Navigating Hostile Terrain with the *Green Book*

How a Travel Guide Mobilized African Americans During Segretation

Isabel Dorothea Kalous

Abstract

This article examines the *Green Book*, a travel guide for African Americans published in the years 1936 to 1966. The *Green Book*'s aim was to help Black travelers navigate safely through hostile landscapes in the era of segregation. It did so by providing information on accommodations, service stations, restaurants, and other roadside establishments that welcomed African American customers. Drawing on a combination of literary, cultural, and mobility studies, this article analyzes the *Green Book* and its rhetorical strategies to illuminate the ways in which the guide encouraged African Americans to travel and claim public spaces. It argues that the *Green Book* was more than just a response to the cultural atmosphere of its time. As a means of resistance, it challenged the existing conditions that curtailed Black mobility and mobilized Black Americans.

Suggested Citation: Kalous, Isabel Dorothea. "Navigating Hostile Terrain with the Green Book: How a Travel Guide Mobilized African Americans During Segregation." *JAAAS: Journal of the Austrian Association for American Studies* 3, no. 1 (2021): 11–31, DOI: 10.47060/jaaas.v3i1.53.

Keywords: *Green Book, The*; Black travel; racism; segregation; automobility; mobility

Peer Review: This article was reviewed by the issue's guest editors and an external reviewer.

Navigating Hostile Terrain with the *Green Book*

How a Travel Guide Mobilized African Americans During Segregation

Isabel Dorothea Kalous

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the growth of the automobile industry, the construction of new highway systems, and widespread car ownership fueled the mobility of many Americans. As a symbol of modernity, the automobile was euphorically welcomed and became a quintessential part of American life.[1] Driving on the open road was associated with freedom, independence, and autonomy. The dream of increased spatial mobility was within reach for the small but emerging Black middle class. For African Americans who had the financial means to purchase a car, it was evidence, not only of spatial, but also of social mobility and a representation of the progress toward racial equality that underscored their claim to national citizenship.[2] This group embraced the car because it afforded greater possibilities for efficient and convenient travel and, importantly, because it offered relief from the discrimination and humiliation Black travelers often experienced on public transportation. Historian Cotten Seiler asserts that for African Americans, "automobility's promise was one of escape from Jim Crow: upward through socioeconomic strata and outward across geographical space."[3] However, this new freedom of mobility had limitations. Mostly, the open road was hostile terrain for Black Americans and traveling by car could be fraught with danger, not only in the Jim Crow South, but also in the rest of the segregated nation.

Racial segregation restricted African American mobility: many roadside establishments, including tourist accommodations, restaurants, gas and service stations, rejected Black customers, which could turn family or business trips into difficult endeavors. Due to the discriminatory retail practices of many White-owned stores, a journey was not a spontaneous venture for Black motorists, but one that required careful planning and preparation. The car needed to be filled up with gas and stocked with food, blankets, and other necessities in case travelers were unable to find places offering room and board.[4] These trav-

elers had to rely on information about hospitable businesses spread by word of mouth until Victor Hugo Green, a postal worker from Harlem, began to collect and publish such data. To gather information on businesses amenable to African American travelers, Green relied on his network of fellow postal workers. Green's vision was to facilitate travel and help Black motorists circumvent discrimination on the road. In 1936, he published the first edition of *The Negro Motorist Green Book* (often referred to simply as the *Green Book*), a booklet listing establishments where Black customers were welcomed that was modeled on a Jewish travel guide.[5] From then on, it was published annually for thirty years with only a brief intermission in the early 1940s.[6] The *Green Book* started out as a local guide listing businesses and points of interest in the New York area, but due to an overwhelming response, it soon broadened its geographic scope to cover a wide variety of tourist accommodations, restaurants, gas and service stations, beauty parlors, and tourist sites across the country.[7] Starting in 1949, the *Green Book* expanded its coverage beyond U.S. borders to include Bermuda, and later also Canada, Mexico, the Caribbean, and parts of Europe and Africa. In addition to providing information on various businesses, the *Green Book* also featured articles on places of interest and travel destinations near and far, modes of transport, Black entrepreneurs and prospering businesses, travel trips and recommendations, as well as rules for safe driving. During the peak of the Civil Right Movement, it also reported on the development of non-discriminatory policies in relation to travel, thus charting the degree of integration in a given locality. Over the three decades of its publication, the *Green Book* developed into "a roadmap to some of the most significant people, successful businesses, and most important political milestones of the twentieth century."[8] An important cultural document, the *Green Book* serves not only as a testament to the racial inequalities in tourist areas and beyond, but also as evidence of the multifaceted forms of resistance to the immobilizing forces of segregation by African Americans in the beginning and mid-twentieth century.

In recent years, the *Green Book* has garnered considerable attention from the public, museum curators, filmmakers, columnists, authors, and playwrights. For instance, the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture in Washington, D.C., which opened its doors in 2016, hosts a permanent interactive exhibit on the travel guide. Filmmaker Yoruba Richen's documentary *The Green Book: Guide to Freedom* (2019) sheds light on the guide as well as on Black entrepreneurship and Black recreational resorts. Several major newspapers and magazines featured stories on the *Green Book* and the topic of traveling while Black during segregation and today.[9] Moreover, the travel guide has inspired both a play and a children's book by Calvin Alexander Ramsey, as well

as book and photography projects by cultural historian Candacy Taylor, in which she photographed and documented properties listed in the *Green Book*. The New York Public Library's Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture has digitized over twenty editions of the *Green Book* that can be accessed online together with an online guide to related resources.[10] Since the early 2000s, the *Green Book* has also become the subject of scholarly research in the fields of history, cultural geography, mobility studies, and African American studies. For instance, scholars have illustrated the cultural significance of the *Green Book* in the history of African American travel and studied the guide in relation to race and consumption, automobility, and Cold War culture.[11] Candacy Taylor's latest book, with the programmatic title *Overground Railroad: The Green Book and the Roots of Black Travel in America* (2020), and the important works on Black travel in the era of segregation by historians Gretchen Sullivan Sorin and Mia Bay present the most in-depth studies of the travel guide.[12]

