NPS Form 10-900-b OMB No. 10024-0018

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer to complete all items.

__X__ New Submission ___ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Historic *Green Book* Resources in North Carolina, 1938–1967

B. Associated Historic Contexts

Using the *Green Book* in North Carolina, 1938–1967

C. Form Prepared by

Name/Title: Robbie D. Jones and Pofue Yang—See Continuation Sheet C-3
Organization: Richard Grubb & Associates, Inc. Date: February 20, 2026
Street & Number: 525 Wait Avenue Telephone: 919–238–4596
City: Wake Forest State: NC Zip Code: 27587

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation. (See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of certifying official/Title Date

State Historic Preservation Officer, North Carolina Historic Preservation Office
State or Federal agency and bureau

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

State or Federal agency and bureau

Table of Contents for Written Narrative

		Page Numbers
E.	**Statement of Historic Contexts**	4
	Using the *Green Book* in North Carolina, 1938–1967	4
	Introduction: History of the *Green Book*	4
	Good Roads Movement	34
	Black Population Centers	40
	Legacy of *Green Book* Resources in North Carolina	64
F.	**Associated Property Types**	71
	Domestic Lodging	75
	Roadside Business	78
	Commercial Business	86
	Entertainment/Recreation	95
G.	**Geographical Data**	99
H.	**Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods**	100
I.	**Major Bibliographical References**	103

Primary location of additional data:

- ☒ State Historic Preservation Office
- ☐ Other State Agency
- ☐ Federal Agency
- ☐ Local Government
- ☐ University
- ☐ Other

Appendices

A) Document Acronyms

B) Resource Inventory Data

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listing. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 USC. 470 *et seq.*)

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E. Statement of Historic Contexts:

Using the *Green Book* in North Carolina, 1938–1967

This Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) documents the history and typology of resources related to "Historic *Green Book* Resources in North Carolina, 1938–1967." The MPDF provides a comprehensive historic context and chronological time frame for the development of *Green Book* resources in North Carolina between 1938 and 1967. It provides a historical overview of the *Green Book* and other Black travel guides as well as the relationship of these guidebook companies with the national marketing of roadside businesses to Black travelers. Green *Book* resources are the focus of the MPDF because it was the most popular of the Black travel guides due to its broad distribution at Esso filing stations.

This section provides a context for Black travel guides such as the *Green Book* in association with efforts to desegregate public accommodations as part of the civil rights movement. This section also contains a historical overview of North Carolina's highways, Black population centers, and destinations within the state. This section concludes with an overview of the factors that caused the decline and ultimately the demolition of most of North Carolina's *Green Book* resources.

It should be noted that when known, birth and death dates are provided for people referenced in the text. Additionally, properties in the text that have been previously surveyed by the North Carolina Historic Preservation Office (NCHPO) and/or that are listed in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) or designated as a National Historic Landmark (NHL) by the National Park Service (NPS) are cross referenced with their survey identification number and year of their listing and/or designation (i.e., NS1234; NRHP, 1988; NHL, 2002).

Introduction: History of the *Green Book*

During the Jim Crow era between the 1930s and 1960s, Black Americans faced legal segregation on public transportation—buses, trains, and streetcars—where they were forced to sit in separate seating areas and use separate lobbies, eating areas, and restrooms. On buses, Black riders were forced to give up their seats to white riders. On trains, they were forced to sit behind curtained-off sections at the back of the train car. If Black travelers challenged the Jim Crow system, they risked being insulted, injured, arrested, and even killed by white Americans. Automobiles allowed Black Americans to subvert Jim Crow and travel freely; however, they still faced segregated public accommodations during their travels along American highways. Service

stations would not allow Black travelers to purchase gasoline or use their restrooms. Restaurants refused to serve Black people. Motels and hotels turned Black customers away. Public parks and recreational facilities disallowed entrance to Black people or provided separate and often inferior amenities. Some towns, particularly in the Midwest, erected signs making it clear that Black people were unwelcome. In many states such as North Carolina, most public accommodations were not fully desegregated until Congress passed the Civil Rights Act, which President Lyndon B. Johnson signed into law on July 2, 1964.

Black Americans utilized travel guides for planning trips to visit family members, for business travels, and for vacations throughout the US. The guides directed travelers to businesses that were integrated or considered safe places for Black people to patronize during the era of segregated public accommodations. Published commercially by Black entrepreneurs, the travel guides recommended recreational destinations, provided statistical and cultural information about cities, advertised annual business conventions, and noted historical landmarks and Black colleges and universities. More importantly, the travel guides were directories of public accommodations that did not discriminate against Black people traveling US roadways. These accommodations included various types of lodging, automobile-related businesses such as gas stations and repair shops, personal care businesses, entertainment venues, eating places, and recreational facilities. The guides often included listings for US territories and foreign countries as well.

The user-friendly Black travel guides were typically pocket size and organized by city or state. The businesses were usually sorted by type and included street addresses. Travel guides were available for purchase via mail or at businesses that catered to Black customers, such as service stations, airlines, automobile clubs, and travel agencies. They normally cost between 25 cents and 2 dollars.

During this era, there were several Black travel guides for travelers to choose from; however, the most popular and best known was *The Negro Motorist Green Book* and *The Negro Travelers' Green Book*, colloquially known as the *Green Book*. Published from 1936 to 1966, the *Green Book* focused primarily on travel within the US. In total, the *Green Book* is estimated to have listed around 10,000 establishments in the US.[1] In North Carolina—the focus of this document—the *Green Book* advertised 317 businesses between 1938 and 1967 in 34 of North Carolina's 100 counties. Most of the *Green Book* businesses were restaurants, hotels, and beauty

[1] "Green Book Historic Context and AACRN Listing Guidance (African American Civil Rights Network)," National Park Service (NPS), January 31, 2024, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/green-book-historic-context-and-aacrn-listing-guidance-african-american-civil-rights-network.htm, accessed September 25, 2024.

parlors. A survey completed in 2024 as part of the preparation of this document determined that 63 of the buildings housing these 317 businesses—or approximately 20 percent—remain extant.[2]

The following historic context provides a history of the *Green Book*, identifies broad themes associated with *Green Book* resources, and defines the distribution of businesses associated with *Green Book* resources in North Carolina from 1938 to 1967.

The Green Book*, 1936–1967*

The *Green Book* was first published in 1936 by Victor Hugo Green (1892–1960), a Black postal worker from Harlem in New York City. His wife Alma Green (1889–1978) served as the editor. The initial 10-page edition focused on hotels and restaurants in New York City. The following year, the Greens expanded the coverage area and included a wider variety of establishments within a 15-page volume. The 1938 edition included destinations in 28 states and the District of Columbia within the eastern half of the US. This was the first edition of the *Green Book* to include North Carolina (Figure 1). The 1938 edition also included a section on summer resorts. The 1939 edition included the western states of the US within the 48-page volume. For each edition, Green was adamant about including only first-class establishments.[3] The introduction to the 1939 edition stated:

> The idea of "The Green Book" is to give the Motorist and Tourist a Guide not only of the Hotels and Tourist Homes in all of the large cities, but other classifications that will be found useful wherever he may be. Also facts and information that the Negro Motorist can use and depend upon.

[2] Alicia Ebbitt McGill, Rachel Jacobson, Jason Norris, and Kathryn Shinabeck, "North Carolina: Vanishing Acts," North Carolina State University, Raleigh, 2016. Conducted in 2016 by a professor and her graduate students at North Carolina State University, this study was the result of the first statewide survey of North Carolina's *Green Book* resources. The 1966 edition of the *Green Book* was a double-year edition covering 1966–1967.

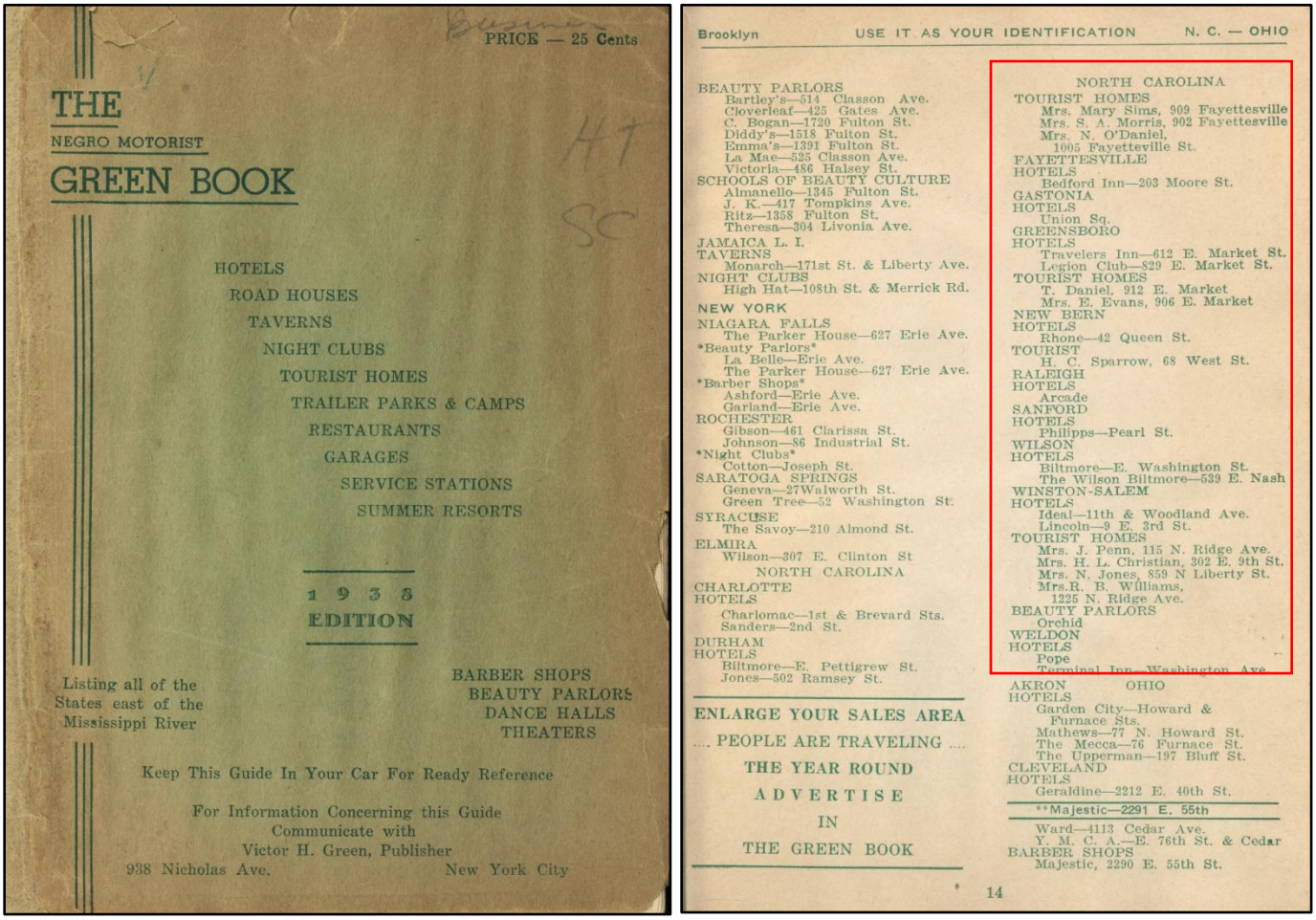
[3] Candacy Taylor, *Overground Railroad: The Green Book and the Roots of Black Travel in America* (New York: Abrams Press, 2020), 29, 37; Victor H. Green and George I. Smith, *The Negro Motorist Green Book* (New York: Green & Smith, 1937); Victor H. Green, *The Negro Motorist Green Book* (New York: Victor H. Green, 1938); William H. Green, *The Negro Motorist Green Book* New York: Victor H. Green Publishing, 1939). The 1938–1946 editions were published from Green's apartment at 938 St. Nicholas Avenue in Harlem. George I. Smith was a fellow mail carrier. Victor Green's brother, William Henry Green Jr., served as editor from 1939 to 1941.

> There are thousands of places that the public doesn't know about and aren't listed. Perhaps you might know of some? If so send in their names and addresses and the kind of business, so that we might pass it along to the rest of your fellow Motorists.
>
> You will find it handy on your travels and up to date. Each year we are compiling new lists; as some of these places move, or go out of business and new business is started.
>
> When you are traveling mention "The Green Book" so as to let these people know just how you found out about their place of business. If they haven't heard about This Guide, tell them to get in touch with us.
>
> If this Guide is useful, let us know, if not tell us also, as we appreciate your criticisms.
>
> If any errors are found, kindly notify the publishers so that they can be corrected in the next issue.[4]

Each year, the Greens published a new, updated edition, funded in part with paid advertisements, including full-page advertisements for major automobile manufacturers. Green gathered field reports from fellow mail carriers as well as *Green Book* readers by offering cash payments for information. He also traveled to compile data for the *Green Book* to ensure advertised establishments met his first-class quality expectations. From 1939 to 1941, William Henry Green Jr. (1895–1945)—Victor Green's brother who also worked as a mail carrier—served as the editor. During William's tenure, the Green brothers introduced consistent cover designs, feature articles, and a two-column layout. Due to wartime rations and travel restrictions, Victor Green did not publish the *Green Book* during World War II. As the travel guide grew in the postwar years, Green established a publishing office in 1947 at 200 West 135th Street in Harlem. The same year, he opened a travel agency for booking reservations at Black-owned establishments. By 1949, the *Green Book* included international destinations in Mexico and Bermuda. In 1952, Green retired as a mail carrier. That year, Green changed the name of his travel guide to reflect the expansion of its content and services from *The Negro Motorist Green Book* to *The Negro Travelers' Green Book.* In 1959, Alma Green's name was added to the masthead as editor. At its height, Green printed 20,000 copies of the *Green Book* annually.[5]

---

[4] Green, *Green Book*, 1939, 1. This same introduction was used in the 1940–1947 editions.
[5] Taylor, *Overground Railroad*, 29, 59, 82–83; Alexander Nazaryan, "How the 'Green Book' Saved Black Lives on the Road," *Newsweek Magazine*, March 9, 2017, https://www.newsweek.com/2017/03/17/green-book-jim-crow-era-travel-guide-saved-black-lives-565430.html, accessed September 18, 2024; Alfredo Graham, "Travel Whirl," *The New York Age* (New York, NY), August 23, 1958; Victoria Martinez, "The Mother of the Green Book Ignored by History," *A Bit of History* (blog), March 25, 2019, https://abitofhistoryblog.com/2019/03/25/the-mother-of-the-green-book-ignored-by-history/, accessed October 15, 2024;



PRICE — 25 Cents

THE
NEGRO MOTORIST
GREEN BOOK

HOTELS
ROAD HOUSES
TAVERNS
NIGHT CLUBS
TOURIST HOMES
TRAILER PARKS & CAMPS
RESTAURANTS
GARAGES
SERVICE STATIONS
SUMMER RESORTS

1938
EDITION

Listing all of the States east of the Mississippi River

BARBER SHOPS
BEAUTY PARLORS
DANCE HALLS
THEATERS

Keep This Guide In Your Car For Ready Reference

For Information Concerning this Guide
Communicate with
Victor H. Green, Publisher
938 Nicholas Ave. New York City

Brooklyn USE IT AS YOUR IDENTIFICATION N. C. — OHIO

BEAUTY PARLORS
Bartley's—514 Classon Ave.
Cloverleaf—425 Gates Ave.
C. Bogan—1720 Fulton St.
Diddy's—1518 Fulton St.
Emma's—1391 Fulton St.
La Mae—525 Classon Ave.
Victoria—486 Halsey St.
SCHOOLS OF BEAUTY CULTURE
Almanello—1345 Fulton St.
J. K.—417 Tompkins Ave.
Ritz—1358 Fulton St.
Theresa—304 Livonia Ave.
JAMAICA L. I.
TAVERNS
Monarch—171st St. & Liberty Ave.
NIGHT CLUBS
High Hat—108th St. & Merrick Rd.

NEW YORK
NIAGARA FALLS
The Parker House—627 Erie Ave.
Beauty Parlors
La Belle—Erie Ave.
The Parker House—627 Erie Ave.
Barber Shops
Ashford—Erie Ave.
Garland—Erie Ave.
ROCHESTER
Gibson—461 Clarissa St.
Johnson—86 Industrial St.
Night Clubs
Cotton—Joseph St.
SARATOGA SPRINGS
Geneva—27Walworth St.
Green Tree—52 Washington St.
SYRACUSE
The Savoy—210 Almond St.
ELMIRA
Wilson—307 E. Clinton St

NORTH CAROLINA
CHARLOTTE
HOTELS
Charlomac—1st & Brevard Sts.
Sanders—2nd St.
DURHAM
HOTELS
Biltmore—E. Pettigrew St.
Jones—502 Ramsey St.

ENLARGE YOUR SALES AREA
.... PEOPLE ARE TRAVELING ....
THE YEAR ROUND
ADVERTISE
IN
THE GREEN BOOK

NORTH CAROLINA
TOURIST HOMES
Mrs. Mary Sims, 909 Fayettesville
Mrs. S. A. Morris, 902 Fayettesville
Mrs. N. O'Daniel,
1005 Fayetteville St.
FAYETTESVILLE
HOTELS
Bedford Inn—203 Moore St.
GASTONIA
HOTELS
Union Sq.
GREENSBORO
HOTELS
Travelers Inn—612 E. Market St.
Legion Club—829 E. Market St.
TOURIST HOMES
T. Daniel, 912 E. Market
Mrs. E. Evans, 906 E. Market
NEW BERN
HOTELS
Rhone—42 Queen St.
TOURIST
H. C. Sparrow, 68 West St.
RALEIGH
HOTELS
Arcade
SANFORD
HOTELS
Philipps—Pearl St.
WILSON
HOTELS
Biltmore—E. Washington St.
The Wilson Biltmore—539 E. Nash
WINSTON-SALEM
HOTELS
Ideal—11th & Woodland Ave.
Lincoln—9 E. 3rd St.
TOURIST HOMES
Mrs. J. Penn, 115 N. Ridge Ave.
Mrs. H. L. Christian, 302 E. 9th St.
Mrs. N. Jones, 859 N Liberty St.
Mrs.R. B. Williams,
1225 N. Ridge Ave.
BEAUTY PARLORS
Orchid
WELDON
HOTELS
Pope
Terminal Inn—Washington Ave.

AKRON OHIO
HOTELS
Garden City—Howard & Furnace Sts.
Mathews—77 N. Howard St.
The Mecca—76 Furnace St.
The Upperman—197 Bluff St.
CLEVELAND
HOTELS
Geraldine—2212 E. 40th St.
**Majestic—2291 E. 55th
Ward—4113 Cedar Ave.
Y. M. C. A.—E. 76th St. & Cedar
BARBER SHOPS
Majestic, 2290 E. 55th St.

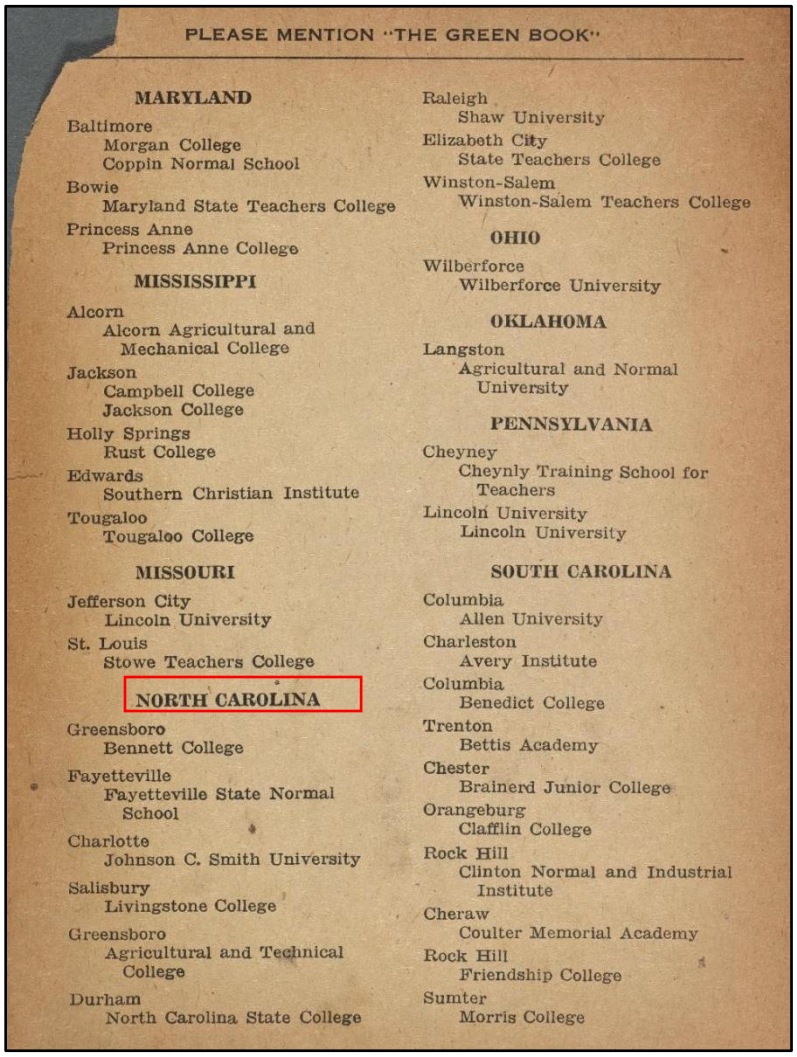
14

Figure 1. Cover and North Carolina establishments listed in the 1938 edition of the *Green Book* (Source: New York Public Library).

Green included a list of Black colleges and universities in most editions. The 1947 edition listed nine Black colleges and universities in North Carolina within the 80-page volume (Figure 2). In 1956, Green changed the format of the *Green Book* with a new layout and design. More importantly, listings in the travel guide were

Anne E. Bruder, Susan Hellman, and Catherine W. Zipf, "Notes from the Road: Documenting Sites Listed in The Negro Motorist Green Book," *Arris* 29 (2018); 52.

limited to lodging and restaurants. From 1938 to 1955, the *Green Book* included listings for gas stations, drugstores, tailors, hair salons, liquor stores, and nightclubs.[6]



PLEASE MENTION "THE GREEN BOOK"

MARYLAND

Baltimore
Morgan College
Coppin Normal School

Bowie
Maryland State Teachers College

Princess Anne
Princess Anne College

MISSISSIPPI

Alcorn
Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College

Jackson
Campbell College
Jackson College

Holly Springs
Rust College

Edwards
Southern Christian Institute

Tougaloo
Tougaloo College

MISSOURI

Jefferson City
Lincoln University

St. Louis
Stowe Teachers College

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro
Bennett College

Fayetteville
Fayetteville State Normal School

Charlotte
Johnson C. Smith University

Salisbury
Livingstone College

Greensboro
Agricultural and Technical College

Durham
North Carolina State College

Raleigh
Shaw University

Elizabeth City
State Teachers College

Winston-Salem
Winston-Salem Teachers College

OHIO

Wilberforce
Wilberforce University

OKLAHOMA

Langston
Agricultural and Normal University

PENNSYLVANIA

Cheyney
Cheynly Training School for Teachers

Lincoln University
Lincoln University

SOUTH CAROLINA

Columbia
Allen University

Charleston
Avery Institute

Columbia
Benedict College

Trenton
Bettis Academy

Chester
Brainerd Junior College

Orangeburg
Clafflin College

Rock Hill
Clinton Normal and Industrial Institute

Cheraw
Coulter Memorial Academy

Rock Hill
Friendship College

Sumter
Morris College

Figure 2. North Carolina colleges and universities listed in the 1947 edition of the *Green Book* (Source: New York Public Library).

[6] Taylor, *Overground Railroad*, 196–97. Taylor speculates that the format change may have been the result of the shift in racial relations in the US after the 1954 *Brown vs. Board* decision regarding segregation.

Beginning with the 1948 edition, the introduction to the *Green Book* included the following statement:

> 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.[7]

Born on November 9, 1892, in Manhattan, Victor Green grew up in Hackensack, New Jersey. Beginning in 1913, he worked as a mail carrier for the US Postal Service in Hackensack. On September 8, 1917, Green married Alma S. Duke, a native of Richmond, Virginia, in New York City. She grew up in Richmond's Jackson Ward neighborhood alongside Black activists and entrepreneurs. Around 1929, the couple (Figure 3) moved to an apartment at 938 St. Nicholas Avenue in Harlem's Sugar Hill district, home to prominent Black figures such as Duke Ellington, Langston Hughes, Zora Neale Hurston, and Thurgood Marshall. During World War I, Green served in the US Army's segregated 92nd Infantry Division, nicknamed the Buffalo Soldiers Division, in France from 1918 to 1919. After the war, Victor and Alma Green remained in the same apartment, which they shared with family members and short-term lodgers. The couple never had children.[8]

Victor Green died in Manhattan on October 16, 1960, at the age of 67, soon after the 1961 edition of the *Green Book* was published. He was buried in the family plot at the Hackensack Cemetery, a mixed-race cemetery and mausoleum in New Jersey. After his death, his widow Alma Green published the 1962 edition of the *Green Book* with the assistance of an all-female staff, including two editors and a sales correspondent. Alma Green was the first of several Black female editors of the *Green Book*. The 1962 edition included listings for Bermuda, Canada, Haiti, Mexico, Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands, the Caribbean, and the West Indies.[9]

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[7] Victor H. Green, *The Negro Motorist Green Book* New York: Victor H. Green & Co., 1948), 1.

[8] Taylor, *Overground Railroad*, 57; Rondel Holder, "Candacy Taylor Champions Black History in NYC with the Green Book," *New York City Tourism*, February 7, 2024, https://www.nyctourism.com/articles/candacy-taylor-champions-black-history-in-nyc-with-the-green-book/, accessed October 15, 2024; Martinez, "Mother," 2019; US Population Census, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950. The three-story office at 200 West 135th Street where Green's office was located and six-story apartment building constructed in 1909 at 936-938 St. Nicholas Avenue in Harlem's Sugar Hill district where Victor H. Green lived from circa 1929 to 1960 are both extant; however, neither are listed in the NRHP. In April 2024, a historic marker with text written by Candacy Taylor was erected in front of the apartment building.

[9] Alma D. Green, *The Travelers' Green Book: Guide for Travel & Vacations* (New York: Victor H. Green & Company, 1961), 62–72; Alma D. Green, *Green Book: Guide for Travel & Vacations* (New York: Victor H. Green & Co., 1962), 1–2, 107–13, 123–24; Caroline Hoag, "Victor Hugo Green," *Find a Grave*, Memorial ID 196045545, citing Hackensack Cemetery and

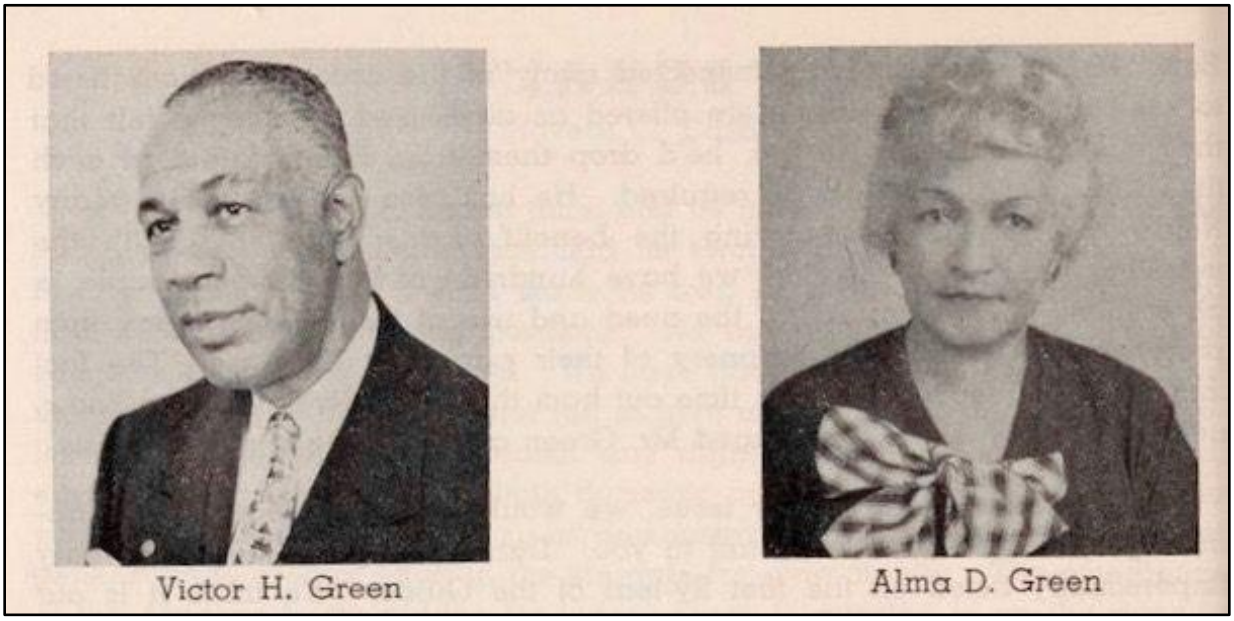

Figure 3. Photographs of Victor and Alma Green in the 1961 edition of the *Green Book* (Source: New York Public Library).

The 1960–1961 editions included advertisements with photographs of several listings in North Carolina, including the Pines Motel in Charlotte, Frank's Grill in Statesville, Payne's Tourist Home in Wilmington, and the Evening Breeze Motel in Statesville. Listed in the *Green Book* from 1939 to 1967, Payne's Tourist Home (NH1026; NRHP, 2003) was owned and operated by Charles F. Payne (1887–1958) and his wife Annie B. Payne (1882–1987) after 1926 in a two-story dwelling constructed around 1900 (Figure 4).[10]

Mausoleum, Hackensack, Bergen County, New Jersey, January 14, 2019, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/196045545/victor_hugo-green, accessed October 15, 2024.

[10] Alma D. Green, *The Travelers' Green Book: Guide for Travel & Vacations* New York: Victor H. Green & Company: 1960), 74; Green, *Green Book*, 1961, 67–72; Brandie K. Ragghianti, "Payne's Tourist Home," North Carolina African American Heritage Commission, *Green Book Project*, 2019, https://aahc.nc.gov/green-book/paynes-tourist-home, accessed November 3, 2024; McGill et al., "Vanishing Act.". The advertisement for Payne's Tourist Home also appeared in the 1956 edition.

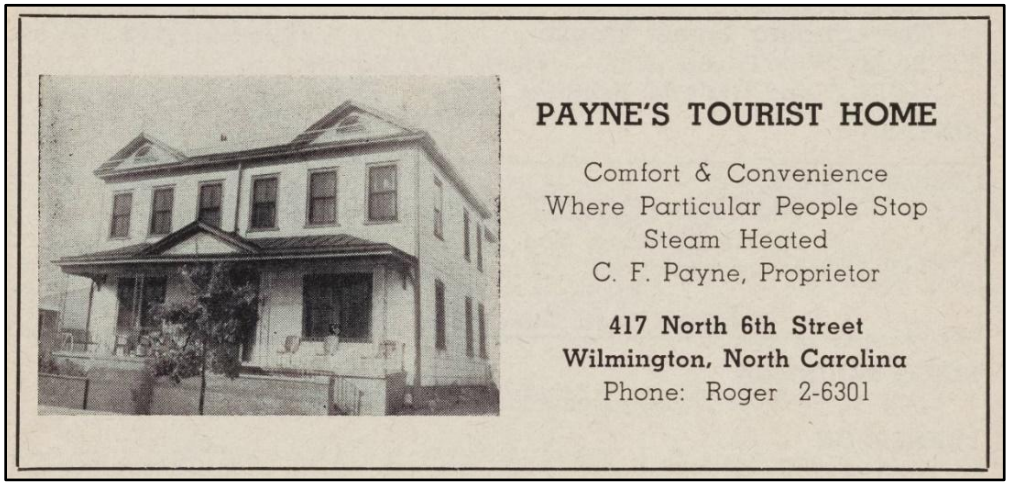

Figure 4. Advertisement for Payne's Tourist Home in Wilmington
(Source: Green, *Green Book*, 1960, 74).

