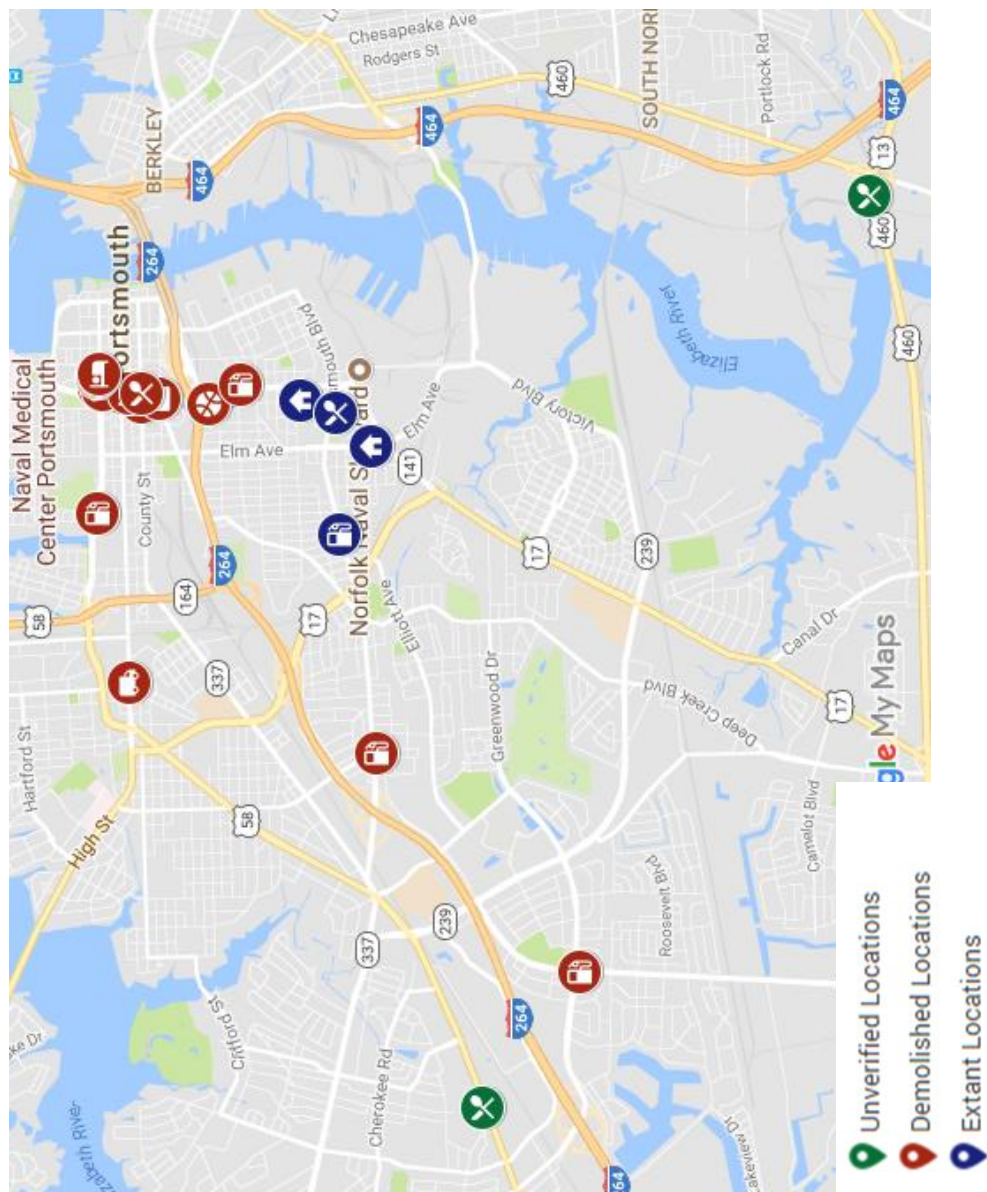
<b>BUSINESS</b>	<b>ADDRESS</b>	<b>YEARS LISTED (GUIDE)</b>	<b>STATUS</b>
Capitol Tavern	600 Effingham St.	1939 ( <i>Green Book</i> ) 1949 ( <i>Grayson's Guide</i> )	Could Not Verify
The Taxi Tavern Restaurant	841 County St.	1949 ( <i>Grayson's Guide</i> )	Demolished
Miles' Beauty School	502 Effingham St.	1949 ( <i>Grayson's Guide</i> )	Demolished
Riddick's Transfer	2766 High St.	1949 ( <i>Grayson's Guide</i> )	Demolished
John A. Jackson, MD	200 Effingham St.	1949 ( <i>Travelguide</i> )	Demolished
J.L. McGriff, DDS	719 London St.	1949 ( <i>Travelguide</i> )	Demolished
Wilbur Watts, Attorney	834 South St.	1949 ( <i>Travelguide</i> )	Demolished
Uptown Amoco Service Station	1603 London St. (at 1st Ave.)	1949 ( <i>Travelguide</i> )	Demolished
National Cafeteria Restaurant	514 Effingham St.	1949 ( <i>Travelguide</i> )	Demolished
YMCA	1300 Chestnut St.	1949, 1952 ( <i>Travelguide</i> )	Demolished
Omicron Hotel	200 S. Green St.	1949 ( <i>Travelguide</i> ) 1957, 1959-60 ( <i>Green Book</i> )	Demolished
NAACP	2306 Chestnut St.	1952 ( <i>Travelguide</i> )	Extant
Durant Bayside Cottage Resort	3016 S. Elm Ave.	1961-62 ( <i>Green Book</i> )	Extant
Blue Haven Hotel	401 S. Green St.	1962 ( <i>Green Book</i> )	Demolished
Benjamin's	223 S. Green St.	1962 ( <i>Green Book</i> )	Demolished