Drawing on a combination of literary, cultural, and mobility studies, this article adds to existing research on the *Green Book* by illuminating the ways in which it encouraged Black travel and challenged the existing conditions that curtailed the mobility of African Americans. The term "mobility" includes much more than mere movement from one place to another, as human geographer Tim Cresswell emphasizes. His approach to mobility provides a useful point of departure for considering mobilities in the *Green Book*. Cresswell argues that mobility can be understood as the entanglement of three intertwined aspects: the first one being that of physical movement; the second that of meaning (i.e., the representation of movement and the narratives associated with it); and the third that of practice (i.e., the way one moves and how this movement is experienced).[13] Taking these various dimensions of mobility into account allows for a better understanding of the significance of the *Green Book* as a means to enhance and facilitate physical movement as well as for its role in shaping discourses, representations, and practices of Black travel. An analysis of the *Green Book* and its rhetorical strategies will reveal that the guide was not only a response to its time and an effort to keep African American travelers safe but, importantly, served to mobilize African Americans literally and figuratively. Its textual and visual representations of Black mobility had the potential to change individual as well as societal perceptions of African American travelers, working to deconstruct common conceptions of travel and integrate Black travelers into tourist discourses from which they had been excluded. Studying Black mobility with the *Green Book* reveals the political dimension of seemingly mundane business and leisure trips, family vacation, and other kinds of journeys through which African Americans defied the spatial confinements and mobility restrictions that

segregation imposed on them. Significantly, not only activists fought to change the status quo: as Sorin puts it, "with each mile they traveled, ordinary African Americans challenged prohibitions that prevented them from traveling and from entering segregated spaces"; travel was thus a means "to claim the rights of citizenship and push the boundaries of racism."[14]

I will survey the historical contexts from which the *Green Book* emerged with respect to how segregation limited African Americans' travel options before analyzing how the guide challenged the status quo. The *Green Book* testifies to the many ways the movement of Black people was restricted, yet it also illuminates how people resisted and challenged the circumscription of their mobility. In addition, it demonstrates the importance of free, self-initiated movement, mobility, and equal access to public spaces in the struggle for civil rights and equality. The impairment of Black mobility during Jim Crow is but one chapter in the long history of controlling, monitoring, and limiting Black people's spatial, physical, and corporeal movements. And although the immobilization of Black people and the control over their every move was the strictest and most pronounced during slavery, the mobility restrictions continued, albeit in different forms, even after the formal abolition of slavery. From the late nineteenth century to the 1960s, institutionalized racial segregation systematically delimited Black Americans' opportunities for travel, as they encountered discrimination on the road, were relegated to the back of the busses and the third-class compartments on trains, and were kept from moving freely in public spaces. The legacies of enslavement and segregation, in particular their immobilizing forces, influence Black people to this day. Therefore, the article concludes by examining how Black mobility continues to be circumscribed in the twenty-first century.

(Auto)Mobility and Segregated Landscapes

In the early twentieth century, the car became an instrument "of defiance and dignity in the journey to full equality" for Black Americans.[15] Car ownership did not facilitate travel but allowed those who could afford it to avoid the discomfort and inconvenience they so often experienced on public transportation. However, driving through a segregated nation, Black motorists were confronted with innumerous obstacles. Since the advent of the motor age, when automobility began to offer African Americans the opportunity for enhanced spatial and social mobility, a combination of racist laws and regulations, economic practices, and social customs established impediments for Black travelers and made journeys by car difficult and dangerous. African Americans encountered segregated tourist spaces with accommodations, roadside rest areas as well as service and auto repair stations that refused to serve them. Bay describes this practice as "economic disenfranchisement."[16] Moreover, the discrimi-

natory policies of urban highway planning, racial disparities in car financing and insurance systems as well as the rejection of African American members by the American Automobile Association further limited the opportunities for automobile travel.[17] On the road, Black motorists were disproportionately targeted by law enforcement officials and frequently experienced harassment by White segregationists to whom "black car ownership was itself an affront," especially in the South.[18] Rampant racism and hostility were particularly startling in the notorious sundown towns—all-White communities that threatened African Americans with violence should they be caught within city limits after sundown. In his important study of sundown towns, James W. Loewen points out that although thousands of sundown towns existed throughout the country, they were mostly a northern, midwestern, and western phenomenon.[19] For this reason, motoring was dangerous for African Americans not only in the South, as is often assumed, but in all parts of the nation. To avoid being in the wrong place at the wrong time, Black travelers had to plan their routes and stops carefully. The interlocking system of formal and informal political and social practices erected spatial confinements for African Americans and circumscribed their mobility.

Scholars in the fields of architecture and in cultural and historical geography, who have examined the relationship between space and race, highlight how the built environment partakes in the social construction of race.[20] Dianne Harris maintains that the built environment "must be examined as an active agent in the formation of ideas about race, identity, belonging, exclusion, and minoritization."[21] Concepts such as "the architecture of racial segregation" and "racialized landscapes" express how spatial parameters reflect and produce power relations and racial hierarchies, thereby fostering differentiated mobilities.[22] During segregation, these tourist spaces were characterized by hostility and White supremacist attitudes that manifested in segregated accommodation, swimming pools, beaches, parks, and other areas of recreation and relaxation. In a similar manner, racial differences were inscribed in the architecture. For example, bathrooms located in the rear of a building, separate water fountains, closed-off areas, and "Whites Only" signs enforced exclusion and restricted African Americans' access to public spaces. As the cultural and historical geographers Derek H. Alderman and E. Arnold Modlin Jr. stress, these segregated environments were "spatial expressions of control that materially support[ed] white privilege and legitimize[d] racial segregation and inequality."[23] Segregated tourist landscapes, therefore, did not only limit travel and recreation for African Americans, but were "part of a broader denial of the legitimacy of their identity and right to belong."[24]

The *Green Book* testifies to the racial inequalities and the repression of Black travel. Yet, its mere existence is evidence that Black Americans challenged the status quo. In response to the exclusion that African Americans experienced on the

road and the denial of unbounded mobility, they "created an entirely separate tourist infrastructure, including their own travel guides and travel agencies that directed travelers to places where they would be welcome without fear of humiliation."[25] The fact that African Americans traveled to visit family, for business purposes, and for pleasure—despite the many uncertainties and violence they often encountered while traveling—has to be seen as a direct challenge to Jim Crow segregation. The seemingly mundane act of exercising one's mobility gains a political dimension in this context; it can therefore be understood as part of a protest tradition against anti-Black discrimination, oppression, and the deprivation of civil rights.