In 1963, Alma Green sold the *Green Book* business to Langley Anthony Waller (1909–2011) and Melvin Stanton Tapley (1918–2005), two Black men involved with the *New York Amsterdam News*, a popular Harlem newspaper. A native of New Orleans, Waller's lithography shop printed the newspaper. Tapley was an editorial cartoonist for the newspaper and had provided illustrations for the *Green Book*, including cover art for the 1959 and 1960 editions. A graduate of New York and Columbia universities with a certificate of art from Cooper Union, Tapley was also a civil rights activist, serving as the first president of the NAACP chapter in his hometown of Peekskill, New York. Waller and Tapley published two double-year editions of the *Green Book* from 1963 to 1967.[11]

Waller and Tapley kept the format of the *Green Book* essentially the same as Victor and Alma Green's versions of the publication; however, the new publishers added "International" to the main title and included nearly seven pages of listings for accommodations in Europe, South America, and Africa. They also

[11] Taylor, *Overground Railroad*, 265–66, 277; Herb Boyd, "Mel Tapley, a beacon of brilliance at the *Amsterdam News*," *Amsterdam News*, May 24, 2018, https://amsterdamnews.com/news/2018/05/24/mel-tapley-beacon-brilliance-amsterdam-news/, accessed November 3, 2024; "Melvin Stanton "Mel" Tapley of The Amsterdam News," *Harlem World Magazine*, January 1, 2014, https://www.harlemworldmagazine.com/melvin-stanton-mel-tapley-of-the-amsterdam-news/, accessed November 3, 2024. Tapley worked at the *Amsterdam News* from 1942 to 1997. His cartoon strip, "Breezy," was syndicated in several Black newspapers. While president of the NAACP chapter in Peekskill from 1957 to 1968, he arranged for Eleanor Roosevelt to visit the city to speak on racism.

introduced the topic of the civil rights movement and desegregated public accommodations. The 1963–1964 edition of the *Green Book* included a section with bold, black font entitled, "Your Rights, Briefly Speaking!".[12] Waller and Tapley noted:

> The Negro traveler, to whom the Travelers Green Book has dedicated its efforts since 1936. . .is looking for "Vacation Without Aggravation".
>
> Of course, this is no surprise. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the Congress on Racial Equality, the Students Non-Violence Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Association and other groups fighting for minority rights make it very clear that the Negro is only demanding what everyone else wants. . .what is guaranteed all citizens by the Constitution of the United States.
>
> In fact, the militancy of these civil rights groups exhibited in sit-ins, kneel-ins, freedom rides, other demonstrations and court battles has widened the areas of public accommodations to all.
>
> Realizing that a family planning a vacation hopes for one that is free of tensions and problems, the Travelers Green Book includes the following brief summary of various statutes on discrimination as they apply to public accommodations or recreation.[13]

Waller and Tayley based the contents of this new section on *Civil Rights and Minorities* published in 1962 by Paul Hartman (1905–2003), a Jewish immigrant from Prague, Czechoslovakia, and law director for the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, based in New York. The list of states that had enacted "Anti-jimcrow" laws against segregated public accommodations included Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Oregon, Pennsylvania, North Dakota, Ohio, Rhode Island, Vermont, Washington, Wisconsin, and Wyoming as well as the Virgin Islands. States that had outlawed only segregated recreational facilities included Alaska, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Nevada, and West Virginia as well as the District of Columbia. No states in the South had outlawed segregated public accommodations or recreational facilities.

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[12] Taylor, *Overground Railroad*, 266.
[13] L. A. Waller and Melvin Tapley, *Travelers' Green Book, International Edition* (New York: Victor H. Green & Company, 1963), 2–3.

This edition of the *Green Book* also included instructions on how to file complaints, listed by state, for businesses or facilities that had violated these statutes and US Civil Rights Commissions.[14]

Waller and Tapley also introduced an illustrated section called "Green Book's History Makers," which celebrated Black people in history, such as William Leidesdorff Jr. (1810–1848), who in the 1840s built the first hotel in San Francisco, and Arthur George Gaston (1892–1996), a prominent Black businessman in Birmingham, Alabama, who owned a string of motels. Built in 1954 and listed in the *Green Book*, Gaston's flagship A. G. Gaston Motel (NRHP, 1996) served as a headquarters for the 1963 Birmingham Campaign to desegregate public accommodations when it was bombed by white supremacists. The 1963–1964 edition included an advertisement for the *Fight for Freedom*, a book written by Langston Hughes (1901–1967) that chronicled the 54-year history of the NAACP.[15]

The 1966–1967 double-year edition of the *Green Book* marked the end of the *Green Book* run. It was the only edition published after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that desegregated public accommodations throughout the US. (The *Green Book* was not published in 1965.) This edition informed users:

> Civil Rights: Facts vs. Fiction
>
> The Civil Rights Act of 1964 is a new bill of rights for everyone, regardless of race, creed or color.
>
> Public Accommodations: Effective at once, every hotel, restaurant, theater or other facility catering to the general public must do exactly that. Thirty-one state laws, already in effect have even stronger provisions.[16]

"Just from the cover, it's evident that the final *Green Book* was unlike any other that had been published before," wrote Candacy Taylor. "It has a lighthearted, kitschy spirit, and for the first time since 1940, the color

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[14] Waller and Tapley, *Green Book*, 1963, 2–4; Taylor, *Overground Railroad*, 266; Paul Hartmann, "Racial and Religious Discrimination by Innkeepers in the USA.," *The Modern Law Review* 12, no. 4 (October 1949): 449–53; "Paul Hartman." *Biographical Dictionary of Czech Counties*, https://biography.hiu.cas.cz/wiki/HARTMAN_Paul_1905–2003, accessed November 3, 2024; Andrew W. Kahrl, Malcom Cammeron, and Brian Katen, *African American Outdoor Recreation Theme Study: Historic Context and National Historic Landmark Survey*, (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2022), 71–88. Paul Hartman was a civil rights activist who in the 1950s and 1960s campaigned against discriminatory laws enacted in the South. Hartman worked as deputy director and director of the law department at the Anti-Defamation League from 1948 to 1973.

[15] Taylor, *Overground Railroad*, 267–73; Waller and Tapley, *Green Book*, 1963, 99; L. A. Waller and Melvin Tapley, *Travelers' Green Book, International Edition* New York: Victor H. Green & Company, 1966), 99.

[16] Waller and Tapley, *Green Book*, 1966, 2.

green is gone, replaced by turquoise and magenta." This edition included information on 19 major league baseball stadiums, 19 roadside caves, 32 parades, and 6 pages of camp sites in the northeastern US. The list of parades included the Carolinas' Carrousel Parade held on Thanksgiving Day in Charlotte.[17]

The 1966–1967 edition of the *Green Book* also included an advertisement for the King Cole Motel in Fayetteville (Figure 5). Located on Murchison Road, the Modernist 19-room roadside motel was between Fayetteville State Teachers College, a historically Black college, and Fort Bragg, a US Army military base. Amy Hillwood Phillips (1914–1965), a white real estate agent and businessman, owned the motel. The *Green Book* had also published the motel advertisement in its 1963–1964 issue.[18]

Figure 5. Advertisement for the King Cole Motel in Fayetteville
(Source: Waller and Tapley, *Green Book*, 1966, 58).

Women and the *Green Book*

After selling the *Green Book* in 1963, Alma Green continued to live in New York City until her death in March 1978 at age 88. She was buried next to her husband in the Hackensack Cemetery.[19] During her

[17] Taylor, *Overground Railroad*, 274–89; Waller and Tapley, *Green Book*, 1966, 67, 78–79, 97–98.
[18] Waller and Tapley, *Green Book*, 1963, 58; Brandie K. Ragghianti, "King Cole Motel," North Carolina African American Heritage Commission, *Green Book Project*, 2022, https://aahc.nc.gov/green-book/king-cole-motel, accessed November 3, 2024.
[19] Caroline Hoag, "Alma Duke Green," *Find a Grave*, Memorial ID 196045789, citing Hackensack Cemetery and Mausoleum, Hackensack, Bergen County, New Jersey, January 14, 2019, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/196045789/alma-green, accessed October 15, 2024.

involvement with the *Green Book* from 1936 to 1963, she served as editor, publisher, owner, and various other roles. "It's unknown exactly how much work she did, but it's likely she was a critical force behind the success and longevity of the guide," concluded Candacy Taylor. Additionally, Green employed several female editors and sales associates, including Novera Dashiell, Edith Greene, Dorothy Asch, and Evelyn Woolfolk.[20]

More importantly, through Alma Green's work with the *Green Book* she assisted women—Black and white—throughout the nation by promoting and building their businesses. Women ran hotels, tourist homes, beauty shops, restaurants, and other businesses that were listed in the *Green Book*. Tourist homes were operated primarily by married women or widows—mostly Black but also white—who rented rooms in their homes to earn extra income. The women provided visitors with clean beds, bathrooms, and warm meals. Rooms typically cost a dollar per night and meals seventy-five cents. Tourist homes were often the only type of lodging available for Black travelers in small towns. From 1938 to 1967, the *Green Book* listed more than 1,400 tourist homes, including 31 in North Carolina.[21]

During its publication run, the *Green Book* listed nearly 900 woman-operated beauty parlors and hair salons. Places such as St. Louis, Buffalo, Kansas City, and Wilmington (North Carolina) listed twice as many Black-owned hair salons as they did restaurants and lodging. The disparity was even higher in Boston, Milwaukee, and San Antonio. Operators of beauty parlors were usually pillars of the community, and their salons often served as safe places to congregate and as meeting places for civil rights activism. From 1938 to 1967, the *Green Book* listed 39 beauty parlors in North Carolina.[22]

Women also operated facilities for the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), a nonprofit organization founded in 1858 in New York City. YWCA facilities typically consisted of dormitories, offices, libraries, and recreational facilities. In the late nineteenth century, YWCA branches opened across the country. The YWCA opened its first branch for African Americans in 1889 at Dayton, Ohio. YWCAs not only provided lodging for women, but they also helped women find employment and sponsored recreational activities for wage-earning women. During the Jim Crow era, many hotels—Black or white—would not rent

[20] Taylor, *Overground Railroad*, 227–30; Jennifer Reut, "Black Travelers On and Off the Road," *SAH Archipedia*, eds. Gabrielle Esperdy and Karen Kingsley (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012), https://sah-archipedia.org/essays/TH-01-ART-006, accessed November 11, 2024.
[21] Taylor, *Overground Railroad*, 227–30, 234–35; Reut, "Black Travelers."
[22] Taylor, *Overground Railroad*, 235–36; McGill et al., "Vanishing Act." In 1926, Payne's Tourist Home in Wilmington served as a meeting place that led to the formation of an African American library.

rooms to single women or allow them to enter the lobby due to social norms and etiquette. Therefore, YWCAs were critical for Black women traveling alone. From 1938 to 1967, the *Green Book* listed 47 YWCA facilities, including two in Asheville, North Carolina (Figure 6).[23]

Figure 6. Photograph of the YWCA in Asheville, 1959
(Source: North Carolina African American Heritage Commission).

Other Black Travel Guides, 1930–1964

Although the *Green Book* was the most successful, African American travelers had access to other Black travel guides during the Jim Crow era. Some businesses were listed in both the *Green Book* and other travel guides, enhancing their reputation as businesses of note for Black travelers. The other Black travel guides also listed professionals such as dentists, physicians, and lawyers. "The directories were both practical publications that provided information to the public and documents of a community's record of achievement and

[23] Taylor, *Overground Railroad*, 2020, 238–39.

advancement in the professions," wrote Jennifer Reut. "Directories also encouraged the investment of Black businesses rather than in white-owned ones that exploited or excluded non-white shoppers and workers.[24]

Unlike the *Green Book*, several of these Black travel guides contained robust lists of recreational sites such as state and national parks, local golf courses, vacation resorts, and beaches as well as tourist sites such as amusement parks. Although most recreational sites were segregated with racialized spaces set aside for Black visitors, national parks were for the most part integrated, albeit with segregated restroom facilities and few if any overnight accommodations. During Jim Crow, the National Park Service bowed to southern "customs" regarding segregated recreational facilities. For example, the Great Smoky Mountains National Park offered "colored campgrounds" with separate swimming and picnic areas. Black travelers, however, typically did not visit national parks in the mountain regions due to their reputation of intimidation and violence towards Black people. In the 1950s, less than 10 percent of vacationers at national parks were Black.[25]

Besides the *Green Book*, other Black travel guides included:

- *Hackley & Harrison's Hotel and Apartment Guide for Colored Travelers* (1930–1931)
- *Grayson's Travel and Business Guide: A National Directory of Hotels, Cafes, Resorts and Motels, Cafes, Where Civil Rights Are Extended to All* (1936–1952?)
- *Smith's Tourist Guide* (1939–1940?)
- *Directory of Negro Hotels and Guest Houses in the United States* (1939, 1941)
- *Afro-American Newspapers' Travel Guide to Negro Hotels and Guest Houses* (1942)
- *Travelguide* (1947–1957)
- *Go Guide to Pleasant Motoring* (1952–1959)
- *The Bronze American* (1961–1964)

[24] Reut, "Black Travelers."; Leslie Wolfenden, "African American Travel Guide Survey Project: Documenting Black-friendly sites used by African Americans during Jim Crow," Texas Historical Commission, 2024, https://thc.texas.gov/learn/historic-resources-survey/african-american-travel-guide-survey-project, accessed September 18, 2024; National Park Service, "Green Book Historic Context." There are undoubtedly other Black travel guides that have not yet been digitized.
[25] Taylor, *Overground Railroad*, 157–67; Kahrl et al., "Outdoor Recreation," 74–76; Kurt Repanshek, "How the National Park Service Grappled with Segregation during the 20th Century," *National Parks Traveler*, 2019, https://www.nationalparkstraveler.org/2019/08/how-national-park-service-grappled-segregation-during-20th-century, accessed November 13, 2024. In 2008, only 7 percent of visitors to national parks were Black.

Hackley & Harrison's Guide

Several of these Black travel guides were available for only a short time, such as the *Hackley & Harrison's Hotel and Apartment Guide for Colored Travelers*, which Edwin Henry Hackley (1859–1940) and Sarah Dillon "Sadie" Harrison published from 1930 to 1931. Introduced six years before the *Green Book*, this was the first Black travel guide available in the US. A graduate of the University of Michigan law school, Hackley was an attorney and cofounder and editor of the *Colorado Statesman*, a Black newspaper in Denver. A native of Philadelphia, Harrison was the Executive Secretary of the United Negro Welfare Council in New London, Connecticut. Based in Philadelphia, Hackley and Harrison produced their travel guide soon after W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963) wrote to Harrison in November 1929 seeking a recommendation for a "colored boarding house" in New London, Connecticut, in which to stay during an upcoming trip from his home in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. Their guide cost fifty cents and listed hotels, motels, and boarding houses in 300 cities throughout the US and Canada. These businesses were owned by both Black and white persons.[26]

The introduction to the 1930 edition of the guide stated:

> Travel by automobile has increased amazingly among colored people in the United States in recent years. It is to be accounted for, first, by a rapid and substantial social and business development arousing increased desire for a better knowledge of the country; second, by their extensive and ardently supported religious, educational and fraternal interests and relationships; third, by the convenience and pleasure of this mode of travel; and fourth and principally, by the very natural desire and determination of these advancing elements to escape the invidious blanket prescriptions and discriminations imposed by common carriers and transport corporations operating in certain sections of the country. Interstate and cross country routes thruout [sic] the year, and summer resorts and convention cities, during the summer months, afford abundant evidence of the extent and character of this class of travel. Its greatest inconvenience and annoyance has been the lack of knowledge of

[26] NPS, "Green Book Historic Context;" Taylor, *Overground Railroad*, 60; "Colorado Corner: Former Publisher Dies," *California Eagle*, August 8, 1940, 16; Lee Howard, "NL woman penned Green Book precursor," *The Day* [New London, CT], January 12, 2020, A1, A7; Tom Schuch, "Black Heritage Trail: 73 Hempstead Street," *Explore New London*, 2024, https://visitnewlondon.org/black-heritage-trail/73-hempstead-street/, accessed October 7, 2024; Edwin H. Hackley and Sarah D. Harrison. *Hackley & Harrison's Hotel and Apartment Guide for Colored Travelers* (Philadelphia: Hackley & Harrison Publishing Company, 1930), 1–6. Digitized copy on file in the collection of Robbie D. Jones. Du Bois reportedly stayed with Harrison at her home at 73 Hempstead Street in New London; her home was listed in the *Green Book* from 1938 to 1949; Anne Bruder and Catherine Zipf, "'You Will Find it Handy': African American Travel Guides," poster exhibit for *Green Book* resources, 2016.

> desirable and hospitable hotel and apartment accommodations, enroute and at the journey's end. This class of travel in general is efficient, genteel and courteous in bearing and deserving of welcome in any hostelry or home. This GUIDE has been compiled to afford for these and other cultured travelers and tourists thruout [sic] the country and authentic and reliable reference list of hotels and private apartments in principal cities in every state, especially along inter-state automobile routes and national highways, where the exigencies of travel are apt to create the most general need, and whereby accommodations may be arranged for in advance, or applied for upon arrival, with assurance of courteous reception and competent and hospitable service up to capacity.[27]

In addition, Hackley and Harrison explained:

> We have not sought and shall not seek to create or solve problems of communities. They are widely diversified and strangely conflicting. We have found directly opposite conditions existing in adjoining cities of the one State regarding racial attitudes and relations. Scattered thru [sic] the North and West are some strange anomalies. In many places transformation of sentiment is going on, forward or backward the causes for which are easily traceable…Increasing travel and contact should prove educational and beneficial to all thoughtful individuals.[28]

The 1930 edition of *Hackley & Harrison's Guide* listed 18 hotels and private tourist homes with rooms in Durham, Greensboro, New Bern, and Winston-Salem. Several were later listed in the *Green Book*, including the Biltmore Hotel and tourist homes operated by Mrs. Nellie O'Daniel and Mrs. S. A. Morris in Durham; the Travelers Inn and tourist homes operated by Taylor Daniels Mrs. Emma Evans in Greensboro; the Rhone Hotel (CV0474, NRHP, 1973) and H. C. Sparrow tourist home (CV0577, NRHP, 1973) in New Bern; and the Ideal Hotel, Lincoln Hotel, and tourist homes operated by Mrs. H. L. Christian, Mrs. Nan Jones, Mrs. Jessie Penn, and Mrs. R. B. Williams in Winston-Salem (Figure 7).[29]

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[27] Hackley and Harrison, *Hackley & Harrison's Guide*, 3.
[28] Hackley and Harrison, *Hackley & Harrison's Guide*, 5.
[29] Hackley and Harrison, *Hackley & Harrison's Guide*, 34.

NORTH CAROLINA

DURHAM

HOTELS
Biltmore—E. Pettigrew St.
ROOMS
Mrs. Mary Sims—909 Fayetteville St.....r.
Mrs. S. A. Morris—902 Fayetteville St.....r.
Mrs. Nellie O'Daniel—1005 Fayetteville St.....r.

GREENSBORO

HOTELS
Travelers Inn—612 E. Market (Nat'l highway)
Legion Club—829 E. Market
ROOMS
Taylor Daniels—912 E. Market.....r. m. g
Mrs. Emma Evans—906 E. Market.....r. g.
E. D. O'Neil—112 N. Regan.....r. g.

NEW BERN

HOTELS
Rhone Hotel—42 Queen Street
ROOMS
H. C. Sparrow—68 West Street.....r. m.

WINSTON-SALEM

HOTELS
Ideal Hotel—11th and Woodland Ave.
Lincoln—9 E. 3rd Street.
ROOMS
Mrs. Jessie Penn—115 N. Ridge Ave.....r. m.
Mrs. H. L. Christian—302 E. 9th Street.....r. m.
Mrs. Nan Jones—859 N. Liberty.....r.
Mrs. R. B. Williams—1225 N. Ridge Ave.....r.
Y. W. C. A.—Chestnut Street

Figure 7. Listings in *Hackley & Harrison's Guide* (Source: Hackley and Harrison, *Guide*, 1930, 54).

The *Directory* listed 14 hotels and a tourist home in North Carolina, many of which were also listed in the *Green Book* and other Black travel guides, in Asheville, Charlotte, Durham, Fayetteville, Greensboro, New Bern, Raleigh, Sanford, Wilson, and Winston-Salem. The directory also listed Negro branches of the YMCA in Greensboro and Winston-Salem and Negro branches of the YWCA in Asheville, Charlotte, Durham, and Winston-Salem (Figure 8).[30]

[30] United States Department of the Interior, *United States Travel Bureau: Directory of Negro Hotels and Guest Houses in the United States* (Washington, DC: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1939), 5, 10–11.

NORTH CAROLINA

Asheville	Booker Washington Hotel	409	Southside Avenue
Charlotte	Sanders Hotel		Second Street
"	Charlomac Hotel		First & Brevard Sts.
Durham	Biltmore Hotel		E.Pettigrew Street
"	Jones' Hotel	502	Ramsey Street
Fayetteville	Bedford Inn	203-9	Moore Street
Greensboro	Legion Club	829	E. Market Street
"	Travelers Inn	612	E. Market Street
New Bern	Rhone Hotel	42	Queen Street
Raleigh	Arcade Hotel	122	E. Hargett Street
Sanford	Hotel Phillips		Pearl Street
Wilson	Biltmore Hotel		E.Washington Street
"	Wilson Biltmore	539	E. Nash Street
Winston-Salem	Ideal Hotel		11th & Woodland Avenue
" "	C. H. Jones Home	1611	E. 14th Street

5

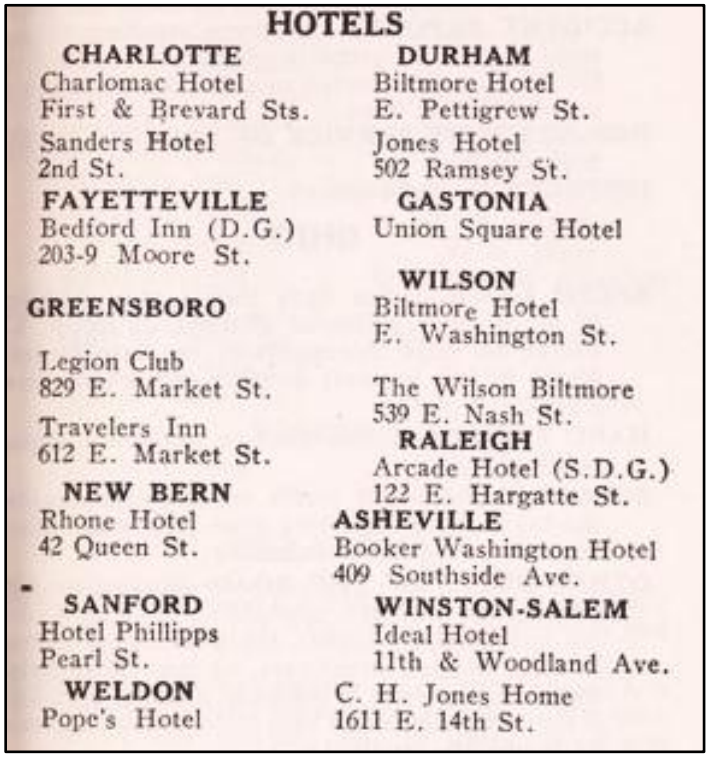
Figure 8. List of hotels in the *Directory of Negro Hotels and Guest Houses* (Source: US Department of the Interior, *Directory*, 1939, 5).

Smith's Tourist Guide

In 1939, Smith's Touring Club launched *Smith's Tourist Guide of Necessary Information for Businessman, Tourist, Traveler and Vacationist*. Based in Media, Pennsylvania, Smith's Touring Club was led by Jessie J. Smith, president. The travel guide published listings for throughout the US, Mexico, and Canada. The club collaborated with motor vehicle departments, automobile clubs, travel bureaus, and James A. Jackson, the Esso marketer for the Standard Oil Company. It included attractions, recreational resources, hotels, tourist homes, and restaurants.[31]

The 1940 edition of *Smith's Tourist Guide* lists 16 hotels and 1 tourist home in Asheville, Charlotte, Durham Fayetteville, Gastonia, Greensboro, New Bern, Sanford, Raleigh, Weldon, Wilson, and Winston-Salem (Figure 9). All 17 accommodations were also listed in the *Green Book*.

[31] Smith's Touring Club, *Smith's Tourist Guide of Necessary Information for Businessman, Tourist, Traveler and Vacationist* (Media, PA: Smith's Touring Club, 1940), n.p. The New York Library Digital Collections, https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/caedec20-7f0c-0137-4955-116fc6cad1b3, accessed September 27, 2024. Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Jean Blackwell Hutson Research and Reference Division, The New York Public Library.



HOTELS

CHARLOTTE
Charlomac Hotel
First & Brevard Sts.
Sanders Hotel
2nd St.

FAYETTEVILLE
Bedford Inn (D.G.)
203-9 Moore St.

GREENSBORO
Legion Club
829 E. Market St.
Travelers Inn
612 E. Market St.

NEW BERN
Rhone Hotel
42 Queen St.

SANFORD
Hotel Phillipps
Pearl St.

WELDON
Pope's Hotel

DURHAM
Biltmore Hotel
E. Pettigrew St.
Jones Hotel
502 Ramsey St.

GASTONIA
Union Square Hotel

WILSON
Biltmore Hotel
E. Washington St.
The Wilson Biltmore
539 E. Nash St.

RALEIGH
Arcade Hotel (S.D.G.)
122 E. Hargatte St.

ASHEVILLE
Booker Washington Hotel
409 Southside Ave.

WINSTON-SALEM
Ideal Hotel
11th & Woodland Ave.
C. H. Jones Home
1611 E. 14th St.

Figure 9. Listings for North Carolina in *Smith's Tourist Guide*
(Source: Smith's Touring Club, *Smith's Tourist Guide*, 1940, 41).

Grayson's Travel and Business Guide

In 1935, Bert E. Grayson of Chicago launched the inaugural edition of *Grayson's Travel and Business Guide: A National Directory of Hotels, Cafes, Resorts and Motels, Where Civil Rights Are Extended to All*. The travel guide contained "official information on where to go and what to see" and a list of "approved hotels, cafes, resorts and places of accommodation for colored tourists."[32] The 1950 edition listed more than 2,000 hotels, tourist homes, and resorts in over 500 cities throughout the US, Canada, and Mexico. Grayson attended Wendell Phillips High School and Northwestern University. A travel editor for a local Black newspaper, Grayson "experienced many embarrassing and humiliating situations while gathering material [while traveling the country] and was often forced to sleep in his car because he did not know about suitable places

[32] Associated Press, "Travel Guide Ready," *The Call* (Kansas City, MI), December 24,1937, 11.

of accommodation."[33] In the late 1930s, Grayson moved to Los Angeles where he continued to publish his travel guide. He suspended publication during World War II when he served in the armed forces and relaunched the travel guide in 1945. The guide featured a "geographical and historical resume of places and people interesting to the traveler" and the "natural beauty spots and man made wonders. . .together with the highways over which they may be reached."[34] Grayson published more than 5,000 copies in 1946.[35]

The 1949 edition of *Grayson's Guide* contained a forward written by Bert E. Grayson expressing the dangers of driving on American highways, especially for Black persons. According to Grayson:

> Sixty-six percent of accidents on the highways attributed to colored drivers is said to be due to the driver falling asleep at the wheel. Needless to say that this accident could have been avoided had the driver stopped for relaxation or refreshment before becoming completely exhausted.
>
> Not only does the weary driver endanger his life, but the lives of all those in his vicinity.
>
> Heretofore, in certain sections of the country, there was an excuse for such weariness often caused by lack of information about suitable places of accommodation. With this and other up-to-date national guides on the market, there is no excuse today.
>
> The publisher of this guide drove over 25,000 miles and experienced many inconveniences seeking places where Civil Rights would be extended to all regardless of race, color, creed.
>
> Consequently, many races and religions are listed herein. Chinese, Japanese, Fillipinos [sic], Mexicans and Americans of many national origins. All are fighting for Civil Rights for all mankind. "Freedom is Everybody's Job."[36]

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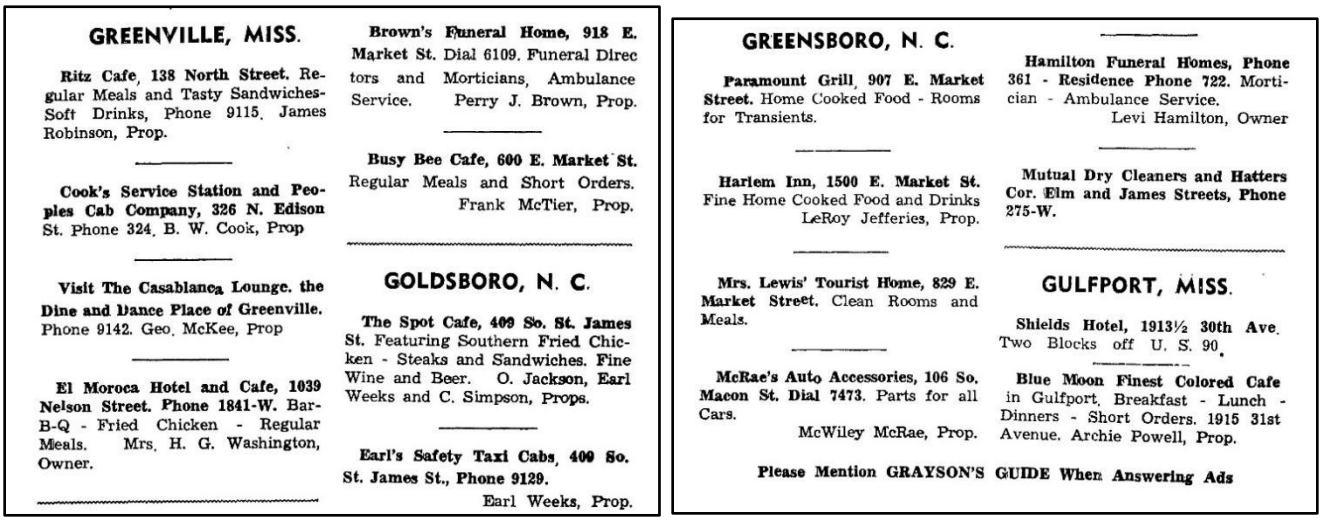
[33] Associated Press, "Vocational and Farm Training Urged for Negroes," *The Black Dispatch* (Oklahoma City, OK), April 27, 1946, 6.
[34] Harry Levette, "New National Travel Guide for Negroes," *Jackson Advocate* (Jackson, MS), December 29, 1945, 7.
[35] NPS, "Green Book Historic Context;"; Taylor, *Overground Railroad*, 60; Mattie B. Rowe, "What Negroes Are Doing," *The Birmingham News* (Birmingham, AL), October 16, 1949, 16; US Census, 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950.
[36] Bert E. Grayson. *Grayson's Guide: A National Directory of Hotels, Cafes, Resorts, Motels Where Civil Rights Are Extended to All* (Los Angeles, CA, 1949), 2–3. A digitized copy is on file in the collection of Robbie D. Jones.

The 1949 edition of *Grayson's Guide*, which cost one dollar, contained an index of cities throughout the US. Cities in North Carolina included Asheville, Charlotte, Durham, Elizabeth City, Fayetteville, Greensboro, Goldsboro, New Bern, Raleigh, Washington, Wilmington, and Winston-Salem. Businesses paid five dollars to Grayson to be listed in the guide. Grayson inspected each business personally to ensure it met his quality standards. Grayson placed a star next to the businesses he considered to be "ultra modern." Many of the North Carolina businesses listed in *Grayson's Guide* were the same as those listed in the *Green Book*. Grayson, however, included several businesses not mentioned in the *Green Book*, such as the Sportsman's Tavern and Grill in Charlotte; Harlem Inn, McRae's Auto Accessories, Brown's Funeral Home, and Busy Bee Café in Greensboro; The Spot Café, Earl's Safety Taxi Cabs, Hamilton Funeral Home, and Mutual Dry Cleaners in Goldsboro; Paradise Club and Grill and Community Drug Store in Raleigh; and Harrison's Café, Hairston's Drug Store, and Cotton Club Café in Winston-Salem (Figure 10).[37]



GREENVILLE, MISS.

Ritz Cafe, 138 North Street. Regular Meals and Tasty Sandwiches-Soft Drinks, Phone 9115. James Robinson, Prop.

Cook's Service Station and Peoples Cab Company, 326 N. Edison St. Phone 324. B. W. Cook, Prop

Visit The Casablanca Lounge. the Dine and Dance Place of Greenville. Phone 9142. Geo. McKee, Prop

El Moroca Hotel and Cafe, 1039 Nelson Street. Phone 1841-W. Bar-B-Q - Fried Chicken - Regular Meals. Mrs. H. G. Washington, Owner.

