

## Research Notes from a Black Urbanist

Ronald Morrison

As a black urbanist, I follow in a long tradition of intellectual and experiential practices by black people to place ourselves in the city. In continuing this work, I am drawn to uncover the experiences of black and brown bodies in urban space that reveal the multitude of our contributions to meaning-making in cities. In the research annotations that follow, I turn to the *Negro Motorist Green Book* as an artifact and resource for contemporary urbanists and designers that, in its method and form, gestures toward a more liberatory urban spatial politics.

Started in 1936 by a mailman named Victor H. Green in Harlem, *The Green Book* began as a modest effort to list establishments that African-Americans could patronize in New York City. It soon grew to include numerous other cities in the U.S. and became an essential companion for black people traveling across the country during the violently segregated Jim Crow era. Green hacked the U.S. Postal Service network to gain detailed information about safe places where black people could commune, including hotels, restaurants, and individual homes, thereby appropriating an already existing system for a new function or use. Postal employees became intermediaries, collecting information from residents of the neighborhoods on their delivery routes. Because the information was provided by sources embedded in communities, the ability to review and evaluate spaces for their safety (and alter the guide accordingly) could be done relatively quickly.

In the 1949 edition of the *Negro Motorist Green Book* there were 3,706 total facilities listed. Of these, 1,643 of the facilities were travel accommodations including hotels, motels, and tourist homes. The remaining listings consisted of beauty parlors, nightclubs, and various other social sites. The 1959 edition listed 1,749 travel accommodations.[1] A possible reason for this increase was that in the post-war era, more and more African-Americans owned automobiles and were traveling long distances for leisure and tourism. Eventually, the Green Book covered all 50 states and parts of Bermuda, Mexico, and Canada. At its height, the Book's circulation reached two million copies in 1962.[2] Since 1945, the publication had been supported by Standard Oil. The Book hosted printed advertisements for the oil company and was distributed at Esso gas stations across the country, until its final edition in 1964, following the passage of the Civil Rights Act. This partnership with Standard Oil indicates the complicated intersections of capitalism and race at the time.

Today, as tools for understanding and visualizing space become more complex and descriptive, blackness is still so often emphasized as a quantifiable variable, and flattened as demographic information. When GIS mapping is used as a tool to visualize racial injustice, it is still premised on the understanding that race and space are fixed variables that may simply be superimposed, one onto the other, to identify and address the effects of racism. In the words of geographers Katherine McKittrick and Clyde Woods, this portrayal "naturalizes racial difference in place." While this method is important in revealing inequity and the effects of dispossession—including access to housing, employment, and health and other services in urban space—an analysis of how race and space are co-produced is lost.

Following McKittrick and Clyde, and other scholars working at the intersection of urban studies and critical race studies, urban scholarship must contend with the limits of treating blackness as a measurable unit of difference; it must also acknowledge the richness of geographic meaning that black people make in their daily lives. This would demand a shift in urban research practice to include both qualitative socio-historical narratives and technical data, not only commenting on 'what is' but how things came into being. Speaking to this point, McKittrick writes:

Identifying the "where" of blackness in positivist terms can reduce black lives to essential measurable "facts" rather than presenting communities that have struggled, resisted, and significantly contributed to the production of space.

McKittrick and Wood, No One Knows the Mysteries at the Bottom of the Ocean (2007, P.6)

The Negro Motorist Green Book presents a methodological rupture that describes both blackness and space not as fixed categories but as socially and historically produced and shifting. Engaging a participatory, community network of knowledge-makers, it mapped a safe black territory within an extremely dangerous geography, undergirded by the values of white supremacy.

Today, as black urbanists confront the unfinished project of building a liberatory urban spatial politics, *The Green Book* comes alive as a reminder that:

Like Green did with the U.S. Postal Service we must learn to retune everyday systems into moments of extraordinary function;

Expertise must be returned to the experiences of black people, not vested solely in technocratic approaches to urban policy and planning;

Participatory and flexible networks must be capitalized upon to subvert the hegemonic value system of white supremacy.

Here, I perform the initial stages of my engagement with this powerful historical archive in the form of raw annotations. My notes, underlines, and keywords perform a link between Green's original project—the 'matter' or lived experiences of black lives; personal research; and the larger liberatory social politics of the #BlackLivesMatter movement. I choose this working form in order to suggest openings for the development of a new urban knowledge equal to the predicaments of our present conjuncture, in which black lives are lost too often and too soon.