The significance of mobility and its implications for African Americans' striving for modern citizenship, freedom, and equality becomes particularly evident when examining the bus boycotts and freedom rides during the Civil Rights Movement. But long before the memorable protest of Rosa Parks, who refused to give up her seat to a White passenger on a bus in Montgomery, Alabama, Black travelers challenged racial segregation and discrimination on public transport, as the important work of the historians Elizabeth Stordeur Pryor and Blair L. M. Kelley reveals.[26] Pryor's *Colored Travelers: Mobility and the Fight for Citizenship before the Civil War* (2016) illustrates that even prior to the Civil War, free African Americans from the North understood free movement and equal access to public spaces as quintessential aspects of their citizenship and found manifold ways of resisting segregationist policies on street cars and trains. Examples of such resistance include arguing with fellow White passengers and railroad personnel, writing letters of complaint to state representatives, and suing railroad companies. It also included physical resistance: journalist and civil rights activist Ida B. Wells famously bit a train conductor who tried to remove her from the ladies' car and force her into the "colored car" although she was in possession of a first-class ticket.[27] By fighting for equal rights on public transportation, activist travelers such as Wells established a protest tradition in the early nineteenth century that informed succeeding struggles for freedom of mobility and full citizenship.[28] The Supreme Court case *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which was a fight over the right to unrestricted travel for Black Americans that led to the institutionalization of racial segregation in public spaces in 1896, and the ensuing struggles for mobility rights highlight the significance of free movement in the fight for equality.

The *Green Book* took part in the larger struggle for full citizenship rights and equality. During its three decades of publication, it encouraged African Americans to travel and thus stake a claim to public spaces controlled and dominated by Whites. African Americans did so by means of small, everyday acts of dissent, such as patronizing Black-owned businesses advertised in the *Green Book* and traveling despite the obstacles and violence they encountered on the open road. Understanding these common practices as forms of resistance expands narrow ideas of activism, which,

as Robin D. G. Kelley endorses in *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class* (1994), not only pertains to formal political protest, demonstrations, and strikes but also to unorganized practices that defied White supremacy.[29] Importantly, Black travelers challenged the discrimination and inequality they encountered on the road and beyond in both revolutionary and everyday ways.

Revolutionizing Black Travel with the *Green Book*

Victor H. Green and his team—among them Alma D. Green, his wife, who oversaw publication upon Green's retirement in the 1950s—dedicated their work to improving travel for African Americans by making it easier, safer, and more pleasant. As the editors explain, "It had been our idea to give the Negro traveler information that will keep him from running into difficulties, embarrassments and to make his trips more enjoyable."[30] In light of the perils that African Americans faced on the road, the *Green Book* assumed the crucial role of providing protection and safety, easing some of the anxieties connected to traveling. The slogan "Assured Protection for the Negro Traveler" that appeared throughout the pages of numerous *Green Book* editions indicates its significance as a survival guide. The *Green Book* was also referred to as the "Bible of black travel" and thus indispensable for African Americans navigating their way around a racist country.[31] Although similar guides for Black travelers existed in the early and mid-twentieth century (such as *Hackley and Harrison's Hotel and Apartment Guide for Colored Travelers* [1930–31], *Grayson's Guide: The Go Guide to Pleasant Motoring* [1953–59], and Travelguide [1947–63]), the *Green Book* was published over a comparatively longer period of time and attained a maximum circulation of approximately two million, indicating its importance and the high demand for such a guide.[32] As one reader wrote in a correspondence letter to the editors, "It is a book badly needed among our Race."[33] Travelers could order the *Green Book* directly from the publisher or buy it in bookstores and at Esso service stations. Esso Standard Oil (today ExxonMobil) played a key role as a sponsor and distributor of the *Green Book* and was among the first corporations to franchise businesses to African Americans.[34] Recognizing the potential value of an expanding African American market, Esso sought to appeal to Black customers and hired two African American marketing executives who promoted the guide and whose testimonials are featured in several *Green Book* articles.

The target audience for the *Green Book* ranged from vacationers and business travelers to those traveling with schools, clubs, sororities, and fraternities, in addition to convention participants. In the hands of these travelers, the *Green Book* was a powerful tool: knowing where to find roadside establishments that welcomed Black customers could not only facilitate travel, it also allowed African Americans to forgo discriminatory retail practices of White-owned businesses where they could

be charged higher prices and receive inferior quality of goods and services.[35] The *Green Book* promoted hospitable businesses and encouraged its readers to patronize these establishments, eventually including over 9,000 places listed in the publication. Most of these were Black-owned businesses, therefore supporting them also served as an act of racial solidarity.[36] This practice exemplifies how African Americans used their economic power to challenge corporate discrimination and attests to the social and political impact of consumption and commonplace economic practices that Lizabeth Cohen details in her study on postwar consumer culture.[37] To ensure that businesses were compliant with certain quality standards, the *Green Book* regularly asked for feedback from readers, promising an immediate investigation should travelers report an unsatisfactory experience, which could then lead to the removal of the respective business ad from the guide's pages.[38] The opportunity to file a complaint was a distinctive form of consumer agency and control given to African Americans travelers. It presented, as Michael Pesses points out, "an inversion of power hierarchies on the road."[39]

The long listings of business ads that comprised the majority of the sometimes one-hundred-plus pages of the *Green Book* were interspersed with short text passages containing introductory statements and forewords by the editors explaining the purpose and achievements of the guide, testimonial letters by readers praising its indispensability, commentaries by Esso marketing representatives, feature articles connected to travel (e.g., descriptions of prominent tourist destinations such as New York City and Chicago), travel reports, and articles introducing new or improved modes of travel and transportation (e.g., the 1951 "Railroad Edition" and the 1953 "Airline Edition"). These texts avoided explicit mention of the many risks and hazards inherent in traveling. When segregation and incidents of racism were touched upon, they were described as "painful embarrassments . . . which ruined a vacation or business trip" that could be bypassed with the information provided in the book.[40] Racist encounters and discriminatory practices were euphemistically denoted as "embarrassments," "difficulties," "inconveniences," "aggravation," and "handicaps," presenting only a veiled critique of segregation. The *Green Book* never explicitly stated the imminent risks that Black travelers were likely to encounter; only subtle references pointed to the fact that travel was dangerous for Black Americans. Similarly, the phrases that regularly appeared on *Green Book* covers advised travelers to "Keep this Guide in Your Car for Ready Reference" and to "Carry your Green Book with you… you may need it…"[41] These words of advice alluded to the unpredictable nature and timing of racialized violence on the road. For African Americans, they served as a reminder to exercise vigilance and caution while traveling.