Brown's Funeral Home, 918 E. Market St. Dial 6109. Funeral Directors and Morticians, Ambulance Service. Perry J. Brown, Prop.

Busy Bee Cafe, 600 E. Market St. Regular Meals and Short Orders. Frank McTier, Prop.

GOLDSBORO, N. C.

The Spot Cafe, 409 So. St. James St. Featuring Southern Fried Chicken - Steaks and Sandwiches. Fine Wine and Beer. O. Jackson, Earl Weeks and C. Simpson, Props.

Earl's Safety Taxi Cabs, 409 So. St. James St., Phone 9129. Earl Weeks, Prop.

GREENSBORO, N. C.

Paramount Grill, 907 E. Market Street. Home Cooked Food - Rooms for Transients.

Harlem Inn, 1500 E. Market St. Fine Home Cooked Food and Drinks LeRoy Jefferies, Prop.

Mrs. Lewis' Tourist Home, 829 E. Market Street. Clean Rooms and Meals.

McRae's Auto Accessories, 106 So. Macon St. Dial 7473. Parts for all Cars. McWiley McRae, Prop.

Hamilton Funeral Homes, Phone 361 - Residence Phone 722. Mortician - Ambulance Service. Levi Hamilton, Owner

Mutual Dry Cleaners and Hatters Cor. Elm and James Streets, Phone 275-W.

GULFPORT, MISS.

Shields Hotel, 1913½ 30th Ave. Two Blocks off U. S. 90.

Blue Moon Finest Colored Cafe in Gulfport. Breakfast - Lunch - Dinners - Short Orders. 1915 31st Avenue. Archie Powell, Prop.

Please Mention GRAYSON'S GUIDE When Answering Ads

Figure 10. Listings for Greensboro and Goldsboro in *Grayson's Guide*
(Source: Grayson, *Grayson's Guide*, 1949, 40).

[37] Grayson, *Grayson's Guide*, 3–6, 8, 18, 32, 40, 94, 108, 112.

Afro-American Newspapers' Travel Guide to Negro Hotels and Guest Houses

In 1942, the Baltimore-based *Afro-American Newspaper* published a travel guide with a listing of hotels and tourist homes throughout the eastern US. Folded accordion-style, the guide consisted of a cover page, advertisements, a map, and listings. Ida Murphy Smith (1919–1996), an advertising salesperson with the newspaper, assembled the guide. The guide included listings for 21 hotels and guest houses in North Carolina, including several that were also in the *Green Book*. The listings were in Asheville (4), Charlotte, Durham (2), Fayetteville (2), Goldsboro, Greensboro, High Point, Lumberton, New Bern, Raleigh, Sanford, Waldon, Whiteville, Wilmington (2), and Winston-Salem as well as Negro branches of YMCAs and YWCAs in Asheville (women), Charlotte (both), Greensboro (men), and Winston-Salem (both).[38]

Travelguide

Based in New York City, an interracial company called Travelguide, Inc. published the cosmopolitan *Travelguide* from 1947 to 1957 as an "annual booklet dedicated to breaking down racial barriers in public accommodations and easing the problems of traveling members of minority groups."[39] Established by William H. Butler (1903–1981), an accomplished Black musician who co-owned a Black travel company, the guide's tagline was "Vacation & Recreation Without Humiliation." More modern and urbane than the *Green Book*, the *Travelguide* consisted of a "directory of accommodations that welcome the patronage of ALL" and listed hotels, restaurants, and resorts as well as civil rights data, speed laws, outdoor sports, conventions, organizations, guided tours, city populations, and recommendations for vacations.[40] The businesses listed in *Travelguide* were "owned by both Negroes and whites."[41] The guide included the US and its territories, Canada, Mexico, and international destinations in the Caribbean, Philippine Islands, Bermuda, Cuba, Haiti, and Jamacia. The 1949 edition of *Travelguide* cost fifty cents; by 1952, the cost had increased to one dollar.[42]

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[38] Bruder and Zipf, "African American Travel Guides;" *Afro American Travel Map*, 1942, The New York Public Library Digital Collections, https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/870cc950-3a15-0138-9029-0b53cc7d4265, accessed November 12, 2024.
[39] Travelguide Inc. Press Release, 1952.
[40] Cathey Mac Gregor, ed., *Travelguide* (New York: Travelguide, Inc., 1949), 3.
[41] Travelguide Inc. Press Release, 1952.
[42] Leslie Nash, ed., *Travelguide* (New York: Travelguide, Inc., 1952), 2; Jennifer Reut, "Travelguide: Vacation and Recreation Without Humiliation," *Saving Places*, National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2019, https://savingplaces.org/stories/travelguide-vacation-and-recreation-without-humiliation, accessed November 12, 2024. Digitized copies on file in the collection of Robbie D. Jones.

The 1949 and 1952 editions of *Travelguide* recommended several points of interest in North Carolina, including Cape Hatteras National Seashore, Fort Macon State Park near Atlantic Beach, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, Chimney Rock Park near Asheville, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park in Greensboro, Moore's Creek National Military Park near Wilmington, Mount Mitchell State Park near Burnsville, and Rendezvous Mountain State Park near Purlear. It also recommended visiting North Carolina A&T College, Fayetteville State Training School, and Shaw University. Organizations and social services that the *Travelguide* recommended included the Committee on Interracial Cooperation in Charlotte; YWCAs and YMCAs in Asheville, Charlotte, Durham, Greensboro, High Point, Leaksville, Raleigh, and Winston-Salem; NAACP offices in Greensboro and Winston-Salem; Community Relations Projects in Winston-Salem, Unit of Work Among Negroes in Raleigh; Recreation Center in Maxton; and the City Recreation Center and Columbia Heights Center in Winston-Salem. The guide also listed physicians, dentists, accountants, insurance agents, and attorneys in Charlotte, Durham, Fayetteville, Greensboro, New Bern, Raleigh, Reidsville, Salisbury, and Winston-Salem.[43]

The 1949 and 1952 editions of the *Travelguide* listed only five of the accommodations in the *Green Book*: Kilby Hotel (GF0036; NRHP, 1982) in High Point, Alexander Hotel in Charlotte, Rhone Motel (CV0474; NRHP, 1973) in New Bern, Stevens Hotel in Winston-Salem, and Magnolia Hotel (GF0785; NRHP, 1991) in Greensboro. Most accommodations listed in the *Travelguide* were private tourist homes, guest houses, and boarding houses. The guides also listed unique businesses such as Carolina Florist Company and Thomas Sport Shop in Greensboro; Bowie's Tea Room in Yancyville; Mack's Tavern and Cabins in Parkton; and the Townscraft Photo Lab and El Chico Restaurant in Charlotte. The 1952 edition listed the Atlantic Beach resort near Wilmington.[44]

Go Guide to Pleasant Motoring

From 1954–1959, the Nationwide Hotel Association, Inc. (NHA) published a vacationer's guide with a directory of places to go and see in the US, Mexico, and Canada. Called the *Go Guide to Pleasant Motoring*, the Black travel guide included points of interest, historical places, parks and recreational facilities, vacation resorts, special events, weekend trips, and tourist destinations as well as recommended hotels, motels, and cottages. The pocket-size guide cost one dollar. Based in Washington, D.C., the NHA was governed by a

[43] Mac Gregor, *Travelguide*, 62–64; Nash, *Travelguide*, 76–77.
[44] Mac Gregor, *Travelguide*, 62–64; Nash, *Travelguide*, 76–77.

national board of governors and seven regional boards of directors. Advertisers in the *Go Guide* included Amoco filling stations, hotels, tourist homes, and commercial businesses. The NHA sponsored low-cost tours and regional seminars, hosted an annual convention, and published a monthly newsletter. It also investigated complaints made by the public, initiated cooperative buying among small hotels, and advocated for raising the standards of hotels catering to minorities.[45]

The 1952 edition of the *Go Guide* included points of interest for North Carolina such as various Black colleges and universities, the "Lost Colony" outdoor drama on Roanoke Island, and the "Unto the Hills" outdoor drama in Cherokee. The *Go Guide* also listed national marquee college football games, such as the matchup between Hampton and North Carolina A&T in Greensboro, and recreational destinations such as the Great Smoky Mountains National Park; Croatan National Forest near New Bern; Pisgah National Forest near Asheville; Reedy Creek State Park, a segregated park for Black people in Raleigh; Jones Lake State Park, a segregated state park for Black people near Elizabethtown; and Nocho Park Golf Club, a municipal golf course for Black golfers in Greensboro. The publication directed travelers to three beaches—Seabreeze Beach, Ocean City Beach, and Atlantic Beach Resort—near Wilmington. The *Go Guide* listed 28 hotels and tourist homes across the state, such as Mack's Tavern & Cabins at Parkton, the Kilby Hotel in High Point, and the McManus Tourist Home in Asheville. The *Go Guide* recommended weekend trip destinations Columbia, South Carolina, to Charlotte, North Carolina.[46]

From 1954 to 1955, Beadie Lucille Griswold (1923–2009) of Raleigh served on the NHA board of directors for the southeastern region, which included Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, and West Virginia. Ms. Griswold managed the DeLuxe Hotel, previously known as the Lewis Hotel, which was listed in the *Go Guide* and the *Green Book*. The 1954 edition of the *Go Guide* featured a cover advertisement for the DeLuxe Hotel (Figure 11). Located at 220 East Cabarrus Street in Raleigh, the DeLuxe Hotel was a two-story hotel with a tailor shop constructed in the 1920s by Hattie Lewis (née Wooten, 1884–1945), a schoolteacher, and her husband Needham Edmond Lewis (1881–1957), a contractor and bricklayer. They operated the business as the Lewis Hotel and Tailor shop, which also served as their residence. After they divorced in the late 1930s, Hattie's three nieces assisted in operating the 26-room hotel while attending nearby

[45] Nationwide Hotel Association (NHA), *Go Guide to Pleasant Motoring*, (Washington, DC: Andrew F. Jackson & Associates, 1952–1959), Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Jean Blackwell Hutson Research and Reference Division, The New York Public Library, "Go, Guide to pleasant motoring" New York Public Library Digital Collections.
[46] NHA, *Go Guide*, 1952, 5, 78–81; NHA, *Go Guide*, 1953, 3, 82–83; NHA, *Go Guide*, 1954, 84. National parks were not segregated.

Shaw University. Hattie bequeathed the hotel to her niece Beadie Lucille Griswold, who changed the name to the DeLuxe Hotel. The hotel was advertised in the *Go Guide* from 1952 to 1959 and the *Green Book* from 1941 to 1967. In an oral history, Edna Davis described the DeLuxe Hotel as an owner-occupied building with a front porch, bedrooms, living room, kitchen, and laundry (Figure 12). Notable guests included singers and musicians such as Fats Waller (1904–1943), Clara Ward (1924–1973), and bandmembers for Louis Armstrong (1901–1971) and Nat King Cole (1919–1965).[47]

Figure 11. Cover of the 1957–1958 issue of the *Go Guide* featuring the Hotel Deluxe in Raleigh (Source: NHA, *Go Guide*, 1957–1958, cover).

[47] NHA, *Go Guide*, 1954, 6–7; NHA, *Go Guide*, 1955, 5–6; Natalie Rodriguez, "DeLuxe Hotel," North Carolina African American Heritage Commission, 2018, *Green Book Project*, https://aahc.nc.gov/green-book/deluxe-hotel, accessed September 20, 2024; Natalie Rodriguez, "Lewis Hotel & Lewis Tailor (Deluxe Hotel)," *Clio: Your Guide to History*, June 3, 2021, https://theclio.com/entry/134005, accessed September 20, 2024; US Census, Population Census for Wake County, North Carolina, 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950; Beadie Lucille Griswold-Paige Obituary, *The News and Observer* (Raleigh, NC), January 17, 2009, 26. The hotel was listed as the "Hotel Deluxe" in the *Go Guide* and as the DeLuxe Hotel in the *Green Book* and period newspaper articles. According to city directories, the building was initially divided into a residence (220 East Cabarrus) and a hotel (218 East Cabarrus). A fire destroyed the building in 1992.

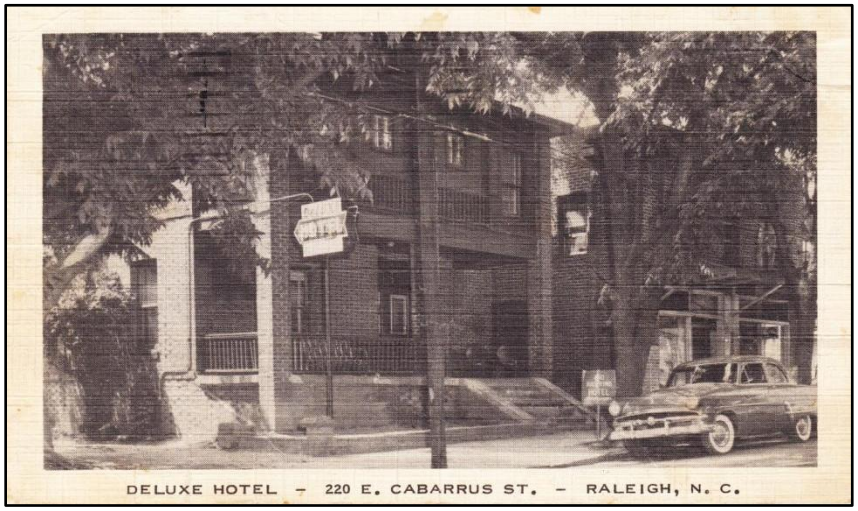

Figure 12. Postcard showing the DeLuxe Hotel in Raleigh
(Source: Rodriguez, 2021).

The 1957 edition of the *Go Guide* included an advertisement for the College Motel, which was also listed in the *Green Book*. The motel was at the intersection of US 29 and Stamey Street adjacent to the Lutheran College and five blocks from North Carolina A&T in Greensboro. Described as being "For the Discriminating Negro Tourist," the brick motel consisted of 30 rooms with air conditioning, telephones, carpeting, and tile bathrooms. Televisions and radios were available. Sampson W. Foster Jr. was the motel manager (Figure 13).

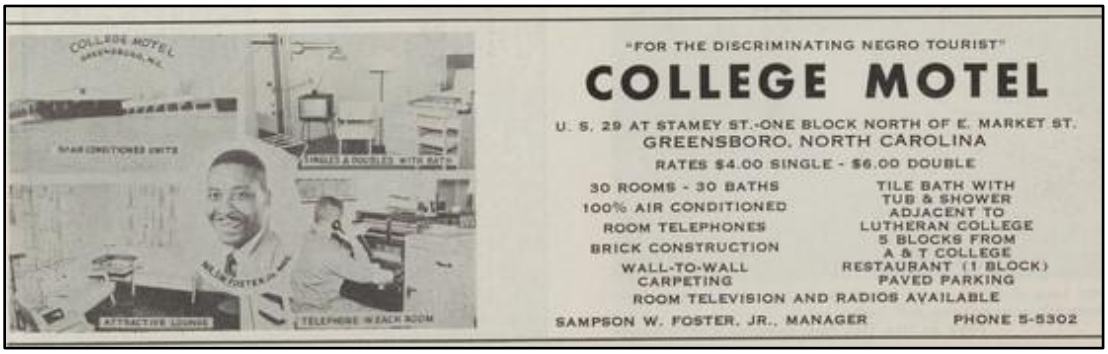

Figure 13. Advertisement in the *Go Guide* for the College Motel in Greensboro
(Source: NHA, *Go Guide*, 1957, 42).

The Bronze American

First published in Chicago in 1961, *The Bronze American National Travel Guide* recommended over 3,000 hotels, motels, and tourist homes in the US, Canada, and Mexico. It also offered recommendations for tourist attractions and resorts. The 1961–1962 edition cost two dollars and fifty cents, while the 1963–1964 edition cost one dollar and fifty cents. The forward noted that "racial discrimination has been and still is a very dominant feature on the American scene" and that the guide had "been specifically designed to eliminate as much as possible the embarrassment of being refused accommodations because of race, creed or color."[48] The forward also offered a disclaimer that listings may be out-of-date due to "land clearance for highways, project homes, policies of new owners, etc."—referencing urban renewal and interstate freeways then under construction across the US.[49] The guide ceased publication after passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.[50]

Marketing Partnership with Filling Stations

In the 1940s, Victor Green partnered with James Albert Jackson (1878–1960), a renowned marketing executive at Esso, to distribute the *Green Book* at Esso filling stations throughout the US. In the 1920s, Jackson served as the editor of the Negro department of *Billboard* magazine and played a significant role in promoting Black theatricals during the Harlem Renaissance. From 1927 to1933, he served as the first head of Negro Affairs at the US Department of Commerce. In 1934, he became the first Black marketing executive at Esso, and, in 1940, the first Black member of the American Marketing Association. Green's partnership with Jackson and Esso led to the rise of the Green Book's stature as national brand.[51]

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[48] Printed & Manuscript African Americana Collection. Swann Auction Galleries, March 21, 2024, https://catalogue.swanngalleries.com/Lots/auction-lot/(BUSINESS--DIRECTORIES)-The-Bronze-American-National-Travel-?saleno=2663&lotNo=84&refNo=814605, accessed September 27, 2024.
[49] Swann Auction Galleries, 2024.
[50] Wolfenden, *Travel Guide Survey Project*, 2024; Bronze American, *The Bronze American National Travel Guide*, Bronze American [Book covers], Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University, https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/16899312, accessed September 27, 2024; No digitized copies could be found online.
[51] Delores C. Phillips, "James Albert 'Billboard' Jackson (1878–1960), *BlackPast*, January 26, 2015, https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/jackson-james-albert-billboard-1878-1960/, accessed November 3, 2024; Taylor, *Overground Railroad*, 64.

Esso Dealers

In 1926, the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey (now ExxonMobil Corporation) began marketing its products under the Esso brand name. Esso is the phonetic pronunciation of the initials "S" and "O" in Standard Oil. The blue Esso oval was introduced in the 1930s. During the Jim Crow era, Standard Oil was a leader in offering opportunities to Black Americans. The company employed Black engineers, chemists, pipeline workers, office clerks, and marketing executives. Unlike other gasoline chains, Standard Oil welcomed Black motorists at its Esso service stations and provided business opportunities for Black franchisees. In the 1940s, 312 of 830 Esso dealers were operated by Black owners who employed thousands of Black workers.[52]

As part of its national and international marketing campaigns, Standard Oil sponsored events such radio broadcasts of major league hockey games in Canada and transportation-related businesses. Green worked with Jackson to devise a plan for Standard Oil to distribute the *Green Book* to licensed Esso dealers throughout much of the eastern US, including North Carolina. Standard Oil also distributed free road maps and kids' coloring books to its customers.[53] Esso hired James in 1934 with the task of "cultivating the Negro market, doing trade promotion work, making adjustments and market studies."[54] *Smith's Tourist Guide* considered Jackson's job as "probably the ranking position held by a Negro in the general business world."[55] In 1945, Esso hired Wendell P. Alston to work with Jackson. The two helped market the *Green Book* throughout their travels around the US and other countries. "If Jackson and Alston hadn't entered the picture, it's likely the *Green Book* wouldn't have had the reach or stamina to outsell and outlast the other black travel guides," wrote Candacy Taylor. "The *Green Book* and Esso were a match made for road-tripping."[56]

The *Green Book* recommended six Esso dealers in North Carolina. The Esso dealers included J. L. Stinson's Esso Service Center in Charlotte (Figure 14), Brooklyn Esso Service Station in Wilmington (NH3699, NRHP,

[52] "Imperial: Our History," ExxonMobil Corporation, 2024, https://www.esso.ca/en-ca/our-history#, accessed September 20, 2024; "ExxonMobil to sponsor Smithsonian's traveling exhibition of Green Book history," Press release, March 7, 2019, https://corporate.exxonmobil.com/news/news-releases/2019/0307_exxonmobil-to-sponsor-smithsonians-traveling-exhibition-of-green-book-history, accessed September 20, 2024; "The Negro Motorist Green Book," Smithsonian Institute, 2019, https://negromotoristgreenbook.si.edu/virtual-exhibit/traveling/, accessed September 24, 2024.
[53] ExxonMobil Corporation, "Our History," Smithsonian Institute, "Green Book."
[54] Smith's Touring Club, *Smith's Tourist Guide*, 1940, n.p.
[55] Smith's Touring Club, *Smith's Tourist Guide*, 1940, n.p.
[56] Taylor, *Overground Railroad*, 65–71.

2003), Dunn's Esso Service Center in Raleigh, C. T. Taylor Esso Service Station in Lexington (Figure 15), Sulton's Esso Service Station in Durham, and Thompson's Esso Service Center in Durham (DH4000).[57]

Figure 14. Advertisement for J. L. Stinson's Esso Service Center in Charlotte, 1961
(Source: Green, *Green Book*, 1961, 67).

[57] Green, *Green Book*, 1961, 67; Natalie Rodriguez, "J. L. Stinson's Esso Service Center," North Carolina African American Heritage Commission, *Green Book Project*, 2019, https://aahc.nc.gov/green-book/jl-stinsons-esso-service-center, accessed September 20, 2024; Ragghianti, "Brooklyn Esso Service Station;" Brandie K. Ragghianti, "C. T. Taylor Esso Service Station," North Carolina African American Heritage Commission, *Green Book Project*, 2022, https://aahc.nc.gov/green-book/ct-taylor-esso-service-station, accessed September 20, 2024; Miranda Clinton, "Thompson's Esso Service Center," North Carolina African American Heritage Commission, *Green Book Project*, 2019, https://aahc.nc.gov/green-book/thompsons-esso-service-center, accessed September 20, 2024. Sulton's Service Station in Durham was also known as the Midway Service Station.

Figure 15. Photograph of the C. T. Taylor Esso Service Center in Lexington, circa 1950 (Source: Doss-Raines 2022).

Amoco Dealers

From 1953 to 1959, the *Go Guide* recommended Amoco dealers in North Carolina. The Amoco dealers were in Asheville, Charlotte, Concord, Fayetteville, Greenville, Hamlet, Henderson, High Point, New Bern, Plymouth, Raleigh, Ramseur, Rockingham, Southern Pines, Wake Forest, Whiteville, Williamston, Wilmington, Wilson, and Winston-Salem. The Evening Breeze Motel complex in Statesville also contained an Amoco service station.[58]

Good Roads Movement

By the mid-twentieth century, North Carolina had earned the nickname of the "Good Roads State" due to the number of well-maintained state roads that crisscrossed the state. The state was an early participant in the

[58] NHA, *Go Guide*, 1953, 30; NHA, *Go Guide*, 1954, 83; NHA, *Go Guide*, 1954, 44; NHA, *Go Guide*, 1956, 38; NHA, *Go Guide*, 1957–1958, 43.

national Good Roads Movement. The Buncombe County Good Roads Association launched the first campaign in 1899 at Asheville. In 1902, the North Carolina Good Roads Association (NCGRA) was organized in Raleigh with the purpose of promoting the construction and maintenance of the state's roads, which at the time lagged much of the nation. In the early twentieth century, thousands of North Carolina residents joined local Good Roads associations and urged county governments and state leaders to finance highway improvements to lift the state out of chronic poverty.[59]

Leading figures in the Good Roads Movement included Governor Locke Craig (1860–1924), University of North Carolina geologist Dr. Joseph Hyde Pratt (1870–1942), Lexington newspaper publisher Henry B. Varner (1870–1925), and lobbyist Harriet Morehead Berry (1877–1940), who worked with Dr. Pratt on the North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey from 1901–1921. Due to their advocacy, Gov. Craig established the first permanent State Highway Commission in 1915. From 1910–1920, Varner published *Southern Good Roads*, a journal that served as the unofficial organ of the NCGRA. The magazine presented best practices for road construction, advertisements for road machinery, and testimonials in support of road building. In 1921, NCGRA was successful in convincing the North Carolina General Assembly to fund a $50 million bond issue to build 5,500 miles of roads and bridges. These actions resulted in North Carolina's modern state highway system, consisting of approximately 78,000 miles of highway (Figure 16).[60]

Business leaders were also heavily involved with the Good Roads Movement due to the prospect of increased automobile tourism. While the movement initially focused on improved farm-to-market roads, by 1915, historian Howard Lawrence Preston argued that it was "not difficult to shift the balance of good roads progressivism away from farm-oriented issues and to focus on how the South might better itself financially by improving the public thoroughfares that led outsiders to the region." Businessmen wanted the state

[59] Robert E. Ireland and Wiley J. Williams, "Good Roads Campaign," *Encyclopedia of North Carolina* (University of North Carolina Press, 2006), https://www.ncpedia.org/good-roads-campaign, accessed November 4, 2024.
[60] Ireland and Williams, "Good Roads Campaign;" Harry W. McKown, "Harriet Morehead Berry," *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography* (University of North Carolina Press, 1979), https://www.ncpedia.org/biography/berry-harriet-morehead, accessed November 4, 2024; Robert E. Ireland, "Highway Commission," *Encyclopedia of North Carolina* (University of North Press, 2006), https://ncpedia.org/highway-commission, accessed November 4, 2024; David Southern, Stephen C. Compton, Laura Hegyi, and Robert E. Ireland, "Highways: North Carolina's Highway System Takes Shape," *Encyclopedia of North Carolina* (University of North Carolina Press, 2006), https://ncpedia.org/highways-part-2-north-carolinas, accessed August 29, 2024. In State Highway Commission evolved into the North Carolina Department of Transportation.

governments to build tourist highways. "To highway progressives, good roads in the South clearly meant increased tourism, and that translated into economic well-being," claimed Preston.[61]

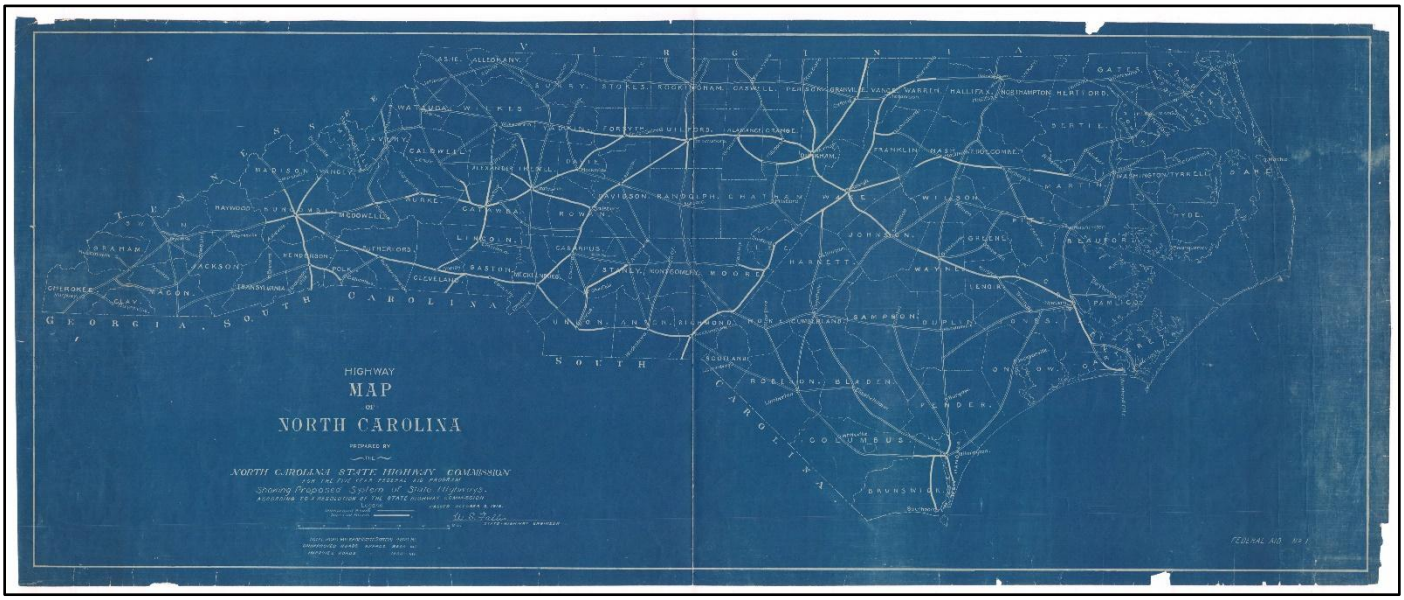

Figure 16. Map of the North Carolina highways, 1916
(Source: State Archives of North Carolina).

Leonard Tufts (1870–1996) was one of the businessmen who became a leader in the North Carolina's Good Roads Movement. His father, James Walker Tufts (1835–1902), was a wealthy soda fountain tycoon from Massachusetts who in 1895 had purchased nearly 6,000 acres of land in North Carolina's remote Sandhills region with the intent of developing it into a health resort for working-class tuberculosis patients. Located near the town of Southern Pines, the elder Tufts named the development "Pinehurst" and hired renowned landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted (1822–1903) of New York to create a village with curvilinear streets, a central greenspace, cabins, an inn, and recreational facilities. Due to advances in medicine, soon after opening, Tufts converted the health resort into an upscale golf resort, designed by golfing pro Donald Ross (1872–1948), which he hoped would attract wealthy northern vacationers. When the elder Tufts died in

[61] Howard Lawrence Preston, *Dirt Roads to Dixie: Accessibility and Modernization in the South, 1885–1935* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991), 41.

1902, his son Leonard Tufts inherited Pinehurst. The younger Tufts developed the golf resort with additional luxury hotels, rental cabins, and golf courses.[62]

To fill the hotel rooms and cabins, Leonard Tufts constructed roads connecting Pinehurst to Southern Pines. He soon realized, however, that Pinehurst needed to be connected to a regional highway system to grow into an automobile tourist destination. To do so, Tufts became a leading advocate in the Good Roads Movement. In 1909, he organized a conference of regional road building advocates at Columbia, South Carolina, with the discussion focused on building the Capitol Highway connecting New York with Atlanta via Washington, DC and Raleigh, North Carolina. The proposed national road would pass directly through Pinehurst. The group organized into the Capital Highway Association and elected Tufts as president. The proposed road, renamed the National Highway, was directed through Winston-Salem and Charlotte instead. Tufts, however, provided leadership for developing regional highway associations to build intrastate highways connecting the North and South and for the growth of automobile tourism in North Carolina. In the 1920s, Pinehurst was along the route of the Atlantic Highway, connecting Key West, Florida, with Fort Kent, Maine. The Atlantic Highway was also known as US Highway 1.[63]

The North Carolina Highway Act of 1921 resulted in state government becoming responsible for the maintenance of the state's highways to "relieve the counties and cities and towns of the state of this burden." Construction of highway bridges shortened mileage significantly. In 1931, during the Great Depression, the state added practically all roads in North Carolina to its purview for maintenance. Funding for highway maintenance was raised through license fees and gas taxes.[64]

Intrastate Highways, circa 1915–1929

Due to its proximity to large cities in the Northeast, beach resorts in Florida, and state capital cities in the southeast, North Carolina was crossed by several early intrastate highways, which were highways that connected several states. Intrastate highways that crossed North Carolina included:

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[62] Preston, *Dirt Roads*, 42–44; Charles H. Bowman Jr., "Leonard Tufts," *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography* (University of North Carolina Press, 1996), https://www.ncpedia.org/biography/tufts-leonard, accessed November 4, 2024; Charles H. Bowman Jr, "James Walker Tufts," *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography* (University of North Carolina Press, 1996, revised 2023), https://www.ncpedia.org/biography/tufts-james-walker, accessed November 4, 2024.
[63] Preston, *Dirt Roads*, 43–48; Bowman, "Leonard Tufts."
[64] Southern, "Highway System Takes Shape."

- **Atlantic Highway** (US 1) connected Key West, Florida, with Fort Kent, Maine, at the Canadian border in the 1910s via Rockingham, Southern Pines, Sanford, Raleigh, and Henderson in North Carolina.
- **Bankhead Highway** (US 29, US 70, US 15) connected San Diego, California, with Washington, DC in 1916 via Charlotte, Greensboro, and Durham in North Carolina.
- **Broadway of America** (US 70) connected Holbrook, Arizona, with Beaufort, North Carolina in 1926 via Asheville, Statesville, Salisbury, High Point, Greensboro, Durham, Raleigh, Goldsboro, Kinston, and New Bern in North Carolina. Evolved from Central Highway (NC-10) built in the 1910s from Asheville to Morehead City. The Carolina Route connected Waynesboro, Georgia, with Knoxville, Tennessee.
- **Dixie Highway**–Eastern Division/Carolina Route (US 25, US 70) connected Miami, Florida, with Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, at the Canadian border from 1918 to 1929 via Hot Springs, Asheville, and Hendersonville in western North Carolina.
- **Jefferson Davis Highway** (US 1, US 15) connected San Diego, California, with Arlington County, Virginia, in the 1910s via Sanford in North Carolina. The North Carolina State Highway Commission disapproved the request of the United Daughters of the Confederacy to name the route the Jefferson Davis Highway except for US 1 through Lee County.