## Notes

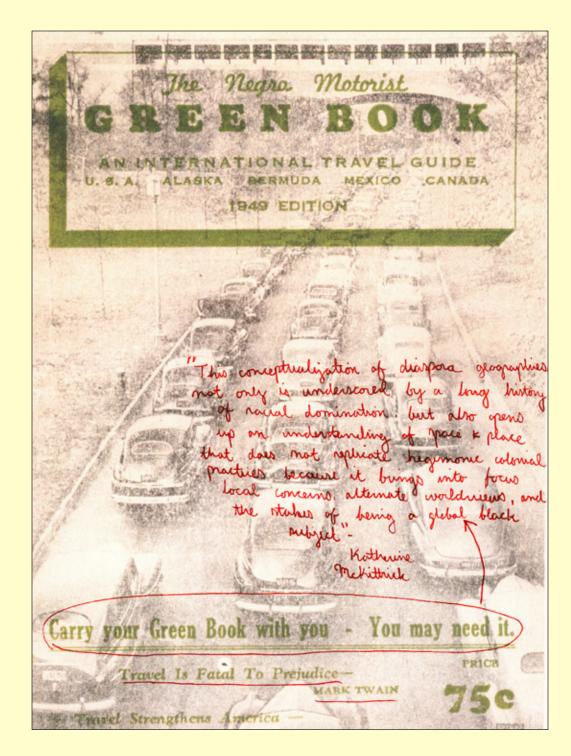


Figure 1. The Negro Motorist Green Book. From the Collections of The Henry Ford (autolife.umd.umich.edu).

<sup>[1]</sup> Sorin, Gretchen Sullivan. "Keep Going: African Americans on the Road in the Era of Jim Crow". University of Ann Arbor. 2009

<sup>[2]</sup> Gross, Andrew Steven. "The Changing Shape of the American Landscape: Travel, Corporate Expansion, and Consumer Culture, 1845-1945". University of Ann Arbor. 2001

## When Vacation Pleasures Beckon Send for

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13

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Figure 2. The Negro Motorist Green Book. From the Collections of The Henry Ford (autolife.umd.umich.edu).

ESTABLISHED 1936

## THE Negro Motorist GREEN BOOK

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INTRODUCTION

With the introduction of this travel guide in 1936, it has been our idea to give the Negro traveler information that will keep him from running into difficulties, embarrassments and to make his trips more enjoyable.

The Jewish press has long published information about places that are restricted and there are numerous publications that give the gentile whites all kinds of information. But during these long years of discrimination, before 1936 other guides have been published for the Negro, some are still published, but the majority have gone out of business for various reasons.

In 1936 the Green Book was only a local publication for Metropolitan New York, the response for copies was so great it was turned into a national issue in 1937 to cover the United States. This guide while lacking in many respects was accepted by thousands of travelers. Through the courtesy of the United States Travel Bureau of which Mr. Chas. A. R. McDowell was the collaborator on Negro Affairs, more valuable information was secured. With the two working together, this guide contained the best ideas for the Negro traveler. Year after year it grew until 1941 "PM" one of New York's great white newspapers found out about it. Wrote an article about the guide and praised it highly. At the present time the guide contains 80 pages and lists numerous business places, including whites which cater to the Negro trade.

There are thousands of first class business places that we don't know about and can't list, which would be glad to serve the traveler, but it is hard to secure listings of these places since we can't secure enough agents to send us the information. Each year before we go to press the new information is included in the new edition.

When you are traveling please mention the Green Book, in order that they might know how you found their place of business, as they can see that you are strangers. If they haven't heard about this guide, ask them to get in touch with us so that we might list their place.

If this guide has proved useful to you on your trips, let us know. If not, tell us also as we appreciate your criticisms and ideas in the improvement of this guide from which you benefit.

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.

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Figure 3. *The Negro Motorist Green Book.* From the Collections of The Henry Ford (autolife.umd.umich.edu).

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## The Green Book helps solve your travel problems'

By Wendell P. Alston, Special Representative, Esso Standard Oil Co.

Through the ages, men of all races have moved from place to place.

Some to seek new lands, others to avoid persecution or intolerance and still others for the sake of adventure.

Today, men of all races continue to move and for much the same reasons, though since the days of the foot-traveler and the ox-cart, they travel with much more convenience and comfort and at far greater speed.