Confectionary & Dining Room			
Fagan's Seafood Restaurant	corner of Gosport Rd. and Pine St., on Tunnel Route 460	1962 ( <i>Green Book</i> )	Extant
Combo Terrace Motel and Restaurant	Hiway #13 & 460	1962 ( <i>Green Book</i> )	Could Not Verify
Sportsman's Motel and Restaurant	on Route 2 near Portsmouth	1962 ( <i>Green Book</i> )	Could Not Verify
Kelly's Motel and Restaurant	801 County St.	1962 ( <i>Green Book</i> )	Demolished
Holmes Bros. Sinclair Service Station	3415 Gosport Rd.	1962 ( <i>Green Book</i> )	Demolished
Bouie's Esso Service Station	1701 Effingham St.	1962 ( <i>Green Book</i> )	Demolished
Marshall's Cities Service Station	1808 Gosport Rd.	1962 ( <i>Green Book</i> )	Extant
Jimmie's Flying A Service Station	1201 Langley Blvd.	1962 ( <i>Green Book</i> )	Demolished
Ransdell's Motel	630 London St.	1962 ( <i>Green Book</i> )	Demolished

## APPENDIX B

### TRAVEL GUIDE RESOURCES IN PORTSMOUTH

This map was created with Google Maps. Approximate probable locations were used for those resource locations which have not been verified. The first image shows a context map of the resources in Portsmouth, while the second zooms into downtown to better depict the resources concentrated in that area.