Several of these intrastate highways connected to regional destination cities, such as Richmond, Virginia; Greenville, South Carolina; Atlanta, Georgia; and Chattanooga, Knoxville, Nashville, and Memphis in Tennessee. These cities contained hundreds of *Green Book* resources.[65]

Regional Highways, 1926–1936

In the 1920s and 1930s, regional highways were constructed across North Carolina connecting the state to the adjoining states of Virginia, Tennessee, and South Carolina and points beyond. These highways included:

- **US 17**, also known as the Coastal Highway, connected Punta Gorda, Florida, with Winchester, Virginia, in 1927 via Wilmington, New Bern, Washington, and Elizabeth City in North Carolina.

[65] Robbie D. Jones, Susan W. Knowles, Gavin Townsend, Kelli Gibson, Tiffany Momon, and Ginna Foster Cannon, "Tennessee: Crossroads of the Upper South" (Murfreesboro: Middle Tennessee State University, 2017); Susan Hellman, "Virginia: Traveling Safely in the Old Dominion," 2016.

- **US 29** connected Pensacola, Florida, with Ellicott City, Maryland, in 1927, via Gastonia, Charlotte, Concord, Salisbury, Lexington, High Point, Greensboro, and Reidsville in North Carolina.
- **US 74**, also known as the Andrew Jackson Highway, connected Chattanooga, Tennessee, with Wrightsville Beach, North Carolina, from 1926 to 1936 via Asheville, Cleveland, Gastonia, Charlotte, Rockingham, Lumberton, Whiteville, Columbus, and Wilmington in North Carolina
- **US 301** connected Sarasota, Florida, with Biddles Corner, Delaware, in 1932 via Lumberton, Fayetteville, Wilson, Rocky Mount, and Halifax in North Carolina.
- **US 321** connected Hardeeville, South Carolina, with Lenior City, Tennessee, in 1934 via Lenoir, Gastonia, Lincolnton, Hickory, Lenoir, Blowing Rock, and Boone in North Carolina.
- **US 421** connected Fort Fisher, North Carolina, with Michigan City, Indiana, from 1931 to 1936 via Wilmington, Lillington, Sanford, Greensboro, Winston-Salem, Wilksboro, and Boone in North Carolina.
- **US 501** connected Myrtle Beach, South Carolina, to Buena Vista, Virginia, in 1927 via Pinehurst, Carthage, Sanford, Pittsboro, Chapel Hill, Durham, Roxboro, and Oxford in North Carolina.
- **US 64** connected Four Corners, Arizona, to Nags Head, North Carolina, in 1932 via Murphy, Hendersonville, Statesville, Lexington, Raleigh, Rocky Mount, Williamston, and Manteo in North Carolina. US 64 serves as a gateway to North Carolina's Outer Banks. The 604-mile Murphy-to-Manteo section within North Carolina is the longest highway in the state.

When the first issue of the *Green Book* was published in 1936, North Carolina was crisscrossed with major national, regional, and intrastate highways (Figure 17). These well-maintained highways provided multiple points of access to North Carolina from adjoining states and places throughout the nation.

In 1956, Congress authorized the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways to provide a nationwide system of 41,000 miles of interconnected "super highways," later called interstates. In North Carolina, the Federal Highway Administration implemented construction of five interstate highways totaling 769 miles. The five interstate highways comprised I-85 running from South Carolina to Virginia, I-40 from Greensboro to Canton, I-95 from Weldon to Lumberton, I-77 between Charlotte and Virginia, and I-26 from South Carolina to Asheville. Concurrently with the interstate system was the equally important movement to hard surface county roads as part of the Farm-to-Market campaign. By the time the final edition of the *Green Book*

was published in 1966, North Carolina was crisscrossed by modern four-lane highways, limited-access interstate-style roadways, and the beginnings of the current interstate system.[66]

Figure 17. State highway map of North Carolina published by the State Highway Commission, 1936 (Source: State Archives of North Carolina).

Black Population Centers

During the *Green Book* publication era of 1938–1967, the distribution of North Carolina's Black population was inversely related to the state's distribution of white population. Exceptions included six counties with Black majority populations in northeastern North Carolina. Counties within the eastern coastal section of the state and counties with large cities in the central Piedmont section had shares of between 20 and 50 percent Black. The mountainous counties in the western section of the state had less than five percent of the Black population. During the Jim Crow era, Durham became a center for the Black professional class and headquarters for Black businesses such as the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company. During this

[66] Southern, "Highways."

period, other cities with sizeable Black populations included Charlotte, Greensboro, Raleigh, and Winston-Salem. The following sections focus on Black population centers and destinations in North Carolina.[67]

Sundown Towns

During their travels across the country, Black motorists were careful to not allow themselves to become stranded in a "sundown town," all-white communities that were unsafe for Black people to enter after sunset. Many sundown towns posted signs at the town limits that made it clear that Black people were unwelcome. The white residents and leaders of sundown towns or counties enforced their racial "stay out" policies through discriminatory statutes, intimidation, and violence. During the Jim Crow era, thousands of sundown towns were scattered across the US, primarily in the Midwest and West. In Tennessee, the *Green Book* did not include any listings for towns on the Cumberland Plateau, a mountain region between Knoxville and Nashville that was notorious for sundown towns. Instead, travelers using Black travel guides followed the Dixie Highway—a circuitous, out-of-the-way route—via Chattanooga to safely travel between Knoxville and Nashville. In North Carolina, sundown towns were primarily in the western mountain region along the Tennessee border, such as Hot Springs and Robbinsville, and along the coastline of the Atlantic Ocean in places like Wrightsville Beach. Other well-known sundown towns were Smithfield, Ayden, and Greenville in eastern North Carolina (Figure 18). Although strictly segregated during the Jim Crow era, North Carolina contained relatively few sundown towns.[68]

[67] Alfred W. Stuart, "General Demographics–Part 5: African American," *North Carolina Encyclopedia* (University of North Carolina Press, 2010), https://www.ncpedia.org/general-demographics-part-5-african, accessed November 7, 2024; Roberta Sue Alexander, Rodney D. Barfield, and Steven E. Nash, "African Americans: Part iv: Segregation and the struggle for equality," *North Carolina Encyclopedia* (University of North Carolina Press, 2006), https://www.ncpedia.org/african-americans/segregation, accessed November 7, 2024.
[68] Taylor, *Overground Railroad*, 47–49; James W. Loewen, *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism* (New York and London: New Press, 2018), 133–36, 142, 171, 182, 303; Jones, Robbie D., Susan W. Knowles, and Melanie York, "Tennessee: Crossroads of the Upper South," in *The Architecture of The Negro Travelers' Green Book* (University of Virginia, 2024), https://community.village.virginia.edu/greenbooks/states/tennessee, accessed September 9, 2024.

Figure 18. Photograph of a roadside "welcome sign" at Greenville, n.d.
(Source: Roy Hardee Papers, East Carolina University).

Historically Black Colleges and Universities

North Carolina is home to 12 historically Black colleges and universities, commonly known today as HBCUs. Shaw University was founded at Raleigh in 1865, making it the oldest HBCU in the South. North Carolina's newest HBCU is North Carolina Central University, founded at Durham in 1910. Eleven of these HBCUs continue to operate today. North Carolina's HBCUs drew students from across the state and region, some from across the US and other countries. Many of these HBCUs were active in the Civil Rights Movement and drew students and activists from around the South for training, organizing support organizations, and to participate in demonstrations. Some of North Carolina's larger HBCUs were also active in athletics, drawing alumni and fans to athletic events—particularly football—from around the country.

At least three of the Black travel guides included references to North Carolina's HBCUs. Most editions of the *Green Book* included a list of HBCUs. For example, the 1947 edition listed nine HBCUs in North Carolina (see Figure 2). The 1949 and 1952 editions of the *TravelGuide* recommended visiting North Carolina A&T in Greensboro, Fayetteville State Training School, and Shaw University. The 1952 edition of the *Go Guide*

listed national marquee college football games, such as the matchup between North Carolina A&T and North Carolina Central in Durham—the two largest HBCUs in North Carolina and perennial football rivals.[69]

North Carolina's HBCUs are mostly clustered in or near Charlotte, Durham, Fayetteville, Greensboro, Raleigh, and Winston-Salem. These cities were easily accessible via intrastate and regional highways. The state's HBCUs represent large public universities such as North Carolina A&T and Fayetteville State in Fayetteville and small, private religious colleges such as Johnson C. Smith University in Charlotte and Saint Augustine's University in Raleigh. Bennett College, a private liberal arts university for women in Greensboro, was a center of the Civil Rights Movement. In 1960, Shaw University hosted a student meeting that led to the formation of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, one of the bedrocks of the Civil Rights Movement. Students traveled along highways throughout the South to attend this and other meetings at North Carolina's HBCUs. The students used travel guides such as the *Green Book* to guide their travels.[70]

Chitlin Circuit

During the Jim Crow era, Black neighborhoods in cities in towns throughout the US thumped with "nightclubs with fast and furious floor shows." When Black musicians, singers, comedians, and entertainers were forced to leave white nightclubs and performance venues, they would then venture to nearby nightclubs and juke joints catering to Black audiences to eat late night meals and perform. The network of nightclubs, theaters, and performance venues became known as the "Chitlin Circuit." The name derives from the Black soul food called chitterlings. The circuit was promoted by talent agencies such as the white-owned Theater Owners Booking Association (TOBA), which secured films and live performers for theaters and venues catering to Black audiences. The TOBA operated from 1921 to 1930 in Chattanooga, Tennessee. In the 1930s and 1940s, the Ferguson Brothers Agency—based at Indianapolis's Bronzeville neighborhood—became the largest Black-owned talent agency in the country. Led by Denver Ferguson (1895–1957) and Sea Ferguson (1899–1974), both of whom grew up in Kentucky, the Ferguson brothers helped Black entertainers book gigs and

[69] Green, *Green Book*, 1947, 5; Mac Gregor, *TravelGuide*, 1949, 62; Nash, *TravelGuide*, 1952, 76; NHA, *Go Guide*, 1952, 5.
[70] Sarajanee Davis, "Historically Black Colleges and Universities: Marching to the beat of Freedom'" *North Carolina Encyclopedia* (University of North Carolina Press, 2019), https://www.ncpedia.org/historically-black-colleges-and-universities-K-8, accessed November 7, 2024; Christine Alston and Kelly Agan, "North Carolina Historically Black Colleges and Universities Timeline," *North Carolina Encyclopedia* (University of North Carolina Press, 2016) https://www.ncpedia.org/node/12014/, accessed November 7, 2024.

tours throughout the South. In the 1950s, circuit promoters were primarily based in cities such as Memphis, Houston, and Macon, Georgia.[71]

Many of the country's most popular Black entertainers worked along the Chitlin Circuit. The most famous included Ella Fitzgerald, B. B. King, Bessie Smith, Ma Rainey, Duke Ellington, Cab Calloway, Fats Waller, Billie Holiday, Gladys Knight, James Brown, Tina Turner, Jimi Hendrix, Aretha Franklin, Little Richard, and Louis Armstrong. Scores of lesser-known Black entertainers also depended on the circuit for their livelihood. The circuit provided safe places for Black musicians and singers and helped popularize musical genres such as blues, jazz, rock, soul and swing.[72]

The Chitlin Circuit consisted of nightclubs, juke joints, and performance venues in the South, Mid-Atlantic, and Midwest. In the South, the circuit served larger cities with thriving entertainment districts, such as Atlanta, Birmingham, Memphis, Nashville, and New Orleans. In North Carolina, the Chitlin Circuit included music venues in college towns and cities with vibrant music scenes, such as Asheville, Charlotte, Fayetteville, and Greensboro with its El Rocco, Americana, and Carlotta nightclubs. Several taverns listed in the *Green Book* were likely venues on the circuit such as the Hollywood Tavern in Durham, Jack's Tavern in Fayetteville, Club Fantasy (GF7090) in High Point, Phillips Tavern (LR1614) in Kinston, Joe Blacknails Tavern in Raleigh, and Williams Tavern (NH3700) in Wilmington.[73]

According to Candacy Taylor, the *Green Book* listed more than 330 nightclubs across the US—primarily in large cities—and "was like a surrogate guide of chitlin circuit venues;" however, the *Green Book* only listed one North Carolina nightclub—The Excelsior Club (MK1829) in Charlotte. The Excelsior was a private, upscale, members-only club that hosted dances and live music with circuit performers (Figure 19). Some hotels, such as the Booker T. Washington Hotel in Asheville, also had dance halls that likely served as music

[71] Preston Lauterbach, *Chitlin' Circuit and the Road to Rock 'n' Roll* (New York and London: Norton & Company, 2011), 1, 15–29, 36–38; Preston Lauterback, "Chitlin' Circuit: Meet the performers who bring their own, unapologetic brand of 'grown folks' blues to life, one show at a time," *Memphis Magazine*, July 1, 2006, https://memphismagazine.com/culture/chitlin-circuit/, accessed September 29, 2024; Adrian Miller, "Inside the 'Chitlin Circuit,' a Jim Crow-Era Safe Place for Black Performers, *Atlas Obscura*, June 28, 2022, https://www.atlasobscura.com/articles/chitlin-circuit, accessed September 29, 2024.
[72] Lauterbach, "Chitlin' Circuit;" Miller, "Chitlin Circuit."
[73] Lauterbach, *Chitlin' Circuit*, 90–91, 162, 305; Doug Klesch, "The Backbone of the Chitlin' Circuit: North Carolina Funk and Soul, 1963–1979," YouTube, September 19, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qRciqMHTTis , accessed September 29, 2024; Sandra Davidson, "Bringing Back the Funk," North Carolina Arts Council, February 14, 2021, https://www.ncarts.org/blog/2021/02/14/bringing-back-funk, accessed September 29,2024.

venues on the circuit. Promoters on the circuit would often utilize tobacco barns, warehouses, or fraternal lodges as makeshift performance venues when regular dance halls were unavailable.[74]

Figure 19. Photograph of a band playing at the Excelsior Club in Charlotte, n.d.
(Source: Muccigrosso 2024)

While on tour, Black musicians, singers, and entertainers would often stay at hotels and tourist homes listed in the *Green Book,* such as the Magnolia Hotel (GF0785) in Greensboro, which hosted James Brown and Tina Turner, and the DeLuxe Hotel in Raleigh, which hosted Fats Waller and Clara Ward.[75]

[74] Taylor, *Overground Railroad*, 178–96; Klesch, "The Backbone of the Chitlin' Circuit."
[75] Jordan Green, "Soul music at Greensboro's cultural crossroads," *Triad City Beat* (Greensboro, NC), May 21, 2014, https://triad-city-beat.com/soul-music-at-greensboros-cultural-crossroads/, accessed September 29, 2024; Grant Britt, "The Soul of the Circuit," *O,Henry Magazine*, January 30, 2019, https://ohenrymag.com/the-soul-of-the-circuit/, accessed September 29, 2024.

Destination Cities

Black travel guides such as the *Green Book* steered their users to destination cities with Black neighborhoods, businesses, entertainment venues, recreational facilities, and HBCUs. These neighborhoods often served as Black towns within white cities. Black neighborhoods consisted of "barbecue stands, cafés, soda fountains, barbershops, and beauty parlors, tailors, cleaners, shoeshines, cabstands, billiard rooms, taverns, and nightclubs." In North Carolina, destination cities were spread throughout the state although the largest were in the Piedmont region. The *Green Book* listed at least 10 businesses in the following destination cities.[76]

Charlotte

Charlotte had 53 *Green Book* listings. Located in the state's Piedmont region, Charlotte was established in 1755 and became the governmental seat of Mecklenburg County. Following the Civil War, Charlotte experienced a surge in the Black population, as formerly enslaved people sought work and community in an urban setting. Initially, Black Charlotteans lived all over the city, side-by-side with white residents.[77] Nevertheless, over the following decades, during which white supremacy political campaigns and Jim Crow laws became prevalent, Charlotte's Black residents increasingly settled in discrete downtown neighborhoods. After 1900, Brooklyn, in Charlotte's Second Ward, evolved into a thriving Black community which boasted many Black-owned businesses and professional offices, restaurants, churches, the city's first Black public schools, a library, and a YMCA.[78] Numerous Brooklyn businesses advertised in the *Green Book*, including the Ebony Cleaners, Ingram's Restaurant, J. C. Hart's Shoe Shop, J. C. Sandwich Shop, McDowell's Barbershop, and The Musical Grille. The neighborhood survived into the mid-twentieth century but was severely impacted by the construction of Independence Boulevard in 1949, before being completely razed between 1960 and 1967, displacing over 1,000 families and forcing the closure of over 200 businesses.[79]

Many of Brooklyn's residents resettled in suburbs that had developed earlier northwest of downtown in proximity to the Biddle Institute, a "freedman's school" founded by the Presbyterian Church in 1867 and

[76] Lauterbach, *Chitlin' Circuit*, 1.
[77] Thomas W. Hanchett, *Sorting out the New South City: Race, Class, and Urban Development in Charlotte, 1875–1975* (University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 41.
[78] Casey Moore, "History of the Brooklyn Community," J. Murrey Atkins Library, University of North Carolina at Charlotte, accessed August 2024, https://guides.library.charlotte.edu/NeighborhoodHistories.
[79] Moore, "History of the Brooklyn Community."

renamed Johnson C. Smith University in 1923.[80] Segregated neighborhoods around the college, such as Biddleville and Washington Heights, were home to professors, students, and alumni, as well as public school teachers and principals who wanted to raise their children in an "intellectual atmosphere."[81]

In the 1930s and 1940s, mortgages subsidized by the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and Veterans Administration made home-buying accessible to middle-class Black residents, but home ownership opportunities were generally restricted to specific geographical areas. Following the already established Biddleville and Washington Heights neighborhoods, new FHA-approved Black neighborhoods were developed on the west side of Charlotte. With the 1938 all-Black West Charlotte High School at its center, the northwest sector of Charlotte became a new hub of Black life and drew residents from older in-town neighborhoods.

Black residents of northwest Charlotte during the 1950s and 1960s describe idyllic communities where pride in home ownership was reflected in tidy houses and yards, education was prized, and children walked to school and spent summers at the Double Oaks swimming pool, built in 1951 as a segregated recreational facility.[82] Businesses serving the residents of northwest Charlotte and welcoming Black travelers coalesced along Beatties Ford Road, a north–south artery that ran past Johnson C. Smith University. Two restaurants advertised in the *Green Book* survive on Beatties Ford Road: Igloo Dairy Bar (MK4512) and Chicken N' Ribs (MK4513), as does the famed Excelsior Club (MK1829), one of the premiere Black social clubs on the East Coast. The Excelsior Club hosted leading Black entertainers such as Nat "King" Cole, Louis Armstrong, James Brown, and Sam Cooke. It served as a hub for political organizing, attracting both Black and white candidates, and was the home base for numerous civic and fraternal organizations.

Wilmington

Wilmington had 49 *Green Book* listings. A port city on the Atlantic Ocean, Wilmington was founded in the 1730s and became the governmental seat of New Hanover County. During the Reconstruction era, Wilmington's Black community had a growing middle class and representation in a multi-racial local

[80] James I. Martin Sr., "Johnson C. Smith University," in *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, ed. William S. Powell (University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 636.
[81] Casey Moore, "History of Biddleville," J. Murrey Atkins Library, University of North Carolina at Charlotte, accessed August 2024, https://guides.library.charlotte.edu/NeighborhoodHistories.
[82] Constance C. Oliphant, 2015 Oral History Interview, J. Murrey Atkins Library, University of North Carolina at Charlotte, accessed August 2024, https://goldmine.charlotte.edu/islandora/object/uncc:2384/parentPID/uncc:dh.

government. At the time, about 55 percent of the residents were Black people and three of the city's aldermen were Black. During the Wilmington massacre of 1898, however, white supremacists overthrew the municipal government, banished their political opponents, destroyed Black businesses and property, and killed scores of Black citizens. The social and economic impacts of the coup on the city's Black population were far reaching: the number of Black people employed as professionals declined while the number of manual laborers increased; Black businesses struggled, closed, or were forced to relocate from the central business district; Black school funding and literacy declined; and residential neighborhoods became strictly segregated.[83]

During the first half of the twentieth century, there were two predominantly Black neighborhoods in Wilmington: Brooklyn and the Bottom. Brooklyn developed in the late nineteenth century in proximity to the Cape Fear River, two railroad lines, and major manufacturing, warehousing, and distribution businesses. The neighborhood was initially populated by both working class white and Black laborers drawn to railroad and industry jobs but was largely segregated by the early twentieth century. While working class occupations were common, Brooklyn was also home to skilled laborers, shopkeepers, and clerks. Brooklyn was anchored by several Black churches which played significant religious, civic, and educational roles in the community. Black-owned businesses were concentrated along Red Cross Street in Brooklyn.[84] In the *Green Book* era, Red Cross Street was home to cafes and restaurants, beauty and barber shops, taxi stands, tailors, and drugstores. Payne's Tourist Home (NH1026, NRHP, 1974), at 417 North 6th Street near its intersection with Red Cross Street, was one of the earliest Wilmington businesses to advertise in the *Green Book* and remains a Black-owned rooming house today. Payne's Tourist Home also advertised in the *Go Guide*.[85]

The Bottom, a neighborhood southeast of Brooklyn, developed in the first quarter of the twentieth century. It was a dense residential neighborhood populated by Black citizens with working-class occupations, with men typically working as laborers and women as domestics. Nevertheless, the Bottom was home to the Williston Primary and Industrial School, one of the earliest Black schools in North Carolina to offer a four-year high school education to Black students.[86] While some Black-owned businesses intermingled with residences on

[83] Wilmington Race Riot Commission, "1898 Wilmington Race Riot Report," Office of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 2006.
[84] Sherry Wyatt and L. Robbie King, "Wilmington Historic District Boundary Expansion and Additional Documentation," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2003), 8:21–22.
[85] "New Hanover County's Green Book Sites," New Hanover County, accessed August 2024; Jackson, *Go Guide*, 1952, 80.
[86] Wyatt and King, "Wilmington Historic District," 8:24

Orange Street in the Bottom, the neighborhood's primary commercial corridor was Castle Street. From the 1940s on, the Murphy Hotel (NH3696) on Castle Street offered Black travelers to Wilmington an alternative to Payne's Tourist Home in Brooklyn. Also on Castle Street were *Green Book*-advertised businesses such as the Blue Bird Restaurant, High Hat Tavern, and Johnson's Barber Shop and Greyhound Taxi, which both operated out of the extant building at 902 Castle Street (NH3691).

Black travelers, with travel guides in hand, passed through Wilmington on their way to one of New Hanover County's two Black beach resorts: Seabreeze and Freeman Beach. Seabreeze was established in 1922 by members of the Freeman family who descended from free Black landowners in Federal Point Township south of Wilmington. The resort was located on Myrtle Grove Sound north of present-day Carolina Beach and catered to Black vacationers who were prohibited from visiting nearby beaches. The Freemans sold lots for residential and business development and the resort grew throughout the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s with rental beach cottages, a 25-room hotel, restaurants, an amusement park, bingo parlor, and dance halls. In the 1940s, Frank and Lulu Freeman Hill developed a companion resort across the sound which was called Freeman Beach, featuring an entertainment pavilion and restaurant called Monte Carlo By-the-Sea which opened in 1951. Freeman Beach hosted leading national rhythm and blues performers and became known as "Bop City." None of the businesses at Seabreeze or Freeman Beach advertised in the *Green Book*; however, Seabreeze Beach advertised in the *Go Guide* in the early 1950s. The two resorts declined in the 1950s because of erosion caused by construction of a new inlet just north of Freeman Beach, destruction by Hurricane Hazel in 1954, and court challenges from white development interests. In 1949, a white attorney and a Black physician acquired a one-mile portion of Topsail Island near Wilmington for development of a Black beach community called Ocean City. In contrast to Seabreeze, which had garnered a rowdy reputation, Ocean City was a quiet community. In 1959, the community built the state's first ocean pier for Black fishermen.[87]

Durham

Durham had 40 *Green Book* listings. Located in the state's Piedmont region, Durham was incorporated in 1869 and became the governmental seat of Durham County in 1881. Durham's successful tobacco and textile industries fueled extensive population growth and urban development in the late nineteenth and early

[87] "Seabreeze and Freeman Beaches," North Carolina Department of Natural and Cultural Resources, accessed September 2024, https://www.dncr.nc.gov/blog/2023/12/12/seabreeze-and-freeman-beaches-d-124; Kahrl et al., "Outdoor Recreation," 69–70, 81–82, 137, 194; Jackson, *Go Guide*, 1952, 80. In 2022, the NPS included Seabreeze/Freeman Beach on its Study List of potential National Historic Landmark (NHL) designated Black "Ocean Beach Resorts."

twentieth centuries. After the Civil War, former enslaved people migrated to Durham, primarily from surrounding rural counties, seeking work in the tobacco factories—the textile industry only employed white workers—or as domestic workers for white families.

Sociologist, historian, author and activist W. E. B. DuBois visited Durham in 1912 and was struck by the vibrancy of its Black community. In an article entitled "The Upbuilding of Black Durham: The Success of the Negroes and their Value to a Tolerant and Helpful Southern City," he described Black social and economic development as being "perhaps more striking than that of any similar group in the nation."[88] Durham's Black residents carved out communities in less desirable parts of the city, often low-lying areas that were prone to flooding. The largest of these communities was Hayti, named in honor of the nation of Haiti, which was the first free Black republic in the world.

Hayti was a large area south of downtown Durham and centered on Fayetteville Street which comprised several smaller neighborhoods. In addition to housing for Black residents, Hayti included churches, businesses, schools, and a hospital run by and for Black people. North Carolina Central University (NRHP, 1986), founded in 1910 as a Black religious training school, was in Hayti. An entertainment district along Pettigrew Street was home to restaurants, theaters, and the Biltmore Hotel, which advertised in the *Green Book*. For the first half of the twentieth century, "nearly everything needed in life could be purchased from a Black business in Hayti, an area that functioned in many ways as a city within a city."[89] Outside Hayti proper, but intrinsically linked to it, were two notable Black-owned businesses which financed and insured generations of Black home and business owners: The North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company (NHL, 1975; NRHP, 1975) and its subsidiary the Mechanics and Farmers Bank. The two businesses were headquartered north of Hayti in a four-block stretch of Parrish Street that became known as Durham's Black Main Street.[90]

Urban renewal programs in the 1960s, including construction of the East-West Expressway (NC 147, now known as the Durham Freeway) destroyed much of the fabric of the Hayti community, including six *Green Book* businesses. The new freeway limited access to other *Green Book* resources. *Green Book* resources in

[88] W. E. B. DuBois, "The Upbuilding of Black Durham: The Success of the Negroes and their Value to a Tolerant and Helpful Southern City," *The World's Work* 23 (January 1912).
[89] Melissa Norton, "Urbanization and Upbuilding Black Durham 1900–1950," in *Power & Benefit on the Plate: The History of Food in Durham, North Carolina*, Duke University World Food Policy Center, 2020.
[90] "Hayti," Open Durham, accessed August 2024, https://www.opendurham.org/category/neighborhood/hayti.

Durham known to have survived include the Union Tailor shop (DH3406) at 112 Parrish Street, the College Inn Restaurant (DH3163) at 1306 Fayetteville Street, and Tompson's Esso Service Station (DH4000) at 2425 Fayetteville Street; all three are near North Carolina Central University, an HBCU founded in 1910.[91]

Raleigh

Raleigh had 33 *Green Book* listings. Located in the state's Piedmont region, Raleigh was established in 1788 as the capital city of North Carolina. Following the Civil War, formerly enslaved people streamed into Raleigh seeking employment, doubling the state capital's Black population between 1860 and 1870. While some of the newcomers settled in new freedmen's villages outside town such as Oberlin and Method, many others settled in east Raleigh near St. Augustine's University (NRHP, 1980), founded in 1867 to educate Black teachers, or south Raleigh around Shaw University, founded in 1870 as a Black college and preparatory school. The colleges proved to be magnets for Black residential growth in east and southeast Raleigh.[92] Neighborhoods such as Hungry Neck, Idlewild, and College Park near St. Augustine's University and East Raleigh-South Park (WA1845; NRHP, 1990) near Shaw University became densely populated with Black renters and homeowners.

In the early twentieth century, a Black business district emerged along East Hargett Street west of Moore Square. While scattered Black businesses had been found throughout the city during the immediate post-Civil War years, their concentration on East Hargett Street was a result of segregationist policies and attitudes which directed opportunities for Black businessmen there while discouraging them elsewhere. Between 1910 and the mid-1920s, the number of Black-owned businesses on East Hargett Street increased from nine to fifty.[93]

Fittingly, businesses advertising in the *Green Book* were clustered on East Hargett Street and other downtown locations in proximity to the Black residential neighborhoods. The Lightner Arcade and Hotel, built by prominent Black businessman C. E. Lightner in 1921, was a landmark on the 100 block of East Harget Street. In addition to offering hotel rooms for Black travelers, it housed professional offices, a pharmacy, a Black-run newspaper, and a ballroom. It was advertised in the *Green Book* from 1938 onward but was destroyed by fire in 1970. The New York Restaurant (WA8336, NRHP, 1983) was located at 108 East Hargett Street in an

[91] McGill et al., "Vanishing Act."
[92] Richard Mattson, "The Evolution of Raleigh's African-American Neighborhoods in the 19th and 20th Centuries," research paper 1988, 12–13, 16–17.
[93] Mattson, "Evolution" 22–23.

extant building. Its owner, a Greek immigrant, employed Black waiters and served Black customers, as evidenced by his advertisement in the *Green Book*. Construction of a downtown bus depot and surface parking lots resulted in the demolition of at least six *Green Book* resources. The G. & M. Tailor (WA8338; NRHP, 1983), later Nicholson's Barber Shop, at 106 Hargett Street remains extant near the bus depot.[94] The *Green Book* advertised tourist homes, taxi stands, beauty parlors, barber shops, and restaurants in southeast Raleigh.

Fayetteville

Fayetteville had 22 *Green Book* listings. The county seat of Cumberland County, Fayetteville was established in 1783 in the state's eastern Coastal Plain region. The town's Black population remained relatively steady in terms of its share of total population in the first half of the twentieth century, ranging from 47 percent in 1910 to 37 percent in 1950.[95] Typical of other cities throughout North Carolina and the South during the Jim Crow era, Black citizens settled in racially defined neighborhoods, often near Black churches and schools. In Fayetteville, Orange, Chatham, and Moore streets formed a cohesive neighborhood that exemplified this pattern. The neighborhood was centered on the St. Joseph's AME Church (NRHP, 1982) and the Orange Street School (NRHP, 1987) for Black students, and its residents included working-class and professional Black renters and homeowners.[96] Similarly, a Black residential and commercial neighborhood developed on Gillespie Street, near the Howard School, established in 1867 by Black citizens to educate Black children. The Howard School was renamed the State Colored Normal School in 1877, becoming the first state-sponsored institution for the training of Black teachers in the South. The school relocated twice before settling in 1909 at its permanent location on Murchison Boulevard, where it evolved into Fayetteville State University in 1969. Several Green Book resources were on Gillespie Street, such as the Silver Green Restaurant and Big Buster Tavern (CD1793; NRHP, 1999), located in a circa-1885 Italianate-style commercial building.[97]

Black neighborhoods also developed in proximity to employment centers. Fayetteville had a thriving textile industry in the early twentieth century, but traditionally cotton mills only employed white workers. An

[94] McGill et al., "Vanishing Act," 2016; Emily Gajda, "Oasis Spaces: Preserving Raleigh's Green Book Sites," *Walter Magazine*, June 2022.
[95] US Census Bureau, Population Census for Wake County, North Carolina, 1910, 1950.
[96] Vanessa Patrick, "Historic Architectural Resources Final Identification and Evaluation, Replace Bridge No. 116 on NC 24 (Rowan Street) over the CSX and Norfolk Southern Railroads and Hillsborough Street," 2011.
[97] Michelle Michael, "Dr. Ezekiel Ezra Smith House, Fayetteville, Cumberland County, North Carolina," National Register of Historic Places Nomination (Washington, DC: US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2014), 8-9; McGill et al., "Vanishing Act."

exception was the Ashley and Bailey Company Silk Mill, which exclusively employed Black workers, including the company's foreman, T. W. Thurston, as an "experiment."[98] The company provided worker housing in a neighborhood called Ashley Heights which included a church, store, and community center.[99]

The establishment of Camp Bragg, a US Army artillery training ground, in 1919 west of downtown triggered dramatic growth in Fayetteville, which doubled its population between 1920 and 1940 and again between 1940 and 1950.[100] New infrastructure, housing, schools, and businesses were needed to serve the soldiers, support staff, and their families, which transformed Fayetteville. When the United States armed forces were officially desegregated in 1948, an increasing number of Black servicemen called Fayetteville home. Additionally, schools at Fort Bragg were desegregated after the 1954 *Brown v. Board* decision.[101]

Fayetteville businesses advertising in the *Green Book* were found throughout the city, particularly in those areas with concentrations of Black residents. Moore Street in the Orange, Chatham, and Moore Streets neighborhood was home to two lodging establishments, the Jones Tourist Home and the Bedford Inn. Two *Green Book* listings, the Mayflower Grill and Crumpler's Restaurant, offered dining options near the Black hospital in that neighborhood. Although the Howard School had relocated decades earlier, the Gillespie Road neighborhood remained a Black commercial hub as evidenced by numerous *Green Book* listings there. The King Cole Motel (see Figure 7) and V Point Restaurant were convenient to the Fayetteville State University campus on Murchison Road, and on the outskirts of town were gas stations and motor courts advertising to Black travelers destined for Fort Bragg or passing through Fayetteville.