For most travelers, whether they travel in modern high-speed motor cars, streamlined Diesel-powered trains, luxurious ocean liners or globe encircling planes, there are hotels of all sizes and classes, waiting and competing for their patronage. Pleasure resorts in the mountains and at the sea shore beckon him. Roadside inns and cabins spot the highways and all are available if he has the price.

For some travelers however, the facilities of many of these places are not available, even though they may have the price, and any traveler to whom they are not available, is thereby faced with many and sometimes difficult problems.

The Negro traveler's inconveniences are many and they are increasing because today so many more are traveling, individually and in groups.

This year for the annual convention of the largest Negro organization in the world, nine special trains in addition to the regularly scheduled trains of a number of railroads were required to transport more than fifty thousand of its members to a mid-western city. Several more thousands made the trip by car and some by plane.

Top ranking orchestras and numerous minor ones, concert singers and various musical organizations are moving over the country in increasing numbers. Touring clubs, like the one in the nation's capital which chartered three of the most modern buses of one of the country's largest bus lines for a trip to California and Mexico this year, are growing in number. More students and teachers and many others in the field of education seeking further training in the country's major centers of learning are traveling. More business men, representing increasing Negro enterprises, are traveling from city to city, and more white corporations cognizant of the mounting purchasing power of the Negro consumer, have Negro representatives in the field, a number of whom, like ourselves, spend half the year traveling.

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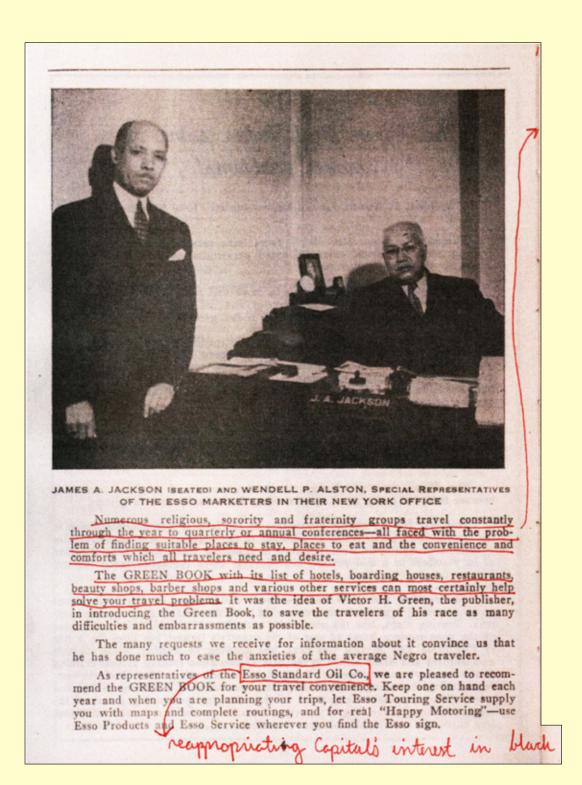


Figure 4. The Negro Motorist Green Book. From the Collections of The Henry Ford (autolife.umd.umich.edu).

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critially view and imagine black geographies relations of power, resistance, histories, and

A precedent has been established in the low-priced automotive field by combining handsomeness and beauty interiors of the 1949 Ford cars.

Ford has broken away from the neutral tones which have been traditional for mass production automobiles as designers have turned to textured fabrics popular in fashions and interior decorating.

Of the three new fabrics, the most unusual is a soft gray tweed mixture with a blue stripe which gives the 1949 Ford interiors a freshly tailored look. It has been combined with a bolster of blue-gray broadcloth to protect the upper section of both front and rear seats.

The clock dial has been centered on the panel and placed higher. Night glare is eliminated on all instruments by "black lighting."

Chrome trim throughout the car has been reduced. On the panel it is expressed in a neat arrangement of uniform knobs which control choke, windshield wiper, lights, heater and defroster.

On each door, the chrome strip makes a decorative arc over the heavy artificial leather kick pad at the bottom. Flame-shaped center pillar lights provide plenty of illumination for the interior and for stepping into and out of the car.