Instead of focusing on the difficulties of travel that presented themselves to Black motorists and travelers, the *Green Book* articulated its faith in a brighter future. In

the introduction to the 1948 edition, the editors asserted,

> 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. But until that time comes we shall continue to publish this information for your convenience each year.[42]

The statement, reiterated in subsequent editions, was not just an expression of the editors' aspirations for easier travel; it was evidence of their steadfast belief that major societal and political changes were on the horizon. The optimism with regard to racial reforms demonstrated in this and various other passages was grounded in the authors' faith in political "leaders to sustain the priceless possession of racial freedom and dignity" as well as in the assumption that interaction between people would lead to a better understanding and eventually to racial integration.[43] The *Green Book* further expressed its belief in the mechanisms of the consumer market to bring about economic equality. By drawing attention to the profit that could be made by catering to African Americans, the *Green Book* reflected its trust in the governing principles of the free market: African American travelers were willing to spend money, the guide proclaimed. Therefore, both Black and White businesses were well advised to place their advertisements in the *Green Book* to take advantage of the spending power of Black customers: "this guide is read and used by over 225,000 people for travel information, . . . they spend annually $112,500,000," the *Green Book* informed its readers and advertisers in the early 1950s.[44] The *Green Book* spoke to the assumption that all White businesses would eventually cater to Black customers, if not for moral, then for economic reasons.[45]

When talking about the developments underway in the travel business, the *Green Book* maintained a lighthearted and cheerful tone. The 1953 "Airline Edition" of the *Green Book* praised the possibilities of air travel, which allowed for a faster and more convenient way to traverse large distances. In the text and in the caption to an image of an airplane, air transportation is described as "the miracle of modern travel" that "symbolizes the new freedom of Americans to travel abroad."[46] Intriguingly, "Americans" is used in this instance to denote both White and Black travelers. In contrast to the many instances in which the *Green Book* explicitly distinguished between travelers on the basis of race, the phrasing here attests to the certainty that air travel would provide equal tourism opportunities for African Americans. While praising this new mode of transportation for its efficiency, there is no mention of airlines' discriminatory practices or the segregation of airport facilities which lasted until the early 1960s. Nothing in the text suggests that African Americans had to fight for the desegregation of airport terminals, transforming them into "sites of conflict—. . . ter-

ritories of confrontation over the renegotiation of racial identities in postwar America," as Anke Ortlepp's study the desegregation of American airports shows.[47] Rather than illuminating the difficulties that presented themselves to Black travelers, the *Green Book* expressed the firm conviction that Black Americans, like all Americans, belonged on planes.[48]

Numerous other examples of text passages and images depicting (Black) travel indicate that the *Green Book* laid claim to the mobilities it displayed.[49] For example, the 1963–64 edition featured a photograph that depicts a young Black woman at the beach, leaning against a palm tree, a coconut drink in her hand.[50] The illustrations of Black travelers engaging in leisure and recreational activities tried to normalize Black travel and inscribed African Americans into tourist discourses from which they had hitherto been absent. The guide's textual and visual depictions of Black travel also demonstrated African Americans' economic strength and achievements. The *Green Book*, as Seiler observes, portrayed "African Americans as upwardly and outwardly mobile vacationers, habitually mobile business travelers, and blithely gallivanting consumers."[51] These depictions signaled that African Americans had become part of an affluent and mobile middle class, disregarding the fact that many vacation sites remained segregated areas. By introducing various travel destinations and tourist attractions near and far, the *Green Book* summoned Black people to travel, explore the nation, and access and claim public spaces: "There is much to be seen and more to learn, of this our land which offers everything of beauty, wonder and history," announced the *Green Book*.[52] Encouraging African Americans to travel the world, the guide highlighted the nearly unlimited opportunities for travel and suggested jokingly that the sky was the limit: "a trip to the moon? Who knows? … When travel of this kind becomes available, you can be sure your *Green Book* will have the recommended listings!"[53]

Rather than exposing the hardships of Black travel, the *Green Book* illuminated the varied options for tourism and kept an optimistic and positive attitude. Some interpret its reluctance to explicitly refer to the hazards of traveling while Black and its restrained and accommodating tone as signaling "an acceptance of how life simply [was]."[54] However, the context of the *Green Book*'s production and reception has to be considered in order to understand the necessity of guarded, carefully worded texts. The *Green Book* editors certainly knew how to use a "coolly reasoned language [that] put white readers at ease and allowed the Green Book to attract generous corporate and government sponsorship"—for example from Esso and the United States Travel Bureau, both of which supported and participated in the production of the guides.[55] The controlled tone and the ambiguity used with regard to topics such as racial discrimination and violence is certainly attributable to the *Green Book*'s goal of addressing a heterogeneous clientele that included African Americans, White sym-

pathizers, business owners, and financial sponsors. When the title was changed to *The Travelers' Green Book* in 1960, it indicated that the guide was also intended for the use of White travelers (although it clearly continued to cater to African Americans). White readers likely approved of the non-offensive, accommodating, and sophisticated language of the guides.[56] For African American readers, the subtle references to the dangers and plights of traveling while Black were certainly obvious.

The *Green Book*'s nuanced formulations reflected conscious editorial choices to address Black readers without offending or provoking White supporters and sponsors. For the most part, it did not employ language that explicitly opposes policies of racial segregation. Nonetheless, it used expressions that Brent Staples describes as the "African-American art of coded communication, addressing black readers in messages that went over white peoples' heads" and which were not overlooked by an attentive Black readership.[57] For instance, a list of the "do's and don'ts of driving" specified the following traffic regulations and recommendations:

> Obey all traffic regulations.
> Be sportsmanlike with fellow-drivers.
> Start earlier, progress slower and keep speed reasonable.
> Don't drink and drive.
> Danger increases with darkness; cut speed at dusk to keep within brake range of headlights.
> Stay in traffic lanes, do not pass without ample room and never do so on hills or curves.
> Keep ample stopping space between your car and the car ahead.
> Be watchful at intersections; be sure to signal your intentions to turn or stop.
> Check brakes, windshield wipers, tires and steering mechanism before you start on that trip.[58]

While these traffic recommendations are surely reasonable and apply to all motorists, Black or White, they were particularly relevant for African American drivers. The phrasing implicitly pointed to the dangers of what has come to be known as "driving while Black"—that is, the practices of racial profiling and harassment of Black drivers by law enforcement officials. Moreover, the proper functioning of the car was imperative for Black motorists because car service was not available for them everywhere and roadside breakdowns were dangerous. Taking these precautions was essential for Black drivers' safety. Equally important was the strict observance of all traffic rules and regulations so as not to attract unnecessary attention. Even minor traffic violations could have serious consequences. Still, correct behavior was never a guarantee for safety or a means to avoid racist encounters with other drivers or police officers. The comparative used in the third sentence as well as the recommendation to behave "sportsmanlike" toward other drivers seems to imply that other, suppos-

edly White, drivers were likely to cause trouble. Black motorists were thus advised to be particularly careful around White drivers.