Winston-Salem

Winston-Salem had 18 *Green Book* listings. Located in the state's Piedmont region, Winston-Salem is the governmental seat of Forsyth County. The city evolved from Salem, founded by Moravians from Pennsylvania in 1766, and Winston, founded in 1851. The two cities merged and incorporated as Winston-Salem in 1913. While both enslaved and free African Americans called Winston and Salem home prior to and during the Civil War, the Black population increased significantly during the Reconstruction era. The arrival

[98] "Silk Mill," *Fayetteville Weekly Observer*, May 16, 1901.
[99] Michelle Michael, "Historic and Architectural Resources of Fayetteville, North Carolina, 1789–1951," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form (Washington, DC: US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2001), F-39.
[100] US Census Bureau, Population Census for Cumberland County, North Carolina, 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950.
[101] McGill et al., "Vanishing Act."

of a railroad connection from Greensboro in 1873 encouraged the establishment of R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company in 1875. The booming tobacco industry experienced rapid growth and a need for a large labor force. As a result, R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company recruited Black tenant farmers from the Deep South to work in the factories.

The development of Black neighborhoods in Winston-Salem was the result of segregation, topography, transportation, relationship to workplace, and existing development in the city.[102] Winston-Salem was one of the earliest cities to enact Jim Crow laws that designated blocks throughout the city as either Black or white according to most residents on the block. These laws forbade anyone to live in a block "where the majority of residents on such streets are occupied by those with whom said person is forbidden to intermarry."[103] Many of Winston-Salem's Black residents were forced to live in "bottoms" or low-lying lands that were prone to flooding and invaded by mosquitoes, rats, and snakes. Black neighborhoods sprung up at Happy Hill, the Pond, East Winstone, and Reynoldstown (NRHP, 2008). Jacob Lott Ludlow laid out one of the earliest residential neighborhoods—Columbian Heights—for Black residents in 1892 southeast of downtown.[104] The platting of Columbian Heights coincided with the establishment of Slater Academy, later renamed Winston-Salem State University, founded in 1892 to educate Black teachers.

The neighborhood of East Winston became the hub for the Black community. Black businesses, many of which were established in the twentieth century, flourished as East Winston grew. Sanborn maps and city directories indicate that a commercial corridor thrived along Patterson Avenue (formerly Deport Street). The commercial stretch, which ran from Third Street north to Liberty Street, included a drug store, general store, barbershop, café, dance hall, beauty school, and the first bank for Blacks founded in Winston-Salem, the Forsyth Savings and Trust Company. *Green Book* properties including the Belmont Hotel, Club 709, and Model Pharmacy, opened in the 1920s and 1930s along Patterson Avenue. Other businesses were located on streets off Patterson Avenue, such as the Lincoln Hotel on East Third Street and the Stevens Hotel on East Fourth Street.

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[102] Langdon D. Oppermann, "Historic and Architectural Resources of African-American Neighborhoods in Northeastern Winston-Salem, ca. 1900–1947," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form (Washington, DC: US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1997), E:9.
[103] C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 135.
[104] Oppermann, "Northeastern Winston-Salem," E:14.

In the 1950s and 1960s, urban renewal projects and Winston-Salem's Redevelopment Commission radically altered the Black communities by razing neighborhoods and displacing Black residents. The construction of the North-South Expressway (US 52) destroyed hundreds of properties and bisected the historically Black section of East Winston. Projects such as the expansion of the campuses of R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company and Winston-Salem State University resulted in the loss of historically Black neighborhoods, including Columbia Heights, as well as the Belmont Hotel and Club 709. Urban renewal projects resulted in the demolition of many of Winston-Salem's *Green Book* properties, including the Orchid Beauty Parlor, the Ideal Hotel, the Stevens Hotel, and Mrs. J. Penn Tourist Home. None of Winston-Salem's *Green Book* properties are known to have survived to the present day.

Greensboro

Greensboro had 14 *Green Book* listings. Located in the Piedmont region, Greensboro was founded in 1808 as the governmental seat of Guilford County. In the decades following the Civil War, Black and white households were intermingled throughout Greensboro. The exception to that rule was Warnersville, an all-Black community south of downtown, developed between 1868 and 1888 by Yardley Warner, a Quaker from Pennsylvania. Warner built a school for Black children and purchased and subdivided land for purchase by Black families in what was the city's first real estate development and suburb.[105] The trend toward single-race neighborhoods accelerated in the early twentieth century and was codified in 1914 when the City of Greensboro passed an ordinance prohibiting Black people from buying property on any block where most property owners were white.[106]

Increasingly, Black citizens settled in east Greensboro near two significant Black educational institutions: Bennett College (NRHP, 1992), originally known as Bennett Seminary, and the North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University, better known as North Carolina A&T (GF0918; NRHP, 1988). Bennett College, established in 1873 by recently emancipated Black women and men, was a junior college for women that also offered a college preparatory high school curriculum because there was no high school for Black students until the late 1920s. Originally known as the North Carolina Agricultural and Mechanical College

[105] Marvin Brown, "Historic and Architectural Resources of Greensboro, North Carolina, 1880–1941" (Washington, DC: US Department of the Interior, National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form 1991), E-11.
[106] Heather Wagner Slane and Cheri LaFlamme Szcondronski, "Architectural Survey of African American Neighborhoods in East and Southeast Greensboro," 2020, 12.

for the Colored Race, North Carolina A&T moved from Raleigh to Greensboro in 1893 and developed its campus to the north of Bennett College in east Greensboro.[107]

The decades of the 1910s and 1920s saw a boom in suburban residential development in Greensboro which reflected its growing prosperity as a textile manufacturing center. Streetcar lines from downtown provided access to white subdivisions north, west, and southwest of downtown.[108] At the same time, in east Greensboro, platted neighborhoods developed around the two Black colleges. These planned suburbs, including Scott Park (1918), College Heights (1918–1919), Nocho Park (1924), and Clinton Hills (1929), comprised housing, schools, churches, and community amenities to serve Black residents ranging from working class laborers to students, professors, and elite professionals.[109] A thriving Black commercial and entertainment district developed along East Market Street between the two college campuses. Market Street was a major east–west artery through town, and it was lined with as many as 80 Black-owned businesses during the first half of the twentieth century. The corridor was also home to several nightclubs on the Chitlin Circuit.

The locations of *Green Book*-listed businesses in Greensboro mirrored the segregated residential pattern of the city, with most of the businesses offering services and accommodation to Black travelers being located on the east side of town. The 800 and 900 blocks of East Market Street alone were home to seven *Green Book* listings, including four tourist homes and two taverns. Extant buildings which housed business advertising in the *Green Book* include the Magnolia Hotel (GF0785) and Plaza Manor Hotel (GF9645), both near Bennett College, and the Harris East End Gulf Station in Scott Park near North Carolina A&T. In the 1960s during the Urban Renewal era, East Market Street was widened from two to six lanes, causing the displacement of residences and businesses and cutting off the two colleges and their surrounding neighborhoods from one another, ushering in a period of decline and disinvestment.

Asheville

Asheville had 11 *Green Book* listings. Located in the state's western mountains, Asheville was established in 1797 as the governmental seat for Buncombe County. Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, the city's economy became rooted in recreational and health tourism. Following the Civil War, Asheville's Black

[107] Slane and Szcondronski, "Architectural Survey," 13.
[108] Brown, "Greensboro," E-30–32.
[109] Brown, "Greensboro." E-33.

population constituted around 40 percent of the city's 1,400 people.[110] Located on the Dixie Highway (US 70), Asheville was renowned for its upscale resorts such as the Grove Park Inn (NRHP, 1973) and the famous Biltmore Estate (NHL, 1963; NRHP, 1966). The city's earliest Black neighborhoods—East End, South Asheville, and Shiloh—developed from enclaves of Black residents who were emancipated from enslavement. The East End neighborhood was centered on Valley Street, east of downtown and close to the municipal government complex at Pack Square. The neighborhood included the area known as "The Block," which was the historically Black business district along Eagle Street in downtown Asheville. The East End was one of the largest Black neighborhoods and home to numerous Black churches, Stephens-Lee High School, and the Allen School for Girls.[111]

The commercial district that grew up between the East End neighborhood and downtown Asheville was a booming center for business and culture in the city's Black community. Organized by Black leaders and partly funded by George Vanderbilt, the Young Men's Institute (NRHP, 1977) served as a community center that housed retail, offices, a gymnasium/auditorium, and meeting rooms on the corner of Eagle and Market streets.[112] As Asheville grew over the ensuing decades, a larger Black commercial district blossomed around the Young Men's Institute. Such businesses as a grocer, real estate and insurance agent, café, undertaker, jeweler, barber and beauty shops, and medical offices in the area known as The Block served the city's Black residents.[113] This was the primary area where businesses listed in the *Green Book* were located, including Wilson's Barber Shop (BN2157, NRHP, 1979), Palace Grille Restaurant (BN5030), Savoy Tourist Court, Do Drop Inn Barber Shop, Butler's Beauty Parlor, Wilkin's Garage, and the YWCA Hotel.

As Asheville prospered through the early twentieth century, more Black neighborhoods grew across the city. The Burton Street neighborhood in west Asheville developed in the 1910s. The Southside, which was separate and distinct from the south Asheville neighborhood, originated as a white residential district along French Broad Avenue and grew into a predominantly Black neighborhood by the mid-twentieth century. Just as

[110] Acme Preservation Services, LLC, and Owen & Eastlake, LLC, *Asheville African American Heritage Resource Survey*, survey report prepared for the City of Asheville and the North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, 2022, https://www.dncr.nc.gov/historic-preservation-office/survey-and-national-register/surveyreports/aaahrs-report-final-101722/open, accessed September 2024, 10–11.
[111] Acme, "Asheville," 17.
[112] Catherine Bishir et al., "Young Men's Institute, Asheville, Buncombe County, North Carolina," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1977), https://files.nc.gov/ncdcr/nr/BN0020.pdf, accessed September 2024, section 8 page 1; Acme, "Asheville," 29.
[113] Acme, "Asheville," 31.

Asheville was a tourism destination for whites, it was an important destination city for Blacks from across the region, state, and nation. Asheville constructed several recreational facilities for Black residents, including the Walton Park and Pool (NRHP, 2023) in the city's Southside neighborhood and the city's Municipal Golf Course (NRHP, 2005), a segregated white facility that integrated in 1954.[114] In 1916, Black businessman and developer E. W. Pearson organized a semi-professional Black baseball team, called the Royal Giants. Five years later, Pearson organized the Blue Ridge Colored Baseball League, which included teams from North Carolina and South Carolina. The Asheville Royal Giants played at Oates Park in Southside.[115]

Southside developed its own commercial base, characterized by numerous retail enterprises, professional offices, and personal services that were scattered throughout the neighborhood. It was home to several churches and the Elks Fawndale Lodge No. 363. The many tourist homes for Black travelers in the neighborhood benefited from its proximity to the passenger depot and the presence of Walton Park and Pool. The Southside neighborhood included several *Green Book* resources, such as the Mrs. S. Foster Tourist Home, Booker T. Washington Hotel, Jamison Barber Shop, and the YWCA.

Beginning in the late 1940s, urban renewal projects in Asheville affected every Black neighborhood in the city to some degree. In the Southside neighborhood, urban renewal projects in the 1960s resulted in the demolition of over 700 buildings.[116] Many Southside commercial buildings were demolished and those that remained were largely cut off from the remaining residential properties because of new highways.

Pass-Through Towns

Black travel guides such as the *Green Book* steered their users to small towns where travelers were typically passing through on their way to other destinations (Figure 20). Most of these pass-through towns were situated at the intersections of major highways. In North Carolina, pass-through towns were clustered in the eastern region. The *Green Book* listed from four to nine businesses in the following pass-through towns.

[114] Foreground Consulting, "Walton Street Park and Pool, Asheville, Buncombe County, North Carolina," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2023), Section 8, 18; Sybil Bowers, "Municipal Golf Course, Asheville, Buncombe County, North Carolina," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2005), Section 8, 8.
[115] Acme, "Asheville," 22–27.
[116] Acme, "Asheville," 65–67.

Figure 20. Photograph by Jack Delano of a Florida family on the roadside near Shawboro, North Carolina, bound for Cranbury, New Jersey, 1940 (Source: Library of Congress).

Rocky Mount

Rocky Mount had seven *Green Book* listings. Located east of Raleigh at the intersection of US 64 and US 301, Rocky Mount is a classic railroad town with a Main Street straddling the railroad laid through the town in 1840. The railroad forms the dividing line between Edgecombe and Nash counties. The railroad supported the town's industries such as tobacco factories and railroad shops. Rocky Mount's "Little Raleigh" was a historically Black neighborhood on the west side of town in Nash County. Rocky Mount's *Green Book* listings included the Lincoln Park Motel (ED1605, NRHP, 1999), Wright's Motel (NS1365), Dixie Restaurant, City Barber Shop (ED0555, NRHP, 1999), John Wimberly's tailor shop (ED2400), Atlantic Service Station, and Shaw's Service Station (NS1599). Five of Rocky Mount's seven *Green Book* listings are extant and two are

located within the boundary of the Lincoln Park Historic District (NRHP, 1999) on the east side of town in Edgecombe County.[117]

Goldsboro

Goldsboro had six *Green Book* listings. Located between Raleigh and Wilmington at the intersection of US 70 and US 117, Goldsboro "blossomed as a commercial hub at the junction of the state's first major north-south and east-west railroads." In the early twentieth century, the railroads spurred economic and population growth resulting in construction of a streetcar system, classical civic buildings, a movie theater, and the 10-story Wayne National Bank. Serving as the government seat for Wayne County, Goldsboro became a regional commercial and industrial hub. Goldsboro's Green Book listings included Raynard's Beauty Parlor, Jackson's Drug Store, Scott's Restaurant, Anchor Inn, Thornton's Teenage Shaving Parlor, and Garris Dry Cleaners and Hatters. None of Goldsboro's six *Green Book* listings are thought to be extant.[118]

Greenville

Greenville had six *Green Book* listings. Located between Raleigh and the Outer Banks at the intersection of US 264 and two state highways, Greenville was a tobacco town and government seat of Pitt County; however, it was primarily known as the home of the East Carolina Teachers Training School, a segregated white public college (now known as East Carolina University). The commercial downtown consists of classical civic buildings, tobacco warehouses, and a Moderne-style bus station. Although considered by some as a sundown town, Greenville served as one of several refuges for Black cultural life in eastern North Carolina. The Black business district along Albemarle Avenue was anchored by the Roxy Theater, a streamlined Moderne-style theater built in 1948 and leased to the Booker T. Theater Corporation based in Rocky Mount. Greenville was also home to Bell's Hotel, the city's first Black hotel which operated from 1945 to 1994, at 1705 West 3rd Street. Greenville's *Green Book* listings include Midgett's Beauty Shop, Spain Beauty Shop, Harrison's Drug

[117] Catherine W. Bishir and Michael T. Southern, *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Eastern North Carolina* (University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 333–38. The Lincoln Park Motel was a member of the NHA and advertised in the *Go Guide*.
[118] Bisher and Southern, *Eastern North Carolina*, 376–82.

Store, Bell's Restaurant (PT3367), Paradise Restaurant (PT3368), and the Eagle Service Station (PT3369). Three of Greenville's six *Green Book* listings are extant.[119]

Elizabethtown

Elizabethtown had five *Green Book* listings. Located near Wilmington at the intersection of US 701 and two state highways, Elizabethtown was a small courthouse town best known for its churches and the naval stores industry. Elizabethtown's *Green Book* listings included Liola's Beauty Salon (BL0396), McKay & Neal Drug Store, Hotel Carver, Gill's Grill, and the Royal Café (BL0393). Two of Elizabethtown's five *Green Book* listings, Liola's Beauty Salon and Royal Café, are known to be extant.[120]

Kinston

Kinston had four *Green Book* listings. Located between Raleigh and Wilmington, Kinston was a small city at the intersection of US 70 and US 258. Founded in 1762, Kinston grew into a regional tobacco and textile industry hub after the railroad was laid through the town in 1858. The commercial downtown is anchored by the Lenoir County Courthouse, several banks, and the 11-story Hotel Kinston. Kinston's *Green Book* listings included the Blue Bird Tavern, Phillips Tavern (LR1646), Dave's Service Station (LR1647), and Mark's Tourist Home and Cabins (LR1648). Three of Kinston's four *Green Book* listings are extant.[121]

Sanford

Sanford had four *Green Book* listings. Located southwest of Raleigh, Sanford was a small town in the state's Sandhills region located at the intersection of US 1, US 15/501, and US 421. The government seat of Lee County, Sanford industrial-based economy depended on the railroad laid out through town soon after the Civil War. The downtown commercial district is best known for its three-story town hall, railroad depots, six-story Wilrik Hotel, and Art Deco-style Coca-Cola bottling company. Sanford's Black community was anchored by the Fair Promise AME Zion Church and W. B. Wicker School. Sanford's *Green Book* listings included

[119] Bishir and Southern, *Eastern North Carolina*, 354–61; Richard A. Kennedy, "Automobility, Hospitality, African American Tourism, and Mapping Victor H. Green's *Negro Motorist Green Book*" (master's thesis, East Carolina University, Greenville, 2013), 91. Bell's Hotel, a small brick Modernist-style building, was demolished in 2023.
[120] Bishir and Southern, *Eastern North Carolina*, 420.
[121] Bishir and Southern, *Eastern North Carolina*, 369–73. Mark's Tourist Home and Cabins was a member of the NHA and advertised in the *Go Guide*.

Douglas' Beauty Parlor, Campbell's Garage, Bland's drug store, and Phillips Hotel. None of Sanford's four *Green Book* listings are known to be extant.[122]

Wilson

Wilson had four *Green Book* listings. Located between Raleigh and Greenville at the intersection of US 301, US 264, and US 117, Wilson was a tobacco market city and government seat for Wilson County. The town grew up around three railroads built from 1849 to 1908. In the 1920s, Wilson was the nation's top tobacco marketing center, leading to a significant population growth, including many African Americans. Wilson's Black business and residential districts grew up on the east side of town. Important Black landmarks included the St. John AME Zion Church, Mercy Hospital, and one of the state's best preserved historic Black neighborhoods. Wilson's Green Book listings included the Biltmore Hotel, Wilson Biltmore Hotel, M. Jones Taxi stand (WL4197), and the Taxicab Service stand (WL0444; NRHP, 1984). Two of Wilson's four *Green Book* listings are extant, one of which—the Taxicab Service Stand—is within the boundary of the Wilson Central Business-Tobacco Warehouse Historic District.[123]

Small Towns

Black travel guides such as the *Green Book* provided listings for small towns throughout the US. In North Carolina, the *Green Book* provided listings for businesses in small towns along state and regional highways connecting to larger towns and destinations. The small-town listings consisted of restaurants, tourist homes, taxicab stands, hotels, taverns, service stations, beauty parlors, and drug stores. Washington's listings included the Star Light Night Club. The following towns had three *Green Book* listings: Henderson, New Bern, and Statesville. The following towns had two *Green Book* listings: Elizabeth City, Gastonia, Hamlet, High Point, Pinehurst, Salisbury, Washington, and Windsor. The following towns had a single *Green Book* listing: Bladenboro, Carthage, Concord, Enfield, Hallsboro, Hendersonville, Kings Mountain, Lenoir, Lexington, Lillington, Littleton, Lumberton, Manchester, Mt. Olive, Stokesdale, Weldon, and Whiteville. Most of the *Green Book* listings for small towns were in eastern and central North Carolina, which may indicate those regions received the largest number of Black travelers. Several rural areas with significant Black resources

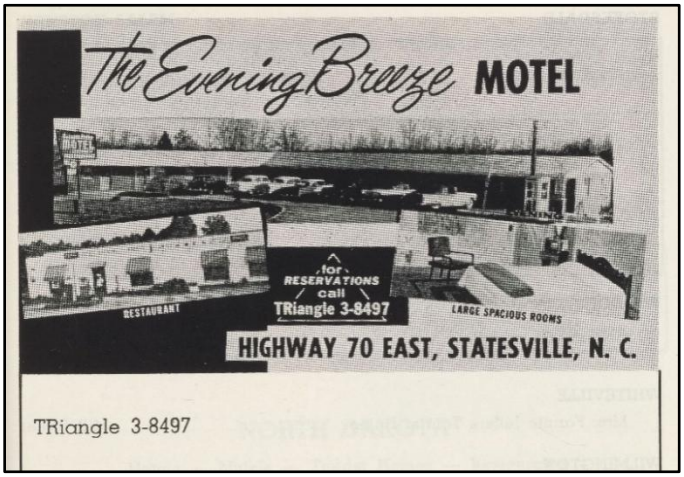
[122] Catherine W. Bishir and Michael T. Southern, *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Piedmont North Carolina* (University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 263–65.
[123] Bisher and Southern, *Eastern North Carolina*, 340–50. Both Biltmore Hotels were listed in other Black travel guides from 1939 to 1940.

were not listed in the *Green Book*. For example, the Godette Hotel in the coastal town of Beaufort was not listed, perhaps because it was so well known that the owner did not feel the need to pay for a listing in the *Green Book*. Other rural places such as the Hammocks Beach State Park in Onslow County were not listed since the *Green Book* typically did not include recreational facilities such as beach resorts.

The Evening Breeze Motel (ID2203) in Statesville is a good example of a small-town *Green Book* listing. Statesville is between Charlotte and Winston-Salem at the intersection of US 70, US 64, and US 21. Established in 1788, Statesville grew into a regional industrial, shipping, and wholesaling point for whiskey, tobacco, leather, and other goods. The Evening Breeze Motel opened in 1956 at the intersection of the three federal highways. Statesville architectural firm Hutchins and Adams designed the motel for Travis Van Magnum (1900–1969), a local Black businessman and former president of the North Carolina chapter of the NAACP. The motel complex included modern lodging, a cafeteria, a children's playground, fishing facilities, and an Amoco service station (Figure 21). Other *Green Book* listings in Statesville included Frank's Grill and Carson's Service Station, neither of which survive.[124]

The Rhone Hotel (CV0474; NRHP, 1973) in New Bern is another example of a small-town Green Book resource. The two-story brick hotel was constructed in 1924 at 512 Queen Street after a disastrous fire destroyed much of the African American business and residential districts in 1923. The American Red Cross reported that 3,530 people, mostly Black, were left without homes or jobs after the fire. Members of an influential Black family in New Bern, four sisters—Caroline Rhone Smith (1872–1962), Henrietta Rhone Jones (1852–1937), Charlotte S. Rhone (1874–1965), and Amy Rhone (1891–1965)—operated the Rhone Hotel as the first of its type in the town. The sisters lived on the second floor and rented out rooms on the first floor. Located near the train depot, the *Green Book* listed the Rhone Hotel from 1938 to 1967.[125]

[124] Bisher and Southern, *Piedmont North Carolina*, 444–50; Green, *Green Book*, 1961, 71; Brandie K. Ragghianti, "Evening Breeze Motel," North Carolina African American Heritage Commission, *Green Book Project*, 2022, https://aahc.nc.gov/green-book/evening-breeze-motel, accessed November 3, 2024.
[125] McGill et al., "Vanishing Act;" Brandie K. Ragghianti, "Rhone Hotel." North Carolina African American Heritage Commission. *Green Book Project*, 2022. Website, https://aahc.nc.gov/green-book/rhone-hotel, accessed November 11, 2024.



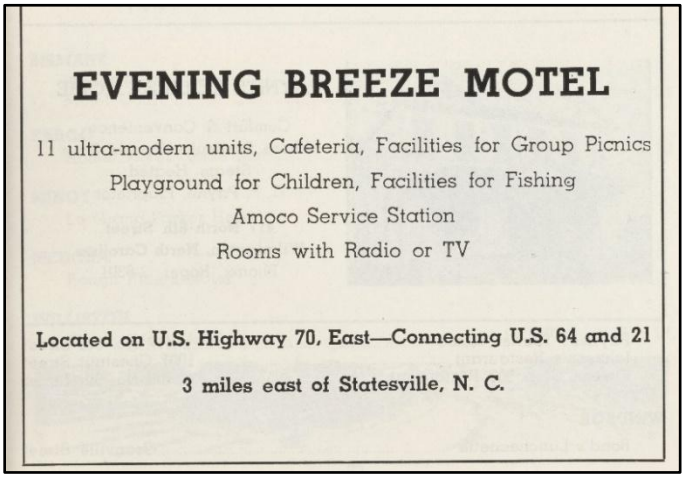


Figure 21. Advertisement for the Evening Breeze Motel in Statesville
(Source: Green, *Green Book*, 1961, 71).

Legacy of Green Book Resources in North Carolina

The *Green Book* listed 317 businesses in North Carolina between 1938 and 1967. The survey conducted as part of this MPDF in 2024 determined that 63 of the buildings housing these 317 businesses—or 20 percent—remain extant. Although some of these buildings were demolished during the 1938–1967 period, most were demolished afterwards. The following is an overview of many of the causes of the demolition of some 226 *Green Book* resources in North Carolina. This section closes with an overview of efforts to document and preserve the remaining *Green Book* resources in the state.

Civil Rights Movement and Integration

When President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act into law on July 2, 1964, public accommodations could no longer be legally segregated by race in the US. Within two years, Black travel guides such as the *Green Book* were no longer necessary. “There will be a day sometime in the near future when this guide will not have to be published,” wrote Victor and Alma Green in the 1948 edition of the *Green Book*. “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." In 1949, Bert E. Grayson reminded users of *Grayson's Travel and Business Guide* that: "All are fighting for Civil Rights for all mankind. 'Freedom is Everybody's Job.'"[126]

The 1966–1967 double-year edition of the *Green Book* reminded users that: "Public Accommodations: Effective at once, every hotel, restaurant, theater or other facility catering to the general public must do exactly that." With this announcement, publication of the *Green Book* ceased.[127]

With the desegregation of public accommodations such as motels, restaurants, and service stations, Black travelers gained access to all roadside businesses and were no longer limited to Black-owned or Black-friendly businesses. This freedom inadvertently resulted in a reduction in the number of customers for some businesses listed in the *Green Book*. Additionally, with the cessation of publication of the *Green Book*, Black travelers no longer had guidebooks to steer them to Black-owned businesses during their travels along North Carolina's highways to towns, cities, universities, vacation resorts, and other destinations.

Urban Renewal

The urban renewal movement of the mid-twentieth century had a profound impact on Black businesses listed in the *Green Book* throughout North Carolina. Cities such as Asheville and Winston-Salem demolished entire Black neighborhoods as part of federally funded urban renewal developments.

In the 1950s and 1960s, urban renewal projects in Winston-Salem radically altered the Black communities by razing entire neighborhoods. The construction of the North-South Expressway (US 52) destroyed hundreds of properties and bisected the historically Black section of East Winston. Urban renewal projects resulted in the demolition of many of Winston-Salem's *Green Book* properties. Due in large part to urban renewal, none of Winston-Salem's *Green Book* properties are known to have survived to the present day.

Beginning in the late 1940s, urban renewal projects in Asheville affected every Black neighborhood in the city to some degree. In the Southside neighborhood, urban renewal projects in the 1960s resulted in the demolition of over 700 buildings. Many Southside commercial buildings were demolished and those that remained were largely cut off from the remaining residential properties by new highways.

[126] Green, *Green Book*, 1948, 1; Grayson, Grayson's Guide, 1949, 2–3.
[127] Waller and Tapley, *Green Book*, 1966, 2.

In Greensboro, in the 1960s, East Market Street was widened from two to six lanes and intersected by a new four-lane divided highway (Murrow Boulevard), causing the displacement of residences and businesses and cutting off the two Black colleges and their surrounding neighborhoods from one another, ushering in a period of decline and disinvestment. Likewise, in the 1960s, construction of the East-West Expressway in Durham destroyed much of the fabric of the Hayti community, including numerous *Green Book* businesses.

Interstate Freeways

In the 1950s and 1960s, construction of interstate freeways and urban bypasses had a devastating impact on North Carolina's *Green Book* resources. Planning and development of federally funded interstate highways often occurred hand in hand with urban renewal developments. More significantly, construction of interstate freeways allowed automobile travelers to bypass roadside businesses along state and regional highways. For example, travelers could journey much more quickly along I-40 from Asheville to Raleigh instead of US 70, which was lined with scores of *Green Book* roadside businesses. From 1949 to 1951, the state highway department completed the Lexington Bypass, the state's earliest bypass, which included a cloverleaf interchange. Construction of interstate freeways and urban bypasses resulted in significantly fewer travelers in pass-through towns and small towns across North Carolina, resulting in fewer customers and ultimately in vacant buildings as businesses were forced to close.[128]

In the early 1960s, the authors of the *Bronze American*, a Black travel guide, noted that its listings may be out-of-date due to "land clearance for highways, project homes, policies of new owners, etc."[129] By the mid-1960s, North Carolina had completed I-26 south of Asheville, I-40 west of Greenville, and nearly all of I-85 and I-95 through the state.[130]

Preservation Movement

Around 2000, architectural historians and historic preservationists began publishing the results of studies and documentation of *Green Book* resources, primarily as theses, dissertations, and journal articles. In 2015, the

[128] "Interstate Highways," North Carolina Department of Transportation, 2020, https://www.ncdot.gov/initiatives-policies/Transportation/bridges/historic-bridges/Pages/interstate-highways.aspx, accessed November 12, 2024.
[129] Swann Auction Galleries, 2024. The mention of "project homes" was undoubtedly referencing public housing, often a component of urban renewal developments.
[130] Bronze American, *The Bronze American National Travel Guide*, 2024.