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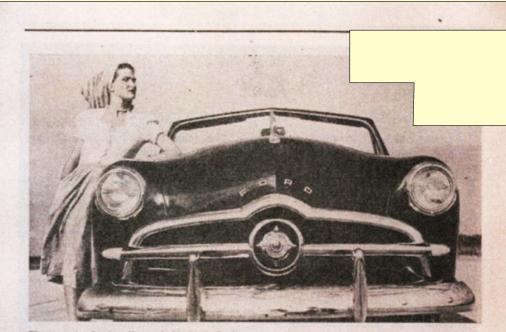
The same tailored good Toke aroung obtained with the other fabrics - smooth green striped broadel than butting with durability and comfort in the two new adaptations of mohair in a green and maroon stripe and green and gray stripe combination. In proper combination, they complement the new Ford exterior colors such as Sea Mist Green, Birch Gray, Arabian Green and Bayview Blue.

> The instrument panel of the new Ford has been simplified. All instruments are combined in a single cluster directly in line with the driver's view. Projecting slightly for better visibility, the large figures on a telescoped dial indicate speed, fuel level, rate of battery charge and oil pressure.

Interior door handles pull up instead of down to open the door. This eliminates the possibility of the car doors swinging open if the handle should be pressed down accidentally.

The new Ford's functionalism has been extended to the roomy seats-57 inches wide in front and 60 inches in the rear, plenty of room for six per-

New windows demonstrate the new trend. The rear window alone is 88 per cent larger-as large as the ordinary windshield. The windshield is deeper and wider. They give a picture window effect to the entire car and greatly improve all around visi-



The smooth, flowing lines of the 1949 Ford passenger cars are accented by the simplicity of the air-scoop grille. Fresh air for the pressurized ventilation system also enters through the grille. The distinctive styling of the 1949 Ford convertible features smooth, flowing contours, full fender-width body and luxurious interior appointments. Completely new, the convertible chassis is doubly reinforced.

## IMPORTANT CONVENTION DATES

Organization — National Medical Association Date of next Convention — August 8-12, 1949 Where to be held — Detroit, Michigan

Organization — Imperial Council Ancient Egyptian Arabic Order Nobles Mystic Shrine

Date of next Convention — August 14-18th, 1949 Where to be held — Detroit, Michigan

Organization — National Technical Association
Date of next Convention — September 1-4th, 1949
Where to be held — Chicago, Ill. (Probably)

Figure 5. The Negro Motorist Green Book. From the Collections of The Henry Ford (autolife.umd.umich.edu).

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## RESERVATION BUREAU

Going to take a trip, attend some convention - make sure of your accommodations before you leave.

## HOUSING CONDITIONS MAKE THIS NECESSARY

Reservations for all Hotels, Tourist Homes and Vacation Resorts throughout the United States, Alaska, Mexico and Bermuda can be made for you through our Reservation Bureau.

We have contacts with all Hotels, Tourist Homes and Vacation Resorts. Send us a list of the cities that you expect to pass through, the dates wanted, how many in your party and have us make your reservations. Fees are moderate.

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## EXPLANATION

No travel guide is ever perfect with the changing conditions, not only in the world, but also in the United States. The listings contained in this guide are given to you just as it is given to us from its source. There is a possibility that the address might be a few numbers out of the way—or the business has moved, so that by the time you receive your guide, start to use it you will find some discrepancies. This is due to the fact, from the time that the guide goes to press until you get it a few months have passed and many changes have taken place in the business world. This we can not help and we don't want you to get the idea that this guide is of no value; we try to have it as correct as possible. Each year these listings are checked before we go to press.

Our guides are published for every one, hence we have supplied you with any number of places in cities and towns so that one can select what they want within their price range. We do not recommend any of these places, although hundreds of them could be. But due to the thousands of listings, it is impossible to inspect all, so we leave it to your decision. We would welcome letters from you giving the name and address of any place that you feel that isn't up to our standards of a first class business place. They will be removed, which would give not only you, but other travelers the benefit of only first class places.

In order that you won't find any difficulty in finding the kind of business that you are looking for, we have placed the listings under their proper classification in cities and towns.