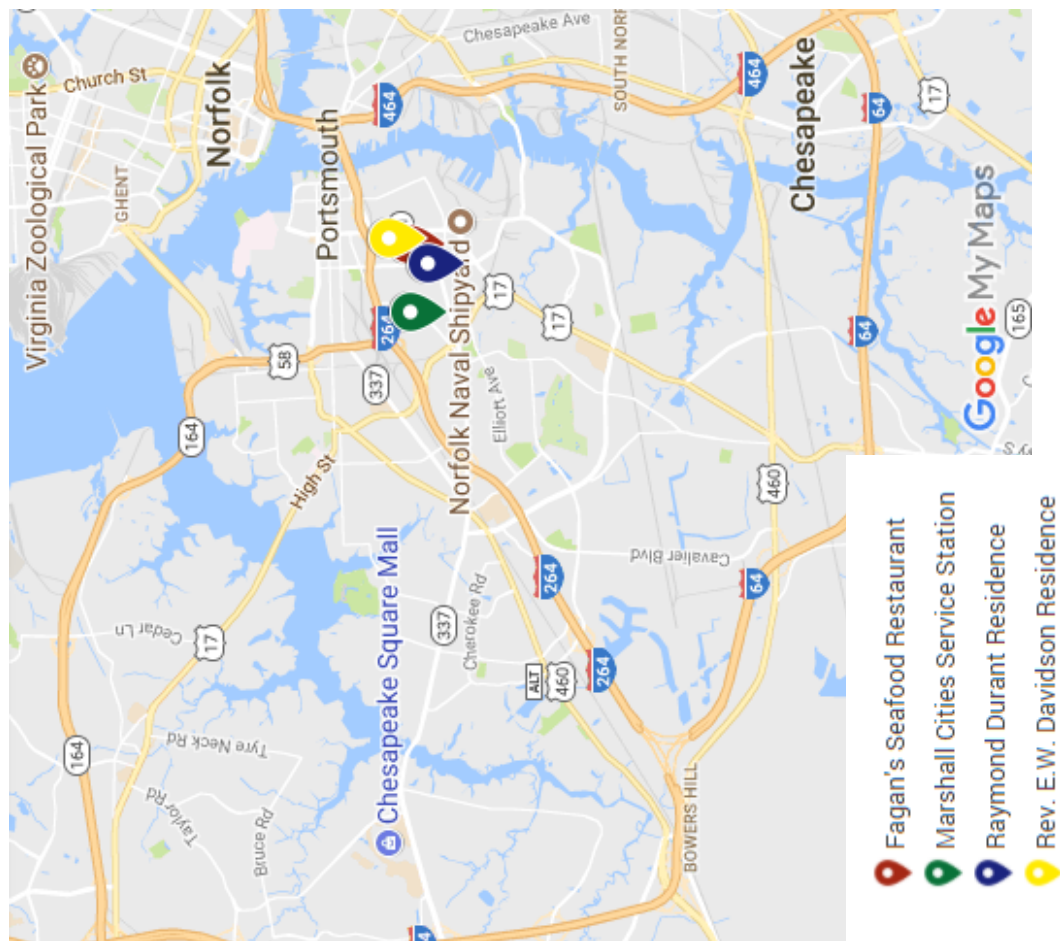




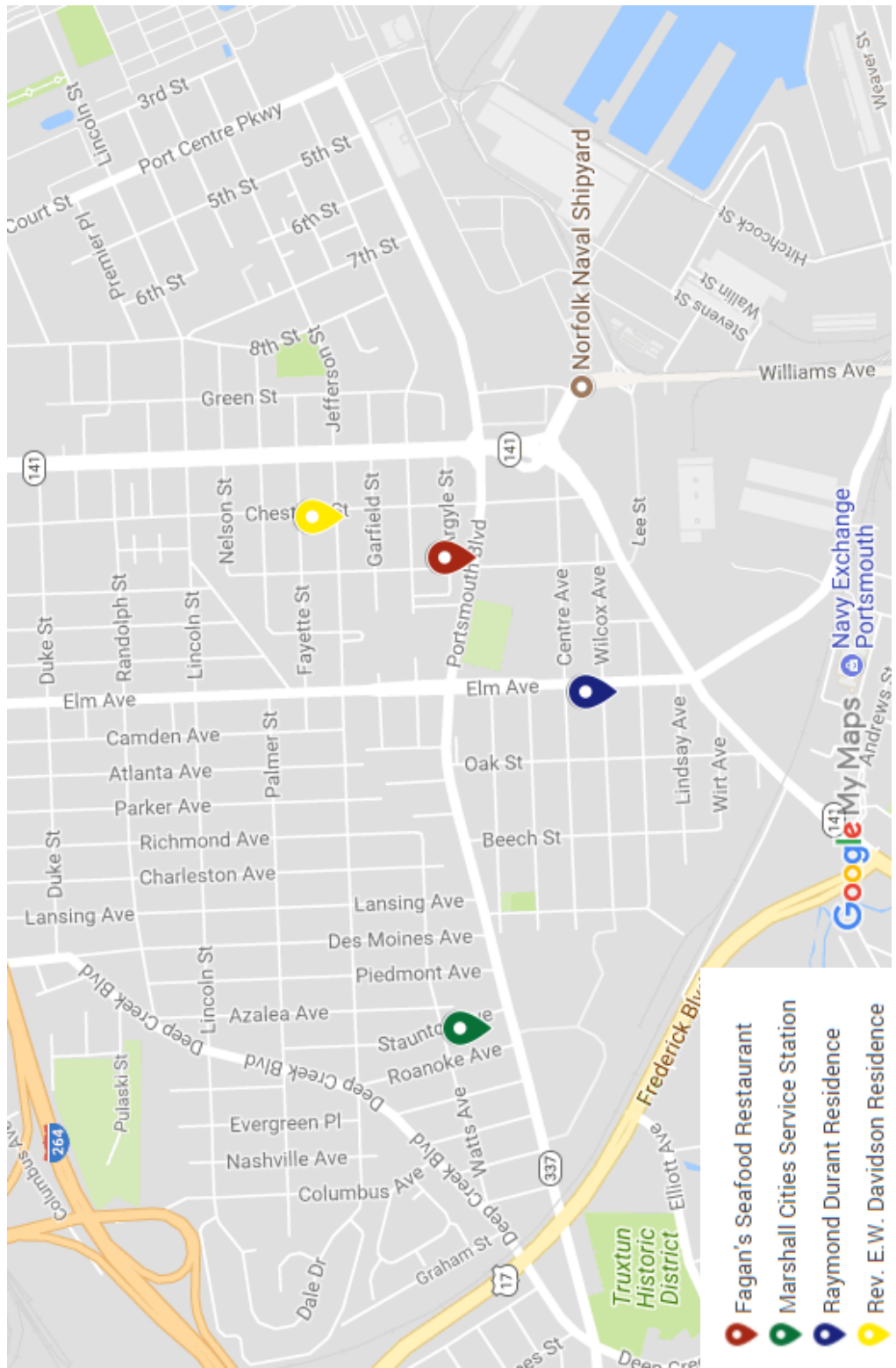
## APPENDIX C

### EXTANT TRAVEL GUIDE RESOURCES IN PORTSMOUTH MAP

This map was created with Google Maps. The first image shows a context map of the extant resources in Portsmouth, while the second zooms to better depict the extant resources.







- Fagan's Seafood Restaurant
- Marshall Cities Service Station
- Raymond Durant Residence
- Rev. E.W. Davidson Residence