Similarly, the *Green Book*'s "Safe Driving Rules," which appeared in several editions, reminded African American drivers that the open road was highly racialized terrain: "Watch out for the driver who crosses the White Line" is one such example.[59] The emphasis of the words "White Line" through their capitalization suggests that this advice not only referred to possible accidents caused by cars crossing the white dividing line on the street separating traffic; rather, it likely alluded to the perpetual dangers Black travelers faced. By extension, the phrasing also invokes what W. E. B. DuBois called "the color line," referring to the divide between Black and White Americans that he perceived as the most pressing problem of the twentieth century.[60] Equally intriguing rhetoric was used in a feature article by the Esso marketing representative James A. Jackson. He wrote, "Today, our thousands of travelers, if they be thoughtful enough to *arm* themselves with a Green Book, may free themselves of a lot of worry and inconvenience as they plan for a trip."[61] Formulating this as "arming" oneself with the *Green Book* to "free" oneself adds a subversive undertone to the text, referencing the thousands of travelers who could possibly be mobilized to combat discrimination on the road as well as anywhere else.

However, implicit or explicit subversive statements were limited in the *Green Book*. Instead, it created positive and affirmative narratives of Black economic, social, and political progress by depicting African American entrepreneurs and successful business owners, as well as striving Black communities. The 1949 edition of the *Green Book* introduced Robbins, Illinois, a majority-Black suburb in the Chicago area, as "the fastest growing town in the state of Illinois . . . owned and operated by negros" and encouraged travelers to "take a look at an experiment of an exhibition of what negroes working together can do."[62] By presenting such a flourishing community, the *Green Book* countered the racist perception that Black communities were poor, backward, and unsafe. Likewise, another edition recommended visiting Louisville, Kentucky, because "this city, of the colorful Bluegrass State, is blessed with a rare blend of history, progress and tradition that offers much interest to the visitor."[63] The article detailed the social advancement of the city's African American inhabitants, highlighting Louisville's efforts to decrease illiteracy, increase Black home and business ownership, amplify Black voting power, and support the city's prospering Black cultural life.[64] By presenting the demographics of the place, the *Green Book* demonstrated the achievements of the Black community. It highlighted the progress made despite all the adversity to endorse claims for citizenship.

The travel destinations that were recommended by the *Green Book* together with the advertisements for certain products signaled a middle-class lifestyle and

revealed the guide's target audience as Black middle- and upper-class travelers with the appropriate financial means, such as professionals, business owners, doctors, teachers, those traveling with schools, clubs, sororities and fraternities, and convention-goers. The guides also promoted a code of behavior that was considered middle-class, displaying the respectability of African Americans through the goods and services they consumed. A case in point is an entry with the title "...Two Weeks with a Pay," which not only offered tips for planning a trip but also recommendations on what to pack and wear.[65] Furthermore, the article advised travelers to be on their best behavior: "Let's not forget that wherever we may visit we must behave in a way to show we've been nicely bred and was taught good manners. So don't leave these valuable commodities home. Take them with you and display them at all times. As travelers we are good-will ambassadors of our race among those who perhaps are unfamiliar with us."[66] Besides promoting a certain appearance and polite behavior, the passage addressed another key aspect of the guide's stance on travel: the potential of travel to improve the understanding between Black and White Americans. At a time when travel was seen as an educational opportunity for Americans to learn about the nation and a way "to cultivate a sense of civic identity," the *Green Book* introduced the idea that travel could also help overcome discrimination and White racist attitudes.[67] Travel was presented as an opportunity to learn something new, explore other places, and meet people of different backgrounds; hence, it was a means of facilitating interracial encounters. To inquire about the local attitudes toward Black travelers and collect information on businesses, *Green Book* correspondents were sent to different states throughout the West. The replies these correspondents received from the locals were printed in the 1948 edition, among them responses from North Dakotans. One respondent informed *Green Book* readers that because of the minuscule number of Black people in the region, they remained "a curiosity."[68] The respondent further stated: "Ignorance is the root of prejudice."[69] In another response, African Americans were encouraged "to visit North Dakota, not only for the tourist attractions, not only because of the friendliness of her people, but because of these visitations would enable North Dakotans to better know and understand a great part of our national citizenry."[70] The idea that travel transforms a person, inspiring self-reflection and personal development, is altered in this instance. It is not the traveler who is educated by the encounter but the (White) locals of North Dakota. Black visitors, the *Green Book* hoped, would encourage North Dakotans to rethink their preconceived notions of African Americans, challenge their narrow-mindedness, and dismantle prejudice. This idea was reiterated in a later edition in which travel was described as a possibility to "create better understanding between the peoples of the world. Fear is an emotion we experience only of the unknown."[71] This statement elucidates that the *Green Book* envisioned travel as a way to foster understanding and empathy between people, demonstrating its hopes for integra-

tion. According to this belief, every Black traveler represented the larger collective as a racial ambassador and could actively combat racism and prejudice through practices of travel.

Over its thirty-year period of publication, the *Green Book* reflected the social and political changes that occurred as the nation "transitioned from a Jim Crow era stained with the colonial and antebellum legacies of enslavement and racial prejudice through the civil rights movement of the 1960s and beyond," thus "provid[ing] a barometer for the evolving state of race relations in US cultural history."[72] As of its overall tone, it became more outspoken and political, mirroring the transition from the period of legal segregation to the civil rights era. The 1958 edition of the *Green Book* took an assertive stance toward civil rights and informed readers about the non-discriminatory policies of national parks, underscoring that Black visitors had the right to equal treatment.[73] In the early 1960s, the *Green Book* stated that "history shows the rewards gained when a race made its own struggle against the ebb and flow of local and national passions. No one esteems freedom given or sought without it being earned. We have had our torch-bearers. We have them today."[74] In this passage, the *Green Book* acknowledged the significance of Black activist struggles. It further emphasized the necessity to challenge existing conditions and expressed its confidence that these struggles would eventually lead to successful integration.