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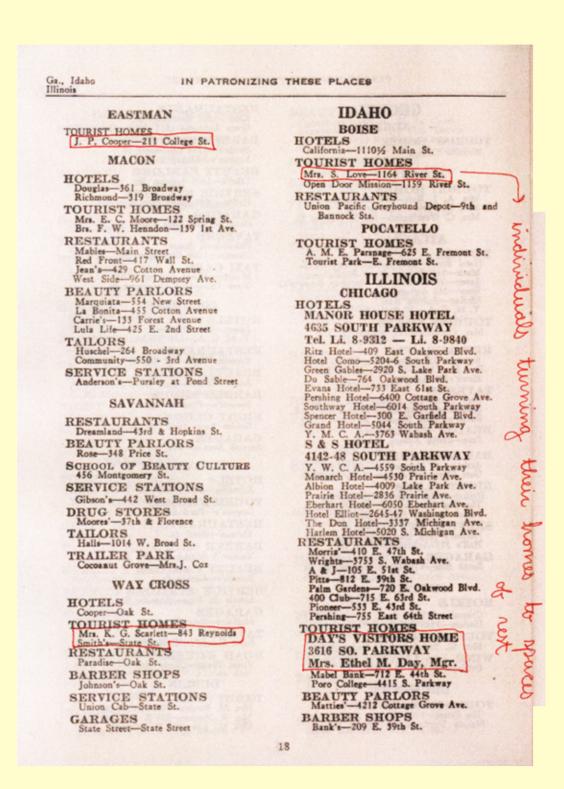


Figure 6. The Negro Motorist Green Book. From the Collections of The Henry Ford (autolife.umd.umich.edu).

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## What to See in Chicago.

Every section of Chicago is served by the Chicago surface lines. Car stops are indicated by White Bands on the poles at street intersections. 98% of the population live within three blocks of one or more surface lines.

Below are listed many of the principal points of interest in Chicago.

AIRPORTS — Chicago Municipal Airport—63rd St. and Cicero Ave. One of the nations finest airports and the greatest scene of aeronautical activity in the United States. Board southbound State St. cars on State St. or Clark-Wentworth or through Route No. 22 cars in Clark St. and transfer West on 63rd St. to Cicero Ave.

#### AMUSEMENTS

Riverside Park—Belmont and Western Aves. A large summer amusement park. Take Riverview-Larrabee cars at Dearborn and Randolph Sts. or Clybourn Ave. cars at Wells St. direct to park. By transfer north on Western Ave. or west on Belmont Ave. direct to park.

## BASEBALL PARKS

Cubs Park (Wrigley Field) Clark and Addison Sts. (1100 W.—3600 N.) Home grounds of the Chicago National League baseball team. Take Clark-Wentworth or through Route No. 22 cars on Clark St. north to main entrance.

White Sox Park (Comiskey Park)

West 35th St. and Shields Ave. Home grounds of the Chicago American League baseball team. Take Clark-Wentworth or through Route No. 22 cars on Clark St., south to 35th St.

Every section of Chicago is served and Wentworth Ave. Baseball park, y the Chicago surface lines. Car one block west.

### MANUFACTURING AND INDUSTRIES

Central Manufacturing District—Between Ashland Ave., Morgan St., 35th St. and Pershing Road (1600 W. to 1000 W. and 3500 S. to 3900 S.) Also along Pershing Road between Ashland and Western Aves. This district contains about 250 nationally known manufacturing concerns. Take south bound Ashland Ave. cars on State St. and transfer on 35th St.

Union Stock Yards—Between Pershing Road, 47th St., Halstead St. and S. Ashland Ave. (3900 S. to 4700 S.) (800 W. to 1600 W.) The world's famous center of the packing industry. Take south bound Halstead St. cars on Clark St., or Wallace-Racine Ave. cars on State St. direct to main entrance at Halstead and Root Sts.

## MUSEUMS

Chicago Historical Museum — The best collection of American historical mementos are displayed here. Relics of Columbus, Lincoln, Spanish explorers, the French voyageurs and the Indian Northwest are shown. A real education. Admission Free Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. Address, in Lincoln Park at Clark St. and North Ave.

Adler Planetarium and Astronomical Museum—Located on Lake Michigan at Roosevelt Road (1200 S.) and open to the public. Demonstrations with lectures at 11 A.M. and 3 P.M. on Monday, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday. At 11 A.M., 3 and 8 P.M., on Tuesday and Friday; at 3 and 4 P.M. on Sunday. Admission Free on Wednesday, Saturday and Sunday.

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# black refuse Robbins, Illinois Steps Out In Front

By GEORGE W. SHEPPARD

state of Illinois is one that is OWNED AND OPERATED BY NEGROES.\* It is Robbins, Illinois, located seventeen miles from Chicago. Ninety-five per cent of the more than six thousand inhabitants OWN THEIR OWN HOMES.

was founded in 1917 by Thomas J. Kellar and has since experienced a slow but sure growth.