New York Public Library published digitized copies of 21 editions of the *Green Book*. Librarian Maira Liriano led the effort at the library. Soon thereafter, architectural historian Catherine Zipf published an article about her study of the *Green Book* resources in Rhode Island. In 2016, Zipf's colleague architectural historian Anne Bruder started a study of the *Green Book* resources of Maryland. That same year, Zipf and Bruder prepared poster exhibits of *Green Book* resources they had documented in Rhode Island and Maryland at a conference in New Orleans hosted by the Southeast Chapter of the Society of Architectural Historians (SESAH). Their colleague Susan Hellman took the lead on creating a poster exhibit for *Green Book* resources in Virginia.[131]

The SESAH conference served as a launching pad for other architectural historians to initiate documentation of *Green Book* resources in other states. In 2017, Ralph Wilcox at the Arkansas SHPO completed research for a *Green Book* poster exhibit for Arkansas and a team of architectural historians, including Robbie D. Jones (coauthor of this document), completed research for a *Green Book* poster exhibit for Tennessee. Historians soon picked other states including Illinois and North Carolina for poster exhibits. In 2017, members of this collaborative group began presenting their research at professional conferences throughout the US, which led to scholars documenting more states with poster exhibits.[132]

As part of the original poster exhibit session at the 2017 SESAH conference, in the spring of 2016, Alicia Ebbitt McGill and a team of graduate students at North Carolina State University created a poster exhibit for *Green Book* resources in North Carolina. The students were enrolled in McGill's Cultural Resource Management course. The NCHPO and the staff in the City of Raleigh's parks department assisted the team in the research. The team determined that only around 11 percent of North Carolina's *Green Book* resources were still standing.[133]

In late 2018, DreamWorks released the comedy-drama film *Green Book* about a 1962 tour of the Deep South and Midwest by a Black jazz pianist with a white driver and bodyguard. During an eight-week concert circuit,

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[131] Anne E. Bruder, Susan Hellman, and Catherine W. Zipf. "Notes from the Road: Documenting Sites Listed in The Negro Motorist Green Book. *Arris: Journal of the Southeast Chapter of the Society of Architectural Historians* 29, 2018 (University of North Carolina Press), 52–53; Anne E. Bruder, Susan Hellman, Olivia Pettie, Melanie York, and Catherine W. Zipf, "The Architecture of *The Negro Travelers' Green Book*," University of Virginia, 2024, https://community.village.virginia.edu/greenbooks/, accessed November 12, 2024; Nazaryan, "Black Lives."

[132] Bruder et al., "Notes from the Road," 52–53; Bruder et al., "Green Book."

[133] Susan Hellman, "Virginia: Traveling Safely;" McGill et al., "Vanishing Act." The team also included graduate students Sylvia Bailey, Kate Bowers, Troy Burton, Nicole Coscolluela, Jacque Dinnes, Malorey Henderson, Derek Huss, Andy Jordan, and Claire Kempa.

the pair used the *Green Book* to guide their travels. The critically acclaimed movie—it won 42 awards including the Academy Award for Best Picture—brought international attention to *Green Book* resources and stirred the public's imagination and interest about this unique resource type.

Concurrently with the release of the *Green Book* movie, Bruder, Hellman, and Zipf launched *The Architecture of* The Negro Travelers' Green Book, a database of *Green Book* resources throughout the US. The trio collaborated with architectural historians from throughout the US in the creation of the nationwide database. Information in the database is available in two formats: an online database and poster exhibits. To date, the University of Virginia has published online *Green Book* databases for 20 states. The online database can be explored by state, year, establishment type, and owner.[134]

Since the *Green Book* movie, the National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP) has published some 20 articles in its Saving Places campaign about the *Green Book* and its associated sites, including stories about the Magnolia Hotel in Greensboro and the Excelsior Club in Charlotte. In 2019, the NTHP included the Excelsior Club on its annual 11 Most Endangered Historic Places list, and, in 2022, it included the Magnolia Hotel in its Historic Hotels of America program—the first *Green Book* hotel inducted. The popularity of the *Green Book* topic has led to scores of mainstream media articles, television programs, YouTube videos, websites, blogs, social media posts, podcasts, and so forth.[135]

In 2020, the Smithsonian Institution launched *The Negro Motorist Green Book* traveling exhibition. Based on Candacy Taylor's book *Overground Railroad: The Green Book and the Roots of Black Travel*, the exhibition was originally on display at the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of African American History and Culture. Funded in part by Exxon Mobil Corporation, whose network of Esso service stations distributed the *Green Book*, the national tour of the traveling exhibition began in October 2020 at the National Civil Rights Museum in Memphis, Tennessee, located at the Lorraine Motel, a *Green Book* resource. The Smithsonian also published an accompanying online virtual exhibit.[136]

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[134] Bruder et al., "Green Book." Southern states in the online database include Arkansas, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.
[135] Maria C. Hunt, "Experience the Historic Magnolia House Once Again," *Saving Places*, National Trust for Historic Places, 2022, https://savingplaces.org/stories/historic-magnolia-house, accessed November 12, 2024; Nicolas Som, "The Race to Find a New Owner for a Historic African American Club in Charlotte, North Carolina," *Saving Places* National Trust for Historic Places, 2019, https://savingplaces.org/stories/the-race-to-find-a-new-owner-for-a-historic-african-american-club-in-charlotte-north-carolina, accessed November 12, 2024.
[136] Smithsonian Institution, "New Smithsonian Exhibition Explores "The Green Book," Press Release, September 23, 2020, https://www.si.edu/newsdesk/releases/new-smithsonian-exhibition-explores-green-book, accessed November 12, 2024.

Additionally, the movement to preserve *Green Book* resources led to nominations in the NRHP, while researchers reviewed older nominations containing resources associated with the *Green Book*. According to the National Park Service, the NRHP includes *Green Book* resources in Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Maine, Minnesota, Nevada, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas—most listed for significance other than as *Green Book* resources. Research for Tennessee's *Green Book* poster led to the listing in 2018 of the Booker T. Motel in Humboldt as a *Green Book* resource. Other recent NRHP listings for *Green Book* resources in the southeast region include Ruth's Beauty Parlor and Holman's Barber Shop in Columbia, South Carolina (2020) and the Ebony Guest House in Florence, South Carolina (2021).[137]

In 2017, the North Carolina African American Heritage Commission (NCAAHC) launched the *Oasis Spaces; the North Carolina Green Book Project* (Figure 21). The project includes an interactive website with an online resource map, a listing of resources, oral histories, YouTube videos, an online exhibit, and individual property histories of *Green Book* resources throughout the state.[138]

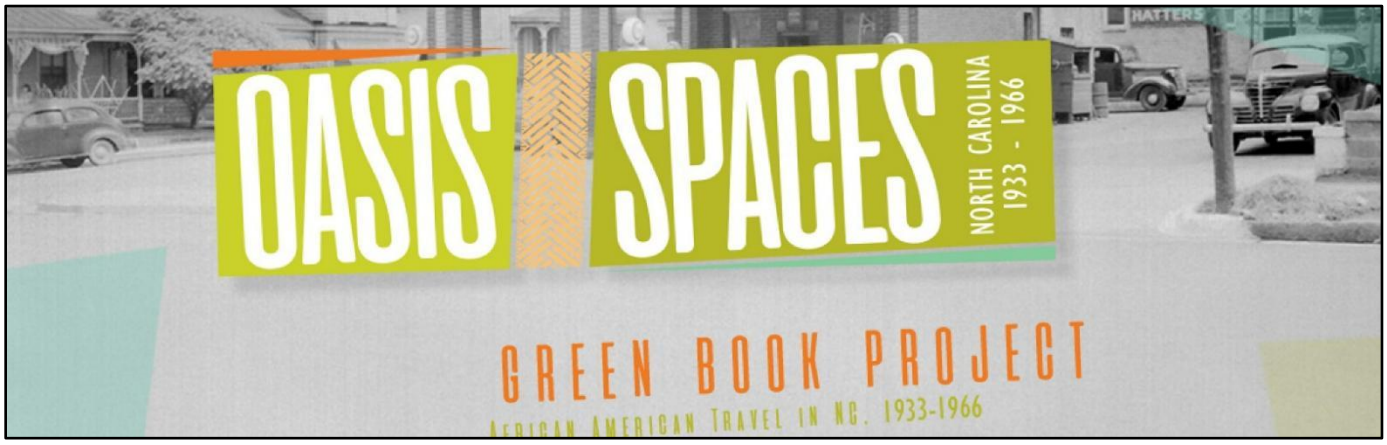

Figure 21. Website banner for the NCAAHC *Green Book Project*.

[137] "Green Book Properties Listed in the National Register of Historic Places," National Park Service, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/articles/green-book-properties-listed-in-the-national-register-of-historic-places.htm, accessed November 12, 2024.

[138] North Carolina African American Heritage Commission. *Oasis Spaces; the North Carolina Green Book Project*, https://aahc.nc.gov/green-book-project, accessed November 12, 2024. Funded by an IMLS grant, this project continued the work of Dr. Alicia McGill and her students at North Carolina State University. The project resulted in a traveling exhibit that has been shown at facilities across the state.

In 2023, the Virginia Department of Historic Resources launched an initiative to research and document Virginia's *Green Book* resources with highway marker plaques, an interactive online map, and a historic context in the form of an NRHP MPDF nomination.[139]

In 2023, the West Virginia State Historic Preservation Office commissioned Aurora Research Association, LLC to develop a MPDF and two NRHP nominations for *Green Book* sites in West Virginia. Architectural historians Sarah Elswick and Courtney Zimmerman prepared the "Green Book Sites in West Virginia" MPDF and NRHP nominations for the "Bluefield Green Book Historic District" and "Morgantown Green Book Historic District." The MPDF and two historic districts were listed in the NRHP in July 2024. The MPDF provided four historic contexts: Black Migration to West Virginia (1870–1945), The Role of Black Women in West Virginia (1870–1967), Post-Civil War Segregation/Jim Crow Era in West Virginia (1868–1967), and 20th Century Automobile Travel in West Virginia (1920–1967). The MPDF is intended to aid in identifying and nominating additional *Green Book* sites throughout West Virginia.[140]

Finally, over the past few years architectural historians and preservationists with the NCHPO have assembled an immense database of *Green Book* resources throughout North Carolina. This database served as a baseline of information for preparation of this MPDF.

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[139] "The Green Book in Virginia," Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2024, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/about/special-initiatives/the-green-book-in-virginia/, accessed November 12, 2024. The NRHP MPDF for Virginia's *Green Book* resources had not been finalized at the time of preparation of this document.

[140] Sarah Elswick and Courtney Zimmerman, "Green Book Sites in West Virginia," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form (Washington, DC: US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2024); Sarah Elswick and Courtney Zimmerman, "Bluefield Green Book Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (Washington, DC: US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2024); Sarah Elswick and Courtney Zimmerman, "Morgantown Green Book Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (Washington, DC: US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2024).

F. Associated Property Types

Introduction

The Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) for "*Green Book* Resources in North Carolina" includes associated property types based on field documentation and research completed during preparation of the historic context. To be eligible for the NRHP under this MPDF, properties must have been one of the 317 included in the North Carolina listings in the *Green Book,* must demonstrate significance in relation to the historic context and themes identified in Section E of this MPDF, and must fall within the period of significance of 1938–1967. This document follows the NPS's *National Register Bulletin: How to Complete a Multiple Property Documentation Form* (1991, revised 1999).

NRHP eligibility is a two-part test where both a property's historical significance and physical integrity are considered. Properties may meet NRHP registration requirements if they are demonstrated to be historically significant *and* if they possess sufficient character and integrity to retain their sense of time and place from their period of significance. In the case of properties associated with the *Green Book* in North Carolina, consideration of the often-deleterious effects of racial and ethnic discrimination in local, state, and federal policies, in mortgage and lending programs and housing practices; in employment; in urban renewal; and other forms of racial and ethnic discrimination must be considered when assessing sufficiency of integrity.

As explained in a recent NPS best practices guidance document, "Historic places evolve, and these changes may be determined to be historic following National Register guidelines." The document further states that the "historic context developed in the nomination is essential in evaluating historic changes." Applying long accepted tests of architectural integrity, such as the retention of pristine historic exteriors from the period of significance, can result in the exclusion of properties which are historically important to the story of Black life in Jim Crow North Carolina.[141]

As documented in this MPDF, the desegregation process in North Carolina often led to the transformation of the landscape of segregation. Individual properties were altered as they became part of a racially integrated cityscape, and for this reason many *Green Book* resources do not retain high values in all seven aspects of

[141] National Park Service, "Evaluating Non-Historic Exteriors," *Best Practices Review: A quarterly publication on National Register Bulletin Guidance*, Issue 1, September 22, 2022, 1.

integrity. For the purposes of this MPDF, strong historical links with the *Green Book* generally are given more weight than a building's architectural or design integrity.[142] For properties with established significance, integrity of feeling and association with the *Green Book* era may take precedence over integrity of setting, design, materials, and workmanship. It is also important to note, however, that some *Green Book* resources retain high degrees of exterior physical integrity, such as the Rhone Hotel (CV0474; NRHP, 1973) and the H. C. Sparrow Tourist Home (CV0577), both in New Bern.

Green Book-associated properties must be evaluated within the context of the building's overall ability to convey the historical associations and feelings related to its significance within the historic contexts established in Section E. This evaluation must occur before determining whether the building is eligible or ineligible for listing in the NRHP due to material or design changes outside the period of significance. As provided in the Criteria Bulletin, determining which of the aspects of integrity are most important to a particular property requires knowing why, where, and when the property is significant. Historic properties either retain integrity—that is, convey their significance—or they do not. As the NPS notes, "The evaluation of integrity is sometimes a subjective judgment, but it must always be grounded in an understanding of a property's physical features and how they relate to its significance."[143]

As noted in the MPDF for African American historic resources of Prince George's County, Maryland:

> Because of legal restrictions on where African Americans could settle and what spaces they could access, those buildings they did control were often continually adapted and reworked to serve shifting needs. The longer a resource has been associated with African Americans, the greater the likelihood of its physical alteration. In an ironic twist, with the end of segregation many of these resources have been lost as options for African Americans have increased. Buildings have been abandoned to deteriorate or have been converted to other uses.[144]

The desegregation of facilities and services in the 1960s led to the physical transformation of African American spaces as they became part of an integrated landscape. For the Black consumer, it meant more

[142] National Park Service, "Evaluating Non-Historic Exteriors," 1.
[143] National Park Service, "Evaluating Non-Historic Exteriors," 1.
[144] Betty Bird, "African American Historic Resources of Prince George's County, Maryland," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form (Washington, DC: US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2005), 49.

options to enter and use spaces that were previously unavailable to them; however, for many African American businesses, it meant the loss of their niche role in serving the Black community. Many African American-associated resources were altered to serve shifting needs, while some were abandoned.

To serve changing economies, many *Green Book* resources were altered to serve new needs. A good example of a building's physical adaptation over time is the Plaza Manor Hotel, advertised in the *Green Book* from 1951 to 1957 and 1959 to 1967. When this hotel opened in 1950, it was one of two *Green Book* hotels in Greensboro that offered overnight lodging to Black travelers.[145] During segregation, African Americans traveling through the city were prohibited from lodging at businesses on the primary thoroughfares. Donnie Edwards (1900–1966) and his wife Annie Lee Edwards (b.1909) opened the Plaza Manor Hotel at 511 Martin Street in a residential neighborhood away from the main roads. The hotel was described in newspapers as being a primary stopover for Black travelers passing through Greensboro. Following desegregation, business at the Plaza Manor Hotel dwindled as African American travelers had more lodging options in the city. In January 1984, Annie Edwards observed that the hotel was obsolete and needed to be renovated for a new business use for her to retain ownership of the property. Lacking the financial means to pay property taxes and to renovate the building, Ms. Edwards sold the property later that year. The subsequent owner converted the property for use as an apartment building.[146]

Surviving places associated with the *Green Book* in North Carolina represent a particularly fragile class of property. Most *Green Book* resources were commercial in function. Resources located in urban areas were often in or near commercial or mixed-use districts, and those in rural areas were typically on regional highways. Since the 1950s, numerous resources have been lost because of large-scale urban renewal projects funded by the federal government, commercial redevelopment, economic hardship, neglect, and gentrification. For example, no surviving *Green Book* resources were found in Winston-Salem, a city known for its expansive urban renewal efforts. The resource inventory for this MPDF documented 226 properties associated with the *Green Book* in North Carolina that are known to have been destroyed. As North Carolina's inventory of historic *Green Book* resources is diminished, the cultural legacy and stories that the remaining

[145] The Magnolia Hotel at 442 Gorrell Street in Greensboro was the other hotel that offered lodging to African American travelers. The Magnolia Hotel is also a *Green Book*-associated resource.
[146] Flontina Miller, "Off-the-path hotel sought out in its heyday before integration," *Greensboro News & Record* (Greensboro, NC), January 21, 1984.

historic resources portray rise in importance. The rarity of places associated with the *Green Book* in North Carolina is one aspect of the registration requirements.

The resource inventory for this MPDF documented 63 extant *Green Book* resources with known addresses. Besides the town or city, the addresses and status of 28 additional *Green Book* resources remain unknown. Documentation for the 63 extant *Green Book* resources did not include interior assessments, which are generally not included as part of an MPDF.

The resource inventory for North Carolina's *Green Book* resources utilized documentation from the North Carolina *Green Book* inventory completed in 2016 by Dr. Alicia McGill and her students at North Carolina State University, and from an inventory provided by the NCHPO. The development of property types was adapted from previous and current studies on *Green Book* resources, including a draft MPDF for *Green Book* resources in Virginia completed in April 2024 and a MPDF for "Green Book Sites in West Virginia" listed in the NRHP in July 2024.[147] West Virginia's *Green Book* MPDF identifies two associated property types: West Virginia Businesses listed in the *Green Book* and Historic Districts. Other *Green Book* studies include:

- "Oasis Spaces; the North Carolina Green Book Project," North Carolina African American Heritage Commission (2016)
- "The Green Book in North Carolina," North Carolina African American Heritage Commission and NCHPO (2016)
- "African American Travel Guide Survey Project," Texas Historical Commission
- "African American Travel Guide Sites in Texas," Texas Historical Commission
- "The Architecture of The Negro Travelers' Green Book," University of Virginia

This MPDF also utilized documentation from context studies published by architectural historians, universities, and agencies in other states, including:

- "The Development of Highways in Texas: A Historic Context of the Bankhead Highway and Other Historic Names Highways" (2014)
- "Field Guide to Gas Stations in Texas" (2016)

[147] "The Green Book in Virginia," Virginia Department of Historic Resources; Elswick and Zimmerman, "Green Book Sites in West Virginia."

- "Roadside Architecture Along US 2 in Montana" (1994)
- "Diners of Virginia" (1995)
- "African American Historic Resources of Prince George's County, Maryland" (2005)
- "Historic Auto-Related Resources of St. Louis, MO" (2005)
- "Historic Resources Associated with African Americans in Los Angeles" (2009)
- "African American Resources in Manhattan, Kansas" (2012)
- "Historic Gas Stations of Roanoke, Virginia" (2012)
- "Virginia Beach Oceanfront Resort Motels and Hotels (1955-1970)" (2021)
- "Roadside Architecture of Kentucky's Dixie Highways" (2004)
- "Tennessee: Crossroads of the Upper South," *Green Book* poster exhibit by Robbie Jones et al., Middle Tennessee State University (2017)
- "Virginia: Traveling Safely in the Old Dominion," *Green Book* poster exhibit by Susan Hellman (2017)
- "Arkansas: Where the High Roads Meet the Low Roads," *Green Book* poster exhibit by Ralph Wilcox, Arkansas SHPO (2017)
- "South Carolina: A Trip to the Beach," *Green Book* poster exhibit by Emmaline Smith and Moira Church, University of South Carolina (2017)
- Maryland: Playing and Staying Along Maryland's Highways," *Green Book* poster exhibit by Anne E. Bruder, Maryland State Highway Administration (2017)

Based on this documentation, previous studies, and the comprehensive resource inventory for North Carolina, the historic *Green Book* resources in North Carolina can be divided into four individual property types: Domestic Lodging, Roadside Business, Commercial Business, and Entertainment/Recreation. The four property types are described in depth below.

I. Domestic Lodging

A. Property Type Description

A Domestic Lodging is an owner-occupied residential property in which a homeowner provided a room(s) in their private home for short- or long-term lodging to travelers or boarders. A Domestic Lodging served as the homeowner's primary residence. This property type excludes commercially operated accommodations—

places that were primarily intended to serve the tourism-based economy—that were typically housed in commercial multi-unit buildings such as motels and hotels, which are their own subtype under the Roadside Businesses property type.

Domestic Lodging properties that were advertised in the *Green Book* include boarding houses, cabins, roadhouses, or tourist homes. The survey of North Carolina's *Green Book* resources documented nine extant Domestic Lodging resources from the 1938–1967 period of significance. Those resources are dwellings, and vary greatly in form, massing, and design.

Listed below are five inventoried resources currently listed in the NRHP or recommended eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion A as a Domestic Lodging under this MPDF. Resources currently listed in the NRHP under different areas of significance (i.e., not for their association with the *Green Book*) are included in the list. Earlier NRHP nominations may be amended to document and recognize a property's significance as a *Green Book* resource in North Carolina and the requirements of this MPDF. Resources recommended for listing in the NRHP under this MPDF are noted with the text, "recommended under this MPDF." Further documentation may find that a *Green Book* resource not listed below may be potentially eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion A as a Domestic Lodging under this MPDF.

- **Mrs. S. Foster Tourist Home** (BN3813); 88 Clingman Avenue, Asheville, Buncombe County (NRHP, 2004; contributing property within the Clingman Avenue Historic District)

- **Rhone Hotel** (CV0474); 512 Queen Street, New Bern, Craven County (NRHP, 1973; contributing property within the New Bern Historic District)—recommended under this MPDF

- **H. C. Sparrow Tourist Home** (CV0577); 731 West Street, New Bern, Craven County (NRHP, 2003; contributing property within the New Bern Historic District boundary expansion)—recommended under this MPDF

- **Magnolia Hotel** (GF0785); 442 Gorrell Street, Greensboro, Guilford County (NRHP, 1991; contributing property within the South Greensboro Historic District)—nominated under this MPDF

- **Payne's Tourist Home** (NH1026); 417 North 6th Street, Wilmington, New Hanover County (NRHP, 1974; contributing property within the Wilmington Historic District)

B. Significance

A Domestic Lodging resource may be eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion A in the areas of Black Ethnic Heritage, Social History, and/or Commerce associated with *Green Book* resources in North Carolina within the 1938–1967 period of significance. A Domestic Lodging resource may have significance at the local, state, or national level.

In addition to Criterion A, a Domestic Lodging resource may also be individually eligible for listing under Criterion B for its association with historically significant people or under Criterion C for its architectural significance; however, the individual NRHP nomination must contain sufficient research and documentation to support the justification for additional significance under Criterion B and/or Criterion C.

C. Registration Requirements

To meet Criterion A eligibility, a Domestic Lodging resource must be directly associated with the *Green Book* having housed a business during the year(s) it was advertised in the *Green Book* within the 1938–1967 period of significance. A property need not be listed in multiple editions of the *Green Book* to qualify under this MPDF; however, the frequency of a place being listed in the *Green Book* is one aspect of evaluating registration requirements. Properties must demonstrate significance in relation to the historic context and themes outlined in Section E of this MPDF. Registration requirements are not racially exclusive; a property may have been owned and operated by people of any racial background. When discussing the significance of a particular property under Criteria A and B, consider important dates, events, activities, persons, associations, and developmental forces, trends, and patterns relating the property type to its relevant context as well as any direct relationship of the property type to major stages of growth, pivotal events or activities, or personal associations characterizing the historic context.

In addition to historical significance, nominated Domestic Lodging resources must also possess sufficient integrity of location, setting, design, workmanship, materials, feeling and association to evoke their period of significance as defined by the National Park Service in *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*. Although buildings evolve over time with age and changes in use, nominated buildings should retain sufficient character-defining features to maintain a reasonable level of integrity. Sufficiency of integrity must be weighed with historical significance and considered on a case-by-case basis. Although buildings will likely have been updated and modernized over time, as the introduction

to this section states, Domestic Lodging resources should resemble their appearance from the period of significance. Ideally, exterior materials are original or replaced in kind; however, later asbestos shingles, aluminum, and vinyl finishes may be acceptable especially when their pattern mimics that of the original finish, such as the way vinyl siding replicates weatherboards. If other character-defining features remain intact, then the loss or covering of an original exterior finish can be mitigated. Preferably, fenestration patterns should be intact; less important, although desirable, is the retention of original window sashes or window sashes that date from the period of significance. A loss of original window sashes might be mitigated by a high degree of integrity of other aspects of the building, particularly the interior spaces where the significant events or activities associated with the property occurred. Like the exterior, significant interior spaces should retain character-defining features such as room layouts and circulation patterns, with a subservient emphasis placed on materials and finishes.

The integrity of the Domestic Lodging's association and feeling is greatly enhanced by the integrity of their setting. A Domestic Lodging resource nominated solely under Criterion A for historical significance in Ethnic Heritage and Social History do not have to possess as high a degree of integrity of design and workmanship as Domestic Lodging resources which are nominated under Criterion C for architecture.

II. Roadside Business

A. Property Type Description

A Roadside Business is a property that provided roadside-related service to African American travelers. These resources were inherently dependent on the automobile. This property type is divided into three subtypes: service stations, motels and hotels, and taxi-related properties. The subtypes are described further below.

Subtype: Service Station

Property Subtype Description

Service Stations provided a variety of automotive services and/or gasoline filling services to automobile travelers. Service Stations include full-service stations and filling stations. A principal difference between a full-service station and a filling station is their primary function: the former provided a variety of automotive

services such as auto repair, maintenance, and detailing, and the latter provided gasoline to automobile travelers.

The survey of North Carolina's *Green Book* resources documented nine extant Service Stations from the 1938–1967 period of significance. These full-service stations are typically one-story buildings constructed of masonry or are masonry veneered with an oblong boxy form and a flat roof. They have either interior service bays where automobiles were brought in to be serviced or open spaces adjacent to the building where automobiles were parked and serviced. Service Stations typically have an interior space that functioned as an office space and/or waiting room. These properties were advertised as service stations and garages in the *Green Book*. The filling stations typically consist of a one-story building with an oblong boxy form and canopy that sheltered gasoline pumps. The building can be of frame or masonry construction. These properties were often advertised as service stations in the *Green Book*.

No inventoried resources are recommended eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion A as Service Stations under this MPDF. Earlier NRHP nominations may be amended to document and recognize a property's significance as *Green Book* resources in North Carolina and the requirements of this MPDF. Further documentation may find that a *Green Book* resource may be potentially eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion A as a Service Station under this MPDF.

B. Significance

A Service Station may be eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion A in the areas of Black Ethnic Heritage, Social History, and/or Commerce associated with *Green Book* resources in North Carolina within the 1938–1967 period of significance. A Service Station may have significance at the local, state, or national level.

A Service Station that is eligible for listing in the NRHP under this MPDF will typically qualify under Criterion A in the area of Commerce. In addition to Criterion A, a Service Station may also be individually eligible for listing under Criterion B for its association with historically significant people or under Criterion C for architectural significance. However, the individual NRHP nomination must contain sufficient research and documentation to support the justification for additional significance under Criterion B and/or Criterion C.

C. Registration Requirements

To meet Criterion A eligibility, a Service Station must be directly associated with the *Green Book* having housed a business during the year(s) it was advertised in the Green Book within the 1938–1967 period of significance. A property need not be listed in multiple editions of the Green Book to qualify under this MPDF; however, the frequency of a place being listed in the Green Book is one aspect of evaluating registration requirements. Properties must demonstrate significance in relation to the historic context and themes outlined in Section E of this MPDF. Registration requirements are not racially exclusive; a Service Station may have been owned and operated by people of any racial background. When discussing the significance of a particular property under Criterion A and B, consider important dates, events, activities, persons, associations, and developmental forces, trends, and patterns relating the property type to its relevant context as well as any direct relationship of the property type to major stages of growth, pivotal events or activities, or personal associations characterizing the historic context.

In addition to historical significance, nominated Service Stations must also possess sufficient integrity of location, setting, design, workmanship, materials, feeling and association to evoke their period of significance as defined by the National Park Service in *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*. Although Service Stations evolve over time with advances in technology and changes in use, the buildings should retain sufficient character-defining features to maintain integrity from the period of significance. Sufficiency of integrity must be weighed with historical significance and considered on a case-by-case basis. Determining whether a Service Station functioned as a filling station, or a full-service station must occur before evaluating its integrity. A filling station must retain its station building and canopy. A loss of gasoline pumps might be mitigated by the degrees of integrity of other aspects of the property. A full-service station must retain its garage bay openings and interior or exterior open spaces where automobiles were serviced.

The Service Station resource must retain its character-defining features and should look and feel as it did during the period of significance. All extant examples of the Service Station subtype have load-bearing masonry construction. Exterior materials should be original or replaced in kind. The covering of the load-bearing masonry with non-masonry finish—such as modern asbestos shingles, aluminum, and vinyl finishes—is not acceptable unless the finish is from the period of significance and does not detract from the load-bearing masonry construction. Fenestration on a filling station should be intact and contain original

windows or windows from the period of significance. A full-service station, in addition to containing original windows or windows from the period of significance, must retain its garage bay openings. A loss of original fenestration, apart from garage bay openings on a full-service station, might be mitigated by a remarkable degree of integrity of other aspects of the building, particularly the interior spaces where clerks worked, waiting lobbies, or where automobiles were serviced. Like the exterior, significant interior spaces should retain character defining features such as structural materials, finishes, room layouts, and circulation patterns. Interior materials and finishes should be original or replaced in kind. The interior spaces should look and feel as they did during the period of significance.

The integrity of the Service Station's association and feeling is greatly enhanced by the integrity of its setting. Service Stations nominated solely under Criterion A for historical significance in the area of Ethnic Heritage and Social History do not have to possess as high a degree of integrity of design and workmanship as a Service Stations which are nominated under Criterion C for architecture.

Subtype: Motel/Hotel

A. Property Subtype Description

The Motel/Hotel resource is a property type that provided short-term accommodations to travelers. The Motel/Hotel property type differs from the Domestic Lodging property type in that motels and hotels are commercial businesses intended to serve the tourist economy. These privately owned and operated businesses were housed in purpose-built, multi-unit buildings unlike Domestic Lodgings that were typically private dwellings constructed to house a family.

The survey of North Carolina's *Green Book* resources documented five extant Motel/Hotel resources from the 1938–1967 period of significance. These purpose-built facilities are typically one- or two-story, multi-unit buildings constructed of masonry or are masonry veneered. They typically have a low and long oblong boxy form. A motel also had on-site parking for guests and a freestanding sign to signal to travelers. Hotels share similar architectural features to motels with one primary difference: while motel guest rooms had direct outside access, hotel guest rooms were accessed by interior corridors.

Listed below are two inventoried resources currently listed in the NRHP or recommended eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion A as a Motel/Hotel under this MPDF. Resources currently listed in the NRHP

under different areas of significance (i.e., not for their association with the *Green Book*) are included in the list. Earlier NRHP district nominations may be amended to document and recognize their significance as *Green Book* resources in North Carolina and the requirements of this MPDF. Resources can be eligible for listing in the NRHP under more than one property type (denoted by an asterisk * below). Resources recommended for listing in the NRHP under this MPDF are noted with the text, "recommended under this MPDF." Further documentation may find that a *Green Book* resource not listed below may be potentially eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion A as a Motel/Hotel under this MPDF.

- *** Lincoln Park Motel** (ED1605, ED1606); 1000 Leggett Road, Rocky Mount, Edgecombe County (NRHP, 2012; contributing property within the Lincoln Park Historic District)

- **Plaza Manor Hotel** (GF9645); 511 Martin Street, Greensboro, Guilford County—recommended under this MPDF

B. Significance

A Motel/Hotel resource may be eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion A in the areas of Black Ethnic Heritage, Social History, and/or Commerce associated with *Green Book* resources in North Carolina within the 1938 to 1967 period of significance. A Motel/Hotel may have significance at the local, state, or national level.

A Motel/Hotel resource that is eligible for listing in the NRHP under this MPDF will typically qualify under Criterion A in the area of Commerce. In addition to Criterion A, a Motel/Hotel resource may also be individually eligible for listing under Criterion B for its association with historically significant people or under Criterion C for architectural significance; however, the individual NRHP nomination must contain sufficient research and documentation to support the justification for additional significance under Criterion B and/or Criterion C.

C. Registration Requirements

To meet Criterion A eligibility, a Motel/Hotel resource must be directly associated with the *Green Book* having housed a business during the year(s) it was advertising in the *Green Book* within the 1938–1967 period of significance. A property need not be listed in multiple editions of the *Green Book* to qualify under this

MPDF; however, the frequency of a place being listed in the *Green Book* is one aspect of evaluating registration requirements. Properties must demonstrate significance in relation to the historic context and themes outlined in Section E of this MPDF. Registration requirements are not racially exclusive; a Motel/Hotel resource may have been owned and operated by people of any racial background. When discussing the significance of a particular property under Criterion A and B, consider important dates, events, activities, persons, associations, and developmental forces, trends, and patterns relating the property type to its relevant context as well as any direct relationship of the property type to major stages of growth, pivotal events or activities, or personal associations characterizing the historic context.