The last two editions of the *Green Book*, published by Langley Waller and Melvin Tarpley who took over the travel guide in the 1960s, were explicit about their support of institutions such as the Congress of Racial Equality and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. It supported their demands for equal rights and privileges for African Americans, postulating that "the Negro is only demanding what everyone else wants . . . what is guaranteed all citizens by the Constitution of the United States."[75] To support Black (activist) travelers, the *Green Book* included information on the different state statutes on segregation regarding public accommodation and places of recreation. The 1963–64 edition informed readers of their rights, gave instructions on how complaints were to be handled if travelers experienced unlawful discrimination, and laid out the sanctions (such as fines, license revocations, and criminal charges) that were imposed on violators.[76] Sorin remarks that "the descriptions of the violations suggest that readers were encouraged to take direct action: to file lawsuits, to seek monetary damages against wrongful action, and to demonstrate."[77] By providing this crucial information, the *Green Book* supported the civil rights struggle on the road. In doing so, the editors likely understood their work as a service to the community and therefore saw themselves as activists.[78] This observation underscores that the *Green Book* was much more than only a response to its time but a means of resistance.

The *Green Book* ceased publication two years after the Civil Rights Act of 1964 made segregation illegal. The final edition did not indicate whether the editors ended publication because they considered a guide for Black travelers obsolete by the time; whether it succumbed to mounting criticism for upholding a division between Black and White travelers; or whether Black travelers preferred to patronize White-owned accommodations because of the higher standards with which Black businesses could often not compete.[79] Regardless of the reasons for its suspension, the *Green Book* remains an important document that bore witness to the courageous struggles and triumphs of African American travelers in their defiance of segregation and racial discrimination. An indispensable tool for Black travelers, the guide made journeys through segregated landscapes safer and easier. The *Green Book* facilitated travel and encouraged Black Americans to venture into spaces dominated by Whites, thereby challenging the racialized spatial order and Black people's exclusion from public spaces. Moreover, positive narratives of Black travel together with visual representations of Black travelers altered perceptions of travel and inscribed African Americans in tourist discourses dominated by White travelers. The *Green Book* mobilized African Americans and motivated them to keep moving forward; literally, by traveling across the nation and around the world, and figuratively, by moving forward on the road to equal rights and justice.

Black Im/Mobilities Today

The *Green Book* editors articulated faith in a future in which Black Americans could travel freely and without discrimination. Clearly, their vision has not yet been realized. Although the opportunities for travel have increased in the post-civil rights period, today, more than a half-century after the last edition of the *Green Book* was published, the mobility of people of color remains delimited, as innumerous examples affirm: as recently as 2017, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) issued two nationwide travel advisories, the first of its kind in the history of the organization. One advisory alerted Black travelers to use extreme caution when visiting the state of Missouri due to a number of racist incidents that had been reported; another was issued for American Airlines after Black passengers had reported discriminatory and disrespectful conditions aboard the airline's planes.[80] Moreover, contrary to popular assumption, sundown tows are not a relic of the Jim Crow era. The existence of all-White towns or neighborhoods that practice racial segregation continues to pose considerable risks for Black travelers.[81] These and other examples—such as racial discrimination on Airbnb, the controversial screening program conducted by Transportation Security Administration agents at U.S. airports, the over-policing of drivers of color, and stop-and-frisk policies—strikingly illuminate how Black people's travel options are limited and how their physical and

spatial mobility is circumscribed. The issue of Black mobility also constitutes a key concern of the Black Lives Matter Movement as free movement and mobility remain central in the ongoing fight against discrimination and the struggle for justice.[82] As Rod Clare notes, "Implicit in the rise of the BLM and its attendant demands and concerns is the long-standing issue of black mobility. That is, *where* can black people go and *when* can they go there?"[83]

In the same year that the NAACP issued their travel advisories, Jan Miles published a book titled *The Post-Racial Negro Green Book* (2017).[84] Modeled after the original *Green Book*, the book's cover is an almost exact replica of the 1940 edition of the *Green Book*. A closer look, however, reveals that instead of the words "Hotels, Taverns, Garages" etc. that are listed on the original publication, *The Post-Racial Negro Green Book* lists "Systemic Racism, Police Brutality, Mass Incarceration, Overpolicing, Sentencing Disparity, Racial Profiling, Implicit Bias, White Privilege, Microaggressions" on its cover. As these terms imply, the book is a collection of short descriptions of incidents of racial violence and discrimination against Black Americans that took place throughout the U.S. between 2013 and 2016. Among the incidents documented in the book are the infamous cases of Tamir Rice and Michael Brown. By meticulously documenting acts of racial violence, *The Post-Racial Negro Green Book* not only rejects the notion of a post-racial United States, which gained currency in public discourse during the Obama presidency, but also alters the mission of its predecessor: whereas the original *Green Book* guide encouraged Black travel, proudly presented the achievements of Black entrepreneurs, and affirmed its belief in a better future, Miles's version shows that Black Americans' mobility, freedom, and safety continue to be limited. One may therefore say that Miles's book represents an inversion of the original *Green Book*. It also extends the idea of circumscribed travel by drawing attention to other forms of Black immobility—including, for example, the mass incarceration of people of color, the criminalization of Black mobile bodies, and the immobilizing effects of racism on Black individuals—and underscores the urgency of confronting these issues. It is likewise a call for action and seeks to mobilize people to counter the persistent forms of racism that affect the lived realities of African Americans today. As such, it continues the work of the *Green Book* travel guide, which inspired social and political change by encouraging Black Americans to travel on the basis of its information in an attempt to keep travelers safe and comfortable. The *Green Book* is a testament to the ways in which Black mobility was limited during segregation and, more importantly, to the forms of resistance against these circumscriptions. From a twenty-first-century perspective and in light of the enduring limitations and injustices that Black people experience, its significant role in the struggle for equality has grown even more pronounced.