It owes the rapid strides it is making at present to a number of factors. First, perhaps, is the fact that the city of Chicago, like most cities, has an acute housing shortage and its inhabitants, looking for places to live, have been attracted by the many advantages that Robbins offers.

Secondly, the town is a "natural" as a resort. It affords many pienic grounds and is an ideal place for summer outings. Many lakes are close by and inhabitants claim that fishing is good too.

Thirdly, the courage, the foresight and ability of the present mayor, Holis L. Reeves, is bringing good, sound, practical business into the local government. In that way the village is in a good position to cope with the many problems that a fast growing community must face. He is ably assisted by Misses Bertha L. Hendricks, deputy clerk, and Bessie M. Stephens, secretary to the administration. William March is chief of police with thirteen patrolmen working under his direction. Milton A. Robinson is chief of detectives.

The village is run by six trustees in addition to the mayor. They are

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The fastest growing town in the Fletcher Tillman, DeWitt Williams, Joseh Moore, Lee Riston and Victor Anderson. Together they have guided the destinies of the community for the last eight years.

### National Leaders Started in Robbins

Edward A. Starks, a business man in Robbins for 41 years, recalls that But Robbins is no "Boom Town." It Herman E. Moore, now Federal judge of the Virgin Islands, served as Village attorney.

> William L. Dawson, congressman from the First Illinois District, also served the Village as attorney, Mr. Stark states that they helped to set up the legal machinery for the town and that the village owes them a debt of gratitude. Legal business and the courts are conducted by one elected judge, Ernest Lemon; Village attorney. Today there is little crime in Rob-

## No Prejudice and Restrictions

The change that the visitor sees in Robbins now is only of population but of industry. Where there were shelters covered with tar paper, there are homes built of stone, concrete and marble. Water is supplied from the city of Chicago and efforts are being made to increase the supply. Because of the absence of prejudice and restrictions, opportunities for the Negro are unlimited.

There are ten churches of various denominations, one centrally located school of which William E. Jackson is principal and a community high school in the adjoining city of Blue Island. There are sixty places of business and two physicians who serve Robbins; Dr. Waurice Winston, county physician ad Dr. Williams. The Rev.

Figure 7. The Negro Motorist Green Book. From the Collections of The Henry Ford (autolife.umd.umich.edu).

hulding urbon spaces participations

Matthew Anthony is pastor of Greater Hope Baptist Church, the largest from the standpoint of membership of the ten churches. The court, the city jail and the fire department, headed by Edward Willett, are housed in the administration building.

### One Can Play Here, Too!

But all is not work in this throbbing community. There are night spots that would do justic to Chicago or New York's brightest. The oldest and most popular is Walter (Pop) Flowers place. A complete floor show is found at the Apex Club. The Community Club and Grill, operated by Williams Rhodes and Orr is another to which pleasure seekers throng.

The future of Robbins, the full realization of Thomas J. Kellar's dream, is in the hands of the straight thinking citizens who will refuse to get lost in a maze of politics and internal strife and who will continue in office those who are working night and day for its betterment, IT IS WORTH THE TROUBLE TO GO OUT AND TAKE A LOOK AT AN EXPERIMENT OF AN EXHIBI-TION OF WHAT NEGROES WORKING TOGETHER CAN DO. Indeed, it would not be a bad idea to' pitch in and help.

During the last eight years Robbins built 582 units. Per cent of increase 139.2, according to Real Estate Research Corp. Covering 30 cities and villages.

(CONT. FROM P. 25)

Take west bound Madison St. cars on on Wabash Ave., except cars marked Monroe St., direct to stadium.

Coliseum - 1513 S. Wabash Ave. (50 E) Auditorium seats 14,000 persons. Take south bound Cottage Grove, Indiana, Stony Island - Wabash or Thru Route No. 1 or No. 3 cars on Wabash Ave. direct to Coliseum.

Soldiers Field - 14th St. and Lake Shore (1400 S) Take south bound Clark St. cars, except those marked Clark-Downtown or south bound cars torist at all tracks.

Wabash-Harrison and transfer to east bound Roosevelt Road cars to terminal. Walk one block south to entrance. Address, on Lake Front at 14th St.

Race Track-Six months racing and six real tracks, Between May 1st and October 31st. Reached by railroads, also good automobile highways. Parking spaces are available for the mo-

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