In addition to historical significance, nominated Motel/Hotel resources must also possess sufficient integrity of location, setting, design, workmanship, materials, feeling and association to evoke their period of significance as defined by the National Park Service in *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*. Although purpose-built motels and hotels may have been updated and modernized over time to attract guests, this resource type should largely resemble its overall appearance from the period of significance and should retain sufficient character-defining features to maintain a reasonable level of integrity. Sufficiency of integrity must be weighed with historical significance and considered on a case-by-case basis. A motel must retain its building footprint, and the units need to retain direct access to the outside. A hotel must also retain its building footprint and its inner corridors. The functional units of the Motel/Hotel, such as guest quarters, reception area, restaurant parking, etc. should still be discernable.

The Motel/Hotel resource must retain its character-defining features and should look and feel as they did during the period of significance. Ideally, exterior materials are original or replaced in kind. All extant examples have masonry exterior finishes. The loss or covering of the masonry finish with non-masonry finish—such as modern asbestos shingles, aluminum, and vinyl finishes—may be acceptable provided the change is from the period of significance and most of the other character-defining features remain intact. Usually, fenestration should be intact and contain original windows or windows from the period of significance. A loss of original fenestration might be mitigated by a remarkable degree of integrity of other aspects of the building, particularly the interior spaces such as the guest quarters, reception area, and corridors. Like the exterior, significant interior spaces should retain character defining features such as structural materials, finishes, room layouts, and circulation patterns. Interior materials and finishes should be original or replaced in kind. The interior spaces should look and feel as they did during the period of significance.

The integrity of the Motel/Hotel's association and feeling is greatly enhanced by the integrity of its setting. A Motel/Hotel resource nominated solely under Criterion A for historical significance in the Ethnic Heritage and Social History does not have to possess as high a degree of integrity of design and workmanship as Motel/Hotel resources which are nominated under Criterion C for architecture.

Subtype: Taxicab

A. Property Subtype Description

A Taxicab is a property associated with and occupied by a taxicab service. Taxicabs were situated in or along a broad range of buildings such as commercial buildings, office buildings, private dwellings, and taxicab stands. Advertisements for these taxicab businesses often included the businesses' phone numbers for customers to call and request taxi service.

The survey of North Carolina's *Green Book* resources documented five extant Taxicabs from the 1938–1967 period of significance. These properties were typically commercial buildings or domestic buildings. Many small taxicab businesses operated out from the businessowner's home. Others operated from commercial or office buildings that served as offices or stands for taxicab businesses.

No inventoried resources are recommended eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion A as Taxicabs under this MPDF. Earlier NRHP district nominations may be amended to document and recognize their significance as Green Book resources in North Carolina and the requirements of this MPDF. Further documentation may find that a *Green Book* resource may be potentially eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion A as a Taxicab under this MPDF.

B. Significance

A Taxicab resource may be eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion A in the areas of Black Ethnic Heritage, Social History, and/or Commerce associated with *Green Book* resources in North Carolina within the 1938 to 1967 period of significance. A Taxicab may have significance at the local, state, or national level. In addition to Criterion A, a Taxicab resource may also be individually eligible for listing under Criterion B for its association with historically significant people or under Criterion C for architectural significance; however, the individual NRHP nomination must contain sufficient research and documentation to support the justification for additional significance under Criterion B and/or Criterion C.

A Taxicab resource that is eligible for listing in the NRHP under this MPDF will typically qualify under Criterion A in the area of Commerce.

C. Registration Requirements

To meet Criterion A eligibility, a Taxicab resource must be directly associated with the Green Book. It must have housed a business during the year(s) it was advertising in the *Green Book* within the 1938–1967 period of significance. A property need not be listed in multiple editions of the *Green Book* to qualify under this MPDF; however, the frequency of a place being listed in the *Green Book* is one aspect of evaluating registration requirements. Properties must demonstrate significance in relation to the historic context and themes outlined in Section E of this MPDF. Registration requirements are not racially exclusive; a Taxicab resource may have been owned and operated by people of any racial background. When discussing the significance of a particular property under Criterion A and B, consider important dates, events, activities, persons, associations, and developmental forces, trends, and patterns relating the property type to its relevant context as well as any direct relationship of the property type to major stages of growth, pivotal events or activities, or personal associations characterizing the historic context.

In addition to historical significance, nominated Taxicab resources must also possess sufficient integrity of location, setting, design, workmanship, materials, feeling and association to evoke their period of significance as defined by the National Park Service in *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation.* Taxicab resources should largely look and feel as they did during the period of significance and should retain sufficient character defining features to maintain a reasonable level of integrity. Sufficiency of integrity must be weighed with historical significance and considered on a case-by-case basis.

Taxicab services were often run out of private homes, and therefore taxicab resources have integrity standards like that of a dwelling. Ideally, exterior materials are original or replaced in kind; however, later asbestos shingles, aluminum, and vinyl finishes may be acceptable especially when their pattern mimics that of the original finish, such as the way vinyl siding replicates weatherboards. If other character-defining features remain intact, then the loss or covering of an original exterior finish can be mitigated. Preferably, fenestration patterns should be intact; less important, although desirable, is the retention of original window sashes or window sashes that date from the period of significance. A loss of original window sashes might be mitigated by a high degree of integrity of other aspects of the building, when considering the integrity of taxicab

resources, interior integrity is less important than exterior characteristics because these resources often functioned as a dispatch site and cab homebase and therefor the arrangement and finishes of the interior were not necessarily relevant to their functioning. The integrity of the Taxicab's association and feeling is greatly enhanced by the integrity of its setting. A Taxicab resource nominated solely under Criterion A for historical significance in the Ethnic Heritage and Social History does not have to possess as high a degree of integrity of design and workmanship as Taxicab resources which are nominated under Criterion C for architecture.

III. Commercial Business

A. Property Type Description

A Commercial Business is a property that provided a business service. These properties may include commercial buildings and domestic buildings. Many African American businesses operated from the businessowners' homes. Due to the limited public spaces available to African Americans in a segregated landscape, African American dwellings often served functions besides those of domestic use. The Commercial Business property type is divided into three subtypes: Restaurant/Tavern, Barbershop/Beauty Parlor, and Tailor Shop. The subtypes are described further below.

Subtype: Restaurant/Tavern

A. Property Subtype Description

A Restaurant/Tavern is a property where food, drink, and/or other dining-related services were provided and may include commercial buildings and domestic buildings. The survey of North Carolina's *Green Book* resources documented 18 extant Restaurant/Tavern resources from the 1938–1967 period of significance. Most of those properties are multi-unit commercial buildings that were occupied by multiple businesses. Others are stand-alone commercial buildings and domestic buildings. These properties were advertised as restaurants and taverns in the *Green Book*.

Listed below are six inventoried resources currently listed in the NRHP or recommended eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion A as Restaurant/Tavern resources under this MPDF. Resources currently listed in the NRHP under different criteria are included. Earlier NRHP nominations may be amended to document and recognize their significance as *Green Book* resources in North Carolina, and the requirements of this MPDF. Resources can be eligible for listing in the NRHP under more than one property type (denoted by an

asterisk * below). Resources recommended for listing in the NRHP under this MPDF are noted with the text, "recommended under this MPDF." Further documentation may find that a *Green Book* resource not listed below may be potentially eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion A as a Restaurant/Tavern under this MPDF.

- Royal Café (BL0393); 410 Martin Luther King Drive, Elizabethtown, Bladen County—recommended under this MPDF
- **Bond's Luncheonette** (BR0285); 113-115 East Granville Street, Windsor, Bertie County (NRHP, 1991; noncontributing property within the Windsor Historic District)
- **College Inn** (DH3163); 1306 Fayetteville Street, Durham, Durham County (NRHP, 2010; contributing property within the Stokesdale Historic District)—recommended under this MPDF
- *** Lincoln Park Motel** (ED1605 and ED1606); 1000 Leggett Road, Rocky Mount, Edgecombe County (NRHP, 2012; contributing property within the Lincoln Park Historic District)—recommended under this MPDF
- **Club Fantasy** (GF7090); 603 Washington Street, High Point, Guilford County (NRHP, 2010; contributing property within Washington Street Historic District)
- *** Ollie's Restaurant / Gertrude's Beauty Parlor** (NH3698); 415 South 7th Street, Wilmington, New Hanover County (NRHP, 1974; contributing property within the Wilmington Historic District)

B. Significance

A Restaurant/Tavern resource may be eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion A in the areas of Black Ethnic Heritage, Social History, and/or Commerce associated with *Green Book* resources in North Carolina within the 1938–1967 period of significance. A Restaurant/Tavern resource may have significance at the local, state, or national level. In addition to Criterion A, a Restaurant/Tavern resource may also be individually eligible for listing under Criterion B for its association with historically significant people or under Criterion C for architectural significance; however, the individual NRHP nomination must contain sufficient research and documentation to support the justification for additional significance under Criterion B and/or Criterion C.

A Restaurant/Tavern resource that is eligible for listing in the NRHP under this MPDF will typically qualify under Criterion A in the area of Commerce.

C. Registration Requirements

To meet Criterion A eligibility, a Restaurant/Tavern resource must be directly associated with the Green Book. It must have housed a business during the year(s) it was advertising in the *Green Book* within the 1938–1967 period of significance. A property need not be listed in multiple editions of the *Green Book* to qualify under this MPDF; however, the frequency of a place being listed in the *Green Book* is one aspect of evaluating registration requirements. Properties must demonstrate significance in relation to the historic context and themes outlined in Section E of this MPDF. Registration requirements are not racially exclusive; a Restaurant/Tavern resource may have been owned and operated by people of any racial background. When discussing the significance of a particular property under Criterion A and B, consider important dates, events, activities, persons, associations, and developmental forces, trends, and patterns relating the property type to its relevant context as well as any direct relationship of the property type to major stages of growth, pivotal events or activities, or personal associations characterizing the historic context.

In addition to historical significance, Restaurant/Tavern resources must also possess sufficient integrity of location, setting, design, workmanship, materials, feeling and association that evoke their period of significance as defined by the National Park Service in *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*. The buildings should retain sufficient character-defining features to maintain a reasonable level of integrity. Sufficiency of integrity must be weighed with historical significance and considered on a case-by-case basis.

The Restaurant/Tavern resource should largely look and feel as it did during the period of significance. Extant Restaurant/Tavern resources include commercial buildings and private homes that provided dining-related services. Integrity standards for a Restaurant/Tavern resource depend on whether the Restaurant/Tavern resource is a commercial building or dwelling. A Restaurant/Tavern that operated in a commercial building has integrity standards like those of a commercial resource. Exterior materials should be original or replaced in kind. The loss or covering of the original finish may be acceptable if the replacement finish mimics that of the original finish. The partial covering of the original finish may be acceptable if it does not substantially detract from the original exterior materials and finishes. Usually, fenestration should be intact and contain

original windows or windows from the period of significance. A loss of original fenestration might be mitigated by a remarkable degree of integrity of other aspects of the building. Like the exterior, significant interior spaces such as the dining area and kitchen should retain character-defining features such as structural materials, finishes, room layouts, and circulation patterns. Interior materials and finishes should be original or replaced in kind. The interior spaces should look and feel as they did during the period of significance.

Generally, a multi-unit commercial building that housed a *Green Book* business alongside other non-*Green Book* businesses is not eligible as a *Green Book* resource under this MPDF; however, given the significance of the *Green Book* business, there may be some exceptions for multi-unit commercial buildings to be eligible under this MPDF. In addition to the requirements outlined in the introduction of Section F and the registration requirements for the property type, a multi-unit commercial building that housed a *Green Book* business may be eligible under this MPDF if the *Green Book* business has a specific and special significance in relation to the historic context and themes identified in Section E of this MPDF, or the business was the only *Green Book* business in the municipality or county. A multi-unit commercial building may also be eligible if it is the only extant *Green Book* resource in the municipality or county and it meets the registration requirements for the property type.

A Restaurant/Tavern that operated in a private home has integrity standards like that of a dwelling. Ideally, exterior materials are original or replaced in kind; however, later asbestos shingles, aluminum, and vinyl finishes may be acceptable especially when their pattern mimics that of the original finish, such as the way vinyl siding replicates weatherboards. If other character-defining features remain intact, then the loss or covering of an original exterior finish can be mitigated. Preferably, fenestration patterns should be intact; less important, although desirable, is the retention of original window sashes or window sashes that date from the period of significance. A loss of original window sashes might be mitigated by a high degree of integrity of other aspects of the building, particularly the interior spaces where the significant events or activities associated with the property occurred. Like the exterior, significant interior spaces should retain character-defining features such as room layouts and circulation patterns, with a subservient emphasis placed on materials and finishes.

The integrity of the Restaurant/Tavern's association and feeling is greatly enhanced by the integrity of its setting. A Restaurant/Tavern resource nominated solely under Criterion A for historical significance in the

areas of Ethnic Heritage and Social History does not have to possess as high a degree of integrity of design and workmanship as Restaurant/Tavern resources which are nominated under Criterion C for architecture.

Subtype: Barbershop/Beauty Parlor

A. Property Subtype Description

A Barbershop/Beauty Parlor is a property where personal care- and beauty-related services were provided. The survey of North Carolina's *Green Book* resources documented 13 extant Barbershop/Beauty Parlor resources from the 1938–1967 period of significance. Many of these personal care-related businesses occupied multi-unit or two-part commercial buildings, or they were in domestic buildings. These properties were advertised as barber shops and beauty parlors in the *Green Book*.

Listed below are four inventoried resources currently listed in the NRHP or recommended eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion A as Barbershop/Beauty Parlor resources under this MPDF. Resources currently listed in the NRHP under different areas of significance (i.e., not for their association with Jim Crow era travel or the Green Book) are included in the list. Earlier NRHP nominations may be amended to document and recognize their significance as *Green Book* resources in North Carolina, and the requirements of this MPDF. Resources can be eligible for listing in the NRHP under more than one property type (denoted by an asterisk * below). Resources recommended for listing in the NRHP under this MPDF are noted with the text, "recommended under this MPDF." Further documentation may find that a *Green Book* resource not listed below may be potentially eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion A as a Barbershop/Beauty Parlor under this MPDF.

- **Beth's Beauty Parlor** (NH3692); 416 Anderson Street, Wilmington, New Hanover County (NRHP, 1974; contributing property within the Wilmington Historic District)

- **Germany's Beauty Parlor** (NH3693); 715 Red Cross Street, Wilmington, New Hanover County (NRHP 1974; contributing property within the Wilmington Historic District)

- **Howard's Beauty Parlor** (NH3694); 121 South 13th Street, Wilmington, New Hanover County (NRHP, 2003; contributing property within the Wilmington Historic District boundary expansion)

- *** Ollie's Restaurant / Gertrude's Beauty Parlor** (NH3698); 415 South 7th Street, Wilmington, New Hanover County (NRHP, 1974; contributing property within the Wilmington Historic District)

B. Significance

A Barbershop/Beauty Parlor resource may be eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion A in the areas of Black Ethnic Heritage, Social History, and/or Commerce associated with *Green Book* resources in North Carolina within the 1938 to 1967 period of significance. A Barbershop/Beauty Parlor resource may have significance at the local, state, or national level. In addition to Criterion A, a Barbershop/Beauty Parlor resource may also be individually eligible for listing under Criterion B for its association with historically significant people or under Criterion C for architectural significance; however, the individual NRHP nomination must contain sufficient research and documentation to support the justification for additional significance under Criterion B and/or Criterion C.

A Barbershop/Beauty Parlor resource that is eligible for listing in the NRHP under this MPDF will typically qualify under Criterion A in the area of Commerce.

C. Registration Requirements

To meet Criterion A eligibility, a Barbershop/Beauty Parlor resource must be directly associated with the Green Book. It must have housed a business during the year(s) it was advertising in the *Green Book* within the 1938–1967 period of significance. A property need not be listed in multiple editions of the *Green Book* to qualify under this MPDF; however, the frequency of a place being listed in the *Green Book* is one aspect of evaluating registration requirements. Properties must demonstrate significance in relation to the historic context and themes outlined in Section E of this MPDF. Registration requirements are not racially exclusive; a Barbershop/Beauty Parlor resource may have been owned and operated by people of any racial background. When discussing the significance of a particular property under Criterion A and B, consider important dates, events, activities, persons, associations, and developmental forces, trends, and patterns relating the property type to its relevant context as well as any direct relationship of the property type to major stages of growth, pivotal events or activities, or personal associations characterizing the historic context.

In addition to historical significance, Barbershop/Beauty Parlor resources must also possess sufficient integrity of location, setting, design, workmanship, materials, feeling and association that evoke their period

of significance as defined by the National Park Service in *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*. The buildings should retain sufficient character-defining features to maintain integrity from the 1938 to 1967 period of significance. Although buildings evolve over time with the passage of time and changes in use, nominated buildings should retain sufficient character defining features to maintain a reasonable level of integrity. Sufficiency of integrity must be weighed with historical significance and considered on a case-by-case basis.

The Barbershop/Beauty Parlor resource should largely look and feel as it did during the period of significance. Extant Barbershop/Beauty Parlor resources include multi-unit and two-part commercial buildings and private homes that provided personal care-related services. Barbershops and beauty parlors were often run out of private homes, and therefore Barbershop/Beauty Parlor resources have integrity standards like that of a dwelling. Ideally, exterior materials are original or replaced in kind; however, later asbestos shingles, aluminum, and vinyl finishes may be acceptable especially when their pattern mimics that of the original finish, such as the way vinyl siding replicates weatherboards. If other character-defining features remain intact, then the loss or covering of an original exterior finish can be mitigated. Preferably, fenestration patterns should be intact; less important, although desirable, is the retention of original window sashes or window sashes that date from the period of significance. A loss of original window sashes might be mitigated by a high degree of integrity of other aspects of the building, particularly the interior spaces where the significant events or activities associated with the property occurred. Like the exterior, significant interior spaces should retain character-defining features such as room layouts and circulation patterns, with a subservient emphasis placed on materials and finishes.

Generally, a multi-unit commercial building that housed a *Green Book* business alongside other non-*Green Book* businesses is not eligible as a *Green Book* resource under this MPDF; however, given the significance of the *Green Book* business, there may be some exceptions for multi-unit commercial buildings to be eligible under this MPDF. In addition to the requirements outlined in the introduction of Section F and the registration requirements for the property type, a multi-unit commercial building that housed a *Green Book* business may be eligible under this MPDF if the *Green Book* business has a specific and special significance in relation to the historic context and themes identified in Section E of this MPDF, or the business was the only *Green Book* business in the municipality or county. A multi-unit commercial building may also be eligible if it is the only extant *Green Book* resource in the municipality or county and it meets the registration requirements for the property type.

A Barbershop/Beauty Parlor that operated in a commercial building has integrity standards like that of a commercial resource. Exterior materials should be original or replaced in kind. The loss or covering of the original finish may be acceptable if the replacement finish mimics that of the original finish. The partial covering of the original finish may be acceptable if it does not substantially detract from the original exterior materials and finishes. Usually, fenestration should be intact and contain original windows or windows from the period of significance. A loss of original fenestration might be mitigated by a remarkable degree of integrity of other aspects of the building. Like the exterior, significant interior spaces should retain character defining features such as structural materials, finishes, room layouts, and circulation patterns. Interior materials and finishes should be original or replaced in kind. The interior spaces should look and feel as they did during the period of significance.

The integrity of the Barbershop/Beauty Parlor's association and feeling is greatly enhanced by the integrity of its setting. A Barbershop/Beauty Parlor resource nominated solely under Criterion A for historical significance in the areas of Ethnic Heritage and Social History does not have to possess as high a degree of integrity of design and workmanship as Barbershop/Beauty Parlor resources which are nominated under Criterion C for architecture.

Subtype: Tailor Shop

A. Property Subtype Description

A Tailor Shop is a property where tailoring or clothing altering services were provided and may include commercial and domestic buildings. The survey of North Carolina's *Green Book* resources documented three extant Tailor Shops from the 1938–1967 period of significance; two are multi-unit commercial buildings, and one is a domestic building. Listed below is one inventoried resource currently listed in the NRHP or recommended eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion A as Tailor Shops under this MPDF. Resources recommended for listing in the NRHP under this MPDF are noted with the text, "recommended under this MPDF." Further documentation may find that a *Green Book* resource not listed below may be potentially eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion A as a Tailor Shop under this MPDF.

- **John Wimberly Tailor Shop** (ED2400); 305 East Highland Avenue, Rocky Mount, Edgecombe County—recommended under this MPDF

B. Significance

A Tailor Shop may be eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion A in the areas of Black Ethnic Heritage, Social History, and/or Commerce associated with *Green Book* resources in North Carolina within the 1938 to 1967 period of significance. A Tailor Shop may have significance at the local, state, or national level. In addition to Criterion A, a Tailor Shop may also be individually eligible for listing under Criterion B for its association with historically significant people or under Criterion C for architectural significance; however, the individual NRHP nomination must contain sufficient research and documentation to support the justification for additional significance under Criterion B and/or Criterion C.

A Tailor Shop that is eligible for listing in the NRHP under this MPDF will typically qualify under Criterion A in the area of Commerce.

C. Registration Requirements

To meet Criterion A eligibility, a Tailor Shop must be directly associated with the Green Book. It must have housed a business during the year(s) it was advertising in the *Green Book* within the 1938–1967 period of significance. A property need not be listed in multiple editions of the *Green Book* to qualify under this MPDF; however, the frequency of a place being listed in the *Green Book* is one aspect of evaluating registration requirements. Properties must demonstrate significance in relation to the historic context and themes outlined in Section E of this MPDF. Registration requirements are not racially exclusive; a Tailor Shop may have been owned and operated by people of any racial background. When discussing the significance of a particular property under Criterion A and B, consider important dates, events, activities, persons, associations, and developmental forces, trends, and patterns relating the property type to its relevant context as well as any direct relationship of the property type to major stages of growth, pivotal events or activities, or personal associations characterizing the historic context.

In addition to historical significance, nominated Tailor Shop must also possess sufficient integrity of location, setting, design, workmanship, materials, feeling and association to evoke their period of significance as defined by the National Park Service in *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*. Although buildings can evolve and change over time the buildings should retain sufficient character-defining features to maintain a reasonable level of integrity. Sufficiency of integrity must be weighed with historical significance and considered on a case-by-case basis.

The Tailor Shop should largely look and feel as it did during the period of significance. Ideally, exterior materials are original or replaced in kind; however, later asbestos shingles, aluminum, and vinyl finishes may be acceptable especially when their pattern mimics that of the original finish, such as the way vinyl siding replicates weatherboards. If other character-defining features remain intact, then the loss or covering of an original exterior finish can be mitigated. Preferably, fenestration patterns should be intact; this is particularly important if the building had a display window, such is the case with the John Wimberly Tailor Shop. Less important, although desirable, is the retention of original window sashes or window sashes that date from the period of significance. A loss of original window sashes might be mitigated by a high degree of integrity of other aspects of the building, particularly the interior spaces where the significant activities of tailoring or clothes altering took place. Like the exterior, significant interior spaces should retain character-defining features such as room layouts and circulation patterns, with a subservient emphasis placed on materials and finishes.

The integrity of the Tailor Shop's association and feeling is greatly enhanced by the integrity of its setting. A Tailor Shop nominated solely under Criterion A for historical significance in the areas of Ethnic Heritage and Social History does not have to possess as high a degree of integrity of design and workmanship as Tailor Shop which are nominated under Criterion C for architecture.

IV. Entertainment/Recreation

A. Property Type Description

The Entertainment/Recreation property type is a broad category that includes properties that were the sites of entertainment, recreational, and leisure activities such as club lodges and nightclubs. The survey of North Carolina's *Green Book* resources documented one extant Entertainment/Recreation resource from the 1938 to 1967 period of significance. The resource, the Excelsior Club, was determined eligible for listing in the NRHP in 2006 and is recommended eligible under Criterion A as an Entertainment/Recreation resource under this MPDF.

- **The Excelsior Club** (MK1829); 921 Beatties Ford Road, Charlotte, Mecklenburg County (NCHPO determined NRHP eligible in 2006)—recommended under this MPDF

The Entertainment/Recreation property type could be expanded to include properties associated with other Black travel guides such as the *Travelguide* (1947–1963) or *Go Guide* (1954–1959) that listed entertainment, recreational, and leisure resources. These types of recreational properties are more fully described and documented in the NPS's 2022 National Historic Landmark (NHL) theme study on *African American Outdoor Recreation*, which included several North Carolina recreational facilities on its Study List of as potential NHL designated recreational properties. Listed below are examples discovered during preparation of this MPDF.

- **Atlantic Beach Resort**, near Wilmington
- **Seabreeze Beach Resort**, US 421 near Wilmington (NHL Study List)
- **Ocean City Beach**, North Topsail Island, near Wilmington
- **Chowan Beach**, on the Chowan River near Winton in Hertford County (NHL Study List)
- **Reedy Creek State Park** (WA0721; NRHP, 1995), 8801 Glenwood Avenue, Raleigh
- **Jones Lake State Park**, 4117 NC-242 North, Elizabethtown (NHL Study List)
- **Nocho Park Golf Club** (GF9135), 1010 East Duke Street, Greensboro

B. Significance

An Entertainment/Recreation resource may be eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion A in the areas of Black Ethnic Heritage, Social History, and/or Commerce associated with *Green Book* resources in North Carolina within the 1938 to 1967 period of significance. An Entertainment/Recreation resource may have significance at the local, state, or national level. In addition to Criterion A, an Entertainment/Recreation resource may also be individually eligible for listing under Criterion B for its association with historically significant people or under Criterion C for architectural significance; however, the individual NRHP nomination must contain sufficient research and documentation to support the justification for additional significance under Criterion B and/or Criterion C.

An Entertainment/Recreation resource that is eligible for listing in the NRHP under this MPDF will typically qualify under Criterion A in the area of Commerce.

C. Registration Requirements

To meet Criterion A eligibility, an Entertainment/Recreation resource must be directly associated with the *Green Book*. It must have been in operation the year(s) it was advertised in the *Green Book* within the 1938–

1967 period of significance. A property need not be listed in multiple editions of the *Green Book* to qualify under this MPDF; however, the frequency of a place being listed in the *Green Book* is one aspect of evaluating registration requirements. Properties must demonstrate significance in relation to the historic context and themes outlined in Section E of this MPDF. Registration requirements are not racially exclusive; an Entertainment/Recreation resource may have been owned and operated by people of any racial background. When discussing the significance of a particular property under Criterion A and B, consider important dates, events, activities, persons, associations, and developmental forces, trends, and patterns relating the property type to its relevant context as well as any direct relationship of the property type to major stages of growth, pivotal events or activities, or personal associations characterizing the historic context.

In addition to historical significance, Entertainment/Recreation resources must also retain sufficient integrity of location, setting, design, workmanship, materials, feeling as defined by the *National Park Service in National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*. Although buildings and recreational sites can experience changes over time, nominated resources should retain sufficient character defining features to maintain a reasonable level of integrity. Sufficiency of integrity must be weighed with historical significance and considered on a case-by-case basis.

The Entertainment/Recreation property type is a broad category; therefore, Entertainment/Recreation resources and their integrity standards vary. The Excelsior Club (MK1829)—the only extant *Green Book* Entertainment/Recreation resource—was a private Black social club and entertainment venue in Charlotte. The Entertainment/Recreation resource should look and feel as it did during the period of significance. Exterior materials should be original or replaced in kind. Ideally, exterior materials are original or replaced in kind; however, later asbestos shingles, aluminum, and vinyl finishes may be acceptable especially when their pattern mimics that of the original finish, such as the way vinyl siding replicates weatherboards. If other character-defining features remain intact, then the loss or covering of an original exterior finish can be mitigated. Preferably, fenestration patterns should be intact; less important, although desirable, is the retention of original window sashes or window sashes that date from the period of significance. A loss of original window sashes might be mitigated by a high degree of integrity of other aspects of the building, particularly the interior spaces where the significant events or activities associated with the property occurred. Like the exterior, significant interior spaces should retain character-defining features such as room layouts and circulation patterns, with a subservient emphasis placed on materials and finishes. Character-defining spaces of a club may include a dance floor, performance space or stage, food and beverage bar, and seating areas.

The seven examples of Entertainment/Recreation resources found in other Black travel guides include beach resorts, beaches, state parks, and a golf course. Most of these resources are outdoor recreational sites and facilities, and therefore integrity of location, setting, and feeling should be prioritized. The outdoor Entertainment/Recreation resource should retain exterior spaces and uses from the period of significance.

The integrity of the Entertainment/Recreation resource's association and feeling is greatly enhanced by the integrity of its setting. An Entertainment/Recreation resource nominated solely under Criterion A for historical significance in the areas of Ethnic Heritage and Social History does not have to possess as high a degree of integrity of design and workmanship as Entertainment/Recreation resources which are nominated under Criterion C for architecture.

G. Geographical Data

The geographical area addressed by this Multiple Property Documentation Form encompasses the entirety of the State of North Carolina with a focus on the 18 counties in which extant *Green Book* resources were located. These counties include Bertie, Buncombe, Cabarrus, Caldwell, Craven, Cumberland, Durham, Edgecombe, Guilford, Henderson, Iredell, Mecklenburg, Nash, New Hanover, Pitt, Vance, Wake, and Wilson.

H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

The creation of this MPDF was funded in part by an Underrepresented Communities (URC) grant funded by the Historic Preservation Fund administered by the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior and awarded to the North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (NCHPO). The grant and matching funds were administered by the NCHPO, which commissioned cultural resources consulting firm Richard Grubb & Associates, Inc. (RGA) with the preparation of the MPDF and one accompanying NRHP nomination for Magnolia Hotel in Greensboro. Primary members of the project team included:

- Sarah Woodard, NCHPO
- Jeff Smith, NCHPO
- Andy Edmonds, NCHPO
- Beth King, NCHPO
- Ellen Turco, Principal Senior Historian and project manager, RGA
- Robbie D. Jones, Principal Senior Architectural Historian, RGA
- Pofue Yang, Architectural Historian, RGA

Other project team members at RGA included Debbie Bevin and Annie McDonald, Senior Architectural Historians in the North Carolina branch office, Olivia Heckendorf, Architectural Historian in the North Carolina branch office, and copyeditor Emma Durham, PhD. Ms. Bevin, Ms. McDonald, and Ms. Heckendorf assisted with research and writing within the Black Population Centers section of the document. Ms. Heckendorf also assisted with research during the intensive survey of extant *Green Book* resources.

The NCHPO determined that an advisory committee of local historians with expert knowledge of North Carolina's African American history would provide a useful additional level of review and guidance. Members of the advisory committee included:

- Adrienne N. Nirde
- Dr. Tamara Holmes Brothers
- Dr. Valerie Ann Johnson

The historic contexts, themes, and inventory utilized previous studies undertaken by the National Park Service (NPS) through the National Historic Landmarks (NHL) Program, including *Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites* (2002, revised 2008), *Civil Rights in America: Racial*

Desegregation of Public Accommodations (2004, revised 2009), and *African American Outdoor Recreation* (2022). The document format follows the NPS's *National Register Bulletin: How to Complete a Multiple Property Documentation Form* (1991, revised 1999).

This document follows current best practices in terminology and capitalization for documenting African American history, race, and ethnicity. The document follows journalism style guides, primarily the Associated Press and the National Association of Black Journalists, when addressing race and ethnicity by using lowercase for the term *white* and uppercase for the term *Black*. The terms *African American* and *Black* are used interchangeably. The terms *Colored* and *Negro* are used only if they appear in a historical quote or are part of the name of an organization or building. The use or nonuse of honorary titles such as *Rev*. or *Dr*. are based on usage during the associated historic context. The authors utilized human-focused and inclusive language when addressing racially sensitive topics. Additionally, the document utilizes the names of institutions and agencies based on the usage during the associated historic context.

This MPDF was prepared by evaluating previous surveys and undertaking extensive original research, documentation, and a comprehensive survey of 63 extant resources. Many of the resources had been previously surveyed by the NCHPO since the early 1980s. Documentation for the 63 extant *Green Book* resources did not include interior assessments, which are generally not included as part of an MPDF.

The intensive survey of 63 extant resources was completed primarily by Pofue Yang in the spring and fall of 2024. Mr. Yang created a master resource inventory spreadsheet for these 63 extant resources as well as 226 resources that have been demolished and 28 resources that are unknown. The spreadsheet database cross referenced deed and property records, real estate records, previous surveys, NRHP nominations, current photographs, and archival data. The analysis of the surveyed properties in conjunction with the historic context research resulted in the creation of the four property types identified in this document and the study list of eight resources that were recommended eligible for listing in the NRHP by RGA.