Notes

1 James J. Flink, "Three Stages of American Automobile Consciousness," *American Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (1972): 453, DOI: 10.2307/2711684. On the significance of driving to American conceptions of self, see Cotten Seiler, *Republic of Drivers: A Cultural History of Automobility in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

2 Cotten 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): 1092–93, DOI: 10.1353/aq.2007.0015. On the automobile as an expression of racial uplift, see Kathleen Franz, "'The Open Road': Automobility and Racial Uplift in the Interwar Years," in *Technology and the African-American Experience: Needs and Opportunities for Study*, ed. Bruce Sinclair (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2004), 131–54.

3 Seiler, "So That We," 1094.

4 Mia Bay, "Traveling Black/Buying Black: Retail and Roadside Accommodations during the Segregation Era," in *Race and Retail: Consumption Across the Color Line*, ed. Mia Bay and Ann Fabian (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2015), 22–24.

5 On the Jewish travel guide on which the *Green Book* was modeled, see Jess McHugh, "The Jewish Travel Guide that Inspired the *Green Book*," *The Washington Post*, April 3, 2022, https://www.washingtonpost.com/history/2022/04/03/jewish-vacation-guide-green-book/.

6 Publication was most likely interrupted because of World War II. For this article, I surveyed all editions of the *Green Book* that are publicly available. These include the 23 editions that are accessible online through the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture as well as an edition made available by the University of South Carolina. I also examined a print edition owned by the Library of Congress. For this reason, the bibliographical information that is provided here differs.

7 Victor H. Green, *The Negro Motorist Green Book: 1948* (New York: Victor H. Green & Co., 1948), 1, New York Public Library Digital Collections, http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/6fa574f0-893f-0132-1035-58d385a7bbd0.

8 *The Green Book: Guide to Freedom*, dir. Yoruba Richen (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Channel, 2019).

9 Rhonda Colvin, "Traveling While Black: Some Americans Are Afraid to Explore Their Own Country, Concerns That Evoke the Jim Crow-Era Green Book," *The Washington Post*, January 26, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/national/wp/2018/01/26/feature/traveling-while-black-why-some-americans-are-afraid-to-explore-their-own-country/.

10 "The Green Book," *The New York Public Library*, https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/collections/the-green-book; "Green Book Research Guide," *The New York Public Library*, https://libguides.nypl.org/greenbook.

11 See, for example, Bay, "Traveling Black/Buying Black" for an account of the difficulties that Black travelers confronted during segregation and consumption restrictions; see Seiler, "So That We" on the *Green Book*, Black mobility, citizenship, and Cold War culture.

12 Candacy Taylor, *Overground Railroad: The* Green Book *and the Roots of Black Travel in America* (New York: Abrams, 2020); Gretchen Sullivan Sorin, "Keep Going: African Americans on the Road in the Era of Jim Crow" (PhD diss., State University of New York-Al-

bany, 2009); Gretchen Sorin, *Driving While Black: African American Travel and the Road to Civil Rights* (New York: Liveright, 2020); Mia Bay, *Traveling Black: A Story of Race and Resistance* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2021), especially ch. 3. I completed this article prior to the publication of these important books and wish I would have had access to them while working on my article. I integrated some references to these books during the final stages of the publication process. If you would like to dig deeper into the role of the *Green Book*, please read the abovementioned works.

13 Tim Cresswell, "Towards a Politics of Mobility," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 28, no. 1 (2010): 19–20, DOI: 10.1068/d11407.

14 Sorin, *Driving While Black*, 17.

15 Sorin, *Driving While Black*, 12.

16 Bay, "Traveling Black/Buying Black," 16.

17 Seiler, "So That We," 1094.

18 Bay, "Traveling Black/Buying Black," 26.

19 James W. Loewen, *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism* (New York: New Press, 2005).

20 See, for example, Richard H. Schein, ed., *Landscape and Race in the United States* (New York: Routledge, 2006) and Dianne Harris, "Race, Space, and the Destabilization of Practice," *Landscape Journal* 26, no. 1 (2007): 1–9, DOI: 10.3368/lj.26.1.1.

21 Harris, "Race, Space," 2.

22 Robert R. Weyeneth, "The Architecture of Racial Segregation: The Challenges of Preserving the Problematical Past," *The Public Historian* 27, no. 4 (2005): 11–44, DOI: 10.1525/tph.2005.27.4.11; Derek H. Alderman and E. Arnold Modlin Jr., "The Historical Geography of Racialized Landscapes," in *North American Odyssey: Historical Geographies for the Twenty-first Century*, ed. Craig E. Colten and Geoffrey L. Buckley (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), 277.

23 Alderman and Modlin, "The Historical Geography," 277.

24 Alderman and Modlin, "The Historical Geography," 284.

25 Susan Sessions Rugh, *Are We There Yet? The Golden Age of American Family Vacations* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008), 70.

26 Elizabeth Stordeur Pryor, *Colored Travelers: Mobility and the Fight for Citizenship before the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016); Blair L. M. Kelley, *Right to Ride: Streetcar Boycotts and African American Citizenship in the Era of* Plessy v. Ferguson (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

27 Wells recounted the fight with the conductor as follows: "He tried to drag me out of the seat, but the moment he caught hold of my arm I fastened my teeth in the back of his hand. I had braced my feet against the seat in front and was holding to the back, and as he had already been badly bitten he didn't try it again by himself." Ida B. Wells, *Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells*, ed. Alfreda M. Duster (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 18–19.

28 Pryor, *Colored Travelers*, 2–4.

29 Robin D. G. Kelley, *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class* (New York: Free Press, 1994).

30 Victor H. Green, *The Negro Motorist Green Book: 1948*, 1.

31 Candacy Taylor, "The Roots of Route 66," *The Atlantic*, November 3, 2016, https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/11/the-roots-of-route-66/506255/.

32 Taylor, "The Roots of Route 66."

33 Victor H. Green, *The Negro Motorist Green Book: 1938* (New York: Victor H. Green & Co., 1938), n. pag., New York Public Library Digital Collections, http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/f56e0d60-847a-0132-8e19-58d385a7bbd0.

34 Bay, "Traveling Black/Buying Black," 25.

35 Alderman and Modlin, "The Historical Geography," 285.

36 Alderman and Modlin, "The Historical Geography," 285.

37 Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Knopf, 2003), especially Part I and II.