The period of significance for North Carolina's *Green Book* resources is 1938 to 1967, which encompasses the years the *Green Book* listed businesses in North Carolina.

This MPDF justifies listing of historic resources under the following criteria: Criterion A for historical significance in the areas of Ethnic History as associated with Black history and/or Social History as associated with transportation and commercial development. Properties may be significant at the local, state, or national

level. Individual properties may qualify for listing under Criterion B for their association with historically significant people or Criterion C for architectural significance.

Approximately 215 resources—or approximately 6.8 percent—in North Carolina are listed in the NRHP under Criterion A for Ethnic History as associated with Black history.[148] Of those, none are listed for significance in Social History as commercial businesses associated with the *Green Book*. This MPDF offers recommendations for previously listed resources that could benefit from updated or amended NRHP nominations that demonstrate their significance in Social History and commercial accommodations associated with listing in the *Green Book*. The application of Criterion A for Social History and commercial accommodations associated with the *Green Book* is not contingent upon the dual application of Ethnic History associated with Black History. This MPDF identified several resources associated with historically white commercial accommodations that were associated with the *Green Book*.

This MPDF recommends eight properties that should be evaluated for listing in the NRHP. As part of this MPDF submission, the Magnolia Hotel (GF0785) at 442 Gorrell Street in Greensboro was nominated for listing in the NRHP. Pofue Yang with assistance from Robbie D. Jones prepared the NRHP nomination for the Magnolia Hotel, which is an example of Domestic Lodging.

This MPDF was reviewed by Sarah Woodard and Jeff Smith at the NCHPO and members of the advisory committee.

[148] As of June 24, 2025, there are 3170 National Register-listed resources in North Carolina that are listed in the NRHP.

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Appendix A—Document Acronyms

AME	American Methodist Episcopal
A&T	Agricultural & Technological
HBCU	Historically Black College or University
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NCAAHC	North Carolina African American Heritage Commission
NCGRA	North Carolina Good Roads Association
NCHPO	North Carolina Historic Preservation Office
NHA	National Hotel Association
NHL	National Historic Landmark
NPS	National Park Service
NRHP	National Register of Historic Places
NTHP	National Trust for Historic Preservation
SESAH	Southeast Chapter of the Society of Architectural Historians
TOBA	Theater Owners Booking Association
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

Appendix B—Resource Inventory Data

This section provides an inventory of all 63 extant resources that were surveyed as part of the creation of this MPDF, and an inventory of 28 unknown resources and 226 demolished resources. The eight resources that were recommended eligible for listing in the NRHP under the Property Types established in this MPDF are included in Section F. This inventory notes if a resource is listed in the NRHP or has been added to the North Carolina Study List. Documentation for the 63 extant *Green Book* resources did not include interior assessments.

***Green Book* Resources: Extant**

Each extant resource is identified by survey site number (SSN), *Green Book* name, property name, address or parcel identification number (PIN), and NRHP status (when applicable). The property name is the name as recorded in the survey file for the resource. NRHP status indicates whether a property is individually listed in the NRHP (NRHP Listed), eligible for listing in the NRHP (NRHP Eligible), or a contributing (C) or non-contributing (NC) resource within a NRHP-listed district. Resources that do not have a NRHP status are denoted by N/A. The inventory is arranged alphabetically by county and numerically by SSN.

Bertie County

Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN	NRHP Status
BR0285	Bond's Luncheonette	Bond's Luncheonette	113-115 East Granville Street, Windsor	NC; Windsor Historic District, 1991

Bladen County

Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN	NRHP Status
BL0393	Royal Café	Royal Café	410 Martin Luther King Drive, Elizabethtown	N/A
BL0396	Liola's Beauty Salon	Leola's Beauty Shop	213 West Dunham Street, Elizabethtown	N/A

Buncombe County

Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN*	NRHP Status
BN2157	Wilson's Barber Shop	J. A. Wilson Building	13 Eagle Street	C†
BN3813	Mrs. S. Foster Tourist Home	S. Foster Tourist Home	88 Clingman Avenue	C; Clingman Avenue Historic District, 2004
BN5030	Palace Grille Restaurant; Wilson's Tavern	Commercial Building	21 Eagle Street	C†

*All addresses are in Asheville.
†Downtown Asheville Historic District, NRHP 1979.

Cabarrus County

Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN	NRHP Status
CA1638	Town and Country Grill	Clarence A. Handy, Sr. Community Complex	250 Lincoln Street Southwest, Concord	N/A

Caldwell County

Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN	NRHP Status
CW0857	East Finley Package Store and Gulf Service Station	East Finley Service Station	Finley Avenue Northwest, Lenoir; PIN 2749993768	N/A

Craven County

Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN*	NRHP Status
CV0474	Rhone Hotel	Rhone Hotel	512 Queen Street	C; New Bern Historic District, 1973
CV0577	H. C. Sparrow Tourist Home	Henry C. Sparrow House	731 West Street	C; New Bern Historic District boundary expansion, 2003

*All addresses are in New Bern.

Cumberland County

Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN*	NRHP Status
CD0321	Royal Beauty Parlor	Commercial Building	127 Person Street, Fayetteville	C†
CD0325	Modiste Beauty Parlor	(former) Harness Shop	130 Person Street, Fayetteville	NC†
CD1793	Silver Grille Restaurant; Big Buster Tavern	Commercial Building	113-115 Gillespie Street, Fayetteville	C†

*All addresses are in Fayetteville.
†Fayetteville Downtown Historic District, NRHP 1999.

Durham County

Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN*	NRHP Status
DH3163	College Inn	College Inn	1306 Fayetteville Street	C; Stokesdale Historic District, 2010
DH3406	Union Tailor	Commercial Building	112 West Parrish Street	C; Downtown Durham Historic District, 1977
DH4000	Thompson's Esso Service Center	Thompson's Esso Service Center	2425 Fayetteville Street	N/A

*All addresses are in Durham.

Edgecombe County

Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN*	NRHP Status
ED0555	City Barber Shop	Commercial Building	200 East Thomas Street	C; Rocky Mount Central City Historic District, 1980
ED1605; ED1606	Lincoln Park Motel	Lincoln Park Restaurant; Lincoln Park Hotel	1000 Leggett Road	C; Lincoln Park Historic District, 2012
ED2400	John Wimberly Tailor	John Wimberly Tailor Shop	305 East Highland Avenue	N/A

*All addresses are in Rocky Mount.

Guilford County

Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN*	NRHP Status
GF0785	Magnolia Hotel	Magnolia Hotel	442 Gorrell Street, Greensboro	C; South Greensboro Historic District, 1991
GF7090	Club Fantasy	Williard Building	603 Washington Street, High Point	C; Washington Street Historic District, 2010
GF8257	Johnson's Service Station and Grocery	Johnson's Service Station and Grocery	9108 US-158, Stokesdale	Recommended not eligible, 2013
GF9645	Plaza Manor Hotel	Plaza Manor Hotel	511 Martin Street, Greensboro	N/A
GF9646	Harris East End Gulf Service Station	Harris East End Gulf Service Station	2011 East Market Street, Greensboro	N/A

Henderson County

Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN	NRHP Status
HN1991	Landina Guest House	Landrum House	710 1st Avenue West, Hendersonville	N/A

Iredell County

Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN	NRHP Status
ID2203	Evening Breeze Motel	Evening Breeze Motel	2430 Salisbury Highway, Statesville	N/A

Lenoir County

Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN*	NRHP Status
LR1646	Phillips Tavern	Commercial Building	415 South Queen Street	N/A
LR1647	Dave's	Dove's Auto Service	205 East South Street	N/A

Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN*	NRHP Status
LR1648	Marks' Tourist Home and Cabins	Marks' Tourist Home and Cabins	105 West South Street	N/A

*All addresses are in Kinston.

Mecklenburg County

Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN*	NRHP Status
MK1829	The Excelsior Club	The Excelsior Club	921 Beatties Ford Road	NRHP Eligible, 2006
MK4511	Ballard's Barber Shop	Commercial Building	1806 Rozzelles Ferry Road	N/A
MK4512	Igloo Dairy Bar	Igloo Dairy Bar	1500 Beatties Ford Road	N/A
MK4513	Chicken N' Ribs	Chicken N' Ribs	1100 Beatties Ford Road	N/A

*All addresses are in Charlotte.

Moore County

Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN	NRHP Status
MR1439	Foster's Tourist Home	Foster's Tourist Home	117 Cotton Street, Aberdeen	N/A

Nash County

Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN*	NRHP Status
NS1365	Wright's Motel	Wright's Chick Shack	513 West Raleigh Boulevard	N/A
NS1599	Shaw's Service Station	Shaw's Service Station	482 West Raleigh Boulevard	N/A

*All addresses are in Rocky Mount.

New Hanover County

Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN*	NRHP Status
NH0816	Hill's Restaurant	Commercial Stores	604 Red Cross Street	NC†

Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN*	NRHP Status
NH1026	Payne's Tourist Home	Payne's Hotel	417 6th Street	C†
NH3690	Johnson's Barber Shop	Burkheimer Building	6 Market Street	C†
NH3691	Johnson's Barber Shop; Greyhound Taxi	Commercial Building	902 Castle Street	N/A
NH3692	Beth's Beauty Parlor	House	416 Anderson Street	C†
NH3693	Germany's Beauty Parlor	House	715 Red Cross Street	C†
NH3694	Howard's Beauty Parlor	House	121 South 13th Street	C†
NH3695	La May Beauty Parlor	House	703 South 15th Street	N/A
NH3696	Murphy Hotel	Apartment Building	813 Castle Street	N/A
NH3697	Johnson's Restaurant	House	1007 Chestnut Street	C‡
NH3698	Ollie's Restaurant; Gertrude's Beauty Parlor	Diew House	415 South 7th Street	C†
NH3699	Brooklyn Esso Service Station	Commercial Building	1215 North 4th Street	C‡
NH3700	William's Tavern	Commercial Building	821 South 8th Street	N/A
NH3701	Beth's Beauty Parlor	House	405 Anderson Street	NC‡

*All addresses are in Wilmington.
†Wilmington Historic District, NRHP 1974.
‡ Wilmington Historic District boundary expansion, NRHP 2003.

Pasquotank County

Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN	NRHP Status
PK1163	Small's Service Station	Small's Service Station	615 Roanoke Avenue, Elizabeth City	C; Shepard Street-South Road Street Historic District, 1994

Pitt County

Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN*	NRHP Status
PT3367	Bell's Restaurant	Bell Café	604 Albemarle Avenue	N/A
PT3368	Paradise Restaurant	Paradise Café	605 Albemarle Avenue	N/A
PT3369	Eagle Service Station	Eagle Service Station	600 Albemarle Avenue	N/A

*All addresses are in Greenville.

Vance County

Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN*	NRHP Status
VN0818	Green and Chavis Taxi	Greene House	720 Eaten Street	N/A
VN0819	Betsch Tourist Home	Betsch Tourist Home	219 West Rockspring Street	N/A

*All addresses are in Henderson.

Wake County

Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN*	NRHP Status
WA4053	Capital Cab Company	Delaney Building	133 East Hargett Street	C†
WA8061	Hall's Beauty Parlor	Commercial Stores	323 North Tarboro Street	N/A
WA8336	New York Restaurant	Commercial Building	108 East Hargett Street	C†
WA8337	Peter & Mike Restaurant	Peter & Mike Restaurant	430 South Dawson Street	C; Depot Historic District, 2002

Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN*	NRHP Status
WA8338	G. & M. Tailor	Commercial Building	106 East Hargett Street	C†

*All addresses are in Raleigh.
†Moore Square Historic District, NRHP 1985.

Wilson County

Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN*	NRHP Status
WL0444	Taxicab Service	Abbitt Building	508 East Nash Street	C; Wilson Central Business-Tobacco Warehouse Historic District
WL4197	M. Jones Taxi	House	1209 Queen Street East	N/A

*All Addresses are in Wilson.

***Green Book* Resources: Status Unknown**

The status of 28 *Green Book* resources is unknown, pending more research. Most of these were advertised in the *Green Book* with just a road and/or town name. Some were advertised with an address that could not be located through the review of Sanborn maps, city directories, or county deeds during research completed during preparation of this MPDF. Each unknown resource is identified by county, *Green Book* name, and address as it was advertised in the *Green Book*. The inventory is arranged alphabetically by county.

County	*Green Book* Name	Address
Bertie	W. Payton Tourist Home	Windsor
Bladen	Lacy's Beauty Shop	Bladenboro
Bladen	McKay & Neal Drug Store	Elizabethtown
Bladen	Hotel Carver	930 Prospect Ave, Elizabethtown
Bladen	Gill's Grill	Elizabethtown
Cleveland	Mrs. L. E. Ricks Tourist Home	Kings Mountain
Columbus	Leigh's Beauty Parlor	Rte. No 1, Hallsboro
Columbus	Mrs. Fannie Jeffries Tourist Home	Mill St, Whiteville

County	*Green Book* Name	Address
Cumberland	Coral Motor Court	US 301, 3 mi South, Fayetteville
Cumberland	Mayflower Grill	N Hillsboro St, Fayetteville
Cumberland	Gregory's Tailor	1219 Ft. Bragg Rd, Fayetteville
Cumberland	Wood & Melvin Taxi	Fayetteville
Cumberland	Mohawk Inn	Manchester
Durham	Chautauqua Tavern	Chautauqua Ave, Durham
Halifax	Royal Restaurant	301 Highway St, Enfield
Harnett	Hall's Taxi	Lillington
Lee	Campbell's Garage	Pearl St, Sanford
Mecklenburg	Margie's Beauty Parlor	1632 S 4th St, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	The Pines Motel	Hwy 29 85, Charlotte
Moore	Foster's Service Station	Pinehurst
Moore	Foster's Tourist Home	Pinehurst
New Hanover	High Hat Night Club	Market St Rd (4 miles out), Wilmington
Richmond	C. B. Covington Cabin	Hamlet
Richmond	Covington Restaurant	9111 No. Yard, Hamlet
Robeson	Spring's Inn Hotel	103 Chestnut St, Lumberton
Wake	Mobile Service Center	Raleigh
Wayne	Anchor Inn	Goldsboro
Wayne	Black Beauty Tea Room	Mt. Olive
Wilson	Biltmore Hotel	E Washington St, Wilson

***Green Book* Resources: Demolished**

Research indicated that 226 *Green Book* resources are no longer extant. Each demolished resource is identified by county, SSN (when applicable), *Green Book* name, property name (when applicable), and address or PIN. The property name is the name as recorded in the survey file for the resource. The inventory is arranged alphabetically by county.

County	Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN
Beaufort	-	Lloyd's Drug Store		408 Gladden St, Washington
Beaufort	-	Star Light Night Club		227 North Gladden Street, Washington
Buncombe	-	Do Drop in Barber Shop		4 Eagle Street, Asheville
Buncombe	-	Jamison Barber Shop		211 Ashland Avenue, Asheville
Buncombe	-	Butler's Beauty Parlor		31 South Market St, Asheville
Buncombe	-	Wilkin's Garage		Eagle & Market St, Asheville
Buncombe	-	Booker T. Washington Hotel		409 Southside Avenue, Asheville
Buncombe	-	YWCA Hotel		360 College Street, Asheville
Buncombe	-	Savoy Tourist Homes		31–35 South Market Street, Asheville
Buncombe	-	YWCA		194 Ashland Avenue, Asheville
Craven	-	Palm Garden Tavern		192 Broad Street, New Bern
Cumberland	CD0030	Delux Barber Shop; Mrs. Brown Beauty Parlor	Deluxe Barber Shop	133 Person Street, Fayetteville
Cumberland	-	Mack's Barber Shop; Ethel's Beauty Parlor		117 Gillespie Street, Fayetteville

County	Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN
Cumberland	-	Ruth's Beauty Parlor		500 Wilmington Road, Fayetteville
Cumberland	-	Jeffrie's Garage		112 Blount Street, Fayetteville
Cumberland	-	Bedford Inn		203 Moore Street, Fayetteville
Cumberland	-	King Cole Motel		2418 Murchison Road, Fayetteville
Cumberland	CD1133	"V point" Restaurant	Commercial Buildings	497–501 Murchison Road, Fayetteville
Cumberland	-	Arthur's Sea Food Grill Restaurant		637 Person Street, Fayetteville
Cumberland	-	Crumpler's Restaurant		207 Hillsboro St, Fayetteville
Cumberland	-	Moore's Service Station		613 Ramsey Street, Fayetteville
Cumberland	-	Jack's Tavern		213 Hillsboro St, Fayetteville
Cumberland	-	Restful Inn		418 Gillespie St, Fayetteville
Cumberland	-	Jones Tourist Home		311 Moore Street, Fayetteville
Cumberland	-	Mrs. Mary Sims Tourist Home		909 Fayetteville Street, Fayetteville
Davidson	-	D. T. Taylor Esso Service		600 South Main Street, Lexington
Durham	-	Delux Barber Shop		617 Fayetteville St, Durham
Durham	-	Burma's Beauty Parlor		536 East Pettigrew St, Durham
Durham	-	D'Orsay Beauty Parlor		120 South Mangum Street, Durham
Durham	DH0144	Vanity Fair Beauty Parlor	Rev. George W. Roberts House	1108 ½ Pine Street, Durham
Durham	-	Vanity Fair Beauty Parlor		1508 Fayetteville Street, Durham

County	Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN
Durham	-	Friendly City Beauty Parlor		711 Fayetteville Street, Durham
Durham	-	Bull City Drug Store		610 Fayetteville St, Durham
Durham	-	Garrett's Biltmore Drug Store		East Pettigrew Street, Durham
Durham	-	Biltmore Hotel		332 East Pettigrew Street, Durham
Durham	-	DeShazar's Hostelry/De Jazores		809 Fayetteville Street, Durham
Durham	-	Jones Hotel		502 Ramsey Street, Durham
Durham	-	Bull City Restaurant / Sandwich Shop		412 East Pettigrew Street, Durham
Durham	DH2073	Catlett's Restaurant	House	1502 East Pettigrew Street, Durham
Durham	-	Congo Grill		East Pettigrew Street, Durham
Durham	-	Cu-Cu Restaurant		916 Pickett Street, Durham
Durham	-	Elivira's Restaurant		801 Fayetteville Street, Durham
Durham	-	Biltmore Service Station		402 East Pettigrew Street, Durham
Durham	-	Clay's Service Station		406 ½ East Pettigrew Street, Durham
Durham	-	Granite Service Station		Main & 9th Street, Durham
Durham	-	Midway Service Station		Pine & Poplar Street, Durham
Durham	-	Pine Street Service Station		1102 Pine Street, Durham

County	Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN
Durham	-	Speight's Auto Service		Pettigrew & Fayetteville Street, Durham
Durham	-	Williams Service Station		Corner Pettigrew & Pine Street, Durham
Durham	-	Boykin Tailor		715 Fayetteville St, Durham
Durham	-	Community Tailor		813 Fayetteville St, Durham
Durham	-	Elite Tailor		1503 Morehead Ave, Durham
Durham	-	Royal Cleaners Tailor		538 E Pettigrew St, Durham
Durham	-	Scott & Roberts Tailor		702 Fayetteville St, Durham
Durham	-	Service Tailor		612 Fayetteville St, Durham
Durham	-	Union Tailor		418 Dowd Street, Durham
Durham	-	Hollywood Tavern		118 South Mangum Street, Durham
Durham	-	Jack's Grill Tavern		706 Fayetteville Street, Durham
Durham	-	Parker's Tavern		611 Fayetteville St, Durham
Durham	-	Battle Grill		406 East Pettigrew St, Durham
Durham	-	Mrs. N. O'Daniel Tourist Home		1005 Fayetteville Street, Durham
Durham	-	Mrs. S. A. Morris Tourist Home		902 Fayetteville Street, Durham
Edgecombe	ED0746	Dixie Restaurant	Commercial Building	106 East Thomas Street, Rocky Mount
Edgecombe	ED0750	Atlantic Service Station	Service Station	216 East Thomas Street, Rocky Mount
Forsyth	-	Orchid Beauty Parlor		Winston-Salem
Forsyth	-	Belmont Hotel		601 ½ North Patterson Street, Winston-Salem

County	Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN
Forsyth	-	Ideal Hotel		11th & Woodland Avenue, Winston-Salem
Forsyth	-	Lincoln Hotel		9 East 3rd Street, Winston-Salem
Forsyth	-	Stevens Hotel		526 East 4th Street, Winston-Salem
Forsyth	-	YMCA		410 North Church Street, Winston-Salem
Forsyth	-	Club 709		717 North Patterson Avenue, Winston-Salem
Forsyth	-	Model Pharmacy		562 North Patterson Avenue, Winston-Salem
Forsyth	-	College Service Station		336 South Claremont Avenue, Winston-Salem
Forsyth	-	Stinson's Service Station		1012 East 14th Street, Winston-Salem
Forsyth	-	Diamond Taxi		301 North Church Street, Winston-Salem
Forsyth	-	Reliable Taxi		430 North Church Street, Winston-Salem
Forsyth	-	Sam Harris Taxi		6th & Patterson Avenue, Winston-Salem
Forsyth	-	Charles H. Jones Tourist Home		1611 East 14th Street, Winston-Salem
Forsyth	-	Mrs. H. L. Christian Tourist Home		302 East 9th Street, Winston-Salem
Forsyth	-	Mrs. J. Penn Tourist Home		115 North Ridge Avenue, Winston-Salem

County	Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN
Forsyth	-	Mrs. N. Jones Tourist Home		859 North Liberty Street, Winston-Salem
Forsyth	-	Mrs. R. B. Williams Tourist Home		1225 North Ridge Avenue, Winston-Salem
Gaston	-	Union Square Hotel		North York Street, Gastonia
Gaston	-	Dot's Grill and Rooming House		470 North York Street, Gastonia
Guilford	GF0036	Kilby Hotel	Kilby Hotel	627 East Washington Street, Greensboro
Guilford	-	L. W. Wooten Tourist Home		423 Lindsay Street, Greensboro
Guilford	-	Travelers Inn		612 East Market Street, Greensboro
Guilford	-	College Motel		US Hwy 29 North at Stamey Street, Greensboro
Guilford	-	Shoffners		922 East Market Street, Greensboro
Guilford	-	Paramount Tavern		907 East Market Street, Greensboro
Guilford	-	Roof Garden Tavern		901 ½ East Market Street, Greensboro
Guilford	-	MacRae Taxi		106 South Macon Stret, Greensboro
Guilford	-	James B. Blount Tourist Hom		447 Coles Street, Greensboro
Guilford	-	Mrs. E. Evans Tourist Home		906 East Market Street, Greensboro

County	Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN
Guilford	-	Mrs. Lewis Tourist Home		829 East Market Street, Greensboro
Guilford	-	T. Daniels Tourist Home		912 East Market Street, Greensboro
Halifax	-	Young's Hotel		26 Ferguson Street, Littleton
Halifax	-	Pope Terminal Inn		101 Washington Avenue, Weldon
Iredell	-	Frank's Grill		640 South Center Street, Statesville
Iredell	-	Carson's Service Station		636 South Center Street, Statesville
Lee	-	Douglas' Beauty Parlor		310 Wall Street, Sanford
Lee	LE0456	Bland's	Goldston Building	400 South Steele Street, Sanford
Lee	-	Phillipps Hotel		Pearl Street, Sanford
Lenoir	-	Blue Bird Tavern		South Queen Street, Kinston
Mecklenburg	-	2nd St. Barber Shop		500 East 2nd Street, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Alexander's Barber Shop		1310 South Independence Boulevard, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	McDowell's Barber Shop		502 McDowell Street South, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Third Ward Barber Shop		West Hill & Poplar Street, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Johnson's Barber Shop		318 Cedar St South, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Economy Beauty Parlor		804 ½ East First Street, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Martha's Beauty Parlor / Barber Shop		509 East 2nd Street, Charlotte

County	Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN
Mecklenburg	-	McGowan's Boarding House		811 Oaklawn Avenue, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Cleanaway Cleaners		University Park Shopping Center, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Ebony Cleaners		318 McDowell Street South, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Orr's Washerette		1100 Seaboard St, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Shu-Fixery		425 West 11th Street, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Carolina Drug Store		401 East Trade St, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Charlotte Drug Store		200 East Trade St, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Gilmore Drug Store		2205 Booker Ave, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Joe's Auto Repair Service		28010 Statesville Avenue, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Mack's Paint & Body Shop		1422 Statesville Avenue, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Tumlin Bros. Garage		1608 North Tryon St, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Alexander Hotel		523 North McDowell Street, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Charlomac Hotel		1st & Brevard Street, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Ingram's Inn		419 South Cedar St, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Sanders Hotel		2nd Street, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Addie Motel		516 North Meyers St, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Biddleville Luncheonette		1116 Beatties Ford Road, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Davis Sandwich Shop		1108 Spring Street, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Edith's Snack Bar		716 South Caldwell Street, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Elite Restaurant		434 1st Street, Charlotte

County	Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN
Mecklenburg	-	First St Restaurant		6301-1 First Street, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Ingram's Restaurant		304 South McDowell Street, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	J. C. Sandwich Shop		504 South McDowell Street, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Maxie's Coffee House		1425 Oaklawn Avenue, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Monroe's Tavern		1021 Beatties Ford Road, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Randolph's Grill		806 South Mint Street, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	The Griffith St. Luncheonette		Griffith Street, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	The Musical Grille		802 Street McDowell Street, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Varsity Luncheonette		1116 Beatties Ford Rosd, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Welcome Grill		207 North McDowell Street, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	White Gable Café		233 Frazier Avenue, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Bishop Dale Service Station		First & Brevard Street, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Bob Roberson's Service Station		701 Trade Street, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	J. L. Stinson's Esso Service Center		400 Beatties Ford Road, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	J. C. Hart's Shoe Shop		329 South McDowell Street, Charlotte

County	Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN
Mecklenburg	-	The Ideal Smoke Shop		1122 Beatties Ford Road, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	New Way Tailor		935 East 9th Street. Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Oaklawn Tavern		1133 Oakland Street, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	Shaws Café		724 Mint Street, Charlotte
Mecklenburg	-	White's Rendezvous		2435 Lucene Ave, Charlotte
Moore	-	Carthage Hotel		Monroe Street, Carthage
New Hanover	-	Brown's Barber Shop		607 South 7th St, Wilmington
New Hanover	-	Apex Beauty Parlor		613 Red Cross St, Wilmington
New Hanover	-	Dickson Beauty Parlor		1101 South 7th St, Wilmington
New Hanover	-	Dixie Beauty Parlor		512 ½ Nixon St, Wilmington
New Hanover	-	La Celeste Beauty Parlor		508 Nixon Street, Wilmington
New Hanover	-	Lizora's / Lezora's Beauty Parlor		607 Red Cross Street, Wilmington
New Hanover	-	McCleese Beauty Parlor		9th & Red Cross Street, Wilmington
New Hanover	-	Newkirk's Beauty Parlor		1217 Castle Street, Wilmington
New Hanover	-	Pierce's Beauty Parlor		615 Kidder Street, Wilmington
New Hanover	-	Thelma's Beauty Parlor		207 South 12th Street, Wilmington
New Hanover	-	Vanity Box Beauty Parlor		115 South 13th Street, Wilmington
New Hanover	-	Zan-Zibar Beauty Parlor		403 Nixon Street, Wilmington
New Hanover	-	Ideal Drug Store		517 Red Cross St, Wilmington

County	Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN
New Hanover	-	Lane's Drug Store		4th & Bladen Street, Wilmington
New Hanover	-	Fair Price Drug Store		611 Castle Street, Wilmington
New Hanover	-	Fennell's Garage		124 South 13th St, Wilmington
New Hanover	-	Del Morocco Night Club		1405 Dawson Street, Wilmington
New Hanover	-	Blue Bird Restaurant		618 Castle Street, Wilmington
New Hanover	-	Harris Restaurant		10th & Wooster Street, Wilmington
New Hanover	-	Hillcrest Restaurant		1118 Dawson St, Wilmington
New Hanover	-	Manhattan Restaurant		816 South 13th St, Wilmington
New Hanover	-	Owens Club 900 Restaurant		900 North 9th Street, Wilmington
New Hanover	-	New Progressive Tailor		525 Red Cross Street, Wilmington
New Hanover	-	Blinker Café		605 Red Cross St, Wilmington
New Hanover	-	Kozy Korner Tavern		10th & Castle St, Wilmington
New Hanover	-	Black Cat Tavern		922 North 7th St, Wilmington
New Hanover	-	Happy Hour Tavern		6th & Brunswick Street, Wilmington
New Hanover	-	High Hat Tavern		713 Castle Street, Wilmington
New Hanover	-	Crosby's Taxi		124 South 13th St, Wilmington
New Hanover	-	Dixie Taxi		516 South 7th St, Wilmington
New Hanover	-	Mack's Taxi		520 North 7th St, Wilmington
New Hanover	-	Star Taxi		601 ½ Red Cross Street, Wilmington
New Hanover	-	Tom's Taxi		418 McRae Street, Wilmington

County	Survey Site Number	*Green Book* Name	Property Name	Address or PIN
New Hanover	-	Blue Bird Taxi		517 North 8th Street, Wilmington
Pasquotank	-	Blue Duck (Inn)		404 Erringhaus Street, Elizabeth City
Pitt	-	Midgett's Beauty Shop		212 Clark Street, Greenville
Pitt	-	Spain Beauty Shop		614 Atlantic Ave, Greenville
Pitt	-	Harrison's Drug Store		908 Dickerson St, Greenville
Rowan	-	Dalton's Lunch		128 North Lee St, Salisbury
Rowan	-	Safety Taxi		122 North Lee St, Salisbury
Vance	-	Adams Tourist Home		526 Chestnut St, Henderson
Wake	-	H & H Beauty Parlor		118 East Hargett St, Raleigh
Wake	-	Sales Beauty Parlor		222 South Tarboro St, Raleigh
Wake	-	Richardson & Smith Garage		108 East Lenoir Street, Raleigh
Wake	-	Starksville Guest House		809 East Bragg Street, Raleigh
Wake	WA3787	Arcade Hotel; Arcade Tailor	Lighter Arcade	122 East Hargett Street, Raleigh
Wake	-	DeLuxe Hotel; Lewis Tailor		220 East Cabarrus Street, Raleigh
Wake	-	YMCA		600 South Bloodworth Street, Raleigh
Wake	-	Legion Home Restaurant		416 East Cabarrus Street, Raleigh
Wake	-	Nile-Congo Restaurant		2001 West Garner Rd, Raleigh
Wake	-	Owens Restaurant		125 East Hargett St, Raleigh
Wake	-	Stanton's Café		319 South East Street, Raleigh

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Wake	-	Bloodworth St Tourist Home		424 Bloodworth Street, Raleigh
Wake	-	B & H Café		410 South Blount St, Raleigh
Wake	-	Chicken Shack		Cross & Lake Street, Raleigh
Wake	-	Dunn's Esso Service Center		520 South Bloodworth Street, Raleigh
Wake	-	Peerless Tailor		103 West Jones Street, Raleigh
Wake	-	Peerless Tailor		516 Fayetteville St, Raleigh
Wake	-	Progressive Tailor		Smithfield & Bloodworth Street, Raleigh
Wake	-	Snakenburg Tailor		123 South Salisbury Street, Raleigh
Wake	-	White Swan Tailor		115 Maxwell Street, Raleigh
Wake	-	Joe Blacknails Tavern		407 ½ South Blount Street, Raleigh
Wake	-	Tip Toe Inn		Corner Davis & Bloodworth Street, Raleigh
Wake	-	East End Taxi		807 East Martin Street, Raleigh
Wake	-	Hooper's		402 ½ West South St, Raleigh
Wake	-	Mrs. Charles Higgs Tourist Home		219 East Lenoir Street, Raleigh
Wake	-	Mrs. L. B. Yeargan Tourist Home		210 East Cabarrus Street, Raleigh
Wake	-	Mrs. Pattie Higgs Tourist Home		313 North Tarboro Street, Raleigh
Wayne	-	Raynard's Beauty Parlor		619 Devereaux Street, Goldsboro
Wayne	-	Jackson's Drug Store		400 South James St, Goldsboro

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Wayne	-	Scott's Restaurant		404 Gulley Street, Goldsboro
Wayne	-	Thornton's Teenage Shaving Parlor		507 Alvin Street, Goldsboro
Wayne	-	Garris Dry Cleaners and Hatters		208 North Center Street, Goldsboro
Wilson	-	The Wilson Biltmore Hotel		539 East Nash Street, Wilson