38 Victor H. Green, *The Negro Motorist Green Book: 1950* (New York: Victor H. Green & Co., 1950), 12, New York Public Library Digital Collections, http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/283a7180-87c6-0132-13e6-58d385a7b928.

39 Michael W. Pesses, "Road Less Traveled: Race and American Automobility," *Mobilities* 12, no. 5 (2017): 685, DOI: 10.1080/17450101.2016.1240319.

40 Victor H. Green, *The Negro Travelers' Green Book: Spring 1956* (New York: Victor H. Green & Co.), 5, USC South Caroliniana Library, https://digital.tcl.sc.edu/digital/collection/green-book/id/88.

41 Victor H. Green, *The Negro Motorist Green Book: 1938*; *The Negro Motorist Green Book: 1947* (New York: Victor H. Green & Co., 1947), New York Public Library Digital Collections, http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/29219280-892b-0132-4271-58d385a7bbd0.

42 Victor H. Green, *The Negro Motorist Green Book: 1948*, 1.

43 Victor H. Green, *The Travelers' Green Book: 1961* (New York: Victor H. Green & Co., 1961), 4, New York Public Library Digital Collections, http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/5ae34320-942e-0132-7630-58d385a7bbd0.

44 Victor H. Green, *The Negro Travelers' Green Book: 1953* (New York: Victor H. Green & Co., 1953), 81, New York Public Library Digital Collections, http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/2bc86d90-92d0-0132-e771-58d385a7b928.

45 Seiler, "So That We," 1103–104.

46 Green, *Green Book: 1953*, 2.

47 Anke Ortlepp, *Jim Crow Terminals: The Desegregation of American Airports* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2017), 10.

48 Pesses, "Road Less Traveled," 686; see also Sorin, Driving While Black, 207–208.

49 Pesses, "Road Less Traveled," 688.

50 Victor H. Green, *Travelers' Green Book: 1963–64, International Edition* (New York: Victor H. Green & Co., 1964), 1, New York Public Library Digital Collections, http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/666fe280-82ee-0132-31f3-58d385a7bbd0.

51 Seiler, "So That We," 1103.

52 Green, *Green Book: 1950*, 3.

53 Green, *Green Book: Spring 1956*, 6–7.

54 Pesses, "Road Less Traveled," 685.

55 Brent Staples, "The Green Book's Black History. Lessons from the Jim Crow-Era Travel Guide for African-American Elites," *The New York Times*, January 25, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/25/opinion/green-book-black-travel.html.

56 For an analysis of the language used in the *Green Book*, see also Sorin, "Keep Going," 211–12, and Sorin, *Driving While Black*, 187.

57 Staples, "The Green Book's Black History."

58 Green, *Green Book: Spring 1956*, 54.

59 Green, *Green Book: 1938*, n. pag.

60 W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 1.

61 Green, *Green Book: 1948*, 10.

62 Victor H. Green, *The Negro Motorist Green Book: 1949* (New York: Victor H. Green & Co., 1949), 26, 27, New York Public Library Digital Collections, http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/9dc3ff40-8df4-0132-fd57-58d385a7b928.

63 Green, *Green Book: 1953*, 24.

64 Green, *Green Book: 1953*, 26.

65 Green, *Green Book: Spring 1956*, 54–56.

66 Green, *Green Book: Spring 1956*, 55.

67 Rugh, *Are We There Yet?*, 13.

68 Green, *Green Book: 1948*, 4.

69 Green, *Green Book: 1948*, 4.

70 Green, *Green Book: 1948*, 5.

71 Novera C. Dashiell, "Project .... Fun," in *Green Book: 1962* (New York: Victor H. Green & Co., 1962), 4, New York Public Library Digital Collections, http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/786175a0-942e-0132-97b0-58d385a7bbd0.

72 Michael Ra-Shon Hall, "The Negro Traveller's Guide to a Jim Crow South: Negotiating Racialized Landscapes During a Dark Period in US Cultural History, 1936–1967," *Postcolonial Studies* 17, no. 3 (2014): 309, 317, DOI: 10.1080/13688790.2014.987898.

73 Victor H. Green, *The Negro Travelers' Green Book: 1958* (New York: Victor H. Green & Co., 1958), 55–56.

74 Green, *Green Book: 1961*, 4.

75 Green, *Green Book 1963–64, Int. Ed.*, 2.

76 Green, *Green Book 1963–64, Int. Ed.*, 2–4.

77 Sorin, *Keep Going*, 202.

78 Sorin, *Keep Going*, 207.

79 Rugh, *Are We There Yet?*, 84.

80 "Travel Advisory for the State of Missouri," *NAACP*, August 2, 2017, archived at the *Internet Archive*, https://web.archive.org/web/20190204122547/https://www.naacp.org/latest/travel-advisory-state-missouri/; "NAACP Issues National Travel Advisory for American Airlines," *NAACP*, October 24, 2017, archived at the *Internet Archive*, https://web.archive.org/web/20190204153721/https://www.naacp.org/latest/naacp-issues-national-travel-advisory-american-airlines/. The travel advisory against American Airlines

was lifted after nine months.

81 Bernadette Giacomazzo, "Yes, Sundown Towns Are Still a Problem for Black Travelers in the United States," *Travel Noire*, July 28, 2021, archived at the *Internet Archive*, https://web.archive.org/web/20210919083945/https://travelnoire.com/sundown-towns-2021; see also James W. Loewen's online database of sundown towns: "Sundown Towns by State," History and Social Justice, Tougaloo College, https://justice.tougaloo.edu/sundown-towns/using-the-sundown-towns-database/state-map/.

82 Rod Clare, "The Black Lives Matter Movement in the National Museum of African American History and Culture," *Transfers* 6, no. 1 (2016): 123, DOI: 10.3167/TRANS.2016.060112.

83 Jan Miles, *The Post-Racial Negro Green Book* (New Orleans, LA: Brown Bird Books, 2017).

About the Author

Isabel Kalous is a postdoctoral researcher and lecturer at the Department of English and American Studies at FAU Erlangen-Nürnberg. In 2020, she completed her dissertation in English and American literature at the International Graduate Centre for the Study of Culture (JLU Gießen). She is the author of *Black Travel Writing: Contemporary Narratives of Travel to Africa by African American and Black British Authors* (transcript, 2021).

Contact: Isabel Kalous; Department of English and American Studies, FAU Erlangen-Nürnberg; isabel.kalous@fau.de.